



# International Youth Journal

For The Next Generation Experts And Leaders

VOLUME OF APRIL 2019

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Veronika Selzam

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## **International Youth Journal**

For The Next Generation Experts And Leaders

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### **Volume of April 2019**

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## Of Nigeria and her seesaw

ABDULWAHEED SOFIULLAHI

*Who knows, mayhaps a soothsayer had foreseen what would be the fate of Nigeria after Independent? Like Ola Rotimi's 'The Gods are not to blame' where a great seer of supernatural ghouls sees the pregnancy of the snail in the shell. A semblance of it as the playwright portrayed, King Adetusa of kutuje land placates the oracle to foresee the destiny of his new born baby. The oracle speaks, and the vulture was present for the atonement – the rest is history. The analogy is of this country, we play the pattern of fiction but non-fiction happening to Nigerians from then till date.*



To be on a virile of schizophrenic momentum reality. Maybe kiwi has covered their ears from hearing what the soothsayer said about the future. Or mayhaps fact has become victim of febrile fancy. That Nigeria was freed from the tangle of the whitemen is never an unleashing for freedom, rather a jostle for suffering. No qualms, those past leaders hitherto are of no populace interest, rather to amass personal wealth. To pinpoint this, let's flash back from the outset of self rule in this country; from one government to another. A lot had been affected by nausea, when having nestle promising nurture.

Having felt depressed of Nigeria entanglement, and the familiarity of poverty hymns to the stoic Nigerians ears since 1960s till present, still hoping that things would be better. According to a German-born Henry Charles Bukowski, he said: "This could mean losing girlfriends, wives, relatives, Jobs and maybe your mind go all the way. It could mean not eating for 3 or 4 days. It could mean freezing on a park bench. It could mean derision, mockery. Isolation is the gift, all others are the test of your endurance". This motivational words have changed many lives, many countries, and many homes. But does it work for Nigerian? And as our people do say, "Too much expectations weak mind".

Nigeria has indeed passed through a lot of ups and downs, spearheaded by different military rulers and the acclaimed civilians. But while history would never forget some, it would still never forget others. During the era of Nnamdi Azikiwe (1963-1966), the first Nigerian president, and a ceremonial per say. Nigerian experienced hardship, expecting the next governance would be good but funnily enough, the next was an electrifying Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1966). A man whose joy resided most in

crime – to be cleared, the murder of some highest rank politicians in the North and West then, was never without his knowledge. But as it is, he who lives by the gun, dies of such – He was murdered after 194 days in power.

A blink after the man was murdered, Yakubu Gowon seized power. He implemented genocidal tactics against the Igbo people, from which more than 50,000 people were killed in 1967 – an aftermath of the civil war. Things seemed ready to change when General Muritala Muhammed (1975-1976) became the head of state. The man tried his possible best to make his tenure different from Gowon's but he escaped not the bellicosity of that moment – murdered at last. After the era of this military junta, the country witnessed again a republican government when Shehu Shigari emerged the president (1979-1983). Under the party of "One Nation one Destiny", Nigeria economy accidentally got into mire prior to a drastic cooling of already booming oil price. As if it wasn't enough, the resurfaced of the military government was again spear-headed by Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (1983-1985). To Nigerians, Buhari's tenure was such an harsh time because of some government-implemented policies.

Sardonically, emerged was an era engrossed with corruption. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida in 1985 after the Buhari's ruling was forcefully ruled out. He spent seven years or thereabout, messed with corruption practices. After the nullification of June 12, Ernest Shonekan manned our affairs for meantime in 1993. During his tenure, not even the price of a needle escaped the uncontrollable inflation and foreign investments in non-Oil related industries significantly waned.

After just three months in power, Shonekan was overthrown by his head of security defence 'Sani Abacha' (1993-1998). Abacha's political period rested upon his remarkable economic achievements, which seemed to overshadow some of more controversial aspect of his government such as; Human rights abuse and corruption. After the steel and zeal of bellicose Abacha expired, Abdulsalam Abubakar surfaced. He's well described as a peaceful man, and one who kept to promise to handover to a civilian government after six months. That's when Obasanjo had his way to come again, but as a democratic president. After his first tenure ended, though corruption gained stance more but he was reelected in 2003, making it two terms in office.

If not for wicked death, Obasanjo – after his third ambition failed, had handed over to a man of utmost public interest, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua. His tenure resurrected the carrion hope that Nigeria can still be better. Though he firstly completed the dead Yar'Adua's tenure, before being elected president in the year 2010. As a result of colossal eruption of social unrest, religious and ethnical genocide, the Global Peace Index of 2016 classified Nigeria as the 4th country in the world with the highest level of calamities – of conflicts pivot.

As the mantra from which the past ducked and the present administration was lifted – change. And of course, insecurities and corruption as major parameters which necessitated change of government for Nigerians. Now! How have this 'change' changed from the previous status-quo. On paper, no more insecurity, and likewise, all the corrupt

government officials have had their legal tune to dance to, but it remains inquisition for a sane mind in reality.

Now that another line would soon be drawn. A step towards freedom or another clarification call to free doom of unresponsive government. Before we step into the river again, can't we think outside the box? Can't we have a Nigerian president pro bono and not of one ethnic or religion sentiment would spur. It's high time we gave the resources draining system of government, rotten education sector, insecurities and injustice a way forward symposium before moving to the poll in 2019. Therefore, as our people believe, Cola-nut ages more in the mouth of the aged.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/of-nigeria-and-her-seesaw>

## **Analysis: How Buhari fared in 2019 election compared to 2015 in major states**

ALFRED OLUFEMI

*While the APC flag bearer won more votes in his opposition's stronghold, South East, than he polled in 2015, he could not meet up with the number of votes recorded in his home state, Kastina, and most northern states he won in 2015. Only Borno was an exception to reduction of votes witnessed in the northern states.*



The 2019 presidential election of Saturday saw to the re-election bid of President Muhammadu Buhari under the All Progressive Congress (APC) with Atiku Abubakar of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) as his major contender. These two are not aliens in the political space of the country because Mr. Buhari had contested the Presidency three consecutive time before he defeated the former President Goodluck Jonathan in 2015 while Mr. Atiku, a former Vice- President had his third Presidential race on Saturday, since 2003.

In the 2015 general election, Mr Buhari won with 2,571,759 votes as he polled 15,424,921 while his opponent Mr. Jonathan, who was an incumbent President had 12,853,162 across the country. President Buhari had scored the highest votes in the 2019 presidential election polling 15,191,847 votes and his major challenger, Mr. Atiku, polled 11,262,978 votes. He led his opponent with a wide margin of ,3928,869 which is higher compared to what he polled in 2015.

This report compares the performance of Mr. Buhari at the 2015 poll with what was obtained in the 2019 election in major Nigerian states. Recall that the election, ought to hold on February 16 and was rescheduled on the election day for February 23 because of logistics challenge. This posed a threat to popular participation in the Saturday poll as analysts argued that electorate who had traveled far for the exercise may be discouraged by the postponement.

While the postponement is not the first in the history of the country as that of 2011 and 2015 were postponed because of logistic issues and security threats by the Boko haram insurgents respectively, this was the first to be announced on the election day. However, the Independent National Electoral Commission released the total number

of Permanent Voters card collected in the 36 states last Thursday. The commission stated that 72.7 million PVCs were collected against the 2019 general election. This shows an improvement with over 16 million difference when compared with the rate of 56,431,255 collected in 2015.

The states with high rate of PVCs collected include Lagos, Kano, Kastina, Kaduna, Anambra, Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Delta, Niger, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers. These 13 states had over 2 million registered voters. While the APC flag bearer won more votes in his opposition's stronghold, South East, than he polled in 2015, he could not meet up with the number of votes recorded in his home state, Kastina, and most northern states he won in 2015. Only Borno was an exception to reduction of votes witnessed in the northern states.

The reasons for this are not far-fetched as the defection of some bigwigs from the APC contributed to the reduction in the votes garnered in the Northern parts coupled with the fact that Mr. Atiku is a Northerner too. Also, the rise in the votes polled by the President in the South East is not surprising because the religious sentiments of 2015 could not come to play. Unlike Jonathan, a Christian, Mr. Atiku, is a fellow Muslim

On the other hand, PREMIUM TIMES reported how the lateness in the arrival of the electoral officers and materials delayed the opening of poll in some states. This also had its effects on the electorate, who were tired of waiting.

[/infograph.venngage.com/ps/QUczEZYto/president-buharis-performance-in-the-2015-and-2019-elections](http://infograph.venngage.com/ps/QUczEZYto/president-buharis-performance-in-the-2015-and-2019-elections)

### **Lagos**

The state has the highest number of collected PVCs with 5,531,389 cards collected and the home of the APC national leader, Asiwaju Bola Tinubu. Although Mr. Buhari won in the state, he led Mr. Atiku with 132,798 vote margin. The margin was lesser than the 160,143 votes he polled against Mr. Jonathan in 2015.

Lagos, over the years, have been a ground for the major parties to slug it out at the Presidential election but a block voting for the APC in the Governorship polls. However, the lesser margin recorded can be attributed to rampant cases of violence in some places with reports of burnt ballot papers and intimidation of voters.

### **Kastina**

This is Mr. Buhari's home state where he polled the second highest votes after the 1.4 million votes recorded in Kano. However, his performance at home reduced when compared with what he polled in 2015. Mr. Buhari swept all the 34 LGAs with 1,232,133 votes in the Saturday poll, which is lower than the 1,345,441 votes recorded against Mr. Jonathan.



**Kano**

As one of the most populous states in the country, Mr. Buhari polled the highest of 1,464,768 votes in the country. Meanwhile, this is lesser in comparison to the 1.9 million votes garnered in 2015. The defection of Senator Rabi'u Kwankwaso from APC to the PDP is inseparable from the reduction in votes cast for Mr. Buhari. Mr. Kwankwaso, a former governor of the state, canvassed votes for the APC flag bearer in 2015. He dumped APC for PDP, where he later lost the Presidential primaries to Mr. Atiku.

**Kaduna**

The Governor of Kaduna State, Nasir El-Rufai is a prominent member of the APC. This is also perceived as one of the major strongholds of the APC. Mr. Buhari won the with a margin of 643,675 votes in 2015 but could only get 343,833 margin against Mr. Atiku. This significant reduction can not be separated from the kajuru killings with over 100 lives lost to the mayhem in Kaduna State.

**Rivers**

This is the most populous of the states in the South South region and a political strength of the PDP. The state Governor, Ezenwo Wike, is a notable critic of the Buhari led administration. Although Mr. Buhari lost to Mr. Atiku in Rivers like it happened in 2015, the President improved in his performance as he polled 150,710 votes on Saturday as against the 69,238 of 2015.

The elections in the state was however marred with violence and the poll did not hold in Bonny and Akuku Toru LGAs due to disruptions. It was reported that elections were not held in six local government areas of state, which have over 900,000 registered voters.

**Anambra**

Like Rivers State, Anambra is another stronghold of the PDP. The state produced Mr. Atiku's running mate, Peter Obi. According to the results of Saturday poll, Mr. Buhari had 33,298 votes, which is about 50% increase to the 17,926 votes he had in 2015. Apart from the religious factor which plays a key role in determining who the people in Anambra support, the ruling party in the state, All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), adopted the APC flag bearer like it adopted Jonathan in 2015.

**Plateau**

Despite the APC grip of the state as the Governor, Simon Lalong, is a member of the ruling party, Mr. Buhari was defeated by the PDP flag bearer. Mr. Atiku polled 548,665 while the President had 468,555. This is a slight increase in the figure recorded in 2015. Mr. Buhari lost to Mr. Jonathan in Plateau but polled 429,140 votes in 2015.

Insecurity in Jos and herdsmen attacks of 2018 were major factors that contributed to the defeat recorded against Mr. Buhari. Moreover, INEC on Tuesday, said it canceled a total of 146,555 votes from Plateau in the Saturday Presidential election over failure to adhere to electoral guidelines.

### **Bauchi**

The state governed by Muhammad Abdullahi of the APC is another major strength of Mr. Buhari. Although declared the winner in the Bauchi in 2015 and 2019, he had 931,598 votes against Jonathan but polled a lesser figure of 798,428 on Saturday. In 2015, Mr. Buhari won all the 20 local governments in Bauchi but lost one to the PDP candidate in 2019.

Mr. Atiku won Speaker Yakubu Dogara's local government area, Bogoro. The defection of Mr. Dogara from the APC to the opposition party affected the performance of the ruling party in the Saturday poll. Mr. Dogara was re-elected to the Green chamber under the opposition party.

### **Benue**

The north central state was a battle ground for the two Presidential candidates but Mr. Buhari was defeated by his PDP opponent with a narrow margin of 9,149 votes. In 2015, the President won Benue after polling 373,961 votes while Mr. Jonathan had 303,737.

The state Governor, Samuel Ortom, who was instrumental to the victory of Mr. Buhari in 2015 dumped the ruling party for the PDP due to an internal crisis in 2018. Besides the defeat of the President, all the three senatorial candidates in Benue fielded by APC lost to their PDP counterparts.

### **Borno**

The state is one of the core parts of the North Eastern region with its capital, Maiduguri, the heart of Boko Haram attacks. In Borno, the APC flag bearer scored 836,496 to take the state ahead of his PDP opponent who got 71,788 votes. This is a great improvement when matched with the 473,543 votes he gained in 2015.

This success can not be disconnected from the support of the erstwhile Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, Ali Modu Sheriff, who is a former governor of the state and currently an APC chieftain. Mr. Ali led a campaign team for the President's reelection bid apart from the state campaign team of the APC.

### **Delta**

In Delta State, which is a PDP stronghold, Mr. Abubakar won with 594,068 votes to Mr. Buhari's 221,292 votes. In 2015, Mr. Buhari had 48,910 votes in the oil producing

state while his opponent led with over 1 million votes. The return of Senator Ovie Omo-Agege to the Senate on Saturday under the platform of APC helped to boost the votes garnered by Mr. Buhari in the Niger Delta region. The senator defected from Labour party to the APC in 2017.

## **Oyo**

Oyo state has the second highest number of registered voters in the South West region. The state Governor, Abiola Ajimobi of the APC lost in the senatorial contest of Saturday. Likewise, Mr. Buhari lost to Mr. Atiku with a margin of 1,461 votes.

The rejection of Mr. Ajimobi by the people of Oyo South played a key role in the defeat of Mr. Buhari. In 2015 when the incumbent Governor ran for the second term, he won landslide while the President led Mr. Jonathan in the state with a votes margin of 225,244.

Oyo South senatorial district accounts for the larger population in the State. The district has nine local government areas. They are Ibarapa North, Ibarapa East, Ibarapa Central, Ido, Ibadan North, Ibadan South-East, Ibadan South-West, Ibadan North-East and Ibadan North-West.

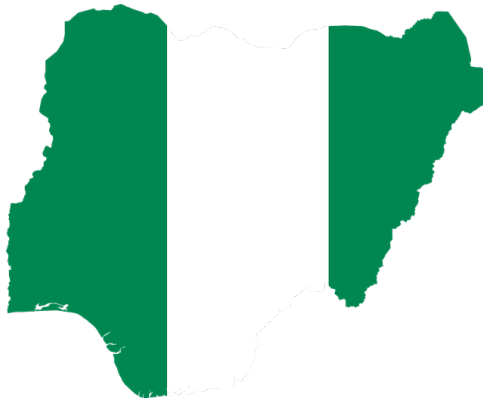
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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/analysis-how-buhari-fared-in-2019-election-compared-to-2015>

## Six Nigerian governors in the rerun battle to retain office for extra four years

ALFRED OLUFEMI

*The supplementary poll is perceived to be a second chance for the embattled Governors who lost in the first contest although analysts posit that the supplementary may not affect the earlier announced results. This reporter takes a cursory look at the political background of the six governors, their opponents and some events that shaped their fate.*



With the declaration of inconclusive governorship elections and the announcement for supplementary polls in some states by the Electoral Commission, six incumbent Governors are in the contest to remain in office for another four years. Following the governorship and state house of assembly elections of March 9, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) declared 6 states governorship election inconclusive and fixed a rerun for March 23.

The supplementary polls will take place in some parts of Kano, Plateau, Bauchi, Sokoto, Benue and Adamawa. According to the Commission's guideline, the number of cancelled votes outweighed the margin between the two leading contestants such that the results of the votes can affect the final results and determine the fate of the winner.

Many opined that the declaration was a manipulating attempt by the ruling APC because most of its governorship candidates in the affected states were defeated with the exception of Plateau state. The Electoral Commission is yet to release the polling units where the rerun will take place. Notwithstanding, as Nigerians in the affected places go to the poll, the incumbent governors' fate of retaining power will be decided on March 23.

The supplementary election is perceived to be a second chance for the embattled Governors who lost in the first contest although analysts posit that the supplementary may not affect the earlier announced results. This reporter takes a cursory look at the political background of the six governors, their opponents and some events that shaped their fate.

### **Abdullahi Gaduje of Kano**

In a keenly contested election in Kano, the opposition Peoples Democratic Party candidate, Abba Yusuf, defeated the All Progressives Congress Incumbent Governor, Abdullahi Gaduje as PDP polled 1,014,474 while APC polled 987,819. Although the APC led in 28 out of the 44 local government areas, the number of votes garnered was not enough to challenge that of the PDP which won in the remaining 16 decisive local government areas.

The cancelled votes across 22 local government areas including Gama ward of Nasarawa local government turned out to be 141,694 votes, which is higher than the difference of 26,655 votes. Analysts have attributed the tight contest to the corruption allegations against the incumbent Governor which surfaced some months ago. In October last year, Mr. Gaduje was caught on camera receiving kickback of 5 million dollars from contractors. The video, which was published by Daily Nigerian, revealed the governor receiving bundles of dollars and putting them into his white dress known as 'baban-riga' in the northern part of Nigeria.

Meanwhile, the seven-member committee set-up by the Kano State House of Assembly to investigate the alleged bribery video clips against Governor Abdullahi Ganduje vowed to continue with the assignment despite the court order which stopped the committee from investigating Mr Ganduje. During this period, Nigerians mounted pressure on President Muhammadu Buhari to call for the probe of the sitting governor, who as a result of the scandal was nicknamed 'Gandollar'. Groups and Civil societies also clamoured that Mr. Gaduje be marked by the anti-graft agency for corruption case.

However, in few days to the supplementary poll, Mr Ganduje's senior special assistant on urban beautification, Hashim Dungurawa, resigned his appointment. He tendered his resignation to the secretary to the governor's office on Thursday but did not state any reason for the resignation in the letter. On the other hand, the PDP candidate, Kabir Abba-Yusuf, is the son-in-law to the former governor of the state, Rabiu Kwankwaso, who dumped the All Progressive Congress last year after losing the Presidential primaries to Buhari. Mr. Yusuf served as a Commissioner in Mr. Kwankwaso's cabinet. His loyalty to the former governor earned him the support of the Kwakwansiya Movement, a prominent group in the state.

### **Aminu Tambuwal of Sokoto**

Seeking re-election, governor Tambuwal polled 489, 558 votes while his closest rival and former deputy governor, Alhaji Ahmad Aliyu of the All Progressives Congress (APC) scored 486, 145 votes last Saturday. However, because the 75,403 cancelled votes in 136 polling units was higher than the 3, 413 margin difference between Tambuwal's score and that of the APC candidate, the commission declared it inconclusive.

While he challenged the decision of INEC, Mr. Tambuwal said that the commission

had not communicated the reasons for cancellation of votes in the 136 polling units. In the last two years, Governor Tambuwal has been floating between the two major parties. He won the 2015 governorship election as an APC flagbearer but contested last Saturday poll under the aegis of PDP.

The Governor, who joined the ruling party in 2014 after renouncing his membership of PDP, left the ruling party to the Peoples Democratic Party, alongside 18 members of the State House of Assembly in 2018. In a report before his defection, he alleged that "the APC had been transformed into a sanctuary for the corrupt and into a rigging machine that has been unable to enthrone good governance."

His criticism of the APC was notable to the point of dismissing the state Commissioner for Information, Bello Muhammad-Goronyo, following his defection to the All Progressives Congress. Meanwhile, PDP's Ahmad Aliyu, a deputy governor, who resigned from office to contest against his former boss, broke the followership of Mr. Tambuwal in the governorship election.

Also, the opposition enjoyed the backing of a former governor and serving senator, Aliyu Wamakko, who used to be a "godfather" to Mr. Tambuwal until his defection to the PDP. Mr. Tambuwal headed to the poll on Saturday without the support of his godfather that was instrumental to his victory in 2015.

### **Mohammed Abubakar of Bauchi**

Incumbent governor Mohammed Abubakar of APC lost to the opposition after polling 465,453 votes while Bala Mohammed of PDP scored 469,512 votes. The PDP candidate, Bala Mohammed, was in the lead after results of 19 LGAs were collated, with the incumbent governor, Mohammed Abdullahi Abubakar of the APC, trailing behind with a margin of over 4000 ballots.

Meanwhile, the results of a local government, Tafawa Balewa, with over 70,000 registered voters was nullified because the Returning Officer, Dominion Anosike was intimidated and harassed while collating results. In the contentious Tafawa Balewa LGA, the PDP had scored 40,000 votes against the APC's 29,000, putting the PDP ahead with about 15,000 votes.

Mohammed Abubakar, a jurist-cum-governor was appointed a member of the National Judicial Council, in 2015 and won the 2015 Governorship election of Bauchi State, Nigeria on the platform of APC. It is not surprising that Mr. Abubakar who won the 2015 election, defeating the PDP candidate by over 370,000 votes, managed to come second in the 2019 poll.

It should be noted that the local government results cancelled was from Tafawa Balewa, the constituency of Yakubu Dogara, the Speaker of the green chambers. Mr. Dogara who defected to PDP from the All Progressives Congress in 2018, and the PDP governorship candidate in the state, Mr. Bala Mohammed had accused the governor of

incompetence. The speaker also alleged Governor Abubakar to have diverted public funds to the tune of N400 billion from May 2015 when he assumed office to date.

As Tafawa-Balewa appears to be one of the strongholds of the PDP, since Speaker Yakubu Dogara is from the area, analysts have concluded that Mr. Bala Muhammed has a greater chance of winning. Mr. Bala was the federal law maker representing Bauchi South in the red chamber from 2007- 2011. He was also appointed Minister of FCT (Federal Capital Territory) when Acting President Goodluck Jonathan announced his new cabinet.

### **Jibrilla Bindow of Adamawa**

The Adamawa state Governor, Jibrilla Bindow of the All Progressives Congress was also caught up in the web of inconclusive election as Umaru Fintiri of PDP scored 367,471 votes, while the incumbent governor, Jibrilla Bindow polled 334,995 votes. Results as announced show that Mr. Fintiri led with a margin 32,476. Following the principle of the margin lead, the slim difference of 32,476 votes was lesser than the 40,988 ballots cancelled because of various infractions in some polling units.

After the APC controversial primaries in the state, Governor Bindow was alleged to have forged his secondary school certificate, thereby prompting a rights group, Global Crusade Integrity Network (GICN) to file a case against him before an Abuja Federal High Court in September last year. Had the move by the group to get the governor indicted succeeded, one of President Muhammadu Buhari's in-laws, popularly known as Modi, who emerged the first runner-up in the primaries would have been a replacement.

Mr Bindow, a career business developer, represented Adamawa North Senatorial District from 2011 until 2015 when he ran for governor. He has not been stable with a political party for he went to the Senate under the PDP but switched parties when he observed in 2014 that the political atmosphere in the party did not favour his governorship ambition. In a recent analysis, Mr Bindow's performance appeared tailored towards his success from 2015. While he did well in the metropolitan Yola North and Yola South Local Government Areas, he was trounced in rural settlements like Lamurde and Hong.

Mr Fintiri, a former state lawmaker who served briefly as an acting-governor in 2014, appeared to be capable of displacing Mr. Bindow with a surprising performance in the Saturday poll. The votes gathered negate the pre-election analysis that he seemed not be fully prepared.

### **Samuel Ortom of Benue State**

Unlike some other governors, who challenged the decision of INEC in the governorship election, Governor Ortom of Benue State, says he is confident of victory in the supplementary polls after leading his opponent, Emmanuel Jime of PDP with 81,554

votes. INEC said its declaration of inconclusive election was based on statistics. The commission stated that 121,011 electorates were either not able to vote or election did not hold in their areas.

Mr. Ortom contested in 2015 under APC but dumped the party in 2018 over allegations of exclusion of stakeholders and senators in the party's affairs and the complacency of the federal government during the herdsmen attacks in the state. Also, his resignation from the party was not unconnected with the friction between him and the APC leader in the state, Sen. George Akume, who alleged the Governor of low performance.

In the eye of the storm, Mr. Ortom was served impeachment notice by Eight lawmakers under the All Progressives Congress who sat to impeach the governor. The process was halted by the federal lawmakers who declared it null and void. Meanwhile, the resignation of Mr. Ortom of the party boosted the performance of the opposition PDP in the state. This reflected in the Presidential election as the PDP candidate, Abubakar Atiku polled more votes than President Muhammadu Buhari and the three senatorial seats were scooped by the PDP candidates.

Mr. Jime of APC represents Makurdi/Guma federal constituency in the green chamber of the National Assembly. He is as well the Chairman of the House of Representatives of the salary bailout from the Federal Government. His opponent, Mr Useni was elected Senator for the Plateau South constituency of Plateau State, Nigeria in the 2015 national elections under the People's Democratic Party (PDP) platform.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/six-nigerian-governors-in-the-rerun-battle-to-retain-office->



## **Blind Dolphin- The second most endangered freshwater dolphin species in world**

BISMA SHAMSI

*The Indus River dolphin, locally known as 'Bhulan' or the 'Blind dolphin' is one among the South Asian River Dolphins and is one of the world's rarest animal that is the second most endangered freshwater dolphin species in the world.*



A flagship species, this dolphin is an indicator of the biological health of the aquatic and terrestrial environment adjoining the Indus River. It is found exclusively in freshwater, living not only in the main channels, but also, during the flood season, in seasonal tributaries and the flooded lowlands. The scientific name for the Indus river dolphin is, 'Platanista gangetica minor'. The Indus river dolphin is one of around 80 known species of cetacea and one of around 40 known species of dolphin.

Due to their apparent small population size these marine mammals are currently considered endangered and hunting them is considered illegal. The Blind Dolphin has a long beak and a stocky body. It has a low triangular hump on its back in place of a 'true' dorsal fin. It is gray-brown in color, sometimes with a pinkish belly. The eyes are extremely small, resembling pinhole openings slightly above the mouth.

Blind dolphins are functionally blind having evolved without a crystalline lens or well-developed light-sensitive organ. However, this is not a disadvantage but an adaptation to living in the silt-laden turbid waters of the Indus where eyes are virtually useless, as very little light penetrates below the surface of the murky water.

The Indus River dolphin feeds mostly on several species of fish and invertebrates. It does much of its feeding at or near the bottom, using echolocation, swimming on one side, and probing the river bottom with its snout and its flipper. Although it is not usually considered to be gregarious, relatively high densities are found at sites where rivers join, in areas where the current is relatively weak, off the mouths of irrigation canals, and near villages and ferry routes.

In Pakistan, the blind dolphin is found in a small area of Indus River near Sukkur in the central Sindh province of Pakistan. It is endemic to the Indus River system in

Pakistan and is listed as endangered in the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Red List of Threatened Species due to an 80% decline in its habitat range as a result of the construction of barrages along the river (which has divided the population into five sub-population) as well as from water pollution, stranding in irrigation canals and accidentally becoming caught in fishing nets.

People who live by the Indus River call the dolphin 'susu' (an Urdu word) after the sound it makes - a sneeze-like breathing sound. These have a long pointed beak; the teeth are visible in both the upper and lower jaws even when the mouth is closed. They have a stocky body. And a low triangular hump on its back in place of a 'true' dorsal fin. It is gray-brown in color, sometimes with a pinkish belly. The eyes are extremely small, it does not have a crystalline eye lens, rendering it effectively blind, resembling pinhole openings slightly above the mouth, although it may still be able to detect the intensity and direction of light.

Navigation and hunting are carried out using echolocation. It does much of its feeding at or near the bottom, swimming on one side, and probing the river bottom with its snout and its flipper. The Indus River dolphin feeds mostly on several species of fish and invertebrates. A WWF Pakistan study in December said the number of the blind dolphin, is on the rise which is a significant positive development despite pollution threat.

During the survey of 808 km stretch of the main channel of Indus River which was conducted in April 2017, the ten members of WWF Pakistan found that the total number of dolphins was 1,816, with 170 dolphins between Chashma and Taunsa barrages sub-population, 571 dolphins between Taunsa and Guddu barrages sub-population and lastly 1,075 dolphins between Guddu and Sukkur barrages sub-population. The dolphin encounter rate was higher downstream Indus River with the highest population observed between Guddu and Sukkur barrages in Sindh.

In its report titled 'Signs of Hope for the Endemic and Endangered Bhulan,' WWF Pakistan noted that the species, almost at point of extinction a decade ago, has increased in number from only 1,200 in 2001 to 1816 in 2017.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/blind-dolphin-the-second-most-endangered-freshwater-dolphin->

## The uncertainty of Brexit

DICKSON EYINMOSAN JNR

*The Irish back -stop is an insurance policy which prevents a harder border control on the Island of Ireland. This is meant to prevent a re-emergence of a harder border on the Island after Brexit. A contrary option will no doubt plunge the UK on a tight economy corner which invariably might hinder economy growth and fast pace social reconnaissance.*



The tension at Westminster seems far from a near end as Prime Minister May continues to hit a brick wall with lawmakers over her negotiated Brexit deal. The Prime Minister who was forced by Members of Parliament to come out with a well plated plan B deal after her Brexit proposal deal presentation to the House of Commons suffered a disgraceful and terrible rejection across either side of the political aisle, stormed parliament with her newly crafted Brexit plan B. It was indeed a moments of reckoning as Theresa May made fierce eye contact with MP(s) most especially those who opposed her negotiated deal made with leaders in Brussels.

After the terrible defeat which heightens as one of the most painful lost by a Prime Minister in the annals of Britain politics in parliaments since 1924, one would have expected Theresa May to throw-in the towel given the magnitude of vote loss after lawmakers voted graciously against her proposed Brexit deal.

MP(s) voted by 432 votes to 202 to reject the deal, which sets out the terms of Britain's exit from the EU on 29 March. Indeed, it was a loss not even Theresa May could have imagined regardless of naysayers prior to the vote on her Brexit deal.

The terrible rejection of her Brexit deal on the floors of the House made her withdrew her plan A Brexit deal. She was however forced to gathered her acts together as she left the heart of Westminster Tuesday 15 January 2019 to Downing street where she sneakingly entered the famous Number-10 through the back door. It was a landslide defeat which apparently cast aspersion on the moral structure and confidence level of the British PM who has spent over 2 years trying to market her negotiated Brexit plan to both skeptics and non- Brexit hardliners.

The Brexit struggle which started in 2016 saw the quick resignation of former Prime Minister David Cameron whose stance on Brexit got defeated through a referendum process by a slight percent margin (52 percent to 48 percent) in favor to those who voted against his stance based on his preferences for the UK to remain in the EU. This was the referendum which brought about the Brexit negotiation process as Theresa May took over the reins of power with the simple task of delivering Brexit as it were. A beginning to a near end as many may assumed, obviously became an absolute clash of the titans between Brussels and Westminster. Two years after, the uncertainty of a positive Brexit seems an obvious reality as Theresa May tries to convince MP(s) in accepting her negotiated deal with EU leaders.

Though, it was a defeat for Theresa May, the reverse made it a win for several kinds of personalities whose stance on Brexit contrast that of the PM. Firstly, it was a win for non Brexit adherents who during the referendum voted to stay in the EU. To this group of persons, if Theresa May fails to achieve a positive Brexit move which indicates a no deal Brexit, then there a likelihood of a second referendum. Secondly, Ms May crushing defeat in parliament translates into a win for those who argue that her Brexit policy and negotiation needs a total overhaul and absolute re-alignment with the leaders in Brussels for a better deal. These are hard core Brexiteers who believe Theresa May's negotiation isn't in absolute compliance with the "Leave EU" stance for a good deal. Lastly, Theresa May moon-slide defeat meant a win for opposition LP frontier leader Jeremy Corbyn whose resentment for the PM deal cannot be overemphasized. For the likes of Jeremy Corbyn, a second referendum won't be a bad idea. The Labor party front man also holds the opinion that the UK needs a strong and strategic leader to negotiate the Brexit process other than Mrs. May.

After a surprise win of a "No Confidence vote" championed by the leader of the labor party following the terrible loss of Theresa May Brexit deal, Ms May returns to parliament three days after with a new Brexit plan which was presented before members of parliament Monday 21st January 2019. The new reconstructed plan was greeted with almost same apathy by a majority of MP(s) who felt there wasn't enough change from the former.

Reacting to her new plan B, Tory MP Sarah Wollaston argued that plan B is just like plan A. "It was like last week vote never happened." According to a majority lawmakers the presentation of a plan B Brexit position didn't respond to expectation. Despite a plan B presentation, lawmakers seems unsatisfied about what the PM deal entails. According to a majority of MP(s), the PM's new deal has no new infusion. The Irish Back-stop which seems to be the most contentious issue on her plan A Brexit deal is yet to be given a face lift as MP(s) frowns at her approach in getting Brussels to agree on a strategic negotiation deal that favors both parties fairly.

The Irish back -stop is an insurance policy which prevents a harder border control on the Island of Ireland. This is meant to prevent the re-emergence of a harder border on the Island after Brexit. A contrary option will no doubt plunge the UK on a tight economy corner which invariably might hinder economy growth and fast pace social

reconnaissance. Trade deals will be greatly affected if the Irish back-stop is not fairly negotiated to ease the medium of doing business between the UK and her European neighbors. Consequently, a wrongly negotiated back-stop could keep Northern Ireland more spell bound to EU rules in comparison to her UK folks. This might not be fair to those Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland, whose 10 lawmakers gave Mrs. May her parliamentary majority during the 2017 snap election where the PM lost a majority support to cements her job as Prime Minister.

Britain in recent time has become Europe biggest export market which had given the UK a master firm as a financial controller around the globe. This has indeed cements her maturity within the table of global investors whose view of Britain economy atmosphere translates into a perfect hub of doing business with great investment returns. A no-deal Brexit will no doubt affect businesses and big companies whose activities in the UK has recorded huge returns and achievements in time past. Should the UK not make good decisions about her Brexit plan on or before the deadline, then, there is no gain saying that a majority of these companies will have no choice but to jump ship for fear of a crushing business Waterloo.

In a recent message by plane-maker chief and CEO of Airbus Mr. Tom Enders, a no deal Brexit will mean a catastrophic ending for the UK. In his words, Airbus "will have to make potentially very harmful decisions for the UK." According to Tom Enders, it is a "disgrace" that the UK is yet to reach a concrete Brexit agreement which invariably is affecting certain firms at the moments who are seriously waiting for a Brexit decision before they make any new plans.

"Please don't listen to the Brexiteers madness which asserts that, because we have huge plants here, we will not move and we will always be here. They are wrong," he concluded.

An open border was a key premise during the 1998 Good Friday agreement which brought an end to decades of conflicts in Northern Ireland.

"The government still appear not to have come to terms with the scale of defeat in the House of Commons last week" -Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the Labor Party reacting after Ms. May presented her Brexit plan B. Today heralds the start of a democratic process where this House will debate amendment that will determine how we navigate Brexit," he stated.

The Brexit uncertainty might give room to the extension of article 50 as many have argued. However the case, a no deal Brexit is invariably a wrong move should the UK mistakenly leave the EU come march 29 without a deal. Theresa May must move across the aisle so as to get valid suggestions from opposition lawmakers which include hard-core Brexiteers and other MP(s) who look forward to lending their unflinching supports should Theresa May extends such gesture in a convincing and honest manner. The House seems to be in unionism on this as a majority frowns at a no deal Brexit. If Mrs. May could key into this Brexit deal alliance among lawmakers, then there is

every possibility that she may just be the Joshua to leading the UK out of the EU with a good deal.

Either-ways, leaving with a good deal meant fraternizing with a whole lot of MP(s) and romancing convincingly with the leaders in Brussels. If this is done very well, then, Theresa May might just be another hero to be reckon with in the annals of British political existence.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/the-uncertainty-of-brexit>

## Trump and the border wall security equals a govt shutdown

DICKSON EYINMOSAN JNR

*This is the third time the Trump administration will be presiding over a shutdown in 2018. The first government shutdown began at midnight EST on Saturday, January 20, 2018, and ended on the evening of Monday, January 22. A second funding gap occurred on February 9, 2018. A third shutdown began on December 22, 2018, and is still ongoing which definitely may drag through the Christmas holiday*



Friday midnight December 21 was a very long night for congressmen on both side of the aisle as they hurried-on to averting the doomsday. A very cold night at the capitol hill, yet the heat wave was constantly unbearable as the tension grew even high. Both within the congress floors and the corridors of the west wing, the momentum grew even mightier at the stake of events.

This is the third time the Trump administration will be presiding over a shutdown in 2018. The first government shutdown began at midnight EST on Saturday, January 20, 2018, and ended on the evening of Monday, January 22. A second funding gap occurred on February 9, 2018. Although the funding gap only lasted nine hours overnight and did not interrupt government functioning or services. Despite the quick recovery of this deadlock, it was largely regarded by the media as a second shutdown. A third shutdown began on December 22, 2018, and is still ongoing which definitely may drag through the Christmas holiday.

For president Trump, nothing short of a border wall funding will bring his rationality back to play. Also, for congressmen, a compromise would just have been enough to averting what many saw as the inevitable given the odds on the table. The white house was ready for a no retreat no surrender game plan as they seem to have gotten it all scripted out in a fashion similar to the Trump America.

"We're going to have a shutdown," Trump affirmed in a video message. "There's nothing we can do about that because we need the Democrats to give us their votes. ... The shutdown, hopefully, will not last long."

With the events already set for a showdown, not even a Mitch McConnell or Chucks Schumer could save the day from the hurricane wind of Trump-ism. For president Trump, the battle line is drawn as there is no going back even if the hand of the clock is mechanically reversed. A decision has been made and so it must be followed to the latter even if it sounds ridiculously irrational. Indeed, all is always "good" when a Donald Trump conceives an idea in his white house full of screen actors ready to implement the script orchestrated by the CEO of the white house.

Donald Trump wants a border wall along the United States-Mexico border which according to the president would drastically stop the influx of illegal immigrant entering the United States through the southern hemisphere. This was a campaign slogan for the president during the 2016 presidential general election where he screamed vividly for the creation of a border wall security. Although, Donald Trump did not give a comprehensive analysis on the method of financing, he however noted infamously "Mexico will pay for the wall". The "How" and the "Why" has always been skipped as there seems not to be any concrete strategy geared towards the financing of this wall.

Mexico paying for a border wall in the United States! Ridiculous as these might seem, yet it became a gospel hugely accepted by both adherents and die-hard who obviously was basking in the euphoria of global populism as at that time. While right thinking Americans wondered aloud the rationale of meeting the impossible, die-hard gallantly sang songs of victory unto the campaign trail of Donald Trump.

The shutdown of the government officially went into effect at 12:01 a.m. Saturday morning as the House and Senate adjourned on Saturday with negotiations stalled between the White House and congressional leaders over border wall funding.

The exact funding for the border wall is not precisely known in actuality, but the president is asking for a spending approval of 5 billion dollar which according to him will be a good start in actualizing his long day dream of mounting a border wall security along the US-Mexican border.

"We don't want people coming in that aren't supposed to be here," he said in the video Friday at the wee hour given great credence to his border wall request. "The only thing that is going to stop that is great border security. With a wall or a slat fence or whatever you want to call it. But we need a great barrier and if we don't have it, it's never going to work."

The president needs at least a clear on both side of the aisle to gain the 60-vote threshold for passage which automatically puts it on the president desk for immediate approval. But things has not gone his way given the hard stance of democrat congressmen who think the idea is wasteful and unproductive to the American people. Though, a few Republicans share similar opinion as they think money should be used on IT securities rather than go the extreme for a border wall which carries no economic importance.



Although, Democrats are considering a \$1.6 billion in border security funding, but this might not go down well with the estimate request from the White House whose intents is to create a brand new border wall. According to the leader of the conservative House Freedom Caucus Rep. Mark Meadows, R-N.C, they and Trump would be willing to accept a deal with less than \$5 billion in wall funding, if other conservative border security and immigration provisions were included.

This shutdown would leave a complete dysfunction of government operations which extends over to some other federal outstations and departments. Nine of fifteen federal departments viz; Homeland Security, State departments, Smithsonian, Transportation, NASA, Interior departments, Agriculture, and Justice departments will experience a hitch in their discharge of duties and functions. Majority of NASA employees will be on a leave of absence without pay. National parks will be slightly affected as some services will be on course while others remains closed.

As for the Agriculture departments, food inspection will still be on course but other essentials will be shutting down. Justice departments will most likely remain open and operational, Russia investigation will be on course.

State departments will be shutdown, though passports will be issued. Also, over 24,000 air traffic control staff, railroads inspectors will remain at their duty post. On a Similar note, president Trump, will have to sacrifice his Florida holiday trip as a burnt offering sacrifice for his border wall plea bargain showdown. No holidaying for the 45th president of the United States whose border wall idea has brought about this shutdown of government operations.

The US-Mexican border is an international crossing which separates both Mexico and the United States extending through the pacific in west to the Gulf of Mexico in the eastern pole. The U.S. states along the border, from west to east, are California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The Mexican states along the border are Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas. It has been regarded as the most frequently crossed international boundary among other border points around the world. It has an approximate value of over 350 million legal. crossings taking place annually.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/trump-and-the-border-wall-security-equals-a-govt-shutdown>

## The Venezuela Uprising

DICKSON EYINMOSAN

*From hyper-inflation rate index to an absolute devastation of the Bolivar currency, the economy calculation on until 2015 have continued to be bedeviled by gross negative indices tripled by the unending political miscarriages largely responsible for the worsening state of the socio-environmental hardship. Venezuelan's have painfully and obediently endured series of political ineptitude, gross economic annihilation, social discomfort, and a debilitating state of leadership failure.*



The recent events in Venezuela has drawn series of attention around the nook and crannies of global relevance. The Bolivarian Republic is at the height of losing it all if this political uprising gravitate into a civil war as already preconceived by incumbent president Nicholas Maduro whose recent utterances makes situation rather worse.

The once oil rich nation is at the brink of both leadership and political collapse arising from leadership failure and government dysfunction. The Venezuela situation reckons first as that of a flourishing oil industry running at a colossal loss. Indeed, it is fair to say that leadership Stereotype in the southern American nation has lost the primary focus and tenets of governance. From extreme poverty to gross humanitarian crisis, the sad story emanating from Caracas relays very apparently the gross disregard of law and order on the side of the incumbent administration led by Nicholas Maduro. The self-styled authoritarian leader since 2014 has continued to governed the once oil rich nation through dictatorial whims and political caprices.

From hyper-inflation rate index to an absolute devastation of the Bolivar currency, the economy calculation on until 2015 have continued to be bedeviled by gross negative indices tripled by the unending political miscarriages largely responsible for the worsening state of the socio-environmental hardship. Venezuelan's have painfully and obediently endured series of political ineptitude, gross economic annihilation, social discomfort, and a debilitating state of leadership failure. It is no longer news that an average Venezuelan citizen live very below a cent which obviously contradicts various international charter and conventions on living standard indexes.

Since Maduro took over the reins of power in 2013, following the death of Hugo Chavez, the southern American nation has since not know peace. The administration has been found wanting in almost every instances of Human Rights abuses, opposition muscling, and a total abuse of power, and office.

With a manhandling of the nation's economy, the annual inflation rate reached a record 1,300,00% in a whole cycle year extending viciously to Nov.2018. Sadly, the economy became very much heightened at the exit end of 2018 were prices of good and basic commodities kept increasing on an average of 19 days interval. It has been a situation of living from hand to mouth in a country known to have the largest oil reserves globally. Ranked among the top ten exporter of oil prior to the coming of the incumbent administration. This negative changes has indeed made a vast majority of the people to make very quick yet difficult choices as millions of Venezuelans continues to ply very narrow route to neighboring Colombian and other southern American nation in search for greener pastures and safety.

According a UN report, an estimated three million persons have fled the troubled nation since 2014 and still counting.

Maduro, a former taxi driver rode to power officially on April 19, 2013 shortly after the death of foremost leader Hugo Chavez whose third term bid was cut short by his demise on March 5th 2013. The current heightened political crisis in Venezuela culminated on Jan.10 2019 when the incumbent on the expiration of his first term in office was inaugurated for a second term in office by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Tribunal of Venezuela Maikel Moreno. This was as a result of his reelection which he won in a fraudulent and contrived process on the 20th of May 2018. An electioneering process many international observers perceived as a rape unto democratic tenets and norms.

This single act of democratic deviance and a flagrant show of disrespect to the people of Venezuela through a fraudulent and micromanaged electioneering process, the international community immediately dissociated themselves from recognizing Nicholas Maduro as a legitimate president. According to the organisation of American states and other western powers, a fresh election must be considered if fairness and equity must be maintained. A request Maduro stubbornly ignored with apparent disdain.

This made countries like United States, UK, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, Japan, Australia, and other EU nations like Finland, Ireland, Austria, Netherlands, Poland, Czech Republic, Sweden, Spain, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Estonia, Denmark, Belgium, Malta, among other nations in considering a new govt for Venezuela as they perceived Maduro presidency as illegitimate and a dictator to the core.

The Lima Group comprising Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Saint Lucia in a statement joined the bandwagon of rejection of the election of Nicholas Maduro. Ac-

cording to this group, the Venezuelan govt led by Nicholas Maduro has erred on the side of ethics and good conduct in complying with international best practices for a free, fair, and transparent elections.

On the reverse coin, nations like Antigua and Barbuda, Belarus, Bolivia, China, Cuba, Dominica, Egypt, El Salvador, Iran, North Korea, South Africa, Russia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Syria, Turkey (the only NATO member) and the disputed state of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) recognized the election result as they stand with the incumbent.

On the flip side of the coin, the organisation of American states after a special session of its Permanent Council resolved a resolution by taking a stand on the illegitimacy in Venezuela. The National Assembly invoked a state of emergency which made a majority of nations to remove their embassies from Venezuela and their diplomats recalled. According to them, Maduro's clinging to power meant an illegitimate de facto dictatorship which is unacceptable according to best practices.

On the 23rd of January 2019, the Venezuelan National Assembly declared Juan Guaidó as an interim president by that organ. Immediately he was swiftly adopted as the legitimate president both on the international and local stage. From Washington to London down to Paris, Mr Juan Guaidó of the Centrist social democratic popular Will party became the beautiful bride of the majority within the international flair through policies articulation on a candid level.

At this level, the political uprising got to a climatic momentum which have brought the southern American nation to a fresh start towards the near end of her long standing leader who in recent times has chose to rule Venezuela by decree.

In a recent interview with the BBC Orla Guerin on Feb.12, Maduro blasted all those who think Venezuelans are suffering. He however denied the current humanitarian crisis bedeviling the troubled nation. According to the de facto leader, the current situation as painted by the Westerner's is a fairy tale cooked up in the figment of their imagination.

"Do we have problems? Yes. But Venezuela is not a country with hunger.

Venezuela has the highest levels of nutrients, has extremely high levels of access to food and that stereotype, that stigma that they have tried to put on us, has only one objective: present a humanitarian crisis that does not exist in Venezuela, in order to do an intervention".

While Mr Juan Guaidó has tried to liaise with the Venezuelan military in an attempt to win a majority of their support so as to reopen the blocked Colombian border in Cúcuta through which foreign aids comes into the country in an attempt to placate the sufferings of millions of Venezuelan's, Nicholas Maduro seems adamant in believing in his own self delusions.

" Venezuela has dignity, Venezuela produces and works and our people do not beg from anyone", He told the BBC. "I am telling you that the BBC in London has created a stereotype - the American media also - of a Venezuela that doesn't exist".

"We have 4.4% of what we call extreme poverty, misery. Of course this is still something that we have to overcome, but we came from 25% of extreme poverty, and we have reduced all the indexes of inequality".

The Situation in Venezuela is at a near end, the country is been faced with serious humanitarian crisis, the uprising continues to stare hardship in a land once known for her richness. The question remains thus: Who will save Venezuela from this shackle of extreme poverty and gross political uncertainty? How close is Juan Guaidó is making history?

To understand the real issues prior to the culmination of events in Venezuela, find time to read this article written 22nd September 2018 <https://youth-journal.org/the-venezuela-crisis-and-the-dictatorial-rule-of-nicholas-ma>

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/the-venezuela-uprising>

# The Obstacle of Indonesia's Infrastructure Development

DINDA DEWINTA

*Over the past few years, infrastructure has been the star of Indonesia's economic growth. Decent infrastructure is an important element in development in Indonesia, which has more than 17,000 islands.*



## Indonesia's Infrastructure Ambition

Infrastructure is considered as the main input to reduce inequality, increase productivity and drive the economy. The lack of quantity and quality of infrastructure in Indonesia has become a concentration in every era of government. Under President Joko Widodo's government, Indonesia has committed to developing infrastructure worth to IDR 4,796 trillion (approx. USD 358 billion) between 2015 and 2019, including developing large-scale transport, utilities and ICT, as well as new schools, hospitals, and water supply and treatment plants.

The National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019 has been drawn up through Presidential Regulation No. 2/2015 which contains the development plan for the next 5 years to achieve the target of infrastructure implementation include: (1) Availability of infrastructure according to spatial planning; (2) The development of transportation network; (3) Fulfillment of reliable and efficient power supply; (4) Start of utilization of nuclear power for power plant; (5) Realization of conservation of water resources and the fulfillment of drinking water supply for basic needs Rural infrastructure development supports agriculture; (6) Fulfilling shelter needs supported by long-term financing system; And (7) The realization of a city without slums.

The identification of infrastructure development programs in some countries concludes that in general programs are targeted in the medium term with a focus on increasing basic needs and human connectivity, from water, electricity, energy, to transportation (highways, railways, ports, and airports). Meanwhile, infrastructure performance is a key factor in macroeconomic performance, government efficiency, and business efficiency. Moreover, infrastructure needs to global competitiveness.

Infrastructure has a significant role and diverse in development, both in physical-environmental, economic, politic, social, culture and other context. Infrastructure is a driving force to economic growth for a country. In Indonesia case which has many islands, infrastructure is the main key to boost connectivity between regions and between islands. A statement from World Bank (1994) state that an average 1 percent increase in infrastructure stock will be associated with a 1% increase in GDP.

The linkage between infrastructure and economic growth is inseparable from the function of infrastructure as an enabler of economic activity. More than 200 infrastructure projects in Indonesia are believed to be able to reduce regional disparities. It is obvious in The National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019 that Indonesia wants to narrow the gap between west and east Indonesia. Also as the direction in The National Long-term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2005-2025, Indonesia aiming to reach the position as one of the middle income countries. In order to achieve these targets, required significant economic growth of 6-8 percent per year. Investment in infrastructure has direct impact on the country's economic growth. However, developing Indonesia's infrastructure both hard and soft is not easy after all due to Indonesia has many islands.

Based on Global Competitiveness Report (2018), Indonesia ranks 71st out of economies in terms of infrastructure development. There is also a physical infrastructure gap between Indonesia and Japan about 30 points. This is certainly adding the long list of homework for Indonesia to be able to compete with other countries in the world, especially Asia.

When Indonesia developing adequate infrastructure it will have impact for economic development such as reduce high logistic costs, increase business competitiveness, create social justice when, for example, the population in some region face difficulties to reach healthcare facilities and school for children. It is widely accepted that infrastructure have positive impacts on productivity and economic performance and also give rise to large social gains.

### **Financial Issue in Indonesia's Infrastructure Development**

Infrastructure development cannot be separated from public-private partnership (PPP). The development of infrastructure is overseen by dozens separate government entities, most notably the Ministry of National Development Planning (BAPPENAS), the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and its Government Investment Centre (PIP), the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, the Ministry of Transportation (MoT), and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing.

PPP development is also supported by the Committee for Acceleration of Prioritized Infrastructure Delivery (KPPIP), formed in 2015 to expedite PPP implementation. Based on KPPIP, Indonesia has 8 priority infrastructure sectors development which includes transport (road, railway, and airports), water and sanitation, electricity, port, and information technology. Also, based on President Regulation No. 56/2018, In-

Indonesia has 227 national strategic projects that spread from west to east Indonesia. These projects use funds from the state / regional income and expenditure budget and some projects use the PPP system.

The National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019 approved infrastructure development targets such as 1,000 kilometers of toll roads, 2,650 kilometers of roads, 15 airports, 24 ports, 3,258 kilometers of railroad tracks, 60 ferry boats, MRT in 23 major cities, 49 reservoirs, 33 hydropower plants, up to 32.5 million clean water connections. The need for this infrastructure development budget reaches \$425 billion, with the state budget capability of only \$130 billion.

On the other hand, the Indonesian Government does not have enough budget to finance all these infrastructure projects. Indonesia's fiscal capacity, in this case, is limited. Infrastructure commitment of the Indonesian government focuses on capital expenditure throughout 2010-2017 with no tendency to increase capital expenditure which tends to be stagnant. However, the nominal rose from Rp 80.3 trillion in 2010 to Rp 208.7 trillion in 2017, but as a percentage of GDP capital expenditure has not changed much, averaging 1.58% of GDP in 2010-2014 to an average of 1.56% of GDP in 2014-2017.

Finding financial resource for infrastructure development is possibly the biggest problem. The government must know their limits. As pointed out above primarily total of worth of investment in infrastructure, the central and local state budgets can only contribute 41 percent to the financing, while state-owned companies can contribute up to 22 percent. This implies that 37 percent of funds (equal to IDR 1,752 trillion) need to originate from the private sector.

One of the problems is, however, that generally there is little enthusiasm from the private sector to commit to long-term and capital intensive projects. Moreover, in the case of Indonesia, the long-term and capital intensive projects face several risks because the investment climate is not optimal. This is due to several factors such as land acquisition, bureaucracy, and change of leadership that is more priority than the previous leader. However, it will require innovation to achieve Indonesia's much-needed infrastructure both in term of the funding scheme, investment climate, and policy. It will take a lot of works to fulfill those targets if the government cannot build a system that is good in any way.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/the-obstacle-of-indonesias-quos-infrastructure-development>



# Ethiopian Government Approach to Afar pastoralism: Between Theory and reality

JEMAL MUHAMED ADEM

*The recent global trend has witnessed an increasing vulnerability of the local communal ways of life and their resources with the expansion of state projects into previously inaccessible areas. As states hand stretched to these areas a new dynamics of relation between the local community and state emerged. While the state's justification for its present in the area is mostly lay on developmental activities, the local community's right to use resources ultimately threatened by the state.*



Particularly, local community's ability to use land becomes curious along with state's allocation of land for huge development projects like commercial agricultural investment and industrial infrastructure development. The approach of Ethiopian state holds to Afar pastoralist community maintains the above patterns as part of global reality. Ethiopia is a very diverse country in many respects ranging from ethno-religious composition of its population up to ecological discrepancy across the country. For long part of its history the country had under strong centralized authoritarian regimes. In 1991 the country has undertook a political transition with new coalition EPRDF government. The new government adopted a federal state structure based on the idea of accommodating various groups in the country by granting them the right to administer their own affairs. Afar pastoralist community is one of identity group that has gained recognition of self-government under new government. Despite the formation of autonomous administrative region for Afar pastoralist community under the new constitution, the people could not manage their own affairs as it was promised. It is mainly due to the continuous economic encroachment and expropriation of pastoralist resources by the national government under the banner of development projects. This paper attempts to show how the local community's right to manage its economic resources compromised by centrally owned development policies.

## 1.Introduction

There are various debates about what role of the government should play in economic life of the society. Such debates are byproducts of the political ideology or principle

followed by a particular discussant. In this regard we can find the people who mainly influenced by the western liberal tradition arguing that government should refrain from economic matters. These groups of people believe that the healthy economy can be achieved by free market principle. To justify their argument they mentioned the post-industrial and economically advanced states in the western world. On the other hand, plenty of scholars and policy makers argue that government's strong involvement in the economy is vital to bring economic and social development. The proponents of this idea are mainly from developing countries.

Ethiopia is a very diverse country both in socio economic and cultural, and ecological terms. The political economic history of the state demonstrates the win lose patterns of relations between various regimes and groups in the long history of the country. Since 1991 the country has adopted federal system of government and administrative structure that reassemble the country out of nine ethno linguistically divided regional states and two chartered cities. The idea behind the political transformation to ethnic based federalism was to grant different localities political autonomy to decide upon their matters and manage and utilize their economic resources.

Now a day, Ethiopia has several socio economic and political problems that negatively affect the life of individuals, vertical and horizontal relations between groups and between groups and government respectively. Among the other, this paper appraises the political transformation of ethnic federalism in reference to the lived realities of regional autonomy and economic empowerment of ethnic communities, by taking the national governments development strategies and activities towards the Afar pastoralist communities in Ethiopia. The focus of the direction here is that how the EPRDF has infringed upon regional autonomy and the mechanisms of exploiting the local economic source of the people through its development discourse, despite its declared commitment to regional autonomy equitable development.

The central argument in this paper is that the political transformation in Ethiopia since 1991 not only failed to address the key demand of pastoralist community but also serve as a legitimatizing tool of expropriation of local economic resources by the regime. The paper also argued that the developmental approaches and activities of the central government is in contrary to the basic values of democracy as it erodes the property rights(economic security) and societal security of the pastoralist community. To justify this position the paper relied on the existing political, legal, semi-legal, institutional and normative references vis a vis the available works on the practical experience on the ground in relation to the rights and treatment of pastoralist community by the regime. The paper recommend that the real political transformation and community development can only be achieved by making Afar pastoralist part of policy articulation at the center. In other words, the development strategy of the government both at local and national level shroud is based on local economic, environment and societal contexts of Afar pastoralist community to be effective. The efforts to do so should start by the genuine political inclusion of Afar pastoralist community to have its own say in policy articulation process.

## 2. Pastoralism at a Glance

Pastoralism is a way of life for people who derive most of their income or survival from rearing and keeping domestic live stocks in arid and semi-arid climatic conditions. A range livestock species such as cattle, camels, donkeys, and shoats are raised for various purposes including milk and meat production, trade and transportation (Kelemework, 2012). Pastoralism has not only economic, but also socio-cultural and cosmological values (ibid). As a system of social organization pastoralism encompasses all socio cultural, economic, administrative, and environmental and resource management, conflict resolution systems in accordance of which pastoralist community lead their life. Beside inward contribution to the member of the society, Solomon (2006) argued that pastoralism also makes a very significant contribution to the national income, employment, agricultural production, and food supply at macroeconomic levels in several countries of the world.

Despite this reality, for long of its history a little have been said, acknowledged and documented about pastoralism the economic benefits of pastoralism either as social values or its contribution to national economy and foreign currency earnings in public policy orientations of many countries (Odhiambo, 2006). Also pastoralist communities are politically and economically marginalized sections of the society all over the world.

The past two and three decades has witnessed an increasing attention to the major pastoral development issues and a tendency of humanistic approaches by most scholarly works to pastoralism as one component of human kind with its complexities. Most contributors have recalled governments to reshuffle their policies to be pastoralism friendly and to move away from traditional understanding of the system as under civilization. Most problems that pastoralist community in different countries face today like conflicts and insecurity, declining of livestock product, violation of land rights, insufficient provision of services and infrastructure, political and economic marginalization, drought and dependence on food aid are the byproducts of policy makers of misleading approach than the malfunctioning of pastoralism as social system (Eyasu & Feyera, 2010, Pavanello, 2009). Behnke and Kerven (2011) particularly argued that the single most critical obstacle to contemporary pastoral society is the erosion of its right to resource ownership or resource alienation. According to them pastoral land rights are at risk by state's land grabbing activities with introduction of large scale commercial agriculture and construction of hydropower projects to the pastoralist areas which the later commonly managed previously (Behnke and Kerven, 2011). This in turn affects the regular access to resources mainly river valley and lands up on which the entire economic performance of pastoralism, its capacity to support human populations and to maintain ecological balance relied on (Ibid).

Generally, pastoralism is the predominant production and livelihood system in the arid and semi-arid dry lands in various parts of the world. Yet its values to household means of livelihood and national economic development are hardly appreciated (Odhiambo, 2006). As pastoralism is a human culture in its complexities and its re-

relationship with nature and as moral code of conduct is emerging out of the interplay with nature, dealing with pastoralism needs various considerations by policy makers.

### **3. Afar Pastoralism in Ethiopia**

Located in the eastern horn of Africa, Ethiopia is home of about 1.4 million Afar pastoralist community and a little more than half (52 percent) of total surface area of the country falls in Afar Regional State (UNDP, 2014). As a result of 1991 political transformation, Afar people has gained their own administrative region out of nine administrative regions of Ethiopia. The Afar region is located in the north-eastern Ethiopian lowlands, outside bordering with Djibouti to the east, and Eritrea to the north and domestically with Amhara, Tigray, and Oromia regional states.

Historically Afar pastoralists have been the most marginalized groups in the policy arena and their development has never been part of the national development plan in Ethiopia (Bekele and Padmanabhan, 2008; Solomon, 2006). During the past regimes, pastoralists were considered to be wanderer who led a primitive way with wasteful natural resources usages (Bekele and Padmanabhan, 2008). It was to the influence elite's socio-cultural background from sedentary farming family not because of pastoralism's as ineffectiveness to support the human community under it. This trend has continued in present relationship between Ethiopian government and Afar pastoralist community. The policy approaches of both the past and current regimes altogether aimed to alter the Afar pastoralist's modes of production (ways of life) into sedentary Agriculture (ibid). Bekele and Padmanabhan (2008) argued that the development activities and policy approach of Ethiopian state to Afar pastoralist aimed at gradual transformation of the later towards agro pastoralism and finally sedentary agriculture.

The recent shift in politics with declining role of the state based on federal political structure under ethnic federalism, the current government has claimed to give priority to neglected regions and groups including Afar pastoral community (Bekele and Padmanabhan, 2008). To that end the current government has made significant steps to include constitutional phrases that gave pastoral community a right to manage resources at their disposal. However, the policy approaches and activities of the current government in relation to the community on the ground have proved against the constitutional promise since political transformation. As a result there is a sort of grievances and irritations among Afar pastoralist community against the government's approach to them.

Over all the subsequent regimes, from the past to present, notions of development and policy instruments have not been pastoralism community friendly by any standards. Matt Bryden, United Nation Development Program, Emergency Unite for Ethiopia Consultant (1996) described the condition as follow;

“Visions of development expounded by others have been neither beneficial nor attractive to the Afar. The Afar region requires a different approach from other parts of

Ethiopia: its climate, ecosystems, social and cultural norms, all point to the need for contextually appropriate, culturally relevant development strategies. The underdevelopment of the Afar region today is striking testimony to such policies. At least 80% of the Afar population relies on transhumant animal husbandry for subsistence, while a minority has settled along the banks of the Awash river, or have adopted a sedentary existence in communities along major transport routes. Sedentarisation, however, is not an option for the vast majority of the population. Like other nomadic communities, Afar pastoralism has evolved in response to hostile environmental conditions and the fragility of the local ecosystem, which renders other modes of existence impracticable, since they may disturb the environment's delicate equilibrium. This fragility of arid and semi-arid ecosystems thus dictates a culturally and ecologically adapted approach to development".

#### **4.The Government's approach to Afar people; Discrepancy between Theory and Practice**

The government of Ethiopia has been insisting to transform the country both politically and economically through its commitment to three values: federalism, democracy and development under the banner of democratic developmental state. The regime also spread the imaginary discourse about itself as a guardian of those who have been underside of history. However, the existing realities evidenced that such a holistic approach to political and economic development has not as yet become ingrained in Ethiopia, particularly in the Afar region.

The regime introduced some constitutional phrases under the present constitution that recognizes the right and privileges to pastoralist people. The constitution in article 40(5) clearly stated that "Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands". Bekele Hundie and Padmanabhan, (2008), view the article as the current government's commitment to grant constitutional and legal recognition of a common property for rangeland resources of pastoralist community. The government also incorporates a range of rights from traditional civil and political rights to socio-economic and group or solidarity rights that can serve as a reference to evaluate the approach of the government to pastoralist community. Under its part on the National Policy Principles and Objectives, article 89(5) the constitution appeals the government to respect both the social system and economic resources of the people in what referred as "government has the duty to hold, on behalf of the People, land and other natural resources and to deploy them for their common benefit and development". Sub article 6 of the same also stated as "government shall at all times promote the participation of the People in the formulation of national development policies and programs; it shall also have the duty to support the initiatives of the People in their development endeavors".

Since the 1991's political transformation, the government of Ethiopia has also promised to give development priorities to historically neglected groups which largely comprise Afar pastoralist community in what the former referred as affirmative action in pol-

icy languages. Ethiopia is also part of international institutions and legal regimes that guarantee the range of rights and protections for the pastoralist people which maintain resemblance with the category of indigenous community. Like for instance, the United Nations Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples under article 5 guaranteed pastoralist community to maintain their system stated as: "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State".

In political terms, the government frequently expressed its commitment to encourage pastoralist community in their political and economic life and presetting itself as their guardian by referring the bad treatment by previous regimes. Of course the government's narrative is part of the whole discourse of development and good governance under the ideological umbrella of developmental state.

Against all the above political and legal promises of government to Afar pastoralist community the former still undertaking inimical activities in the region in the name of development projects. The majority of governments plan and strategies show its tendency to change pastoral resources, values and ways of life from above. The key pastoralist's resource area in Afar region, "particularly the Awash valley, has been a prime target for various government 'development projects' (Getachew 2001, Piguet 2007, Yasin, 2008). Likewise the imperial and the Derg regimes approach to Afar, the TPLF lead EPRDF governments has been undertaking various development interventions along the Awash valley of the Afar region. Plenty of scholars including Dereje, 2008, Behnke, And Kerven(2013) and humanitarian agencies like UNICEF agreed that net result of the government's development interventions in the Afar region, is the dispossession of pastoralist resources like range lands, mineral(salt and potash) that ultimately lead to the political disempowerment of Afar pastoralist community both at local and national levels (Dereje, 2008). The central argument to be made here is that the political narrative of TPLF (EPRDF) to Afar pastoralist community as their guardian and protector provides only lip services to exploit the local people's resources by elites in TPLF and its local agencies Afar National Democratic party.

The political promise of regional autonomy compromises by regime's economic encroachment that put the pastoralist community alien to advantages of its resources. The government's justification of its activities is to bring development that enhances the economic benefits to both local people and national earnings. The state by the power vested in it took the land to build large scale sugar factory and commercial plantation without consulting the pastoralists (Dereje, 2008). Like their reaction to the previous regimes, the pastoralists expressed their dissatisfaction and opposition to the governments' expropriation of their lands and the implementation of the commercial farm schemes through damaging mature crops in the field (Bekele Hundie and Martina Padmanabhan, 2008).

The profile of major economic players and their respective power positions in the government's development projects such as in sugar factories, urban land, in produc-

tion and distribution of salt and other minerals in the region proves the marginalization of the Afar pastoralism despite the rhetoric of self-determination in post-1991 Ethiopia (Dereje, 2008, Behnke, And Kerven, 2013).

The regional economy is dominated by Afar's powerful elites and the regime close Tigrean who are connected through ethnic solidarity, geographic closeness (Zone 2) and economic networks. There is also significant number of economic actors in the region from Amhara people at micro level. However, these groups did not backed by patrimonial politics as the Tigrian and that of Afar business men who only come from zone two, near Tigray regional state.

The conscious members of Afar community are aware of discriminatory political economic game in the region. For them the regime lacks political willingness to foster socio-economic justice in the region, despite the constitutional rhetoric of local empowerment and regional autonomy (Dereje, 2008). As the government sought to build the gigantic factory, and expand plantation agriculture associated with it, a lot of pastoralist community has displaced from their prime grazing land. What makes thing worse is that these development projects don't open an employment opportunities to the local community as one normally expected with the establishment of the new factory in the area. Rather the government brought a large number of Tgrians to what Dereje, (2008:15) referred as "induce a massive influx of highlanders from Tigray region as laborers".

This created a sense of alienation and deprivation among the pastoralist community. According to Dereje, (2008), the large scale expropriation their land which is the only sources of survival for Afar pastoralist, the replacement of cotton farms previously owned by local investors by the state owned sugar plantation vis-à-vis with increasing job opportunities for Tigreans, have created even ethnic threat among Afar pastoralist community. To its clearer visibility the economic domination and disposition by more powerful economic actors, viewed and felt by Afars as an absolute political disempowerment (ibid). This is due to the strong link between political elites both at local and national and economic actors in the region. Over all political narratives of Afar pastoralist community largely lays on the sense of exclusion. In this regard,

One senior Afar official quoted by Dereje (Dereje, 2008:17) as "failure to reintegrate this disaffected group of people would create political instability in the region", uncovers the failure of federal government to respond to Afar pastoralist inclusionary demands both in political and economic terms. In a more generalized expression, the development plan and projects initiated and financed by the government "couldn't enhance the capabilities of pastoral households in a way that would enable them to derive full benefits from their land". (Bekele Hundie and Martina Padmanabhan, 2008:28). All this nullifies the political transition towards ethnic federalism which aimed at promoting political autonomy with the concomitant establishment of the Afar National Regional State. Hundie and Padmanabhan, 2008 argued that the economic encroachment of the regime in the Afar region annulled the political transformation by its own standards.

The actions of the government have neither felt by people nor democratic and developmental in practical sense. As a result pastoralists are concerned about the risk of expropriation and fear losing their land due to expropriation by the state. This is due to the coincidence of pastoralist migratory and herding economic system with government's land expropriation for commercial purposes (Cotula & Vermeulen, 2009)

Democracy, development and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. However, the experience of Ethiopian government developmental activities in afar region proves in different direction. As the governmental policies and development project saw to violet the constitutional right of the pastoralist community, discriminate local community from employment opportunities and domination of local economy by external actors. In this regard, democracy is based on the freely expressed will of the people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspect of their lives (UN, General Assembly, 1993). In this context of the position of Ethiopian government towards Afar pastoralist community is against the aforementioned rights though it ought to respect, promote and protect without attaching any conditions.

The only thing the government emphasizes in its political discourse is the nomination of officers in local legislative and bureaucracies. As the region can't utilize its resources to generate its own income due to misleading national government intervention in regions economy, the regional government for most of its part relied on the national government budget. This in turn weakens the regional officer's capacity to decide upon their own disposal. In other words, the economic vulnerability of the pastoralist community and their representatives in local administration compromises their civil and political rights and political autonomy respectively. In this regard, Democratic Socialist of America(2011) pointed out that "Social and economic rights play a critical role in democratic societies because political and civil rights cannot be exercised effectively by citizens who lack jobs, economic security, good health and the opportunity to educate themselves and their children" .

As the move of the government is totally against the pastoralism not only as economic system but also socio-cultural and environmental management mechanism, it negatively affects the pastoral community in many ways. In first place, government's developmental project has created economic insecurity among local community. Economic security revolves around access to the resources, finance and market and necessary level of welfare to sustain (Buzan, 1983). Secondly the action of the government is against the societal security of the pastoralist community. According to Paul, (2008) societal security refers to the right and capability of the society to sustain and preserve the traditional patterns of tradition, culture, and custom. In this case the government's move to replace pastoralism with state owned sedentary agriculture can be considered as reshuffling pastoralist's social system.

The environmental dimension of security is also imperative to consider the case. Pas-



toralism is a way of managing resources in arid and semi-arid natural environments by mobile settlement of animal population on seasonal bases. Environmental security refers to “the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend”. In this context, it is arguable that governments action of replacing pastoral lands with sedentary agriculture against pastoralist’s environmental security as the area after the establishment of the project cannot support pastoralism as human enterprise. These actions of the government are also in violation of its constitutional responsibilities stated under article 92 sub article 5 and 6 with the theme of environmental objectives as “government shall endeavor to ensure that all Ethiopians live in a clean and healthy environment” and “the design and implementation of programs and projects of development shall not damage or destroy the environment” respectively.

As the paper proposes local and people center development approach to the case it is important to give an insight on local economic development. The idea behind this is that the economic empowerment of Afar pastoralism will bring the genuine political transformation and constitutional autonomy. Moreover, the people centered local contextual development policies would create healthy development in which pastoralist economy can play positive role to benefit the pastoralist community and national development efforts.

According to Rodríguez-Pose (2002), local economic development refers to the development policy and strategies designed for specific territory, locally owned and managed with primary objective of increasing local employment and economic growth. Local oriented development programs are based on participation of local stockholders in an effort to utilize local resources and to contribute for one’s future developments. In this regard, Canzanelli, (2001: 9) elaborated the concept of local economic development as “a process where the local actors shape and share the future of their territory. We could define it as a participatory process that encourages and facilitates partnership between the local stakeholders, enabling the joint design and implementation of strategies, mainly based on the competitive use of the local resources, with the final aim of creating decent jobs and sustainable economic activities”. Local economic development is also a private and community based affairs to what Zaaier and Sara, (1993: 129) referred it as “is essentially a process in which local governments and/or community based groups manage their existing resources and enter into partnership arrangements with the private sector, or with each other, to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity in an economic area”. What all the above definitions of local economic development share in common is that the formulation of development policies based on local concerns which ultimately cannot realized without political willingness at national level and parallel local political commitments.

## **5. Potential Values of Pastoralism Both to the community and the state at large.**

Afar Pastoralism in Ethiopia makes an immense direct and indirect contribution for the national economy and the pastoralists themselves, in spite its existence in some

of the harshest and drought prone parts of the country (Sahel Ethiopia, n.d; Solomon, 2006).

In this part the paper is going to assess the possible contributions Afar pastoral economy can make to support Ethiopian national development efforts without either negatively affecting the values of pastoralist community or their economic right to possess land and utilize resources. For that end the paper relied on available data from secondary sources and existing literature and project works in the area. The question here is how pastoralist's economy can be utilized for national development efforts without compromise itself? And how pastoralism can be integrated to national development endeavors? A lot of proposals have been forwarded by scholars, Policy makers and different agencies and stockholders working in pastoralist community development programs. Depending the position of particular advocator, various answers, perspectives, ideas and proposals have been forwarded by different entities in efforts to address pastoralists' problems.

On the side of policy makers usually there is a general perception that pastoralism as backward system with little potential for improvement, and pastoral lands are under-used. Accordingly state's policy should work to change the system and its resources particularly to sedentary and plantation agriculture (Eyasu and Feyera, 2010; Rass n.d). Actually this is the reflection of Ethiopian political landscape which is dominated by elites mainly from agrarian background. Even in the contemporary political and constitutional discourse of democracy and federalism, pastoral communities have not been represented in EPRDF coalition government. As the position of pastoralist in national politics is submissive the decision to replace pastoralism with contextually unfitted sedentary farming is articulated by groups who are not free from old narratives of pastoralism as nomad and uncivilized way of life. The political supremacy with cultural misperceptions on the part of policy makers lead them to favor externally imposed development agenda which in turn resulted in political and economic marginalization of pastoral communities (Rass n.d).

More recently new perspectives have been emerged as scholars, nongovernmental and government agencies and researchers working in pastoral development start to rethink the other way round to that of state, politicians and policy makers. They come up with the idea the need to cognize the importance of pastoralism as a system and the capacities of the community to manage the resource and maintain the natural balance of the environment. Most works call for policy reshuffling in the way that development can be achieved by accepting pastoralism as one of various human existences and the need to support grass root pastoralist community's effort to manage their lives. Accordingly externally imposed development programs have negative implications for pastoralist degeneration (Bayer and Getachew, 2010).

The evaluation of pastoralism and its contribution to national economy should focus beyond economic terms. This means that Afar pastoralism and its economy should support Ethiopian development efforts without doing otherwise for pastoralist community. This calculation rests on on pastoralism as given normative values including

the socio-cultural, economic and, environmental contexts of Afar pastoralist community.

Regarding environmental context, Afar pastoralist community lives in arid and semi-arid climatic conditions in Ethiopian north-East lowland region. The area remains dry and hot throughout the year. The pastoralist community relies on livestock production for its survival in economic terms (UNDP, 2014). However, animal husbandry is only one component of pastoralism. Pastoralism is a comprehensive system of life that includes economic, social and administrative, land and environmental management and cultural values. Their mobility is no random or arbitrary; rather it is based on calculation of climatic alterations from season to season. Afar pastoralism also contributed to maintain environmental balances. The traditional migratory lifestyle and knowledge of dry land resource management of Afar pastoralist enabled them to withstand drought and to maintain a healthy ecosystem in their communally managed rangelands (Solomon, 2006). In this way their contribution is to maintain natural environment or ecological balance.

As a social value pastoral society has their own social norms that regulate and govern the activities of the community in their daily lives. Economically, Afar pastoralist produce large amount of livestock population of the country which can enhance the national export if the government invest on it in steady belittling pastoral values. Domestically, pastoralism has supporting the sedentary agriculture in the highland like in providing an ox and camel with the highlander farmer is dependent for its productive activities (Sahel Ethiopia, n.d). In other words Afar livestock supply power for farming and transport that assist the highlanders to cultivate there farm land and transport their product. In this sense pastoralism has been playing complementary functions to sedentary productions. This also fosters the market interactions between central farming communities in the highland Ethiopia who provide cereal products for Afar pastoralists. Moreover, for Afar pastoralist in the lowlands of the country, livestock production is the major source of food (i.e. meat, milk) and non-food items such as transport services. Livestock is also the major sources of cash income from the sales of live animals and livestock products like milk, butter, hides, and skins for pastoralist community (ibid). Afar livestock production has an enormous contribution to Ethiopia's national economy and livelihoods of many Ethiopians, and still promising to give a hand for economic development of the country (Gezahegn, Birhanu, Nuru, 2015). Even without vital support, exports of livestock and their products are also the major sources of foreign currency for the Ethiopian economy (ibid; ICPALD, n.d)). Livestock products such as skins and hides have the largest share of exports followed by live animals (Ayele, Assegid, Jabbar, Ahmed , and Belachew, 2003). Afar pastoralism also has an economic importance of employment for the community members. This is due to its totally labour intensive nature that seeks unskilled human power (Behnke and Kerven , 2011). Afar live stocks also serve as a measure of wealth and social status in pastoral communities which makes part of social identity (Sahel Ethiopia n.d). More generally being significant contributor to the country's livestock production, Afar livestock production serve a range of functions for Afar pastoralist community as well as for the national economy including providing food, input for crop production

and soil fertility management, raw material for industry, cash income as well as in promoting saving, tourism economy, social functions, employment, maintaining ecological balance, and earnings from foreign trade (Ayele, Assegid, Jabbar, Ahmed, and Belachew, 2003; Solomon, 2006; Sahel Ethiopia, n.d). However, such a huge multi-dimensional (social, economic, environmental as discussed above) values of Afar pastoralism has been undermined and underappreciated.

## 6. Challenges to Afar Pastoralism

A lot of research works have identified several factors, ranging from harsh natural environment to cultural issues, for both declining contribution of pastoralism for local communities and its less utilization to national economy despite its immense potentials. However, this paper argues that the main challenge that has caused other interconnected problems that Afar pastoralist community faced and its low contribution for national income attributed to political exclusion of Afar pastoralist both in historical and contemporary Ethiopian political dynamics. The political landscape of Ethiopian state reveals about thin line between politics and economy. The exclusionary politics by highlander elites resulted in economic marginalization of Afar pastoralists. In the eyes of highlanders or political elites, who are mainly from agrarian background, pastoralism has been associated with nomadism or backwardness. Using their upper hand in the state politics the elites have intended to demolish pastoralism. All regimes from the past to present use the policy of development to justify their actions in pastoralist areas.

The actual use of development as a justification or instrument for state's economic encroachment to Afar's pastoralist land has started during the imperial era. Large scale state led development efforts were initiated in the Afar pastoralist areas in the mid-20th century and continued in socialist regime (Behnke and Kerven, 2011). The Imperial and the Dergue regime have communality for their exclusion of human element in the pastoral area development policies. Both of them have reduced pastoralism to a mere livestock production though pastoralism is far more than economic value (Solomon, 2006). To differentiate itself from its predecessors, the current government has taken steps to consider pastoralist community by introducing political and constitutional discourse of regional autonomy and the rights of pastoralist communities. Recently, the government also established state institution that directly deals with pastoralist community named Ministry of Federal and Pastoralism development affairs. This is the notable evidence of the regime's rhetoric approaches to pastoralist community, while the latter is not part of ruling coalition. Despite the constitutional promise for pastoralists the right to free land grazing and some steps took by the government to set up pastoralist development institutions and programs both at the national and regional levels, the Afar pastoralist still suffer from the government's misleading development projects in the area (Sahel Ethiopia n. d).

The aggregate effect of the government's approach to the Afar pastoralist community can best explain in the form of environmental security in reference to pastoralist com-

munity's ecological position in whole gamut of Ethiopian state. In this regard, the recurrent drought with its devastating effects on the rangelands, livestock, and the general livelihood of Afar pastoralists appeared to be the main area of concern that hunts the mind of various stakeholders working in the area (SOS Sahel Ethiopia, n. d). Most of the research works including Bekele and Padmanabhan, (2008), Behnke and Kerven, (2011) and Sahel Ethiopia, found that the reoccurrence of drought and famine in Afar region resulted from the change in natural environmental conditions due to misleading state intervention in Awash valley on which Afar pastoral livelihoods had established. Accordingly, the uncertainty in ecological conditions and insecurity of property rights has endangered the Afar Pastoralism system. Nodaway, when Ethiopian government frequently claims about the two digit development in the country's economy significant portion of Afar community are in hunger and starvation. The people of Afar, known for their milk and meat consumption, now look for foreign aids in the form of wheat and oil.

The degeneration of natural environment not only complicated the life of Afar pastoralist, but also its potential contribution to Ethiopian national economy. As argued above, the environmental crisis is caused by misinformed public policies of the central government. This in turn is the byproduct of political unwillingness of the regime to incorporate Afar pastoralist in the political center of Ethiopian state. The decisions only follows uni-linear top down instructions neither considering the particular context of the area and the people nor entertaining local communities. This emanates from fundamental misconceptions among policy makers about the pastoral production system as traditional and irrational and their lands as underused that seeks the task of development and modernization by state and its agencies (Eyasu and Feyera, 2010). As a result of these perceptions policies have favored externally-imposed development projects which in turn alienate and deprive pastoral resource rights. The state lead investment along the Awash valley resulted for every crisis Afar pastoralist face today. According to Behnke and Kerven , 2011 an access to resources mainly Awash river valley and lands are key determinants to economic performance of pastoralism, its capacity to support human populations and to maintain ecological balances. They further argued that large-scale irrigated cotton and sugar plantations in the Awash valley by Ethiopian government have resulted the alienation of valuable natural resources from Afar pastoralists communities, though the findings of their study revealed Afar pastoral livestock husbandry more profitable than cotton farming and sugar cane plantation.

This reveals that the government's development policy were inappropriate in the sense that it fails consider the cost and benefits these projects from the context of the community (i.e. mobility), environmental issues and the values of pastoralist economy to be loose of cotton and sugar cane. The reason for this only rests on exclusive decision making process at central government. If pastoralists had integrated in national development decision making process, they would have protected their community from pastoralist unfriendly development policies and projects and its results.

Beside the frequent drought and starvation, these state projects have been also con-

tributing for several resource conflicts among pastoralist communities due to swift competition for grazing lands. Oxfam International, 2008 pointed out greater pressure on pastoralist grazing lands and water resources in favor of state use together with increasing pastoralist populations, competition over grazing land leads to conflict among pastoralist groups. The imposition of unfriendly policies from above and the informal appointment of local elites and weak governance from below endangered the health functioning of the pastoralism system to support its clients. Another yoke to utilize Afar pastoralist economy for the national purpose is inappropriate development policies adopted by the state (Oxfam International, 2008).

## **7. Windows of opportunities.**

As stated above pastoralism as a system has economic, resource administration, socio-cultural, functions. An important point this paper want to forward is that the political authorization and integration pastoralist community in the policy articulation process should preceded any efforts to improve the life of afar community. Genuine political representations of Afar community at national level enable the national policies to design locally compatible development policies vis-a-vis effective local institutions and participation from below.

The political integration should emanate from attitude change from dominant political elites who have been viewed pastoralism as uncivilized and underdeveloped that await for their medication. To that end development policies should initiated and substantiated by research works. Of Course, there are plenty of works by individual scholars, and non-governmental organization, supporting the idea of local and pastoralist contextual economic developments ever since states encroachment to the area. However, there has been little political willingness and to consider the findings and recommendations from intellectual contributions.

As part of notable advice, this paper argues that the planet earth is so large enough to fit the variety of humankind and their activities so that each parts of the system has its value for well-functioning of whole. Likewise Afar pastoralism has its value and natural beauty with its socio economic and environmental values to the whole system (Ethiopia). So efforts at any level should to maintain and utilize this system than to degenerate it. One's tradition and civilization (Highlander's sedentary agriculture, in this case) should not be taken as a standard to evaluate others in the sense that every community with its own level of advancement is capable of maintaining itself. In this regard, pastoralism as an organization of human society provide the community member with means of living and norms to live accordingly. This follows that Afar pastoralism is part of various agro ecological, socio-cultural and human value resources that Ethiopian state endowed.

The immediate and inevitable question will be how Afar pastoralism and its economy can be used for national development without compromising its value?

Development is a very vast and complex phenomenon consisting of human up to material values like societal security, political participation of the grass root community member on their own affairs, the availability of socio economic choices and many more. A single development demand and efforts by any means should not against other values of development. In this context, the integration and utilization of Afar pastoralism to Ethiopian national economy mean an effort to address dual questions of political aggregation of the pastoralist in the upper politics of the state and socio-economic and administrative empowerment of the community from below. This enables the development policy and decision makers at national level to discharge their functions in pastoralism friendly ways and utilize pastoral economy for national development in a best ways. Apart from political representation and power sharing of Afar pastoralist at every level in Ethiopian polity, this paper recommends the following windows of opportunities to address the key economic demand of Afar people.

Local development initiatives; for development to take root and has sustainable effects it should evolve on local derive development initiatives than external players and executing agencies. Scholars in the field of public policy usually agreed on the fact that every problems to better defined and potentially solved by the victims themselves than someone else. In this case, the primary role of the government and other agencies will to initiate, guide, and support the community based development, rather than down warding unfamiliar development policies and projects. In this regard what I observe is that most developmental activities in that area are centrally planned and those at local level are carried out by office affiliated individuals.

Initiating and facilitating investment on pastoralism to utilize its potentials. A lot of governmental, international non-governmental organizations and foreign aid agencies claim and engage in the so called pastoralist community development activities. There tasks mainly focus on providing food stuffs, medical materials and the so called capacity building training. However, this kind of support couldn't solve the pastoralist community development problems. Rather it negatively affects the societal moral of the community as reliant on aids whose survival fails at the good will of others. In this regard Solomon, 2006 argued that the short and medium development policies of the current government focus to improve the food security situation of pastoralists, but in the long run the policy advocates for sedenterization of pastoralists based on development of irrigation agriculture. All supportive activities both by the government and foreign aid entities couldn't address the key demand of the people. Despite the operation of many NGOs and governmental projects under the banner of Afar pastoral community development and their discourses of sustainable development the life of the community gets worse and worse in reality. So the genuine capacity building activities in relation to pastoralist community should be in a direction creating enabling environment. In this sense investment on pastoralism includes the introduction modern technologies(veterinary services), expanding health and school (mobile), road infrastructures that help the people to access the local and international market, creating awareness on environment and resources management, respecting the people's land rights than aspiring to transform pastoralism into sedentary farming.

Fostering two ways communication between the local community and the people; the existing political reality reveals that the rule of the game in the region has been functioned between symbiotic relation between the elites at the center and their client at regional level. The bureaucratic position at local level is filled by local elites based on the good consent of the dominant TPLF elites than their administrative qualities and grass root popular support. The political economic ties between elites create a barrier between local people and government. Hence an attempt to advance Afar pastoral economy and utility for both the community and national goal should start by creating transparent two ways of local-center communication. It is because peoples understanding and attitude towards governmental policies and actions has its own effect on effective implementations of development policies and programs. The case in afar region demonstrates that the communication mostly occurs between government officials and local elites than the broader members of the community. As a result majority of the people have perceived the activities and projects in the area as something to exploit their resources for the benefit of government officials. This in turn makes the people to feel insecurity, government as a threat for their security which defies the very purpose of the government.

Last but not least, development plans should be relied on intensive researches and link to practical problems. For instance, according to Behnke and Kerven, (2011), Awash valley constituted only about 4-5% of potential lands that can be used for cultivation agriculture. However, the Afar pastoralist community has been entirely dependent on the river basin. If there had political willingness on the side of the government to consult with experts, it would have look for other areas with less opportunity costs and saved the Afar pastoralists from the crisis they face now and then.

## Conclusion

The 1991 political transition from old aged centralized authoritarian to democratic federalism in Ethiopia severed from socio economic reforms. Despite the governments' political rhetoric of empowering the historically marginalized Afar pastoralist community through Affirmative actions, the formers approach to later on the ground has witnessed in different directions. Although economic upper hand and control of the ruling elites manifests in every section of the society, the Afar region is discernible testament to what happens when economic infringement is sustained in the name of political transformation to federalism and regional autonomy. The people in the regional state rely on pastoralism with socio-economic and administrative functionalities like as a social bond, means of livelihood and symbolic values identity groups. For most its history this social system was viewed as rearward that nullifies its various meanings and role for pastoralist community and the greater polity at large. The recent political transition and reform of state structure had promised the freezing out of the community as an attempt to inculcate various values of Afar pastoralist communities to the development agendas. However the practical political economic game in the region demolishes the hope as exclusionary and discriminatory policies of the past in all its form sustained by the current regime. As a result, the community faced a range of



problems or challenges that threatened their survival as a community with its natural variety in Ethiopian polity. This in turn hurts the immense potential of Afar pastoralist community to Ethiopian national development. In general, Ethiopian the government as a primary state agency and actor to deal with pastoralist problems has created multifaceted problems for Afar pastoralist community using the political rhetoric of affirmative action and self-autonomy. This is mainly done in the name of development projects which actually have been strategies of dispossession the pastoralist community from their resources. The development efforts by the government contested with the health nexus of development and justice. So development in the Afar community should be approached from people's perspectives to avoid discordant which defy the meaning of development. The very begging must lay on political willingness to make pastoralist community part of decision making process at all levels so that they can articulate their own development agendas.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/ethiopian-government-approach-to-afar-pastoralism-between-t>

## U.S. Transportation Department Probes FAA's Certification of 737 MAX

MAULLINE GRAGAU

*New reporting claims that engineers involved in evaluations of the plane – a Boeing 737 Max 8 – knew there were flaws in the original report used to certify the model before it was approved to fly. Following the Indonesian Lion Air Flight 610 air crash in October 2018 that killed 189 people, the U.S. Transportation Department launched an inquiry into the Boeing 737 MAX.*



According to a Wall Street Journal report, the U.S. Transportation Department which has been probing the Federal Aviation Administration's (FAA) approval of the 737 MAX especially its new anti-stall control system known as MCAS (Manoeuvring Characteristics Augmentation System) has warned two FAA offices to safeguard computer files.

The *Seattle Times* also reported that Boeing's original 737 MAX safety analysis of MCAS that was used by FAA to certify the aircraft had fundamental flaws. According to the report, the system had too much power and lacked redundancy. The situation may have been compounded by FAA rules that permit aircraft manufacturers to self-certify.

*Seattle Times* spoke to current and former engineers on condition of anonymity about the safety analysis of the 737 Max control system. Those engineers told the newspaper that the safety analysis allegedly understated the power of the new flight control system, which was designed to swivel the horizontal tail to push the nose of the plane down to avert a stall."

The engineers said that the safety analysis report also claimed the system "failed to account for" the fact that it would reset when a pilot intervened. MCAS is designed to push the nose down if the 737 MAX's Angle of Attack (AOA) indicator detects an approaching stall or loss of aerodynamic lift.

### Angle of Attack

It is not easy defining what we mean by "angle of attack" without being too technical

but I will try to explain it in the simplest way possible. In order for an airplane to fly, we must provide it with a lifting force at least equal to its weight. In that respect there is no difference between the airplane and the airship; it is in the method by which that lift is provided that the difference lies.

Take a piece of stiff cardboard, for instance, and push it through the air in such a way that it is inclined at a small angle to the direction in which you push it, the front or *leading edge* being directly above the rear or *trailing edge*. You will find that the result of pushing the cardboard through the air is to produce on it a force which tries to push it upwards and backwards. The upward part of this force we call *lift* and the backward part *drag*.

It is quite likely that the upward force will be sufficient to lift the cardboard which will be supported in the air. The cardboard is, in fact, acting like the wings or curved aerofoils of an airplane. So, if we push it through the air at a small angle - this angle is what is known as the *angle of attack or the angle of incidence*.

The angle of attack used in flight is a small one because although a larger angle would give more lift, it would also create disturbance and cause more drag. So far as the lift is concerned, it increases as we increase the angle of attack provided that the air speed remains constant *but only to a certain limit*; after this, it begins to fall off.

Although the actual amount of lift given by the wing when this maximum limit is reached varies tremendously according to the shape of the aerofoil or cambered wing section, it is rather curious that most wings, whatever their shape of section and whatever their air speed, reach their maximum lift at about the same angle, usually between 15° and 20°.

## Stalling

If, when flying in normal flight, the angle of attack is gradually increased, the speed will also decrease, there being a definite speed corresponding to each angle of attack. Therefore, when the stalling angle of the aerofoil or wing is reached, the airplane will be flying at a speed called the *stalling speed* of that airplane. *If the angle of attack is further increased, the speed will continue to fall.* Thus the lift will decrease rapidly, and for two reasons.

First, because the angle of attack is past the stalling angle, and secondly because the speed is decreasing. Since the lift only just equalled the weight of the stalling speed, it will obviously fall below it when the speed is less than the stalling speed, and therefore the airplane will start to fall, usually dropping its nose rapidly and going into a dive until it regains flying speed. It is in this dropping of the nose, and diving before speed and control are regained, that the danger lies. Considerable height may be lost, and if the original height was not sufficient, the airplane will strike the ground.

It is precisely because of this dangerous situation that most commercial aircraft use

some form of "stick shaker" as a stall warning to pilots. Given the relative newness of the 737 MAX into the market, it may very well be possible that the MCAS system may have been triggered accidentally on both Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 and Lion Air Flight 610 under normal flight conditions, possibly due to faulty Angle of Attack (AOA) indicators.

### Understanding the MCAS System

The Max 8 uses a system called MCAS which is designed to stabilize the aircraft in flight. Boeing added MCAS after redesigning its 737 platform for the Max. The redesign changed the size and placement of the aircraft's engines, which altered how the jet handled in flight. The Max tended to raise its nose in flight, a movement called pitch. If an aircraft pitches too high, it risks stalling and crashing. MCAS is designed to automatically reduce the pitch in manual flight without pilot input. The system is constantly fed data from two synchronized wing-like devices called AOA sensors, located on the plane's nose.

If the AOA sensors detect the plane is pitching too high, the MCAS automatically adjusts the tail's stabilizer — the horizontal part of the aircraft's tail — to level out the plane. However, if the AOA sensors feed faulty or contradictory data to the MCAS, the system can force the aircraft into a dive, according to a Boeing service bulletin issued on November 6.

In its original report, Boeing stated that: "The MCAS system could move the horizontal stabilizer to a maximum of 0.6°. Following the Lion Air crash, Boeing told airlines that MCAS could actually push controls 2.5°, or half the physical maximum. Boeing reportedly increased the limit because flight tests showed that a more powerful movement was needed to counteract an impending stall."

Because of that, MCAS could have pushed the nose down a lot more than the FAA thought possible. An engineer who spoke to *Seattle Times* on condition of anonymity said: "The FAA believed the airplane was designed to the limit of 0.6° limit, and that's what the foreign regulatory authorities thought too. It makes a difference in your assessment of the hazard involved."

Boeing reportedly failed to account for the fact that the MCAS system could reset itself after pilots intervened thus compounding the problem. What this means is that the system could continuously push the nose down causing a catastrophic loss in altitude. Boeing and the FAA allowed the MCAS system to be activated by a single Angle of Attack (AOA) sensor as opposed to two of them because failure of the system was designated "hazardous" rather than "catastrophic".

The fact that FAA rules allow manufacturers to do some certifications of aircraft by themselves adds to the problem. Boeing reportedly tried to speed up the process in order to catch up to their rival Airbus's A320neo and pushed the FAA to give it more responsibility. Development of the 737 MAX, which offers cost savings of about 15% on

fuel, began in 2011 after the successful launch by its main rival of the Airbus A320neo. The 737 MAX entered service in 2017 after six years of preparation.

A former Boeing engineer had this to say: "There wasn't a complete and proper review of the documents. [the] review was rushed to reach certain certification dates."

The Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) said in a Monday statement: "We have no reports from whistleblowers [or] any other sources pertaining to FAA technical personnel being pressured to speed up certification of the Boeing 737 MAX."

Boeing, which is based in Seattle, echoed that statement with one of their own. Boeing said in their statement: "The 737 MAX was certified in accordance with the identical FAA requirements and processes that have governed certification of all previous new airplanes and derivatives. The FAA considered the final configuration and operating parameters of MCAS during MAX certification, and concluded that it met all certification and regulatory requirements."

Boeing sold the 737 MAX to airlines partly by pitching to airlines that pilots of older 737s would not need extensive retraining. The 737 MAX has larger more efficient engines that are mounted higher and further forward. Boeing developed the MCAS system to automatically correct for the altered aerodynamics and make the planes fly more like the earlier models.

Black box data obtained from the Lion Air Flight reportedly reveals that the system may have worked against the crew. After MCAS originally pushed the jet's nose down apparently due to a faulty AOA sensor, the pilots tried to regain control by hitting an override switch and pulling back on the controls. However, the system constantly fought back, and with the high 2.5° MCAS limit, could have pushed the nose all the way down after just two activation cycles. The aircraft eventually plunged into the sea at over 500 MPH.

Prior to the second crash, Reuters reported that the Lion Air Crash 737 MAX planes lacked a safety measure that might have helped the pilots to understand what was happening. Jets used by Southwest Airlines and other carriers had an "AOA DISAGREE" alert that can flag a faulty AOA sensor by comparing it to a second one. However, that backup system was reportedly optional and missing on both Ethiopian Airlines and Lion Air Jetliners.

This comes as Dagmawit Moges, Ethiopia's transport minister, said on Sunday that the latest crash showed "clear similarities" to a Lion Air crash with the same model of aircraft.

Dagmawit Moges told journalists that flight recorder data showed links between the crashes of Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 on March 10 and Lion Air Flight 610 in October 2018. Moges didn't offer up specific details to support her claim, but she did say the government would release a detailed report within a month or so.

Boeing issued a statement shortly after the transportation minister's press conference on Sunday, but it did not address her claims directly. Boeing stated: "While investigators continue to work to establish definitive conclusions, Boeing is finalizing its development of a previously announced software update and pilot training revision that will address the MCAS flight control law's behavior in response to erroneous sensor inputs," the statement said. "We also continue to provide technical assistance at the request of and under the direction of the National Transportation Safety Board, the U.S. Accredited Representative working with Ethiopian investigators."

Boeing did not respond to the *Seattle Times* report due to the ongoing investigation, other than saying that *"there are some significant mischaracterizations"* Boeing has promised a software update, but the FAA has now grounded the entire 737 MAX fleet - well after other nations had already done so. In the meantime, however, both FAA and Boeing are facing heavy scrutiny over the 737 MAX certification process.

Boeing stock to "hold" from "buy", giving the aircraft manufacturer at least its fourth downgrade since the crash, Refinitiv data indicated. Shares of Boeing have been on the decline since the Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 air crash on March 10, 2019. Boeing Company shares fell 3% on Monday, after the Wall Street Journal and Seattle Times Reports over the weekend raised more questions about the certification process for its 737 MAX jets before two recent deadly crashes. Boeing's shares were down 2.8% at \$369.20 in early trading, making them the biggest drag on the Dow Jones Industrial Average. Its shares, however, rose 0.3% on Tuesday, to close at \$373.43. They are still down more than 11 percent since the crash in Ethiopia.

Richard Safran of Buckingham Research notes that: "The Inspector General of the U.S. Transportation Department is going to be looking for any issues with respect to how management handled the certification process. The FAA will be called on the carpet for its role in the certification process and any contribution to the MCAS issue."

The French aviation authority, BEA, which has been working with the Ethiopian investigators confirmed Monday that upon inspection, the plane's flight data recorder did show clear similarities to the recording from the Lion Air flight.

Officials with the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) said they are working with the full cooperation of Ethiopian authorities to transcribe and analyze information retrieved from the flight data recorder, but that data hadn't been verified as of Sunday afternoon, sources with knowledge of the investigation told the writer.

In a letter from Boeing CEO Dennis Muilenberg, the company acknowledged that: "based on facts from the Lion Air Flight 610 accident and emerging data as it becomes available from the Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 accident, we're taking actions to fully ensure the safety of the 737 MAX. Work is progressing thoroughly and rapidly to learn more about the Ethiopian Airlines accident and understand the information from the airplane's cockpit voice and flight data recorders.

The full letter follows below: "We know lives depend on the work we do, and our teams embrace that responsibility with a deep sense of commitment every day. Our purpose at Boeing is to bring family, friends and loved ones together with our commercial airplanes—safely. The tragic losses of Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 and Lion Air Flight 610 affect us all, uniting people and nations in shared grief for all those in mourning. Our hearts are heavy, and we continue to extend our deepest sympathies to the loved ones of the passengers and crew on board. Safety is at the core of who we are at Boeing, and ensuring safe and reliable travel on our airplanes is an enduring value and our absolute commitment to everyone.

This overarching focus on safety spans and binds together our entire global aerospace industry and communities. We're united with our airline customers, international regulators and government authorities in our efforts to support the most recent investigation, understand the facts of what happened and help prevent future tragedies. Based on facts from the Lion Air Flight 610 accident and emerging data as it becomes available from the Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 accident, we're taking actions to fully ensure the safety of the 737 MAX. We also understand and regret the challenges for our customers and the flying public caused by the fleet's grounding. Work is progressing thoroughly and rapidly to learn more about the Ethiopian Airlines accident and understand the information from the airplane's cockpit voice and flight data recorders. Our team is on-site with investigators to support the investigation and provide technical expertise.

The Ethiopia Accident Investigation Bureau will determine when and how it's appropriate to release additional details. Boeing has been in the business of aviation safety for more than 100 years, and we'll continue providing the best products, training and support to our global airline customers and pilots. This is an ongoing and relentless commitment to make safe airplanes even safer. Soon we'll release a software update and related pilot training for the 737 MAX that will address concerns discovered in the aftermath of the Lion Air Flight 610 accident. We've been working in full cooperation with the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration, the Department of Transportation and the National Transportation Safety Board on all issues relating to both the Lion Air and the Ethiopian Airlines accidents since the Lion Air accident occurred in October last year.

Our entire team is devoted to the quality and safety of the aircraft we design, produce and support. I've dedicated my entire career to Boeing, working shoulder to shoulder with our amazing people and customers for more than three decades, and I personally share their deep sense of commitment. Recently, I spent time with our team members at our 737 production facility in Renton, Wash., and once again saw firsthand the pride our people feel in their work and the pain we're all experiencing in light of these tragedies. The importance of our work demands the utmost integrity and excellence—that's what I see in our team, and we'll never rest in pursuit of it.

Our mission is to connect people and nations, protect freedom, explore our world



and the vastness of space, and inspire the next generation of aerospace dreamers and doers—and we'll fulfill that mission only by upholding and living our values. That's what safety means to us. Together, we'll keep working to earn and keep the trust people have placed in Boeing.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/us-transportation-department-probes-faas-certification-of>

## Drug Addiction is Deadly

MOHAMED OKASH

*Humans love drugs because of its addiction; they sell their health, their souls, and their physical organs even their own children just to get to their beloved narcotics. Globally, 3.3 million die each year for the use harmful alcohol and some 31 had drug use addictions (WHO, 2008). Putting place a restrict rules is inviable to reduce and prevent the growing number of the young people effecting the drugs. Accessible Drug tests should be widely used in Work Places, schools and college and many others places in order to limit the drug usage and its addiction. Drugs are dangerous and deadly.*



Humans love drugs. A statement so true it's almost an understatement. Humans love drugs because of its addiction; they sell their health, their souls, and their physical organs even their own children just to get to their beloved narcotics. The appeal of drugs is very difficult to ignore; they provide an escape from the troubles of the real world, from all the disappointments, failures and insecurities to a surreal almost abstract representation of the real world where punches on you don't land, insecurities vanish, your worries disappear and you simply are the king of the world. Mind-altering narcotics work in an extremely different variety of ways. Some are called depressants, they slow down the function of the brain by slowing down the messages going to and from the brain, and they give a mellow relaxed feeling. They include alcohol, heroin and weed. Others, called stimulants are the exact opposite, they speed up the messages to and from the brain making you feel alert, confident and active. They include cocaine, ecstasy and nicotine. Globally, 3.3 million die each year for the use harmful alcohol and some 31 had drug use addictions (WHO, 2008). Hallucinogens distort reality and make you see and hear things that don't exist. These include weed, PCP, acid (LSD) and mushrooms.

The use of drugs may start off as recreational as a relationship with a new and exciting lover, but it soon turns dark and abusive. Drugs cause addiction, they take hold of you and never let go. The mechanism of addiction comes from the fact that our brains are wired so that we constantly repeat doing the things that make us feel good like eating food. Drugs target this "reward system" of the brain. They flood it with a chemical called dopamine. This gives you an intense feeling of pleasure, so you keep taking the drugs to keep getting that feeling.

In the mean, while the drugs run rampant in your body and give you a myriad of undesired effects on your health. They raise your heart rate, lower your appetite, weaken your immunity, and put you at risk to the endless list of diseases. At this point, your brain adapts by lessening the effects of dopamine on it so you don't get the same pleasure from using the drugs, so you raise the dose and use more drugs. Leading to lessened pleasure from the things you used to enjoy the most like having sex or eating food. So your body keeps adapting in a process known as "building drug tolerance" and you keep raising the dosage of drugs you take in and your health keeps worsening. You try to get out of this ride and stop using the drugs but you get violently sick when you try to quit. You're hooked for life. That's when your body can no longer cope with the ever raising dosage, you overdose. Your violent abusive lover has finally broken you. Your journey is over. You are dead.

The young people should be aware of burgeoning hidebound of these drugs and protect themselves from destructions. Drugs destroy people's lives, hopes, and health; it never contribute to people or nations' wellbeing and progress. The young should always take the lead of innovation, creativity and leadership for the rebirth of peaceful and prosperous world not the opposite since they are the potential of every communities. Address these drug addictions predicaments needs a collective social responsibly from Family level to National or even global scale. Effective and result oriented measurements needed to end these drug related challenges. Alcoholic Anonymous and Narcotic Anonymous are seen treatment and recovery process but the prevention of the Addiction is essential for healthier and prosperous world. Putting place a restrict rules is inviable to reduce and prevent the growing number of the young people effecting the drugs. Accessible Drug tests should be widely used in Work Places, schools and college and many others places in order to limit the drug usage and its addiction. Drugs are dangerous and deadly.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/drug-addiction-is-deadly>

## Girls Education in Pakistan: Solutions for impediments

ZULFIQAR ALI RAMZAN

*Educating a child has always been the main issue in Pakistan. And to educate a girl in this country, the most difficult one. In Pakistan, education is given the least importance. And those who have access to it, get the benefits.*



Educating a child has always been the main issue in Pakistan. And to educate a girl in this country, the most difficult one. In Pakistan, education is given the least importance. And those who have access to it, get the benefits. In a densely populated country, governments have given little or no importance in the field of education.

There is a huge proportion of people living in Pakistan whose children remain uneducated either due to lack of awareness or poverty. However, in the recent past, the number of children going to schools has increased. In the era of the digital world, people are now aware of the prospects of education. Still, there is a growing concern regarding girls getting education. According to Human Rights Watch report in November 2018, titled as 'Shall I feed my daughter, or Educate her?', highlighted some discrepancies causing girls getting less or no education at all.

This report was based on the fact that, in Pakistan half of the population is female, yet they are seen less in number compared to their male counterparts. Be it the schools or workplace. They put some recommendations for the federal and provincial governments for the betterment of girls' education, for which work is in process.

The problem with girls getting education can be summarized down. Firstly, government schools for girls are poorly maintained and no such focus is kept about the classes or area where the school is located. Most of them come from remote areas, where access to public transport is minimal. And if there is a private school nearby, due to poverty, families are not in a condition to enroll them in such expensive schools. Moreover, security concern is a growing problem in schools, especially terrorism issue. In result, there is a decrease in the enrollment of children into schools. Another problem is sexual harassment for which little work has been done.

Moreover, if there are government schools nearby, they are unhygienic or access to

clean drinking water is unavailable. The government spends more education budget on boys' educational institutions than on girls. In a country, where half of the population is female, less than half of them get educated.

It is the duty of government to provide access to education to everyone. Government schools for girls should be renovated, and new schools should be built. Awareness programs must be conducted in areas where educating a girl is given the least importance. Moreover, scholarships, free food, and other such initiatives must be introduced to attract more girls to schools. Free books, no fee, and transport system for girls living in remote areas should be initiated by the government. Moreover, there should be a strict restriction on child marriage. Minimum age of 18 must be set and parents should be given awareness regarding problems of early marriage and benefits of educating a girl.

In this way, more girls will have the opportunity to compete in the job market. In this overly populated state, the government and the parents have the responsibility to educate their child, especially girls, for a better generation to come. As the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, rightfully said that 'No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you'.

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**Link:** <https://youth-journal.org/girls-education-in-pakistan-solutions-for-impediments>

## **International Youth Journal**

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