

"If you are willing, an' have the strength, to change your whole way of life—then you can't miss," said his mate.

Andy was quizzing his new friend:

"So, what sort of society do we live in?"

"Multi-racial."

"But our democracy must be . . .?"

"Non-racial."

"And that means . . .?"

"Equal rights for all, an' my sister can marry who she likes."

"Have you any friends who think the same way as you?" Andy was trembling with the excitement of his discovery. "Maybe we can get together and have a little . . ."

"Yes, I suppose I have," said the new friend, tendering his empty glass for consideration. "But there's still one thing I'll like to as' you first: will you let a Native come an' sit in *here* with you?"

"Good heavens, of course yes! I mean if . . ."

"Well, not me—'s okay what my sister does, long as she doesn't bring him home to my place, but I'm not going to have them coming an' sitting in here with me—*wasn't brought up that way!*"

Then, as he presented his glass more insistently, Andy grabbed me by the arm and pulled me out into the street. Turning me around, he looked up at the red and white sign that clashed with the mellowed maturity of the teak door:

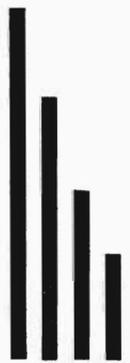
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The little man with the black tie in a plastic shirt collar had followed us into the street, and he paused beside us to see what we were looking at.

"What did you say they called this place?" asked Andy.

"Snakepit."

"Saw a fil-m called the 'Snakepit' once," mumbled the little man—"bout a mad-house." ●



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Formation— Africa's Need?

COLIN B. COLLINS

Father Collins suggests that 'formation', as a prerequisite for leadership, is the greatest need

PERHAPS THE ONE great fact that strikes anyone flying over Africa is the fact of distance. Eight miles up and travelling at some 600 miles an hour, a traveller still takes 3½ hours to do some 2,200 miles to Brazzaville or Leopoldville. Once the border of the Transvaal is crossed there is almost nothing to see for hundreds, and sometimes almost a thousand miles. No living thing can be seen on the ground, particularly over Angola and the previous Belgian Congo. Distance is perhaps the one factor that colours everything that takes place in these two territories. When one sees Angola from the air one ceases to wonder at the fact that an almost full-scale war can take place in the northern section that is scarcely being noticed by the rest of the world. In the previous Belgian Congo one realises that so often news of this new state is only news of the larger towns such as Leopoldville and Elisabethville. Throughout the rest of this immense area of the heart of Africa, administration at a local level goes on, I am told, almost as before. It is only in the national set-up that rulers lack to a certain extent the vision of the whole of the Congo. It is too vast, too big. To a great extent Parliament is Leopoldville.

I have recently returned from an All-Africa Conference on Catholic education. The Conference was held at Brazzaville. As on previous trips to different parts of Africa, two further factors once more came to mind. This time perhaps they were impressed upon me to a greater degree than before.

The first was the fact of political awareness. Politics seems to be the main concern of every African leader. Political independence above all else is the fact uppermost in the mind of most Africans. Although understandable, it has reached in so many people I have met, the stage of near-neurosis. This state of political concern was so aptly exemplified in Prime Minister Nkrumah's now well-used cliché: "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all things will be added to you."

The second factor is that of the black-white contrast. It is strange that while in one's own country, the Republic of South Africa, one finds oneself defending the Africans against the Whites, in the rest of the Continent one is so often forced to put the other point of view—

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the resident White man's point of view. But even when this is done, it is so often found that the audience reduces all White attitudes to that of prejudice, colonialism or imperialism. While understandable, this attitude is nevertheless somewhat exasperating.

Hence a few ideas on African leadership and, more particularly, on what it presupposes, namely 'Formation', may be to the point.

FORMATION

A FORMED PERSON, a leader is a person who is mature. In order to understand what formation and leadership mean, it is necessary to understand something about the nature of the man who is mature. Man is composed of both material and spiritual elements. These are never found isolated from each other. They are always found in a particular person in an intricate combination.

From a physical point of view a person who is mature, who is formed, is a person who is in possession of himself. A child who stumbles over every stone is not physically mature. An adolescent is also not completely grown up. A man who allows his passions to take him over completely is also unformed physically. This physical possession of oneself is what one might call an inner harmony of the physical forces within a person. A mature person is a person who can be strong and delicate at the same time.

Spiritual maturity involves formation of the mind and of the will. In a person who is formed from the intellectual point of view there is both reflection and poise. An intellectually mature person is a person who neither rushes into things too quickly, nor, on the other hand, fights shy of making decisions. A person of mature mind sees his own world—of his work or profession—as it should be seen. He is competent in it. At the same time he knows a little about many other things.

A person of formed will is a person who is sure of himself. This does not mean that he is stubborn or badly informed. It simply means that he knows what he is doing and does it—delicately, creatively and enthusiastically.

In short, a mature person in all respects is a person who knows what suits his own personality and does it.

Of course in the Christian context there should be still greater perfection and maturity of individual persons. By virtue of Christ's life in him, a Christian personality is perfected. He is perfected in his knowing of things and of God. He is perfected in seeing things through Christ's eyes and above all in loving with Christ's love.

Man does not live in isolation. There is no such thing as a person on his own. A person is born of a man and woman. He is born immediately into the society of the family. Through the family he becomes part of the greater social unit, be it the tribe or be it a nation. A formed person is a person who has a proper relationship between himself and his society. He has this in hundreds of different ways. He has it, for instance, in seeing that his own rights are protected and those of others. He has it even by speaking well the language of his own people. He has it mostly in the personal relationship between himself and other people. To them he is kind, gentle, encouraging and understanding.

The mature man in society is a "big" person. He has

a certain delicate sureness about himself. He knows what is going on. He articulates the meaning either of his family, of his tribe, or of his country. When one meets a formed person, one knows that one is meeting a person who knows what he is doing and where he is going. A mature person in society is a person who is responding to all the challenges that it offers, be it in the reforming of a school in which he teaches, or be it in the political leadership of his country.

Leadership or formation presupposes two factors. The first is that of structure, and the second that of initiative.

A leader normally depends to a great extent on a fairly stable background or structure of society. Under normal circumstances a leader will be bred out of a certain given series of rules of behaviour and customs of a particular group. In short, the leader will be a man of culture in the proper sense of that word. Arising out of a particular group he will lead it by basing himself on the past and leading prophetically into the future.

The leader will, however, not remain completely conservative in his surroundings. Standing upon the shoulders of the past, he will show creativeness by pushing into the future. He will do this particularly by being the person who rises to the challenges being thrown at his particular group or nation.

FORMATION IN AFRICA

REGARDING the two last points of the prerequisites for leadership, namely structure and initiative, it may be pertinent to make some remarks at random concerning the general situation in Africa.

Firstly, concerning structure. Everyone knows to a large extent that the old tribal structures of Africa are fast breaking down. They are breaking down under the influence of the outside world. They are being dissipated by such phenomena as schools, industrialisation and urbanisation. The White man's way of life, this so-called Western civilisation, Africa will never accept completely as it stands. From the combination of the past and the challenge of the present, a new structure, a new way of life, will emerge. This will obviously take a long time yet. It took Western civilisation well over a thousand years to achieve its present status. Things move more quickly these days. But a new Africa cannot be expected over-night.

It is understandable that in the present situation African leaders are stumbling over each other endeavouring to acquire political responsibility. The acquiring of such political power is, however, only a first step. It is only a first beginning. This is being clearly seen in such countries as Ghana, Nigeria, the ex-Belgian Congo, and Tanganyika. Sooner or later, leaders must come to realise that the actual material needs of the people—education in general, and particularly technical education—are the necessary means whereby a new Africa will eventually emerge. On the one hand it is short-sighted to condemn so many African leaders for inadequacy, corruption or anything else. It is equally short-sighted for African leaders to imagine that once political independence is acquired, all else will follow.

Secondly, regarding initiative in the African leader: Although initiative or leadership is scarcely ever taught,

yet three things are required in the African leader today. The first is a sense of value. The leader must have a sense of perspective before any valid leadership can be accomplished. Through perspective he will know that some things are important, others less important, and some not important. He will act according to this scale of values.

A leader must have the technical know-how of leadership in whatever form it is exercised. To do this he must be trained. A particularly interesting form of leadership training is being practised in various parts of Africa. Groups of people are brought together and given talks and practical demonstrations of such topics as a vision of the African reality, past and present; community development, administration, political science; techniques of speaking and running public meetings, and so on.

The third point necessary for the leader is, of course, a sense of responsibility. Unless the leader acts in the

name and on behalf of his people he will betray his cause.

It is this last point that I feel is particularly relevant in Africa today. In the old set-up, leadership of the chief was subject to the customs of the past and the counsels of the present. Very often today, the African leader is subject only to the whims of his people and sometimes not even to that. Power is perhaps the most terrible temptation of the African leader today. His use or misuse of power will form the Africa of tomorrow. It is too soon to judge what is now taking place in Africa. Unless, however, leadership training is embarked upon in the various forms, be it in the schools or colleges, be it in political thought or agriculture; unless this is done, it may well be that no new Africa will emerge. Instead Africa will remain for the foreseeable future a plaything between Communism and the West.

REVIEWS

Africanism

R. N. NORDAU

Pan-Africanism: a short political guide by Colin Legum (Pall Mall)

The African Image by Ezekiel Mphahlele (Faber)

Africa, A Handbook to the Continent Edited by Colin Legum (Blond)

IT IS EASY TO ARGUE about Pan-Africanism, but much more difficult to describe it. In the first of these books, Mr. Colin Legum is not concerned with debating the merit of the concept, but with defining it and understanding it as it is used by African leaders today. In his search for its meaning, Mr. Legum makes substantial use of quotations from writers and politicians of African descent, and of documents embodying the declarations and speeches which conferences, meetings and individuals have contributed to Pan-Africanist literature. These alone justify the publication of the volume, and they certainly merit the half of the book which they occupy.

What distinguishes Mr. Legum's attitude to Pan-Africanism is that he treats it as a serious political force, and does not share the patronising view that it is no more than a slogan surrounded by a mystique. To adopt the latter approach would be to ignore the fact that a wide range of African leaders, of differing degrees of militancy, and with vastly different approaches to the more immediate problems of national and international politics, have affirmed their belief in the idea.

Yet the difficulty remains: even if it is a political force, to be reckoned with, it is not a political system.

still less a distinct and easily determined set of institutions—political or otherwise. In other words it is still largely a system of ideas—reflecting a number of goals shared by African leaders, with the ideas and the basis on which they rest still in the process of formulation and exegesis.

This is not surprising when one comes to consider the history of the Pan-Africanist movement. Itself barely sixty years old, it has only operated from a base (or, rather, a number of bases) in Africa since 1958, when the first Conference of Independent African States and the (politically as well as geographically) more extensive All African People's Conference took place in Accra.

The speed with which independence has been achieved by nearly twenty countries since then has also shifted the emphasis in the movement—away from the vague intellectual gropings on expatriate groups in the pre- and post-war periods, with their stress on generalised notions, cultural alienation and racial distinctiveness, to the political emphasis on unity.

That this unity does not exist yet is obvious—from a cursory glance at the different 'bloc' alignments (Brazzaville, Casablanca, Monrovia), as well as from the different forms that unity has been made to take where it has been achieved on a limited scale. There is, for instance, more than a difference in degree between the idea of *union* embodied in the Ghana-Guinea-Mali *entente*, and the regional political and technical association of the Brazzaville countries, the Confederation of the Maghreb, and the purely party-political meeting ground PAFMECSA.

Mr. Legum does not ignore these differences, nor does he fail to show that they have been extended into other fields; his chapter on the division of the trade union movement between followers of Mr. Mboya and Mr. Tettegah of Ghana is most useful. But, at the same time, he is able to show the broad measure of agreement that does exist between the groups as well as their individual members on the objective of African unity and its usefulness as a means of avoiding alignment with either major power-bloc in cold war politics.

That there is also substantial disagreement on the