



**The Africa Leadership Initiative/South Africa
ALI Comes to Aspen Seminars
Leadership in an Era of Globalization
April 10 – 15, 2005**

For the first time in its four year history, the Africa Leadership Initiative convened for two seminars where the inspiration for the program was born: at the Aspen Institute's campus, the Aspen Meadows, in Aspen, Co. Both the Inaugural Class of South African Fellows and the new class of South African Fellows participated in the special *ALI Comes to Aspen* events. Over the course of twelve days, the Inaugural Class attended their third seminar, *Leadership in an Era of Globalization*, and the Second Class met for the first time to take part in the *Challenge of Leadership*.



Isaac Shongwe and Peter Reiling welcome the Inaugural Class of Fellows to their third seminar.

The Africa Leadership Initiative (ALI) seeks to develop a new generation of values-driven, community-spirited business leaders from six African countries. However, ALI would never have made it to Aspen, or convene a second class of South African Fellows, had it not been for the generous support of the Global Markets Institute of Goldman Sachs. Under the leadership of Vice President Teresa Clarke, The Global Markets Institute at Goldman Sachs agreed to support 20 new South African Fellows to complete the four seminar ALI program over the course of the next two years. Additionally, the Global Markets Institute established the Goldman Sachs Africa Aspen Fellowship. Fourteen senior leaders at Goldman Sachs were selected as GS Africa Aspen Fellows in a competitive firm-wide nomination process to join the ALI Fellows in their leadership development activities. Suzanne Nora Johnson, Chairman of the Global Markets Institute said, "We strongly

believe that values-based leadership is essential to efficient and equitable global markets. We are pleased to partner with the Aspen Institute on this program and to have a group of Goldman Sachs and African emerging leaders participate in this learning process." Therefore, please note that when the term "Fellows" is used through out this report it includes both the South African ALI Fellows, and their Goldman Sachs counterparts, as they all participated in the events of both seminars. In South Africa, the Africa Leadership Initiative is also a joint venture between the Aspen Institute, TechnoServe, and the Letsema Foundation, led by local ALI partner, and Aspen Institute Board Member, Isaac Shongwe.

The seminars got off to a rocky start, as the Front Range was hit with a very significant snowstorm, and a few of the Fellows were not able to make it to Aspen until the second day of activities. In addition, Skip Battle, co-moderator for the seminars, could not fly out of California until the second full day of the *Globalization* seminar. However, Peter Reiling, founder of the ALI program, was prepared to moderate solo for the first day and a half's discussions.

While many of the Fellows arrived on Sat. Apr. 9, narrowly missing the snowstorm, the seminars activities did not begin in earnest until evening of Sun. Apr. 10, when everyone met for a cocktail reception, followed by dinner and some brief introductions. They all then walked across campus to meet in the Booz Allen room in the Aspen Meadows Koch Building. Their first session,

simply titled “Globalization,” included a discussion of articles from newspapers and journals. One major difference between the *Leadership in an Era of Globalization* seminar and the other seminars is that its selections are topical articles that discuss current events, as well as some case studies. Less literary pieces and philosophical works are included in this seminar’s curriculum.



Zoë Lees, Lulu Gwagwa and Bongiwe Njobe chat outside the Booz Allen Room

The Fellows began the evening by discussing the piece *Global Markets Recoil at Russian Oil Stock Freeze* by Ben White and Peter Behr, and published in *The Washington Post*. The Fellows concluded that the article is largely about overreaction. “It’s about a lack of knowledge and a lack of understanding on the part of the analysts and the investors.” However, some of the Fellows disagreed, saying, “I am not so sure I agree it was an overreaction by the markets. I think it was a natural reaction by the markets. This is how markets operate. If tomorrow Putin goes after another oligarch, the markets will react the same way.” Another Fellow reflected on the relevance of this article to South Africa; “I think we should focus on the impact this has on developing countries. If unfavorable info comes out in a small country, it can do incredible damage, even if it is not true.” One Fellow wrapped up the conversation by pointing out that the article has two sub-themes, “the first being how systemic the markets have become, like one single web. The second is that the reaction time compared to so many years ago has been drastically cut” by the internet and other means of instant, global communication.

The next article, *U.S. Visa Red Tape Drives Away Foreign Students*, really hit home with the Fellows, as they just recently struggled with the US visa process in order to attend the seminar. One Fellow launched into an examination of the failures of the US student visa system and made two valid points; “There are some consequences they haven’t thought through. One, it is foreign students who produce many of the scientific patents in the US. Second, by not allowing foreigners into the country, it makes it harder for the US to lobby for its world view. How can they encourage freedom and democracy and not allow anyone into the country?” In the end, the Fellows basically agreed that this was a symptom of the stepped up security across the US after 9-11, and that this aggressive approach would probably remain in place for some time.

In contrast, many of the Fellows felt that the next article, *SARS, Painful Side-Effects*, illustrated an under-reaction in a globalized society. One Fellow saw the article as pointing out the dangers of a closed society in an interconnected world; “the Chinese didn’t let anyone know what was going on, and it had horrible consequences.” Another Fellow had a personal encounter with the SARS virus, explaining that, “Fear is a powerful emotion, and I think there was a short term under-reaction, and then a massive over-reaction. I lived through this, I was in Hong Kong at the time, and I noticed how powerful the emotion of fear is.”

Next the fellows discussed the changing dynamics of global media and communications with the article, *Tsunami Blogs Help Redefine News and Relief Effort*. The article discusses how blogs enabled people on the ground during December’s tsunami to broadcast news about the disaster to a global audience. The Fellows pointed out a number of positive attributes of blogs, including sometimes increasing aid and attention during a crisis, personalizing the news, bringing to light stories of small personal victories, and encouraging more emotional reporting. However, they did express some concerns over the lack of regulation that defines the blog phenomenon. The conversation also turned to the amount of attention the tsunami tragedy got in relation to other

crises, especially those in Africa, such as the wars in the DRC and Darfur. One Fellow commented, “I think it’s interesting to see how the reaction to this tragedy was so much greater than the reaction to people starving in Africa every day. The numbers of the same, but for some reason it doesn’t make the same headlines.”

The internet was also the focus of the next piece, *Internet: Policing Pornography*. One Fellow opened the conversation by stating the key problem of the internet; “This article is about how easy it is to send information, and not all that information is good.” Someone else pointed out a further complication with looking to ban or condemn pornography, as it is in many cases the industry that is drives development and new technologies on the internet. It becomes very difficult to both enjoy the benefits of the internet, while also controlling its darker, more disturbing sides.

The Fellows closed the evening’s sessions with a discussion on the overall themes of these articles. One Fellow pointed out the crux of the pieces by saying, “The common theme is that decisions, policies, and events are no longer localized. They have repercussions world wide.” The Fellows then listed a number of events over the past 24 months that occurred elsewhere, but had repercussions in South Africa:

- √ Oil prices increasing – inflation
- √ The Pope’s death – depression, and a renewed desire for an African pope
- √ The crisis/elections in Zimbabwe – affects RSA markets, and constrains foreign investment
- √ Weakening of the US dollar – caused a decrease in RSA exports
- √ US presidential election – depression and disillusionment with the US
- √ Iraq war – was behind the rise in oil prices
- √ Decision to hold the 2010 World Cup in South Africa – jubilation!
- √ South Africa accepting the WTO regulations – increase in imported goods from China and job losses
- √ Iraq war/reconstruction – decrease of global investment in NePAD
- √ Eyadema’s death/civil strife in Togo – destabilization in the region and concern throughout Africa

The Fellows also shared stories of how these global events affected them personally:

- Winning the 2010 World Cup is helping people focus on the future a little more. They are no longer living day to day, and they are thinking about where they will be in five years.
- With the wine industry, there are a few big producers and many small producers. When the Rand was weak, people went export crazy, and it negatively impacted the quality of our wine. Now that the Rand is stronger, the larger companies have substantially changed the way they do business. People are being forced to abandon business models that were outdated, and that is a very good thing.
- At the Agriculture Ministry, we were personally affected by the Avian Flu crisis. We had to handle the PR of these viruses, and we put a lot of pressure on the Health Ministry to let us know what the risk was.

The next morning when the Fellows reconvened, the personal check-in reports were first on the agenda. The personal check-in is a chance for everyone to update the class on his or her accomplishments and challenges over the past year, and to share what specific actions he or she has undertaken as a result of previous seminars. The following are some examples of the Fellows' check-in reports:

- I formed the Goodwill Exchange with two other partners to do socially responsible work. We are about to launch a project that promotes multilingualism in South Africa. I hope to link some of my jewelry work to these projects as well. I am no longer on my own, which is great. I believe that wealth is an opportunity to be generous, and I am trying to act on it.
- Most of my life I have been working with natural resources and heavy manufacturing, and now I am moving into a new business sphere with the intellectual capital business. Having made that move, I am working with more and more women, and it is changing the way our company operates, and I find that I really enjoy the dynamic having a gender balanced work place creates.



Lebogang Hashatse, Richard Gnodde, and Lule Gwagwa listen attentively to their classmates check in reports.

- I finished my third collection of poetry, and I think my publicist thinks it stinks, because he keeps asking me for more poems! I just think it is very different from what I used to write before. This one is less political, and less focused on South Africa alone.

- The last time we were together, I was looking for a new job, but since then my boss was removed, and I have been really enjoying my job ever since! Now I am not sure I want to make the switch to a new career.
- When I was approached by SAB, it really seemed like the right move to make, but it did take courage, and I realized that it is hard to know when it is time to move on when you are on top of an organization – everyone else knows, but you don't. However, the transition went really well, and I am very happy with it.
- I have started to manage some of my business from my home, and we have had some very productive meetings around my kitchen table.
- I have an unusual problem, in that I don't get stressed enough about facets of my business, and I always regret it later, and then I end up in trouble. The good thing about ALI is that it does let you take stock, and let you think about things from a bit of a distance.

After a short coffee break, the Fellows launched into the heavier material of the seminar; a discussion of globalization and economics. The first reading was Thomas Friedman's *The Golden Straitjacket* from The Lexus and the Olive Tree. The Fellows seemed resistant to

Friedman's idea that in order to escape poverty and spur economic growth, countries need to accept the "golden straitjacket" and follow the rules of free market capitalism. It was the political constraints that the straitjacket imposes on states that bothered the Fellows the most, with one Fellow commenting, "I think the first time I read this article, I agreed with what he was saying, but the second time, I realized that he has a highly simplistic perception of the world. His notion that states are so limited in what is possible is really over simplifying." However, other Fellows felt differently, and after a few minutes, they started to offer counter arguments such as, "I read this and I thought, he's right. You may not like the straitjacket, but you have to put it on in some way if you want the flow of money to develop your country." Another Fellow tried to bridge the divide by explaining, "I think he exaggerates how tight fitting it is. Even across the developed world, there is a difference in the size of the government in the economy." In the end, one Fellow pointed out an essential truth of any economic system by saying, "Someone made the comment that you go against this at your peril, but there are examples of people who have resisted and succeeded. The fact is that the weaker and smaller countries have to behave better, and follow the straitjacket, in order to be attractive. The larger countries have more freedom to go their own way."

The next article, Ted Fishman's *Making a Killing: The Myth of Capital's Good Intentions* was efficiently summed up by one Fellow who explained, "He is saying that capital will go where there is profit. And if that profit happens to come from a place where it is fueled by a civil war, then so be it. Capital doesn't make moral decisions; it makes decisions on risk vs. return." The Fellows used the article to transition to a discussion of the relationship between resource rich African countries and corrupt governments. Many of the Fellows felt that multinational companies who are willing to do business with anyone in order to get their hands on natural resources are largely to blame. However, differing opinions could be found, and one Fellow stated, "My problem with this article is that he points the blame at the Wall Street companies, and not the African governments."



The Fellows had mixed feelings about Thomas Friedman's piece, and they continued to come back to it throughout the seminar.

Many of the Fellows found the next piece, Ginger Thompson and Sandra Ochoa's *By a Back Door to the U.S.: A Migrant's Grim Sea Voyage*, to be a sad reminder of how desperate many of the world's poor are to escape their own nations, where they see no chance for a better life. One Fellow reflected on the paradox of globalization, in that there is a free flow of information and capital, but not of people. "Capital doesn't need a visa or a passport, but people do, and that creates an interesting situation." Another Fellow pointed out how, "This economic migration is the one weapon that poor countries have against the rich nations. They can basically threaten to keep sending people over the border to avoid being ignored."

The next two articles, Manjeet Kripalani and Pete Engardio's *The Rise of India* and Ted Fishman's *The Chinese Century*, set the stage for the Fellows to compare the economic success of these two eastern giants. "In China you have a huge work force, but in India, you have a lot of brain power, but it is cheaper brain power than in the West. So, it's a similar economic model – sending the jobs over there where the labor is cheaper, even if it is intellectual labor and not manufacturing labor." They concluded that India's success in the intellectual fields could be traced to its historical emphasis on education, and also in part to cultural ties that pulled many

Western educated Indians back home. They attributed China's economic success to different factors, including a large population, some natural resources, and a society that is very disciplined and socially engineered to some extent. However, some of the Fellows expressed concerns about using China as a model of economic success, as there is an undeniable lack of personal freedom in that nation. One Fellow pointed out that some people just want to "piggy back" on China's success, not remake South Africa in its image. But to that, someone replied, "But they are not saying, 'let us leverage China's growth,' they are saying, 'let us be more like China –and that is worrying.'" Other Fellows worried about the environmental failings in China's model, and the overwhelming poverty that is still present outside China's large cities. In the end, everyone agreed that there is a lesson to be learned from the success of both China and India, and that South Africa should aim to lead the continent in an effort to make the next century "The African Century."

One of the Fellows found he disagreed with the title of the next piece by John Henley and Jeevan Vasagar, *Think Muslim, Drink Muslim, Says New Rival to Coke*. As he explained, "The entrepreneur, Mathlouthi, is not actually taking on Coca-Cola. He found a small market that Coca-Cola couldn't work in anyway." Someone else explained that large American companies like Coca-Cola and McDonalds will inevitably find themselves in this situation; "When you are a global brand, you become iconic, a symbol, which is risky. You can be attacked for reasons that have nothing to do with your company's actions." This article's examination of branding and globalization transitioned nicely into the next article, *Vietnam Embraces Globalization on Own Terms* by William Pesek, Jr. It starts out with an anecdote about the Vietnamese Trung Nguyen coffee houses that seem to be suspiciously similar to Starbucks. The Fellows appreciated the spirit of the Vietnamese resistance to American brands, as it seemed to many to be a way to encourage economic growth without wearing the golden straitjacket.

At the end of the *Economics* session, the Fellows paused to reflect on the leadership challenges that globalization, especially its financial and economic manifestations, present. Below are some excerpts from that discussion:

- We need to nurture innovation. We need something to make us a global player the way South African's have always wanted to be.
- If you look at the last century's experiments with socialism and fascism, it seems capitalism has won, even though it is very flawed. But, you know a lot of people are going to get hurt if you go down the capitalist road as a leader.
- I think the formal economy and the investment services can look at what they are doing to make a difference. We just launched a new account which doesn't charge as many service fees for people who are on the bottom rung financially, and it is through those programs that we can bring people into the legitimate economy, and out of the black market. This will get them more invested in the outcome of our economy.
- I think we should avoid the temptation to follow the trends because they are trends, and instead we need to be informed intellectually - to make smart decisions. We cannot have ignorant leadership, and we must be reflective. We cannot act just because we are told to do it.

- I believe each person in their own industry needs to be thinking about poverty, and using their tools and their industry to tackle the problems. The key is fostering direct partnerships in your sector between public and private groups.

After lunch back at the Aspen Meadows Reception Center, the Fellows returned to the Koch Building to discuss how globalization impacts politics. Their first reading, Jessica Mathew's *Power Shift*, sparked a debate between the Fellows over how much sway multinationals have over the policies of the South African government. Some of the Fellows took this debate a step further and asked, "Why aren't international companies having an influence in South Africa? There has to be a reason, because when they want to influence government policies in other countries, they have no trouble doing so." In response, one of the Fellows offered up the end of Apartheid as an answer; "I think that before 1994, the multinationals were very powerful, particularly in regulating the industries. But now they have been forced to back down and reform their images, so they are taking a back seat for the time being."



Michael Nartey does his best to get his comment heard.

While the Mathews article led to a debate on the role of multinationals in South Africa, excerpts from Joseph Stiglitz's piece *The Need for International Public Institutions, Governance, and Transparency* from his book *Globalization and its*

Discontents inspired a debate on the impact and legitimacy of

international organizations like the IMF and the World Bank. Drawing from recent events, one Fellow pointed out, "I think it was reflected in the appointment of Wolfowitz to head the World Bank. It's a world organization, but only Europe and the US get to nominate people to such powerful positions." Another Fellow countered that by explaining, "The US controls the institutions because it is the largest donor, and you are never going to get around that. No one can donate that kind of money, so no one is going to have equal power with the US." The conversation quickly turned to the WTO, and the lifting of trade barriers; "The average South African is not happy with the WTO. The farmers aren't happy, and the people working in the factories are not happy. But, they still hold out hope for the WTO to help them in the long run." In closing, one of the Fellows explained how good leadership could change the dynamic in these organizations; "We have been trying to teach other developing countries how to negotiate. For instance, the US brought 200 people to the Cancun talks, and the smaller countries got left out because they couldn't afford to send that many delegates. We need to talk to our African neighbors about how to interact strategically at these meetings, so that their voices can actually be heard."

The Fellows seemed to agree with the article, *A Crisis of Legitimacy* from *The Economist*; that globalization has not totally invalidated nation-states in favor of multinational companies or organizations. As one Fellow put it, "Globalization has in many ways enabled the world's governments to function better and to have greater opportunities. When governments rail against it, they are just looking for a scapegoat." They agreed that once a country commits to wearing the golden straitjacket it needs to make sure it doesn't neglect the poorest, most marginalized members of society in favor of economic development. There were some disagreements, however, over the amount of progress that South Africa's government has made in reducing

poverty, and one of the Fellows reminded everyone that, “We need to accept that while there is still poverty in South Africa, a good deal of progress that has been made in the fight against it. We have made great inroads with housing, fresh water, education, etc. And this is why the ANC has continually increased its majority during the last two elections.”

One might expect that any work penned by Fidel Castro would be controversial, and his *War, Racism, and Economic Justice; The Global Ravages of Capitalism* is no exception. One of the Fellows seemed surprised to find he shared some common ground with the Cuban leader. “Historically, he is pretty accurate. I remember that my ninth grade civics teacher lodged a complaint that I was speaking out too strongly in favor of Fidel in class. But you cannot deny that he is pointing out the hegemony of the US in relations in the Western hemisphere.” Another Fellow was glad that at least one piece offered an alternative to the golden straitjacket, even if it is not a very good one. Another Fellow commented on the apparent irony of Castro’s power; “If the US hadn’t imposed the embargoes, he never could have kept going, because American culture would have taken him over by now.”

The article by Nicole Itano, *South African Companies Fill a Void*, invited more derision than the Castro piece. One Fellow took issue with the tone of the article, saying, “This article implies that South African companies went out and filled this void because it was a benefit to them, but other countries also asked them to come in. It was part of NePAD’s strategy.” Another Fellow recalled, “I think about two years ago at the World Economic Forum, there was a special session on if South Africa is being a ‘bully’ or not, and I thought people made some interesting points. They even said that we do not understand the continent.” Someone else pointed out a paradox in the way South African companies are treated in Africa. “The notion of South Africa as another colonizer is quite problematic for me, as many of these African countries would not complain to the same extent if these were American or French companies. They impose more constraints on our companies, and that is unfair.” Others related anecdotes that contradicted the article; “When we went to Zambia, the President told us that it took years for the Zambians to see benefits from other African countries’ companies that came in first. He was glad to have us there instead.” In closing, one Fellow advised, “I think the key is to hire locally, and to put those local people in powerful positions. Otherwise, there will be a backlash.”

After a short break, Peter Reiling brought the group back together for a plenary presentation of their individual leadership projects. The ALI Fellows each took a few minutes to inform the group of their progress in developing their project. The Leadership Project is an integral part of the Africa Leadership Initiative. Each Fellow, in the Aspen tradition, is expected to “give back” by carrying out a project designed to put into practice the principles of values-based leadership. These projects are expected to take place during the last 18 months of the Fellowship. Ideally, these projects have a substantial impact in local communities, and will be one of the key “legacies” of the Africa Leadership Initiative. Some excerpts from their reports have been included below:

- I am setting up a day care center at my corporation so that professional women can keep working after they have children, but I also want it to be available for lower-income woman, so we can employ more poor, single mothers. Right now I am dealing with the legal issues of such an endeavor, and I am looking for input from people who have run other day care centers.
- I have set up a foundation for science and technology advocacy in Sub-Saharan Africa called the Africa Technology and Science Strategy. I want this forum to help develop new technologies, WiFi/WiMax technologies and solar power, which can help the

common African advance himself. We need to tackle poverty with profits, we don't just need handouts, and that is what I want these African-controlled, Africa-focused technology businesses to do. When you rely on Western companies to come up with all the medical/technological innovations, they don't focus on African problems. For instance, there has not been a new drug developed for tuberculosis in twenty years, because this disease is no longer a problem in the West. That is why you need to get African scientists and doctors the funding to do their own research. Right now, I have a project plan and a charter. We are facing major funding constraints, but we are approaching USAID and CSI for support.

- I want to develop a leadership toolkit, basically a manual, to teach leadership skills in limited resource environments. Too many leadership programs focus on the “haves” and too many well-meaning development projects fail because no one in the target group takes on a leadership role. I had to develop a manual to tackle the land reform issue in South Africa a number of years ago, and I am relying on that experience to aid me in this project. I am still looking for partners. I think that 20% of my efforts will go into producing the manual, and 80% will go towards its distribution. I am also concerned about getting local input into the document. Eventually, I would like to see the manual converted to tapes, DVDs, and videos.
- We are working on a mentorship initiative in partnership with SIDA City Campus in Johannesburg. We decided on SIDA because we like their business management program, and that university also targets low-income students. In addition, both of our companies already have a relationship with the university. We want to teach 15 students to leverage their skills, and our networks, and we want the program to be run on a formal schedule, not an ad hoc basis. We also think there will be a leadership project element to the program, and we will ask all the participants to do some social work in their home communities. We both benefited from mentors early in our careers, and we want a chance to give back.
- My project is to plant as many indigenous hardwood trees across sub-Saharan Africa as possible, with my main focus right now on Eastern Uganda. We are currently approaching 60 to 100 schools with packets of hardwood seeds, and we want to help each of those schools establish a nursery. Because we are working with local cotton farmers, we can only work on this project during the rainy season. However, I am also looking to augment my company's cotton work by incorporating a “small wood lot” project into our regular business practices. This will involve giving cotton farmers the resources to plant fast-growing eucalyptus trees on their property for fuel and housing, so that they no longer have to cut down the local hardwoods.
- We are trying to tackle the problems of South Africa's textile industry by producing a case study that will highlight a sustainability model for textiles on the Western Cape. Our goal is to get it accepted as a Harvard Business School Case Study.
- I believe Africa's heritage needs to be curated in Africa, and to that end I want to build a “Bilbao-style” museum focused on African art, which will then act as a major node in the network of African cultural institutions, promoting communication and knowledge-sharing on a continent-wide basis. I have so far developed an international panel to get

direction on cost estimates and operational budgets. Recently, we met with MOMA representatives in New York, and other museums in France.

After lunch the Fellows met on their own to assign roles for their production of Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*. They did not return to their discussion of the readings until the following morning, when they met to examine globalization's impact on religion and culture. The first reading of the morning was Sayyid Qutb's *Religion and Society in Christianity and Islam* from Social Justice in Islam. Many of the Fellows could not even agree with the facts that Qutb used in his piece, let alone his beliefs. As one Fellow put it, "Leaving aside the content, the way it was written is very crude. He does a summary of 3,000 years history in five or six pages, and he picks and chooses between historical events." Others, while agreeing with his criticisms of the Christian Church, felt those same critiques could be directed at Islam. For instance, "he openly criticizes corruption in the church, calling it an opiate for the masses. But some would say that Islam is being used the same way today in the Muslim world; as a way of controlling the masses." However, some Fellows did attempt to defend Qutb's ideas, with someone saying, "He's not saying that Islam is perfect; he is just reacting to the status quo. The rules of the game are set by Christianity, and he is just offering a resistant view." Then, Peter Reiling directed the conversation closer to home by asking what impact the importation of outside or alien religions had on South African culture. Here are some excerpts from their responses:

- Christianity just mixed with the old religions, it didn't wipe them out. That has always been the way when new religions are introduced in Africa. They exist in parallel.
- I think that the end of Apartheid also marked an opening of religious freedom.
- In Southern Africa, when the missionaries came, there were tensions between their ideas and tradition. And even today, many people feel that non-denominational churches are too Americanized, with motivational speaking, and R&B style singing.
- There was a struggle between the traditional cultures and Christianity, as is exemplified by many of the Xhosa (a South African ethnic group) uprisings against the British, who were trying to convert as well as colonize. That's where the expression, "they came with the bible and the next thing you know, we had the bible, and they had the land" comes from.
- I think the strength of the Christian right in America, and their association with America's style of the golden straitjacket, may be at the root of some people's refusal to join in the system.
- I feel we do have a very open society when it comes to religious tolerance in South Africa. Just look at how the President goes to any religious conference or ceremony.

The Fellows also related to the next article, George Packer's *Letter from the Ivory Coast: Gangsta War*, using it as a vehicle to examine their own problems with disenfranchised, poor young people. "This article recalls the gangs of Cape Town, who name themselves after American gangs, and don't identify with South Africa at all." This comment led someone to point out that the problem may be most acute in Cape Town because of the income disparity and economic isolation prevalent in the region. As one woman said, "I identified with Packer's description of the 'window licking' phenomenon in Coté d'Ivoire, where people have no chance of buying what is behind the windows, but they still gaze through them at the products. You see

that a lot in some parts of South Africa.” Taking the conversation in a slightly different direction, one of the Fellows said, “In terms of identity, we will soon be faced with the huge issue of teenage AIDS orphans, and that is going to be one of the largest problems RSA has to deal with in the next decade.” One of the Fellows closed by explaining how he can relate this isolation to his concerns for his own family; “I have always been conscious about how my children see themselves. I try to take them to the townships on weekends to remind them of their roots, and I have also taken them to the Apartheid museum. I think that is very important.”



Both Ralph Freese and Zoë Lees felt strongly about preserving a multilingual South Africa.

The discussion of Kiplangat Cheruiyot’s *Our Languages are Dying* was more polarized with some Fellows lamenting the loss of African languages and others accepting it as a necessary evil to promote economic development. One Fellow asserted that, “You must realize that one of the largest tools of colonization is the destruction of an indigenous language. That is how people remain mentally colonized long after independence.” Another added that, “You see lots of middle class South African parents who speak their own traditional languages, but they do not teach these languages to their children, and this is reflected in the fact that they do not give their children African names.” However, those arguing for the other side argued that,

“The world is constantly adding and deleting languages. If you look back 400 years, Afrikaans didn’t exist. In Hong Kong today, many parents teach their children Mandarin even though they speak Cantonese because that is the economic imperative.” Someone else added, “Having 12 different languages certainly helps you move your society towards the community spectrum, but it doesn’t help on the efficiency end, and certainly can hinder the school systems.” One Fellow offered a compromise by pointing out, “For me, it is very interesting that some of us speak so many languages; it means you have the keys to so many worlds. And I believe that economically, that is the best way to be. The more languages you speak, the more keys you have, and the more doors you can open.”

The conversation surrounding Valentine M. Moghadam’s *Gender and Globalization: Female Labor and Women’s Mobilization* could have been very contentious, but the Fellows largely agreed that some of the “feminization of poverty” that Moghadam describes is rooted in rural women realizing that they can have jobs for the first time. Before, they never would have described themselves as “unemployed.” One Fellow pointed out that even though many women can only find low paying jobs, “I would argue that women have always worked, but before they were not paid at all. So, in some ways, this is a step up. It gives them access to a new role.” The Fellows also all agreed that, “the problem is not how many women we employ, but how many women are in the upper echelons of management,” and that childcare facilities need to be made more accessible so that women can advance to highest rungs of the corporate ladder.



Jane Wells discusses her experiences in Darfur with Maurice Radebe.

After lunch, the Fellows met in the Paepcke Auditorium to work on the play. Director Ketso Gordhan kept a tight rein on his cast, and props manager Tom Dowling hunted down props like wigs and coat racks, and downloaded sound effects onto his laptop.

That evening, everyone was invited to a lovely dinner at the home of Aspen residents Jonathan and Jane Wells. Jane Wells, and Aspen Institute moderator Lee Bycel, had just returned from a trip to Darfur, Sudan to “bear witness” to the tragedy taking place there. Both Ms. Wells and Mr. Bycel shared their experiences, and some photos of people they met in the refugee camp, with the group. Everyone was moved by Ms.

Wells’ story of a nurse she met who described the extreme iron deficiency so many of the refugees suffer from, and many people continued to discuss the situation in Darfur throughout the evening.

The next morning, the Fellows reconvened to discuss the role of science and technology in globalization. The first two articles, Sylvia Earle’s *Sea Change: A Message of the Oceans* and DeNeen Brown’s *Poisons from Afar Threaten Arctic Mothers, Traditions*, both dealt with over fishing and pollution in the world’s oceans. One of the Fellows shared his personal experience with the South African fishing industry. He explained that while he feels the South African companies have done a good job of maintaining their fisheries, he found that when he originally, “tried to regulate the industry, people called me a communist, and the government had to offer me protection. That is how strong the animosity is among the fishing companies.” Someone else added that foreign corporations do the most damage in South Africa’s oceans; “The Spanish and the Angolans have been over fishing in the international waters off of South Africa for years.” The moderators then asked the Fellows how they make environmentally responsible decisions in their own companies and communities. Many of the Fellows expressed concerns over putting the environment before the needs of poor people, but one Fellow offered that, “The issue now is the big corporations, not the little communities. It is the companies that need to be reformed, not the small communities.” One Fellow pointed out a path to greater regulation in the large industries, “I think that companies will keep looking for the cheapest costs and the highest profits as long as that is what their shareholders wants, but once those investors start asking for environmental benefits as well as profits, then these industries will be willing to change the way they operate.”



Peter Reiling and ALI supporter Mark Drewell discuss the program with host Jonathan Wells.

The discussion around Justin Gilli’s piece, *U.N. Touts Biotech to Boost Global Food Supply*, focused on the political nature of the GMO (genetically modified organisms) debate. As one Fellow put it, “I wonder how much of the resistance comes from the fact that American

companies developed these technologies. If GMO had originated in Africa, people might not be as resistant to them.” Another Fellow was careful to point out to the group the difference between “simple plant breeding” and genetically modified organisms. There was also a political bent to the conversation on telemarketing companies moving operations to Africa, as described in Marc Lacey’s *Accents of Africa: A New Outsourcing Frontier*. “Africa has all the necessary resources for telemarketing: quality, opportunity for cost savings, and European friendly time zones,” one Fellow explained. “So why aren’t these companies moving into Africa? I think the answer is basic racism. Some American customers do not want to talk to Kenyans; they would rather talk to Indians.”

The conversation then turned to a broader examination of technologies ability to combat poverty. One Fellow asserted that, “technology is a potential contributor to the fight against poverty, but it is not the panacea. You still run into problems – maintenance, education, infrastructure, etc.” Another Fellow advised, “Maybe what we should do it first look at the technologies in which we are leaders. In South Africa, we have made great strides in crime prevention technology.” One Fellow summed up the sentiments of the group with an anecdote about his experience with an African telecom; “Ten years ago, I was involved in the first privatization of a telecom in Africa, and we struggled with setting up the infrastructure for land lines. Now I can see that the mobile phone really is the perfect solution for the lack of infrastructure that much of Africa has. So, to hell with land lines! We don’t need them.” In closing the conversation on technology, development, and globalization, one Fellow commented on the final piece from *The Economist*, *Southern Comfort, Eastern Promise*, “To me, it shows how the next big development is not necessarily going to happen in the Western world.”



Bruce Robertson, a cotton buyer by trade, explains the difference between GMO and plant breeding.

After lunch, the Fellows returned to the Booz Allen room to discuss how globalization impacts values. They were both disturbed and amused by Mary Midgley’s piece *Trying Out One’s New Sword*, which describes the way Samurais in feudal Japan would test a new sword by slicing a “wayfarer” in half. One Fellow joked at the outset that the story upsets him, as, “I am sure that I would have been one of those wayfarers!” The conversation took on a more serious tone as the Fellows debated whether or not one can say that there are universal values that all people should abide by. Their were a range of opinions offered from those who believe one can never comment on practices in other cultures, to those who held fast to the idea that some actions are simply wrong in any context. One of the British Fellows asked, “What would you have said to an apologist to Apartheid twenty years ago? Many people in Britain didn’t think they needed to study the issue in depth, or travel to South Africa, to know that Apartheid was wrong.” Another Fellow asked, “There is a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and there is a Geneva Convention, and those are attempts to create an absolute morality. Most of the world has agreed in those values, but should we force other people to obey them just because the majority believes in them?” Someone else clouded the waters even further by pointing out that being informed or culturally sensitive does not always allow different parties to find common ground: “I think we have been saying that you need information to make a fair moral judgment, but that is not always true. Lots of people have information on abortion, but they still vehemently disagree on the issue.” In closing, one of the Fellows looked back at the Samurai testing his sword on the

wayfarer, and said, “I think that good cultural practices stay, and the bad ones are dropped eventually. At least there is hope in that.”

Some of the Fellows were disappointed to find that in Daniel Etounga-Manguelle’s *Does Africa Need a Cultural Adjustment Program?*, the author once again spoke about Africa as if it were one unified place. They also argued with the basic premise of the piece; that African culture is at the root of many of Africa’s problems. Instead, they suggested that, “We did not create the nation states that we have been asked to run, and whenever you develop a system without local input, you end up with failure. One reason for the failure of the nation state in Africa is not the composition or the institution of it, but the borders of it. They were imposed with no input from Africans.” Another Fellow expressed his belief that, “The governments are the root of the problem, and not the culture. For instance, if Zimbabwe had been a province of South Africa rather than an independent country, I think it would have been a very successful place, because it would be run by a more just, less corrupt government.”



Olunde (Arthur Mutambara) expresses disgust at his farther Elesin’s (Richard Gnodde) failure to commit ritual suicide.

The Fellows then turned to an examination of Chinua Achebe’s *No Longer At Ease*, which was distributed as a supplemental reading to the seminar book. The Fellows all enjoyed the novel, and they concluded that Obi, the protagonist, represented how many young European educated, African men can become corrupt if they do not have a mentor to guide them. One Fellow pointed out how, “when he was in the UK, he studied English, not administration, but he comes back to a very senior administrative post. He is opposed to corruption, but he is not really given the tools to avoid it.” Other Fellows felt that Obi represented a more universal human tragedy, namely, “when you find you are cut off from the things you hold dear, your roots, you drift.” When asked how they would avoid similar pitfalls in

their own careers, the Fellows agreed that being balanced personally and professionally, and maintaining connections to one’s moral roots and support systems are good strategies.

That evening the Fellows performed the play *Death and the King’s Horseman*. The performance was emotionally charged and expertly acted, with both the Goldman Sachs Fellows and the ALI Fellows contributing equally to its success. While the costume resources were somewhat limited, the sound effects were wonderful, including songs by Ladysmith Black



The cast celebrates after a successful performance.

Mambazo, which were perfectly synced to the action of the play. The next morning, the Fellows met to discuss the meaning of the play as it pertains to leadership and globalization. The conversation mainly focused on Elesin, the King's horseman, and his failure to commit ritual suicide to honor the king's death. Some of the Fellows blamed the British administrator, Simon Pilkings, for interfering in an important local custom. Others felt that the weakness was in Elesin himself, "who suddenly could choose not to kill himself, and that gave him pause." One Fellow compared this custom to "the South African tradition of ritual male circumcision, which was banned and driven underground during Apartheid. That damaged its cultural value, and created sanitary and health concerns. Now, the practice has been brought back into the public domain, and that has resolved some of the health issues that doing it in secret presented." In closing one of the Fellows stated that, "I think the lesson from this play is to be respectful, and not to make judgments on the customs and cultural practices of other groups."

The Fellows went on to discuss the final set of *Globalization* readings that morning, including Joel Millman and Ann Zimmerman's *Repats' Help Payless Shoes Branch Out in Latin America*. The article made the Fellows reflect on the high number of South African expats living in places like the US and the UK who could help to fuel economic development back home if they are encouraged to do so. One Fellow stated that, "We need to market South Africa better to our Diaspora. This is a great place to live." Another Fellow pointed out, "One problem is that we don't pay our teachers and nurses enough, so they leave. They just can't fight that economic draw." The Fellows also related Peter Bate's *River of Gold* to South Africa, with some feeling that remittances are a necessary source of income for rural South Africans, and others feeling that "these remittances create a distortion in South Africa's economy. They decrease the likelihood that people will go into business for themselves."

Finally, the Fellows came to Thomas Friedman's *The Groundswell (Or the Backlash Against the Backlash)* from his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. One Fellow emphatically stated, "I agree with him that rather than railing against globalization, we should harness it and steer it in the direction we prefer." Other Fellows agreed that while the affects of globalization might not always be good for South Africa, it is a global phenomenon that one cannot really stop or withdraw from. In closing, one of the Fellows commented, "Friedman is very attractive to me, sitting where I sit. I like the idea of using globalization in my own way, but I sometimes think this is overly optimistic."

The Fellows took a short break, and then returned to share their closing remarks and personal statements. Many of the ALI Fellows expressed gratitude that the Global Markets Institute at Goldman Sachs chose to participate in their seminar, and likewise, the Goldman Sachs Africa Aspen Fellows thanked the ALI group for welcoming them into their circle. Then, Peter Reiling took a moment to share with everyone his three imperatives for the group. His first was to remind the Fellows how much the other African countries really need South Africa's leadership, wisdom, and guidance. Second, his belief that good leadership is the key to solving Africa's problems, and that this tenant should be instilled in organizations like the World Economic Forum and the Blair Commission. And finally, the fate of Africa, and the world, lies in our children, the next generation, and they should make sure they understand globalization so they can steer the it in a positive direction. In conclusion, Isaac Shongwe stated his desire to make sure that ALI is not just about uplifting their own group; "While everyone knows that apartheid is not coming back, that is not enough. All of Africa needs to be engaged in a conversation on globalization, human rights, and the future. We need to put another 100 classes of ALI/South Africa through the program. I know those people are out there. We need to institutionalize ALI. It cannot be part time. It needs to be a commitment. It is a race, but it is a race we can win, or

lose, depending on our own commitment and drive.” Below are some excerpts from the Fellows’ personal statements and closing remarks:

- I really want to do something for the African continent. And I have also been focusing on holidays; I need to take them a lot more seriously. I think that is a good way to teach my children about globalization.
- I don’t think that intellectualism and popular culture should be discussed in the same media forum, and even though I am very disenchanting with the newspaper industry right now, I realize that as a leader, I need to take the initiative to make this change myself.
- I think that even after this program is over, we all need to keep in touch, and I think that will help to give us all a better perspective. I have always been one to believe in role models and leadership, and I see so much potential here around this table. I think we should show the world how much potential there is here.
- I find globalization to be a scary prospect as an environmentalist. I think that it spreads a culture of materialism around the world, without good principles of waste management.
- I feel so privileged to be here, and it really reminds me that there is a future for Africa. As someone living abroad, I am so excited to see so many great African leaders that have stayed at home to make a difference. And I know that I cannot go on with the status quo. I want to re-examine my relationship with Africa, and I want to give back.
- While some of your projects are focused on the micro level and others are focused on the macro level, I think we shouldn’t see the gap between them, but instead, I think we should look at how they can work in concert.
- I recall being in Liberia looking at the ballot before their last election, and I thought, “Is this really is the best they have best to offer?” Seeing that list of candidates really drove home Africa’s leadership crisis in my mind. I think that rectifying that situation will be the ultimate result of the ALI program. If there are going to be 500 to 1000 of you all over the continent, then I think that is the best chance that Africa has.
- We all have measures that tell us that we are on track or not on track in our lives, and I measure myself by whether or not my dog is getting fat. And this is why: If he is putting on weight, that means that I have not been giving myself enough reflective time, and I have not been paying enough attention to the things I care about.
- Personally, it’s pay back time for me now. I have taken so much from this group over the last three years: I have taken money from Barlo World, and from Goldman Sachs, and I have taken time from my family, and the ALI staff. And it has been an amazing experience, but it means that I really owe you all something, and I feel that is my leadership project. I want it to be sustainable, something that ALI really deserves. The project is something I can control, and I plan to make it my legacy to the ALI program.



The Africa Leadership Initiative/South Africa Inaugural Class in Aspen – April, 2005



Teresa Clarke, VP of the Global Markets Institute at Goldman Sachs, and Walter Isaacson, President of the Aspen Institute, converse over dinner.

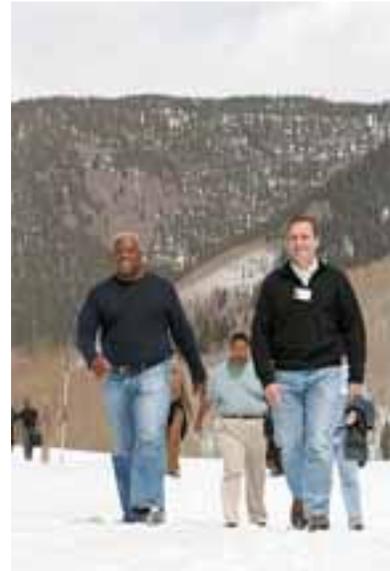
The evening of April 14th was a seminal night for ALI. While the first class of ALI/South Africa Fellows, and their Goldman Sachs counterparts, reflected on a productive few days, the second class of ALI/South Africa Fellows and their Goldman Sachs colleagues arrived for their very first seminar. In addition, twenty friends and guests of the Africa Leadership Initiative checked into the Aspen Meadows resort throughout the day, and were now gathering in the reception center to share cocktails and conversation with the Fellows.

After the reception, the guests filtered

down into the dining room for a celebratory dinner with Aspen Institute President Walter Isaacson, who began the meal by welcoming the Africa Leadership Initiative Fellows, sponsors, and friends to the Aspen Institute Campus. Peter Reiling, Isaac Shongwe, and Teresa Clarke, all spoke to the group as well, thanking them for their support, and outlining their vision for the ALI program and its impact on the continent of Africa as a whole.

The next day's events began back at the Koch Building, where Ben Broadbent, Vice President and Senior Economist of the European Economics Group at Goldman Sachs, gave a presentation entitled *The BRICs'* Path to 2050: A Dramatically Different Global Economy*. He discussed how Brazil, Russia, India, and China are poised to become a very large force in the global economy, perhaps larger than the G6 in dollar terms. But this may mean that in 2050, the largest economies may no longer be the richest.

Mr. Broadbent's presentation was followed by a discussion moderated by Skip Battle on what the BRICs theory means for South Africa. Then, Teresa Clarke led the group in an examination of *Co-Leadership: Lessons from Republican Rome*, a case study which aims to show how modern managerial lessons can be extracted from the co-leadership style of the Roman Republic, a method that lasted for over four centuries. The ultimate aim of the case study was to answer the question, "How do you establish a system where two heads really are better than one?"



ALI supporters Tony Chase and Titus Brenninkmeijer hike up to the Pine Creek Cookhouse.

After the presentations, everyone piled into vans and headed up into the mountains for lunch at the Pine Creek Cookhouse. The drive itself was breathtaking, with majestic mountain vistas, and stately Aspen forests on either side of the road. Then the group hiked another mile or so up to the restaurant, a beautiful, rustic log cabin, with all the Western flair that one might expect at such an out of the way location in Aspen. The meal, poached mountain trout, was wonderful, and afterwards, everyone either trekked back through the woods, or hitched a ride on the Snowcat.



Sandile Dikeni shares a poem while Walter Isaacson and the ALI Fellows look on.

That evening, Walter Isaacson hosted a public panel discussion, *Africa: The Challenge of Leadership*, with ALI/South Africa Fellows Leslie Maasdorp, Futhi Mtoba, Bongiwe Njobe, and Maurice Radebe. Mr. Isaacson asked the panel a range of questions, from the legacy of Nelson Mandela to the recent Blair Commission report and the Millennium Challenge Account. When Mr. Isaacson asked how South Africa can be an exporter of leadership to the rest of the

continent, the Fellows steered the conversation towards South Africa's role as a peacekeeper, stating that peace and security in the African community is a number one priority for South Africans, for both humanitarian and economic reasons. They pointed out that it is better to prevent conflict than to rebuild a war torn country, even if sometimes it seems hard to justify the expenditure on peace keeping troops when so many South Africans live in poverty. South Africa can never reach its ultimate potential if it is surrounded by unstable, poverty stricken countries. After the panel discussion, ALI Fellow Sandile Dikeni shared his poem *Telegraph to the Sky* with the audience to rousing applause.

The ALI Fellows and their guests were then invited to the home of Tom and Bonnie McCloskey for a cocktail reception. Everyone greatly enjoyed the chance to tour the McCloskey's elegant home, and to visit with Mr. McCloskey, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Malawi and a close friend of Isaac Shongwe. Afterwards, everyone returned to the Aspen Meadows reception center for a buffet dinner.

