

The Leadership Hypocrisy of Four Million Parties and its Insurmountable Consequences on the Political Dimension of Nation Building

**An Illustration of the so called “Peoples Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ)
Central Office in Eritrea”**

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Abstract: The main results of this article are (i) the PFDJ and in particular Isayas has committed a political blunder in the political dimension of nation building by refusing to implement the constitution, (ii) the PFDJ militarized political ideology is a poisonous tool applied to secure the political power of the dictator, (iii) the political vision was 'not developed to be implemented but to consolidate the 'raw political power' of the 'raw dictator' in the 'raw and secretive underground party' by liquidating all democratic elements, (iii) the dictator is incompetent to lead the task successfully, and (iv) the other cause for the failure is the lack of an authentic leader who possesses the qualities of a developmental and legacy-building leaders.

Introduction

To assess partially the achievement of the social and cultural visions and goals defined in *the National Charter of Eritrea* adopted by the 3rd congress of the EPLF/PFDJ (Naqfa, February 10-16, 1994), Abraha in (2010 & 2012) examined the social and cultural dimensions of the nation building processes in Eritrea. In another related works Abraha (2010) conducted a study to identify the economic model applied in the Eritrean economy and Abraha (2010) studied new business establishment processes in the one-party dominated and controlled market/economy in Eritrea. Thus, the main reason for carrying out the current study is as a continuation of the above mentioned studies to examine the political dimension of nation building in Eritrea as it is one of the corner stones (components) of a Nation Building Process. The other reason which makes this study current and significant is that as quoted by Tronvoll (1998), *the National Charter of Eritrea*, EPLF (1994) has unequivocally stated that, the journey of nation-building is long and complicated and it is also known that to build [a] peaceful and rich country is the hardest, and more complicated than to get success in the war. Likewise, Bereketeab (2007) in a study of Challenges of State Building in Eritrea concluded that the country is in a crisis of a successful transition from national liberation movement (NLM) mode of governance to a civic and popular democratic one. Bereketeab identified two sets of explanatory factors to the crises; the first being the political culture that was developed during the liberation struggle and the second to be a set of factors that pertain to the second war with Ethiopia in 1998. Ottawa (2002), in a study of Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States examined the model of state reconstruction adopted by the international community and some examples of its reconstruction. The main findings of this study are that the approach can't be applied to all countries, that institution-building is often undertaken

prematurely, and that there is a discrepancy between the donors' perception and the resources they are willing to make available. The same author in another study of Nation Building Ottaway (2002) argued that Nation Building is difficult, but it need not be a quagmire as long as the effort has clear goals and sufficient resources. The above discussion makes it necessary to study the political dimension of nation building as it is a complicated and resources consuming process and moreover various concerned actors understand, discuss and address it differently. Those reasons also motivated the author to examine the political dimension of nation building to make a contribution to its better understanding by exploring the various issues or factors that complicate the design and the implementation of the political dimension of the nation building.

The third reason for carrying out this study being a multidimensional one is to make some contributions in answering the two central questions in the second part of the National Charter of the EPLF/PFDJ of 1994. The two essential questions are; what is the best political system appropriate for independent Eritrea? And what type of government should we build in Eritrea? So far i.e. in the preceding two pages a discussion has been conducted as to why to study the political dimension of nation building in Eritrea. However, no discussion has been conducted as to why this article links or conducts a study which combines the role of leadership and the political dimension of nation building. In connection with this issue there are three reasons for studying the role of leadership in the political dimension of nation building. (i) As discussed in Abraha (2010 and 2012) there are widespread crises of effective (developmental) political leadership in developing countries in general and in Eritrea in particular. In light of those crises this article endeavors to deepen and broaden our understanding and moreover makes a contribution to the development of an effective (developmental) leadership which is endemic to developing countries in general and to the African continent in particular; (ii) in connection with the political dimension of nation building and the quality of leadership there are divergent/conflicting views among Eritreans. Those in the opposition camp attribute the saddening situation of the nation building process to the lack of authentic and competent leadership and conclude that the current leadership does not possess the competence or the quality to accomplish the task successfully. Whereas the proponents of the government claim that the nation building process is successful and that is because the country and its people are lucky enough to have such an appropriate leadership which maintains the competence to accomplish the task successfully. In light of the diverging as well as converging views maintained by Eritreans, this article attempts to bridge or at least narrow down the gap which exists among Eritreans which in its turn can create harmony

among the people and which can also facilitate the nation building process and finally (iii) this study can make a contribution to our understanding of the role of leadership in the political dimension of nation building and to the process and pattern of the political dimension of nation building and thereby to make a contribution to the solution of the political crises in Eritrea in particular and in Africa as well as other developing countries in general.

For the sake of clarity this section defines nation building, the political dimension of nation building, the phenomenon of leadership with a focus on the specific role of leadership and finally outlines the role of leadership in nation building by referring to various published sources. As quoted in Abraha (2009; 2010 & 2012); Adei (2004) defined nation building as the systematic improvement of the political, economic, social and cultural well-being of a people, who in our context will be equated to the inhabitants of geographical entities or countries. Combining the definitions used in earlier works of Abraha (2009; 2010 & 2012) and on the national vision as enshrined in the National Charter for Eritrea, nation building in this work is defined as “the systematic planning (outlining), implementation and achievement of the political, economic, social, diplomatic and cultural visions and goals articulated after independence in light of what was promised in the liberation struggle and in the aftermath of liberation.” The nation building task is implemented by setting a properly defined national direction, shared vision, goals, programs and appropriate strategies and aligning and mobilizing people to realize the vision Abraha (2009 & 2010). Whereas, the political dimension of nation building is defined as the establishment of a stable political system which respects law and order, safeguards unity and peace, enables people to lead happy and peaceful lives, guarantees basic human rights, and is free from fear and oppression *National Charter of Eritrea* (Charter 1994: 10-11). Such objectives can be guaranteed through laws and duly constituted institutions thus a constitutional political system must be established in Eritrea.

Reviewing and summarizing the various nation building and leadership literature Abraha (2009, 2010 and 2012) linked the concept of leadership and particularly the specific roles and qualities (characteristics) of developmental (effective) and legacy-building leadership with nation building. With the help of the theories and concepts in the reviewed literature, a conceptual framework (model) of effective (developmental) leadership is developed and applied in this article see Figure 1 page 6. Abraha (2009) drawing on the works of (Kotter, 1999 & 2001; Yukl, 2001 & 2005 and Adei, 2004) highlighted the phenomenon of leadership, outlined the specific roles of leadership and defined the concept of nation building. Effective leadership is defined as managing changes by setting a direction, i.e. creating a vision, setting goals, promoting values, formulating strategies, mobilizing people, managing changes,

developing other leaders, making decisions and solving strategic problems (Abraha 2009). According to the same source it is the responsibility of leadership to realize the vision by building the appropriate capacity as well as by aligning and motivating people and communicating the new direction to those who are committed to its success. Similarly, Bloisi et al (2003) defines the duty of a leader as creating a vision and goals and to influence others to share the vision and to work towards its achievement. In the works of other researchers leadership is defined as the process of providing direction, energizing others, and obtaining their voluntary commitment to the vision (Warren & Burt, 1985 and Northouse, 2004). Likewise, in Northouse (2004) leadership is said to be reserved for people who influence a group of individuals towards a common goal. In the extant literature, leadership which is interested in its goals is said to be seldom interested in its people (others) and is characterized as leadership by coercion that can't work with others.

Effective strategic leaders see Hit et al. (1998) and Ireland and Hitt (1999) have: (1) to develop and communicate vision, (2) to build dynamic core competencies, (3) to emphasize and effectively use human capital, (4) to invest in the development of new technologies, (5) to engage in valuable strategies, (6) to build and maintain an effective organizational culture, (7) to develop and implement balanced controls, and (8) to engage in ethical practices. All the above eight strategic leadership capabilities are central and relevant issues in leadership in general and the role of leadership in the nation building processes.

The Conceptual Framework (Model) of Effective (Developmental) Leadership in Nation Building

A revised conceptual framework (model) of effective (developmental) leadership in nation building developed and revised by the author is presented below Figure 1. It consists of three groups of variables: (i) the five dimensions of nation building, (ii) the six roles of leaders that build modern nations and (iii) the characteristics by which effective (developmental) and legacy-building leaders are marked in nation building.

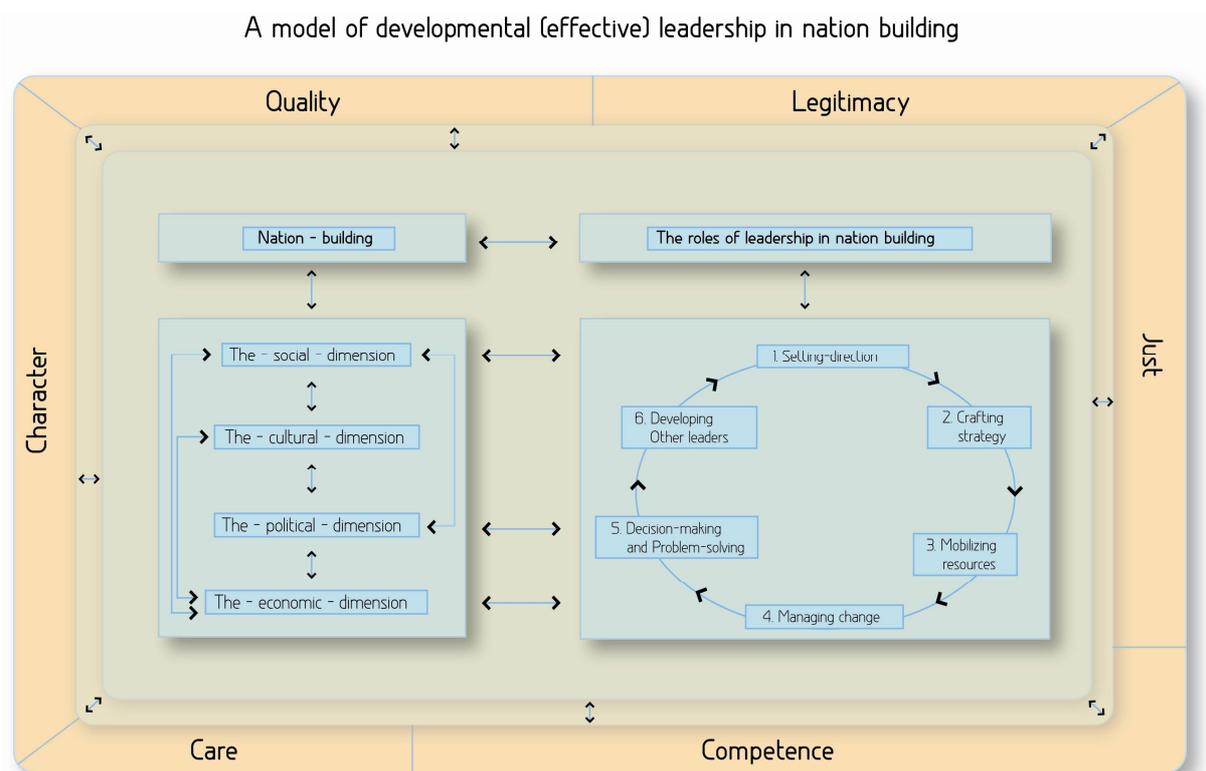


FIGURE 1

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (MODEL) OF (EFFECTIVE) DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP IN NATIONBUILDING

THE FIVE DIMENSIONS OF NATION BUILDING

The five dimension of nation building are creating a matured, progressive, stable and participatory political pluralism; fostering regional and international cooperation; engendering a dynamic value-based culture rooted in a people’s uniqueness, developing appropriate economic infrastructure and policies to achieve economic progress, and building social unity and cohesion. This article examines the first dimension, i.e. creating a matured, progressive, stable and participatory political pluralism, specifically the political dimension of nation building in Eritrea.

The Political Dimension of Nation Building

The development of a participatory, pluralist, stable, matured and progressive political order based on the people’s traditions and customs is a prerequisite to a successful nation building (Abraha, 2012). The cornerstone of the political dimension of the nation building process is to establish a constitutional system on the basis of the constitution i.e. to build a strong

government and society which accelerates nation-building. Such a system should strive to uphold basic human and political rights which include freedom of faith and of the press which foster harmony among the people. The system should further be founded on the people and be built from the grass-roots, operates on the principles of decentralization, political plurality, openness, tolerance and accountability. Moreover, it should be a multi-party system in which political parties legally participate and should establish and develop democratic institutions such as a free and strong legislative, judicial and executive bodies, various associations and movements. One of the main errors of post-independent Africa has been the total rejection of the peoples' traditions and customs in favour of the capitalist and socialist ideologies, none of which has been appropriate to align and mobilize the African people to focus on development (Basil, 1992). According to G. Michael (2013) it is unrealistic to consider or understand a democratic State and development State as separated, mutually exclusive, strategic approaches to socioeconomic development. Accordingly, the proponents of the democratic State seem to assume that all the necessary requirements for development, such as human, social, and natural capital, physical infrastructures, entrepreneurship, and technological progress are secondary. Whereas: international political economy scholars used developmental State or hard State in their studies of the phenomenon of State-led macroeconomic planning in East Asia in the late twentieth century. The State retains more independent, or autonomous, political power and more control over the economy, in this capitalist model. A developmental state intervenes in planning and managing the economy extensively. Conclusively, G/Michael (2013) recommends a Dynamic-New Paradigm for Sustainable Development which is an Adaptive Democratic Developmental State (ADDS). ADDS embodies the guiding principles of good governance and it is a dynamic and pragmatic paradigm, based on the notion of learning-by-doing and it is built upon synergistic nexuses among all endogenous developmental forces (i.e., forces within the system) which include: (i) enhanced investments in research and development (R&D) to promote technological progress through creation, invention, innovation, diffusion, and adoption of new technologies; (ii) learning-by-doing and by-using; (iii) accumulation of human and all other types of capital (detailed above); (iv) formulation of enabling institutional configurations /e.g. fully specified property rights and accessible credit system); and (v) provision of social infrastructure (e.g., legal, political, education, healthcare, and security) and economic infrastructure (e.g., roads, railways, renewable energy, clean water supply system, and information and communication technologies). "What is democracy? What is development? Are these concepts, both bearing

economic and political philosophies, separable? No, they are not, they are two in one. One cannot be sustained without the other. “ (G/Michael, 2013).

The Economic Dimension of Nation Building

Some of the cornerstones of the economic dimension of nation building are to develop appropriate economic policies and infrastructure to achieve economic progress. This dimension deals with improving the standard of living and mainly the material welfare of the citizenry. It should put more focus on wealth creation, on poverty reduction and in a combination of both depending on the situation prevailing in the country. Wealth creation should get the priority if poverty is at a very low level and less emphasis should be done on poverty reduction. However, priority should be to poverty reduction and less focus on wealth creation if there is a wide spread poverty in a country. However, both poverty reduction and wealth creation should get more or less the same emphasis if there is a moderate level of poverty.

The Diplomatic Dimension of Nation Building

The aim of the diplomatic dimension of nation building should be to make a certain country (society) a respected member of the international community, by coexisting in harmony and cooperation with its neighbors; and by contributing, to the extent of its capability, to regional and global peace, security and development. A foreign policy is formulated based on any country's internal policy and should be based on preserving the country's national interest, working for the interest of peace and stability in its region and in the world, and promoting collaboration with the international community. In sum any country's foreign policy should be based on the principles of peace and neutrality.

Eritrea regional and international diplomatic objectives see *National Charter of Eritrea* (Charter 1994: February, 10-16) are to follow a foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, based on independence and national interest, to establish relations with all countries, regardless of their political and economic systems, to build friendship with all peoples, regardless of historical and cultural differences, to strive for regional as well as global peace and stability, to develop economic and cultural cooperation with all countries in order to accelerate its economic and social development and to abide by all international laws and agreements to which Eritrea is a signatory.

The Cultural Dimension of Nation Building

The cultural dimension of nation building is examined by Abraha (2010 and 2012). In this work Abraha examined the impact of power-distance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, high versus low level of uncertainty avoidance, long-term versus short-term time orientation, neutrality (Ambivalence) versus active participation, evidence based versus unsubstantiated allegations, high versus low level of the love of a country on nation building. The other aspects of culture that were examined to find out how they impact the cultural dimension of nation building are truth versus mendacity, open versus closed mindedness and inventiveness versus lousiness.

The Social Dimension of Nation Building

Social Development and Social Justice (Termed 'Economic and Social Democracy') are some of the cornerstones of the social dimension of nation building. The social aspect of nation building includes education, health, water, and sanitation Adei, (2004). The factors that can be considered as preconditions for modern nation building, such as information, communication and technology infrastructure can be categorized under "socio-economic infrastructure." The other aspects of the social dimension of nation building addressed in Abraha (2009) titled the social dimension of nation building are listed below;

Building social cohesion, this incorporates sustained efforts to build social capital, i.e. creating a sense of belongingness, having a common destiny and working together.

Conflict prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts, this necessitates dealing with various factors such as ethnic politics, inequity, and human rights abuses.

Continuous efforts to build consensus, this includes trust, dialogue, promotion of justice, equity, basic freedoms and the reduction of bureaucratic corruption.

THE SPECIFIC ROLE (TASK) OF LEADERS

The Specific Role (Task) of Leaders

This article deals with six functions from the various roles discussed in the previous sections.

Setting the Direction

According to (Yukl, 2006 and 2013; Palmer, 2008; Hit et al, 1998 and Ireland &Hitt 1999; Hitt et al., 2010) leaders provide direction to nation building by formulating a national vision, by defining national development goals, by promoting right national values, and by being living models of their conviction. The vision has to provide a sense of continuity for followers by linking past events and present strategies to a vivid image of a better future for the organization. Yukl (2013) stresses that it is with colorful, emotional language that includes vivid imagery, metaphors, anecdotes, stories, symbols, and slogans that the ideological aspects of a vision can be communicated more clearly and persuasively. Awamleh & Garnder (1999); Holladay & Coombs (1993 &1994) assert that the success of a vision depends on how well it is communicated to people and it should be communicated at every opportunity and in a variety of ways. Interactive form of communication, i.e. meeting with people directly to explain the vision and answer questions about it is probably more effective than less interactive forms of communication (e.g., letters or e-mail messages to followers, newsletter articles, televised news conferences, videotaped speeches). Before people support radical change, they need to have a vision for a better future that is attractive enough to justify the sacrifices and hardships the change will require. In order to realize a vision leadership has to succeed in *motivating and inspiring* – keeping people moving in the right direction, despite major obstacles to change, by appealing to basic but often untapped human needs, values and emotions, (Kotter, 1999). To be the driving force of national efforts a vision has to be translated into S.M.A.R.T. (specific, measurable, attainable, realistic and time-bound) goals (Adei, 2004 & Bloisi, 2003). Likewise, Yukl (2013) contends that the leader must convince followers that the vision is feasible as it is not enough to articulate an appealing vision. The overall role of the leader is to develop and communicate the vision so that it will be secured that the followers will support the vision. Organizations can become chaotic and are less likely to be successful in the absence of a guidance provided by a vision (Hitt et al., 2010). A

leader must communicate the organizational goals to the entire organization//.....since communication is crucial to organizational efficiency (Palmer, 2008).

According to the developmental state theories see e.g. Musamba, (2010) nations which achieve growth and sustainable development are those which are led by quality leadership. One of the main characteristics of quality leadership is that it is guided by a clear vision and commitment to mobilize the masses for the implementation of the vision. The two typical qualities of leadership, i.e. the vision and commitment to mobilize the masses for the realization of the vision are called canons of leadership (Musamba, 2010). Higher education and acquaintance with the necessary knowledge and technical endowments to bring sound change in the socio-economic and political settings of a country are also the other important qualities of leadership.

Crafting Strategy to Fulfill the Vision

The leader must convince followers that the vision is feasible as it is not enough to articulate an appealing vision (Hitt et al., 2010, Palmer, 2008 and Yukl, 2013). It is necessary to make a strong link among the vision and the credible strategy for its successful implementation. It is also clearly demonstrated in other sources that to achieve the development goals that flow from the vision, every organization – be it governmental, non-profit, or a business – needs to craft multiple strategies (Bloisi, 2003). The development of strategies is also applicable to nation building as Adei (2004) discusses it in detail. Leaders have to put together effective growth strategies translated into effective policies and programs that, over time, enable the realization of national goals.

“At the core of those strategies are quality education; including universal education up to 16 years or 18 years; the development of basic infrastructure; institutional and financial reforms; the removal of bureaucratic and other impediments such as a confused land tenure and titling system that escalates the cost of doing business; a managed but relatively open market economy; a deliberate strategy that aims at the development of local entrepreneurship and business; and a relatively reliable, predictable and less corrupt judiciary...//=...”
(Adei,2004, p. 24).

Act confident and optimistic

In Hit et al., (2010) it is clearly stated that a leader has to demonstrate self-confidence and conviction for the followers to have a faith in the vision. What has already been accomplished has to be emphasized rather than how much more is yet to be done (Yokul, 2013). According

to the same source, the positive aspects of the vision have to be emphasized rather than the obstacles and dangers that lie ahead.

Emphasize and effectively use human capital

On the issue of human capital it is suggested that strategic leaders should attract and retain the absolute best employee talent available, and continue to develop employee capabilities and core competences, to reward human capital development and use the human capital in the best way for the organization (Hitt et al., 2010). If people are confident about their ability to achieve a vision they will be highly motivated. Especially, if the task is difficult or dangerous it is distinctly important to foster confidence and optimism. Palmer (2008) asserts that a leader's ultimate goal is to release the human potential of the followers. According to the same source, it is critical to the execution of a strategic plan that the compensation system (reward) be tied to the plan and not exclusively to earnings per share or the budget. This benefits both the followers and the whole organization.

Express confidence in followers

Research findings of (Eden, 1984, 1990; Eden & Shani, 1982; Field, 1989; McNatt & Judge, 2004; Sutton and Woodman, 1989) which dealt with *Pygmalion effect* clearly demonstrated people perform better if a leader possesses high expectations for them and shows confidence on them. To foster confidence and optimism is especially important when the task is difficult or dangerous, or when team members lack confidence on themselves (Yukl, 2013). The leader should review the specific strengths, assets, and resources that people can draw on to carry out the strategy. Moreover, he should explain why the team is as good as or better than an earlier team that was successful in performing the same type of activity. The fact that the leader must build confidence among the followers is unequivocally documented by Palmer (2008). A leader must communicate high expectations and then ensure that followers develop confidence that they can meet those expectations. They can who think they can.

Build and maintain an effective national culture

Creating and maintaining a healthy national culture should be a priority of strategic leaders (Hit e al. 2010). The core values of an effective and conducive culture are innovation, learning, and valuing human capital and team actions (Yukl, 2013).

Engage in Ethical Practices

One of the ethical roles that strategic leaders should play is in establishing ethical practices (Yukl, 2013). It is argued in the same source that effective strategic leaders place a strong emphasis on honesty, trust, and integrity in the decision-making process and in the implementation of those decisions. It is very important that these normative values must be instilled in leaders and subordinates throughout the society so that they are clearly understood and observable through their decisions and actions. Personal integrity is the foundation of leadership that a leader at all times must embody (Palmer, 2008).

Lead by Example

By setting an example of exemplary behavior in day-to-day interactions with subordinates can a leader influence subordinate commitment (Yukl, 2013). According to the same source leading by example is sometimes called role modeling. A leader who demands subordinates to observe a particular standard should also observe the same standard. Likewise, a leader who requests subordinates to make special sacrifices should set an example by doing the same.

Mobilizing the Whole Nation behind the Vision, Goals and Strategies

Mobilization can be derived from a clear vision, credible strategy, demonstrating a commitment to improve welfare and being demonstrably zero-tolerant as far as corruption is concerned. The mobilization of people to achieve a development invariably starts with a competent and trusted national economic management team, such as the Korean Development Institute, and mobilizing the indigenous business community (Adei, 2004). Mobilizing people is different and it is more of a communications challenge than a design problem (Kotter, 1999). To mobilize people, the leader and his agenda must be perceived as credible, effectively communicated using local metaphors, and supported by showing some early results in a few visible areas. A leader can mobilize followers by identifying their goals, desires, wants, and needs, and make them believe that the leader is really trying to help them achieve these aspirations (Palmer, 2008). To achieve the goals of the organization, the leader must link the individual goals of the followers and the overall goals that are incorporated in, for example, a strategic plan.

Managing Change Effectively

Effective national leaders focus on developing the requisite national capacity to manage the chosen path to change and development (Adei, 2004). Kotter (1999) draws two lessons from the literature that deals with change. First, change process goes through a series of phases that, in total, usually require a considerable length of time. The second is that critical mistakes in any of the phases can have a devastating impact, slowing momentum and negating hard-won gains. To accomplish this task successfully leaders of developmental state should be highly educated and possess the necessary knowledge and technical endowments to bring meaningful change in the socio-economic and political settings of their country (Musamba, 2010).

Decision Making and Problem Solving

Taking decisions and solving development problems are the two main tasks of effective leaders. At certain times, leadership, is a lonely job and more so when one has to take the critical, and sometimes, life-and-death decisions (Adei, 2004). A leader must step out ahead of the followers and make difficult decisions without consensus and at times even without adequate explanation in order to resolve the threat to the organization, in times of crisis (Palmer, 2008).

Developing Other Leaders

A great number of other leaders are needed under the leader of a nation to perform the duty of nation building (Adei, 2004). They can be a vice-president, ministers, regional administrators, and managing directors of state owned enterprises. Moreover, a successful national development leader wouldn't doubt or hesitate to develop a competent leader to function as his successor with more or less the same vision to continue the national building process already started. The fact that one of the main duties of leaders and managers is to develop leadership and management skill is also discussed in (Kotter, 1999 &Kul, 2005).

Developmental (Effective) and Legacy-Building Leadership Characteristics

According to Munroe (1993) if a nation lacks quality, legitimate and just leaders, national deterioration occurs. What determines the building of a prosperous and peaceful life and nation is the quality of leadership. Adei (2004) stresses this definition of leadership further by developing the three central elements of leadership, i.e. quality, legitimacy and just. *Quality*

means to be competent, knowledgeable and skilled in the task of nation building. *Legitimacy* is winning an election and acceptance by the governed. The third is *Just*. The feeling of justice in a society of any nation on tribal, ethnic or social lines often leads to a harmonious life, the building and strengthening of social capital, and, ultimately, promotes progress. It is believed by many researchers that if a country has just, competent and legitimate leaders, within a certain period of time that very country is put on an irreversible path to socio-economic development.

In line with the above, Janis (1982) postulates that effective leaders tend to possess three important features and they are *Character*, *Competence* and *Care*. *Care* exists when the subordinates feel that their leader understands their situation and that they are valued through participation. *Competence* means that leaders have to be capable and skilled to do their task. *Character* means leaders show honesty, integrity, trustworthiness and principle-centeredness. Authentic leadership is believed to produce desirable, expected and positive results which can be essential ingredient, i.e. quality of leadership in nation building. In the work of Avolio & Gardner, (2005) authentic leadership is defined as the type of leadership that can result in positive and desirable organizational outcomes in turbulent and challenging times. As a concept authenticity had been thought of, discussed and developed, i.e. explored in the past having its roots in ancient Greek philosophers and specifically Shakespeare who puts it as (“To thy own self be true” which is used to describe leaders who know themselves (Harter, 2002). Novicevic et al. (2006); Kernis, (2003) and Avolio et al. (2004) assert that leaders can choose to seek to know themselves and what they stand for and behaving accordingly in a positive moral and ethical manner without fear or favor and encouraging followers to reciprocate. The adopted set of behaviors of the leader becomes visible to their followers as the leader and followers interact. Leaders are perceived as being true to themselves, i.e. authentic or not from this point. Authentic leaders become true to themselves and encourage followers to reciprocate, not only to help the followers to become true to themselves, but are able to positively influence their already built ideas of leadership (Gardner et al. 2005). In the work of Owusu-Bempah, J. (2011) the three main cornerstones of authentic leadership are honesty, transparency and authenticity. Although, different leadership researchers or theoreticians differ on how they define authentic leadership, most agree that authentic leaders (1) are self-aware and genuine, (2) are mission driven and focused on results, (3) lead with their heart, not just thus their minds and (4) focus on the long-term.

The Research Methods

This article is composed of both primary and secondary data. It is from the PFDJ charter and other published and unpublished sources that the secondary data in this work is collected. Specifically, the secondary data which is collected from published sources is used to identify the research issues examined so far including the findings to determine the research problem and research purpose addressed in this work. Moreover, the secondary data is also used to formulate the interview questions to collect primary data, to develop the research methods section and the applied conceptual framework to structure and to analyze both the primary and secondary in combination. The two main sources for the secondary data in this article are the PFDJ charter to a very limited extent and the interviews of the various government officials which is published in You Tube. The information in the other published sources is not included directly in the secondary data however it is applied indirectly to verify and or to secure the validity and reliability of the information collected by interviewing three veteran liberation fighters. Moreover, the same information from the secondary sources have been seriously considered when the interview questions were formulated, when the interviews were conducted, in transcribing the information collected through interviews, in the analysis of the data and in drawing conclusions. Specifically, in drawing the conclusions the author has taken into consideration four different perspectives, the secondary data from published and unpublished sources, the primary data collected by interviewing veteran liberation fighters, the authors' knowledge, experience and personal observation of the political developments in Eritrea since the days of the liberations struggle up till the present. This clearly illustrates that the author has checked and confirmed the validity and reliability of the primary and secondary data by merging and combining the various sources and data, i.e. in the published and unpublished sources including the information provided by various government authorities which is in the You tube.

The primary data collected through interviews are included in the empirical findings and their trustworthiness is confirmed as they do correspond with the facts in the articles mentioned above as well as with the author's personal observation, knowledge and experience of the developments of the political situation in Eritrea. It is worth mentioning that the author has not included his own personal observation, knowledge and experience in the empirical findings but has used them only as corroboratory evidence to the primary data collected through interviews together with the information from the published and unpublished sources. The author decided to exclude his own personal observations, experience and knowledge from

the empirical findings to avoid the bias which affects the validity and reliability of this article. This approach increases the validity of the study however the reliability can be moderate like any other qualitative study. The number of the respondents in both the secondary and primary data is quite sufficient which strengthens the validity of the study although it still makes it difficult to state that the reliability of this study is strong.

The procedures to collect the primary data are; (i) Selection of interviewees: For the secondary data almost all of the interviewees are high ranking officials holding leadership positions during the struggle and after independence such as the president and his political advisor, (ii) To get a balanced view of the political developments and situation in Eritrea three veteran liberation fighters were contacted who provided the necessary information, (iii) Formulation of the interview questions: The interview questions are formulated by strictly following the research issues and purpose of the article including the information on the PFDJ which deals with the political dimension of nation building, (iv) The research proposal, research methods and interview questions were read and commented by three researchers on politics and the people interviewed themselves. Consequently, the research issues, purpose and interview questions were developed further and finally, (v) the interview questions were sent to three interviewees some days before the interview so that they would read the questions and get prepared for the interview. Before asking interview questions, the three interviewees were asked to provide information about the general Eritrean politics and how it has changed and been developed during the armed struggle and after independence up till the present. All three interviews were recorded. The information collected was compiled and sent to the interviewees for their comments and some changes were done on the basis of the comments received. Some of the information was deleted and some additional information was also provided, (vi) Presentation of the empirical findings: In this section the primary and secondary data collected from the primary and secondary sources were presented in a natural setting following the structure of the applied conceptual framework; (vii) Data analysis: The analysis was done by linking the empirical data, i.e. a combination of both the primary and secondary data with the various variables (concepts) and sub-variables (sub-concepts) of the applied conceptual framework (model) in order to address the research issues, i.e. the research questions and purpose of this article. It can't be claimed that all the variables (concepts) and sub-concepts (sub-variables) are equally applied in the analysis as it was absolutely necessary to make some limitations by putting more emphasis on some concepts/variables which were deemed to be more relevant to the political dimension of nation building. Finally, based on the research questions, purpose of the article and the analysis, conclusions are drawn and future

research implications are drawn considering the contributions and limitations of the current study.

The choice and development of the model

The model applied in this work is composed of three groups of variables: (i) the five dimensions of nation building, (ii) the twelve roles of leaders that build modern nations discussed under the specific role (task) of leaders and (iii) the characteristics by which effective and legacy-building i.e. authentic leaders are marked in nation building discussed under developmental (effective) and legacy-building leadership characteristics. The first variable of the model is composed of five dimensions as a new dimension, i.e. the diplomatic dimension is included in contrast to the models applied in the social and cultural dimension of nation building which are made up of four dimensions. The diplomatic dimension is included as it is also an important ingredient of nation building. The second variable in the current model is composed of twelve sub-variables in contrast to the models applied in the social and cultural dimension of nation building which are composed of six variables. The six new sub-variables are to act confident and optimistic, to emphasize and effectively use human capital, to express confidence in followers, to build and maintain an effective national culture, to engage in ethical practices and to lead by example. The model was developed further to include six new sub-variables as it was found out to be necessary to make it more comprehensive so that data analysis could be deeper and wider to make it possible to address the research issues adequately. The third and last variable, the developmental (effective) and legacy-building leadership characteristics is also developed further by up-to-dating the literature and including a new concept authentic leadership. Authentic leadership is included due to the fact that it makes it possible to produce desirable, expected and positive results which are vital components of quality leadership in nation building.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Secondary Data

In the PFDJ NATIONAL CHARTER, adopted by the 3rd Congress of the EPLF/PFDJ, Naqfa, February 10-16, (1994) under section I titled “introduction” and specifically under the sub-section 2 sub-titled “our vision for future Eritrea” the vision is summarized under six basic goals which specifically are National Harmony, Political democracy, Economic and Social Development, Social Justice (termed ‘Economic and Social Democracy’), Cultural Revival,

and Regional and International Cooperation. In the same document under section II titled “THE BASIS OF OUR PROGRAMS” and specifically under the sub-section 1 subtitled “Building a Democratic Political System” two specific questions are raised and an attempt is done to answer them. The two questions are: (i) what is the best possible political system appropriate for independent Eritrea? And (ii) what type of government should we build? Thereafter, the six specific objectives of Building a Democratic Political System are listed and they are:

1. To establish a constitutional system whose constitution is drafted and ratified with broad public participation, which respects basic human rights, whose legislative, executive and judicial bodies check and balance one another, in which the rule of law prevails throughout Eritrea and which anchors the unity and development of the people of Eritrea.
2. On the basis of a constitution, to build a strong government and society which accelerates nation-building, guarantees national unity, creates a suitable climate for economic and social development, has broad social foundations in both urban and rural areas, is open and participatory to all sectors of society, guarantees balanced development, respects citizens’ rights, is free from corruption, gives priority to national interest, safeguards national independence and develops national consensus.
3. On the basis of a constitution, to strive to uphold basic human and political rights, which include freedom of faith and of the press, the right to political organization, peaceful demonstration, information, work and education, freedom from fear and suppression and equality under the law.
4. To have a political system that fosters harmony among Eritrean people, rejects and weakens all divisive tendencies, develops national institutions, and guarantees that nationalism and secularism are the basis of all political activities. We must ensure that the political system is based on the principle of complete and developing nationalism.
5. To ensure that the political system is founded on people, guarantees the participation of people in decisions on local and national affairs, is built from the grass-roots, operates on the principles of decentralization, political plurality, openness, tolerance and accountability, respects basic rights to political organization and freedom of expression and is a democratic, pluralist and participatory system.
6. To make the political system a multi-party system in which political parties legally participate, and compete among themselves in a peaceful and democratic way.
7. To strive to establish and develop democratic institutions such as a free and strong judicial body, various associations and movements (e.g. those of women, farmers, youth and

students), a conscious civil society embracing trade unions and other non-governmental institutions, and a free, trustworthy, critical and responsible press.

Secondary Data

Establishing a Constitutional System with the Broad Public Participation

The Constitution Commission Chairman about the Constitution Drafting Process

In the last phase of drafting the constitution few highly ranked PFDJ officials said that democracy and multi-party system creates problems and a guided democracy (one party democracy) works better for us, Loss Angeles Times

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ck2ogzOwij4>) interview with Dr Bereket Habteselassie.

The commissions' response was that establishing a multi-party government is approved by the two E.P.L.F. congresses and based on those decisions it is drafting a constitution that secures a multi-party government system a reply that didn't satisfy the party officials. When the guided democracy issue was raised several times the commission arranged a meeting in which Isayas participated according to Dr. Berket. The commission opened the meeting with the following statement, "a multi-party democracy is approved in the two EPLF congresses in 1977 and 1987 and the drafting of the constitution is based on those decisions". Thereafter Isayas was asked if he believes in building a multi-party government in Eritrea. He responded as follows, like what the commission has stated it, it is already decided in the two congresses of the EPLF and those decisions can't be changed

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ck2ogzOwij4>). He continued to say that he assumed that the commission faced some technical problems to be dealt with otherwise the decisions of the two congresses have to be respected and multi-party government has to be established in our country. Finally, as the provisional government didn't want to implement the constitution it started the border war which means that it declared that it doesn't want to implement the constitution. Dr. Bereket was asked if the current situation would be different if the constitution was implemented. His response was that if the constitution was implemented, the government would have been elected by the people and its authority would have been based on the people and the war couldn't have been started without the parliaments' approval (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ck2ogzOwij4>). In such a situation if Isayas starts the war

without following the legal procedure, he would have been asked legally by the parliament and be held accountable for starting the war and its devastating consequences.

Isayas on Establishing a Constitutional Government with the Broad Public Participation

In a public seminar in Asmara in Sep. 1996 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ROUJzKVmoO) Isayas was asked by a certain individual although the Draft Constitution allows multi-party, in your interview with foreign journalists you said that multi-party system in such a small nation like Eritrea is not appropriate. Moreover, on the question as to how many parties will be established in Eritrea, your answer was four million parties. As these two statements contradict with the Draft Constitution, why do you give such answers which totally contradict with the constitution? His answer was that, I don't remember saying such things to which journalist. Allowing a multi-party system was accepted as a cornerstone in the 1987 EPLF second congress considering our reality, however religious and regional parties and parties that serve foreign interest may not be allowed. When asked when such parties will be formed? In the next 5-6 years, no, no in practice it is impossible.

Isayas in Al Jazeera International interview when asked about the promised democracy, multi-party and open political system governed by the people said; "I didn't promise anybody anything. There is no commodity called democracy, and there is no commodity promised by any person to people of a certain country." On the issue of election, he said if on meant like the elections in Ethiopia, Morocco, Zimbabwe, it may never happen in Eritrea (<http://youtube.com/watch?v=X=7hkr>). In the same interview regarding the tolerance of a political opposition, he said; talking about the political process is a different matter, but if you mean the opposition created and fabricated by Langley, i.e. the agents hired by CIA I don't call them political opposition (<http://youtube.com/watch?v=X=7hkr>).

Dr Bereket the Chairman of the Commission on the Implementation of the Constitution

In the interview with the Los Angeles Times, Dr Bereket was asked, what were his dreams of future Eritrea? He responded; a democratic nation that guarantees the rule of law and human rights in which its people can lead a happy and decent life where their basic human, material and spiritual needs are fulfilled (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ck2ogzOwj4>). To establish an Eritrean government ruled by law which is accountable and transparent was my dreams which were all promised in the three EPLF congresses and in the parliament ratified constitution however betrayed. When the border war with Ethiopia was finished Esayas refused to implement the constitution claiming that the country is in an emergency situation as

priority should and is given to defend our sovereignty. Dr Bereket said in the same interview when Esayas was asked by Al Jazeera as to when the constitution will be implemented, if there will be democracy in Eritrea and when election will be held. Esayas said the constitution is a piece of document and election can be held after 30-40 years which indirectly to say that the constitution will not be implemented.

The Advisor of Political Disaster Yemane Ghebream on the Implementation of the Constitution

Yemane Ghebream speech p1-p3, on the USA festival in 2001, published on the 25th of February, 2013. The G15 who are members of the government have sent a letter to the president demanding the implementation of the constitution and what is your reply to their request? Yemane said although the letter is signed by 15 members of the EPLF only few of them are responsible. Being untimely and unexpected this movement has damaged us. Securing our sovereignty is our priority, the border is not demarcated, the martyrs' families are not informed and compensated and even our people have said it is untimely (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?V=9v6WN4xtm>). A certain individual criticizing that they have compromised the rule of law, legal freedom and the process of democratization asked the following questions: Why did you illegally imprison the chairman of the students union, detained university students on the WIA concentration camp instead of sending them in the field where they can contribute and removed the president of the high court only because of airing his views? His response was that all these are lies and there some other forces behind all the activities carried out by the various groups mentioned above. The students' president has taken illegal action which has nothing to do with the students and we have taken legal measures. The president of the high court took a political stand which he shouldn't have done and that is why he is removed from his post.

Mahmoud Sherifo (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?V=w2MW1qTr/cA>) once said when asked about the draft of the election law as to whom it should be presented; whether it should be presented to the people or to the parliament and who should chair the process of the presentation of the draft law, the executive body or the parliament? Sherifo added that the executive body is creating obstacles and detracting the process of the presentation of the draft law. Not only Sherifo but even the president of the high court Ato Teame had the same critique in connection with the interference of the president in his work. Yemane commented as follows (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?V=w2MW1qTr/cA>), it is the president who assigned Sherifo to be the chairman when the parliament decided to form a party committee

and to build the committee members. Sherifo acted accordingly and the parliament was happy. However, Sherifo said that the president has snatched the power given to the committee by the parliament to present the draft constitution to the people and or to the parliament. Whereas, Yemane said that the draft presented by the committee being discussed freely and fairly by the people

Yemane Ghebreab when asked by the VOA on the 2-10-2012 on the implementation of the constitution responded as follows; the priority of our people is improving the living conditions and the government has been given power to do that and has been doing that to fulfill the needs of our people. This includes the youth education, health, values and participation in the political life and equally in the social life and we are working with that. Always when we think and talk of the constitution it is not an issue that can be said that it is implemented one day and not in the other day. The constitution is a document which stipulates the basis of the government, system or a society that we want to build which guarantees equality, justice and prosperity. Moreover, it is a document that enshrines the procedures that we have to follow to build such a system. Implementing a constitution is a process or a task that you have to deal with for decades because securing equality, prosperity and justice is a process that goes for centuries. It should be understood that its implementation is a process that we work with continuously not a document or an objective that is shelved in a certain place. I don't think that the issues of political participation and the wrights of the citizens in Eritrea have been properly understood. Whenever the questions or issues of human rights, human values and popular participation are raised they are judged or measured by whether there was election or not and by how many newspapers or media channels and we don't think that it is a correct method or ways of measurement. Therefore, on those issues equally as the economic developments; it should be explained and understood that social, political, educational and cultural developments have been achieved and continuous efforts are being done to consolidate further what has been achieved so far.

On the question of why political prisoners and detained journalists don't face justice and are they are alive or not? Yemane answered as follows, to start with these questions are clearly stipulated or enshrined in our constitution and they are not new to us. We were even fighting for those issues even during the liberation struggle. They are the corner stones or the main objectives of the National Charter of the EPLF. Not only with the basic rights but they are also connected with the values of our citizens and the fact that we believe and are committed to them are also justified with the sacrifices that we have paid. Moreover, the general development in our country and one isolated event in the 20 years should be separated and

observed separately. The case of the 11 prisoners who were members of the government and some other few individuals imprisoned with them should be kept or dealt with separately. The way we have handled this separate event or phenomenon is not an issue that we should be criticized for but it is an issue that we should be tanked for.

Isayas on the Freedom of Speech and Free Press

When asked about the closure of the free press and the detention of two Eritrean's who worked in the American Embassy by Al Jazeera International, Esayas has this to say: you are asking a list of questions provided to you by the State Department of the CIA and trying to make a political issue in the name of Al Jazeera International. He continues: "I can assure you by the freedom of press if you mean the press financed by the military industry and by the conglomerate in the world, or if you consider the financing and managing of the media, such as the CNN, Al Jazeera International and BBC by a special interest group as a freedom of press, I can assure you we are not part to it." (<http://youtube.com/watch?v=X=7hkr>). In another occasion the Al Jazeera International in connection with the freedom of speech and free press asked Isayas , why there is so much repression if the country is not in war footing. His response was that this is a joke. Anybody can leave this country at any time. What about the freedom of speech and freedom of press? You jail more journalists than any other country in the world (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?V=OOuQwODNKTA>). He said; this are the lies and distortion of facts to justify that the country is in war footing and to destabilize the region.

Primary Data

The First, Second and Third EPLF Congresses

The information for the primary data is collected through telephone interviews with three EPLF veteran liberation fighters Abed Tesfay, Tesfay Temnewo and Yemane Ghebremedhin from the 22-26//01/2014. According to the three interviewees, it was the underground secretive party the so called the Eritrean Peoples' Revolutionary Party which decided the time when the three EPLF congresses should be convened, which drafted and ratified their programs as well as elected the fake and dysfunctional leadership for the EPLF. In its three congresses, the party elected its central committee which is a real and powerful leadership to lead the secretive party and the EPLF, i.e. the struggle for freedom. Neither the liberation fighters in particular except its few members who proved their loyalty to Esayas nor the

Eritrean people in general knew and approved the establishment and the role of the secretive party in the struggle for the liberation and in the aftermath of the liberation. This reality reveals that the Eritrean liberation struggle on the E.P.L.F. side was led by a secretive party which was not elected, approved and not known by the liberation fighters and the Eritrean people.

The procedure for the formation of the election committee for the first party and EPLF congress were as follows. In the party congress in 1976, the then party and EPLF chairman Isayas presented a list of candidates to function as an election committee and to chair the congress according to Tesfay Temnewo. Thereafter, he asked the congress participants if there is any objection and nobody objected as all the participants were those who already proved loyalty to the chairman by simply supporting whatever he suggests and does. The formation of the election committee for the second and third party and EPLF congresses were done in the same way as that of the first congress as stated by Yemane Ghebremedhin and confirmed by Abed Tesfay.

The case of the nomination and selection of the congress participants especially for the first congress was very unique and interesting the way Tesfay Temnewo puts it. Although it was already decided by Isayas the then party and EPLF chairman, it was in the party congress that it was formalized as to who should and shouldn't participate according to the first respondent. Regarding those who should participate, the chairman presented a list of candidates which the participants symbolically approved without any objection. In the case of those people whom the chairman and his blind party followers (members') excluded from participating in the congress, the chairman presented three approaches to exclude them from participating in the congress. (i) Certain individuals should be sent to prison, (ii) Others should be sent to a course in a cadres' school and (iii) the rest should be transferred from a certain place to other remote places so that the congress will be convened while they are on their way. By implementing the three approaches the party excluded the fighters which the chairman and his blind followers did not want to participate in the congress. More or less the same procedure was followed in the second and third party congresses as to how congress participants were nominated and selected according to the information provided by Abed Tesfay and confirmed by Yemane Ghebremedhin although the wording and sometimes the order of the course of events and the main actors and their deeds might differ to a certain extent, the tactics, malicious and undemocratic procedures being the same. During the second party congress in 1986, Isayas told the congress participants that the first organizational congress was successful as the party has managed to exclude those who were not wanted to participate in the first organizational

congress by taking the three measures mentioned above according to Yemane Ghebremedhin who participated in the congress. It means that during the second congress Isayas has also hinted to the party congress participants that he is also going to exclude those who are not wanted to participate in the organizational congress applying more or less the same tactics depending on the situation. If not exactly in the same way the party has applied various tactics to exclude liberation fighters from participating in the organizational congress if they are identified or understood to oppose Isayas or to threaten and question his dictatorial power. When the congress was officially started Isayas told the participants two strange cases. Firstly, he said that when he was in a Cadres School in China, the Chinese told them that unless they build a secretive part they are not going to succeed and at the same time they gave them a party program. Secondly, in ten years' time the leadership elected in the first congress in 1977 didn't have regular meetings and didn't work to perform its duties due to conflicts, misunderstandings and divisions among themselves which means that he was leading alone for then years making his own decisions.

The Convening of the Congress and the Election Procedure: On the first place, the chairman based on the party formalized decision presents a list of certain individuals to chair the congress and asks the participants and as nobody objected those presented automatically chair the congress. A formal nomination and election procedure was conducted and when the votes were collected and when the counting of the votes took place the chairman Isayas said he will willingly join the election committee in counting the votes and asked the congress participants if there was anybody who wants to join him. Nobody showed interest and people took short break while the so called counting of the votes took place. Funny enough after a short while the participants were told as to who was elected and those who were elected in the party congress to be the fake or forged leaders of the EFPL were said to be elected. In the three congresses it was decided that a constitutional multi-party and democratic government with a broad public participation will be built according to the three respondents.

Analysis

Setting the Direction and in Terms of a Specific Vision and Goals

As our empirically findings illustrated, it is confirmed in the three EPLF congresses and it is clearly stipulated in the PFDJ charter and in the parliament ratified constitution that a democratic and a multi-party government will be established in Eritrea. Considering (i) how the three EPLF congresses were conducted, (ii) the one party, i.e. guided democracy views

suggested several times by some highly ranked PFDJ officials in the constitution drafting process, (iii) the inconsistencies and contradictions in the interviews of Isayas about the implementation of the constitution and building a multi-party government elected by the people and (iii) how Isayas contradicts with the inconsistent replies given by his political advisor Yemane Gebreab about the implementation of the constitution, election and multi-party democracy; one doesn't only doubt but can clearly see that the Eritrean authorities are not committed to building a multi-party democratic government elected by the people by implementing the constitution as clearly stipulated in the political vision. In the study of the economic, social and cultural dimensions of nation building in Eritrea; Abraha (2010 & 2012) has both theoretically and practically illustrated that the government doesn't at all implement the visions promised to the people. Moreover, these studies have also showed that the authorities are very good in fabricating excuses for not implementing the promised vision. They are also equally capable of putting the blame or failures on others, and at further creating new goals and designing fresh and revised visions to prolong and strengthen their political position to stay in power. In the absence of a credible vision it is thus unrealistic to discuss defining and realizing the specific goals by crafting strategies in light of the vision.

Crafting the Strategy to Fulfill the Vision

We have already illustrated that the authorities are not committed to building a multi-party government which shows that they will not implement the constitution. Thus, in the absence of commitment to implementing the constitution it is unthinkable and unrealistic to expect that strategies will be crafted to fulfill the vision. On the contrary we have observed that different tactics and strategies are crafted to avoid the fulfillment of the vision. The strategies used to avoid the implementation of the constitution are trying to convince its blind supporters that the country is in an emergency situation, the border is not demarcated, our priority is the security of the country, we have to feed our people, China has achieved success and growth with guided democracy, i.e. with a one party system etc. issues which don't at all can be an obstacle to the constitution implementation.

Act confident and optimistic

This is a very interesting role of a leader in nation building if one thinks about it in light of what the self-appointed leader and his secretive party officials have said in different

occasions. Does what these people say in various public seminars, interviews show that they have full faith in the vision which is a good indicator of how confident and optimistic they are? Do the various measures taken by these people in different periods of time in very many national issues show that they are confident and optimistic as well as have a full faith in the vision? Before answering those questions let us look at what Isayas said to Al Jazeera international, (<http://youtube.com/watch?v=X=7hkr>) “we have not promised democracy and nobody can promise that to anybody as democracy is not a commodity”. This is a white lie and a denial of all the documents shelved in his office, a denial of what the three EPLF congresses have decided, a denial of the EPLF vision, a denial of the parliament ratified Eritrean constitution and above all a denial of the causes of the 100 000 Eritrean martyrs sacrificed their life to liberate and defend the home country. This behavior is a clear indication of the lack of the act confident and optimistic.

Emphasize and effectively use human capital

The fact that human capital is one of the worst mismanaged resources in Eritrea is both theoretically and empirically illustrated issue by Abraha (2010 and 2012) in examining the social and cultural dimensions of nation building. It suffices to mention and to justify how authorities who send 4 000 university students in the concentration camp of the Wia desert mismanage and ineffectively human capital.

Confidence in Followers

According to the *Pygmalion effect* see for example Eden (1984 & 1990), McNatt & Judge, (2004), Sutton & Woodman (1989) people perform better if a leader possesses high expectations from them and shows high confidence on them. Isayas told us that the leadership elected in 1977 couldn't perform its duties for ten years for various reasons which shows that he didn't have any expectation from and confidence on them. He even underestimates and ridicules the fighters and members of leadership in different occasions which can really paralyze the organization to perform well below or short of expectations as his attitudes, approaches and deeds clearly show that he doesn't have confidence in followers.

Build and maintain an effective national culture

The fact that the current leadership has destroyed the dynamic value based Eritrean culture and replaced it with the militarist culture of intimidation, terror, liquidation, elimination and mendacity is one of the main conclusions of Abraha (2012) in the study of the cultural

dimension of nation building. This is a clear illustration of the fact that the PFDJ central office has destroyed the Eritrean culture in contrast to what is necessary in nation building which specifically is building and maintaining an effective national culture.

Engage in Ethical Practices

We have seen above that the leadership has destroyed the value based culture and replaced with the culture of mendacity and a denial of the reality which clearly shows that they are not at all engaged in ethical practices. The lack of getting engaged in ethical practices is clearly shown in the inconsistencies, contradictions, denial of facts, denial of what is promised during and after the liberation struggle, detention of eleven leadership members during and after liberation by Isayas and his criminal cohorts without the due process of the law, etc, etc.

Lead by example

Isayas misleads by example rather than leading by example in nation building as we have directly and indirectly showed above in among other things in setting the direction, crafting strategy to fulfill the vision, in the act of confidence and optimism, in emphasizing and effectively using human capital, in expressing confidence in followers and in building and maintaining an effective national culture. In contrast he leads by example in designing and implementing the vision of building and consolidating his political power.

Mobilizing the Whole Nation behind the vision, Goals and Strategies

A clear vision, credible strategy, demonstrating commitment to improve welfare and being demonstrably zero-tolerant as far as corruption is concerned are some of the prerequisites to mobilize the whole nation behind the vision. Thus as our empirical findings and the thereby following analysis did clearly demonstrate that those prerequisites are missing, it is not only difficult but completely impossible to mobilize the nation behind the vision although no such serious attempt will be done as the leadership is not committed to the vision.

Managing Change Effectively

According to Musamba (2010) leaders should possess the necessary knowledge and technical endowments to bring significant changes in the political and in the socio-economic setting of their country. However, the leadership which has failed to bring the political changes, the economic development, the cultural and social goals enshrined in the constitution and in the national vision is not appropriate to Managing Change Effectively.

Decision Making and Problem Solving

In the second party congress in 1985 Isayas reported that the leadership didn't perform its task in ten years' time due to internal conflicts. This being the case he worked alone for ten years without any attempt to solve or manage the conflict which clearly shows that he didn't perform his decision making and problem solving task properly. He even said that he wouldn't even give an account of what type of conflict it is, what its causes and consequences are which clearly indicates that he is not even ready to solve the problem by making appropriate decisions.

Developing Other Leaders

Our literature review has clearly shown that a successful national development leader wouldn't doubt/hesitate to develop a competent leader(s) to function as his assistant while in power and as his successor with more or less the same vision to continue the national building process already started when he gets retired. Leave alone to develop other leaders as successors, Isayas doesn't even allow having a vice-president which clearly indicates that he has neither developed and would never develop other leaders which is one of his main failures in the nation building process. If other leaders are not developed to lead the country at present and in the future, the country is in a very risky and an unpredictable future which is one of the typical failures of Isayas.

Developmental (Effective) and Legacy-Building Leadership Characteristics

National deterioration occurs if a nation lacks quality, legitimate and just leaders (Munroe, 1993). However, if a country has just, competent and legitimate leaders a country will be on an irreversible path to socio-economic development. We don't see any sign of the availability of a developmental and legacy-building leadership in Eritrea as the economy has stagnated mainly due to kleptomania developed by the kleptomaniac president facilitated by the militarist command economy model. For a detailed discussion of how Isayas and his clique have exploited and monopolized the Eritrean economy to serve their political motive see Abraha (2010). The PFDJ has also developed a militarized political ideology and there is no sign of any harmonious life and loosing hope thousands of youth are living the country continuously. It is an authentic leader who can accomplish successfully the task of a developmental and legacy building leadership, i.e. a leader quality which doesn't exist in Eritrea. This is because an authentic leadership is a one who produces desirable, expected and

positive results which are not yet realized and can't be realized in Eritrea as long as the PFDJ is in power.

Conclusions

One of the main conclusions of this article is that the PFDJ Central Office has committed a political blunder and scored one of its main historical failures and betrayals in the political dimension of nation building as it did in the economic, social, diplomatic and cultural dimensions of nation building. The militarized political ideology developed and implemented by the inhuman, destructive, secretive, vindictive and manipulative underground party is a poisonous and destructive tool applied to secure, maintain, defend and strengthen the dictatorial political power of the one man owned and controlled raw and secretive underground party. The militarized political ideology is synonymously used with the militarized political culture in this article. The tools used by the powerful to gain, strengthen, defend and maintain his positions are very many and to mention some of them. Divide and rule, keep everything secret, continuous and unfulfilled promises and putting the blame on others when promises fail to be implemented, continuously creating an atmosphere of uncertainty, fear and suspicion informing people that the country sovereignty is in danger due to the hostility of foreign forces in collaboration with some internal forces who are Eritreans by birth, terrorizing and eliminating vocal, bright and critical thinkers. To replace the unfulfilled promises with new flowery and unrealistic promises which can never and ever be fulfilled in the future is one and the main tactics used by the leadership to buy time to create a favorable ground for the implementation of its hidden objectives. The manipulative leadership knows from the very beginning that those objectives set in the vision will never be realized and it is well prepared in advance as how to make a justification for the failure of their fulfillment. It puts the blame for the unrealized vision and promises on others who do not belong to the core leadership by accusing them that they harbor hidden objectives which do not match with the aspirations and motives of the Eritrean people. Thereafter, it comes up with new promises which the failure of their fulfillment will be justified by putting the blame on other innocent people accusing them of collaborating with some foreign powers.

The other conclusion is that the cause of the failure is the lack of an authentic leadership which possesses the characteristics of a developmental (effective) and legacy-building leader. The final conclusion is that the inauthentic leadership was not committed to the implementation of the vision which proves that it is dishonest, unjust, and illegitimate, in

genuine, lacks integrity, distrust worthy, dishonest, lacks principle-centeredness and above all a leadership that lacks all the qualities necessary for a successful nation building.

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