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Ideas and Ideologies Shaping the Next Generation of African Leaders

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Eliza M. Johannes

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Executive Summary

The issue of leadership in Africa has never been more important if African countries – and specifically African citizens – are to reap the benefits of the many positive changes that have taken place over the past decade. Academics, policy makers and opinion leaders have increasingly singled out the importance of leadership as a variable shaping the various development and governance outcomes witnessed on the African continent. There is a need for African leadership that comprehends the threats, challenges, and opportunities currently facing the continent; realizes the importance of democratization and good governance; and has the vision and capacity to lead their respective countries. New leaders are emerging across sub-Saharan Africa. They are young, energetic and ready to tackle Africa's problems.

This study explores the ideas and ideologies that are shaping the next generation of leaders beginning to emerge across sub-Saharan Africa. The key findings of this paper are:

- Overall there is a new generation of leaders emerging across sub-Saharan Africa who do not have the experience of colonialism; therefore while they acknowledge the importance of those who struggled to liberate African countries, they are ready to move beyond allegiances in order to improve their nations.
- Recognize the need for economic growth that benefits the entire society and not just a tiny elite.
- Intend to push for investment and entrepreneurship.
- Seek solutions that account for African realities.
- Understand the need for regional integration.

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Part I. Ideologies Shaping the Next Generation of African Leaders

Introduction

The issue of leadership in Africa has never been more important if African countries – and specifically African citizens – are to reap the benefits of the many positive changes that have taken place over the recent past. Between 1996 and 2008, most African countries experienced growth in their economies. For example, real GDP in Africa rose 4.9 percent between 2000 and 2008.¹ Trade and investment increased significantly across the continent with global foreign direct investment flows into Africa increasing from around \$9 billion in 2000 to approximately \$52 billion in 2010.² Additionally, school enrollment rates increased and health indicators improved, democracy has become the norm in most African countries rather than the exception,³ and governance has continually improved. More than ever before, new opportunities for advancement abound. Yet despite these positive changes, most of Africa's countries continue to face serious challenges; poverty rates in Africa continue to be the highest in the world, at 51 percent according to the 2009 United Nations Millennium Development Goals Report, and child mortality rates remain troubling with almost half of all deaths of children under five occurring in Africa according to a United Nations Children Fund Report.⁴ There is a need for African leadership that comprehends the threats, challenges, and opportunities currently facing the continent; realizes the importance of democratization and good governance; and has the vision and capacity to lead their respective countries.

This study explores the ideas and ideologies that are shaping the next generation of leaders beginning to emerge across sub-Saharan Africa. Recent African history has illustrated that the way a country relates to the rest of the world is largely dependent on who is heading the country. Across sub-Saharan Africa, it has become the norm for the

¹ Roxburgh, Charles et al. 2010. "Lions on the Move: The Progress and Potential of African Economies." McKinsey Global Institute.

² Data obtained from Simon Freemantle and Jeremy Stevens, *New Sources of Foreign Capital Mobilising for Africa Complementing and Competing with Traditional Investors* Standard Bank, 4 August 2010). It should be noted that due to limited data on sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) alone, these figures are for the entire continent of Africa.

³ Although democracy has been slipping in a number of countries over the past two years.

⁴ <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2008/jan2008/mort-j31.shtml>. A new report recently indicated that child mortality rates in sub-Saharan Africa are declining twice as fast as they were a decade ago, although there is still a long way to go.

foreign policy of a country to be based on the ideology of ruling leaders and often reflects the leader's character, lifestyle, and interests. John Cartwright (1983) devoted a book length treatment to the subject of leadership. Arguing that individual leaders have a substantial effect on the evolution of African states, his work sought to detail the kinds of effects leaders had on⁵ their countries and examined the extent to which those effects could be attributed to particular leadership styles.⁶ Additionally, African writers – in both academic journals and popular press outlets – have increasingly placed blame for the continent's misfortunes on poor leadership. Given the importance of leadership as a variable in shaping the development and governance outcomes on the African continent, a number of agencies and organizations now devote attention to leadership.⁷

In this study, ideology is understood as a system of beliefs or principles that potentially inform economic, social, or political policy. Ideology has also been defined as the body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture.⁸ All ideologies evolve from a historical context and change in response to changing conditions and circumstances. For example, previous generations of African leaders were driven by ideologies such as nationalism, African nationalism, African socialism, and/or pan-Africanism. Upon independence, many African countries adopted socialist ideologies or what was termed “African socialism,” which combined indigenous notions of community and brotherhood and a large role for the state in planning and development. Examples include Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta, Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah, and Senegal under Leopold Senghor. As USSR and Chinese models were posting tremendous growth levels in the 1960s, socialism appealed to many independent post-colonial states and seemed the answer for the massive development projects that most states were faced with at the end of colonial rule. Moreover, socialist ideology appealed to many newly independent nations because the Soviet Union possessed no African colonies and was perceived as an ally of anti-colonial movements. Many African leaders of the time blamed Western capitalists' imperialism for Africa's problems and believed the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism was the only true way to liberate Africa.

⁵ Agulanna, Christopher. 2006. “Democracy and the Crisis of Leadership in Africa.” *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 31 (3): 255-264.

⁶ Cartwright, John. 1983. *Political Leadership in Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

⁷ See World Bank. 2007. *Leadership for Development Results: Country Case Studies*. Washington DC: The World Bank Institute. The Mo Ibrahim Leadership Fellowship, <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/en/section/scholarships/ibrahim-leadership-fellowships>. The Aspen Institute African Leadership Initiative, <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/leadership-programs/africa-leadership-initiative>. The Desmond Tutu Leadership Fellowship at the African Leadership Institute, <http://www.alinstitute.org/default.aspx>.

⁸ The Oxford English Dictionary. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 30 April 2007 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>>.

What follows is an examination of the ideologies informing an emerging generation of leaders across sub-Saharan Africa. Part I lays out the perspectives that are influencing this new generation. Part II then explores these ideologies through a series of case studies.

Note on Data

This study is based on primary data gathered through interviews in Ethiopia, Ghana, South Africa, and Uganda. Data were also collected at academic conferences, the African Leadership Network (ALN) Conference held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from October 26 to 29, 2011, and the GIMPA/IDA Roundtable that took place in Accra, Ghana from November 8 to 11, 2011. Interviews were conducted with faculty, staff, and students at the African Leadership Academy in Johannesburg, South Africa. Finally, perspectives from ordinary citizens were collected via interviews in all locations.

History of African Leadership

The first generation of post-colonial African leaders took power from 1951 through 1977.⁹ In the immediate post-colonial period, there were two types of leaders: those created and supported by the colonial authorities and those who emerged from among the people to lead the struggle for independence. The latter came to be generally known as “African nationalists” and the former as “colonial collaborators.”¹⁰ Regardless of how they came to power, the ultimate goal for this generation was to shift power from Europe and bring African leadership to African countries at the end of the colonial rule.

This first generation of African leaders was impacted by the world order of the time. These leaders were both victims and beneficiaries of the decolonization period and the Cold War. For some, there were minimal initial changes from the colonial order and colonial relationships. In fact, colonizers became partners in development with a great deal of aid flowing through the countries. Other leaders sought a break with the past and the guardianship of “conquering Westerners,” which, for several African countries, entailed the adoption of some form of socialist development model. For example, after independence in 1961, Tanzania under the leadership of Julius Nyerere opted for African socialism with the *Arusha Declaration*, a document that launched the country into a

⁹ There are overlaps in the dates between generations. These leaders included Kenyatta of Kenya, Azikiwe and Belewa of Nigeria, Nkruma of Ghana, Sekou-Toure of Guinea, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Ben Bella of Algeria, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon, Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire, Macias Ngyema Biyogo of equatorial Guinea, Sylvanus Olympio and Etienne Eyadema of Togo, David Dacko of Central African Republic, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Maurice Yameogo of Burkina Faso, and Obote of Uganda.

¹⁰ Jackson, Robert and Rosberg, Carl G. 1982. *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant*. University of California Press.

socialist experiment until 1985 when Nyerere retired.¹¹ Nyerere based his socialist ideology on African cultural traditions. He was first exposed to socialism, as were many African socialists, in the West. Nyerere “claimed that the traditional African economy and social organization was based on socialist principles of communal ownership of the means of production in which kinship and family groups participated in economic activity and were jointly responsible for welfare and security.”¹²

Similarly, in Uganda, Milton Obote crafted a document called the *Common Man’s Charter*,¹³ which moved Uganda down the socialist path. Obote’s program, however, was stopped in its tracks with his overthrow in 1971. While Kenya initially followed a capitalist economic model, in 1965, under Jomo Kenyatta, a policy paper – *Sessional Paper No. 10: African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*¹⁴ – outlined a middle ideological course that was not pure capitalism or pure socialism by encouraging a mixed economy for the country.

These early leaders were divided on how to approach the future of Africa since some were pro-Western and others were of a Marxist-Leninist persuasion. It was against the backdrop of these ideological differences that the Organization for African Unity (OAU) was founded in Addis Ababa in 1963.¹⁵ The OAU’s primary aims were to promote the unity and solidarity of African states, coordinate the cooperation of African nations, and act as a collective voice for the continent. The OAU was also dedicated to ending all forms of colonialism because, when it was established, there were several countries that had not yet gained independence.¹⁶ The OAU was disbanded in 2002 and replaced by the African Union (AU).¹⁷ Despite the difficulties these first leaders faced in the management of their respective countries, they left an important legacy that continues to serve as a reference: Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is a movement that seeks to unify African people or people living in Africa into “one African community.” Ultimately, it is the belief that Africa’s future can be improved through cooperation between African nations, regionally and across the continent.

¹¹ The Arusha Declaration and TANU policies (1967) on socialism and self reliance, written by Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanganyika, formed the base of Tanzania’s socialism.

¹² Ayittey, George. 2005. *Africa Unchained: The Blueprint for Africa’s Future*. Palgrave: New York

¹³ The *Common Man’s Charter* summarized President Milton Obote’s approach to socialism. This Charter became known as a “move to the left” among African nations, in particular Tanzania.

¹⁴ Sessional Paper No. 10 outlined the challenges facing the country and called for the need to eradicate poverty and disease, among other goals.

¹⁵ Igue, John. 2010. “A New Generation of Leaders in Africa: What Issues Do They Face?” International Development policy Series. Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. Geneva. <http://poldev.revues.org/139>. Accessed February 20, 2012.

¹⁶ Organization of African Unity (OAU) / African Union (AU): History and Present Status. <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/oau.htm>. Accessed February 20, 2012.

¹⁷ Ibid

THE FIRST GENERATION

African leaders who ruled from the time of their country's independence include:

Leader	Country	Term
Ahmed Ben Bella	Algeria	1963-1965
Maurice Yameogo	Burkina Faso	1960-1966
Ahmadou Ahidjo	Cameroon	1960-1982
David Dacko	Central African Rep.	1960-1966
Félix Houphouët-Boigny	Côte d'Ivoire	1960-1993
Patrice Lumumba	Dem. Rep. Congo	1960
Francisco Macías Nguema	Eq. Guinea	1968-1979
Haile Selassie	Ethiopia	1930-1974
Kwame Nkrumah	Ghana	1957-1960
Ahmed Sekou-Toure	Guinea	1958-1984
Jomo Kenyatta	Kenya	1963- 1978
Hastings Banda	Malawi	1964-1994
Azikiwe, Balewa	Nigeria	1960-1966
Leopold Senghor	Senegal	1960-1980
Julius Nyerere	Tanzania	1961-1985
Olympio, Eyadema	Togo	1960-2005
Habib Bourguiba	Tunisia	1957-1987
Apolo Milton Obote	Uganda	1966-1971
Kenneth Kaunda	Zambia	1964-1991

The second generation of primarily military rulers (1970-1990) is often described as more corrupt, incompetent, and brutal than the civilian administrations they replaced.¹⁸ During this time period, almost all African states, with some rare exceptions,¹⁹ fell into the hands of the military. This marked the start of autocratic regimes, even in those countries whose leaders were not from the military. Some were not central to the liberation, and they needed to differentiate themselves from the leaders they overthrew. Many glorified African military traditions and shunned foreign ideals. In the economic

¹⁸ These include Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola, Emperor Jean Bedel Bokasa of Central African Republic, Idi Amin of Uganda, Hassan Gould of Djibouti, Luiz de Almeida Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, Dr. Mamel Pinto de Costa of Sao Tome and Principe, James Mancham of Seychelles, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Samora Machel of Mozambique, San Nujoma of Namibia and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.

¹⁹ The rare cases are in West Africa: Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, and Senegal.

arena, they exercised full control over their country's natural resources.²⁰ Finally, they often revived certain traditional practices, thereby claiming to return to a pre-colonial African state. Some of the second generation of African leaders, many of whom came to power by coup, wars, and other agitations, clung to power and refused to leave office. One notable example is Mobutu Sese Seku of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (known as Zaire during his time in office). Mobutu seized power in 1965 in a coup and soon after assumed absolute power. He abolished parliament (although it was later revived) and silenced the opposition either by force or murder, or via patronage. In the industrial urban sector, state trade unions were enforced, and the right to strike was suspended. Military force was used against students who had begun to protest one-man rule, and the university was closed.²¹ In 1984, Mobutu was estimated to have a personal fortune amounting to \$5 billion, which was almost the equivalent of the country's foreign debt at the time.²² Transparency International ranked Mobutu as the most corrupt African leader in the past two decades.²³ Mobutu was eventually overthrown in the First Congo War by Laurent-Désiré Kabila. Other examples include Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who assumed office in 1980, and Teodoro Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, who became president after a coup in 1979. Both remain in office.

The third generation of African leaders (1991-2009) includes both civilian and military leaders.²⁴ These leaders tend to be younger, less nationalistic, and less ideological although some have held onto power like earlier leaders. Within this generation are what some have called the "stabilizer" generation leaders who emerged during the last 15 years and include Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia. They are credited by international organizations with enhancing political stability, economic liberalization, and the quality of governance in their respective countries. In 2005, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a Harvard-trained economist, was elected as president of Liberia. The country had become internationally known as a pariah state due the ongoing civil war and the use of blood diamonds and illegal timber exports to fund the Revolutionary United Front in the Sierra Leone Civil War. When she took office, Johnson-Sirleaf inherited a failed state and was charged with the seemingly impossible task of rebuilding a country completely devastated by decades of civil war and coups, greatly reducing a crippling national debt load, and advancing women's rights. She is

²⁰ Ayittey, George. 2005. *Africa Unchained: The Blueprint for Africa's Future*. Palgrave: New York

²¹ Jackson, Robert and Rosberg, Carl G. 1982. *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant*. University of California Press.

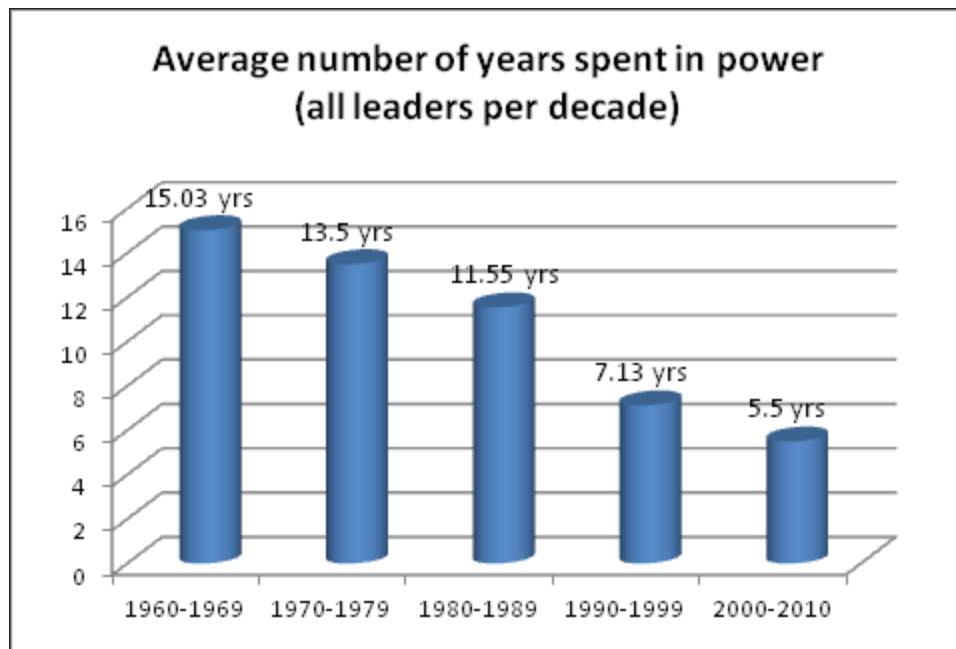
²² Crawford Young and Thomas Turner, *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*. University of Wisconsin Press.

²³ Denny, Charlotte. "Suharto, Marcos and Mobutu head corruption table with \$50bn scams." *The Guardian*. March 26, 2004. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/mar/26/indonesia.philippines>. accessed February 20, 2012.

²⁴ Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Prime Minister Zelewi of Ethiopia, Mwai Kibaki of Kenya, and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa.

credited with securing forgiveness for billions of dollars of Liberian debt and in changing Liberia's brutal international image.²⁵ Johnson-Sirleaf is broadly perceived as a reformer and peacemaker.

Overall there is a positive trend in the types of leaders who came to power between the 1960s and the current decade. Leaders are more educated, have more experience and expertise in fields such as economics and law, and have a greater respect for democracy.²⁶ Additionally, the average number of years that leaders spent in power has gradually declined since the 1960s. Leaders who came to power in the 1960s spent an average of 15 years in power whereas their counterparts who first came to power during the 1990s spent an average of 7 years in power.²⁷ This may indicate that there is an increasing respect for term limits and stronger institutional arrangements and enforcement to prevent the emergence of life-long rulers.



Average number of years spent in power (all leaders per decade)²⁸

²⁵ "Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf" *The New York Times*. November 10, 2011. http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/people/j/ellen_johnson_sirleaf/index.html. accessed february 20, 2012.

²⁶ Theron, Monique. 2011. "African Trends and Transformation: The Profiles of Sub-Saharan African Executive Heads of State since independence." Development Leadership Program, Research Paper 17. South Africa

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ Theron, Monique. 2011. "African Trends and Transformation: The Profiles of Sub-Saharan African Executive Heads of State since independence." Development Leadership Program, Research Paper 17. South Africa, p 18.

Next Generation of African Leaders

The ideologies driving the new generation of leaders emerging across sub-Saharan Africa are inspired by African ideals and perhaps even a renewed pan-Africanism in the sense that there is a growing desire to address pressing issues both regionally and continentally. Yet these individuals have been influenced by the West and now increasingly by the East. The new generation is confronting a renewed Africa that has become more important in the global arena, a fact that figures into the ideological shift. Those within this generation argue that:

- There is a clear need to abandon the development model and push instead for investment and entrepreneurship.
- Africa requires political systems that are not imported wholly from the outside.
- African cultural values must be restored.
- Africa needs leadership that is not based on the characteristics, traits, or personality of a particular individual but rather the recognition that many leaders in a variety of sectors are required to move the continent forward.
- National and regional integration is a requirement.

There is now a new generation of young Africans, well-educated and committed, with great potential for leadership. This new generation does not relate to the old colonial paradigm nor do they feel allegiance to liberation leaders. Arthur Mutambara, Deputy Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, says that emerging leaders continue to respect their elders and recognize their contributions, but they also recognize that it is time to move past history.²⁹ He further argued it is important not to try to relive history. He stressed what is important in today's Africa is "growing economies, working together in regions, and taking people out of poverty." These points were also emphasized at the ALN conference in Addis as several speakers stressed that integrating the continent and building relationships are primary goals. This generation is acutely aware that current leaders are corrupt and that many commit egregious human rights violations against their own people. An artist and activist from Equatorial Guinea noted, "In my country, Los Gordos³⁰ – the president, his family, and friends – are rich and driving around in nice cars and have nice homes, and most of the people in Equatorial Guinea are illiterate and have no way to make their lives better. The young people are tired. All we see is the world getting better while we suffer."³¹

²⁹ Personal interview by telephone, November 21, 2011.

³⁰ Literally, the fat ones.

³¹ Interview, New York, September 2011.

The succeeding generation of African leaders is conversant with domestic issues and realistic about the threats, challenges, and opportunities posed by globalization. They acknowledge the critical importance of freedom, democracy, strong civil societies, good governance, accountability, and transparency in the development process. To these young leaders, colonial domination and the struggles for independence are historical facts to be acknowledged. The consequences of the failure of the first and second generation of leaders to deliver on their promises are something they themselves have experienced. They are understandably angry, impatient, and frustrated. Many argue that they have a better sense of what needs to be done to prepare for the challenges and opportunities in the 21st century. Arthur Mutambara addresses this specific issue when he says that the current generation of African leaders has committed *generational robbery*. He argues that they have lost sight of what is important and how to contribute positively to their own countries and to the continent as a whole. In fact, eight out of the ten greatest age gaps between leaders and the median age of their citizens are in Africa. Only in Africa and the Middle East are there leaders a full half-century older than their median citizens.³² At 85, for example, Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade is significantly older than most of the citizens he represents as the median age in Senegal is 19.³³

The current generation of African leaders have committed *generational robbery*.

**Arthur Mutambara, 2011
Deputy Prime Minister,
Zimbabwe**

Generational debates that occur within societies give insight into the social landscape of a country. Across contemporary Africa, the dominant line of cleavage has become generational. Like any generation, the consciousness of this new generation has been shaped by the social, political, and economic forces of their formative years. The major reference points for them are not the colonial past. These emerging leaders have come of age during a time with rapid technological advances and new media have become a part of their daily lives.

Emerging leaders across Africa are not homogenous. There are defining traits that differentiate them from each other. One segment, for instance, consists of those who were educated in the West. Another segment of the generation is too young to have participated in the liberation struggles. There are leaders who emerge locally and tackle

³² McConnel, Tristan. "Africa's Generation Chasm Shows Why Leaders are Out of Touch." *Globalpost* . February 13, 2012. <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatches/globalpost-blogs/africa/africa-news-generation-chasm-leaders-CGD-Todd-Moss>. Accessed February 13, 2012.

³³ Ibid.

local issues, as in the case of South Africa's Julius Malema, or the leaders of the youth movement *Y'en a Marre* in Senegal. Leaders can also be distinguished by class position.

African Business Leaders

Business leaders represent another section of emerging leaders across sub-Saharan Africa. These include business professionals at well established companies in the telecommunications, banking, mining, or manufacturing sectors as well as rural and urban-based entrepreneurs. Business professionals across the continent serve an increasingly important function given that African countries have grown rapidly in the past decade. They not only attract increased foreign investment, but they can also influence government policy.

South Africa's history demonstrates that the business sector can have an important influence in driving political change. The business community played an important role in the transition to democracy. In 1985, a delegation of business leaders led by the Chairman of Anglo-American, Gavin Relly, met with African National Congress (ANC) leaders in exile in Lusaka, Zambia. Business leadership also assisted the transition to democracy with the formation of the Consultive Business Movement (CBM), a group of progressive business people that initiated a dialog with the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1986.³⁴ The trust built up between the political players by the CBM led to the extraordinary phenomenon of a business group being appointed the Secretariat of the constitutional talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).³⁵ The South African case is one example of the way the business sector can play an activist role within their respective countries. The point is that business leaders have the potential to act as a balance within countries by acting on behalf of civil society or by articulating its own needs.

As Africa maintains its path toward increased economic growth, business leaders will become increasingly important. In line with views cited throughout, many emerging business leaders believe that creating economic prosperity will be crucial to improving the lives of African populations. Tony Elumelu, a Nigerian-born banker and former CEO of Standard Trust Bank (later United Bank of Africa), coined the term *Afrocapitalism* to describe this viewpoint. Afrocapitalism is an economic philosophy that embodies the African private sector's commitment to the economic transformation of Africa through

³⁴ The United Democratic Front (UDF) was an umbrella body with which more than 600 political and community organizations were affiliated, including church, student, worker, and civic organizations that formed in 1983 as a major opponent of apartheid. From its inception, the UDF associated itself with the inclusive, non-racial stance of the ANC.

³⁵ In 1990 the government as well as the ANC and other anti-apartheid political formations launched the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) to negotiate the terms for a peaceful transition of power.

long-term investments that create economic prosperity and social wealth.³⁶ To ensure that this philosophy takes hold among a new generation of African business leaders, Elumelu founded the Tony Elumelu Foundation – an Africa-based non-profit – that has an initiative that mentors young African professionals across the continent through its annual African Markets Internship program. The foundation also provides strategic grants to Africa-focused leadership and entrepreneurship non-profit organizations of African origin.



Alpesh Patel, founder and CEO of Mi-Fone, Ltd, is one of these young business leaders. Patel, who was born in Uganda and holds South African citizenship, launched the company in 2008 after leaving Motorola. He started his career in the early 1990s by being one of the pioneers in introducing mobile devices into the then-unexplored Chinese market. In the mid-1990s, he moved back to Africa and eventually joined Motorola Mobile Devices as its Regional Manager for Africa and was single handedly responsible for distributing more than 5 million handsets within a span of two years. He eventually started Mi-Fone because “the large manufacturers have not yet fully realized that Africa is the next growth market for affordable devices. Africa has been a secondary market for them and has become a dumping ground for technologies.”³⁷ Devices developed by the company so far range in price from \$15 to \$125.

Mi-Fone is 92 percent African owned and has shareholders from Mauritius, South Africa, Rwanda, and Nigeria, with Patel personally holding 70 percent of the company’s equity. Since its launch, the company has distributed more than 1 million phones to the continent’s mobile operators. While this is not a huge number when compared to the larger providers, volumes are growing and the company has generated \$15 million since its launch. At the ALN conference in Addis, Patel discussed his company and made it clear that he is determined to make the African-owned business a leader in the telecom industry across the continent. He eventually intends to manufacture the phones within African countries, thus providing jobs and illustrating his commitment to bring prosperity to the continent.

³⁶ Nsehe, Mfonobong. “Meet Tony Elumelu, Africa’s Frontline Business Leader.” *Forbes*. January 9, 2012

³⁷ “Homegrown handset start-up dials up Africa.” *The Citizen*. June 11, 2011. <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/business/14-international-business/11795-homegrown-handset-start-up-dials-up-africa.html> accessed January 9, 2012.

A New Leadership Model: African Solutions to African Problems

The next generation of African leaders is faced with two major challenges. The first is to develop a form of African democratic governance that promotes social cohesion and inclusion for all citizens. The second is how to channel global market forces to promote growth and sustainable human development that benefits more than only multinational corporations and a small African elite.

Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, South African Minister of Public Service and Administration, noted that the demands on leaders change over time, as circumstances change. She described how leaders of the 21st century have to address an agenda fundamentally different from that of their predecessors. She states:

During the 1960s and 1970s, the mission of most African leaders was to liberate their countries from colonial rule. Once the mission was accomplished, subsequent leaders needed to find other themes and new missions. How do they make sure they have sound systems of governance? How can they achieve socioeconomic development? Africa needs to build public administrations and governments that will see them into the future and help to distribute benefits to entire populations. Systems that are brought in or imposed from outside and not contextually informed will most likely fail.³⁸

A number of young African scholars assert that Africans need to solve their own problems. Four decades of independence and experimentation brought their own successes and failures and produced useful knowledge and insights on the processes of development and democratization in Africa. This has led to the belief that what is required is a development model that moves past “aid” and “assistance” to one that allows Africans to assume a leadership or partnership role in development efforts. According to many, the rise of the BRICs and China’s increasing role in Africa offer possibilities for leveraging renewed interest in the continent.³⁹ China is seen as an alternative to Western countries, which are viewed as pursuing their own neo-colonial interests with a history of pushing for policies that may not always be in line with African norms. China and the BRICs are credited with their investment in infrastructure; it is argued that, if managed correctly, the current investment environment with Africa at the center can ultimately benefit African citizens.⁴⁰

³⁸ <http://www.capacity.org/capacity/opencms/en/topics/leadership-development/africa-needs-visionaries.html>

³⁹ The acronym BRIC, which stands for Brazil, Russia, India, and China, was coined in a Goldman Sachs 2003 paper entitled “Dreaming with BRICs: The Path to 2010.” Goldman Sachs argued that the BRIC block would become the largest economic collective entity in the world by 2050.

⁴⁰ For a full discussion on this topic see IDA study, Yarwood, J. and Boswell, M. 2012. “Foreign Direct Investment and It’s Influence on Governance and Leadership across Sub-Saharan Africa.”

There is a great deal of excitement about the investment environment across the African continent. The period between 2000 and 2008 saw a growing inflow of foreign direct investment, more interest in Africa as a market, and higher rates of GDP growth in sub-Saharan Africa. It appears that the emerging generation of leaders understands that economic growth alone is not sufficient. Attention is required to ensure that growth is broad-based and brings socioeconomic development to the entire population. Growth without development will not help to reduce poverty and will, in fact, worsen income disparities, which are already pronounced in a number of countries.

According to ALN founders, initiative, incentive, and innovation lead progress. In a good number of African countries, however, the old style of doing business, with its reliance on government contacts, favorable treatment, and special exemptions, is still entrenched in many instances. Even so, a new generation of male and female entrepreneurs is developing as conditions become more propitious. Many of them have gained business experience in other countries and are accustomed to working in a competitive environment. New business leaders who are motivated, innovative, and ready to take advantage of opportunities will provide a very different role model for future generations.

Part II. Case Studies

Africa requires new leaders and a new style of leadership that is competent, honest, visionary, and committed. African countries need leadership that is able to respond to the challenges and opportunities of globalization. The leadership will emerge from the generation of young Africans who are well educated and understand how to get things done in the modern globalizing world. The major challenges include how to synthesize the ideas, experience, and wisdom of the past generation of leaders with the expertise and global perspectives of the young aspiring leaders. Among the next generation of leaders are connected African elite and unconnected *everyday Africans*.

Within the connected elite are those who are educated in the West but with an interest in trying to make Africa better. Some in this category have been described as *Afropolitan* – young, urban, and culturally savvy Africans with a very global outlook. There are those within this category who have gelled into a particular cohort through their participation in international conferences, symposiums, and networks such as The Aspen Institute African Leadership Initiative; a TED conference themed *Africa: The Next Chapter*; ⁴¹ President Barack Obama’s young African Leaders meeting; and the African Leadership Network.

Included in the connected elite is another group of politicians and business leaders who are Africa-based. A notable example is Julius Malema, South Africa’s outspoken and controversial African National Conference Youth League (ANCYL) leader. Another segment of this group comprises those who are being groomed for succession by current autocratic leaders. Examples include Karim Wade, the son of President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal; Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo (nicknamed Teodorin) and Gabriel Nguema Lima, sons of Teodoro Nguema of Equatorial Guinea; and Jimmy Kibaki, the son of President Mwai Kibaki in Kenya.

According to African scholar, George Ayittey, Africa’s hope lies in this emerging generation of leaders he has termed “the cheetah generation.” According to Ayittey, “they are the new and angry generation of young Africans who are often educated, dynamic, intellectually agile, and pragmatic.” Current events and data collected for this

⁴¹ TED (Technology, Entertainment and Design) is a global set of conferences owned by the private non-profit Sapling Foundation, formed to disseminate “ideas worth spreading.” TED was founded in 1984 as a one-off event and the conference was held annually from 1990 in Monterey, California. TED’s early emphasis was largely technology and design, consistent with a Silicon Valley center of gravity. At TEDAfrica 2007 in Arusha, Tanzania, 100 Fellows from around Africa participated in a first-of-its-kind gathering that brought together emerging leaders from across Africa. That conference created a cohort and network of leaders who have become influential within their respective fields.

study indicate that added to Ayittey's description should be unconnected *everyday Africans* who emerge as leaders and organizers in order to address conditions that affect their day-to-day lives. The Senegalese group and social movement *Y'en a Marre* fits into this category.

This section provides case studies of both connected and unconnected leaders.

Connected African Elites

African Leadership Network

The African Leadership Network (ALN) is one organization attempting to tackle the leadership challenge facing Africa. The ALN comprises a network of young, dynamic, and influential leaders in business, the public sector, academia, the arts, and civil society in Africa. The aim of the network is to engage the collective influence of these leaders to drive prosperity for Africans. ALN was cofounded in 2010 by Acha Leke (Director and Head of McKinsey and Company in Nigeria) and Fred Swaniker (Founder and CEO of the African Leadership Academy in South Africa), who are prime examples of the “new generation” of African leaders that ALN seeks to identify and connect. They were inspired to launch ALN after attending conferences like the World Economic Forum (Davos) and TED, and other gatherings sponsored by the Aspen Institute and the Clinton Global Initiative. They came to understand the value of such networks, the scale of business transactions that take place at these gatherings, and how relationships between the world's most powerful leaders were facilitated in these environments. They also noticed, however, that Africa was usually on the periphery in these networks. By creating ALN, they hoped to develop a pan-African network that would bring together the emerging leaders of Africa and place the continent at center stage, not on the sidelines.

The founders of ALN see the network as one of the ways to enhance leadership across the continent. The ways the network attempts to form connections and provide the next generation with essential skills and tools is through the following:

- An annual event that brings together all members of the network.
- Regional events that bring together subsets of the network in various regions.
- High-level meetings with “elders” meant to develop dialog between members of the network and senior African leaders such as former or current African presidents and senior business leaders.
- So-called “Learning Journeys,” which enable members to visit various countries worldwide to establish networks and solicit ideas that can be implemented across Africa. Journeys are planned to Singapore, Malaysia, Brazil, India, China, and Rwanda over the next three years.

The founders of ALN note that the *independence* and *stabilizer* generations of African leaders had a positive impact. Their legacies were to achieve political independence for Africa and lead Africa's recent turnaround in the areas of political stability, economic liberalization, and improved governance, exemplified by the efforts of Paula Kagame in Rwanda and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in Liberia. Because of the progress made by previous generations of African leaders, the founders of ALN assert that future leaders can now address the issue of chronic poverty across the continent. They argue that the most important legacy new leaders can leave is to make Africa prosperous. Leke and Swaniker state that the new generation of leaders needs to create wealth on the continent "so that we can pave our own roads, feed our population, educate our children, and provide housing and electricity for the millions of Africans without. Only with our own resources can Africans finally stand on their own feet."⁴² To this end, the mission for the ALN is *powering Africa's prosperity*.

Leke and Swaniker believe that one driver of Africa's prosperity will be the emergence of pan-African enterprises of scale. Individually, most African economies are small and cannot sustain the large-scale enterprises that will enable massive job creation and lift Africa out of poverty. Such large-scale enterprises can be built only by African business leaders who have relationships across the continent. Therefore, they see business leaders at the forefront of change. ALN is the platform that gives the most dynamic emerging African business



Fred Swaniker - Ghana

Fred Swaniker is deeply passionate about the future of Africa and believes its future rests on the caliber of leaders who emerge on the continent over the next few decades. In line with this, he co-founded the African Leadership Network and founded the African Leadership Academy, which aims to develop 6,000 leaders in a variety of sectors for Africa over the next 50 years.

Swaniker was a consultant with McKinsey & Company where he advised large companies across Africa. Swaniker was recently selected as one of 115 young African leaders who met with U.S. President Barack Obama in August 2010 to help shape the President's agenda for Africa. In 2006, Swaniker was recognized as one of the 'top 15 emerging social entrepreneurs in the world' by the Echoing Green Foundation, and has also been recognized as a TED Fellow and a Fellow of the Aspen Institute's Global Leadership Network. Swaniker has an MBA from Stanford University.

⁴² ALN website <http://www.africanleadershipnetwork.com/>

leaders – those with the ability to build such African multinationals – the networks that they need to expand across the continent.

For example, by connecting a dynamic entrepreneur from Uganda with a financier from Nigeria, ALN can facilitate a partnership enabling the Ugandan entrepreneur to expand his or her company beyond Uganda and create thousands of jobs in the process. By sharing ideas and best practices about policies that drive prosperity, public sector leaders and policy-makers who are part of ALN can implement policies that will facilitate prosperity across Africa. The founders of ALN believe that by enabling hundreds of such interactions and relationships, ALN will create a generation of leaders that will leave a legacy of prosperity for Africa.

The 2011 African Leadership Network Conference took place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. More than 300 people were in attendance for 4 days of workshops and networking. The conference received financial support from Actis, MTN, J.P. Morgan, Yellowwoods, and McKinsey. The conference format included a mix of high-level talks, debates, and business pitches mixed with art, music, and comedy to create a more relaxed environment. The conference included sessions and workshops on the following:

- Imagining the Future, Drivers of Change in Africa
- Avoiding the Bad Habits of the Bottom Billion
- China in Africa: A Debate
- Networking
- Developing Needs and Leads
- A Keynote Address by Dr. Donald Kaberuka, President of the African Development Bank



Acha Leke - Cameroon

Acha Leke is a Co-Founder of the African Leadership Network and African Leadership Academy. Acha is a Director with McKinsey & Company. He has served a broad range of clients across Africa in fields including telecom, health care, oil and gas, and banking. Acha started his career with McKinsey in the USA, and transferred to the Johannesburg office to drive the firm's expansion across sub-Saharan Africa.

He holds a PhD in Electrical Engineering, and an MS in Industrial Engineering and Engineering Management from Stanford University. He also holds a BS degree summa cum laude in Electrical Engineering from the Georgia Institute of Technology.

- Closing Keynote with Kgosi Leru Molotlegi, the King of the Royal Bafokeng Nation.

Leke and Swaniker kicked off the event by discussing the importance of leadership and stressing that the current generation of leaders is responsible for helping Africa realize its potential. Swaniker emphasized “the power of capital, which he divided into three categories – intellectual capital, financial capital, and social capital.” He noted that developing relationships are important to deliver growth. The overall theme of the conference was powering Africa’s prosperity, and most of the sessions included discussions on business and infrastructure development in both urban and rural areas. There was also a focus on the need to develop and support entrepreneurship throughout Africa. In fact, during one session at the conference, representatives of several businesses – some based in Africa, the United States, and the United Kingdom – informed audience members that they were seeking projects and business ideas to fund. After several business leaders spoke, it became clear that many participants were from the private sector (89 percent). This could be an indicator that politics may not be an attractive option for Africa’s young educated class. After pitches by the business leaders, Arthur Mutambara took the stage and challenged the business leaders in the audience to invest in the political future of their countries. He argued that, if change is to take place in Africa, it will take more than bringing money to the continent. He stated that some of the business leaders should consider going into politics themselves. Dr. Donald Kabera, president of the African Development Bank, reiterated this point in his presentation.

Follow-up discussions with several members of the network revealed that many had been specifically discouraged by their parents from going into politics. The primary reason cited was that many African leaders were corrupt and not interested in improving their countries. When a group of 12 individuals was asked if anyone would consider politics at some point in their careers, most participants explained that they did not see that as a possibility for themselves. During a conversation, one of the ALN founders explained that the network would begin to reach out to political leaders. He said that he knows that the network has been heavily focused on developing business connections but that Mutambara was correct when he said that young politicians needed to be included in the dialog. ALN has since lowered its membership fee and asked members for nominations of candidates involved in politics.

African Leadership Academy

The African Leadership Academy (ALA) is a residential, secondary institution on the outskirts of Johannesburg, South Africa, for 15- to 18-year-olds primarily from across Africa. The school was founded in 2004 by Fred Swaniker, Chris Bradford, Peter Mombaur, and Acha Leke. ALA officially opened in September 2008 with an inaugural class of 97 students. The founders of ALA believe that ethical leadership is the key to

transforming the African continent. The school costs about \$6.5 million a year to run. It receives about 88 percent funding from donors, including the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation, the Bezos Family Foundation, and the MasterCard Foundation. The school's 75-member faculty and staff come from more than a dozen countries, and students are deliberately paired with roommates from a different country or region in order to give them an understanding of the issues their peers confront within their respective countries.⁴³

ALA's mission is to transform Africa by developing and supporting future generations of African leaders – ethical and innovative leaders who will usher the continent into a peaceful and prosperous future. To achieve this goal, ALA teaches a two-year curriculum in African studies, leadership, and entrepreneurialism, as well as core academic subjects. The program targets the continent's most talented young people and enables them to compete for higher education at Western institutions.

The founders understand that Africans educated abroad rarely return home, a trend that creates an enormous challenge for African nations. To address the issue, they have created incentives to keep talent at home. The ALA's formula for luring talent is quite simple. The school offers an education that prepares participants for universities such as Stanford, Oxford, and MIT. Since the annual tuition and fees of \$25,000 per student at the Academy are far beyond reach for the vast majority of Africans, the school provides financial aid in the form of forgivable loans. The loans are forgiven only if students return to Africa after the age of 25 and then work at least 10 years on the continent.

In an effort to take the leadership and entrepreneurial curriculum beyond the classroom, students are required to participate in running either a business or a community service project meant to continue after graduation. Examples include an on-campus bank or an operation that supplies chickens and eggs for the school cafeteria. One project helped residents of an informal settlement near Johannesburg by bringing biodiesel energy to a school and also helping residents to raise money by creating and selling art made from recycled materials. Another project developed math instruction DVDs for other schools serving underprivileged students in South Africa.

The philosophy underlying this approach is that students need to experience situations in which they can lead and put the theories they study into practice. One student from an upper middle class background explained that although her education back home was of high quality – she went to one of the best schools in Senegal – she did not take her learning beyond the classroom. She said that she went back home after her

⁴³ Berg, Nate. "How the African Leadership Academy Is Fighting the Continent's Education Exodus." *Fast Company*. December 20, 2010 <http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/151/thrive-the-beloved-country.html>

summer break and started teaching the domestic worker in her home and several others how to read. She explained that now they can text, so their phone bills are lower.

Consistent with current ideologies, entrepreneurship and prosperity are hallmarks of the academy. There is a dedicated Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership that works with students at the school and young people from around the continent who are working to build businesses independently. This goes hand-in-hand with the philosophy of the founders that leadership must be developed at the grass roots level as well. Joel Mwale of Kenya started Skydrop Enterprises, which has brought safe drinking water to a community of 5,000 and has allowed him to create a profitable enterprise selling bottled water across Kenya and into Uganda. Joel was not a student at ALA when he started his business. He was identified through the Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership and was invited to apply to the school. He is now a first-year student at the Academy.⁴⁴

Like the African Leadership Network, the founders of ALA hope that the networks formed by students at the school will serve as a support structure for them once they return to Africa as working professionals. In most African countries social ties often serve as the foundation for professional relationships. The African Leadership Academy is therefore attempting to create a cadre of ethically trained innovative leaders who will be serving in leadership roles across the continent.

In November 2011, I toured the Academy; met with several groups of students, faculty, and administration; and attended classes and the weekly all-school assembly. Upon arrival, I was paired with Thabo, a South African second-year student at the academy. He immediately explained that South African students are a minority in the academy. When I asked him why, he said, "Here in South Africa, people don't think too much about other Africans and if you come across them, people look down at them. It's not like that here. We learn to think about what is happening all over Africa." I then met with Thabo and a group of six other students from a variety of countries. My first question to the group of young students was, "What does leadership mean to you, and what type of leadership does Africa require?" A 16-year-old student from a North African country said, "Before coming to ALA and before the protests in my country, I never thought about leadership. We had our president and he was the greatest; we never thought about questioning him. He was the best artist, athlete, everything." I asked that student whether he thought all young people thought like this. He said, "Yes, he was all we knew. Now that I am here and I think about leaders from all societies, it seems crazy that I thought like that." When I asked the group if they could identify an interesting leader today, one young man said that he is impressed by Julius Malema. He explained that Malema is taking an unpopular position, but he is forcing people to think about whether what is going on in South Africa works today. Another student stated that she was concerned about whether she could truly live up to being a good leader. She explained that she thinks about the fact that sometimes leaders have to make unpopular decisions for the good of the country or organization. She said, "Like when you have to remove someone even if they are family because they are being corrupt or not following

⁴⁴ To read more about Joel see <http://www.ubuntugh.com/?q=node/25>

policies.” Students at the school also spend time extensively discussing case studies of leaders including previous African leaders, leaders from around the world and world famous business leaders. In one class I observed, students interrogated leadership style as well as the implications of the decisions of one leader. Overall, the students had very nuanced responses to my questions citing a number of leaders and leadership styles including business leaders like Steve Jobs. Similar types of discussions took place throughout the three days I spent at the academy.

– Dr. Janette Yarwood

Leader Profile: Julius Malema



Julius Sello Malema, the 30-year-old president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) – a position once held by Nelson Mandela – is one of the most popular yet controversial South African politicians of the moment. Malema was born in 1981 to a single mother who was a domestic worker. He grew up poor in the segregated black township of Seshego in the Northern South African province of Limpopo. Even as early as high school, Malema was a militant and very successful political activist. In the late 1990s, he climbed the ranks of the Congress of South African Students, the ANC-aligned body that had led thousands of children to the barricades to fight apartheid. Malema failed his final year of school because of his intense involvement in politics.

In 2007, Malema became the provincial leader of the ANCYL in Limpopo. He was elected president of the ANCYL in 2008 and reelected in 2011.⁴⁵ Two months after being elected to the ANCYL League’s top post, Malema strongly backed Jacob Zuma’s bid to become president of South Africa, and accused Mbeki of betraying black aspirations. He demanded that mining in South Africa be nationalized and white farmland confiscated.⁴⁶ In one speech, he stated, “Whites have stolen from the blacks and must give it all back – without compensation. Why should I pay for what I own? White farms must be seized, Zimbabwe-style, mines and banks nationalized. It is no longer a question of whether but how this will happen.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ “Malema elected as new ANCYL leader”. Mail & Guardian (Johannesburg, South Africa). 7 April 2008. <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-04-07-malema-elected-as-new-ancyl-leader>. Retrieved September 12, 2011.

⁴⁶ <http://www.thefirstpost.co.uk/82795,people,news,should-south-africa-be-scared-of-julius-malema#ixzz1X16zS5Y4>

⁴⁷ “The Rise of Julius Malema.” *Economist*; 7/2/2011, Vol. 399 Issue 8740, p40-40

He became known as the organization's kingmaker, the man whose support anyone who wished to be president would need, given his popularity among the youth and the masses. Malema supported Jacob Zuma for president and even declared that "the youth were not only prepared to die for Zuma, they would kill for him."⁴⁸ His support for Zuma, however, was short lived, and he accused Zuma of selling out the South African masses as Mbeki had done before him. Malema eventually stated that the ANCYL wanted a new president for the ANC and for South Africa.

Malema represents a segment of the upcoming generation of leaders who espouse the nationalist perspective. He pulls from ANC history and takes from it old and familiar ideas – nationalization of mines and the expropriation of land – reminding South Africans of the deepest meaning of "national liberation."⁴⁹ Even though there is no longer a liberation movement, what he says resonates with both rank-and-file members and growing numbers of ordinary people. Malema has broad appeal because he is able to tap into the anger of the majority of blacks who complain that 18 years after the end of white-minority rule, they continue to live in poverty.

At present, Malema does not have a coherent political strategy or program. He has argued, however, that state control of mines and other key industries may be the best option for redistributing resources and reducing South Africa's high levels of poverty.⁵⁰ Although Malema has also pledged his support for Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, some argue that this was done simply to anger ANC leadership.

Malema, who was once described by a South African Limpopo Premiere as the "future leader" of South Africa, has increasingly angered members of his own.⁵¹ In November 2011, Malema was found guilty by the ANC disciplinary committee of creating divisions within the party and bringing the party into disrepute by calling for regime change in neighboring Botswana.⁵² In February 2012, the ANC upheld its decision to suspend Malema's membership for five years. Although he lost his appeal to overturn the charges that would lead to his suspension, he can appeal for a lighter sentence.

Malema represents a segment of the emerging generation who continues to hold onto the nationalist ideologies put forward by the previous generation. Although he is much younger than those who were directly involved with liberation struggles, his

⁴⁸ http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/10/julius-malema-south-africa-anc?CMP=tw_t_gu

⁴⁹ *ibid*

⁵⁰ "Malema lauds Bob, says SA will copy Zim's land seizures." *Times*. 4 April 2010.

<http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/article385668.ece/Malema-lauds-Bob---says-SA-will-copy-Zims-land-seizures>.

⁵¹ "Malema a future leader." <http://news.iafrica.com/sa/2271620.htm>

⁵² "Julius malema supporters clash with South African police." <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14709570>

political leadership style is similar to those of the previous generation. While he understands how to mobilize the masses, he has no clear vision for the future of his country.

Perspectives from the Unconnected

Y'en a Marre – Senegal

The group *Y'en a Marre* has emerged as a new political force in Senegalese politics. The collective comprising rappers, members of civil society, and young journalists made a dramatic entry onto the political scene when they organized protests against the controversial bid by Senegalese president Abdoulaye Wade for a third term in office. Anti-Wade protests have continued to grow in popularity. *Y'en a Marre's* ultimate objective is to cultivate a *Nouveau Type de Senegalais* (NTS) or new type of Senegalese citizen, one with a heightened sense of civic responsibility, according to the website of the Madrid-based global network for citizen activism.⁵³

In June 2011, 85-year-old Abdoulaye Wade proposed constitutional changes that would have ensured his success in the February 2011 elections. The proposed changes would have reduced the number of votes needed to win an election from 51 percent to 25 percent. He also tried to establish the post of vice president. Many claim he would have nominated his son in order to create a succession plan for him in the event the elderly president dies in office.

In June 2011, hundreds of demonstrators organized by several groups, including *Y'en a Marre*, gathered to protest the constitutional changes. *Y'en a Marre*, which is French slang for “enough is enough,” was launched by rappers from the group “Keur Gui,” including rappers Thiat (real name, Cheikh Oumar Cyrille Toure), Simon, Fou Malade (real name, Malal Talla), and journalist Fadel Barro. *Y'en a Marre* has managed to fire up crowds of young men to take to the streets in protest, which has led to the arrest of several of the group's organizers. On one occasion, dozens of fans waited for Thiat outside the main prison in Dakar until he was released from custody.⁵⁴

The group embodies the discontent among young people in a country grappling with chronic unemployment, extreme poverty, and increasing cost of living. Although this

⁵³ [Online Publication | | www.takethesquare.net | "Y'en A Marre!" Call For The Senegalese Revolution Onfebruary 26 | Take The Square | 18 October 2011 | | <http://takethesquare.net/2011/10/18/yen-a-marre-call-for-the-senegalese-revolution-on-february-26/> | 15 November 2011 | www.takethesquare.net is the website of the TakeTheSquare Group, an organization geared toward global activism, which provides updated info about the movement, news, analysis, videos, photos, a calendar with important worldwide events and contact information for all groups in the Take the Square network.] www.takethesquare.net

⁵⁴ Nossiter, Adam. “In Blunt and Sometimes Crude Rap, a Strong Political Voice Emerges.” *New York Times*. September 18, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/19/world/africa/senegal-rappers-emerge-as-political-force.html?_r=1

particular collective is new, there is a history of youth protest in Senegal. During the 1980s and 1990s, Senegalese youth engaged in frequent political violence.⁵⁵ During that period, youth targeted symbols of wealth in Dakar's affluent communities, which they saw as examples of government corruption. Youth groups also took aim at drug addicts, alcoholics, and the homeless – which, to them, symbolized the failure of government to provide for its people – but they also saw themselves as cleaning up the streets.⁵⁶

By the 1988 election period, youth leaders were so well organized they forced politicians into a series of discussions with them about how they might take concrete steps to improve the employment situation. Although these discussions did not lead to change, what became clear was that Senegalese youth had become powerful because they were granted an audience with political officials.⁵⁷ Interestingly, President Wade used rap artists in his 2000 campaign that earned him the presidency. During the 2000 campaign, Wade managed to secure the support of Senegal's most powerful constituency: the youth. In his inaugural speech, Wade referred to youth as the country's most valuable resource. Ironically, one of Africa's oldest heads of state, once known as the "Youth President" locally, might be removed from office by the same powerful constituency that put him there.

Like the youth protests in the past, *Y'en a Marre's* efforts to increase political participation and hold the regime accountable have attracted the attention of ruling officials, who stepped up efforts to undermine the group and its messages leading up to the election. It has been reported that Wade and his son Karim have financed or supported rappers to undercut *Y'en a Marre's* influence.⁵⁸ While it is unclear what will happen with *Y'en a Marre's* movement after the elections, what is clear is that leaders will not emerge solely from the educated or elite. Given that about 60 percent of Africa's nearly 1 billion people are under the age of 30, many leaders will continue to emerge from among disaffected youth as they react to the circumstances in which they live.

Perspectives from Uganda

Interviews conducted with Ugandans illustrate that citizens in the region, similar to other regions, are concerned with good governance, democratic practices, accountability, and the eradication of corruption. A primary finding is that people recognized the importance of limiting presidential terms. If left unchecked, limitless terms could lead

⁵⁵ Bathily, Abdoulaye; Diouf, Mamadou; and Mohamad Mbodj. 1995. The Senegalese Student Movement from its inception to 1989. In Mahmood Mamdani and Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba, eds. *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*. Dakar: CODESRIA

⁵⁶ Diouf, Mamadou. 1996. Urban Youth and Senegalese Politics: Dakar 1988-1994. *Public Culture* 8(2): 565-587.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ "OSC Analysis: Popular Senegalese Youth Movement Leading Push for Political Change." January 18, 2012.

countries back to the dictatorial excesses that have created insecurity, genocide, and the sprouting of guerrilla groups to topple callous regimes and rulers that would hold onto power indefinitely.

Responses to questions also indicated the new generation is supportive of regional integration. Integration was understood as tending to improve intra-regional security as well as to extend the cooperation of common defense and mutual military assistance, thereby increasing global security.

Additionally, interviewees noted the importance of social and economic interaction without the inhibition of the boundaries that were created by the colonial governments that only served to divide communities that had previously freely intermingled. While discussions of regional integration have re-emerged onto the scene in recent years, discussions of regional economic integration have been embedded in virtually all aspects of sub-Saharan Africa politics. A number of African leaders called for the integration of Africa following independence, although it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that steps were taken to establish institutions to promote economic integration in the sub-regions. It is argued that African regional integration was motivated partly by the political vision of African unity but more so by means of providing sufficient scale of import substitution industrialization policies.⁵⁹ In West Africa, it is also worth mentioning the examples of Kwame Nkrumah, Modibo Keita, and Sékou Touré, whose beliefs served as a motive for the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

In a discussion about regional integration one man noted:

I understand the new leaders would like to create a region that is secure for economic development to reduce poverty in the communities. In fact, some leaders such as Paul Kagame of Rwanda have expressed their support of the creation of the East African Community. However, some of the leaders, such as Uganda's Yoweri Museveni, stand to receive considerable personal gain. This opens the way for a conflict in interest because he has a number of business investments in the area.⁶⁰

This response may indicate that, while many support regional integration, there are those within the region who are skeptical about the true motivations for integration and whether ordinary citizens will truly benefit from such efforts.

Everyday Ugandans also noted the importance of political representation that includes traditional leadership. This is in line with the belief that there is a need to refine the concept of democracy to include African perspectives and cultural norms. One young interviewee noted:

⁵⁹ Teunissen, JJ. (1996). *Regionalism and the Global Economy, The case of Africa*. The Hague: FONDAD.

⁶⁰ Personal interview, Uganda, November 2011.

Uganda, as other countries in the region, has different groups of people with diverse cultures. It makes some sense to encourage certain forms of ethnic leadership such as the Buganda or Banyoro who feel that is the only way their community's needs met.

The same individual also highlighted the tension between traditional governance and democratic ideals when she stated:

The downside of this is that it would breed tribalism as negative ideology in political relations. Bringing back to life kingdoms and other forms of traditional modes of governance does not fit well with the ideology of liberal democracy and free market. This is because people are likely to vote for leaders from their own groups and not people from other ethnicities for national political leadership.

The important takeaway is that everyday people actively consider the type of leadership required to move their respective countries forward. As new leaders emerge it will be essential for them to include the voices of unconnected everyday people.

Conclusion

The new generation of young leaders emerging across Africa has embraced ideas and ideologies that set it apart from the corrupt and authoritarian leaders of past generations. Members of this generation see that new strategies are needed to improve conditions in their societies. The issues they identify as particularly important include the following:

- Investment and entrepreneurship; they argue both will be essential for developing African economies and bringing prosperity to the masses.
- The importance of developing African political systems that are not imported wholly from the outside. They also note that African cultural values must be at the center of African governance.
- Developing leadership that is not based on the characteristics, traits, or personality of a particular individual. They also recognize that many leaders in a variety of sectors are required to move the continent forward.
- The importance of national and regional integration for facilitating business and promoting regional security.

Appendix A

Interviews Conducted in Uganda

This appendix presents interviews conducted by Dr. Eliza Johannes in various parts of Uganda among the different ethnic groups. Interviews were conducted in Luganda, Kinyakole, and English and were edited for clarity.

EJ: What are the driving ideas behind the next generation of leader in the ‘new’ East African region?

Adoko, a 28-year-old working at Standard bank in Kampala notes, I understand the new leaders would like to create a region that is secure for economic development to reduce poverty in the communities. In fact, some leaders, such as Paul Kagame of Rwanda, have expressed their support of the creation of the East African Community. However, some of the leaders, such as Uganda’s Yoweri Museveni, stand to receive considerable personal gain. This opens the way for a conflict in interest. He has a number of business investments in the area, and I think he would just to extend them irrespective of the benefits brought to the people. I see these alternate types of motivations [**from Kagame and Museveni**] as driving the formation of the East African Community. It is in this vein that I also consider some of the leaders as wanting to control other countries in the region – chiefly for their own benefit. Personal gain speaks to personal agendas – and not those of the people. For example, Museveni is trying to do more in the Middle East. Look at his trip to Israel where he visited Mr. Rafi Eitan. He never announced the trip to Ugandans and never said what he hoped to gain from cultivating the relationship. To this day, he has yet to make the intentions and outcomes of the meeting transparent to the public.

EJ: How is the personal leadership style, such as Yoweri Museveni’s and Paul Kagame’s hands-on, impacting institution-building efforts in Uganda and Rwanda?

Mira, 32-year-old working at Imperial Hotel in Kampala notes, Museveni has personalized leadership [**i.e., used nepotism**] in an extreme and detrimental manner. His family and close friends hold key positions in government as well as in the private sector. This has left the general population quite resentful and distrusting of his leadership. Consequently, Museveni has reverted to underhanded tactics of suppressing the popular will by trying to manipulate the constitution. It term-limits presidents to two terms, but he is currently attempting to amend it, so that he can vie for more. When your leader tries to alter the nationally accepted rules of the political game [**the constitution**], which he and the parliament developed with popular support, how can he expect the population to follow? My overall view is that we are looking at a deconstructing of institutions in Uganda, rather than efforts to build and sustain them. On the other hand, the personal leadership of Kagame in Rwanda is unique in its own ways, despite its rather undemocratic nature. Using an iron fist, Kagame has – paradoxically – instilled some practices reflecting very positive values.

One example is his shunning of outright corruption and punishing government officials who have used their offices to enrich themselves.

EJ: It is obvious the majority of people in the region and Uganda, for that matter, still adhered to kinship and traditional leadership. Considering this fact, will ethnic affiliation and kinship ties influence the process of governance?

Daudi, a 45-year-old man from the Buganda region attested that: This is true of Uganda where, for instance, the Baganda [the largest ethnic group] have felt marginalized in the current political dispensation. Indeed, it is the feeling of ethnic affiliation and kinship ties that is driving the resuscitation of Kingdoms and other forms of traditional modes of governance. Generally, people tend to vote for leaders from their own ethnicity for national office. It is little wonder that different communities in Uganda are supporting the establishment of such political base.

EJ: How are traditional/indigenous forms of governance structures and institutions accommodated in the current constitution of Uganda appropriate for the East African community?

Kira, a young man of 22 years and business owner in Mbarara states: In my view, as long as we have different systems of governance in the three countries, aspects of traditional leadership that have been made part of the constitution will not foster the ideals of the East African Community. They are counterproductive to the spirit of the integration because of their emphasis on ethnic privilege as opposed to merit based on individual contribution. I do not see the East African Community working positively if certain leaders allow such ethnic ideas to thrive.

EJ: What are some of the problems facing the new leadership that the old generation did not face in the process of governance in East Africa?

Nora is a 38-year-old woman from Hoima working at a local Hoima regional hospital explains: The new leadership increasingly being brought into the global arena where liberal democracy and free market economy are the order of the day. The role of the government has been restructured and has ceased to be the most powerful structure/instrument that is omnipotent. Instead, the new generation is becoming more consultative by taking on board the views of the general citizenry – the bottom-up approach. The old generation was used to a dispensation that gave the political leadership the power to make decision, more often than not without consultation at the grassroots.

EJ: What is the role of civil society in enriching the process democratic governance in Uganda and the East African region?

Elupe a professor of literature at Makerere University in Kampala responded that: Civil society has played a very significant role in awakening the general citizenry to their rights. For instance, in Uganda, civil society has been on the forefront in fighting for minority rights such as women's rights and the gay rights. It has pressed for the inclusion of such rights in the constitution. Moreover, when human rights activist, David Kato was killed, civil society rose up and let the world know about their rights.

EJ: What are driving ideas behind the next generation of leader in the 'new' East African region?

Bukenya is a student of political science at Makerere University. In my view the new leadership within the region would like to see more economic development and ensure that there is security within the region. Paul Kagame of Rwanda has been on the forefront to ensure that the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide are brought to book. He has also encouraged Rwandans to be part of the wider East African family. Some

of the leaders such as Uganda's Yoweri Museveni have been encouraging Ugandan business people to invest in other countries of the region such as Rwanda, Tanzania, and Kenya. This is in line with the ideals of the East African community.

EJ: How is the personal leadership style, such as Yoweri Museveni's and Paul Kagame's hands-on, impacting institution-building efforts in Uganda and Rwanda?

Okello heads the literature department at Makerere University. Museveni has been quite selfish, so to speak. He has betrayed the trust of Ugandans by appointing members of his family to important positions in government. This has eroded his credibility in the eyes of Ugandans. For example, the first lady is also a member of his cabinet. The fact that Museveni now wants to bring about constitutional amendments so that he can vie for the presidency when his two terms in office are gone is in bad taste. As for Kagame, his leadership has ensured that there is more accountability in governance even though many people see his leadership more or less autocratic and undemocratic in nature. He has brought under control the runaway corruption that was slowly but surely eating away the country. He has put in place mechanisms of punishing government officials involved in graft to enrich themselves.

EJ: It is obvious the majority of people in the region and Uganda for that matter still adhered to kinship and traditional leadership. Considering this fact, will ethnic affiliation and kinship ties influence the process of governance?

Malaya is a 44-year-old woman in Iganga. She and her family are farmers. She, however, was educated in Tanzania: Uganda as other countries in the region has different groups of people with diverse cultures. It makes some sense to encourage certain forms of ethnic leadership as that one of the Baganda or Banyoro who feel that only through such systems will their rights be adequately catered to. Indeed, the new constitution provides for their recognition. The downside of this is that it would breed tribalism as negative ideology in political relations. Thus, the bringing back to life of kingdoms and other forms of traditional modes of governance does not augur well with ideology of liberal democracy and free market. This is because people are likely to vote for leaders from their own groups rather people from other ethnicities for national political leadership. Moreover, the royalty is not elected by the popular vote but picked by a group of palace officials who have their own interests to protect.

EJ: How are traditional/indigenous forms of governance structures and institutions accommodated in the current constitution of Uganda appropriate for the East African community?

Ojangole is a Teso-speaking gentleman who served in army during the Milton Obote area. This is the only question he agreed to answer during this interview. I met him on my way to Gulu. Traditional/indigenous leadership may not necessarily promote democratic governance and the spirit of East African integration. As long as there are different systems of governance for the countries in the region, the idea of bringing to life the East African community will remain elusive. This is because kingdoms of indigenous systems of governance lay more emphasis on ethnic privilege that accrue to individual groups than meritocracy. They also emphasize class distinctions.

EJ: What are some of the problems facing the new leadership that the old generation did not face in the process of governance in East Africa?

Nawesha, a business woman in Jinja shared that: The new leadership has brought political governance the language of rights, which means that individual rights, including minority rights, are being expanded and taken into consideration.

Moreover, with globalization, liberal democracy and free market enterprise are taking hold in the region. The role of the government has been rethought where the government is merely the umpire and the citizens the actors. The new leaders are consulting more and more in what can term as the view of the majority. The old generation was used to a single-party political system that gave the leadership excessive power to make decisions over the lives of the majority without much consideration. The new leadership is also havening to deal more directly with the international community on matters that concern them: for instance, the International Criminal Court, which has staked its claim on which crimes constitute an abrogation of human rights. The court has taken up several cases from Uganda, Kenya, and Rwanda that it is dealing with – this was not the case with the old generation of leadership, which, in the past, conducted politics with utter impunity.

EJ: What is the role of civil society in enriching the process democratic governance in Uganda and the East African region?

Okumu is a young man in his mid-twenties from Magamaga. He refused to reveal his occupation. He shared that: In my view, civil society has let the views of the silent majority be known. Who would have thought that women leadership would have risen to more than a third in terms of representation? The consideration of minority rights is one of the achievements of civil society. We are all aware of the efforts of civil rights activities in opposition to the homophobic law that criminalizes homosexual relations. This has put the old Ugandan leadership on the radar as a people that do not respect the rights of minorities. Civil society activists such as David Kato who was will killed for fighting for gay rights is an example. He pressed for the recognition of gay rights and amendment of the law.

EJ: What are driving ideas behind the next generation of leader in the ‘new’ East African region?

Mwakira just graduated from Mbarara University with a diploma in development studies. She explained that: The new leadership within the region is being driven by the need for accountability and good governance. They feel that this would foster more social and economic development. Moreover, new leadership would like to create the infrastructure that would facilitate movement with the region. Leaders such as Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania among others are keen on forging the East African Community. Others like Uganda’s Yoweri Museveni are keen on seeing Ugandans invest in the region’s countries of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Kenya.

EJ: How is the personal leadership style, such as Yoweri Museveni’s and Paul Kagame’s hands-on, impacting institution-building efforts in Uganda and Rwanda?

Kazibwe owns a fabric (silk) business in Kampala. Below, he shared his views: Museveni is seen more like a dictator and power hungry leader who has overstayed his welcome. Many people think he is selfish and self-serving. The appointment of his wife to the cabinet has not gone down well with the populace. He has also appointed other close relatives to important positions in government. Now that Museveni wants to amend the constitution to enable him to vie for the presidency when his two terms in office are over is disgusting. On the other hand, the likes of Kagame, while being dictatorial, have managed to get the country out of corruption through the development of a security system that monitors those issues closely.

EJ: It is obvious the majority of people in the region and Uganda for that matter still adhered to kinship and traditional leadership. Considering this fact, will ethnic affiliation and kinship ties influence the process of governance?

Katerega Worked at Mosa Courts apartments as a watchman: He shared this:

Like other countries with the region, Uganda has a diverse linguistic and cultural population. Given the ethnic networks, some leaders have come to support the reestablishment of kingdoms such as Baganda or Banyoro to cater to the communities. These communities have come to believe that through such institutions they could benefit from the central government allocation as well have their rights respected. However, the kingdoms have encouraged tribalism and nepotism in political governance. On a different level, these types of approach to governance have encouraged people to vote as groups instead of considering policies – in other words, people who are competent from other ethnicities have been left out of national political leadership because their communities did not have significant numbers to carry the day.

EJ: How are traditional/indigenous forms of governance structures and institutions accommodated in the current constitution of Uganda appropriate for the East African community?

Pascal is a 28-year-old woman working at an orphanage in Entebbe:

Traditional/indigenous leadership poses a big hurdle in democratic governance and the spirit of East African integration. Instead of encouraging the regions, government should be harmonizing the constitutions of the individual countries. As long as there are different systems of governance for the countries in the region, the idea of bringing to life the East African community will not materialize.

EJ: What are some of the problems facing the new leadership that the old generation did not face in the process of governance in East Africa?

Nabudere works at the State House in Kampala. When asked what his occupation was, he stated that he was a journalist. He had this to say about issues facing the new African leadership: The new leadership has brought diverse political opinion to the process political governance in terms of multiparty. This in turn has expanded the democratic space. The old generation operated under the ideology of one party system. The new leadership is consulting more widely and has different mechanisms of getting to know the view of the majority through the social media and the liberalized mainstream media.

EJ: What is the role of civil society in enriching the process of democratic governance in Uganda and the East African region?

Katerega worked at Mosa Courts apartments as a watchman: He explained that: Civil society has educated the citizens on their rights through seminars and workshops among other activities. It has mainstreamed the views of the majority, which were ignored in the past. For example, minority rights have come to be respected – for instance, the rights of women. In Uganda civil society has been on the forefront to fight for gay rights and property rights.

EJ: What are driving ideas behind the next generation of leader in the ‘new’ East African region?

Mwesige holds a position in the Butiaba local citizen council. His views included:

I do not know what to think of the new leadership within the region. However, my thought is that they are driven by the need to ensure that their countries are economically sufficient. They are certainly for good democratic governance even if some of them are still stuck in the past thinking that leaders are the most powerful individuals. I would like to see them create conditions that would allow free

movement of people and business within the region. Presidents such as Mwai Kibaki of Kenya and Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania are doing a great job in that regard. The creation of east African Legislative Council a positive step in creating the East African Community.

EJ: How is the personal leadership style, such as Yoweri Museveni's and Paul Kagame's hands-on, impacting institution-building efforts in Uganda and Rwanda?

Mwakira worked for Uganda Fund, a local NGO in Gulu. I do not like what Museveni is doing lately. He has become dictatorial and sort of power hungry even though he helped Uganda to reclaim its past. He has also appointed other close relatives to important positions in government. Now that Museveni wants to amend the constitution to enable him vie for the presidency when his two terms in office are over, which is disgusting, I think it is time for him to leave the presidency. I think he is self-serving, to say the least. He appointed his wife to the cabinet – that is not a good thing. How will he reprimand his wife if she makes a mistake? Kagame is doing well, but I believe he is a dictator even though he has managed to stop corruption in the country through a close watch by the security forces.

EJ: It is obvious the majority of people in the region and Uganda for that matter still adhered to kinship and traditional leadership. Considering this fact, will ethnic affiliation and kinship ties influence the process of governance?

Oloka works at local market selling goods in Buganda. Age is unknown. He had this to say: Given the ethnic composition of the country, some leaders have come to support the reestablishment of kingdoms such as Baganda or Banyoro to cater to the communities. Let us not forget that Uganda has diverse linguistic and cultural populations just like other countries in the region. Given the ethnic composition of the country, some leaders have come to support the reestablishment of kingdoms such as Baganda or Banyoro for different reasons. They believe that their communities have been marginalized. Nothing can be farther from the truth! They think that through the establishment of Kingdoms, they will benefit from the government funds and aid – to me that constitutes grand corruption! However, the kingdoms have encouraged tribalism and nepotism in political governance.

EJ: Have there been any tensions over the resources given that some Kingdoms now have access to raw materials?

Oloka, please see above: Now that is a very interesting question. You see, Buganda belongs to the Baganda people and the central government is actually in the Buganda. For many years now, Kabaka has asked for his land back but Museveni has managed to calm the Kabaka down because the government is still here. Yet Museveni's kingdom is rich with oil. When you hear debates about oil, there is no mention of the government sharing the profits with the Kabaka. Maybe Museveni should move the central government to Bunyoro after all.

EJ: How are traditional/indigenous forms of governance structures and institutions accommodated in the current constitution of Uganda appropriate for the East African community?

Kazibwe is a street vendor in Moroto. His views are: Traditional/indigenous leadership is counter to good governance and democratic ideals. They should not be encouraged! If you see the Kabaka in Buganda, he has incorporated modern democracy into his duties so it is difficult really to say that Buganda practices really traditional governance. He too is ruled by Museveni and he does not rule the Baganda because they must follow the same laws that we all do here in Uganda.

How will the East African integration efforts succeed with such thought? My answer is that it will not succeed.

EJ: What are some of the problems facing the new leadership that the old generation did not face in the process of governance in East Africa?

Kabaga works at Speke hotel. He explains: The new leadership has introduced new ways of thinking about politics and governance, especially with the introduction of multiparty democracy. That means that the political system that the old generation operated under – the one-party system – has been dealt a big blow. One can see more consultation rather than the blind autocracy that underlay the one party system. It is important to mention the liberalized media and free access to information.

EJ: What is the role of civil society in enriching the process democratic governance in Uganda and the East African region?

Mudoola is a professor of education at Kyambogo University in Kampala. He had this to share on civil society in Uganda. Civil society is doing a great job. It has made a point to educate the masses – telling them politics is reserved not only for politicians, but for all those interested in bettering their countries through seminars and workshops, among others forums. They have mobilized many who otherwise would not have a voice on the issues taking place here in Uganda. I want to remind you, Ugandans have come a long way politically, socially and economically. Today, we are free to walk outside even at 3 a.m. Before under the old leadership, this could not have happened. It is civil society that has played a major role in freeing Ugandans to this extent.

Appendix B

African Leadership Network Members Directory



African Leadership Network Annual Gathering

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
26-29 October 2011

POWERING AFRICA'S PROSPERITY

Members Directory



AFRICAN
LEADERSHIP
NETWORK

"ALN aims to engage the collective influence of Africa's new generation of leaders to drive prosperity across Africa"

Fred Swariker, Co-Founder, African Leadership Network





Acha Loku
Co-founder
The African Leadership Network
Cameroon

Acha is a Director of McKinsey & Company, where he has served a broad range of clients across Africa in fields including telecom, healthcare, oil & gas, and banking. Acha started his career with McKinsey in the US and transferred to South Africa to drive the firm's expansion across Sub Saharan Africa before setting up the Lagos office. His work has also taken Acha to Kenya, Uganda, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Botswana amongst others.

In 2008 Acha was selected as a World Economic Forum Young Global Leader and as Africa's Young Investment Professional of the Year at the AI Investment Awards. He is currently a member of the WEF's Regional Agenda Council on Africa.



Fred Swaniker
Co-founder
The African Leadership Network
Ghana

Fred is passionate about Africa and believes good leadership will ultimately make the difference for the continent. He founded the African Leadership Academy, which aims to develop 6,000 leaders for Africa over the next 50 years. A serial entrepreneur, Fred co-founded Synexa Life Sciences, a biotechnology company and founded Global Leadership Adventures, a leadership development program for students across the world.

Fred was recognized as one of fifteen "top emerging social entrepreneurs in the world" in 2006 by Echoing Green. He was chosen as one of 25 TED Fellows in 2009 and is a Fellow of the Aspen Institute's Global Leadership Network.



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Jamie Clyde
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James Mutugi
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Executive Director
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Janelle Payne
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