

**CHAPTER 6: ENVIRONMENT DETERMINED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MODEL:  
CONCLUSION**

6. Introduction.

Even though Africa began with its third wave of Democratisation in the 1990's, some military leaders still resorted to undemocratic recruitment methods, in order to be recruited as political leaders. This ignited the frequently asked question on African political leadership: "Why does Africa allow the undemocratic recruitment of military men as political leaders?". The aim of the environment determined political leadership model, as stated in chapter one and two, is to supply answers to this problem in Nigeria, but also to explain this phenomenon in general.

In this chapter, the application of the environment determined political leadership model (chapter 3, 4 and 5) on the Nigerian situation will be reviewed in comparison with each case study, in order to shed light on the question of the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders in general. Guidelines will also be provided for the prevention of undemocratic recruitment actions in future. In terms of the model, predictions will be made for the possibility for Democracy to be institutionalised in Nigeria.

6.1. The undemocratic recruitment of military men as political leaders in Africa.

In chapter one the question was posed on why Africa allows the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the role of political leaders to take place. The aim of this dissertation was to answer this question by means of applying the environment determined political leadership model on the

Nigerian situation under the leadership (military and political) of Gowon, Babangida and Abacha. In the following exposition, these results are compared in order to test the set linkages of statements and general theory as formulated and argued in chapter one.

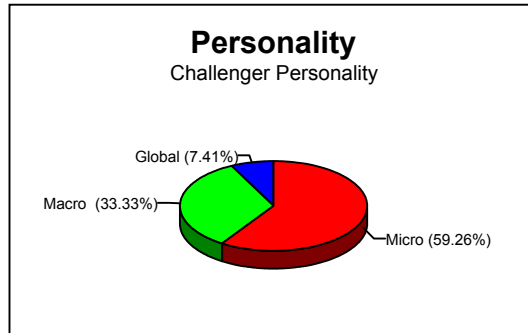
6.1.2. Step 1: A specific three phase analysis of the historical situation.

During this step of the model, it was identified that the military in Nigeria continuously revealed a challenger personality (8 out of the 9 times<sup>1</sup>), the macro environment moved between a challenger (4-5 out of 9 times), compromiser (1 out of 9 times) and a non-challenger personality (3-4 out of 9 times). The global environment moved between a challenger (1-2 out of 9 times), non-challenger (5 out of 9 times) and a compromiser personality (2-3 out of 9 times). The micro environment had a supportive organisation (7 out of 9 times), the macro environment's organisation shifted between supportive (2 out of 9), non-supportive (4-5 out of 9) to uninvolved (2-3 out of 9) and the global environment stayed uninvolved. The setting for the military was ideal (9 out of 9), whereas the macro environment reflected a discontent setting (6 out of 9) and an ideal setting (3 out of 9) and the global environment setting stayed untouched (9 out of 9).

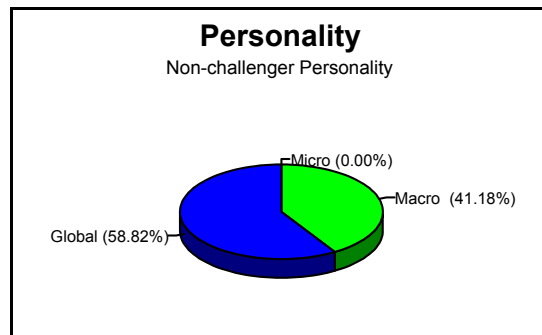
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1. These nine times refer to the three phases for each leader, who if calculated results to nine times.

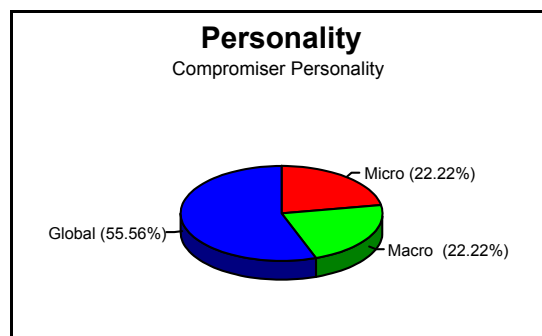
Pie chart 1. Challenger personality.



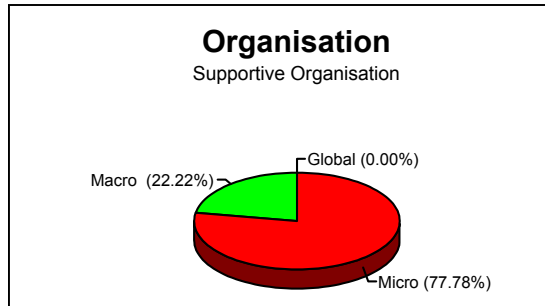
Pie chart 2. Non-challenger personality.



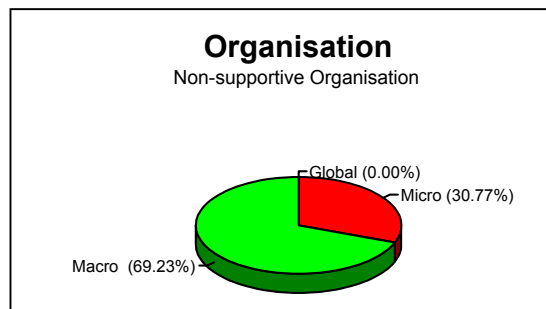
Pie chart 3. Compromiser personality.



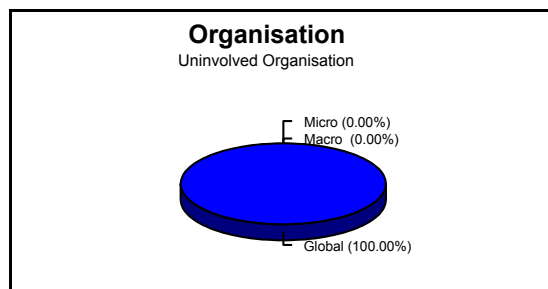
Pie chart 4. Supportive Organisation.



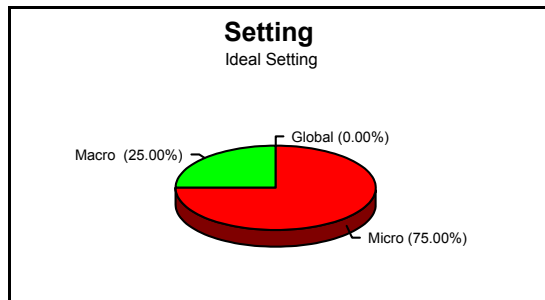
Pie chart 5. Non-supportive organisation.



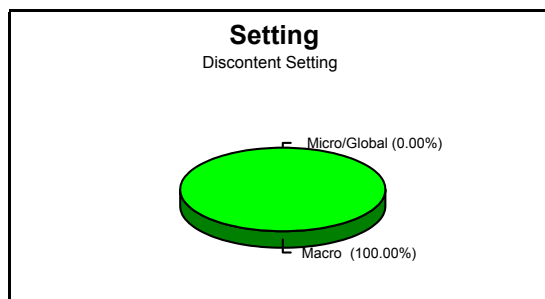
Pie chart 6. Uninvolved Organisation.



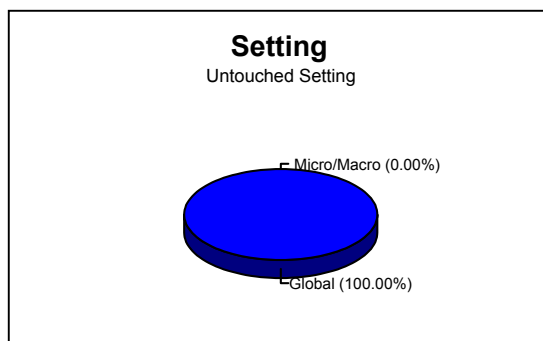
Pie chart 7. Ideal Setting.



Pie chart 8. Discontent Setting.



Pie chart 9. Untouched Setting.



This clearly indicates that reaction sets in when a macro environment weakens and a micro environment strengthens as it has aspirations to be recruited as political leader. In examining the shifting personality and organisation of the macro environment (and global environment), the environment

determined political leadership model confirmed the factors contributing to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders, as suggested by Palmer and Finer, thus exposing the powerful role environment plays in the recruiting process of leaders in the role of political leaders. These existing results on society's culture and military professionalism were supplemented with the indication of more factors (as elaborated on in the paragraphs to follow), indicated by the model to contribute to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders.

Although the society's culture was identified by the students of Political Development as contributing factor to the undemocratic recruitment of the military, the following aspects addressing this aspect, were found to contribute immensely to the undemocratic recruitment of the military in the role of political leader:

C Lack of Nationalism. This factor facilitates the embracement of values such as regionalism, ethnicity and tribalism. Once these values are accepted as norm, inadequate political structures and processes are instituted, such as non-representative government, establishment of political machines and the implementation of policy directed at furthering the interests of a specific ethnic group.

C A general lack in macro environment leadership. A strong sense for political, economic and social leadership lacked in the micro environment. As can be expected, this weakened the macro environment in such a way that they abdicated their political power in favour of the military.

C The psychological conditioning of the macro environment.  
The macro environment was conditioned in accepting undemocratic recruitment methods as the only means to change government. Part of this conditioning was to manipulate the population in believing that it is acceptable for the government to use the state apparatus on dissidents and to institutionalise a military regime. The fact that the Nigerian population accepted this mistreatment reflects a lack in democratic culture (even cynicism in Democracy) and explains why national events (such as soccer matches and public holidays) keep the macro environment away from participating in political affairs that influence them personally (such as elections).

As mentioned, the lack of military professionalism was also identified as a decisive factor contributing to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders. During the course of the dissertation it became quite clear that this factor has a greater contribution towards the undemocratic recruitment of the military in a political position, when the military came to view them as a political alternative to civilian government, when they are constantly utilised in a political role/office and when they become politicised.

Other identified factors that definitely indicated an influence on the success rate of the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the role of political leaders in Nigeria, are the legacies of the colonial system, constant inadequate economic performance<sup>2</sup>, legitimacy problems facing

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2. This aspect contributed in Nigeria's case to the maintenance of the system of political economy.

the military rule due to a performance gap, fears of the military to loose political power as it was the only way to political -, economic - and social survival, the monopolisation of political power by one member of the military governing body and fears for the revenge of a powerful member in the military governing body. This resulted in quick recruitment reactions among those with political power, in fear for counter coups d'état that could diminish their political power.

This step of the model facilitated the description, explanation and clarification of the undemocratic recruitment process of a military leader.

#### 6.1.3. Step 2: Tabular comparison.

In the next step of the model, the interaction between leadership, environment and recruitment, as revealed in the historical situation of Nigeria, is expressed in a tabular form, in order to explain this phenomenon further and to provide an element of prediction to the model. In chapter one and two it was argued that a combination of variables (that is the environment-leadership-recruitment interaction) would be responsible for the triggering of an undemocratic recruitment action. This combination of variables was compartmentalised to personality, organisation and setting, as manifested in a micro -, macro - and global environment. The interplay between environment, leadership and recruitment were then expressed in probable variable options, which were compared to determine the possibility for undemocratic recruitment (in other words the effect on the environment and leadership) to take place.



6.1.3.1. Phase 1: The Emergence of a Challenger Personality.

In this phase the personality, organisation and setting of the micro -, macro - and global environment are compared to determine if the development of a challenger personality(s) indicated the possibility for a recruitment phase (phase two) to take place, when a motive for recruitment and an accompanying role were established. The model clearly showed that in the Nigerian case study, the micro environment was stronger than the macro - and global environment. The challenger micro environment personality combined with a supportive micro environment organisation and an ideal micro environment setting indicated a strong possibility for an undemocratic recruitment action to take place. The reason for the success of this recruitment action is to be found in the non-challenger personality, non-supportive organisation and discontent setting of the macro environment and the uninvolved of the global environment.

C3: Gowon	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Challenger	Challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Non-supportive	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

C4: Babangida	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Non-challenger	Non-challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Uninvolved	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

C5:Abacha	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Challenger	Compromiser
<b>Organisation</b>	Non-supportive	Non-supportive	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

a. Micro environment.

As indicated in the application of the environment determined political leadership model all three case studies indicated the presence of challenger personalities among the military, the different ethnic groups as well as the apolitical military. These challenger personalities developed in the first case as result of the politicisation of the military, i.e. by passing quotas, to support macro environment (Northern state politicians) political aims. In case two these challenger personalities were fuelled by a growing resentment for politicians (due to corruption), ethnic rivalry, regionalism, a history of military intervention, religious differences and factionalism (in short the structural weakness of the military). By the time Abacha took power, the challenger personality was maintained by the Northerner military because of the fear to retreat from the only way to survive the Nigeria economy: namely, with the aid of the system of political economy.

Two of the three case studies showed a supportive organisation for the micro environment. This was due to the fact that the Northerner military was in command of the military resources (due to political intervention, as was the case with the quota

system) and thus could mobilise these resources in order to be recruited as political leaders. In the first case the organisation can be seen as supportive, as the micro environment Northerner military had the back up of the Northerner macro environment political leaders, and of course Britain, in gaining control over military resources. Before they took control, the Ibo tried to be recruited as political leaders in an undemocratic fashion, by performing two coups d'état. This was unsuccessful, as they lacked exclusive control over military resources and had no backing from the major global environment role players. By the time Babangida took power, the Ibo was no longer a concern, as the Hausa-Fulani dominated the political field (macro environment) and gained full monopoly of the military resources. The apolitical military that existed, were gradually eliminated as factor, at first by replacement during nigerianisation, later by utilising them in external ECOMOG operations and at the end, by co-opting them in the system of political economy. This ensured that they pose no threat to the political dominance of the North. In the third case, the micro environment projects a non-supportive organisation. This does not mean that they had a change of heart, but this simply resulted due to the infusion of the micro - and macro environment, in which the micro environment rejected Babangida's (macro environment) proposed elections for a civilian democracy, as it would endanger the system of political economy.

In all three the cases the setting was ideal as the military supported the micro environment leaders in challenging the macro environment for political power and could mobilise resources to challenge the macro environment.

b. Macro environment.

The macro environment developed in two cases a challenger personality, but this challenger personality was turned against each other, with the result that the Nigerian political destination was left in the hands of the micro environment. This was due to a lack of Nationalism, a lack of national political parties or national political structures, a lack in Democratic culture, ethnic rivalry, regionalism, religious differences, economic maladministration, political instability, corruption, civil war, loss of control over military resources and the acceptance of military rule as a political alternative. Due to obstacles posed from this mentioned factors, the macro environment political machines turned to the micro environment, with its superior organisation, to ensure the political dominance of one ethnic group over another. This weakened the macro environment, as it invited the military to partake in the political process and in doing so, the macro environment lost control over the utilisation of military resources. After Gowon took power, with the exception of Shagari, the micro environment became infused with the macro environment.

For the Hausa-Fulani political elite, the support of the military would mean a sure political dominance, enforced by military power. This Hausa-Fulani military involvement in politics disturbed the other ethnic groups. They came to distrust the Hausa-Fulani biased military governments. This is reflected in the non-supportive and uninvolved organisation, as portrayed in the phase one table. In the Babangida case study, the Buhari regime created an uninvolved macro environment, because his government used state violence and oppression to deal with the opposition of the military government.

In all three case studies a discontent setting can be noticed. This is the result of the non-supportive macro environment organisation. They could not mobilise resources against the military leaders in the macro environment.

c. Global environment.

The personality of the global environment fluctuated from a challenger personality in case one, to a non-challenger personality in case two and a compromiser personality in case three. This personality had an impact on the dynamic interplay between the macro - and micro environments. In case one the challenger personality of Britain ensured that the Northern Hausa-Fulani received political and military dominance. This fused the micro - and macro environments, resulting in the weakening of the macro environment and clearing the way for undemocratic recruitment methods to be used. In phase two a non-challenger personality was projected, because Britain, caught in the Cold War situation, did not want to become involved in Africa's domestic problems. This resulted in a slight impact on the relationship between the macro - and micro environments, with the legitimisation of military governments on an external level as a spin off effect. In the third case study, the global environment adopted a compromiser personality as the USA and Britain supported a transition to civilian government, as they wanted a stable Nigeria, able to stabilise the West African region, without involving European powers. This stance, together with a discontent setting in the macro environment, caused Babangida to resign. This fact shows the impact that the global environment has on promoting or deterring the undemocratic recruitment of the military in politics.

All three case studies had an uninvolved organisation, because the problems of Nigeria did not attract the attention of the globe and did not unite the global environment against undemocratic recruitment attempts, as Nigeria did not pose a threat to the superpowers. In the third case study an uninvolved organisation was reflected, due to the structural problem present in the post Cold War international system. This caused, in all three cases, the micro environment to challenge the macro environment without obstruction or intervention from the global environment, as all three case studies are characterised by an untouched setting. This was once again the result of the Nigerian problem not posing a threat to the global environment, nor raising their interest.

Phase one indicated that all three environments either developed or already possessed a challenger personality, due to a weakened macro environment left without support. The implication is that in a situation where the military has a challenger personality, supportive organisation and ideal setting, problems can be predicted for the macro environment in terms of the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders to the macro environment. This is especially true if the global environment has a non-challenger personality, uninvolved organisation and untouched setting and the macro environment a non-supportive/uninvolved organisation with a discontent setting.

#### 6.1.3.2. Phase two: Recruitment of Challenger Personality

In this phase the successful completion of an undemocratic recruitment action is studied in order to assess the prediction made in the last paragraph.

C3:Gowon	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Challenger	Non-challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Non-supportive	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

C4:Babangida	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Non-challenger	Non-challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Uninvolved	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

C5:Abacha	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Challenger	Compromiser
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Non-supportive	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

a. Micro environment.

In phase two all three cases reflect a supportive organisation, which together with a challenger personality eased the success of utilising undemocratic recruitment methods. This success was achieved due to the Northern

military's effective domination of the micro - and macro environment. In case one the micro environment supported Gowon in order to obtain political power for the macro environment as it coincided with the political power base in the macro - and global environment. In case two the micro environment turned against Buhari and supported Babangida in order to escape a Southern recruitment attempt which would erode Northern political power. In the third case the support for Abacha once again came from the military who was afraid that their privileged position under the system of political economy would be eroded by a civilian government.

In all three case studies, the setting was ideal. This was due to the support that the micro environment (Northern militia) had, resulting from their domination of the micro - and macro environment. This domination of both environments gave the Northern military control of the military resources to be mobilised for undemocratic recruitment attempts. This domination was strengthened as the macro environment considered the change of military governments by undemocratic recruitment methods, as a "democratic" process.

b. Macro environment.

The first case study is characterised by a challenger personality. This was the result of ethnic rivalry and a lack of political leadership, leading to the assumption of a political role by Gowon and his subsequent failure to unite Nigeria in a nation and to meet the macro environments preset expectations of military government (the performance gap). The second case study had a non-challenger personality. This was the result of extreme measures from Buhari taken against the macro environment in order to silence their opposition. This made the non-challenger personality of the macro



environment artificial. In case study three the macro environment had once again a challenger personality. This was the result of Babangida's transformation process, the failure of the Shonekan government and a lack in political leadership. The macro environment came to the conclusion that they did not want a military regime, but could not vision any alternative to the military government. The result was that their challenger personality was directed against the incompetency of the civilian leaders, in not being able to unite against the military, and not the military as such.

The case studies all showed that the macro environment had no collective support from its population. Available masses formed, due to a lack of nationalism and political leadership, ethnic rivalry, regionalism, religious differences and acceptance of military rule. Their organisational support shifted between non-supportive and uninvolved in reaction to military rule. In case two the organisation was uninvolved, due to the harsh measures Buhari took to silence opposition in the macro environment. This lack of support weakened the macro environment and spurred the micro environment to challenge it.

In all three case studies the setting was discontent. The fragmentation of the macro environment due to a lack of nationalism, eroded their support base for a leadership role on national level.

c. Global environment.

In all three case studies the personality, organisation and setting of the global community indicated no threat towards the recruitment of the military as political leaders in an undemocratic fashion. This gave way for the military in

Nigeria to dominate the macro environment without fear for any global intervention.

6.1.3.3. Phase three: The Institutionalisation Phase

In this phase the institutionalisation of the new regime is studied. The personalities, organisations and settings of each environment are compared, in order to establish the reason for the success or failure in establishing the new regime, as this lays the foundation for further undemocratic recruitment attempts.

C3: Gowon	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Compromiser	Non-challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Supportive	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Ideal	Untouched

C4: Babangida	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Compromiser	Non-challenger	Non-challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Supportive	Supportive	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Ideal	Untouched

C5:Abacha	<b>Micro</b>	<b>Macro</b>	<b>Global</b>
<b>Personality</b>	Challenger	Challenger/ Non- challenger	Compromiser/ Challenger
<b>Organisation</b>	Non- supportive	Non- supportive /Uninvolved	Uninvolved
<b>Setting</b>	Ideal	Ideal	Untouched

a. Micro environment.

In the second case study the fears for the recruitment of Southerners, by means of a counter coup d'état, and alienation in the Northern military camp (due to Buhari's regime) pushed Babangida in adopting a compromiser personality. He therefore openly rebuffed Buhari's oppression of the micro - and macro environment. This resulted in a democratic military regime (with diarchic features) at first. The first and last case studies were characterised by a challenger personality. In the first case study the micro environment revealed a challenger personality as the Ibo opted for secession by using military resources. In the last case study this personality was the result of a challenger macro environment personality (or an artificial non-challenger personality), but also due to Abacha's decision to use force to institutionalise his regime, in order to secure his personal power as well as Northerner domination.

In the first two case studies, a supportive organisation existed. In the first case the Northern military with control of military resources wanted to continue their political

dominance. In the second case study a supportive organisation existed, due to the political dominance of the Northern militia and their desire to get rid of Buhari. In the third case study Northern soldiers supported military rule and wanted to continue with the system of political economy, but more and more military came to openly question the military's political role and pleaded for a professional military permanent force. These pleas escalated as military purges headed by Abacha infested the military with fear.

The settings in all three case studies were ideal, as the micro environment had the necessary military resources to enforce military rule, but also made compromises to accommodate other important challenger personalities.

b. Macro environment.

In the first case study the macro environment reveals a compromiser personality. This was the result of regionalism and ethnicity, resulting from a lack of Nationalism, which would endanger his legitimisation efforts. This compromiser personality of the macro environment ensured the co-option of civilian leaders (also because of the loss of soldiers in the Biafran war) in the military government, giving it a democratic character. In the last two case studies the macro environment's personality was non-challenger (or artificially non-challenger), as a result of military oppression and the fact that the military already dominated the macro environment.

In the first two case studies a supportive organisation existed. This was the result of a compromiser personality. In case three a non-supportive/uninvolved organisation

developed as the challenger personality of Abacha's regime devoid the macro environment of a voice against oppression.

In all three instances the setting was ideal, as the macro environment presented no threat to the micro environment.

c. Global environment.

All three case studies portray a personality, organisation and setting not threatening the institutionalisation of a military regime.

This phase thus concludes the explanation and prediction element, in indicating the possibility for military intervention to occur, or even for a military democracy (enlightened military government), a diarchy or military dictatorship to be institutionalised after an undemocratic recruitment method was utilised to transform military leaders into political leaders.

6.1.4. Step 3: Set of linkages of statements tested.

In tabularising leadership, environment and recruitment interaction, the following patterns were noted from phase one, two and three. From phase one and two of the environment determined political leadership model, the following patterns were identified:

C A weakened macro environment creates an opportunity for a stronger (in terms of organisation and support) environment to develop a challenger personality and to challenge the macro environment.

- C A micro environment does not always need support from all of its population to be recruited in an undemocratic fashion, but after gaining power the macro environment evaluates the leaders for legitimacy on judging their performance.
- C A challenger personality in the micro environment reacts on a weakened macro environment. This reaction includes undemocratic recruitment attempts.
- C A macro environment without some supportive organisation presents no threat to other environments and can be seen as a weakened environment, in other words a macro environment without support cannot be challenging.
- C A micro environment without a supportive organisation indicates a low probability for the successful undemocratic recruitment of the military leader as political leader.
- C A micro environment or parts of it that want to be recruited as military leaders in using undemocratic recruitment methods, need control over the mobilisation of military resources.
- C Global involvement influences and changes the personality of an environment. This can contribute to the development of challenger personalities which facilitates the recruitment of military leaders in an undemocratic fashion, but also the development of a compromiser personality which hampers the performance of a successful coup d'état.

C An inactive global environment facilitates the possibility of environments to develop a challenger personality and to challenge each other.

From phase three it can be concluded that:

C A challenger personality in the macro environment can influence the personality of the micro environment, even democratise it.

C The organisation of the micro environment can influence its personality. If the micro environment does not have a supportive organisation, it will not support a personality that challenges the macro environment.

C The apathic attitude of the global environment contributes to the institutionalising of a military regime, be it democratic or dictatorial.

C Although it has military power, a military leader needs legitimacy to prolong his/her/their stay or must exercise military power.

From the above it can be concluded that a challenger personality must develop in the micro environment in order for the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders to take place. A weakened macro environment provides the micro environment with the opportunity to exercise their challenger personality. Global uninvolved facilitates the dominance of a macro environment by the micro environment and eases undemocratic recruitment attempts. With these patterns and conclusions established, the hypothesis stated in chapter two is confirmed. According to this hypothesis, the military leader will adopt a challenger personality, when the macro -

and global environment allows the micro environment to challenge them for political domination. If the micro environment can mobilise resources, the macro environment cannot mobilise resources (even if it adopts a challenger personality) and the global environment stays neutral, the military leader can be recruited in an undemocratic way. To remain in power, the military leader must either dominate the micro environment or adopt legitimacy.

#### 6.2. The prevention of future undemocratic recruitment attempts of military leaders in the role as political leaders.

The environment determined political leadership model indicated that in order to prevent the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders, the balance among the micro -, macro - and global environment needs to be kept. In the researched Nigerian case studies it was revealed that the factors contributing most to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the role of political leader were a weakened macro environment, a strengthened micro environment and the noninvolvement of the global environment. Despite the effort to reveal the reasons for undemocratic recruitment behaviour and success by means of the environment determined political leadership model, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary talks and research need to be held internationally to address this problem thoroughly. Paige reasoned in *The scientific study of political leadership* that political leadership lacks in focus due to the separate disciplinary attempts to study leadership. His conclusion was that political studies need to be examined in an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary way.



6.2.1. Measures to end the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders in Nigeria.

First and foremost, the challenger personality of the micro environment must be countered. In order to suppress the military's will to use their challenger personality, it is suggested that their structural weaknesses be addressed to restore professionalism. A professional military involved with military matters will be less inclined to interfere in political matters. This entails the transformation of the composition of the military to reflect the composition of Nigeria's population, the rationalisation of the military to form a professional core force and that the military receive professional training and appropriate logistics to perform as a professional and efficient part of an international force<sup>3</sup>. Most important is that the military be withdrawn from all political activities. This personality need also be countered by improving the weakened macro environment on political -, economic - and social level, in order for Nigeria to succeed in the transition from military to civilian government. This restructuring cannot be implemented without support from the international community (including the UN and OAU), as the intrinsic will of all the military to hand power to an elected group will not be too strong, if a macro environment lacks nationalism and does not pose a threat to the military. Therefore the global environment needs to partake in the transition process and must answer the abuse of power by the military. In this regard pressure such as sanctions and the severance of diplomatic ties need to be applied to those leaders guilty of performing successful undemocratic recruitment attempts. The International Court in The Hague It

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3. See Olonisakin, F, *Nigerian Foreign Policy: Past Blunders and New Realities*. (In ISSUP Bulletin, 5/98:8 1998a).

can even consider to declare coups d'état and other undemocratic recruitment methods as an international threat and as an act against humanity. These actions require that the current structural problem present in the post Cold War international system be addressed on global level.

a. Political restructuring.

In this regard, care must be given to the transformation of Nigerian political leadership, political institutions and political processes. These mentioned factors need to be transformed to reflect the Democratic ideal. In order to address leadership, it is essential that politicians become national in outlook and are purged from corruption, regionalism, and religious bias. Furthermore, political responsibility and accountability need to be established among those involved in politics. This can be done by means of a truth and reconciliation programme, aimed at pursuing offenders of human rights. In general, it will be to the benefit of Nigeria if democratic values are fostered by its population and a democratic culture is established. Most important, politicians must hold and remain control over military resources. In addressing institutions, attention must be given to establish national political structures in which all of the population are represented. In this regard the system of political economy must also be discarded. To transform the processes of Nigerian politics, it is important that free and fair elections take place, a free and fair election process is established and that fair and representative constituencies are demarcated. To facilitate this transformation a centre for democratic leadership development can be established, with projects aimed at politicians, government officials (including soldiers) and the broad macro environment.

b. Economic restructuring.

In order for Nigeria to function as a proper democratic state, with economic policies directed at bettering the live of all of its inhabitants, it is of utmost importance that the system of political economy be absconded. This system forms the foundation of many coup d'état attempts, as politics are the only way to riches in Nigeria. It is also needed to look again at the debt burden of Nigeria on an international level.

c. Social restructuring.

The socio-psychological acceptance of suppression typical of Kornhausers' available masses needs to be transformed into a questioning and solution driven personality. This social restructuring will only be gained when the macro environment is involved in drafting policy directed at the benefit of all Nigerians and with the adoption of reconstruction and development plans aimed at empowering the disadvantaged, to better their education and revitalise the press system.

6.2.2. Measures to end the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders in general.

According to this model, an undemocratic recruitment attempt will take place if the macro environment weakens to such a point that the micro environment poses a threat to it. The solution for preventing undemocratic recruitment attempts therefore lays in keeping a balance between the micro -, macro - and global environment: don't let the macro environment become weakened otherwise the micro environment (military or otherwise) will challenge the macro environment for political domination. The global environment (including the African

states) must accept responsibility in the process to stabilise relationships between the macro - and micro environment.

When is a micro environment strengthened and a macro environment weakened? The model depicted the following situation as a strengthening situation for the micro environment:

- C If a micro environment reflects a challenger personality (i.e. frequent military intervention).
- C Military rule which has become institutionalised (i.e. continuous military rule).
- C Global uninvolvedness in the presence of undemocratic recruitment actions.
- C Micro environment values that do not enhance or reflect professionalism.
- C Absolute micro environment control over military resources.

The model exposed the following factors as indicative of a weakened macro environment.

- C The lack of nationalism.
- C Racism, regionalism, ethnicity and tribalism.
- C The macro environment reflects a non-challenger personality.
- C The population has a distrust for Democracy.
- C Underdeveloped democratic political structures and processes.

The model also shows that a micro environment will challenge a macro environment and succeed, once it has support and control over military resources.

6.3. Prediction for Nigeria in terms of the environment determined political leadership model.

It is clear that a huge challenge is awaiting Nigeria in normalising her civil-military relationships. The macro environment still needs an effective political -, social - and economic transformation in order for the transitional process towards Democracy to succeed. Currently, the biggest challenge facing Nigeria on macro environment level is the absence of nationalism. This caused Nigerians not to unite as a nation against a threat challenging the political domination of the macro environment, but to resort to regionalism, ethnicity, religion and even to manipulate the military to obtain political power. This behaviour, together with the fact that Democracy is not institutionalised (or even trusted), brings the question in mind if Nigeria really can enforce a new Democracy, or if it is only going to replace Northern domination with the domination of another ethnic group. There are groups in Nigeria (like the Yoruba) that would like to seize political dominance from the Northern Region. Care must be taken that these groups do not receive control over military resources, or are backed by military personnel. On the other hand, Nigerians clearly showed under Babangida's rule and with Abacha's death, that they were (as a group) tired of military rule and were no longer going to stand it. This behaviour indicates the probability of an enormous protest (if not civil war), if a military ruler would once again attempt to be recruited as political leader. In this case, Nigeria would once again face a harsh military dictator.

The biggest threat to the stability of a Nigeria in transformation to Democracy comes from the military self.

With the death of Abacha, Abubakar presented himself as a revolutionary soldier, in declaring that he is going to hand power to an elected civilian government, which he did. The fact that he succeeded, indicates that some elements in the military supports a civilian government and resents the military's unprofessional character. The effect of year long participation in ECOMOG missions to restore democracy in the West of Africa may also have planted the seeds for democracy in the Nigerian soldiers. Alas, this democratic incline is only found among an element of the military. Another group still favours the system of political economy and Northern political dominance. They fear that a civilian government will charge them with corruption and human rights abuses. The biggest threat for Nigerian democracy comes from this group. The fact is, the future of Nigeria's Democracy is in the hands of the military. If they decide to enter politics once again, and the Nigerian macro environment does not unite against them, the democratic process will once again fail. In this regard, the participation of the global environment is vital for the success of the still weakened macro environment to challenge the micro environment, without being bias to certain groups.

#### 6.4. Conclusion.

It is very clear that the political role of the traditional political leader has changed after World War II. The reason being the fact that leaders, their social dimensions and the environment have changed.

Leaders became more democratic orientated, as their followers became more informed (some even educated) and begin to demand certain things from their leaders, i.e. a decrease in wars. To survive only was no longer important for the individual.

Man wanted the good life and government had to provide or enhance this life. This is reflected in the new social dimensions that surfaced in the recruitment process, i.e. visual communication and the physical appearance of political candidates. The political environment and recruitment process itself changed due to the application of Information Technology communication and Information Technology communication networks (such as the Internet). Due to this, time has become an important commodity, influencing environment and leadership.

Despite these changes, more encountered among the First World, military and economic dimensions (found from earlier times) were still playing a part in the recruitment process. Fact is, even these dimensions had changed. In the nation state it was directed at promoting the interests of one group (a nation state). Today, economic dimensions are used to benefit the world and military dimensions are used to promote world peace, i.e. UN, World Bank, European Union and the EURO. Thus, the economic and military dimension is still necessary for survival, but this is (in general) focused on the world as a collective group. The reason for this being the surfacing of new social dimensions (as television and Information Technology) in the environment. This influenced the typical nation state and the typical recruitment methods found in a nation state. In this regard, certain elite groups can exercise their influence on the recruitment process of political leaders, i.e. economic leaders (as Warren Buffet, and George Soros), Information Technology groups (as Bill Gates and Microsoft) and environmentalists (such as HRH, the Prince of Wales). This effect is not reflected in the traditional viewing of the political recruitment process (democratic or undemocratic).

Africa is currently in the third wave of Democratisation, as it reacts on change in the environment and adapts to the new dimensions in it. If Africa constantly reacts to this new environment and social dimensions (such as education, Information Technology and accelerated time), it can also experience a change in the recruitment process of its political leaders. This is already evident in the current events taking place in West Africa, where the population dictated the resignation of presidents-for-life.