

**THE ENVIRONMENT DETERMINED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
MODEL: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE GOWON, BABANGIDA
AND ABACHA REGIMES**

by

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This dissertation is dedicated to the children of Africa, including my firstborn, Marco Hoogenraad-Vermaak.

"General Abacha wasn't the first of his kind, nor will he be last, until someone can answer the question of why Africa allows such men to emerge again and again and again".

BBC News 1998. Passing of a dictator leads to new hope. 1
Jul 98.

SUMMARY

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The recent election victory of gen. Obasanjo highlights the fragile civil-military relations encountered in Nigeria. It also illustrates the impact environment has on the recruitment process of political leaders, as a changed environment paved the way for democratic elections in Nigeria. To shed light on the phenomenon of the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders, a model encompassing environment, recruitment and leadership elements was formulated and applied to the Nigerian situation as experienced under the Gowon, Babangida and Abacha regimes. The first step of the environment determined political leadership model is to perform a specific analysis of the historical situation to facilitate the description, explanation and clarification of undemocratic recruitment. In the next step, the dynamic interaction between leadership, environment and recruitment, as revealed in the previously assessed historical situation, is analysed and tabularised to facilitate prediction. The third step of the model is to test set linkages of statements, to formulate a theory for the prediction of undemocratic recruitment in general. This theory is as follows: The military leader (micro environment) will adopt a challenger

personality, when the macro - and global environment allow the micro environment to challenge them for political domination. If the micro environment is able to mobilise resources and the macro environment is unable to mobilise resources and the global environment remains neutral, the military leader can be recruited in an undemocratic manner as political leader. To remain in power, the military leader must either dominate the macro environment or adopt legitimacy.

In the application of this model, it was determined that a challenger personality developed in the micro environment due to a weakened macro environment pestered by the absence of nationalism and national political leadership, as well as constant psychological conditioning, but also because the global environment remained uninvolved in the recruitment process. Besides the colonial legacy of Nigeria, this background provided the opportunity for a strong supportive organisation to develop in favour of military regimes. This eased the mobilisation of military resources for attempting undemocratic recruitment actions and facilitated the institutionalisation of military regimes in Nigeria. These identified behavioural patterns confirmed the mentioned general theory on the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders.

In conclusion it was stated that undemocratic recruitment attempts in Nigeria can be prevented if a balance is kept between the micro -, macro - and global environment. To address this imbalance, political restructuring (including leadership, institutions and processes), and also economic - and social restructuring need to take place in order for Democracy to be institutionalised. This requires that the lack of nationalism and the attitude of the military be addressed immediately. It also necessitates the participation of the global environment in condemning undemocratic recruitment actions. Fact is, the environment has changed and in the process has begun to hinder Africa's military's self

imposed mission to redeem the continent from corrupt politicians. The more Africa reacts on the new social dimensions in the environment, such as education, Information Technology and accelerated time, the more difficulty the military will have in intervening in politics.

Democratisation

Environment

Environment-recruitment interaction

Institutionalisation

Leadership

Military regime

Nigeria

Political Leadership

Recruitment

Social dimensions

Undemocratic recruitment methods

SAMEVATTING

DIE OMGEWING GEDETERMINEERDE POLITIEKE LEIERSKAP MODEL:
'N VERGELYKENDE ANALISE VAN DIE GOWON, BABANGIDA AND
ABACHA REGIMES

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Die onlangse verkiesingsoorwinning van Genl. Obasanjo onderstreep die sensitiewe siviël-militêre verhoudings in Nigeria. Dit illustreer ook die impak wat die omgewing het op die rekruteringsproses van politieke leiers, omdat 'n veranderde omgewing in Nigerië die weg gebaan het vir demokratiese verkiesings. Om lig te werp op die verskynsel van die ondemokratiese rekrutering van militêre leiers as politieke leiers, is 'n model, wat omgewings-, rekruterings- en leierskapselemente bevat, geformuleer en toegepas op die Nigeriese situasie tydens die Gowon, Babangida en Abacha regimes. Die eerste stap van die omgewing gedetermineerde politieke leierskap model is 'n spesifieke analise van die historiese situasie ten einde die beskrywing, verduideliking en toeligting van ondemokratiese rekrutering te fasiliteer. In die volgende stap word die dinamiese interaksie tussen leierskap, omgewing en rekrutering, soos gevind in die vorige stap, geanaliseer en in tabelvorm verwerk ten einde voorspelling te fasiliteer. Die derde stap van die model het ten doel om die vasgestelde stelling skakels te toets, om sodoende 'n algemene teorie te vorm vir die voorspelling van ondemokratiese rekrutering. Hierdie teorie is soos volg: Die

militêre leier (mikro omgewing) sal 'n uitdagingspersoonlikheid aanneem, indien die makro - en globale omgewing hom/haar/hul toelaat om hul te daag vir politieke dominasie. Indien die mikro omgewing in staat is om bronne te mobiliseer, die makro omgewing nie bronne kan mobiliseer nie en die globale omgewing neutraal staan, kan die militêre leier as politieke leier gerekruteer word op 'n ondemokratiese wyse. Om die mag te behou, moet die militêre leier of die makro omgewing domineer of legitimititeit verwerf.

In die toepassing van hierdie model is vasgestel dat 'n uitdagingspersoonlikheid by die makro omgewing ontwikkel het, weens 'n verswakte makro omgewing, geteister deur 'n gebrek aan nasionalisme en nasionale politieke leierskap, asook voortdurende sielkundige kondisionering, maar ook omrede die globale omgewing onbetrokke gestaan het in die rekruteringsproses. Buiten vir die Koloniale nalatenskap, het hierdie genoemde agtergrond die geleentheid geskep vir 'n sterk ondersteunende organisasie, wat militêre regimes steun, om te ontwikkel. Dit het die mobilisering van militêre bronne vir ondemokratiese rekruteringsaksies vergemaklik en die institusionalisering van militêre regimes gefasiliteer. Hierdie geïdentifiseerde gedragspatrone bevestig die genoemde algemene teorie rakende die ondemokratiese rekrutering van militêre leiers.

Die gevolgtrekking is gemaak dat ondemokratiese rekruteringspogings in Nigerië voorkom kan word, indien 'n balans gehandhaaf word tussen die mikro -, makro - en globale omgewing. Dit impliseer politieke herstrukturering (insluitend leierskap, instellings en prosesse), asook ekonomiese - en sosiale herstrukturering. Nasionalisme moet gevestig word en die houding van die militêr moet aangespreek word. Die globale omgewing moet deelnemend word en ondemokratiese rekruteringsaksies verdoem. Feit is, die omgewing het verander en in die proses is Afrika se militêr se selfopgelegde missie om die kontinent te bevry van korrupte politici, gestuit. Hoe meer Afrika reageer op die nuwe

sosiale dimensies in die omgewing (soos geletterdheid, Informasie Tegnologie en versnelde tyd) hoe moeiliker gaan dit vir die militêr word om politiek te bedryf.

Demokratisering

Institusionalisering

Leierskap

Militêre regime

Nigerië

Omgewing

Omgewing-rekrutering interaksie

Ondemokratiese rekruteringsmetodes

Politieke Leierskap

Rekrutering

Sosiale dimensies

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABN	Association for a Better Nigeria
AFMC	Armed Forces Military Council
AFRC	Armed Forces Ruling Council
AG	Action Group
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
CCBN	Conference of Catholic Bishops of Nigeria
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MSC	Military Supreme Council
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NANS	National Association of Nigerian Students
NBC	Nigerian Bar Council
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns
NDF	Nigerian Defence Force
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NEMG	National Electoral Monitoring Group
NLC	Nigerian Labour Congress
NMA	Nigerian Medical Association
NNA	Nigerian National Alliance
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NPC	Northern Peoples Congress
NPN	National Party of Nigeria
NRC	National Republican Convention
NSO	National Security Organisation
NUA	National Union of Students
NUNS	National Union of Nigerian Students
NUPENG	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OUA	Organisation for Unity in Africa
PENGASSAN	Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
PRC	Provisional Ruling Council
RERP	Realistic Exchange Rate Policy
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SFEM	Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market
SMC	Supreme Military Council
UN	United Nations
UPGA	United Peoples Grand Alliance
UPP	United Peoples Party
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics