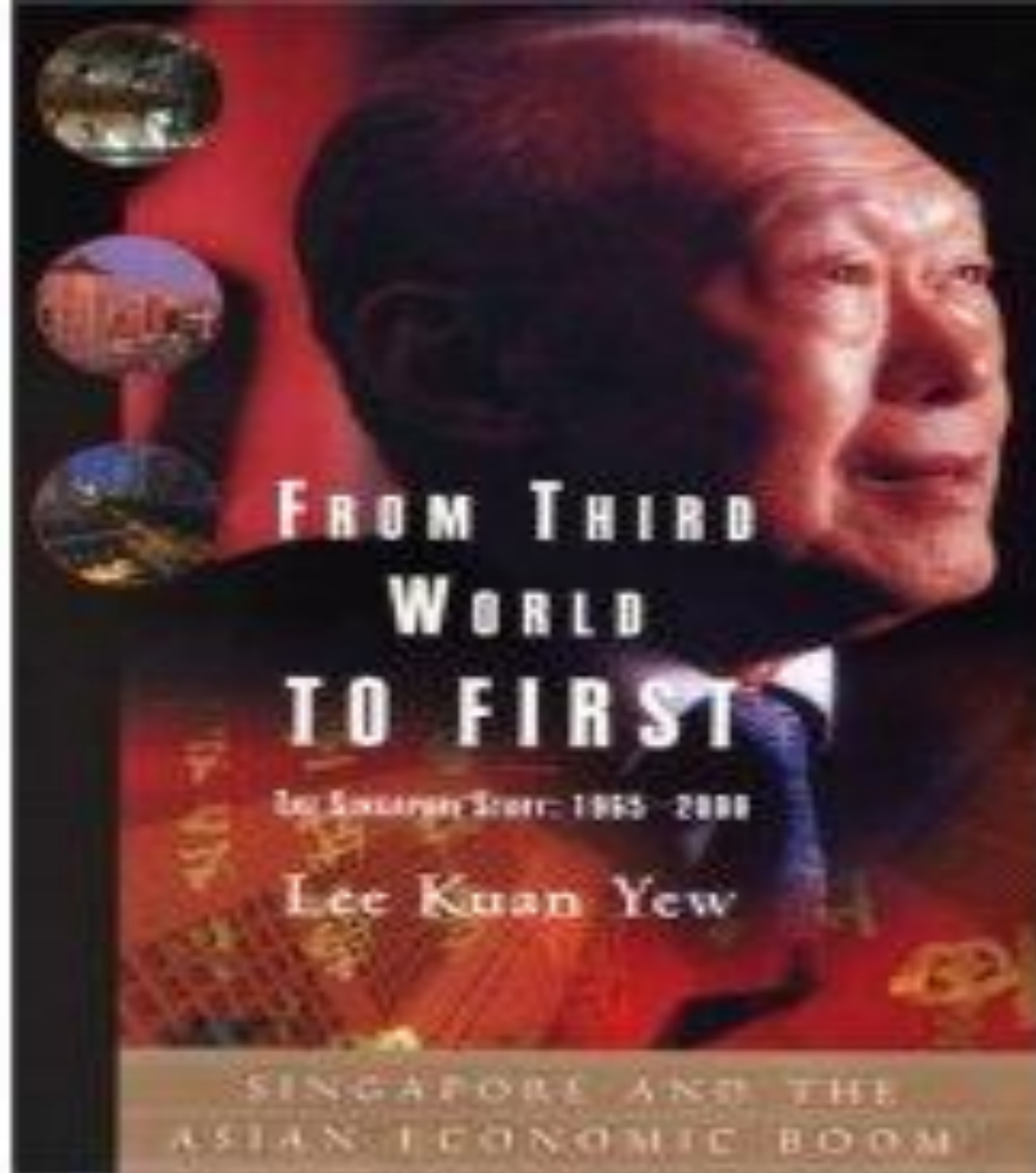




Institute for National Transformation

Lecture 3

The Crises of Leadership in Africa - Observations of Lee Kuan Yew





From Third World To First The Singapore Story: 1965 - 2000







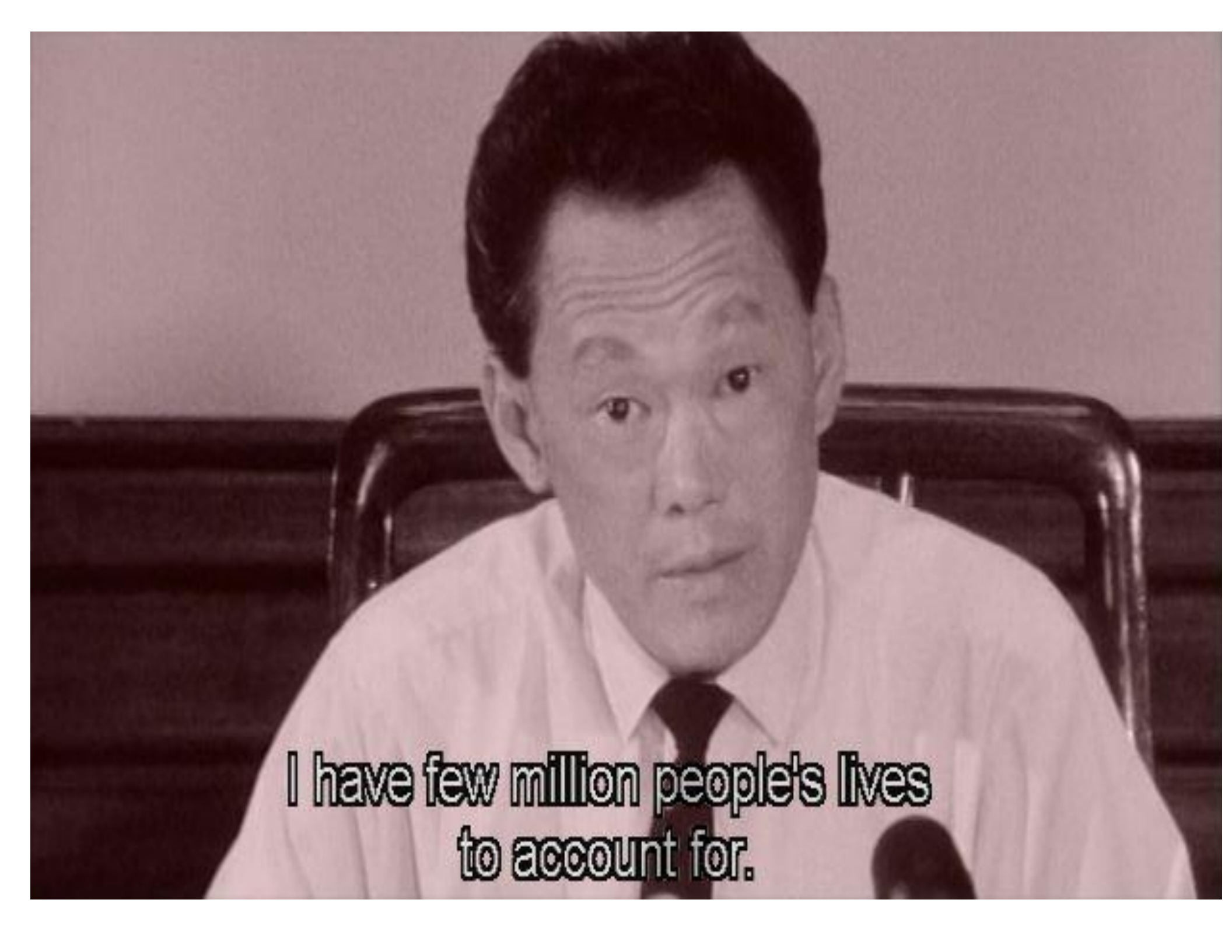
Some Facts on Singapore & Uganda

	SINGAPORE 	UGANDA 
Colonial Master	Britain	Britain
Independence	1965	1962
Size	716 sq km	241,038 sq km (x 346 Singapore)
Population (2016)	5,696,505 Median age 38.9 Life Expectancy 82.3 Literacy 96.8	40,332,768 Median Age 15.1 Life Expectancy 58.7 Literacy 73.2
Coast line	193 km coastline	(0 km) landlocked
Natural Resources	People, Fish, Deep Water ports.	People, Land, Minerals, Lakes ... oil,
Internet	82.5% penetration	Literacy 19.1% penetration
Mobile Phone Smartphone	150.1% (2014) 8,106,700 (pos 57)	45% (2014) 16,355,000 (Pos 46) * *




Lee Kwan Yew..






I have few million people's lives
to account for.

A man with dark hair, wearing a white dress shirt and a dark tie, is seated in a dark wooden chair. He is looking slightly to his left with a serious expression. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

I am not here to play somebody else's game.

A man in a light-colored, short-sleeved button-down shirt is speaking at a podium. He is looking down and to his left. Several microphones are positioned in front of him. In the background, there are blurred figures of people and a sign with some text, possibly in Chinese characters. The overall tone of the image is sepia or brownish.

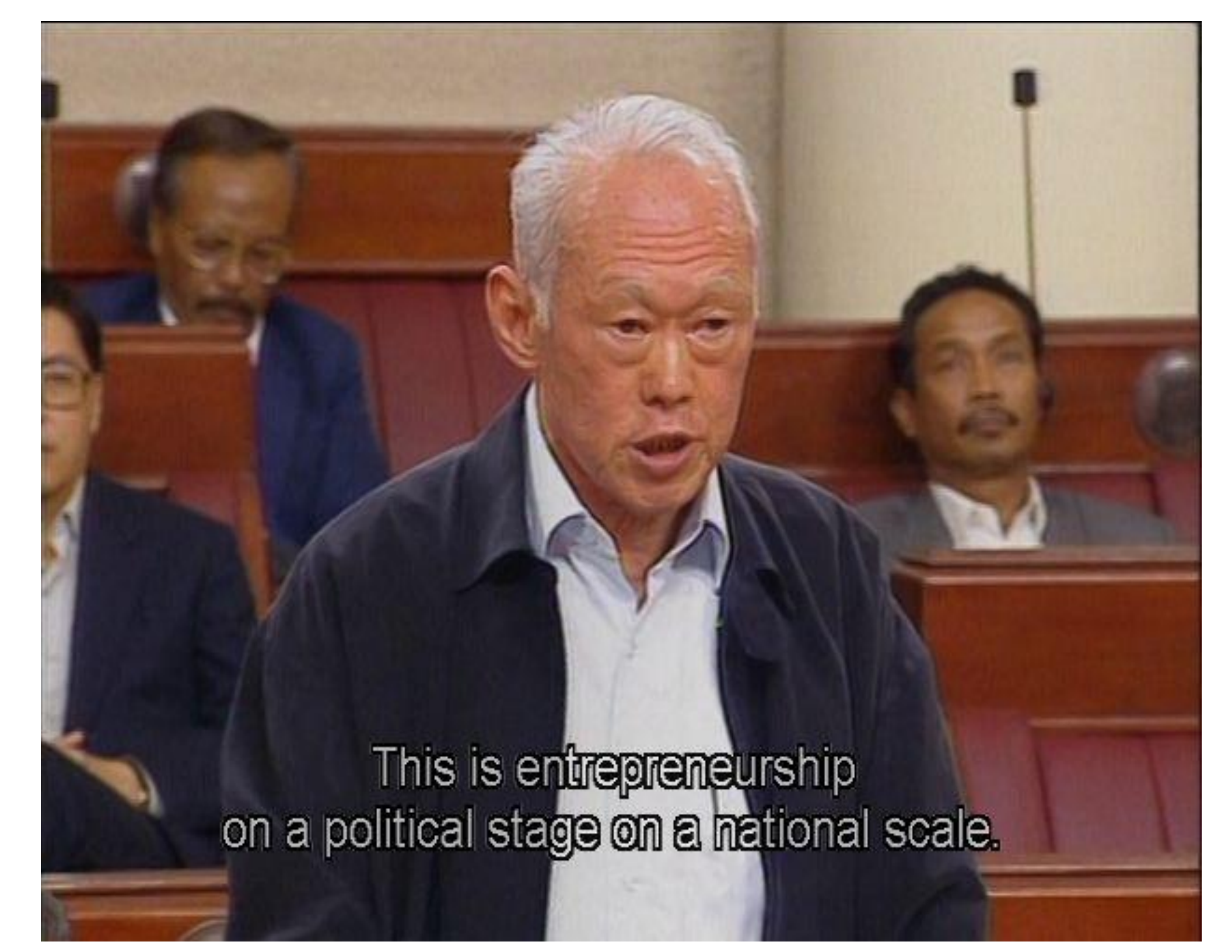
and as long as I'm in-charge,
nobody is going to knock it down.




Samora Machel

*“Tribalism is the
Commander-in-Chief of
Africa’s problems.”*

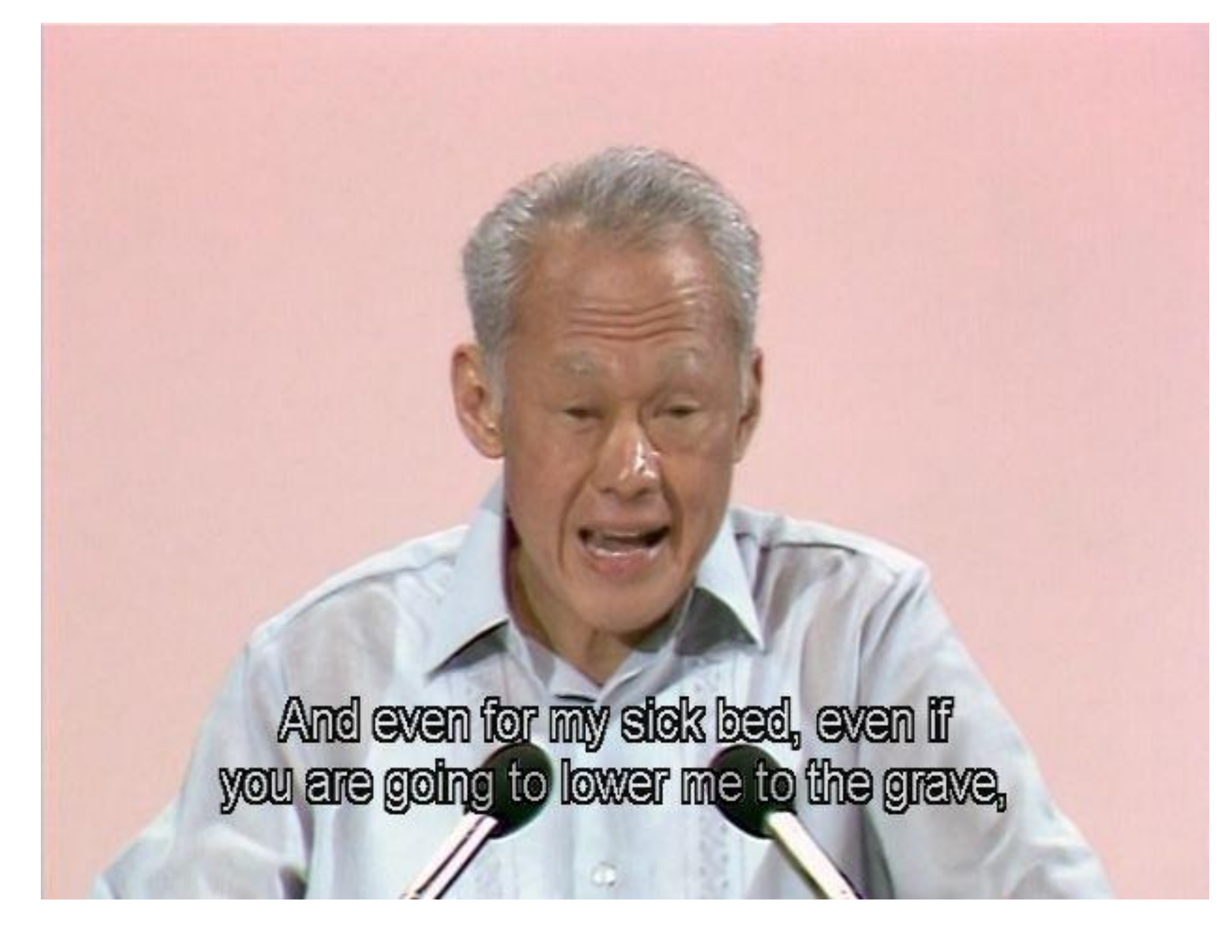
**WE MUST THINK NATION AND NOT
TRIBE OR RACE**

A photograph of Lee Kuan Yew, an elderly man with white hair, wearing a dark blue jacket over a light blue shirt. He is speaking in a parliament or legislative assembly setting, with other men seated in the background. The text "This is entrepreneurship on a political stage on a national scale." is overlaid at the bottom of the image.

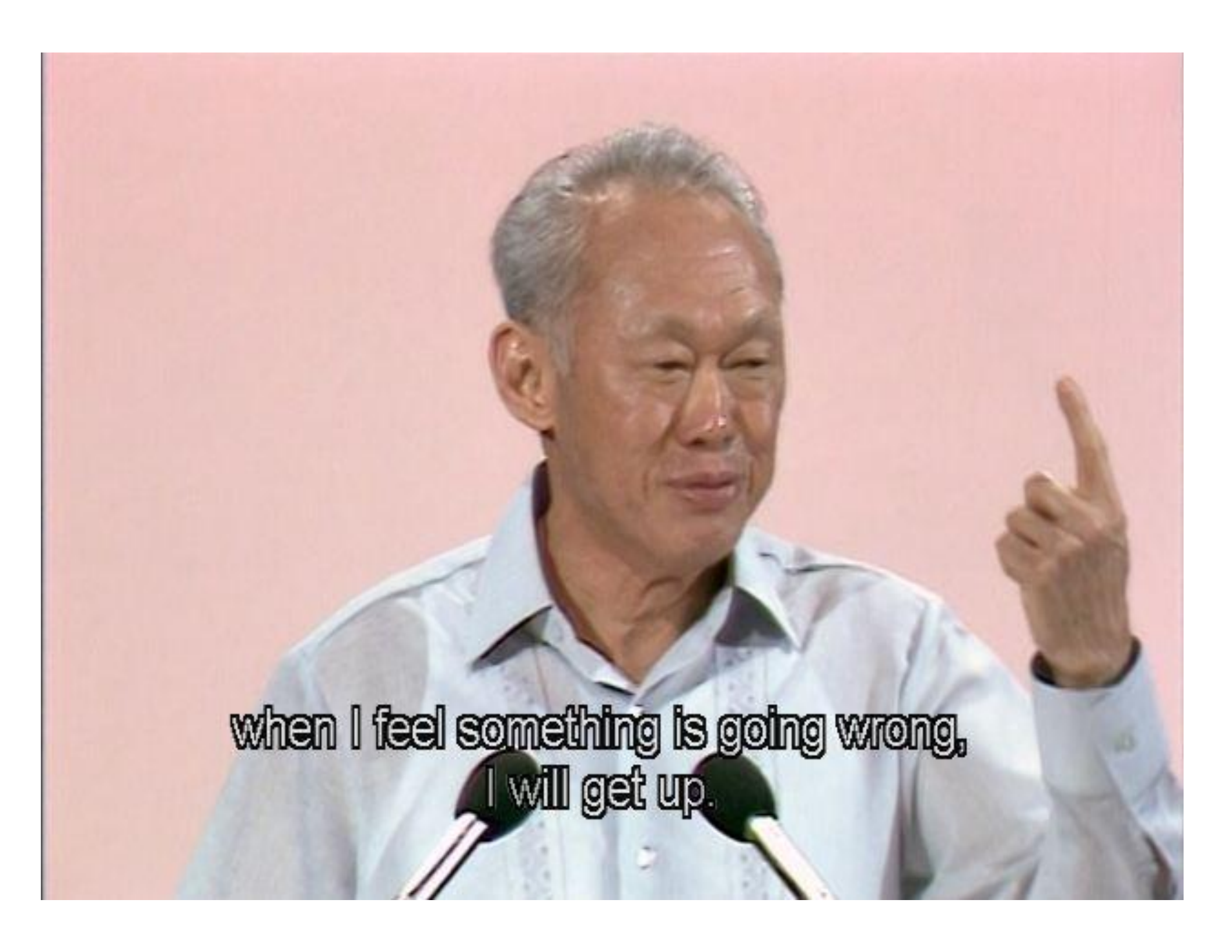
This is entrepreneurship
on a political stage on a national scale.

A photograph of Lee Kuan Yew, the former Prime Minister of Singapore, speaking in a parliament setting. He is wearing a dark blue jacket over a light blue shirt. In the background, other men are seated at desks, and a microphone is visible on the right. The text "To get good government, you must have good men in charge of government." is overlaid at the bottom of the image.

To get good government, you must have good men in charge of government.

A photograph of Lee Kuan Yew, an elderly man with grey hair, wearing a light blue button-down shirt. He is speaking into two microphones at a podium. His mouth is open as if in the middle of a sentence. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

And even for my sick bed, even if
you are going to lower me to the grave,

A photograph of Lee Kuan Yew, the former Prime Minister of Singapore, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a light blue button-down shirt and has his eyes closed with a pained or determined expression. His right hand is raised, pointing upwards. Two microphones are visible in front of him. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

when I feel something is going wrong,
I will get up.



Quotable Quote

....

A leader is someone
that has found
something to die for,
not something to live
for...

Miles Monroe



Leadership: definitions

Leadership is the capacity to influence others through inspiration; that inspiration is generated by passion; the passion is motivated by a vision which is birthed from a conviction, conviction is produced by a purpose...

Dr Myles Monroe

Leadership: definitions

Leadership is the capacity to influence others through inspiration; that inspiration is generated by passion; the passion is motivated by a vision which is birthed from a conviction, conviction is produced by a purpose...

Dr Myles Monroe



Post Independent African Leaders

Page 351, 1st Paragraph

In October 1965, Singapore was admitted as the 22nd member of the Commonwealth...it provided links to a network of governments whose institutions were similar and whose leaders and officials shared a common background.

They were all English-speaking governments, with British civil administrations practices and legal, judicial, and educational systems.





Conference of Commonwealth in Lagos Jan 11-12, 1966

Page 351, 2nd Paragraph

Soon after we joined, the prime minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, called a conference of Commonwealth prime ministers for 11 January 1966 in Lagos, to discuss Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) [led by Ian Smith]. Rhodesia was then a self-governing colony with a white minority of 225,000 in control of 4 million black Africans. I decided to go.

Lifestyle observations ...





#1. Experiences in Nigeria

Page 352, 2nd Paragraph

We were greeted, inspected a guard of honor in turn, and then whisked into Lagos. It looked like a city under siege. Police and soldiers lined the route to the Federal Palace Hotel. Barbed wire and troops surrounded it. No leader left the hotel throughout the two-day conference.



#1. Experiences in Nigeria

Page 352, 3rd Paragraph

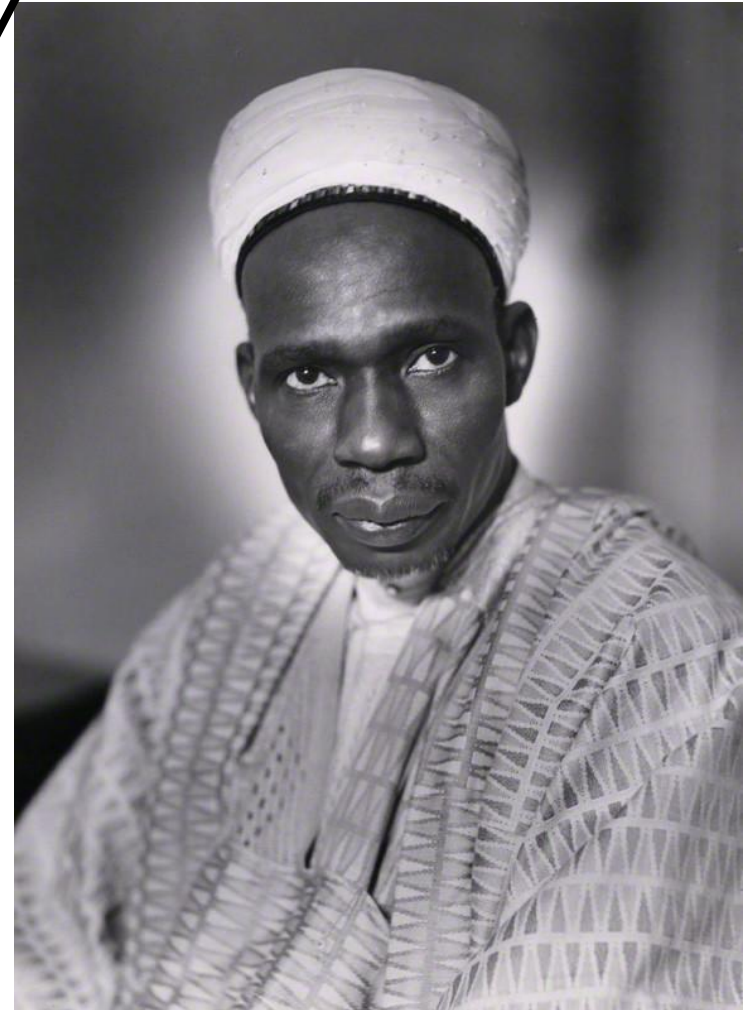
The night before the meeting, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, whom I had visited two years before, gave us a banquet in the hotel.

Raja and I were seated opposite a hefty Nigerian, Chief Festus [Okotiebo], their finance minister. The conversation is still fresh in my mind. *'He was going to retire soon'*, he said. *'He had done enough for his country and now had to look after his business, a shoe factory'*. As finance minister, he had imposed a tax on imported shoes so that Nigeria could make shoes.

Chief Festus



Sir Abubakar
Tafawa Balewa





#1. Experiences in Nigeria

Page 352, 3rd Paragraph

Raja and I were incredulous. Chief Festus [Okotiebo] had a good appetite showed in his rotund figure, elegantly camouflaged in colourful Nigerian robes with gold ornamentation and a splendid cap.

I went to bed that night convinced that they were a different people playing to a different set of rules.



#1. Experiences in Nigeria

Page 355, 1st Paragraph

When we left for our next stop, **Accra**, the capital of **Ghana**, there was more security along the route to the airport as tension had increased in Lagos in the four days since we arrived.

Three days after we arrived in Accra, we were told by our hosts that there had been a bloody coup in Lagos. Prime Minister Abubakar had been assassinated and so had Chief Festus. An Ibo army major from eastern Nigeria... led the coup.... The major said *“he wanted to get rid of rotten and corrupt ministers and political parties.”*



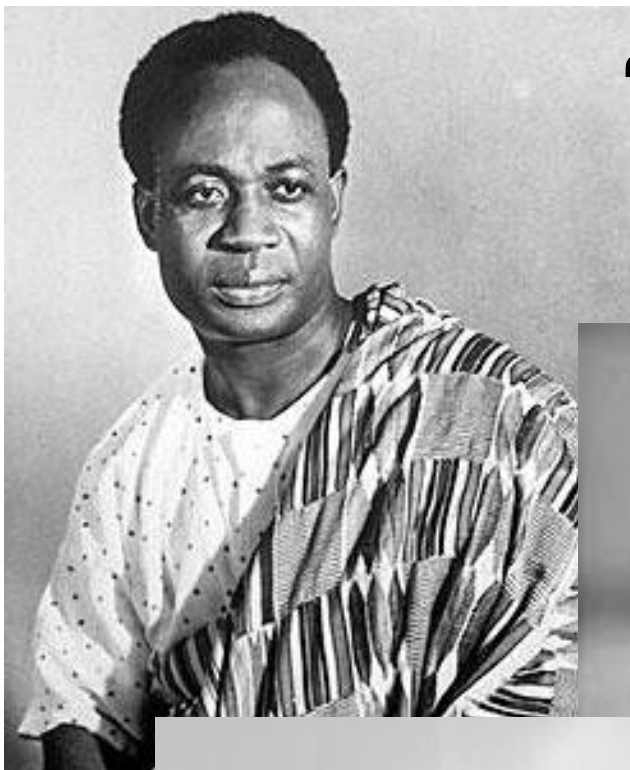
#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 355, 3rd Paragraph

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's president, did not rejoice at the news. He himself had had a narrow escape about two years before, just before I visited him in January 1964. By 1966, "**Osagyefo**" (*Redeemer*), as Nkrumah was called, had recovered enough of his bounce to give me dinner with some of his senior ministers and a bright young vice-chancellor of his university. This man, Abraham, was only about 30 years old, had taken a First in Classics at Oxford and was a fellow of All Soul's College. Nkrumah was proud of him.

I was impressed, but wondered why a country so dependent on agriculture should have its brightest and best do classics- Latin and Greek.

“Osagyefo”, Kwame Nkrumah



Krobo





#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 355, 4th Paragraph

On our arrival at Accra, the person who came up to the aircraft to greet me was *Krobo Edusei*, the minister for presidential affairs. He had gained notoriety as a corrupt minister who had bought himself a golden bedstead, a story much publicized in the world press.

Nkrumah defused the scandal by restricting Krobo's portfolio to looking after a government hospitality. On my second night in Accra, he took me to a nightclub in Accra. He proudly announced that he was the owner and that all VIPs would enjoy their evenings there.



#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 356, 1st Paragraph

I was the second guest to be entertained on a beautiful yacht that had been imported fully assembled from Miami. They told me it had been transported by rail and floated on the lake.

Accompanying us on board were Krobo Edusei and Ghana's minister for foreign affairs, Alex Quaison Sackey, a well-educated and well spoken man.



#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 356, 1st Paragraph

When we were cruising on the lake, having cocktails and canapés on deck, Raja asked Krobo who had made his beautiful safari suit. Krobo replied, *“My tailor shop in Kumasi. You must visit it one day and I will make a suit for you like mine.” ...*

He then spoke of his other activities. He used to be a 30 bob (US\$4) a week postal clerk; now he had sons educated in Geneva, Switzerland. *“A man” .., he said, ...“must have ambition”.*



#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 356, 1st Paragraph

Quaison Sackey, a sophisticate who had been president of the UN General Assembly, looked most unhappy and uncomfortable. He valiantly tried to steer the conversation away from Krobo, but Krobo was not to be deterred and we were regaled with hilarious tale after another.



#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 356, 2nd Paragraph

One month later, on 24 February, 1966, as Nkrumah was being welcomed with 21-gun salute in Beijing, China, an army coup took place in Accra. People danced in the streets as the army leaders arrested leading members of Nkrumah's government. Alex Quaison Sackey and Krobo Edusei were with Nkrumah in Beijing. When they returned to Accra, they were put under house arrest.

My fears about Ghana were not misplaced. Notwithstanding their rich cocoa plantations, gold mines, and High Volta dam, which could generate enormous amounts of power, Ghana's economy sank into disrepair and has not recovered the early promise it held out at independence in 1957.



#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 356, 3rd Paragraph

The news I read saddened me. I never visited Ghana again. Two decades later, in the 1980s, Quaison Sackey saw me in Singapore. He had been arrested and released in one of the innumerable coups [in Ghana].

He wanted to purchase palm oil on credit from Singapore, on behalf of the Nigerian government, which promised to pay after they had held their elections. I said .. “that was a private business deal he had to strike”. He picked up a living by using his contacts with African leaders of neighbouring states. “Ghana..”, he said, ..“was in a mess”.



#2. Experiences in Ghana

Page 356, 3rd Paragraph

I asked after the bright young vice-chancellor, Abraham. Quaison Sackey reported that he had entered a monastery in California. I felt sad.

If their brightest and best gave up the fight and sought refuge in a monastery, not in Africa but in California, the road to recovery would be long and difficult.



Conclusions on Ghana & Nigeria

Page 356, 1st Paragraph

I wondered what would happen to these two countries. They were then the brightest hopes of Africa, the first two to get independence, Ghana in 1957, followed shortly by Nigeria [in 1960].



Conclusions on Africa's Future

Page 356, 4th Paragraph

I was not optimistic about Africa. In less than 10 years after independence in 1957, Nigeria had had a coup and Ghana a failed coup.

I thought their tribal loyalties were stronger than their sense of common nationhood. This was especially so in Nigeria, where there was a deep cleavage between the Muslim Hausa northerners and the Christian and pagan southerners.

Analysis of African Leadership Challenges





Analysis of African Leadership Challenges

Page 358, 1st Paragraph

At the meeting, in January 1969, also in London, Wilson as chairman asked me to open the discussion on Commonwealth cooperation. I prefaced my remarks with criticism of the niggardly [ungenerous] Western help for developing countries, then went on to explain the deeper reasons for their failure.

To rally their people in their quest for freedom, the first-generation anti-colonial nationalist leaders had held out visions of prosperity [through rhetoric] that they could not realize [in functionality].



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 358, 1st Paragraph

A population explosion had increased the burden on resources. Inter-ethnic peace, which had been enforced by the colonial overlord, was difficult to maintain after independence with power in the hands of an ethnic majority.

The elite who had commanded popular support before independence had to demonstrate their continuing legitimacy, and in competing against other parties, they had been unable to resist the temptation of appeals to ethnic, linguistic, and religious loyalties.

The countries suffered as their ethnic minorities...were squeezed out by rioting or

legislation



Analysis of African Leadership Challenges

Page 358, 1st Paragraph

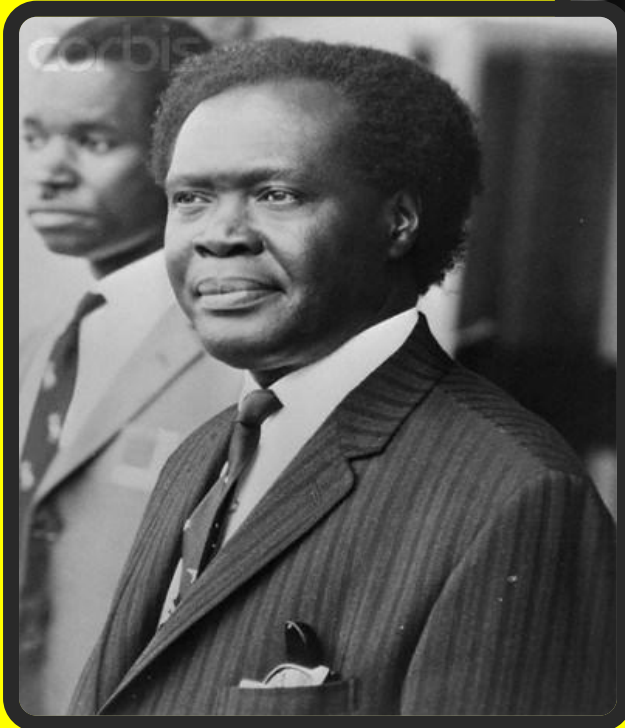
The layer of trained people were too thin and new states reverted back to become soft societies without the firm hand of an overlord and a strong framework of administration.

Corruption set in and became a way of life. Military coups made things worse. But most of all, most governments had favored economic planning and control [socialism] which stifled free enterprise.

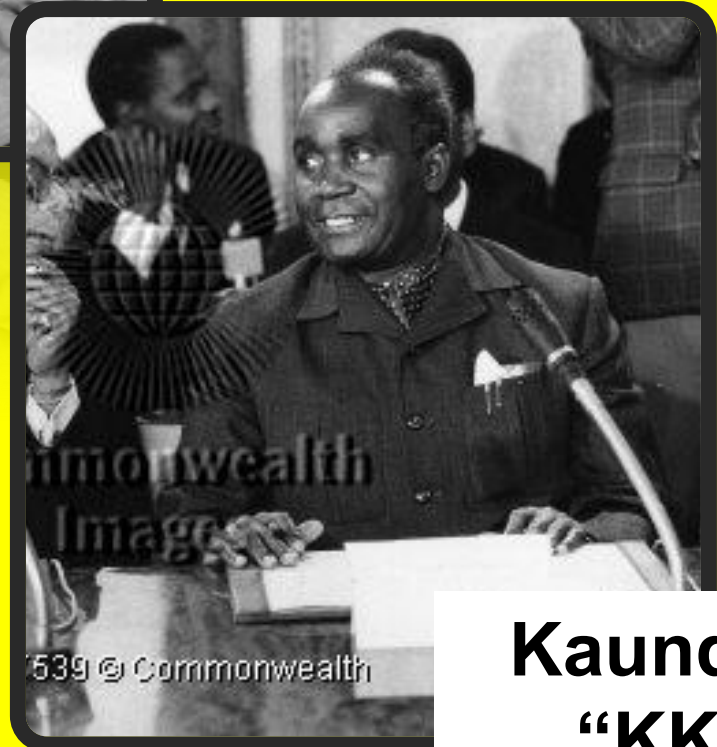
Reflections on CHOGM



Nyerere



Obote



**Kaunda..
“KK”**



Leadership Challenges

Page 358, 1st Paragraph

[Harold] Wilson had proposed to alternate the biennial conference between London and a Commonwealth country. He was keen to hold the next one in Singapore. The other leaders agreed.

I was happy to host it. It would be good for Singapore to have world attention focused on it. With two years to prepare, it could be an occasion for Singapore to gain recognition as an oasis of efficiency and rationality in the Third World.



Leadership Challenges

Page 359, 2nd Paragraph

Our commonwealth guests arrived in January 1971 to clean and green Singapore with friendly, warm, efficient, and courteous service....Ted Heath [new British Prime Minister] had announced soon after he became prime minister that ...“Britain would resume arms sales to South Africa which had been suspended by the Labour government”.

This provoked a fierce reaction from black African leaders, many of whom threatened to break up the commonwealth if Britain persisted....Heath was not comfortable in that Third World multiracial setting. It was his first experience of such a setting.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 360, 2nd Paragraph

Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, pitched his argument on a high moral plane, that South Africa was out of the Commonwealth because its ideology was inconsistent with a multiracial Commonwealth. He asked “earnestly” that Britain should not help South Africa and force African countries to react.

His was unexpectedly brief. He had sized up Heath and decided it was not best to preach to him. Nyerere was the African leader I most admired. He struck me as honest and sincere. He handed over power to a successor in a constitutional manner and Tanzania never descended into the chaos of Uganda.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 360, 3rd Paragraph

President Hastings Banda of Malawi, said [that] no African leader was going to leave and wreck the commonwealth. Force would not succeed; the freedom fighters had tried since 1964 and achieved nothing. In place of force, isolations, and boycott, he called for contact and dialogue between the blacks and whites.

African leaders displayed open contempt for him, but he appeared completely unmoved. I tried to check his rhetorical exuberance but once in full flow he was not to be stopped.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 360, 3rd Paragraph

President Hastings Banda of Malawi was quite a character, with his sunglasses even indoors and at night, and his buxom young African lady companion.

He looked old but spoke with vigor, waving his fly whisk to emphasize his points. But he might as well have waved a red flag at angry bulls. I was not sure whether Heath was embarrassed or delighted.



Analysis of African Leadership Challenges

Page 361, 1st Paragraph

A dramatic intervention was provided by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. He warned that Britain's national interest lay not only in South Africa or the Indian Ocean, but in many parts of Africa.

As he recounted cruelties Africans had suffered at the hands of white settlers, he suddenly sobbed and pressed his eyes with a white handkerchief held at one corner by his fingers. Those who saw this for the first time found it a moving experience.



Analysis of African Leadership Challenges



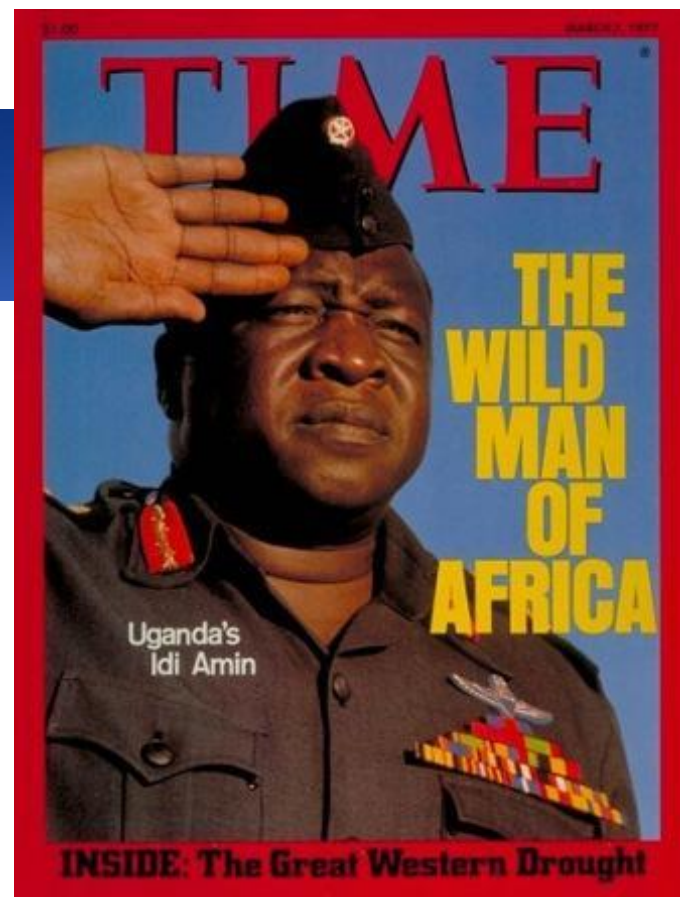
But he was to repeat it frequently, at almost every Commonwealth meeting whenever the subject of white domination over Africans came up. It became a familiar music hall act.



Leadership Challenges

Page 361, 2nd Paragraph

Uganda's **President Milton Obote**, was different from Kaunda or Nyerere. There was deep hatred and venom when he spoke on Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa. I felt something sinister in his expression and glint in his eyes.



During a conference break, Obote was told that General Idi Amin had taken over his country in a coup. He looked dejected. His predicament underlined the precariousness of so many African governments.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 362, 1st Paragraph

All speakers from Africa had the satisfaction of being heard; *no leader was stopped* from saying his piece meant for home consumption. When discussions resumed a few hours later “on the security of the Indian Ocean,” the African leaders were all absent and the work was soon done.

....At the end of the meeting - after all the histrionics - the Secretary-General got the Third World leaders to understand that the guts of the Commonwealth were in economic, social, and cultural cooperation, and that depended on funding mainly from the developed old Commonwealth- Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 363, 1st Paragraph

Commonwealth cooperation would end if the donors found the cost-benefit ratio unfavorable.

With tact and skill, [Arnold] Smith persuaded the Africans and Asians not to push issues to the breaking point....

Sonny Ramphal, the Guyanan foreign minister who took over from Smith in 1975 [as the secretary-general], showed even greater skill in letting the Third World leaders have their rhetoric while he kept the road show going by making sure the cost-benefit equation kept the donors

engaged.



Leadership Challenges

Page 363, 2nd Paragraph

At Ottawa in 1973, ...I [met] Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the hero who had opposed Pakistan and led East Pakistan to independence as Bangladesh. He arrived in style at Ottawa in his aircraft. When I landed, I saw a parked Boeing 707 with “Bangladesh” emblazoned on it. When I left, it was still standing on the same spot, idle for eight days, getting obsolescent without earning anything.

As I left the hotel for the airport, two huge vans were being loaded with packages for the Bangladeshi aircraft. At the conference, Mujibur Rahman had made a pitch for aid to his country.



JP/ARP 1964
AirportAviation.blogspot.com



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 363, 2nd Paragraph

The fashion of the time was for leaders of the bigger Third World countries to travel in their own aircraft. All leaders were equal at the conference table, but those from heavyweight countries showed that they were more equal by arriving in big private jets....

Those African presidents whose countries were then better off, like Kenya and Nigeria, also had special aircraft. I wondered why they did not set out to impress the world that they were poor and in dire need of assistance. Our permanent representative at the UN in New York explained that the poorer the country, the bigger the Cadillacs they hired for their leaders.



Leadership Challenges

Page 364, 1st Paragraph

So I made a virtue of arriving by ordinary commercial aircraft, and thus helped preserve Singapore's Third World status for many years.

However, by the mid-1990's, the World Bank refused to heed our pleas not to reclassify us as a **“High Income Developing Country,”** giving no Brownie points for my frugal travel habits. We lost all the concessions that were given to developing countries.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 364, 1st Paragraph

At Kingston, Jamaica, in April 1975, Prime Minister Michael Manley, a light-skinned West Indian, presided with panache and spoke with great eloquence. But I found his views quixotic [idealistic, impracticable]. He advocated “redistribution of the world’s wealth”....

Theirs was a relaxed culture. The people were full of song and dance, spoke eloquently, danced vigorously, and drank copiously. Hard work they had left behind with slavery.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 365, 2nd Paragraph

In 1979, I made my third trip to Lusaka [Zambia]. The first, in 1964, was during my African tour of 17 capitals, and the second in 1970, was for the Non-Aligned Summit. Since 1970, Zambia's economy had declined. We were entertained at State House, where I had stayed in 1964 as the house guest of the last governor.

It had lost its bloom....The conference hall and chalets had not been much used since 1970 and it showed; but had just been refurbished and furnished at great expense, with furniture flown in from Spain.



Analysis of African

Leadership Challenges

Page 365, 3rd Paragraph

The catering at the chalet where we stayed was a disaster. They had trained young students as cooks.

Our cook's total repertoire was bacon and eggs or just soft-boiled eggs for breakfast, steak for lunch, and steak for dinner. There was plenty of liquor and wines, far more than we needed.

Everything was in short supply. The shops were empty....Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda's major preoccupation was politics, black versus white politics, not the economics.



Independence African Leaders

Africa leaders:

- **Are high on rhetoric** but shallow on administration and execution;
- Lack sound, strategic balance between politics and economic development;
- **Could hardly distinguish personal from public duties** and responsibilities;
- **Low moral standards** in conduct and performance;
- **Poor social skills** to mobilize across ethnic/tribal boundaries- **often evoke tribal differences to gain or maintain power**;
- **Lack pragmatism** in decision making.



PERSONAL CALL

PERSONAL IMPLICATIONS AND PREPARATION

—

You and Me

Behavioural Cancers

1. There are reactive behaviours that if unchecked literally develop into cancer - they infect others

1. *Competing*

4. *Criticising*

2. *Comparing*

5. *Contending*

3. *Complaining*

6. *Cynicism*

All this can lead to a pervasive feeling
victimism, fatalism..

The goldern handshake, on which “C” are you?

**You and I need to be aware in our plight to
participate in National Transformation**

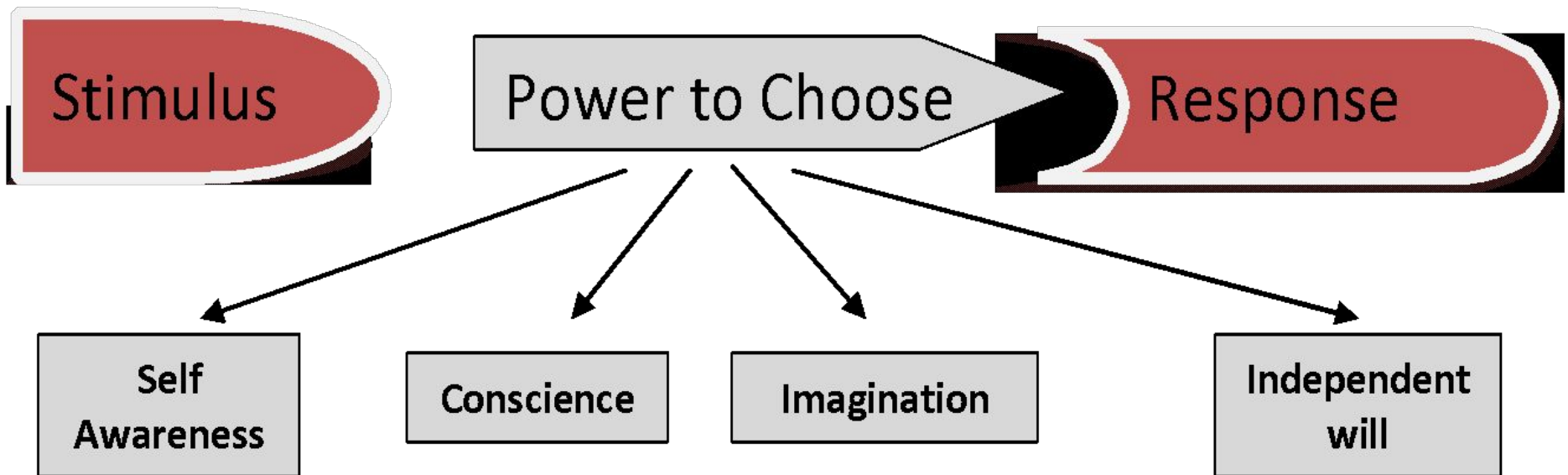
Choice.. A birth gift.

Our ability to **CHOOSE**..

1. Between stimulus and Response is a space..
2. In that space lies our power to choose our response...
3. In those choices lie our growth and happiness.

We are **RESPONSE-ABLE** !!

Choice... illustrated



- **Self Awareness** - Analysis of the situation that has presented itself, and your perception of it;
- **Conscience**.. making a judgment call, is it good or bad, harmful or beneficial etc..
- **Imagination**.. ability to visualize a better future, a better or desirable state/condition...
- **Independent will**.. working towards the better scenario envisioned.
- Examples Mohammed Yunus (Grameen Bank, Anwar Sadat.. 8th Habit

Person Preparation Paradigm

Element	The Voice	Development of Component
Physical (PQ)	Discipline	Physical Health, Nutrition, Rest, Exercise and maintain your body in good health
Emotional (EQ)	Passion	Situation Antenna, Resilience, leaderships behaviour (not leadership position) Proactive behaviour
Mental (IQ)	Vision	Clarity of direction, Goal setting, having purpose well articulated; Read.. 30mins a day, use Audio tapes
Spiritual (SQ)	Conscience	Conscience, ability to swim upstream; sow seed to leave a legacy;

Choice... In conclusion

- Be people of **action**...
- Avoid the *rhethoric...!!*
- Avoid the analysis paralysis (*on whatsapp chat rooms*).....
- Work on yourself – improve yourself

Useful References..

1. Church Shift
2. 7 Habits of Highly effective people

The levels of Leadership ..

