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FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE: A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Gérard Lucas

April 1965

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paul R. Hanna

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Gérard Lucas

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INTRODUCTION

For as long as human beings have been interested in transmitting knowledge--from father to son, among peers, from one tribe to another--education has existed. Educational systems, however, deliberately created, formalized institutions, represent a more recent development by highly organized, complex social groups. The transfer of such educational systems--for a variety of reasons--from the societies in which they developed to other societies has not been unusual. Modern nation-states, having established varying degrees of control over the structures and content of their respective educational systems, have come to perceive of these systems as potentially effective instruments of national policy.

Relation of the Study to a Broader Research Design

Comparative education scholars, from Jullien de Paris to Kandel, Hans, and Baraday, have focused their attention on the study of educational systems as they have operated within the context of the nation-states which created them. Their descriptive studies have been generally restricted to systems developed by Western European nations and their extensions in North America and Australia. Since these nations are all spiritual heirs of Athens, Rome, and the Renaissance, it is not surprising that a high degree of similarity exists among these systems of education both in general aims and forms of organization.

Quite different, however, are the educational "systems," described in the last fifty years by anthropologists and sociologists, of less complex social groups. Indeed the method of cultural transmission employed by some of these groups was scarcely recognized as education by the Western European powers when they set out to build modern empires by establishing their rule over scores of Asian and African societies in the nineteenth century. In that special form of cultural contact known as colonialism, European educational systems thus came to be superimposed upon indigenous systems.

While European school systems and indigenous patterns of cultural transmission were being studied on a comparative basis, the former were playing a major role in the modification of indigenous cultures. Missionaries, whose goals were essentially, if narrowly, educative, stood at the vanguard of their respective colonizing societies and received at least the tacit support of their governments. The missionaries were soon assisted and sometimes replaced by their governments in an effort to transform the indigenous societies through formal education. Until

recently, however, this common phenomenon had not attracted the attention of social scientists although they occasionally referred to it in their studies of acculturation.' Several recent developments have changed this situation. First, the Second World War greatly quickened the pace of institutional transfers from the metropoles to their developing colonies. Second, in every colonized society an already acculturated minority developed the desire to replace their European masters and sought the support of the masses in their struggle for self-determination. With newly regained pride and confidence in traditional ways and values, scores of newly independent societies are determined to find their rightful place among the free nations of the world. Upon their success depend not only the peace of the next generations but also any positive contributions these "new" societies might make to the development of mankind. Too much is at stake to permit chance to be the only determining variable. Man can influence the course of events in desired directions if he makes intelligent use of his knowledge of physical and social forces.

To a large degree, European formal education has molded the mind and character of leaders in emerging nations. These leaders now rely heavily on the effects of the same educational systems to transform their nations into modern economic, social, political and cultural units. But effective use of the school as an instrument in the accomplishment of such a great task requires sophisticated knowledge of the instrument, of its potentialities, and of its limitations. In the case of former European colonies emerging as independent nations, "knowledge of the instrument" involves:

1) Knowledge of the philosophy, structure, content, and functions of the metropoles' systems of formal education as they existed at the time the colonies were founded.

2) The aims and policies of the segments of metropolitan societies--such as missionary groups--which initiated the transfer of European educational institutions.

3) The colonial socio-cultural context in which institutional transfer was effected.

4) The evolution over the years of both the socio-cultural context and the quantity and quality of educational opportunities offered to the colonized societies.

5) A detailed survey of the transferred educational institutions inherited by the new nations at the time of independence.

6) The identification of the new nations' aspirations expressed in statements of national goals and policies by traditional or elected spokesmen of the new nations.

7) The assessment of the outcomes of current formal education in the light of its expected functions as an instrument for the pursuit of national goals.

Put in the form of questions the preceding statements constitute a fertile new field of investigation for comparative education. In an attempt to answer these questions, Professor Paul R. Hanna of Stanford University has developed a series of research designs whose results will contribute to the growing literature on comparative education. This study is one of the series.

The European colonial powers have pursued policies similar in many respects but also differing according to the times and to the places of origin and of application. The publication of a representative sample of these similarities and differences is an immediate aim of Professor Hanna's research designs. As a first step, several pairs of studies are to be conducted in particular European metropoles and in one or more of the respective former colonies of each. In the case of the former French colonial empire, a study has already been made by Jerry Bolibaugh, working in the national archives in Paris, on the nature and derivations of French educational policies for the ex-French African colonies. The present study attempts, through a field study, to describe and interpret what happened to French educational policies when they were applied to one of the four ex-French Equatorial African territories, namely, the new Republic of Congo (Brazzaville).

Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study overlaps to some extent that of Jerry Bolibaugh's study, particularly in matters related to French educational policy toward the Congo. However, in this study, the emphasis lies on the implementation of policy, or on that level of policy which is mainly concerned with the application of general principles to practice.

The study is limited to the formal aspects of the French educative action in the ex-French Congo, that is, to the French effort to communicate ideas, values, attitudes, and skills to the Congolese within the framework of a school situation--no matter how simply structured the situation may have been at times. This does not imply an underestimation of the importance of the informal aspects of culture contact, but represents an attempt to identify the role of formal education in the complex process of cultural exchange as it occurred under colonial rule. In spite of the difficulties encountered in trying to measure the impact of the school on successive generations, the task is relatively easier than that of measuring the impact of one society as a whole on another society. For our purposes, we will study the school apart from the total cultural transmission process while recognizing the essential artificiality of the operation.

The Congolese school system currently operates within the politico-geographical boundaries of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), an area which does not perfectly coincide with the ex-French Congo as the colony developed since 1883. Efforts will be made to restrict discussion of the historical part of this study to the French educational policies and practices in the geographic area presently served by the Congolese national school system.

The Problem

The problem studied here is related to two separate but successive processes:

1) The transfer of formal, European educational institutions[1] to an African setting for the purpose of performing normative functions prescribed by the society effecting the transfer.

2) The instrumental use of the transferred institutions by the newly self-determined recipient society.

In more specific terms, the processes involve the transfer of selected elements of the French educational institutions by segments of French society to parts of the Congo basin in the pursuit of goals and in response to needs perceived by those in control of the process; and the current use of the transferred institutions by the leaders of an emerging Congolese nation partly molded by the transferred institutions it has inherited.

Main Generalization

The descriptive analyses of those processes as they have been operating in the Congo (Brazzaville) since 1883 should yield evidence in support or refutation of the following hypothesis:

Current instrumental use of transferred educational institutions by a recipient society is largely determined--insofar as the society's

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1. An institution is defined by S. F. Nadel in his The Foundations of Social Anthropology (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951) as "a standardized mode of social behavior." In Nadel's concept the purposiveness of institutions is implied in the words, "social behavior." Further, the complexity of institutional aims often requires the development of many institutional "elements," each of which is sometimes referred to as an institution. But such elements are closely interdependent and form a "functional unit" serving some over-all purpose. Thus formal education may be considered an institution (with an over-all purpose) while primary education, for example, would be an "element."

choices of ends and means are reasoned and deliberate--by the functions these institutions have performed in this same society since they were introduced.

By "recipient society" we mean those members of society who can make or influence policy decisions regarding the educational system. By using the term "largely determined" we make allowance for other determining factors such as new circumstances, acculturative influences outside the formal school system, persisting socio-cultural attitudes, ideals, etc. The term "functions" includes outcomes which may be considered, depending on the criteria employed by the observer, as "functional," "non-functional," or "dysfunctional."

We might point out at this juncture that the apparent circularity of the hypothesis is not a logical circularity since a time factor is involved.

Our generalization differs significantly from that offered by Nicholas Hans: "Thus education, from being a function of national character, became itself a factor in moulding it."[2] Hans based his generalization on comparative studies of education in industrialized countries, and it no longer requires demonstration. However, in newly independent nations, the process is, in a way, reversed, and the study of this process has barely begun.[3]

Like Hans' statement, the basic generalization of this study illustrates the interaction between a society and its educational system over time. Following a formulation by Professor Paul R. Hanna[4] which borrows from economics and from the communication sciences, the transfer of formal education from France to the Congo (Brazzaville) can be described thus:

I. INPUT French society, through government and missionary agencies, decided what ideas, values, attitudes and skills were appropriate for the Congolese to acquire. These ideas, etc., translated into curricula became the "message" to be communicated. Structures and methodology selected were those thought most likely to insure effective

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2. Nicholas Hans, Comparative Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1930), p. 10.

3. See Philip J. Foster's "The Transfer of Educational Institutions: The Ghana Case Study" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961).

4. Paul R. Hanna, "Conventional and Unconventional Education in Newly Developed Countries," in America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education, ed. Clarence Hunnicutt (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1962).

communication of the message. The "input" just described operated at the intentional level.

II. THROUGHPUT The intended message was modified in the process of communication since a) the nature and quality of the structures and of the educational materials, e.g., school buildings, textbooks, etc., may have differed from those in the intended input; b) the persons conveying the message may have differed in their understandings of what was to be communicated; c) the Congolese's perception of the message may have modified the message's content in unexpected ways.

III. OUTPUT The process produced changes in Congolese behavior at the individual and at the social levels. In educational studies output is characteristically measured by achievement tests, and of course, certain levels of achievement are rewarded by promotion to the next grade or by a certificate or diploma. More recently educational output has been related to national economy. All of these measures largely ignore pupils who do not pass the tests. More important, they ignore many other areas of behavior, such as values and attitudes, which are part of the "total output" and which are critical elements for adequate "feedback"--the effect of past and current output on future input.

Thus, generalizations, values, attitudes, and skills acquired by the recipient society as a result of the transfer of an educational system become part of the human capital of the changed society, and the nature and quality of this capital largely determines decisions regarding the present and future orientation of the transferred educational institutions.

Methods and Sources

Since the transfer of educational institutions from France to the Congo (Brazzaville) had been a continuous process since the arrival in the Congo of de Brazza and Bishop Augouard in the early 1880's, this study must be set in an historical framework. Since no history of education in the Congo is presently available, much of this study is devoted to the reconstruction of the main educational events which took place and to their socio-political context. While this part of the study may not always conform to the standards of historical writing, the description and interpretation of the present Congolese school system rely heavily on modern methods of social science research. The method of approach is definitely comparative in that the problem is studied at different stages of development, and the results are presented in such a way as to facilitate further comparative treatment.

The search for evidence in support or refutation of this thesis is pursued at three levels: educational policy, educational practice, and educational outcome.

Educational policy (the "intentional input" level) involves both the identification of the aims of institutional transfer over time and the identification of the educational structures and methods thought appropriate for the stated task. The main sources of data in this area are policy statements, legislative and administrative decrees, reports, etc. issued by individuals and bodies responsible for making or influencing institutional decisions.

Educational practice (the "throughput" level) involves the identification of structures and methods actually transferred together with their subsequent modifications, an identification of educational functions actually performed, and a search for instances where the throughput or process level shows a lack of correspondence to the intentional level. Data will be supplied by surveys of programs of studies, textbooks, descriptions of teaching methods, and examinations of statistical and evaluative reports. The reports studied will be not only those prepared by French government officials and missionary representatives but also documents reflecting French as well as Congolese public opinion.

Educational outcome (the "output" level) will be estimated quantitatively on the basis of statistical reports of schools, teachers, pupils, certificates and diplomas awarded at various school levels and qualitatively through instruments designed to assess the beliefs, values and attitudes of the present generation of Congolese school children. Tests and questionnaires adapted to this study include: 1) a survey of the vocational aspirations of sixth and tenth graders, of the reasons motivating their occupational choices, and of the preferred setting (urban or rural) for their chosen occupations; 2) a sociometric investigation of tribal and religious influences on the voluntary associations of school children for work and play; 3) an analysis of values as revealed by responses to projective tests. The results of the social and psychological studies conducted by Georges Balandier and his associates at the Institut d'Etudes Centrafricannes (Brazzaville) will also provide corroborating evidence for the assessment of qualitative outcomes of formal education in the Congo.

Finally the author will attempt an evaluation of both the French educational performance in the Congo and the effectiveness with which the emerging Congolese nation is making instrumental use of its inherited school system.

Translations from French language sources are the author's; he assumes responsibility for their accuracy and style.

THE SETTING

That part of Africa known today as the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) has borne various names in the past three-quarters of a century. When first explored by Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza in 1875, it was considered an extension of the French colonial outpost, Cape Lopez. In 1883, when de Brazza was appointed "Commissioner of the Government of the French Republic in West Africa," he set out to take effective possession and further explore the territories between the Congo River and the equator. The Treaty of Berlin (February 26, 1885) recognized French rights over an area designated as the "French Congo" in order to differentiate it from the Belgian King Leopold II's "Congo Free State" (later the "Belgian Congo"). As French explorations were pursued east and north toward the sources of the Congo River's tributaries, the French Congo was divided in 1903, for administrative purposes, into three colonies (Gabon, Moyen-Congo, and Oubangui) and one military territory (Tchad). Despite frequent but relatively minor border changes, it is essentially the colony of Moyen-Congo which became the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) on August 15, 1960; the term "Congo" will be used throughout this paper to designate this colony.

The Land

The Congo lies astride the Equator--between the fourth degree of north latitude and the fifth degree of south latitude and between the eleventh and eighteenth degrees of longitude east of Greenwich. Its area, 342,000 square kilometers, is slightly larger than that of the state of New Mexico. On the southwest the Congo has a short strip (120 miles) of Atlantic coast. To the west, an irregular border separates it from the Republic of Gabon while to the north lie the Cameroon and Central African Republic. From the northeast corner of the Congo to a point southwest of the Stanley-Pool, the Oubangui and Congo rivers form a natural boundary. The southern side touches two enclaves on the right bank of the Congo River: part of the Republic of Congo (Leopoldville) and Cabinda (Portuguese Congo).

The Congo's relief is best described by first pointing to a complex of low mountains and plateaus which occupy most of its southwestern half. These plateaus form a knot separating a vast plain from the sea. But thirty miles from the sea, a last folded mountain barrier runs along the coast. The main physical regions of the Congo, moving east then north from the Atlantic Ocean, can be summarized as follows: a narrow coastal plain; the Mayoumbé Mountains (1000 to 2500 feet high); the Niari Valley, a savannah region extending to the sources of the

Kouilou-Niari River and its tributaries; the plateaus (Cataracts, Babembe, Batéké), averaging altitudes of 1200 to 1500 feet; and the western portion of the Congo Basin, the "cuvette congolaise," a vast plain lower than 1200 feet, covered by a network of rivers, all tributaries of the Congo River.

The Congo, entirely equatorial, varies little in climate throughout the year. Temperatures remain close to 72°F with slightly wider variations in the plateau regions. The average annual rainfall is 60 to 80 inches and the humidity remains high.

Although situated within the great equatorial forest belt, only half of the Congo is covered by forests; the other half, because of the nature of the soil and the altitude, forms a grassy savannah dotted by tree groves. Dense forests cover the Mayombe Mountains, the northern half of the plateaus, and the "cuvette congolaise" from the equator to the north. The savannah covers the coastal plain, the Niari Valley, the southern half of the plateaus, and the "cuvette congolaise" south of the Equator.

The sight of the luxuriant equatorial forest and of the tall savannah grass suggests the existence of very rich soils. Contrary to this visual suggestion, Congo soils are characterized by high acidity, low phosphorus content, and a very thin layer of humus. The soil of the plateaus is sandy to considerable depths; that of the "cuvette congolaise" is mostly alluvial, improving in fertility but often marshy near the rivers; much of the rest is composed of heavy clay.

The Natural Resources

The preceding discussion suggested the variety and extent of the natural resources of the Congo.

Covering more than half the land, the forests are rich in commercial species. Soft woods suitable for construction and plywood include the limba and okoumé; hard woods--ebony, mahogany, and iroko--suitable for cabinetmaking are also available. However, several difficult problems prevent full exploitation of this wealth: 1) wide dispersion of the valuable trees; 2) difficulty in identification because of the dense foliage of the underbrush; 3) low population density of the forest area; 4) lack of transportation facilities; and 5) the instability of the demand on local and export markets. Despite such difficulties and the resultant high costs of production, the forest remains the main wealth of the Congo, making up some sixty per cent of the total value of exports.

Products of wild plants constitute the second greatest wealth of the Congo. Oil palm groves cover large areas in the Kouilou-Niari Valley and in the low regions of the "cuvette." Some plants, such as the

raphia type palm tree, "pounga," and urena, are gathered for their fibers. Wild rubber, obtained from lianas or trees, although once the chief export of the Congo, is rarely gathered at the present time.

In spite of the generally poor quality of the soils, the Congo produces an impressive variety of crops. The local staple food, manioc, is grown almost everywhere. Bananas also represent an important contribution to the diet of the population. A few other crops bring a welcome complement to the basic diet: peanuts, sweet potatoes, yams, corn, beans, onions, and red peppers. Around European population centers, a variety of vegetables, citrus fruits, and pineapples are grown for the local market.

Cash crops include peanuts, coffee, cocoa, sugar cane, bananas, tobacco, and oil palm products. Since the cultivation of these plants is still at the experimental stage, their present total value is small. However, they already account for a sizable share of the country's exports.

The prevalence of the tsetse fly used to rule out the possibility of introducing cattle and horses to the Congo. Since World War II, great efforts have been made to eradicate this pest. Too, acclimatized animals require special health care and often need fodder not previously available in the Congo. All of these matters demand a level of technical knowledge very few Congolese possess at this time. However, the herds are steadily growing; pigs, goats and sheep are also increasing in number.

None of Africa's famed mining regions lie within the Congo territory. However, in the mountainous region formed by the southern portion of the plateaus, the local population was exploiting deposits of copper, zinc, lead and iron long before the arrival of Europeans. French and Belgian companies have worked those same deposits, particularly in the Mindouli area, for over fifty years. For various reasons, such as quantity and quality of deposits, costs of operation and transportation, or the state of the world markets for these metals, production has never reached high levels. At present, the Congo's mining activities are chiefly confined to the exploitation of minor deposits of lead and zinc in the M'Fouati area. The recent recognition of deposits of phosphates and rock salt in the Mayoumbé region and on the coastal plain may soon justify rather large-scale exploitation.

Small reserves of oil and natural gas have been discovered at Pointe Indienne, in the Pointe-Noire area. Crude oil has already been exported in small quantities. However, known oil and natural gas reserves are very small. Water resources may constitute the largest source of potential power. One hydroelectric power plant is already in operation on the Djoué River five miles from Brazzaville. More important perhaps, the Congo possesses a dam site, the Sounda Gorge on the Kouilou River, which promises to produce electric power at prices comparable to those in Canada and Norway. The Kouilou project

would supply enough power to make possible the development of a vast electrometallurgical and electrochemical industrial complex in the Pointe-Noire area. Other rivers, such as the Loémé in the Mayoumbé, could also be harnessed. But with the small Djoue dam currently operating at less than one-third of its capacity, the decision regarding further development of hydroelectric power depends on whether huge capital investments in industrial plants will be available in order to create sufficient demand for power.

Industrial development in the Congo is embryonic and is mostly concerned with the primary processing of raw materials. Palm, palmetto, and peanut oil mills, for example, are operating in crop-producing areas. A modern sugar refinery in the Niari Valley fills most of the refined sugar needs. The staple food, manioc, is still processed by hand. Although most of the Congo's timber is still exported as logs, there are a few sawmills, and veneers and plywood are made in Pointe-Noire. Lead and zinc ores are exported after very little treatment.

Some light industry of a secondary character exists in Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire: a brewery, a soft drink bottling plant, a modern cigarette factory, scores of small furniture factories, soap factories, and a fish cannery.

Various types of workshops are equipped to maintain and repair the existing machinery, especially the materiel needed for transportation: bicycles, automobiles and trucks, railroad equipment, airplanes, ships and boats.

Due to its key geographic position, the Brazzaville-Pointe-Noire area has a well-developed communication and transportation network. All river traffic in the Congo basin starts or ends at Stanley-Pool (Brazzaville or Leopoldville). Brazzaville owes its very existence to this fact. Between the Pool and the Atlantic coast, a railroad and a motor road were built in order to bypass the Congo rapids. The site of Pointe-Noire was selected as the western terminal of the Congo-Océan Railroad, and a modern port was created there to handle the passenger and goods traffic moving in and out of the northern portion of the Congo basin. The seat of the federal government, Brazzaville is a post, telegraph and telephone center; it has one of the best international airports and the second most powerful radio station in tropical Africa.

By contrast, the motor-road network is still embryonic, consisting of a few hundred miles of all-weather roads. This is partly explained by the fact that a railroad already connects Brazzaville to the coast and that the Congo River and its tributaries afford the easiest and cheapest means of penetration into the "cuvette congolaise."

To provide the reader with an opportunity to view quickly the variety of natural resources existing in the Congo and to suggest the order of their importance, statistics are offered in Appendix I.

The People

According to the most recent demographic investigation, the total population of the Republic of the Congo is about 820,000[1] or a population density of about 2.4 inhabitants per square kilometer (.386 square mile). The population, however, is very unevenly distributed. Population density gradually increases from a low of less than one per square kilometer in the northern forests, to a high of more than 20 in the metropolitan Brazzaville area. From there to the west, it decreases again to about four per square kilometer. As in most extensive areas of tropical Africa, the population of the Congo is made up of different races, ethnic groups, and tribes. This section will attempt to give a short description of these ethnic groups and to draw a summary picture of their cultural characteristics.

If the term race is understood as referring to the great divisions of the human species, only two races form the indigenous population of the Congo: the Pygmoid and the Negroid.

It is very difficult to say how many Pygmies live in the Congo. Most authors do not even venture a guess. Soret, for example, in his ethnic map of French Equatorial Africa, simply indicates by shaded spots the approximate locations of the pygmy tribes.[2] It is probable that not more than 10,000 Pygmies live in the Congo.

Relatively little is known about their customs and social organization. They have no fixed residence. Being hunters and gatherers, they live in forest clearings and move about in groups of twenty to one hundred from one hunting area to another. The Pygmies tend to attach themselves to groups of Negro farmers with whom they establish a symbiotic relationship--borrowing their language, exchanging the products of their hunting and gathering for domestic tools and hunting weapons.

The Pygmies are believed to have been once the sole inhabitants of most of the Congo basin. For various reasons, particularly because they were not organized for warfare and their ecological adaptation allowed only a relatively low population density, the Pygmies could not resist the repeated waves of Bantu Negroes who invaded their territory beginning about two thousand years ago. Today, the last surviving

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1. "Enquête Démographique 1960-61--Résultats Provisoires," (Brazzaville, République du Congo, Service de Statistique, 1961), p. 19. (Mimeographed.)

2. Marcel Soret, "Carte Ethno-démographique de l'Afrique Equatoriale Francaise (Note préliminaire)," reprinted from Bulletin Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, Nouvelle Série, Brazzaville, No. 11, 1956, pp. 27-52.

bands are largely acculturated to their Bantu neighbors' way of life. In the north of the Congo, some groups have accepted the missionaries and the Administration. In the Ouesso area (Northern Congo), some have even accepted work as laborers on the big oil-palm plantations, and their children attend the schools.

All the rest of the indigenous ethnic groups belong to the great Bantu-speaking population of tropical Africa. But there ends their cultural unity. Murdock[3] conjectures that this area is occupied by tribes which began to spread from a point near the Cameroon-Nigeria border about two thousand years ago. Murdock believes that this migration, one of the greatest in history, was accomplished in successive waves over a few hundred years. The present Congo tribes may thus all be Bantu, but yet they are clearly differentiated and fall into three main ethnic groups, subdivided into more than seventy tribes.

In the north of the country reside the Equatorial Bantu. They are sometimes classified into two subgroups: the Sangha, from the area north of the Equator (from 4° north latitude), and the M'Bochi, from the Equator south to about two degrees. This line marks the separation between the two types of kinship affiliation recognized throughout tropical Africa: the patrilineal and the matrilineal rules of descent. Among Bantu tribes ". . . matrilineal descent prevailed generally in the not very distant past,"[4] but today the Equatorial Bantu adhere to the patrilineal rule, while their neighbors to the south adhere to matrilineal rule. However, there are clear signs that these too are slowly adopting patrilineal rule. The members of the main Equatorial Bantu tribes number about 125,000 altogether.

The Northwestern Bantu (southern cluster)[5] are represented in the Congo by the Batéké group and its several subgroups. The Batéké occupy the plateaus to which they have given their name. They are over 150,000 in number.

The Batéké were the first Congolese to come into contact with the French in 1879. Loosely organized as a kingdom (Anzico), the Batéké were under heavy attack by the Sundi from the south and the Boubangui from the north at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They lost against the Sundi but won in the second case, exacting tribute from the Boubangui. Their king, the Makoko, signed a treaty with de Brazza giving him, and France, a precious legal claim to the strategic Pool area.

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3. George Peter Murdock, Africa, Its Peoples and Their Culture History (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), pp. 271-274.

4. Ibid., p. 27.

5. Ibid., p. 275.

The Central Bantu (Kongo cluster)[6] are represented in the Congo by several tribes which form, by far, the most important single ethnic group in the nation. This group has been longest in contact with the Europeans, it is generally more advanced, and it has certainly been the most thoroughly studied of all the Congo peoples. Marcel Soret provides an excellent, detailed ethnographic monograph on this group.[7]

The Kongo group is believed to form at least 45% of the total population of the Congo, although they occupy only 15% of its area. This would indicate that the Kongo accounts for about 400,000 of the 820,000 Congolese.

The Socio-Cultural Background. As noted earlier, the tribes of the Congo have not attracted equal degrees of attention from historians and social scientists. The group which has received the most attention is the Kongo. As early as the sixteenth century, many travelers and missionaries described the coastal tribes; during the modern colonial period, reports of administrative and missionary action were chiefly concerned with the peoples of the same area; then, in 1921, Father Van Wing published his classic Etudes Ba-Kongo; more recently, in the 1950's, Balandier, Soret, and others have made significant contributions to the scientific knowledge of the Kongo. No such body of literature exists concerning the other groups.

At the beginning of this century, Doctor Cureau[8] gave detailed descriptions of native customs, but not on a tribe-by-tribe basis. In the 1930's, Georges Bruel, in his classic, La France Equatoriale Africaine,[9] made extensive use of Cureau's writings as supplements to his own personal knowledge of the area. Thus, on the basis of the writings of Van Wing, Cureau, Bruel, Balandier, and Soret, it is possible to sketch the cultural characteristics of the Congolese tribes, keeping in mind that the generalizations often apply more specifically to the Kongo group, and pointing out differences when they are known to exist between the Kongo and the Téké on the one hand, and the northern tribes on the other hand.

Languages. Vernacular languages in the Congo are all Bantu, one

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6. Ibid.

7. Marcel Soret, Les Kongo Nord-Occidentaux (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959).

8. Adolphe Cureau, Les Sociétés Primitives de l'Afrique Equatorial (Paris: Armand Colin, 1912).

9. Georges Bruel, La France Equatoriale Africaine (Paris: Larose, 1935).

of the seven divisions of the Bantoid subfamily of the Negritic stock.[10] But each of the various tribes has its own "language" or dialect which resembles its neighbor's and is more or less understandable to members of other tribes. None of these various dialects has spread significantly beyond the particular tribal group to which it belongs.

The geographical isolation of the various Congolese tribes which has produced such a diversification of languages was not absolute, and frequent contacts were indeed established between tribes. To facilitate trade, or contacts in general, vehicular languages were developed which spread over larger areas. Thus, Monokotuba is understood in the southern half of the Congo, from Brazzaville to Pointe-Noire; Lingala is spoken from Brazzaville to the northeast. Monokotuba and Lingala are simplified tongues, belonging to no particular tribe, but made up of linguistic elements borrowed from local languages.

Social structure. The identification of ethnic groups or subgroups is inferred from the observation of certain similarities in the languages, beliefs, customs, etc., of a group of individuals. Such groups or subgroups do not necessarily exist as social or political units within well-defined territorial limits. This is often also true at the tribal and clan levels. Such is the case in the Congo: there is no Vili, or Bembe, or Laadi "Chief" (three tribes of the Kongo cluster). However, one should point out, for instance, that a Vili is conscious of being a Vili, but that he may call himself a Kongo when he is outside of his birthplace.[11] In any case, marriage is traditionally endogamous at the level of the tribe. Marriage becomes exogamous in the small groupings called "clan," "subclan," or "extended family." The latter is the basic social cell, perhaps the only one which has effective existence nowadays. The extended family is made up of all the individuals related by blood to one living patriarch recognized as the chief. Among the Kongo and the Téké, where the matrilineal rule of kinship prevails, the headman (Nkazi) is the representative of the oldest woman of the oldest generation, usually her brother or her maternal uncle. Among the northern tribes, the headman is, in principle, the oldest man of the family group.

The extended family constitutes a social, economic and juridical unit within which the individual is largely absorbed. The headman manages the family's property, oversees all transactions (including marriages), and administers justice. He is the one closest to the ancestors, the immediate source of the vital powers of the family. According to Balandier,[12] the maintenance of the "fundamental link

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10. Murdock, op. cit., p. 15.

11. Soret, op. cit., p. 72.

12. Georges Balandier, Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire-Dynamique

land-property-lineage under an effective family head" is mainly responsible for the Kongo's remarkable stability as a social group subjected to the strains of the "colonial situation."

Marriage is negotiated outside the extended family, and calls for the payment of a bride-price to the woman's maternal uncle (in Kongo and Téké groups); residence is virilocal (i.e., the couple lives in the husband's village), but the children belong to the wife's family which they join before adolescence. Kin groups are defined after two basic coordinates: blood and seniority. "Ego" is first related to his mother, to his sisters and to his father's other wives. All those are "mothers." The kinship class next in importance is the uncle-nephew relationship. Then come the brothers, sisters, and cousins, all in the same class. On the paternal side, among the Kongo, only the father is believed to transmit part of his blood to his child, and the grandfather may marry his granddaughter. Domestic slaves were not members of the family, but rather of the "community." Their children remained in the father's family instead of returning to the slave mother's family.

Religion, Cults, and Magic. In attempting to describe a society's indigenous culture the ethnographer is faced with the difficult problem of locating a cultural baseline, since most societies, if not all, have been in contact with others at some points in their history. The Congolese are no exception. The Kongo group, in particular, have been in contact with the Portuguese since the fifteenth century, and for two hundred years after that, Christian missions flourished in the Kongo Kingdom. With the decline of the Portuguese Empire, missionary action practically ceased. Today, thanks to the work of Father Van Wing, much is known of this group's religious beliefs and practices. Van Wing paraphrases a Kongo song which he believes well expresses the Kongo philosophy:

> On Earth is man with his recurrent needs to be satisfied. Above him, Nzambi is the invisible sovereign master, unapproachable. He has put man on earth, and he will take him away one day through death, which lurks everywhere, taking, inexorably, young or old. Against this sovereign Nzambi there is no recourse; one cannot take away anything from him by force or by trick. However, there exists another power superior to men, that of the manes, that is, of the ancestors of the clan. This power is generally favorable, or at least can be made so through sacrifices, libations and prayers. If the ancestors remain decidedly hostile, one can use the fetishes, which Nzambi has given to men in order to neutralize

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des Changements Sociaux en Afrique Central (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), p. 396.

evil action. The magical rites of the fetishers have indeed an effect on man, on beasts, on the manes of the ancestors, on everything except on Nzambi.[13]

The Kongo believed in Nzambi before the arrival of the first missionaries. But was their conception of this Supreme Being the same before Christian influence? No one is certain. In any case, Nzambi plays for the Kongo the two main functions which Malinowsky attributes to the supernatural: the explanatory function and the validating function. The "explanatory" function is clearly shown in the above quotation. Nzambi also carries out his "validating" function: Nzambi has given laws and he sanctions them; their violation is a sin against Nzambi and such a sin is punished by him.[14] For instance, Nzambi commands one to respect parents, to help neighbors, to avoid incest, etc. But if Nzambi punishes, he never rewards. When the good die, they join the underground villages of the ancestors; the bad are denied entrance into these villages and are condemned to wander as ghosts. But the ancestors themselves, not Nzambi, separate the good from the bad.

Although this concept of the Supreme Being is rather vague,[15] one is scarcely justified in saying that the Kongo are simple animists, a characteristic often attributed to them as well as to most pagan Africans. This has prompted Ziégle[16] to suggest that the term "pantheist" better describes the Congolese.

In fact, Nzambi remains a distant Providence whose direct intervention rarely affects the daily life of the Congolese. But the spirits of ancestors are very much present, since these hold the keys to the "treasure chest"--to the objects of man's desires: good health for himself and his family, longevity, prosperity, and fertility. Therefore, ancestors must be respected, obeyed, implored, and sometimes appeased. This is the fundamental cult of the Congolese.

Properly treated, the spirits of the ancestors are generally benevolent. But the spirits of bad ancestors and those of rival clans

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13. J. Van Wing, Etudes Ba-Kongo, Sociologie, Religion et Magie (2nd ed.; Brukelles: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), p. 301. First ed.: Etudes Ba-Kongo, "Histoire et Sociologie," Bibliothèque Congo, No. 3 (1921).

14. Ibid., p. 302.

15. Pressed for details regarding Nzambi's attributes the Kongo are likely to answer: "Nzambi is Nzambi."

16. Henri Ziégle, Afrique Equatorial Française (Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault, 1952), p. 82.

are to be feared: they are the "ndoki," responsible for all misfortunes. The "ndoki" must be fought with more powerful spirits, and this is where magic (fetishism) intervenes. In times of rapid change and consequent social disruption, it is natural that this aspect of the cult assumes precedence. European observers have come at such a time; they are themselves disturbing elements. It is understandable that they have emphasized this aspect of the Congolese religious rites.

Ancestor worship can do without a clergy, but it requires "interpreters," men adept at communicating with the dead and learning the wishes of the ancestors. These are the "fetishers" or "nganga nkisi," masters of a fetish (nkisi), that is, of an artificial object presumably possessed of the powerful spirit of the dead. Fetishism should not be confused with sorcery. A fetish is expected to work for the good of someone, bringing him the object of his desires or protecting him against the malificent action of an enemy. Sorcery is deliberately used against someone, supposedly without provocation, and it is a crime punishable by death. While sorcerers were burned, fetishers are powerful and respected members of the community.

Most authors insist that religion is not merely an aspect of Congolese culture, it is Congolese culture. In view of this remark, one may be surprised to learn that in urban centers, fewer than 15% of the Congolese admit that they are fetishists.[17] The Christian churches do not claim to have converted the remaining 85%. In fact, statistics regarding the percentage of Congolese population converted to Christianity would be of little value: in the majority of cases, Christian beliefs and practices are not substituted for traditional religion but are only added to it. A Christian priest, for example, is often called "Nganga Nzambi." Fetishes retain their power over the Congolese, especially when the situation is such that the level of anxiety among the population is raised.

Psychological and Personality Characteristics and Cultural Transmission. If anthropologists have extensively studied African tribes, psychologists, on the other hand, have barely started applying their recently developed analytic tools to the study of the African personality: ". . . at the present time no generalization concerning African personality could be made, as such a generalization [is] bound to become too wide and to be devoid of both practical and theoretical value."[18]

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17. Marcel Soret, Démographie et Problèmes Urbains en A.E.F., Poto-Poto, Baconga, Dolisie (Brazzaville: Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, Mémoire No. 7, 1954). (Memorandum.)

18. S. Bieshuvel, Report of the CSA Meeting of Specialists on the

The start of the educational system in the French Congo was influenced by the observations, opinions, and recommendations of French officials who tended to regard the black Africans as an inferior race. No instruments were available to test these assumptions.

For example, Adolphe Cureau, a doctor and colonial administrator, has carefully described the Congolese as he saw them at the beginning of the century.[19] Thus he wrote of the Congolese's intellectual and moral "faculties" in 1912:

> At the age of twelve or fifteen, the faculties of our native, at first receptive enough, become dull and his understanding becomes dim. He retreats and settles down in his primitive infantilism. From that moment on, he will not improve beyond the point where the rapid progress of his first years had taken him. Even he who has received a European education will retain only its varnish, a purely external appearance which covers up the intimate web of his simple soul without transforming it.[20]

Félicien Challaye's writing, at a time when French public opinion was alerted by the investigative mission of de Brazza in 1905, may have had an influence on the shaping of native policy:

> An individual born in a small isolated village receives no education from his parents, owes no tradition to his ancestors; deprived of help from those around him, and from those who have preceded him, he has no opportunity to develop his intellectual and emotional faculties. Reduced to his own experience, he remains a child all his life. These primitive races, without a past, belong to prehistory: they are anterior to all civilization.[21]

He found in this situation no reason to despise the Congolese, but, like Cureau and others, he advised kindness and patience:

> . . . [we] should not ask too much of them. It is impossible to suddenly impose intensive work on races accustomed for

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Basic Personality Structure of African and Madagascan Populations, Tananarive, August 27-September 3, 1959 (London: CCTA/CSA, Publication No. 51), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

19. Cureau, op. cit.

20. Quoted by Bruel, ibid., p. 174.

21. Félicien Challaye, "Le Congo Français," Cahiers de la Quinzaine, Série 7, Cahier 12 (1906), pp. 26-27.

> centuries to doing nothing; it would be absurd to impose immediately upon savages the same social obligations required of civilized people.[22]

The opinions just reported have been accepted as fact until comparatively recently. Only very recently have social scientists attempted to investigate the personality of the black African resulting from the nature of his culture. Soret, for instance, has very little to offer beyond the statement that: "The education of children is carried out mostly through imitation of elders."[23] But he also attributes to the Kongo group:

> . . . a highly developed tendency to imitate, a fertile imagination often revealed in theatrical or musical works, through real "studies" of village life or of the relations between Blacks and Whites, etc., which bear, in addition, the mark of a great sense of observation and an above-average gift for satire.[24]

It may be useful to report here the conclusions of a study recently conducted in Leopoldville among members of a closely related cultural group.[25] The author has paid careful attention to the effects of interpersonal relations (particularly the child-mother relationship) in the socialization of the Kongo child. In her study of the Kongo mother's attitude toward the child, Knapen was struck by the almost complete absence of deliberate stimulation of the child in the different areas of personality. She observed this "attitude of non-intervention" in various areas: learning how to walk, acquiring sanitary and other habits. Knapen is not inclined to call this attitude "negligent," but rather "protective, permissive, and realistic."[26] At first, the mother adapts herself to the child while a true symbiotic relationship is established between them. Soon, however, the child must adapt to his environment. Weaning causes the child to lose his privileged position, but this event is not brought about for its own sake: the mother expects another child and naturally shifts her attention to this new life. From the time of weaning, the child learns to live with siblings

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22. Ibid., p. 32.

23. Marcel Soret, Les Kongo Nord-Occidentaux (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), p. 101.

24. Ibid., p. 90.

25. Marie-Thérèse Knapen, L'Enfant Mu-Kongo: Orientation de Base du Système Educatif et Développement de la Personnalité (Louvain: Editions E. Neuwelearts, 1962).

26. Ibid., p. 190.

and other clan children; his older sister takes care of him. For the little girls, these are heavy responsibilities which they must accept and carry out early. As the child grows up, he is gradually absorbed into adult life. He finds his place within the clan and learns the attitudes and skills he needs to play his role.

Knapen also points out that this type of child training should not be mistaken for the conscious application of educative techniques specifically oriented to the development of a young personality, but should be seen as a strictly functional adaptation of the child to life in his environment. In conclusion, Knapen hypothesizes that because of the general direction of the Kongo educative system:

> . . . one of the most fundamental tendencies of personality development in the group studied is the gradual acquiring of facts, skills, value judgements, feelings and a motivational system which causes the individual's accomplishments to coincide with the welfare of the clan and his assumed role to coincide as much as possible with service to the community.27

In the absence of comparable studies in the Congo, there is no certainty that this hypothesis can be applied to the cultural groups living north of the Congo River, much less to the non-Kongo tribes. However, the similarities in features reported by social scientists from widely separated areas of the Bantu world tend to support the validity of the following generalizations:

1) Tradition-directed personality is prevalent in Africa, although the researchers' opinions vary as to the effects of acculturation in this area.

2) The individual's early childhood period is marked by complete security (symbiosis of mother and child).

3) Child-rearing practices differ from the second year onward, with weaning sometimes a traumatic, sometimes a gradual experience. Again, opinions differ as to the effects of such practices on personality development.

4) Ancestor worship is a common feature in African societies. "Views concerning the continued influence of the ancestors in the lives of men, and the need to placate them, probably have a most powerful influence on the development of the self."28

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27. Ibid., p. 194.

28. Bieshuvel, op. cit., p. 2.

5) Affective relations, as they exist in Western society, appear to be generally absent: interpersonal relations seem to be determined largely by the traditional roles the individuals are expected to play.

In summary, it must be noted that the Congolese child grows up in a generally permissive environment which exerts relatively little pressure toward individual achievement. The educative influences to which he is submitted are functional in nature, but very informal. Integration into the social unit for the welfare of the group is the main function of the traditional educational "system." Although experts disagree in their assessment of the true consequences of this "system," its discussion at this point should serve to show the sharp discontinuity between the aims and methods of European-type formal education and the pre-school orientation of the Congolese child.

COLONIZATION

The Congo's Middle Ages: 1500-1850

Documented history of the Congo begins with the discovery by Diego Cam of the mouth of the Congo River in 1482. In the wake of the Portuguese navigators, administrators and missionaries penetrated inland and established a capital at San Salvador, a point southwest of Stanley-Pool, in today's Angola. This was the center of an African kingdom, the Kongo kingdom, established a few generations before the arrival of the Portuguese. Little is known of the exact origin, territorial limits, and political organization of this kingdom whose decline seems to have coincided with the colonial and missionary action of the Portuguese. The search for documents and their interpretation is still actively pursued, encouraged as it is by the legitimate desire of the modern Africans to acquire and preserve reliable knowledge of their historical roots.

The ancient Kongo kingdom, lying mostly in Portuguese Angola and in the ex-Belgian Congo, is only important here because the Kongo tribes of the Congo (Brazzaville) still consider San Salvador as their place of origin and because another kingdom, that of Loango, belonged to Kongo tribes, the Vili, and probably was at some period a vassal state of San Salvador.

The kingdom of Loango, stretching from the Gabon to the right bank of the Congo River, and from the Atlantic to the Batéké Plateau, was mostly situated within the present territorial limits of the Congo. Through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the kingdom of Loango is described as decadent by the missionaries and the slave traders who came into contact with it. Indeed, slave trade may have been the main support of the kingdom during that period. Slave trading posts (baracons) dotted the coast, and through them an estimated six to eight million Africans were shipped to the Americas.[1] The Loango themselves, no more than their eastern neighbors, the Batéké of the kingdom of Anzico, do not appear to have suffered much from the slave trade. On the contrary, their position made them useful intermediaries and predisposed them for their role in future contacts with the Europeans.

The positive contribution of the Europeans (mainly Portuguese) during this four hundred year period is very limited. Their direct

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1. Marcel Soret, Les Kongo Nord-Occidentaux (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), p. 23.

action was largely confined to the coasts. However, missionary activity left some traces of religious teachings and, more important perhaps, new world crops including manioc and corn crops were introduced.

The First Explorations: 1850-1880

The great European powers had agreed, around 1820, to put an end to the slave trade. Accordingly, the French Navy patrolled the west coast of Africa and established a few posts to serve as supply bases. Thus, the French Admiral Bouet-Willaumez signed treaties with two African "kings," Denis and Louis, on the coast of Gabon. There, in 1848, having seized a slave ship at sea, he brought the slaves back, set them free, and founded the city of Libreville. The French Navy's assignment was to enforce the slave trade ban. But soon Navy officers, scientists, and adventurers, attracted by the mystery of the hinterland, made several short expeditions in the coastal area. Among them, an American of French origin, Paul du Chaillu, even reached the mountainous regions and gave his name to the "Massif du Chaillu."

Most of the expeditions used the course of the river, Ogooué, which, some thought, provided a way into the heart of the continent. Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, an Italian nobleman who had just joined the Navy, was interested in finding out how the large masses of water which fell on Equatorial Africa were evacuated to the sea. He was determined to explore the sources of the Ogooué in order to determine whether the answer to the riddle could be found there.

In 1875, at his insistent request, de Brazza was given 10,000 francs and put in charge of an exploratory mission. He soon discovered the sources of the Ogooué, marched on east to a water divide, and went down the course of another river flowing east, the Alima, a tributary of the Congo River. Hostile tribes soon forced him and his companions to return to Libreville. Back in France, in 1878, he tried unsuccessfully to interest French opinion in his discoveries. But Stanley also returned from Africa and claimed that he had followed the course of the Congo all the way to the Atlantic Ocean, thus completing one of the first crossings of Africa from east to west by a European. Suddenly, the European public began to realize that a new era of great exploration was opening.

The French Equatorial Empire Takes Shape: 1880-1900

De Brazza knew then that the Congo River could be reached by way of the Ogooué-Alima rivers, a route which required portage only over a short distance. He had little difficulty obtaining the French government's approval and support for a second expedition. He arrived in Gabon early in 1880 and set out on his mission, accompanied by a few Senegalese soldiers and scores of native porters. From here on, the

events are so numerous that they cannot be described at length here. They will only be listed chronologically, but will be followed by a discussion of the purposes and the policies of the men and the nations involved in this part of the historical drama often described as "The Scramble for Africa."

June, 1880: De Brazza founds Franceville near the source of the Ogooué.

September, 1880: De Brazza reaches the Congo River and meets the Makoko, the Bateke "king."

October, 1880: De Brazza and the Makoko sign a treaty granting France a land concession on the right shores of the Stanley-Pool, between the rivers Djoué and M'Pila, that is, the present location of Brazzaville.

1882: De Brazza returns to the coast from Franceville by way of the Kouilou-Niari Valley, a better route than that of the Ogooué. The French Navy occupies Loango.

1882: France ratifies the treaty signed by de Brazza and the Makoko.

1883: De Brazza is appointed Commissioner of the Government in West Africa and sets out on a triple mission: 1) to create posts and stations along the Ogooué and the Alima; 2) to confirm French rights on the left banks of the Pool, where the Senegalese Sergeant Malimine had been left to represent France; 3) to explore the country to the north.[2]

1884: De Brazza brings back the ratified treaty to the Makoko; his companion, de Chavannes, founds Brazzaville.

1885: The European powers sign the historic Act of Berlin which sets the ground rules for the colonial game in this part of Africa.

1885-1900: France, Belgium, Germany, and Britain stage numerous "scientific" and military expeditions from all directions toward the heart of Africa.

France used the Congo as her main base of operations. The bulk of French resources in men and materiel was diverted to the pursuit of territorial objectives:

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2. Pierre Gamache, Géographie et Histoire de L'Afrique Equatoriale Française (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1949).

1) Toward the sources of the Sangha River, the northern Congo is occupied;

2) Following the Ubanghi and the Shari, French explorers face the opposition of Moslem populations, but lay the foundations of the present Central African Republic;

3) Toward the Nile, the epic two-year march of Captain Marchand ends in the humiliation of Fashoda: France agrees to leave Britain in control of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan;

4) Toward Chad, three French columns converge: one from the Congo (under Emile Gentil), one from West Africa (under Voulet and Joalland), one from Algeria, across the Sahara (under Fourneau and Lamy). The three expeditions join forces in 1900, fight a last battle against the Sultan Rabah, effectively link the French possessions on the Mediterranean to the lower Congo, and close the period of great colonial expansion in Africa. The new map of Africa is roughly sketched; from then on only minor touches will be added.

It is obvious that the history of Africa during these decisive twenty years must be marked "Made in Europe": in Africa, a handful of daring European explorers, adventurers, soldiers, patriots, empire builders; in Europe, great statesmen, ambitious politicians, humanitarians and unscrupulous businessmen. On the sidelines, but vitally interested in the courses of events, were the Christian missionaries, bent on saving the heathens, often bitterly opposed to colonial policies, but depending on colonial action and lending it powerful support. All of these men fought anti-colonialist groups, swayed an apathetic public opinion and decided the why, how, when and where of colonial action.

In 1875, French pride was still deeply wounded by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War. The French colonial empire, in decline for more than a century, was reduced to only a few footholds in different parts of the world. Then a group of politicians led by Jules Ferry saw a way to divert French attention from Alsace-Lorraine, and at the same time to demonstrate French vitality to the world: France would regain prestige and grandeur by conquering a new colonial empire. Discreetly encouraged by Bismarck, France set out to acquire her largest empire in history: Indo-China, North, West and Equatorial Africa.

De Brazza, treated with indifference or open hostility by various groups, particularly by his own naval superiors, found powerful support among this group of "Africanist" politicians. When, in 1882, his treaty with the Makoko came to the National Assembly for ratification, an assemblyman, M. Rouvier, expressed succinctly the classic motives in support of colonial enterprise:

> Our trade will find there rubber, resin, wax, oil seeds, furs, ivory, precious metals and woods; our industry will find outlets

for its products, and at the same time the inhabitants on the banks of this incomparable river will be born to civilization.[3]

Parliament ratified the treaty in November, 1882; de Brazza was appointed Commissioner in West Africa in February, 1883, and was given a subsidy of 1,275,000 francs paid out by various ministries. The Ministry of Public Instruction was made chief sponsor in order to "emphasize the peaceful character of the West Africa Mission."[4] In fact, Jules Ferry, the then Prime Minister, had just held this ministry's portfolio, and was thus in a better position to control the Mission.

But these precautions did not really deceive the rival European powers. It was apparent that Leopold II of Belgium, encouraged by Bismarck and under the cover of the scientific and humanitarian "Association Internationale Africaine," was trying to acquire an African kingdom. Portugal, supported by Britain, was claiming rights over the Congo area, and so was Spain. Bismarck saw a wonderful opportunity to influence events in the direction of his policies, and he invited the rival powers to settle their differences at the Berlin Conference (1884).

The signing of the Act of Berlin by several nations as a result of negotiations may be the single most important event in the history of the Congo. It marked the beginning of a new era in the history of colonization:

1) It prevented Portugal from acquiring a huge part of Africa and confirmed her in a secondary role as a colonial power.

2) It made obsolete the economic privileges of powers like Britain and France in their respective colonies by creating a free trade zone in the Conventional Basin of the Congo.

3) It explicitly made the colonial powers responsible for the welfare of native populations, enjoining them to eradicate slave trade, and to encourage and support the activities of scientific and missionary organizations.

4) For the first time, it recognized the right of smaller, non-colonial powers to be concerned with the modalities and the effects of colonial action.

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3. Journal Officiel, November 21, 1882, as quoted in Fernand Rouget's L'expansion Coloniale au Congo Français (Paris: Emile Larose, 1906), p. 32.

4. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

In principle, the provisions of the Act of Berlin should have all worked to the advantage of the Congo and its populations. In fact, to the extent that these provisions could be enforced, they discouraged the French Government and French private interests from investing the long-term development capital which the Congo needed. The Congo venture remained for a long time somewhat dubious in French eyes: it could not fit well within the economic and cultural assimilationist theme, which, with some slight variations, has characterized French colonial policy.

Another provision had a more immediate effect on the Congo. In 1885, the heart of the African continent was still largely a blank map. The colonial powers agreed on the ownership of areas actually explored and occupied, and adopted as a principle of future ownership the effective occupation of much larger and still unexplored areas. As a result, France, Britain, Germany, Belgium, and Italy poured their energy in a mad race to "discover" Africa's heartland. Scores of "scientific expeditions" were sent to the interior by various nations, many of them using encircling movements, each nation trying to confine the others to the coastal areas where they were established. Thus, for the next fifteen years, the Congo was not only deprived of financial and technical help, but had to contribute heavily to the support of several French "missions" to the Nile and to Lake Chad.

During these fifteen years, very little was done to administer or develop the Congo. De Brazza was a sincere friend of the Congolese. He was moved by humanitarian ideals, and he intended to make the natives share fully in the development of the country. While trying to interest French investors in the wealth (he thought) of the Congo, he warned the French that no colonization would succeed unless the rights and privileges of the natives were scrupulously respected. As early as 1886, de Brazza proposed the construction of a railroad from the coast to Brazzaville because he realized that otherwise the burden of transportation would literally fall on the shoulders of thousands of native porters, but by that time, de Brazza was already engulfed by the movement he had helped launch. While the French Government was supporting the heavy cost of military expeditions, often against hostile French public opinion, it felt it could not afford heavier financial sacrifices for the economic and social development of the Congo. Plainly, France had bitten off more than she could chew. After years of controversy, and against the stubborn opposition of de Brazza and his friends, the State abdicated and sold out the Congo to "Chartered Companies." The concessionary regime approved in 1898 became effective in 1900. In all, some 40 companies obtained concessions over more than 90% of the French Congo.[5]

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5. Félicien Challaye, "Le Congo Français," Cahiers de la Quinzaine, Série 7, Cahier 12 (1906), p. 48.

Consolidation and Organization: 1900-1919

If the previous period was one of exploration and expansion, this one from 1900 to 1919 is characterized by a particular form of development and by the administrative organization of the colony. As noted above, there was no question of France taking direct financial responsibility for the administration or the development of the Congo. Colonies were expected "to pay their own way"; therefore, private capital had to be attracted to the Congo. After a propaganda campaign and the early economic success of the Congo Free State much private capital was invested. Thus, the local budgets were fed by initial payments against concessions of monopolies to companies, by receipts from custom duties on goods imported and exported by the same companies, and by head taxes imposed on the natives who were then entering into a monetary economy. But these incomes never succeeded in covering the operating expenses of the colonial administration, let alone contributing to the development of economic and social infrastructure. Therefore, the Metropole had to pay the deficits.

The concessionary regime was an over-all failure. Most of the investors were speculators attracted by promises of quick returns. The wealth of the Congo had been grossly exaggerated; tropical luxuriance had been mistaken for fertility. Huge concessions selected on a map proved to be flooded most of the year, etc. Many companies went bankrupt within a few years. But worse yet were the scandals which were revealed. World public opinion was aroused by tales of inhuman treatment inflicted by company agents on the natives of the Congo Free State. The French public demanded a full-scale investigation into the activities of the French companies which had also incurred the severe criticism of the missionaries. De Brazza, who had been summarily dismissed in 1898, was given special powers by the French Government in April, 1905, and was assigned to investigate the situation. He was taken ill while traveling down the Congo River, and he died before he could return to France and make his report. However, one of the officials accompanying him, Félicien Challaye, has given a good assessment of the regime.[6]

On the positive side: 1) The companies had contributed to the development of the French Congo (their combined capital exceeded sixty million francs). 2) They increased France's share of the Congo imports which went from one-third in 1900 to three-fifths in 1906. 3) The companies' prosperity was closely linked to that of the colony, since their activities and part of their profits supported the local budget.

On the negative side: 1) The companies' existence represented a threat to international peace: their monopolistic privileges were

6. Ibid., pp. 50-62.

challenged by British traders who claimed that they constituted a violation of the Berlin Agreements. 2) From an economic standpoint, their activities represented the worst form of exploitation: draining the country of existing wealth without regard for future production.[7] 3) The companies must be criticized most severely from the point of view of native policy. As de Brazza had foreseen, the companies' monopoly allowed them to pay very low salaries and to sell their imported goods at many times the real price--sometimes up to 500% of value. Naturally, the natives were not attracted by such conditions. The companies, then, tried to obtain the right to introduce forced labor, invoking the morally elevating value of work, compulsory at first, free later. The Government never granted this right, but it is reported that confidential circulars instructed local administrators to turn the other way when company agents exerted "strong pressures" on the natives. Another circular warned administrators that they would be judged according to the amount in taxes that they collected.

Challaye's exposé did not bring about the end of the concessionary regime. Indeed, the regime disappeared only in the late twenties following André Gide's exposé.[8] Concessions had been granted for a period of thirty years. It would have cost the Government enormous sums to liquidate the regime earlier. In fact, most companies were so derelict in their obligations that their assets could have been simply confiscated by the Government. This was never done. Instead, Government supervision was slowly improved and, above all, companies were encouraged to renegotiate their concessions voluntarily. Thus, by 1920, as much as 300,000 square kilometers of land had been returned to the State domain in exchange for permanent rights to smaller concessions.[9]

With such inadequate financial resources, an adequate administrative machinery was slow to materialize. As effective occupation of the colony progressed to the north and to the east, new administrative regions were created, with centralization of authority in Brazzaville. Decentralization began to be effected in 1904 with the creation of three colonies: Gabon, Middle Congo, and Ubanghi-Shari, plus one military territory, Chad. But ". . . nothing [was] done without authorization from Brazzaville," where ten chief administrators were appointed in

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7. For example, in 1904, natural rubber represented 50% and ivory 41% of the exports of the Middle Congo. The various rubber producing plants, however, were destroyed and not replaced; most of the ivory came not from current "production," but from a traditional form of capital accumulation and once the stocks were exhausted, ivory exports decreased to a trickle.

8. André Gide, Voyage au Congo (Paris: Gallimard, 1930).

9. G. Froment-Guieyesse, Brazza (Paris: Editions de l'Empire Français, 1948), p. 138.

succession between July, 1903, and August, 1905.[10] At last, in 1910, the organization of the Afrique Equatoriale Francaise (A.E.F.) was set up essentially as it was to remain until 1958: a Federal Government headed by a Commissioner-General residing in Brazzaville and Lieutenant Governors in each of the four territories. All power delegated from Paris was in the hands of the Governor General. In the words of the first Governor General, Merlin, addressing the Lieutenant Governors: "I govern; you administer."[11] The Governor General was assisted by a Secretary General, a Cabinet, the Chiefs of the different Bureaus, and, later, by an Advisory Council. The Lieutenant Governors obeyed directives from the Government General, were responsible for drawing up the budgets of their respect territory and for submitting them to the Governor General for approval.

The Middle Congo's administrative regime often changed because Brazzaville was at the same time territorial and federal capital. At some periods, it had no Lieutenant Governor, the Governor General or his Secretary General assuming direct responsibility for it. Through the years, the system was characterized by changing degrees of centralization, perhaps reflecting the struggle between the assimilationist and the associationist policies of France toward her colonies.[12] In the thirties, Georges Bruel summed up the history of administrative organization in the Afrique Equatoriale Francaise:

> Since 1883, one can see that the Metropole has hesitated, groped, and dickered as if it had not gained experience in organizing our great overseas territories. These awkward attempts, these successive changes, have considerably hampered and delayed the accomplishments of France, because the archives, the regulations, have been constantly disrupted to the great detriment of administrative operation and of progress.[13]

The year, 1910, could have marked the beginning of progress. But barely a year later, Afrique Equatoriale Francaise played for France the classic role of a pawn on the colonial chessboard. For some time, political chaos in Morocco had been a threat to French Algeria. France

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10. Challaye, op. cit., p. 82.

11. Henri Ziéglé, Afrique Equatoriale Française (Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault, 1952), p. 174.

12. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 25.

13. Georges Bruel, La France Equatoriale Africaine (Paris: Larose, 1935), p. 436.

decided to eliminate the threat by establishing a Protectorate over the country, but met with the opposition of Spain, Britain and Germany who also had plans for Morocco. By 1911 France had reached agreement with Spain and Britain, but still had to deal with Germany which was threatening war over the dispute. On the other hand, Germany, in her colony of Cameroon, wanted direct access to Lake Chad and to the Congo River. In exchange for "freedom of action" in Morocco, France transferred to Germany some 300,000 square kilometers of A.E.F. territory, mostly in Chad and Ubanghi-Shari, but also in the Middle Congo. There, Germany obtained land on both sides of the Sangha River from the Cameroon to the Congo River. This last concession did not actually represent a very great economic loss, but the psychological effects of the transaction were undoubtedly enormous.

Ironically, it was during this period that France granted A.E.F. a loan of 171 million francs for railroad construction. While more technical studies were being made of the best route, World War I broke out and work on the project was postponed.

After an eighteen months' campaign, British, French and Belgian forces were victorious over the Germans in the Cameroon. The colony was shared by France and Britain. The Treaty of Versailles ratified these arrangements by which the parts of Afrique Equatoriale Francaise territory ceded to Germany in 1911 were returned to France.

Between the Wars: 1919-1940

The loyalty of the natives of Afrique Equatoriale Francaise during the trying years of the First World War helped produce in France a climate of opinion favorable to policies tending to benefit this part of Africa. But more important, perhaps, was the appointment of Albert Sarraut as the Minister of Colonies. This former colonial administrator (Indo-China) is chiefly responsible for drawing up France's first overall colonial development plan, one in which ". . . moral, intellectual, political and social improvements were intimately linked to material achievements."[14] By that time, the French theory of colonial relationship to the Metropole had rejected the idea of assimilation as an "optical illusion" and adopted the motto "association." Difficult to define, this policy represented a compromise between assimilation and protectorate through indirect rule; it recognized an initial inequality among colonial partners, but resolutely sought to elevate the less developed members to a point where an association of truly equal members could become possible.

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14. Albert Sarraut, La Mise en Valeur des Colonies Françaises (Paris: Payot, 1923), p. 83.

Based on the policy of association, Sarraut's colonial development plan was devised on the following strategy:

1) Create the means of access to centers of production--build roads and railways, etc.

2) Equip ports.

3) Increase productivity of present enterprises and develop new areas. Improve the quantity, value and variety of the products of soil through irrigation, mechanization, and rational exploitation.

4) Above all, improve hygiene, food habits, medical assistance; educate an adequate manpower; win the interested and confident cooperation of the populations.[15]

Within this grand design, Afrique Equatoriale Francaise, always the "colonial Cinderella," occupied a very minor position. A.E.F.'s economic needs were concerned with the very first steps of the development strategy: creation of the means of access, that is, railroads, ports, etc. At last, work started in 1920 on the construction of the Congo-Océan Railroad. For the next fourteen years this long delayed undertaking, and the construction of the port of Pointe-Noire, was to monopolize financial and human resources. Completion required the expenditure of several times the funds originally earmarked. The human cost was also very high: thousands of laborers were more or less forced to work on the project, often under very poor conditions. The inadequacy of local labor in quantity and quality even prompted an unsuccessful attempt at using indentured workers from the Far East. But for A.E.F. development, the Congo-Océan with its two terminals, Pointe-Noire and Brazzaville, constituted a great step forward, although it did not represent an ideal solution for Chad and Ubanghi-Shari. At least, it greatly benefited Middle Congo on whose territory all the construction work was done. Once again, this colony's geographic position proved its greatest asset.

From 1935 to 1940, efforts were made, particularly by Governor General Reste, to move on to the next step in economic and social development. Agriculture and education received Reste's closest attention. But, again, the Second World War stopped the implementation of rational plans, even if it gave A.E.F. "its greatest hour."

From World War II to Independence: 1940-1960

When France capitulated to the Germans in 1939, Governor General Boisson put the colony under the authority of Vichy. Soon the French

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15. Ibid., pp. 343-344.

Congo, for the second time in history, was to be saved for France by a black Frenchman. Félix Eboué, a native of French Guiana, had received a French education, had chosen to make a career in colonial administration, and, by 1940, had reached the post of Governor of Chad. On August 26 of that year, he transferred his loyalty to the Free France of Charles de Gaulle and brought his colony along with him. Two days later, Brazzaville followed suit, and so did Ubanghi-Shari. When reluctant Gabon joined the other three territories, all Afrique Equatoriale Francaise was ready to play its role in the struggle against fascism in Africa and in Europe.

The newly completed part of the "Federal Artery" made a significant contribution to the war effort: men and materiel were shipped up through that route and reached Ethiopia and North Africa. All this brought unprecedented economic activity to the Congo. However, the Congo's rudimentary economic equipment did not enable it to take full advantage of the opportunity, nor was this activity wholly beneficial to the country. Indeed, the most "uneconomical and anti-social" form of exploitation, the gathering of wild rubber, was resumed on a large scale.[16]

More significant for the subsequent development of the Congo was the appointment of Félix Eboué as Governor Général of A.E.F. An intelligent, experienced and dedicated man, Eboué devised a new native policy, implemented some of its elements, and saw other elements incorporated into the recommendations of the Brazzaville Conference (February, 1944). After his death in May, 1944, some of Eboué's ideas even influenced the drafters of France's post-war Constitution.

Eboué observed a worsening of the native material conditions while traditional social structures were disintegrating. For this, he blamed on the one hand, France's limited action, and on the other hand, the effects of the same colonial action on native societies. Assimilationism, he thought, had only succeeded in depriving the native of his dignity, of the driving force which could stimulate him to improve his condition. In formulating his new policy, he clearly stated his goal:

> We shall strive to develop [in the native] the sense of his own dignity and of his responsibility and moral progress and to make him materially richer; but we shall accomplish this within the framework of his native institutions.[17]

Eboué set out to restore the power of the native "chefferies" by identifying the true chiefs, giving them legal powers, and turning

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16. Ziéglé, op. cit., p. 105.

17. Félix Eboué, La Nouvelle Politique Indigène pour l'Afrique Equatoriale Française (Paris: Office Francais d'Editions, 1945), p. 12.

European administrators into teachers of local chiefs. For the Africans who had already detached from the native social cadres and had somehow accomplished part of the transition toward a European way of life, particularly in the urban centers, he created the status of "notables évolués" in the hope that these would soon constitute a native bourgeoisie organized around new democratic institutions.

At that time, Eboué's ideas sounded revolutionary. In fact, they were no more than logical implications of the associationist principles stated long before but still not effectively applied. For his was no African nationalist doctrine. Eboué's ultimate aim was to see native institutions evolve in an orderly fashion toward an undefined level on the basis of which French African societies could associate in true equality with France and her other territories. No doubt was left as to the limits of political evolution. The Brazzaville Conference adopted as a basic principle that:

> The aims of France's civilizing mission in the colonies are incompatible with the idea of autonomy, with all possibility of evolution outside the French Empire bloc; the eventual establishment, even in the remote future, of self-governments [sic] in the colonies is to be rejected.[18]

Nevertheless, the end of the Second World War marked a social and political breakthrough for the Africans. The new political institutions of the Fourth French Republic, the National Assembly, the Grand Council of the Republic and the Assembly of the French Union to which Overseas Territories were invited to send elected representatives, as well as the Territorial Assemblies and the Grand Council of the A.E.F. helped awaken the political consciousness of the Africans, and, although unintentionally, directly led to self-government and to independence in less than fifteen years.

Another momentous change also took place in the economic relationship of the Metropole to the colonies. Britain, during the war, and France, soon after the war, had come to realize that fine policy statements regarding the development and welfare of colonial populations would largely remain empty words as long as colonies were required to "pay their own way." Consequently, a ten-year development plan was drawn up and the French Government undertook to finance investments in the public sector through FIDES, the "Fond d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social." From 1947 to 1958, FIDES spent some thirty million dollars in the Congo alone.[19] Funds were invested

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18. Georges Hardy, Histoire Sociale de la Colonisation Française (Paris: Larose, 1935), p. 235.

19. "L'A.E.F. Economique et Sociale" (Paris: Editions Alain, 1959), p. 91.

for the following purposes: 1) construction and equipment of land, river and air transportation; 2) creation or modernization of post office, telecommunication and radio; 3) scientific research; 4) supply of technical assistance to producers; 5) financial aid to producers (loans, price support, etc.); 6) development of tourist trade; 7) extension of public health facilities; and 8) school construction. To the FIDES contributions must also be added an almost equal amount in private investment made within the framework of the ten-year plan.

Such a sudden influx of development capital brought the appearance of wealth and prosperity to the Federation, and the Congo, because of its advantageous position, received more than its share. By 1952, however, building activity had sharply declined, and the country's economy returned to its "normal" stagnation, where it still remains.

While the Congo was receiving long-needed economic assistance, new political institutions were introducing limited forms of democracy. In addition to somewhat symbolic representation in metropolitan government bodies, an elected assembly was created in each of the four territories. These assemblies in turn elected a Grand Council of the A.E.F. For the first ten years--1946-1956--Africans and Europeans elected separate representatives. Political parties, at first mere branches of metropolitan parties, presented candidates to both colleges, and a high degree of harmony prevailed among African and European representatives in the Congo. One reason for this lack of racial antagonism was the Europeans' indifference toward local politics.[20] The French had realized since the time of de Brazza that the Congo could not become a "colonie de peuplement" (settlement colony), but would remain a "colonie d'encadrement" (colony of cadres). Most of the Europeans in the Congo recognized the temporary character of their presence, and preferred to remain in the background while guiding and influencing their African colleagues. This role of theirs was officially sanctioned by the "Loi-Cadre" (framework law) of 1956.

The Territorial Assembly was not a mere advisory body. It held real power, especially in financial matters: it could ". . . amend, reject, or approve the budgets submitted to [it] by [its] territorial governor."[21] It was also obligatorily consulted on a number of matters.

The Loi-Cadre of June, 1956, instituted a single electoral college, universal suffrage, and a larger assembly membership. Thus strengthened and more representative than ever, the Territorial Assembly and its electorate could face de Gaulle's referendum of September 28, 1958. France, having committed herself to the Kouilou Dam project, the Congo

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20. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 41.

21. Ibid., p. 38.

voted 99.1 per cent for autonomy within the framework of the future French Community. Two months later, the Assembly proclaimed the "République du Congo" (November 28, 1958) an autonomous member-state of the Community, and on August 15, 1960, independence was proclaimed.

The last fourteen years had served as parliamentary apprenticeship for Congolese leaders. The lessons were well received, since such a short transition period from a low colonial status to the full exercise of sovereignty was marked by remarkably little trouble. The Congo today deserves its place among the members of "reasonable Africa." These accomplishments are the more remarkable for the fact that the Congo is economically poor, and that few, if any, of the top Congolese political and administrative cadres were educated and trained deliberately for the posts they currently occupy. This apparent contradiction will receive further attention in the subsequent discussion concerning the development of education in the Congo.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In the Congo, the development of formal education and economic development are closely parallel. As we have seen, France had relinquished her rights in the economic area to large concessionary companies. This abdication was disapproved of by many segments of public opinion in France and in the Congo who felt the company system to be morally wrong, politically dangerous, economically wasteful, and quite unworthy of French tradition. That the system was not the answer to the colony's economic needs soon became evident, but as the system gradually disappeared, no adequate substitute was introduced until after World War II when FIDES brought in relatively large investments.

Likewise in the field of education, France abdicated in favor of the missionaries--a step that contrasted with the course of education in the Metropole. At the time of the introduction of French rule in the Congo, the French State took the first effective steps toward the assumption of full responsibility for the education of the nation. In the 1880's, French public education became free (1881), compulsory and nonreligious (1882), secular (1886), and over the next twenty years, various laws tended to prevent the Church from exercising influence and control over French education. The statesman chiefly responsible for the adoption of public school laws, and also the champion of France's colonial renaissance, was none other than Jules Ferry, the same man who subsidized missionary action in the Congo! Such basic contradictions both explain and foreshadow many subsequent conflicts between the Missions and the Administration.

The Educational Monopoly of the Catholic Missions: 1883-1905

Since the French played absolutely no direct role in Congolese formal education until 1905, the question of French educational policy seems almost irrelevant here. However, culture contact was effectively established in 1883, and the mere presence of Frenchmen in the Congo had educative consequences. Education, defined as a process of change in behavior in individuals and groups in a contact situation, is a necessary consequence of culture contact. When such contact occurs within the context of a "colonial situation,"[1] the dominant group inevitably

1. For a definition of "colonial situation," see Georges Balandier, Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), p. 33.

attempts to change the dominated group in a particular direction. In so doing, the dominant group, the colonial power in this case, develops a policy in order to answer the question of what to do with the natives. Educational policy is obviously one component of native policy, and a study of the latter should reveal the former. But educational policy can be, and indeed is, more than an aspect of the whole if it calls for the introduction of a formal institution such as the school which in turn becomes a complex instrument fashioned for the pursuit of the aims of the global colonial policy.

The determinants of native policy and of the educational policy with which it is interwoven, are numerous and complex.[2] For the purpose of this study these determinants can be divided into two groups: 1) factors pertaining to the character of the metropolitan society attempting to solve problems at a particular period of its history; and 2) factors pertaining to the colonized societies.

Among the factors in the first group, one must consider the French concept of "mission civilisatrice." Students of French colonial policy often use the term as do the French themselves. The question of whether it is what Balandier calls "pseudo-justifications"[3] for colonial action is immaterial here so long as the colonialists believe in their mission. And the French undoubtedly do. This sense of mission has its source in a deep pride in the values and achievements of French culture--a pride easily transformed into a conviction of superiority. If one adds to this a belief in the ideal of human brotherhood, there is only one logical step to the humanitarian duty which dictates the bringing of the blessings of French civilization to wretched savages. Such a humanitarian duty, termination of the slave trade, brought France to Equatorial Africa. This was the original aim of France's native policy in the Congo, and thanks to men like Savorgnan de Brazza and his companions it was successfully achieved. But few would argue that this aim alone would have sustained France's action in the Congo. National rivalries among the great European powers, scientific curiosity, and the lure of economic gains undoubtedly rank high among the motives in support of colonial action. The economic motive may have been the strongest; certainly it is the one which more immediately affected France's policy toward the African native.

Savorgnan de Brazza, the idealist, soon realized that he could do little in the Congo without the material support of the French business community. In undertaking to interest businessmen in his venture he

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2. See Jerry Bolibaugh's dissertation, "French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Their Intent, Derivation, and Development" (Stanford University, 1964).

3. Balandier, op. cit., p. 33.

missed no opportunity to address meetings of French chambers of commerce. His efforts brought him tons of goods at little or no cost which he used as "currency" in his explorations. He used the familiar arguments in his talks to businessmen: the Congo could supply valuable raw materials and civilized natives would constitute a vast outlet for French manufactured goods. But de Brazza always insisted on how these developments should be achieved. Since he recognized from the start that the Congo was unsuitable for European settlement, he saw in rational economic development the key to the social and cultural improvement of the native populations:

> So, our action, for the time being, must above all tend toward the transformation of the natives into laborers, producers and consumers; later, the Europeans will come to assume the role of intermediaries.

And further:

> Even apart from humanitarian considerations, the protection of the natives seems to be, in this case, the surest way to save the goose that lays the golden egg.[4]

The concept of assimilation has been closely associated with the aims of French colonial policy. As pointed out by Roberts,[5] the idea applies not only to native policy in the social and cultural fields, but also to the economic, political, and legal aspects of colonial action. Thus, overseas territories are likened to the metropolitan homeland and treated accordingly. In the fields of trade, for instance, tariff barriers are uniform, and the Metropole can establish a trade monopoly in her colonies; politically, colonies are considered as "distant provinces" forming an integral part of the same country; legally, the same civil and criminal codes apply to both the Metropole and the colonies. But the term "assimilation" has two different meanings. The first, just illustrated, is a static one: colonies are similar to the Metropole. Applied to the Congo in 1885, assimilation in this sense was not only an "optical illusion" but insanity. And it was not adopted as a policy by France. In the economic field, the policy was contrary to the liberalism of the time and to the terms of the Act of Berlin. As far as the other French socio-cultural institutions are concerned, Jules Ferry clearly stated the position: "French laws cannot be transplanted heedlessly; they do not possess the magic

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4. A speech delivered by de Brazza on January 21, 1886, at the Cirque d'Hiver, Paris. Quoted by G. Froment-Guieyesse, Brazza (Paris: Editions de l'Empire Français, 1948), p. 111.

5. Stephen Roberts, History of French Colonial Policy: 1870-1925 (London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1929).

power to Frenchify the shores where they are imported; social environments resist, defend themselves. . . ."[6] In fact, France did apply the policy of assimilation in the Congo, but this is understandable only if one accepts the term "assimilation" in its second, dynamic sense. In this sense, various degrees of assimilation may be the inevitable aim of cultural imperialism of all brands: in establishing its domination over weaker societies, the "imperial" society tends to make these weaker societies conform to its own socio-cultural patterns. The degree to which this assimilative tendency is encouraged depends on factors pertaining to both the colonizer and the colonized. Assimilation, as practiced by the French in the Congo from the 1880's to this day, is based on a double act of faith: "It means that we believe in both the value and the possibility of assimilation."[7] As far as the French are concerned, the first act of faith requires no demonstration here. Faith in the possibility of assimilation, however, was put to the severest test in the Congo. Most Europeans who visited the Congo before the turn of this century were appalled at what they thought to be the backwardness of the native populations. Nevertheless, policy statements regarding the possibility and need for assimilation are not rare. To quote de Brazza again: ". . . the populations [of the Congo are] rather primitive, it is true, but not without intelligence, pliable if one knows how to handle them firmly and without weakness, but with limitless patience."[8]

How, then, can one explain France's abdication of her direct responsibility in the economic, social, and cultural development of the Congo? The reason is basically financial: practical steps toward implementation of a policy of assimilation required the expenditure of vast sums of money, and France would not, or could not, make such sacrifices at the time. She was engaged in other colonial ventures in Asia and elsewhere in Africa, in areas where need was as great and attraction often greater than in the Congo. But above all, one must realize that the sense or urgency regarding development so widely felt nowadays did not exist in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The British, for their part, commonly accepted the slogan: "It will take a thousand years to change those people." No one could foresee at that time that colonial action in Africa would produce in a few generations a "backwash" capable of sweeping away European imperialism.

So, if Jules Ferry could declare that: ". . . the matter boils down to the need to cultivate the man in the native, to legitimize French intervention through the improvement of all local living

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6. Georges Hardy, Histoire Sociale de la Colonisation Française (Paris: Larose, 1953), p. 145.

7. Rene Maunier, Sociology of Colonies (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 167.

8. Quoted by Froment-Guieyesse, op. cit., p. 111.

conditions, and to lend to colonization the character of services reciprocally rendered";[9] so, too, de Brazza could warn that: "By trying to force quickly upon them [the Congolese] our regulations, our ways of doing, creating, and thinking, we shall be led inevitably to a struggle which will bring about their destruction."[10]

When the compulsory education law was adopted in France in 1882, the colonial administrator in Libreville was asked if he thought the provisions of the law should be applied in Central Africa. His negative answer apparently satisfied Paris, and a decree organizing education in the Gabon was promulgated on April 9, 1883. In summary, the decree stated that:

Article 1: In the primary schools of Gabon, teaching will be carried out exclusively in the French language.
No less than half the school time will be devoted to the study of the French language.

Article 2: Anyone who wishes to open a school, or a children's home, must request authorization from the Commandant.

Article 3: Primary schools for boys are directed by men.
Primary schools for girls, mixed schools, and children's homes are directed by women.

Article 4: A primary school certificate is hereby set up: this certificate is granted after a public examination for which children can sit as soon as they have reached the age of eleven. The examining jury is appointed by the Commandant.[11]

It must be noted that this decree did not establish any public school. It merely set the legal basis on which the State could transfer part of its responsibility to individuals and groups who wished to engage in the educational enterprise. But the decree did state the one principle of educational policy to which France consistently adhered throughout the period of French colonial control in the Congo: ". . . teaching will be carried out exclusively in the French language." Furthermore, if the decree failed to set up an elaborate mechanism for inspection and control, it gave the State a strong determining voice in deciding what the schools were to teach by giving the State full control over examinations.

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9. Hardy, op. cit.

10. Froment-Guieyesse, op. cit.

11. A copy of the original printing of the document is available at the ex-Ministry of Overseas France, Paris.

The 1883 decree remained in force until 1911 when public education was formally organized in Afrique Equatoriale Francaise. The strict provisions of the decree regarding the use of the French language undoubtedly helped discourage American Protestant missionaries from pursuing their work in Gabon. They were soon largely replaced by the Protestant "Mission Evangélique de Paris."

The case of the Congo was different. The right of France to impose the 1883 decree was seriously challenged by the Act of Berlin, revised by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919). Article 11 specifically states:

> They [the signatory powers] will protect and encourage without distinction of nationality or cult the religious, scientific, or philanthropic institutions and undertakings, created and organized by the subjects of the other signatory powers and of the other member-states of the Leagues of Nations which will adopt the present convention, tending to lead the natives [of the Conventional Basin] on the road to progress and civilization. . . .
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> . . . . . .
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> Freedom of conscience and freedom to practice any religion are expressly guaranteed to all subjects of the signatory powers. . . . In this spirit, missionaries will have the right to enter, circulate and reside on the African territory, with the opportunity to establish themselves there in order to pursue religious work.

France, therefore, could not enforce discriminatory measures against non-French-speaking missionaries, much less bar missionary work altogether. Hence, the apparently illogical course adopted by this most actively anti-clerical Third Republic: encouraging the establishment of French Catholic missions in the Congo as the most economical way to spread the French language and civilization. But this was a makeshift solution reluctantly accepted by individual officials over the objections of others. This explains the precarious character of the moral and financial support, when granted, as well as the countless difficulties put in the French missionaries' way during the period of uneasy association between Church and State in the Congo. Sources quoted below amply support this assertion.

Jules Ferry, for one, did not hesitate to give 10,000 francs to young Father Augouard, in 1884, out of secret funds.[12] As Father Augouard reported later, Jules Ferry granted the subsidy because he knew that it was a sound investment, bringing the natives closer to

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12. Jehan de Witte, Un explorateur et un apôtre du Congo français, Mgr. Augouard--Vicaire Apostolique du Congo français; sa vie--ses notes de voyage et sa correspondance (Paris: Emile-Paul, 1924), p. 31.

France by teaching them the French language.[13] From 1885 to 1900, a subsidy of 2000 francs (and up to 4000 francs) per school was granted to the Catholic missionaries out of the local French Congo budget. In an official letter (dated January 11) to Bishop Carrie of Pointe-Noire (Loango), de Brazza, then Commissioner General, stated:

> . . . . I am granting you for the year 1888 a subsidy of 2000 francs in favor of your establishment of Saint Joseph of Linzolo. Similar action will be taken for any new foundation of this type where your efforts will be utilized for the purpose of educating native children.[14]

At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was granting Father Augouard 7500 francs for the establishment of schools in the region north of Brazzaville. This, of course, was very inadequate to meet the needs. Father Augouard, in a letter dated February 14, 1888, thanking the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the grant, requested 20,000 francs. To this letter was attached a recommendation written by the local administrator in support of the request. After expressing satisfaction for the results obtained by the missionaries, the administrator added:

> . . . the conduct of the missionaries in the area under my jurisdiction has always been one of deference to authority and to the highest degree respectful of our institutions.[15]

Here, the administrator's reference to the state-clergy controversy is obvious and so is his desire to protect himself against anti-clerical attacks. Augouard's request was transmitted to the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies, which passed it on to Monsieur de Brazza, etc. Two years later, the records still showed no action taken.

The Catholic missionaries were also supported financially by the State in various other ways, particularly by the grant of a limited number of free ship passages to and from the Congo.[16] But they were not successful in their many requests for customs duty exemption. One missionary, in a letter to de Brazza (June 18, 1884), remarked that

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13. Mgr. Augouard, in a letter dated September 16, 1919, addressed to the Minister of Colonies. A copy of the letter is in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Brazzaville.

14. This letter is part of a collection of "Documents et Témoignages" made available to the author by Bishop Fauret, Pointe-Noire.

15. Archives, ex-Ministry of Overseas France, Gabon-Congo File.

16. Ibid.

civil servants were not subject to customs duty. "Well," he suggested, "let us be considered as functionaries, free and unpaid functionaries, voluntarily dedicated to the spreading of the language and influence of France."[17] Such requests were turned down.

Finally, the following incident will not only reveal de Brazza's attitude toward the missionaries, but will illustrate one of the deeper objections of the French secularists to the methods of the missionaries. Bishop Augouard had requested government help toward the purchase of a second steam-powered riverboat. De Brazza turned down the request and defended his position in a letter to the Ministry of Colonies (January 19, 1895):

> This new steamboat is specially destined for use in the distant interior for the purpose of purchasing slaves, a system methodically applied by the missionaries. The Administration cannot lend its support to an enterprise apparently so lofty but whose very principle is questionable. The purchase of children whom the missionaries obtain from their owners and take away at once cannot resemble a liberation in the eyes of the natives as well as in those of the children themselves. Their simple minds only see in it a change of masters and not a change in condition. The fact that the humanitarian purpose escapes their understanding and that they see in such transactions a slave trade carried out under the sponsorship of French authority present difficulties which call for reservations. Indeed, it prevents the populations with whom we come into contact from grasping the fertile concept of human liberty which it is our duty to communicate to them as a seed for future moral rehabilitation.[18]

The French Catholic missionaries retained their monopoly in the fields of education until 1905 with one exception: de Brazza's unsuccessful attempt at using the services of Moslem Algerians as teachers in the Sangha River area. Always a diplomat and a pacifist, de Brazza had conceived this plan as a peaceful way to conquer the Islamized populations of the northern regions. He did succeed in bringing four teachers and their families, but two of them soon went back to Algeria, one was drowned when de Brazza's riverboat capsized, and the fourth one's fate is unreported. Besides, de Brazza had lost the government's support for his venture: military expeditions were organized and de Brazza himself was recalled. Bishop Augouard, naturally, fought the scheme vigorously on two grounds: the patriotic and the religious. Politically, de Brazza was mistaken, Augouard claimed, in thinking that Moslem teachers would work in the true interests of France; religiously, Islam was to be fought, not encouraged.

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17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

Catholic Mission Policy. The position of the Roman Catholic Church regarding education is widely known, having been stated by numerous authors, particularly in two encyclical letters, "Christian Education of Youth" and "Mother and Teacher." It will not be treated here. Although no bishop or teaching order would violate basic Catholic doctrine, Catholic education policy is expected to vary somewhat according to the conditions which prevail wherever basic policy is applied, and to the best judgment of the local Church authority concerned. In the Congo, Catholic educational work was one aspect of the missionary enterprise placed under the immediate control of a single religious order, the "Pères du Saint-Esprit" (Fathers of the Holy Ghost). Catholic mission educational policies will therefore be those of the "Père du Saint-Esprit," in general, and, in particular, those of two men: A. Carrie, Bishop of Loango (Pointe-Noire), and P. Augouard, Bishop of Brazzaville.

Personal correspondence, official and semi-official reports written by Carrie, Augouard, and their subordinates are rich sources of data related to the aims, methods, and results of early Catholic mission education in the Congo. These sources will be exploited below. The most comprehensive source, however, although it contains only "formal" statements, is a small brochure published in 1890 entitled "Coutumier de l'Oeuvre des Enfants" (Handbook of the Children's Society).[19] This brochure may not have been written by Bishop Carrie, but he allowed the publication to have his Imprimatur and ordered that its suggestions be followed closely in all the schools of his diocese.

The "Coutumier" quotes the directives set by the Founder of the Order, Father Lieberman:

> In uncivilized countries, they [the missionaries] will adapt themselves to the rough state of the men to whom they wish to bring the word of salvation. They will teach them the holy truths of Religion through simple catechistic lessons adapted to the quality of their intelligence. They will not be content with the teaching of divine law, but they will also teach them how to live in society, in accordance with human decency. They will carefully avoid upsetting these habits (so long as they are not contrary to Divine Law) for the purpose of making them conform to a European way of life. They will only seek to perfect them in their way of life and their ordinary habits.
>
> They will also teach them what might contribute to bring them material welfare, being very careful in this area not to

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19. A rare copy of the brochure is kept in the Archives of the Diocese of Pointe-Noire. It was made available to the writer through the kindness of His Grace, Bishop J. Fauret.

> give them knowledge of things which might harm their souls or destroy the simple ways in which one must strive to maintain them.20

Similarities and differences already appear between the aims of French educational policy and those of the Catholic missions: assimilation is a common denominator. Both the French colonialists and the missions sharply restrict this principle to religious and moral areas of behavior. Both the French colonialists and the missions take for granted the backwardness of the native populations and the low level of their intelligence, but opinions differ as to the areas and the degrees of change which "civilization" should bring about. These differences will become more explicit as the missions' specific educational objectives are identified.

In accordance with the preceding directives, the "Coutumier" sets the aims of Catholic mission education in the Congo:

> The aim . . . is to give to all children a Christian education truly adapted to African society and appropriate to the resources of the country.
>
> The present needs of African society in the French Congo are those of any society which rests on solid bases, that is, education and hard work.
>
> Religious instruction will be firmly and fundamentally Christian, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, for this is the only one which contains the true, unshakable, basic principles of societies.
>
> Education, elementary at first, will gradually embrace all necessary human knowledge, then will extend if possible, to useful notions and to those enjoyed by civilized men. It will be primarily practical, that is, adapted to the needs, the capabilities, and the talents of these peoples.

The brochure claims that the present resources of Congo society, as such, are almost nil, not because of a lack of agricultural or industrial resources, but because of the inactivity of its inhabitants. Hence:

> . . . the absolute necessity to devote a large part of the time to work, and to make it an essential element of education and instruction.

But a theme always recurs: the Mission's educational accomplishments must be African in substance as well as in outward appearance

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20. Father Lieberman, quoted in "Coutumier de l'Oeuvre des Enfants" (Loango: Imprimerie de la Mission, 1890).

(". . . oeuvre africaine et pour le fond et pour la forme"). Therefore, due consideration had to be given to three factors:

1) The level of civilization of the populations:

> It is probable that many years, not to say centuries, will be required before they reach the level of education, courtesy and civilization which characterize the European races. One may even fear that they will never reach that level. One must not seek to bring them up at once to the height of our civilization. . . . But, little by little, we must develop their still savage intelligence, fortify their weak and wavering will. . . .
>
> In general, the intellectual potential of these peoples is below that of the civilized peoples, and, naturally, it must be so. Therefore our European intellectual training is generally too high and too difficult for the Blacks.
>
> They need an education which will develop their intellectual powers without straining them . . . too much knowledge to acquire may annihilate the intellectual faculties of the Black, drive him to insanity or to death, or, finally, fill him with intolerable pride.

2) The local customs:

> In order to preserve what may be good or indifferent in them, and to bring them our qualities, but not our defects.
>
> For Africa is not and never will be Europe: its climate and its products will never be the same as ours; the Black race will never be the White race, hence housing, clothing, goods, and training cannot be the same. The qualities and the defects of the Blacks are not the same as those of the Whites. Therefore the Whites and the Blacks must not be led in the same manner, nor given the same education.

3) The products and the resources of the country:

> It is obvious that the Africans must rely on local resources for lodging, clothing and goods. That is why we consider it the Missionaries' sacred duty to disillusion the poor Blacks and to make them understand that happiness for them will be found by remaining humbly in the condition where God has brought them to the world, without trying to get out of it for pride or sensuality. If one may be permitted to improve their condition it should not be changed in such a way that the resources of their country will not satisfy their food, clothing, and housing needs.

This third consideration reveals a conflict between the economic aspects of French colonial aims in the Congo and the aims the missions intended to pursue through education: the Congolese were considered as prospective buyers of French manufactured goods by colonial interests,

while the missionaries sought to keep the Congolese away from the same goods. Such a conflict undoubtedly accounts for some of the mutual distrust which characterized the relations between the missionaries and the French businessmen established in the colony. On the other hand, no official French policy statement has been found that condemns the missionaries' aims in this area. Indeed, there is no evidence that official French educational policy was ever deliberately oriented toward the transformation of the Congolese into buyers of French manufactured goods.

Such were the aims of education in the schools of the Vicariate of Loango which covered the whole southwest portion of the Congo, from the Atlantic Ocean to a few miles west of Brazzaville. In 1890, Father Augouard became Bishop of the Upper Congo (from Brazzaville to Bangui), with residence in Brazzaville. He and Bishop Carrie had very different personalities; their policies and practices also differed markedly. Bishop Carrie was primarily a pastor and an educator;[21] Bishop Augouard, as a priest, had to play the same roles, but in him the French patriot,[22] the empire-builder and the administrator tended to take precedence. He fully deserves the title of co-founder of the Congo colony: he made a first trip to Stanley-Pool in 1881; he returned in 1883 to establish the first school in the country (at Linzolo, 27 kilometers southwest of the Pool); and he spent forty-four years of his life in the Congo.

Bishop Augouard did not issue educational directives to his missionaries in the form of Bishop Carrie's "Coutumier." The specific aims of his educational effort are revealed mostly in his correspondence with French Government officials. Although these facts are an indication of his main preoccupations, they tend to present an unbalanced account of his position with regard to Congolese education: the spreading of French influence and language seems to assume at least as much importance as religious conversion. This is explained by the fact that Bishop Augouard was constantly defending the Missions' position--indeed, justifying their very existence or requesting moral and financial support for their schools.

On one of the first of such occasions, in his letter of February 14, 1888, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Augouard declared: "We work

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21. The writer is deeply indebted to Father Delcourt of the Diocese of Pointe-Noire for details concerning the life of Bishop Carrie. Father Delcourt's biography of Bishop Carrie is to be published soon.

22. His German colleagues accused him of being a Frenchman first and a priest second. Documents in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Brazzaville support this point.

for civilization and for France. . . ." Again, in a letter to the same official, dated July 16, 1890,[23] he repeated:

> I hope the Government of the Republic will help us in these French and humanitarian enterprises, as it has done in the past through the intermediary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, for we are engaged in a struggle against British, German, and Belgian influence which seeks to become dominant in the Congo.

These patriotic arguments were not used merely to obtain subsidies from the French Government. There is no doubt as to the sincerity of his patriotism, but this does not mean that he was a mere tool of the French Government. On the contrary, he was an outspoken critic of the Government's policies at home and in the Congo. For Bishop Augouard's France was that of Saint Louis and Joan of Arc; the government officials' France was that of Voltaire, Diderot, and Robespierre. There is no doubt that in spite of the raging anti-clericalism of the time, Bishop Augouard strongly influenced "the orientation of native policy."[24]

Apart from the patriotic sentiments which to some extent inspired Bishop Augouard's educative action, fundamental agreement existed between him and Bishop Carrie as to the specific role of the mission schools. His general position in this respect is best stated in a report that he addressed shortly before the end of his career to the French Minister of Colonies:

> . . . the education of the native must be re-oriented from the beginning ["reprise par la base"], we must teach him our language, moralize him through labor, give him practical encouragement in his agricultural enterprise, and treat him always with fatherly kindness.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I have always sought to free the poor Blacks from the state of degradation in which they lived in the past; but I have carefully avoided bringing them up to the European level, since this would be a misfortune for them and a calamity for Society. The day a Black man will think of himself as a "Gentleman," he will refuse to do anything, and since he will wish to live as the equal of the Whites, he will necessarily become an exploiter and a thief.[25]

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23. Letters in the Archives of the ex-Ministry of Overseas France, Paris: Gabon-Congo File.

24. Hardy, op. cit., p. 152.

25. Typewritten copy of the original in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Brazzaville.

If Bishop Augouard's general attitude toward the Congolese and their culture did not differ essentially from that of Bishop Carrie, we find in him less concern with the idea that as little change as possible should be introduced in the natives' way of life. In other words, his policy was more frankly assimilative, although he set a sharp limit to the desirable degree of change. However, the schools under his authority were organized in a way closely similar to those of the diocese of Loango. But, exactly how were the Catholic mission schools of this period administered? What subjects were taught? By whom? With how much success? Bishop Carrie's "Coutumier" will provide some of the answers.

Early Catholic Mission Schools in Operation. A) School Organization: Bishop Carrie considered the social hierarchy of the time as ordained by Divine Providence and, consequently, proceeded to devise a school system which would prepare Congolese children to occupy their pre-ordained position in the civilized Christian society which he envisaged for the Congo.

Since agriculture, and, in general, the exploitation of natural resources, is the most important source of material wealth, most of the Congolese youth were destined to become farmers. Education for better agriculture and animal husbandry was therefore to be the primary concern of Catholic mission schools aside from the top priority accorded religious instruction.

Next in importance, the arts and trades were thought to be most useful to society while also providing for the physical and moral health of the workers.

In addition to preparing Africans for the occupational areas indicated above, missionaries were particularly responsible for detecting and cultivating vocations to the religious life, as this concern was most directly related to the success of evangelization. Considered as religious vocations were those of priests (secular and regular), brothers and nuns, catechists and teachers. It should be noted that no provision was made for occupations of intermediate skill, such as clerks, interpreters, managers, etc. These were indeed supplied, but only as by-products of the elite training system.

Corresponding to the preceding occupational hierarchy, appropriate educational institutions were created: at Loango, a Higher Seminary (Theological College), Lower Seminary (Secondary School), a Noviciate for native brothers, a Normal School for catechists and teachers, a primary school, and, finally, a few shops for carpentry, woodworking, printing and binding, sewing and shoe repair shop, etc. Because of the missions' limited resources, training was provided only for those trades which the missions needed in their building and expansion program. Other village centers of some importance were also endowed with a

primary school under the direct supervision of a missionary. In addition, the same missionary had supervisory responsibility for a number of "rural schools" established within an area surrounding each mission center and put under the direct care of native catechists or teachers. Agricultural training was provided at all centers in connection with the cultivation of gardens and orchards which also served as sources of food and income for the missions.

The occupational hierarchy was one of the two basic classification principles of the components of the school system. The other was the origin of the pupils. At the top of the scale stood the white children who were admitted by exception, since the organization was primarily set up to serve Africans. White children were to be kept apart if their number became large enough. Next came the mulattoes--mostly illegitimate children--who were required to pay fees, if possible. These were believed to have a more "delicate constitution," and consequently were to be excused from hard work in the fields and assigned to lighter chores in the gardens or orchards in view of their future occupation: managers of trading stations, head servants, etc. Because of their future social positions, the mulattoes were to be separated as much as possible from the Africans and taught the white man's manners since they were destined to a place closer to the white man than to the black Africans. Finally, their education was to be pursued a little further than that of the Africans: they were to learn how to read, write, and perform accurately the four arithmetic operations.

The black Africans were to constitute numerically the most important category. They were divided into three subcategories: 1) The sons of chiefs, who, because of their position, were destined to become "the propagandists and supporters of religion in their country." Since they were to become leaders, it was proper to appoint them heads of sections. Their formal education and work schedule were to be similar to those of the mulattoes: tending flower gardens, attending the fathers' table--all as a way to introduce them to the white man's manners and customs. In no case were they to be treated as common children, particularly not as slaves. 2) The free children, the most numerous among the subcategories, were destined to form the "middle class" of the future African society. They were to be introduced slowly to the school routine so as not to discourage them. Religious vocations were to be cultivated among them with particular care. Once their education was completed, they were to be married and established in "Christian Villages." Slave girls redeemed and educated by the mission were to be their main source of wives. The girls' original purchase price was to be repaid by the husbands to the mission. 3) The slaves redeemed by the missions were to be considered as free individuals over whom the mission had special rights and duties. They were to be as numerous as finances would allow. They were preferably chosen between the ages of eight and twelve. They had to be watched closely to prevent escapes, and a reward in the form of a few pieces of cloth and/or a gallon of palm wine was offered to those who brought

them back in case they did escape. They were to remain at the mission until they could be married (from the pool of freed slave girls) and established in "Christian Villages." They were to be taught a trade.

In addition to this formal school system, two extracurricular organizations were created: 1) The Society of Saint Isidore, a work group for those who could not obtain good grades in class. Work in the fields or in the shops enabled them to earn their food and lodging plus a small salary. 2) A savings fund, where gifts, cash rewards, proceeds of individual plantations, etc., could be deposited for future use in settling down after departure from the mission. The fund also had an educative value which was not overlooked.

The rules of organization just outlined were to be strictly followed. The "Coutumier" made it each director's responsibility to see to it that the established order was respected.

B) Financial resources: The mission school finances were to be separated from those of the mission as such. The means of support consisted mainly of the subsidies of the Society of Holy Childhood, gifts from various sources, the small and somewhat irregular Government subsidy, and the proceeds of the schools' work and industry. It was hoped that each school would become self-sufficient. Hence, schools were to be established where good agricultural resources existed; no child was to be admitted before the age of eight; no "parasites" were to be tolerated; everyone was to live off local products; and Divine Providence was to make up for the deficits.

C) Moral training: The relevant principles were borrowed from the Catechism and from the civic code. The following vices were to be fought "all out": avarice, lust, drunkenness, laziness, and thieving. The best way to fight these vices was to enforce the practice of the opposite virtues. A few notes on the moral "qualities" of Africans were added: ". . . the white man's superiority, when he recognizes it, irritates him; his vanity is so great that it is often silly and ridiculous."[26] "One must emphasize the necessity of work."[27] And, ". . . the Black, selfish by nature, must be trained to work for his neighbor, for his family, for society . . . , and particularly for the support of the Church and its Clergy."[28]

D) Intellectual training: The intelligence of the children had to be developed ". . . for some among them will certainly be capable

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26. "Coutumier," op. cit., p. 45.

27. Ibid., p. 46.

28. Ibid., p. 48.

of undertaking secondary school studies, and they will be encouraged in this with all the zeal required by the task of recruiting a native clergy."

In general, all the useful knowledge which the Africans were capable of absorbing was to be included in the school program. But it was believed that they could not, and should not, learn everything that was taught in Europe. Therefore, adaptation was necessary in programs and methods. At first, reading, writing, and arithmetic, then grammar, "Holy History," and geography. At a higher level, or at the Normal School level, would be added French history, letter-writing principles, bookkeeping, arithmetic, drawing, applied geometry, physics, and agriculture. Fluent reading in French, Latin, and Fiote (Loango vernacular) was mandatory at the Normal School level.

At the Lower Seminary level, the program included four years of Latin, selected from the works of Christian authors and from those of pagan authors in carefully expurgated versions. This was followed by rhetorical studies and by one year of philosophy. During the last three years, geometry, physics and chemistry could be added if considered useful.

At the Higher Seminary level, five years of theological studies were prescribed. The program was to be identical to that adopted in French seminaries: "An uneducated priest will be despised by the Europeans and of little use to the natives."

Methods were to be of the "practical" types, that is, oriented toward the practical aspects of knowledge. The methods prescribed were those developed in France by the Christian Brethren, modified to suit the nature of the work and the difference in climate and people. Finally, the "Coutumier" emphasized the need for continuity in methods in spite of changes in staff: ". . . in each Mission, one system, one teaching method." All children were expected to attend the primary section of the school and to leave it for the secondary section or for the Society of Saint Isidore. As a rule they were to remain until the age of 15 or 16.

E) Teaching staff: As noted above, a European missionary was in charge of central mission schools. But this responsibility was only part of his duties. As much as possible his teaching burden was shared by native catechists and teachers previously trained at the missions. The teachers were even classified into three categories according to the subjects they were able to teach: 1) reading and writing; 2) the first subjects plus grammar and arithmetic; 3) the four first subjects, plus history and geography. In the "satellite" rural schools, catechists were able to teach little more than the catechism (by rote) and the rudiments of the French or the vernacular languages.

The missions' school system as described in the "Coutumier" was the ideal one. It most probably never existed in reality. The numerous

categories and sections just described required a large number of pupils in order to operate efficiently. School attendance, however, remained low for many years. At the Loango School, for instance, in 1892, there were only 225 pupils (free children and former slaves) in three sections: primary, secondary, and vocational.[29] The same situation obtained in the Brazzaville area.

F) Girls' education: French nuns were brought to the Congo in 1886. They took special responsibility for the education of girls obtained mostly through "purchase." The training the nuns offered them was strictly practical and suited to the role the girls were intended to play: that of wives of mission-educated young men. At Linzolo, near Brazzaville, an African widow was employed as matron of a boarding school for girls as early as 1889. But, to the missionaries, the results of girls' education were sometimes unexpected and, to say the least, very disappointing: the girls frequently went to work as domestic servants in the houses of unmarried Europeans and became their African mistresses. Indeed, to this day, the term "ménagère," which literally means "housewife" or "charwoman," retains an ambiguous meaning since it was also used to designate the "concubine" of a white man. The missionaries naturally fought this practice, but with only relative success. Such situations undoubtedly dampened the missions' enthusiasm for the education of girls.[30]

G) General results: It is obvious that no attempt can be made to measure the impact of Catholic mission education during the period under consideration. Even much more limited objectives cannot be attained simply because records are lacking. Indeed, measuring instruments of known reliability did not even exist at the time. It is therefore understood that the following data have no more than indicative value in estimating the results of early Catholic mission education in the Congo.

The only official school statistics available for this period are contained in a table describing the "State of Primary Education" in the French Congo in 1898.[31] Out of 38 mission stations listed in the document, six stations lie within the present Congo territory: Loango, Bouanza, Linzolo, Brazzaville, Lékéti, and Liranga. In these centers there was a total of 12 schools attended by 705 pupils (555 boys and

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29. From an interview with Father Delcourt.

30. De Witte, op. cit., quoting Bishop Augouard's 1920 report to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome.

31. "Situation de l'Enseignement Primarie en 1898," statistics available from the Archives of the ex-Ministry of Overseas France, Gabon-Congo file.

150 girls). The staff consisted of 11 European missionaries, four Congolese (men), and six French nuns. Not included in the official statistics were perhaps a score of "rural schools" with 15 to 20 pupils in irregular attendance at each school.[32] These did not qualify as primary schools and did not receive any government subsidies. They were outposts served by catechists who taught religion first, but managed to teach a little French.

The reports and correspondence of Bishops Carrie and Augouard constitute an additional source of statistical information. The difficulty here lies in the fact that the diocesan boundaries did not correspond exactly to the present territorial limits of the Congo. The diocese of Loango (Pointe-Noire) administered stations in what is today Portuguese Cabinda, and stretched east as far as Linzolo, 27 kilometers from Brazzaville. The diocese of the Upper Congo covered an area stretching from Brazzaville to Banghi and beyond, in what is today's Central African Republic. Since reports and letters often gave only total figures and neglected to specify the location of the schools, it is impossible to reconstruct an accurate, year-by-year picture of the quantitative importance of the mission schools. However, careful scrutiny and cross-checking of available documents can give an indication of the order of magnitude involved:[33] in 1888, 2 schools, 60 boys; 1889: 5 boys' schools with a total of 205 boys and one girls' school with 45 girls; 1894: 7 boys' schools with 750 boys and 2 girls' schools with 120 girls; 1899: ten boys' schools and two girls' schools with a total of 1000 students; 1904: 1200 to 1500 students. Again, these figures do not include the "rural schools."

Regarding the nature of these schools little is known. However, in reports to government officials, both Bishop Carrie and Bishop Augouard make frequent claims regarding the role mission schools played in the training of native manpower:

> . . . we have always sought to train our pupils in agricultural and trades skills useful to the country. Thus, we have supplied to the colony printers, book-binders, masons, carpenters, tailors, shoe-repairmen, gardeners, etc.
>
> In addition, our schools have produced a rather large number of young men who have entered careers in education, administration, commerce, industry, etc.[34]

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32. From an interview with Father Delcourt.

33. Figures reported here are based mainly on a report sent by Bishop Carrie to the Administrator of Loango, December 12, 1899. The report is to be found in "Documents et Témoignages," a collection kept in the Archives of the Diocese of Pointe-Noire.

34. Ibid.

On numerous occasions, Bishop Carrie repeated his complaints that the pupils lacked perseverance, that their parents were unwilling to support the schools, and that civil authorities failed to give the school adequate moral support. He contended that word from the Government would have caused the village chiefs to send children to school and to keep them there long enough for education to have a lasting effect.

Finally, a fair and well-informed judgment of the educational accomplishments of the Catholic mission schools was expressed by Félicien Challaye, a Protestant member of the de Brazza investigative mission of 1905. His special assignment was to appraise education in the Congo:

> The State has done nothing to improve the intellectual and moral life of the natives. The only schools where the Blacks receive any sort of education and instruction in the French language belong to the Catholic and the Protestant missions. This meritorious effort is altogether insufficient for the whole of the country. Missionary action does not present the same dangers in the Congo as in countries of ancient civilization (such as our Indo-China): here the natives have no religions of their own, and they are too intellectually inferior ever to develop any fanaticism; their so-called conversion does not distinguish nor set them apart from the non-converted natives. The State, it seems to me, finds no interests whatsoever in brutally suppressing the mission, not even in slyly undermining their influence. But, while praising the missions for undertaking educational work neglected by the State, one must recognize that their teaching is insufficient in quantity (too few schools, too few pupils) and in quality--except in a few cases.[35]

This indictment of the French Government and reserved accolade to the missions adequately sums up the history of education in the Congo from 1883 to 1905.

The Incubation Period: 1905-1937

It has already been shown that the Metropole was not satisfied with the educational services being provided exclusively by the Roman Catholic missions. In return for permission to teach and for financial support granted to the missions, the least the Administration expected was the right of inspection. During the preceding period the Administration claimed and exercised this right at irregular intervals. But

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35. Félicien Challaye, "Le Congo Français," Cahiers de la Quinzaine, Série 7, Cahier 12 (1906), p. 93.

this was, and has remained to this day, a major source of friction between the missions and the Government. Bishop Augouard, for instance, was vigorously opposed to government inspection, although he could hardly oppose it on principle. Instead, he pointed to the fact that while the government paid only a small fraction of the cost of school operation, it collected double and triple the amount of subsidy from the missions in customs duties.[36] He even talked of refusing the subsidy on the grounds that it meant selling his freedom for very little in return.[37]

In fact, missionary opposition to the government inspection of schools is easily understandable in the context of the anti-clerical battle raging in France at that time. The missionaries did not believe in the good faith of the local administrators and feared their presumably biased reports. It was not unreasonable to assume that the administrators who most zealously insisted on inspection were precisely those least favorable to missionary activity.

Sooner or later, France had to be directly involved in Congolese education. In 1900, Pierre Foncin, Inspector General of Public Instruction, wrote a detailed outline of the role he thought France had to play in colonial education.[38] Since this is the earliest document of its kind, it will be summarized here:

1) The adoption of the basic principle that education is the concern of the State ("une affaire d'état"); the appointment of a Director of Education in the Ministry of Colonies and of an Education Officer in each colony.

2) The appointment of top-level personnel by the Minister on the basis of qualifications similar to those required for service in France, supplemented by studies at the Colonial School in Paris; local governors would appoint the middle and lower level personnel.

3) A financial organization putting the responsibility on each colony to foresee an annual budget supplemented by a contribution from

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36. The mission imported food and cloth for direct use or as "currency" in buying local products. In either case, they claimed that this entitled them to special customs privileges. The Administration always refused on the grounds that this would have constituted "preferential treatment" (not allowed by the Act of Berlin) and unfair competition for local French merchants who were subjected to customs.

37. See text of a speech entitled "Le Patriotisme de Mg. Augouard" and kept in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Brazzaville.

38. Pierre Foncin, "De l'Enseignement aux Colonies, l'Année Coloniale" (Paris: Librairie Charles Tallandier, 1900).

the Metropole, which would serve to "reaffirm the rights of the State and to remind it of its obligation through annual debates in the Chamber of Deputies."

4) The secularization of education, already underway, was to be encouraged since the French settlers themselves were entitled to it. However, especially in the case of native education, missionary help was not to be refused. On this subject Foncin recommended the adoption of Gallieni's[39] policy: a) compulsory teaching of French in all schools; b) equal protection to schools of all denominations; c) establishment of secular "official" schools, to serve as models; d) courteous but diligent and effective supervision of all schools.

5) The adoption of the following educational structures, programs, and methods: a) the native masses were to learn "to speak everyday French, through practice, nothing more." Hence, create everywhere "language schools," for children and adults, run by native "moniteurs"; b) the most intelligent natives could be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, hygiene, etc., and a trade (therefore elementary and vocational education at the same time), in "main schools" run by European (French) teachers assisted by natives; c) a European-type education to a "very small élite" destined to "predetermined posts."

In conclusion Foncin declared:

> I believe that colonial education must be tailored for the colonies, diversified in accordance with the particular character of the colonies and even of the provinces within the larger colonies. I also consider that all colonial education must conform to the same spirit: clear, generous, practical, and national; that it must be regulated by a central organization and by local ones in close coordination with it; finally, that education administrators must enjoy, under the supervision of the Governor and the Minister, a large measure of autonomy commensurate with their responsibility.[40]

Soon after this recommendation, public education was formally organized in French West Africa (1903), and the other French colonies were to follow the West African model which may be considered as the "Charter of Education in the French colonies."[41]

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39. Gallieni was a French general, a distinguished colonial administrator, and a Cabinet Minister during World War I.

40. Foncin, op. cit.

41. Albert Dolmazon, "L'enseignement dans la Communauté," in Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France (Paris: Institut Pédagogique National and Société d'Editions de Dictionnaires et d'Encyclopédies, 1960), p. 486.

When de Brazza returned to the Congo on his last mission (1905), he was reportedly[42] prepared to study the possibility of secularizing education in the Congo. It is difficult to determine whether, at this point, the partisans of secularization only intended to discontinue public financial support, such as it was, of the mission schools; to add a public school system to the mission schools; or to ban the latter entirely and to replace them by "official" secular schools. Regarding a possible ban, Bishop Augouard intended to fight the attempt, armed with the provisions of the Act of Berlin. Regarding the replacement of the mission schools, he quickly pointed out that in his estimation the Colony would have to spend half a million francs a year in his diocese alone in order to provide the educational services which his mission provided at an annual cost to the government of 5950 francs in subsidy.[43]

Nevertheless, in 1904, Governor Gentil appointed a commission to study the establishment and control of public instruction in the Congo. At the commission's first meeting, two reports were presented, one praising the schools at Bangui and at Liranga (not inspected once in the last five years[44]), and the other, severely criticizing the rest of the mission schools. At the second meeting, Father J. Rémy, Bishop Augouard's assistant in charge of the mission schools and member of the Governor's commission, presented an important educational policy statement together with specific recommendations concerning educational development in the Congo.[45]

Father Rémy began by expressing the opinion that the question of control of public education in the Congo was irrelevant at this time since public education did not really exist. He suggested instead that the Government should seek first the means to spread education more widely through effective support of those who were actually engaged in this task, and thus prepare the groups for future systematic action. He suggested that the main preoccupation of education for the moment ought to be a ". . . general rise in the moral level of the natives, which should produce future generations more receptive toward civilizing action." He criticized an educational strategy which would aim at producing a few craftsmen and a few clerks and interpreters for the exclusive benefit of the colonial administration, while the rest of the

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42. Baron de Witte, op. cit., p. 334.

43. Ibid., p. 333.

44. Father Delcourt (interview).

45. Father J. Rémy, "Considérations Générales sur l'Etablissement et la Réglementation de l'Instruction Publique dans le Congo Française." Typewritten report in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Brazzaville.

population was ignored by both the government and the few educated natives. In order to avoid this mistake, Father Rémy offered concrete proposals similar to those made just before by Inspector General Foncin:

> Establishment of "schools of civilization" where children will learn not to fear, but to know authority, to respect and to like it. It is in this area that the Government can be most helpful to those who have already taken the initiative by forcing parents to send their children to these schools. After one or two years in contact with us, perhaps the child will not be able to say what is the Fatherland, or the Flag, but he will tell you that he is French; . . . the idea of Fatherland will grow in his heart before it can be expressed in words.

At that time, the Catholic missions were operating some fifteen government-aided schools. In addition, they had scores of "village schools" run by native "moniteurs" and visited periodically by French missionaries. Father Rémy was obviously trying to gain official recognition of this type of school for which the missions received no subsidy on the grounds that they were primarily concerned with religious indoctrination. But he went further and suggested that government administrators in isolated posts follow the missionaries' example and devote part of their time to such "civilization centers." It is reported[46] that Father Rémy then made the observation that "Not a single 'functionnaire' has ever given free education in the Congo."

If Father Rémy's recommendations had little effect on the development of public education in the Congo, his last remark apparently stirred the Governor General to action: he established an evening class in Brazzaville, appointed a French "functionnaire" to take charge of it, and granted him a small salary increase in compensation for his added duties. Such was the beginning of public education in the Congo. This happened in 1905. Three years later, another public school was opened at Loango. In connection with the opening of this school, Father Derouet, who subsequently became Bishop of Loango, reports that the Administration tried to recruit an ex-seminarian to take charge of it, but that the latter refused in order to avoid competition with the mission. Then, the Administration appointed a local prisoner in his place.[47]

Shortly thereafter M. Clémentel, the Minister for Colonies, issued a native policy statement, one of the first in which the policy of "association" was mentioned. Intended for immediate application in

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46. Father Delcourt (interview).

47. Father Derouet, Memorial de Loango, Vol. V (Private Record, 1912), p. 99.

Indo-China and Madagascar, this policy was not thought to be suitable yet for the Congo, since its population was still in its "infancy."[48] But Clémentel stated that it was a mistake to believe that

> . . . since he has no culture of his own, the African Black had to be directly oriented toward French culture. . . . What we must strive to give to these populations is a culture for which they are fitted, one which they might have attained, given favorable conditions (and the required energy). In other words, French rule must first create for them the conditions of security . . . direct their development . . . without ever shocking them . . . as far as the laws of civilization will allow. . . .[49]

Of course, no definition of this proposed "culture" was given, nor could one be given. Nevertheless, the Minister believed that public education would contribute to "its" development. He remarked that he had insisted that the concessionary companies establish, each in their own area, elementary schools which would serve the companies' own interests. No evidence has been found that any company took practical steps in this direction. In any case, whatever action Clémentel hoped that the companies would take, he proposed that public schools be established, at first in the most backward areas, where their development was to follow closely administrative penetration. "Instruction in these schools," he wrote, "[would] be mostly vocational and technical," with an important place reserved for the French language. Addressing the local governors, he said:

> You will have to decide whether it will be possible to train a more educated élite--eminently precious auxiliaries of our influence--through the establishment of a higher school where the sons of the principal chiefs could receive an education appropriate to the functions they will have to exercise. In addition to a more thorough knowledge of French, such an institution could offer them useful knowledge in the fields of industry and commerce and some idea of the geography and political organization of their country.[50]

As for the ways and means of establishing such institutions, the Minister left no doubt that each colony was expected to rely on its own resources. As he saw it:

> First of all, as our authority penetrates deeper in various regions, tax revenues will rise. The general development of

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48. M. Clémentel, Bulletin Officiel du Ministère des Colonies (Paris: Ministry of Colonies, 1906).

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

civilization will bring about an increase in economic activity, and an increase in tax revenues.[51]

In the Congo, over thirty years passed before this prediction began to be realized.

Introduction of Protestant Missions: 1909. In view of the open invitation implied in the Act of Berlin, some Protestant missions were bound, sooner or later, to try and pursue evangelical action in the Congo.

In 1881, the first Swedish missionary, a member of the Covenant Church Mission, arrived in the Belgian Congo to cooperate with the Livingstone Inland Mission. Five years later, the first Swedish Evangelical Mission was established south of the Congo River. It took this missionary group more than twenty years to move into French Congo territory.[52] Among the reasons for such a delay, one must certainly include the more or less open resistance of the Administration and of the Catholic missions. The following facts will support this assertion.

In a letter dated May 25, 1907, and marked "Confidential,"[53] the Lieutenant-Governor of the Congo (Dr. D. Cureau) informed Bishop Derouet (Bishop Carrie's successor) of certain facts the nature of which might encourage the coordination of the Catholic missions' action ". . . with the political action of the Colony." He mentioned that British and Swedish missionaries established in the Belgian Congo had requested permission to survey the possibilities of establishing missions in French-administered territory. The Lieutenant-Governor remarked that such religious activity came on the heels of ". . . dangerous commercial and political activity," but that he was bound by the Act of Berlin to grant the requested permission. He added: "Nothing prevents me from favoring missions which operate under the French flag." He appealed to Bishop Derouet's patriotism, and suggested that the latter send missionaries to establish posts at precisely the places in which the Protestants were interested. Finally, he hinted at the possibility that

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51. Ibid.

52. I am indebted to the Reverend Jaspart Kimpolo, President of the Congolese Evangelical Church, and to the Reverend Manne Lundgren, President of the ex-Swedish Evangelical Mission. Most of the information relative to Protestant missions in the Congo and reported here is based on verbal communications and unpublished material supplied me by these two Protestant leaders.

53. In "Documents et Témoignages," op. cit.

if the Commissioner General agreed, some special assistance funds might be appropriated out of the "political" budget.

In his reply (August 10), Bishop Derouet stated that the appeal answered "our most ardent wishes,"[54] but that financial help was "absolutely necessary" in view of the recent religious developments in France.[55] Finally, in a letter dated November 15, 1907, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed his regrets that Commissioner General Gentil could not grant any funds, and promised his moral support, since he saw in the work of the Catholic missions ". . . a moral counterbalance useful to our national interests."[56]

These incidents, of course, not only reveal some aspects of the Church-State relations in the Congo, but they suggest how the personalities involved, whether they represented the Church or the State, could combine their efforts, or work at cross-purposes, regardless of official policy.

At long last, the Protestant missions did succeed in gaining a foothold in the Congo, and their presence presented a problem for both the Administration and the Catholic Church, as later developments will show. For Congolese education, though, the arrival of Swedish missionaries could only be an encouraging development.

Aims of Protestant Education in the Congo. Pastor Manne Lundgren, a veteran of over forty years of Protestant missionary work in the Congo, describes in this way the aims of Protestant education:

1) Education is generally considered by the Evangelical Church as a humanitarian enterprise.

2) Training of missionary personnel is considered as an essential condition for educating the masses.

3) The education of the masses, as a humanitarian undertaking, is considered a good thing in itself and as a necessary step toward a Christian way of life.

4) Protestant education aims at communicating strong personal

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54. Ibid.

55. A reference to the law separating Church and State (1905) and the confiscation of Church property worth an estimated half a billion francs.

56. "Documents et Témoignages," op. cit.

convictions. As Protestants and as members of a non-authoritarian church founded on Christ's personal life, converted Congolese must seek to develop individual relations with Christ. Since most Congolese are not Protestants "by birth," each individual requires deep convictions, not a superficial varnish. Although education, and conversion, of the greatest possible number of people remains a desirable end, this end should not be pursued at the expense of quality.

Pastor Lundgren emphatically denies that the Swedish Evangelical Mission ever pursued political aims in the Congo and describes the Mission's policy in this respect as one of strict loyalty toward the local government. The records show no evidence of departure from this policy. However, Bishop Augouard, as a Roman Catholic priest and a French patriot, thought he had good reasons to suspect the motives of the Protestant missionaries. He constantly referred to them as "Lutheran Swedes," a phrase whose ambiguity well described the role he thought they played. In his mind, "Lutheran" implied both Protestant and German. In his 1919 report to the Minister for Colonies, he wrote:

> . . . before and during the war, Swedish Lutherans, whose German ties were no secret to anyone, had at their disposal enormous sums of money to use in spreading an influence certainly not favorable to France. There lies a very grave danger to which I call attention for the second time.[57]

The local administration, on the other hand, did not seem to take such charges very seriously. In principle, the anti-clerical position of many local administrators tended to make them more favorable to Protestant than to Catholic religious action. Indeed, as long as the Protestants used and taught the French language, the Administration generally kept good relations with them. Later, the Catholic missionaries even believed that they had cause to complain that the Administration preferred the Protestant school system over the Catholic one.

Early Protestant Education. As mentioned above, the Swedish Evangelical Mission was first established in the Belgian Congo, among tribes (Kongo) related to those across the river, in French territory. This fact has its importance because the missionary and educational organization of the mission was actually "transferred" from across the river. School organization and teaching procedures developed in the Belgian Congo were also adopted in the French territory. Since the Belgian authorities allowed teaching in the vernacular, the Protestant missionaries were first concerned with learning local languages. As

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57. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies, Paris, September, 1919. A copy of this letter is in the Archives, Archdiocese of Brazzaville.

early as 1888, a Swedish missionary-linguist, Nils Westlind, prepared a Ki-Kongo grammar which the Mission printed on the spot with a hand press.[58] This made possible the application of a well-known Protestant principle: a Christian must be able to read the Bible. Thus, a Ki-Kongo version of the Bible was available as early as 1905. Teaching in Ki-Kongo language became the basic tool of Protestant evangelical action in the Belgian Congo.

Upon moving to the French territory, however, the Protestants were faced with the necessity, not only of learning French themselves, but of revising their basic teaching methodology in accordance with the long-standing French school regulation regarding the use of the French language as the medium of instruction. But this regulation did not apply to strictly religious instruction which the Swedish Evangelical Mission continued to provide in Ki-Kongo dialect. Also, the Protestants realized from the start that the training of native religious instructors was a necessity: "Africa will never receive the Bible if not through Africans."[59] Some vocational training was also provided, particularly in woodworking and in masonry.

Hardly anything is known regarding the number of schools and pupils or the exact level of instruction existing in the early Protestant mission schools. It is obvious that more than religious instruction was offered, although neglect of the French language prevented these institutions from being recognized as "schools" by the local Administration.

In spite of its careful political neutrality, it can be stated that the mere presence of the Swedish Evangelical Mission introduced a "subversive" element in the French Congo: here was a group of Europeans who were not actively engaged in spreading French influence, language, and culture. This was bound to attract those among the Congolese who were not particularly happy with French rule. And the Protestant Church, less centralized and authoritarian, provided the Congolese with an opportunity to escape from the rigid control of both French Administration and Catholic authority. Finally, the Protestants' use of the Ki-Kongo dialect both in its spoken and written forms demonstrated some respect for at least one important element of African culture. It is not surprising that, subsequently, religious and political "nationalist" movements could be traced in part to the tolerant, if not the encouraging, attitude of the Protestant Missions.

Public Education Organized: 1911. Until 1907 not a single (French) lay teacher was employed full-time in a French Congo public

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58. Pastor Manne Lundgren (interview).

59. Nils Westlind, as quoted by Pastor Lundgren in the course of an interview.

school.[60] During that year, the first public school was created in Libreville, Gabon. In Brazzaville, a decree (August 15, 1902) created for the natives an agricultural apprenticeship "school" attached to the Experimental Garden ("Jardin d'essai"), and a second decree (January 20, 1905) created a vocational school for African natives. However, no subsequent report indicates that pupils were actually trained in either of these two "schools." There is no evidence either that the Circular of September 15, 1907, calling for the training of native teachers, was ever put into effect. These efforts, however, demonstrate once more the Administration's desire to provide practical, vocational training for the Congolese.

The creation of the "Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française," the French Equatorial African federation (January 15, 1910), brought about a reorganization of the general administrative services. This was followed, on April 4, 1911, by a decree organizing public education in A.E.F. Although this decree was not implemented until more than ten years later, it constituted the legal foundation of the Congo school system for the following 26 years.

This decree will be quoted at length here:

Title I, Article 1: Public education provided in A.E.F. consists of three levels: elementary primary, higher primary,[61] and vocational.

Article 2: Elementary Primary Education. Elementary primary education is given in district schools and urban schools. Elementary primary education includes the study of the French language, reading, writing, elementary arithmetic, and practical lessons bearing mainly on hygiene and agriculture. In the urban schools, teaching is done by the Director and includes the same program.

Article 3: Higher Primary Education. Higher primary education, offered in urban schools, includes: arithmetic; the metric system; short lessons on the contemporary history of France, the French colonies, and particularly the A.E.F. colonies', short lessons on geography and natural sciences applied to agriculture and hygiene; and lessons on the use of common medicines.

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60. Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, "Historique et Organisation Générale de l'Enseignement en A.E.F." (Paris: Agence Economique de l'A.E.F., 1931), p. 16.

61. The first and second levels are "primaire," as opposed to "secondaire" which, in France, was used only to designate education preparatory for university. This fundamental distinction has persisted until very recently in French education.

Article 4: Vocational Education. This type of instruction is given to children having completed their higher primary education under the responsibility of the Department of Public Works. It is intended to train masons, carpenters, woodworkers, blacksmiths and metal-workers.62

Title II contains four articles which assign responsibility for each type and level of schools: urban schools were to be directed by an "instituteur" with the title of Director. (Five of these were foreseen: the two in the Congo were in Brazzaville and in Loango.) District schools were put under the responsibility of the District Officer; they could eventually be turned into urban schools. Vocational schools (only one in the Congo--at Brazzaville) were to be directed by a technician ("agent technique") designated by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Title III allowed the eventual addition of special girls' sections to the urban schools, under the responsibility of female teachers. The girls' program of studies was to be the same as the boys', plus lessons on laundry, ironing, sewing, cooking, and general housework.

Finally, Title IV put the school system under the responsibility and supervision of the Lieutenant-Governor, whose duty it was to put the plan into operation.

On the same date, a second decree fixed the status of the teaching staff in the schools of the A.E.F. It included two interesting features: 1) teachers were to be selected from among accredited metropolitan teachers; 2) candidates had to hold French citizenship.63

Thus, the "Charter of Education" in A.E.F. seemed promising, although it failed to provide for adequate professional inspection.64 It remained little more than an organization "on paper" until 1925. It was ". . . a step toward the diffusion of the French language and of instruction."65 Its failure in practice was attributed to the natives' limited intellectual potential and to the lack of teachers.66

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62. Journal Officiel de L'A.E.F., May 15, 1911 (Decree signed in Paris by Merlin, April 4, 1911).

63. Ibid.

64. A decree dated March, 1913, did create a school inspectorate ". . . which never functioned" ("Historique et Organisation Générale," op. cit., p. 15).

65. Ibid., p. 16.

66. Ibid.

In fact, the lack of funds in the local budgets is no doubt at the root of the problem. The First World War also complicated personnel recruitment (for both the schools and the general administration), but this factor did not operate during the whole 1911-1925 period.

Mission Education Regulated: 1920-1925. In 1917, a decree dated October 19 attempted to regulate private (mission) education in the Congo.[67] The decree concerned only two points: 1) instructional material used in the schools was to be printed either in French or in an African language; 2) no "moniteur" could teach unless he was a French subject and spoke the French language or one of the local languages. One may surmise that this decree, issued during the war, was aimed particularly at the "non-French" missions, that is, the Swedish Evangelical Mission. In any case, it was an indication of what was coming: detailed regulations which would deal the Swedish Mission a particularly hard blow, although they would also inconvenience the Catholic missions.

It seems that Bishop Augouard had a significant role to play in this development. At least, close similarities can be detected between a special report[68] Bishop Augouard wrote to the French Minister of Colonies (at the latter's request) and the regulations which appeared some fifteen months later. This important document deserves treatment here.

In 1919, Bishop Augouard had already given over forty years of his life to the Congo. His opinion carried considerable weight in official circles. On this occasion, he took advantage of the Minister's invitation to express his opinion on a wide range of subjects. For example, he stated what were, in his opinion, the main reasons for the failure of the colonial enterprise in the Congo: 1) lack of funds; 2) lack of "follow-up" in ideas ("pas de suite dans les idées"); 3) too many abuses and bad examples; 4) administrative instability at the highest level--the governors did not have the time, the means, nor sometimes the will to build a solid colonial structure. He reminded the Minister that France could not evade her duties in the fields of health and education, duties which up to that time had been fulfilled almost exclusively by the missions. He recognized that the task was staggering, and, as in the past, he assured the government of the missions' cooperation. But he warned:

> A serious threat faces the Belgian and the French Congo today. The Colony, while paying homage to its valiant Allies, must guard against the encroachment to which it might soon fall victim.

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67. Ibid., p. 9.

68. Bishop Augouard, "Letter to the Minister of Colonies," Paris, September 16, 1919. A copy of this letter is to be found in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Brazzaville.

> Having gotten rid of the German peril, it must not fall under the domination of the British and the Americans who, under the guise of trade and even of religion, are beginning to invade the Congo.

In advance, Bishop Augouard answered the familiar objection that the Act of Berlin prevented France from discriminating against any religious group. "Besides," he asserted, "diplomats always find ways to interpret embarrassing texts to their advantage."

The role of the school in spreading French influence in the Congo was re-emphasized. The fact that the missions played a key role in this area was demonstrated by the financial support the Administration had given them since the time of Jules Ferry. But subsidies had been completely discontinued in 1910--"a tragic mistake." While Bishop Augouard recognized the competence and the devotion of the few lay teachers that the colony was beginning to employ, he thought that the ceaseless efforts of the missionaries, moved by Christian charity, deserved an important place in Congolese education. The two or three years of schooling most pupils received, he thought, was insufficient, and the Administration should try to persuade parents to leave their children in school longer.

On the subject of secondary education, Bishop Augouard held very definite ideas. After commenting on the fact that this type of education had reportedly been introduced in Senegal, he wrote:

> But the Congo is not ripe for such progress, and my forty-two years of experience have only confirmed my opinion. . . . This rule I lay down is not absolute. It will be useful sometimes to detect and to cultivate élite youths who will become useful auxiliaries for the Whites. But, generally, it is preferable for the time being to education the Blacks summarily and not to turn them into degree holders, of whom we already have too many in France. Later we shall consider the possibility of giving them an education which they are presently incapable of digesting.

Bishop Augouard attached much greater importance to vocational education. He claimed that if the Colony had consented to make some sacrifices at the beginning it would not have had to bring trained manpower at great expense from Senegal and the British colonies. Instead, the missions had been abandoned to their own meager resources, and even hampered on many occasions by administrative obstruction. Agriculture, he thought, was the Colony's greatest wealth. Developing it also provided the opportunity to communicate to the Congolese "love of work."

> Unfortunately, work, particularly work on the land, is considered dishonorable and reserved for women and slaves. A total social condition must be changed, and it is up to the missionaries to do it through example and persuasion.

Then followed an impressive list of crops the missions had introduced since their arrival.

In conclusion, Bishop Augouard, in agreement with de Brazza, saw no future for a large number of European settlers in the Congo. Instead, the Congolese should be encouraged to produce, at their own risks, and to sell their products to European traders at market prices. For these reasons:

> . . . we must rebuild the native's education from its foundations, teach him our language, moralize him through work, encourage him effectively in his agricultural enterprise, and, always, treat him with paternal kindness.

This report ended with a pledge of complete cooperation on the part of the Catholic missions and a hope that the above recommendations would be accepted and implemented.

Indeed, the decree signed by Governor General Augagneur on December 28, 1920[69] seems to have followed Bishop Augouard's advice in many respects, as the following excerpts will show:

> Article 1: No school for natives can be established anywhere within the A.E.F. territory without authorization from the Governor General. . . .
>
> Article 2: The authorization request for the opening of a school may be submitted either by an individual, or in the name of an association duly constituted in the Metropole in accordance with the laws of July 1, 1901 and of December 4, 1902.[70]
>
> Article 6: Any application to open a school by foreigners must be made in person by the applicant, signed in the presence of a representative of the Lieutenant-Governor, by the Director, and by the teachers of the school.
>
> Article 7: In private primary schools, French teachers will hold at least the "Breve Elémentaire" or a certificate of secondary education whose value will be appraised by the Governor General; foreign teachers will demonstrate knowledge of the French language and hold university degrees whose equivalence to French degrees

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69. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., January 1, 1921, p. 37.

70. Reference is made to the French laws establishing the conditions under which an association could be formed. Article 14 of the 1901 law denied the right to teach to any member of an unauthorized association. These laws were aimed particularly at religious congregations. Charles Aimond, Histoire Contemporaine (Paris: J. de Gigord, 1947), p. 297.

will be judged by the Governor General.

Article 9: In all schools opened in the name of an individual or of an association, any change in teaching staff will be communicated forthwith to the administrative authorities. No new teacher or "moniteur" will be posted in a school unless previously authorized, even if his assignment was approved before for another school.

Article 10: No school will be authorized unless instruction is given in the French language. Teaching of any other language is prohibited. Failure to comply with this regulation will entail immediate closing of the school.

Article 11: Textbooks used for instruction in any subject must receive prior authorization from the Administration.

Article 12: Pupils older than fourteen cannot be regarded as regular pupils of the schools.

Article 13: The representatives of the Governor General and of the Lieutenant Governor have free entry in the schools. . . .

Article 17: The Lieutenant Governor designates civil servants of the highest possible rank for inspection of schools.

Although these regulations applied to Catholic as well as to Protestant missions, it is obvious that they had much more severe consequences for the latter. Indeed, by a stroke of the pen, all existing Protestant schools were wiped out. This may have been the effect desired by the French authorities, but the new regulations did not aim to prevent future development of non-French mission schools; they only tried to make sure that any such development would serve the interests of France. Up to that time, both the Catholic and the Protestant missions had been offering religious instruction to the masses in local dialects. But, beyond this type of instruction, the Catholic missionaries who, except in rare cases, were also French, justified their use of the French language. The Swedish missionaries, however, in accordance with the system they applied in the ex-Belgian Congo, relied simply on local languages. The missionaries themselves had only a limited knowledge of French, and their catechists and "moniteurs" in most cases had none at all. Therefore, the 1920 regulations left the Protestants without teaching staff, textbooks, and familiar teaching methods. It was not until 1926 that three Protestant "moniteurs" were officially authorized to teach school.[71]

The new regulations also discriminated against the Protestant missions by insisting on possibly higher academic qualifications than

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71. Rev. Manne Lundgren, interview, Brazzaville (March, 1962).

those of the French missionaries. And, of course, the Governor General's own appraisal of degree equivalence provided opportunities for delaying action at the administrative level. But a clearer distinction was made between the two missionary groups by a second decree signed on the same day as the first:

> Article 1: Subsidies from the general budget of the A.E.F. and from local budgets may be granted to schools opened in the name of a Frenchman in accordance with the regulations of the 20th of December, 1920.
>
> Article 2: The form and the amount of these subsidies will be determined in each case by a decree of the Governor General in Council. . . .

Ten days later, a sum of 30,000 francs in subsidies was granted to Bishop Augouard.

Whatever subsequent effects these regulations may have had on the quality of instruction in the private schools, one of their immediate consequences must have been to deprive a large number of Congolese children of some education beyond religious instruction. Up to that time, no clear-cut line had been drawn by the missionaries between strictly religious instruction and schooling. Thus, in remote places, along with catechism taught in the vernacular, thousands of Congolese also received some instruction in French language, arithmetic, hygiene, etc. After 1920, this "bonus" could no longer be offered unless the whole course of instruction was also brought up to official standards, a rare development in view of the missions' limited resources.

General Stagnation: 1925-1936. While mission education was being regulated, some efforts were made to put in operation the school system formally organized in 1911. According to the official brochure "Historique et Organisation Générale,"[72] the period up to 1930 was marked by: the continuation of the previous policy regarding the diffusing of the French language; the frankly utilitarian trend in primary instruction, since the schools were expected to produce the trained manpower the Administration and private industry needed; an intensification of European teacher recruitment (21 teachers were appointed between 1926 and 1930); improvement in the organization, official status, and training of native personnel; creation of a regular "moniteur" service in 1926; the effective creation of a School Inspection Service to supervise public and private education (1928); the establishment of several examinations: a school certificate (1927), a school-leaving certificate (1927), and a "moniteur" diploma (1926 and 1929); and the

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72. Op. cit., pp. 17-18.

strengthening of vocational and agricultural programs through the use of apprenticeship contracts (1926 and 1928).

The educational structures put in operation were, generally, those prescribed by the 1911 regulations. But even the favorably biased "Historique . . ." points out their shortcomings. The village schools were used as a selection device for identification of the more promising students. Thus, children twelve years old and over were not admitted in spite of their theoretical right to education:

> . . . imperative budgetary reasons and the indifference of the great majority of our subjects make it impossible to multiply our schools and even make such an expansion correspond to no real need.[73]

Selectivity was a necessary consequence of limited educational opportunity. A large number of children aged eight to eleven were admitted to the first grade. After only a year, most of these children were returned to their families, and the authorities hoped that the children would retain some knowledge of French, that reintegration in their old environment would still be easy, and that these children would be better disposed toward the French. The others, particularly the sons of chiefs, were allowed to remain at school for two or three years, provided their progress justified it. At this point, the survivors were learning writing, reading, arithmetic, hygiene, and the metric system. They were ready to go on to one of the regional schools. Here, the Circular of May 8, 1925, sounds a warning:

> . . . . It is a serious matter, in a country of farmers, to take a child away from his natural calling, the land, and those who do it must accept responsibility for it.
>
> In admitting children to school, in teaching them principles and ideas which alienate them from their native environment, teachers have assumed the moral obligation to act toward their disciples as good fathers ["bons peres de famille"] and to guarantee them new means of subsistence consistent with their outlook.[74]

Regional schools were first set up in the capital of each colony, then in centers of secondary importance. Pupils admitted to these schools, mostly boarders, were already literate. In three years, the best of them were ready to enter the Higher Primary School at Brazzaville. Those who did not make the grade could easily find employment in the Administration or in the private sector of the economy. They had received further instruction in French grammar and composition,

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73. Ibid., p. 23.

74. Ibid., p. 26.

in physical and natural sciences, and in the history and geography of A.E.F., France, and her colonies.

The first higher primary school (in Brazzaville) was not yet established in 1930. The best pupils from all A.E.F. were to be admitted to it after passing an entrance examination. Its three-year course was not supposed to train students for specific vocations: its program was basically a continuation at a higher level of the programs of the village and regional schools.

Finally, the same May 8, 1925, Circular called on the Lieutenant-Governors ". . . to see to it that private education follow the patterns of the public schools." It added that ". . . private school pupils will be admitted in regional and higher public schools as long as they fulfill the conditions required of the public school pupils."[75] This provision, as well as the private school pupils' admission as candidates in official examinations, provided powerful incentives for private education to adjust its curricula and levels of studies to those of public education.

Teachers in A.E.F. schools were encouraged to abandon teaching methods which did not require the active participation of pupils. "Education for living" seemed especially appropriate in view of the frankly utilitarian aims of the French African schools. It was hoped that the necessary teaching materials could also be supplied to every school.

Textbooks were those in use at comparable levels in France (arithmetic, history, geography, sciences, and French language). Teachers were invited to adapt the textbooks to the "intellectual level of native children." Some texts prepared especially for French African schools were also used, and a start was made in preparing textbooks for A.E.F. schools. A "Guide des Moniteurs" was put in the hands of African teachers.

Vocational education received careful attention. It pursued a triple objective: to train manual workers (for wood, metal, bookbinding, basket weaving), agricultural workers, and assistants for the various administrative branches (clerks, bookkeepers, postal clerks, teaching "moniteurs," male nurses, etc.). Manual, agricultural, and administrative sections were added to certain schools in accordance with these aims. In view of the "stage of development of [the] natives," it was believed that vocational education should not be given in technical schools. Regular French employees of the Public Works Department were appointed to teach vocational courses.

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75. Ibid.

In accordance with stated policy, pupils trained in the trades section of the Brazzaville regional school were placed in suitable posts. The woodworkers even received a set of tools consisting of a plane, a rasp, a jack-plane, a saw, a hammer, pincers, and a meter stick--a total value of 200 francs.[76]

The economic development of A.E.F. was believed to depend on the adoption of modern methods of cultivation. The agricultural sections of regional schools were set up to train Africans in new agricultural methods. The best students were to become agricultural "moniteurs," while the others were expected to serve as models at the village level. An experimental garden was to be created near each school where food crops, European and local, would be grown. This was the case in Brazzaville. The Boko School, in addition, emphasized husbandry.

The administrative sections of the Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire schools produced 31 clerks, typists, male nurses, "moniteurs," and postal clerks during the 1929-30 school year out of a total of 104 for A.E.F.[77]

Although the financial resources allocated to public education from 1924 to 1930 increased by 380%, they represented a mere 1.4% of the total general and local budgets.[78] Table 1 will give a better idea of the stage of development of public education at this time.

TABLE 1

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE CONGO: 1929-30

Kind of School	Number	Classes	Teachers	"Moniteurs"	Enrollment (All male)
Urban & Vocational	3	13	8	8	567
Village Schools	17	25	1	24	959
Vocational Sections	1	1	0	2	27
Total	23	42	9	34	1553

Source: "Historique et Organisation Générale de l'Enseignement en A.E.F." (Paris: Agence Economique de l'A.E.F., 1931), p. 28.

76. Ibid., p. 55.

77. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

78. Ibid., p. 72.

According to the same source, the Catholic mission schools had 1,800 pupils and the Protestant, 400. Therefore a total of about 3750 Congolese were in school in 1930.

The information contained in the preceding pages is mostly drawn from the "Historique . . . ," a brochure sponsored by the A.E.F. government. Although it often points out the serious shortcomings of the Congo school system up to 1930, it is generally favorable to the Administration and very optimistic regarding the immediate future. To what extent was this optimism justified? Another official publication answers this question in unequivocal terms:

> To say the truth, up until the end of 1936, education has developed very slowly in A.E.F.: 67 schools, 130 classes, 7000[79] pupils, for a total school-age population of 500,000 children. Furthermore, these figures must be reduced in considerable proportion in order to give a true picture of education: many village schools were so mediocre that the children attending them were wasting their time completely. One cannot estimate that more than 3000 to 4000 pupils were profiting from their school experience.[80]

According to the same source, during the period 1930-1936, the total A.E.F. school budget increased by 50%; the number of European teachers increased from 30 to 38; and the number of African "moniteurs" increased from 85 to 125. Statistics for the Middle Congo are not given separately, but it can be assumed that the previous one to three ratio was maintained.

Mr. Davesne also suggested the causes of the mediocre condition of the schools:

1) The teachers were receiving no guidance in their daily task. The May 8, 1925, Circular had neglected to spell out specific programs, schedules, methods and staff responsibilities.

2) Left without precise directives, teachers could not always identify the pupils' needs nor adapt their methods. Frequent changes in personnel made impossible the continuity so necessary to a long-term enterprise.

3) School inspection was practically non-existent. The great majority of the schools had never been inspected since their establishment. Teachers were left to their own devices. Many of them often

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79. These figures do not include those students attending mission schools.

80. A. Davesne, "Nos Ecoles," Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'A.E.F. (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle, 1938), Introduction.

spent most of their time at other occupations--postal, police, administrative work, etc.

4) For a long time, the "moniteurs" were selected haphazardly: some were former house-boys, cooks, or soldiers who happened to know how to read and write. Few of them had ever received any sort of professional training. European teachers, freshly arrived from France, were put in charge of schools without special preparation or guidance.

5) The school buildings were inadequate: many were too small or improperly ventilated. In some villages, the school was recognizable by its state of dilapidation. School furniture was in a deplorable state. Teaching material was lacking.

As a result:

> At present, A.E.F. does not have a single [African] "instituteur" but only "moniteurs," not a single African doctor, no veterinarian, no midwife, no agricultural officer, no qualified craftsmen. Businessmen and industrialists must recruit their employees from Dahomey and the Cameroons and their fitters and their mechanics from the Belgian Congo and from the British colonies.[81]

At least one important educational development occurred, however. The first high school, planned in 1911, was actually created by a decree of Governor General Renard on February 23, 1935. Shortly thereafter the Governor died and the school took his name, "Ecole Edouard-Renard." Since it only started in this period (7 candidates were admitted in 1936 and 40 in 1937[82]) and was reorganized, together with the whole school system, by the January, 1937, decree, the details of its organization will be discussed in the next chapter.

It is difficult to believe that it took almost twenty-five years to put in place the basic educational structures planned in 1911. It is true that the conditions were far from favorable. A look at the history of this period shows that a substantial part of the A.E.F. territory had been given to Germany by France in exchange for a free hand in Morocco. Then, the First World War followed. Finally, from 1920 to 1935, Colonial Minister Sarraut's development plans promised a very substantial increase in educational activities, but during these fifteen years the colony's resources were monopolized for a single

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81. Ibid.

82. Circular No. 77, October 20, 1936, published in the Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F. (1937), p. 67.

project: the building of the Congo-Océan Railroad. The construction itself took twelve years to complete at the cost of 15,000 to 18,000 lives (out of a total of some 120,000 workers) and 231 million gold francs, or many times the original estimates.[83] Completion of the project was due mainly to the single-minded determination of one man, Governor General Antonetti, who gave it top priority at the expense of all other matters. Education was one of the main victims. Financial starvation is obviously at the root of most educational problems during this period; it best explains education's "mise en sommeil" which Governor Eboué so bitterly criticized a few years later.

The Reorganization of Public Education: 1937-1940

From the time of his arrival in 1936, Governor General Reste, freed from the railroad construction burden, recognized that educational development was one of his main tasks. He apparently agreed with the general aims of French educational policy, since he did not make any important changes in this area. The school system, as timidly introduced by previous administrations, also met with his approval. He was concerned, however, with making the system work. For this purpose, he appointed a hand-picked, young, competent French educator, Mr. Davesne, and gave him his full support. For the first time in A.E.F., a professional educator was appointed Director of Education, given full responsibility, and provided with the moral and financial support needed to do his job. Administrative centralization had just been carried further by abolishing territorial budgets. In addition, the governor general assumed direct responsibility for the administration of Middle Congo. From a federal point of view, such centralization may have been premature: the lieutenant-governors of the other three territories became mere "administrative delegates,"[84] but Middle Congo undoubtedly gained from it since Brazzaville became the seat of a growing number of federal institutions. From this time on, then, educational developments at the federal level tend to be confused with those at the strictly Congolese level. This applies particularly in budgetary allocations and in the operation of post-elementary education.

The inadequacy of the teaching personnel, in number and quality, was quickly identified by Reste and Davesne as the main reason for the failure of the A.E.F. school system at the operational level. In a

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83. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 142.

84. Ibid., p. 27.

circular addressed to the territorial governors,[85] he announced his plans to supply "educated and competent native teachers" by:

1) Increasing the teacher output of the Edouard-Renard School to 70 a year.

2) Upgrading teachers in service by means of:

a) training centers or workshops, operating for three to four weeks during the vacations (Pointe-Noire and Brazzaville were the centers for Middle Congo);

b) organization of school districts ("secteurs scolaires"), making European teachers responsible for the supervision and guidance of native teachers within large regions;

c) publication of an educational journal ("Bulletin de l'Enseignement");

d) adoption of a "rotation" system under which village school teachers would, in turn, be posted in regional schools under the immediate supervision of European teachers;

e) introduction of textbooks adapted to the country and designed to guide native teachers step by step.

These were only preliminary instructions. They were to be expanded and formalized in the decree of January 2, 1937. This decree did not fundamentally alter the educational structures theoretically transferred to A.E.F. in 1911, but spelled them out in greater detail and became the new legal framework of the A.E.F. school system. In the last twenty-five years, hundreds of decrees have modified, but not replaced this decree in the Congo (Brazzaville). Therefore, its main articles are reported at length in Appendix II.

This reorganized school system, so effectively supported by Governor General Reste with the vigorous assistance of Director Davesne, could have marked the beginning of a new era in Congo education, and in a way, it did. Never again would education be neglected as it was until 1936. But the Second World War prevented the system from getting an immediate and fair trial. From 1940 on, it was difficult to recruit teachers in France, and the Congo Administration, intent on its war effort, had few resources to spare for education.

If Reste and Davesne were determined to develop public education in A.E.F., they seem to have had a low opinion of private education.

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85. Circular No. 77, October 20, 1936, reprinted in "Nos Ecoles," op. cit., pp. 46-49.

Several non-official documents support this assertion, as shall be seen below, but officially the few texts published during that period[86] only slightly modified the existing regulations concerning private education:

1) The privileged position of the French Catholic missions was challenged by a renewed official commitment to the agreements of the Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919) which revised the Act of Berlin (1885): no distinction on the basis of nationality could be made among missionary groups.

2) General education was to be given in French as before. However, the use of native languages was authorized for vocational education or home economics whereas such usage had previously been restricted to religious instruction.

3) A Supervisory Council for private education was created in Brazzaville. Its chairman was the Secretary General (of the colonial administration) or his representative; its members: the Director of Education, one public school director, and one private school director.

At the administrative level, however, the attitude of the new officials was obviously much less favorable to the missions' educative action, the effectiveness of which was regarded as low, and whenever its influence was recognized, attention was brought to the necessity to make it operate in directions consonant with those of official action. A quotation from a "neutral" French source will support this assertion. The author, who declared himself an atheist and a republican, contended on the other hand that ". . . sectarianism is not an export commodity."[87] After pointing out that the Catholic missions were providing education to thousands of Africans at a much lower cost than the embryonic public school system, he sharply reproached the "youthful Inspector of Education" for his "brutal interventions" which nevertheless had met with the approval of the high colonial authorities. He wished these authorities had tried to ". . . temper the juvenile enthusiasm whose explosions were undoubtedly explained by a kind of rash impulse characteristic of the neophytes of any religion." And he concluded:

> Any impartial observer must agree that the Catholic missions in Equatorial Africa have made it a rule to work hand in hand

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86. Reference is made to the Decree of January 31, 1938, signed by the President of the French Republic; the Decree no. 787 of March 6, 1938, signed by Governor Reste; and the Circular of January 5, 1939, signed by Solomiac for Reste.

87. J. Marlère-Pelletan, "La Gaffe," in La France Equatoriale (March 15, 1937). Quoted in "Documents et Témoignages," op. cit.

with the authorities and to add their efforts to those of the civil servants and of the settlers in order to introduce in this land of ignorance and savagery the elements of civilization which, in time, will allow our subjects to raise themselves to our level. Hence, one can no longer understand the ostracism which threatens one of the best elements for the propagation of the great and generous ideas of civilizing France.[88]

A less objective, perhaps, but more comprehensive document concerning this matter was prepared by the Catholic mission of Pointe-Noire.[89] Written in the form of answers to twelve broad questions, it was to serve as background information for a Parliamentary Commission for the Defense of Missions.

In response to a specific question regarding the relations between the missions and the Administration in the field of education, the document states that up to 1936, relations were good since the missions were left alone. Later, the situation remained unchanged as far as the local administrators were concerned, but Governor Reste and Director Davesne were thought to have declared "open war" on the Catholic missions ". . . for the good of the natives, but in fact, by pure sectarianism." But the same authorities seemed to be very sympathetic toward the Protestant missions.

How to solve these difficulties? The missions wanted to be left alone, or better, hoped that a system called "proportionnelle scolaire" would be adopted. This system, adopted by Belgium, provided for the distribution of public funds to both public and private schools on the basis of the number of students in attendance. Certainly, as long as the whole population of A.E.F. was illiterate, the Administration could not afford to do without the cooperation of all those willing to help. (Barely 4% of the school-age population was said to find places in the existing schools.)

In 1939, in the diocese of Pointe-Noire alone, over 10,000 children of school age were reported to be in Catholic "bush schools." None of these establishments qualified as "schools" under the official regulations, and the missions did not have the funds required to bring them up to standards. These schools were important, however, not only because of their influence on children, but because ten years later they made possible the spectacular development of mission education when funds became available. But, during this period, the catechists in charge of "bush school" operation were incapable of teaching even elementary subjects. Indeed, the demand for teachers and clerks better

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88. Ibid.

89. "Documentation Scolaire," January, 1939.

educated than the catechists was so great that an improvement of the latter's education was self-defeating: none remained catechists if they were qualified for financially more rewarding occupations. (Catechists were paid 25 to 30 francs per month; mission "moniteurs," 150 to 200 francs per month; public school "moniteurs," 300 to 900 francs per month.)

The schools were a heavy financial burden for the missions to bear. The children, or their parents, contributed almost nothing in cash form. As usual, a substantial part of the pupils' food was produced by them on mission land, and the sale of farm produce brought in a little cash. This 1939 report estimated that each pupil cost the mission 289.65 francs per year. The state subsidy amounted to 7.50 francs per pupil on the average. On the other hand, a public school pupil cost the state 615.50 francs per year!

The Catholic seminaries were an important element of the mission school system. In fact, these were the only secondary schools accessible to Congolese until the post-war period. Bishop Derouet founded a seminary at Mayoumba (near Pointe-Noire) in 1897. Bishop Augouard founded his seminary at M'Bamou (near Brazzaville) in 1913. (A theological college serving all A.E.F. Catholic missions was established at Libreville, Gabon.) From 1879 (when the seminary was first established at Landana, Cabinda) until 1938, a total of 168 students entered the Mayoumba Seminary, 28 reached the theological college, and 15 became priests. Of course, the influence of the seminary cannot be measured in terms of these 15 graduates alone. Those who abandoned their studies somewhere along the way were nonetheless among the mostly highly educated Congolese. They all found good positions in the Administration or elsewhere.

By 1938, a total of 32 brothers had also been trained by the Pointe-Noire mission. Twenty-two of them left the order, some because they had been trained as "moniteurs" and "believed that they were too clever to remain Brothers." Efforts to train nuns had always failed. New attempts were being made as the 1939 report was written, and four young girls were starting on a training course.

The report tried to evaluate the results of the Catholic missions' educative action:

> In principle, many village chiefs and others ask for a school (not always spontaneously!) thinking that it is sufficient to enter such an establishment in order to become educated overnight. The native envies the white man's science but is incapable --in general--of making the necessary efforts to acquire it. It is not rare to see a school open with 150 or 200 pupils and find only 50 in irregular attendance two weeks later. Against this, nobody reacts--no parents, no chiefs.
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> . . . . . .
>
> In summary, the situation has hardly changed in the last 50 years. . . .

The school's influence on individuals was thought to be more profound if the pupils were boarders, because: ". . . [day pupils] after school hours, fell back into a morally depressing atmosphere and in inevitably close contact with undesirable elements." This situation explains the missionaries' tendency to stress the importance of boarding schools built some distance from village and urban centers.

From the point of view of French influence:

> It is possible, even probable, that our pupils love France, because at school we present France in her true light, by word and example. But to say that this love is so profound that they are willing to give up their lives for France, that is another story!
>
> For our natives, in general, France is the country which sends them "Whites." Among these Whites, some make them work or pay taxes, restrict their freedom, have force at their disposal, can throw them into jail, etc., in a word, "command" them; others teach them "White men's ways" or things about God. It so happens that these Whites are French; if they were British, German, or Portuguese it would, in practice, be all the same to the natives.

The teaching staff was of two types and evaluated accordingly: 1) the Europeans, who did their best, but received no special training for teaching at the primary level. Further, they could not devote all their time to teaching. 2) the natives, who left much to be desired, ". . . strictly for lack of money." Better qualified teachers, if available, would not accept work for the salaries the mission could afford to pay.

Up to 1939, the mission schools of the diocese of Pointe-Noire had not submitted a single candidate to the primary school certificate examination (sixth grade). Just the same, mission school alumni were employed by the Administration, the Railroad, the banks, the commercial firms, the Post Office, the Health Service, and the Public Works Service.

The same 1939 report also contained an evaluative description of the Protestant and public schools in the Pointe-Noire area. It stated that the Swedish Protestant Mission had seven schools in the area.[90] These schools, being run by Swedes, were not supported financially by the local government; however, their clinics received free medical supplies if they were run by nurses recognized by the State. For want of statistics regarding the practical results of the Protestant schools,

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90. According to the Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F. for December 1, 1937, there were 40 Protestant mission schools in A.E.F. with 2356 pupils in attendance.

the report claimed that they ". . . train[ed] Protestants, above all fanatical catechists, more dedicated than ours, and better paid, too!"

Regarding public education, the report quoted the Governor General's speech to the Government Council (December, 1938) which gave the following school statistics:

Elementary education: four schools for Europeans with 163 pupils[91] and 78 schools for natives with 152 classes and 9068 pupils;

Higher primary education: one school in Brazzaville;

Vocational education: one school in Brazzaville;

Secondary education: the two lower grades, for Europeans, in Brazzaville;

Personnel: one Director of Education and 57 European teachers, males and females; 126 native "moniteurs," seven "assistant-moniteurs," and 14 "master-workmen";

Budget: in 1937, 2,909,480 francs; in 1938, 4,725,875 francs; in 1939, 5,582,147 francs.

The report claimed that the quality of the public schools' products was about the same as that of the mission schools. A single candidate from the Pointe-Noire public school had passed the elementary certificate examination at the end of the previous year.

After detailed descriptions of the public schools of the Pointe-Noire area, the report concluded: ". . . only one school, the one at Sibiti, recently built, measures up to the government plan."

Rapid Growth in the Post-War Era: 1946-1958

It has already been shown that Governor General Félix Eboué intended to make education the keystone of his native policy. To formal education was assigned a definite task: to train the native cadres which A.E.F. so badly needed. The instrument, Eboué wrote, "is in our

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91. Special schools were set up for European (French) children. This was made necessary by the adaptation of programs in schools meant for Congolese children. Also a "metropolitan" and a "native" elementary school certificate was given upon completion of each course of study. Holders of a "metropolitan" certificate could pursue their studies in France.

hands: all the French schools of the Colony."[92] Eboué's educational policy was based on four principles: 1) "appropriate" education (agriculture and trades) to the greater number; 2) careful selection of students for further education; 3) close cooperation of commerce and industry for vocational education; 4) continuation of the Edouard-Renard School, then the creation of a higher primary school in each of the territories with, in principle, a special class for chiefs' sons.

Eboué's educational policy, then, was one of continuation and intensification of the government's line of action, except in one important respect: the anti-mission attitude of Governor General Reste and his Director of Education was implicitly rejected by the government's new willingness to accept help from the missions in the tremendous task of implementing educational development plans which for too long had existed chiefly on paper. This new attitude had great consequences at a time when larger funds were about to become available. Moral and financial support from the government allowed the missions--Protestant as well as Catholic--to maintain their position as dispensers of roughly half the education available to the Congolese.

In the area of school administration, the process of institutional transfer begun by Reste was pursued by Eboué. Before 1937, the Bureau of Political Affairs assisted the Governor in administering and supervising public and private education. Reste brought in professional school administrators and created an Education Department (Service de l'Enseignement). This administrative structure may have been sufficient as a beginning since the low level of development of education in quantity and diversity and the high degree of centralization in general administration which characterized the period beginning in 1936 "justified" the appointment of a single Director of Education for all four A.E.F. territories.[93] Since education in A.E.F. was strictly "primary," the appointed Director belonged to the French primary school cadre. In France, before the Second World War, the various levels of education ("ordres d'enseignement") had reached a point where each operated as a virtually self-contained unit, each having its own aims, methods, establishments, personnel, etc. Primary school teachers and administrators, for instance, received their general and professional education

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92. Félix Eboué, La Nouvelle Politique Indigène pour l'Afrique Equatoriale Française (Paris: Office Francais d'Editions, 1945), p. 42.

93. In the French school system, a "Direction" is an administrative division responsible for one of the main levels of education such as primary, secondary, etc., while a "Servi," headed by a "Chef," is a minor division such as School Health, Scholarships, etc. An Inspector General holds the top administrative post in the French school system.

in establishments which had little or nothing to do with "secondary" or "higher education." Hence, for a primary school educator ("un primaire") to be responsible for a secondary school was an anomalous situation. This was about to happen in A.E.F. since Reste's Director of Education was directly responsible for the newly created secondary school of Brazzaville. Eboué lost no time in correcting this anomaly. On July 28, 1941, the top levels of A.E.F. school administration were reorganized:[94] the Governor General retained full control over educational policy, methods, programs, etc., but he was now assisted by an Inspector General and a High Education Council (Haut Conseil de l'Enseignement) at the federal level, and each of the four Lieutenant-Governors (Chefs de Territoires) was assisted by a Director of Education (Chef du Service de l'Enseignement) and by an Education Council. This organization was, essentially, a replica of the school administration system which had existed in France since Napoleon's creation of the French "University." Its transfer to A.E.F. promised, and in more or less subtle ways facilitated, the transfer of many other French institutions in the years immediately following the war. Up to that time, A.E.F. had been administered by French officials whose powers resembled those of metropolitan "préfets." Higher and middle cadres were French; some Africans occupied a few minor administrative positions. Eboué and his successor, Bayardelle, believed the time had come to give Africans more responsible administrative positions and to introduce representative, democratic institutions.[95] As a first step, reforms were needed in order to decentralize the administration. Eboué's creation of an Inspectorate General and of separate territorial Education Departments was in keeping with this policy. The re-establishment of separate territorial budgets, in 1946, completed the decentralization program.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Brazzaville Conference of 1944 saw the triumph of Félix Eboué's new policy. Its recommendations in the political, administrative and social areas proclaimed the principle of African access to positions of greater responsibility in local government. In the field of education this meant, as recommended: 1) a new dedication to the ideal of universal education in order to widen the base of the education pyramid and to allow better selection of an élite with the education of boys and girls assuming equal importance; 2) exclusive use of the French language in the schools.[96] In practice, it meant, above all, the necessity to train higher level manpower through educational institutions not previously accessible to Africans. A secondary level course had been created shortly before

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94. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., 1941, p. 510.

95. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 28.

96. Hardy, op. cit., p. 236.

the war.[97] Although, in principle, Africans had access to this type of education, it was understood that very few would be admitted since they were thought to have neither the preparation nor the "need" for it. Wartime conditions forced a relatively rapid development of this course. By 1945, 23 professors taught 150 secondary school students. These, naturally, were French students. Such a course as existed in Brazzaville and in Pointe-Noire during the war, therefore, could not be considered as a part of the Congolese school system but rather as a convenient service to Frenchmen isolated from the Metropole. But the mere presence in the Congo of this prestige institution was to exert a powerful influence on the future orientation of Congo education. Its organization and programs were identical to those of corresponding French establishments: it prepared to the "baccalauréat" and opened the doors to higher education.

At first, this replica of the French "lycée" was not meant for Africans. Instead, a local equivalent was developed. Just as a Native Primary School Certificate (C.E.P.I.) had been instituted before as a parallel to the metropolitan Primary School Certificate, a "Brevet de capacité" was instituted by the decree No. 45-1846 of August 23, 1945.[98] In accordance with Article 1 of the decree, the "Brevet" corresponded to ". . . the various series of metropolitan baccalaureates of secondary education." But correspondence was not assured, even though the chairman of the examining board was a member of metropolitan higher education. These educational opportunities were available to only a few Africans from 1945 on. Accessibility on a larger scale to "true" secondary education for Africans could not become a fact until the completion of the new "lycée" of Brazzaville.

In the meantime, Eboué and his successors undertook to develop the post-elementary school system introduced before the war:

1) Decree No. 203 of January 20, 1944, established "collèges modernes" in each of the A.E.F. territories. They were replicas of "Ecole Supérieure de Brazzaville" created a decade earlier, and they were assigned the same aims, plus one: to prepare candidates to the "Ecole des Cadres Supérieurs Indigènes Edouard-Renard." They offered a four-year post-elementary course. The first three years were devoted to general education (without classical languages as in the lycées and colleges); the fourth year students were distributed among six sections: teacher-training,[99] administrative and commercial, mining, public works,

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97. Article 33 of Decree No. 6 of January 2, 1937 (see Appendix II).

98. Journal Officiel (French Republic), 1945, p. 931.

99. The sons of chiefs were placed in this section, but courses in pedagogy and practice teaching were replaced by administration courses.

medical, and veterinarian. The program of this fourth year included general and specialized courses and internships. Successful completion of the course brought about the automatic assignment of the graduates to predetermined positions in the territory's administrative cadres. Unsuccessful candidates could be assigned to subordinate positions.

2) The creation of the territorial "collèges modernes" made possible, and necessary, the upgrading of the Edouard-Renard School of Brazzaville. This was accomplished by the decree of February 20, 1946, creating the "Ecole des Cadres Supérieurs de Brazzaville."

The School was designed to give to the best graduates of the territorial "collèges modernes," having completed a first course of studies, a general education on a level comparable to that of the second cycle of studies, complemented by specialized professional studies qualifying the candidates for higher cadres of A.E.F.

The School, under the responsibility of the Inspector General of Education, offered a three-year course in three separate sections: science (mining, public works, architecture, general medicine, veterinary science, and pharmacy), teacher-training, and administration (general administration, finance, posts, telegraphy and telephone, and radio broadcasting).

The candidates were selected among the graduating students of the territorial "collèges modernes." The list of admitted candidates was proposed each year by the Inspector General and approved by the Governor General, on the basis of the students' examination results and of the projected personnel requirements of each territory. As in the case of the earlier reorganization of the Edouard-Renard School, an Advisory Council was set up which helped the "Ecole des Cadres Supérieurs" fill higher level manpower needs.

As plans were being made for a rapid expansion of the school systems in the four territories, the shortage of African teachers was acutely felt. The teacher-training facilities of the Ecole des Cadres Supérieurs were soon recognized to be insufficient. To solve the problem this section was removed from Brazzaville and set up as a special school at Mouyoundzi, in the Pool region, some 100 miles from Brazzaville. This location was not too far from the Congo-Océan Railroad and offered the advantage of being in a rural area, an environment more closely resembling that in which the future teachers were likely to work after graduation.

The Mouyoundzi Normal School was created by decree No. 2099 of August 7, 1947,[100] as a federal institution. Its student body, like

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100. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., 1947, p. 1107.

that of the Ecole des Cadres Supérieurs of which it was a part, was recruited among the graduating classes of the territorial "collèges modernes," and eventually, among the fourth year students of the lycées and colleges of all A.E.F. The course of studies was distributed over a period of three years. It included general education courses, the theory and practice of teaching, and a short internship period. The local public school was attached to the Normal School to serve as demonstration school.

The students selected to attend the Mouyoundzi Normal School received a full scholarship which included transportation, full board, clothing, and a monthly stipend of fifty francs, all charged to the federal budget. In return, the scholars had to sign a pledge that they would follow the full three-year course of studies and that they would serve as teachers for a period of ten years after their graduation. Failure to honor this pledge carried the obligation to reimburse the colony for the amount of the scholarship under conditions set in each case by the Governor General. In principle, the graduates were assigned posts in the territory of their origin.

Technical education naturally received the attention of Eboué and his successors. The January, 1937, decree had already established the basic structures. An official circular (July 11, 1945), signed by the Inspector General of Education, spelled out in greater details the aims, the modes of operation, and the curriculum of sections and schools designed to offer technical education:

1) Apprenticeship sections. These were attached to regional or urban schools and put under the immediate responsibility of the chief of the "secteur scolaire." Each "secteur" had to have at least one such section. Instruction was given by African master-tradesmen graduated from the Brazzaville Vocational School. In these sections, the pupils of the two upper grades of native elementary schools received an introduction to manual trades. It was understood that once the course was completed, some pupils would accomplish one year of apprenticeship in order to perfect their knowledge and develop their aptitudes in a chosen trade. It was hoped that the new trainees would remain in their respective village.

2) Trade Schools. Set up in the main centers of the colony, these schools were prepared to admit in the third year the best products of the apprenticeship sections, but their four-year course was designed to train skilled workers and technicians who had received an elementary education. The primary school leaving certificate was not required for admission. Those who successfully completed the course received the school's diploma.

3) Vocational Schools. Standing at the top of technical education's hierarchy, these schools could only admit primary school certificate holders (except in the case of the best graduates of the trade

schools who were admitted in the third year). Their four-year course was designed to train the future foremen, master-tradesmen, and the "moniteurs" of the two lower levels of technical education. More attention was therefore paid to general education and to the theoretical aspects of the various trades. In 1945, Brazzaville alone had such a school catering to the needs of the whole federation.

The same Circular offered a rationale for this type of technical school organization: The "intellectual weakness" of some elementary school pupils prevented them from profiting from academic studies; hence, the development of parallel apprenticeship sections directly oriented toward the practice of a trade.

The system was designed to operate in this way: 1) Among the elementary school leaving certificate candidates (C.E.P.), an élite was identified and separated into two branches--a "general" one seeking admission (after C.E.P.) to the territorial "collèges modernes" or the Agricultural School of Sibiti (Congo), and a vocational one seeking admission (also after C.E.P.) to the Vocational School of Brazzaville or to one of the trade schools in case of failure at the Brazzaville competitive examination. 2) The apprenticeship sections would take in those who, during their elementary schooling, had reached the limits of their intellectual potential. These pupils were destined to remain in the villages and render services in the improvement of village life.

By the time World War II ended, the main elements of the French primary and secondary educational systems had been transferred to the Congo and modified in some ways to conform to local conditions. The top of the edifice, higher education, was still missing. On May 30, 1945, however, General de Gaulle signed a decree[101] authorizing colonial governors to grant scholarships enabling students to pursue their studies in the Metropole or in North Africa. In principle, no distinction was made between native African applicants and French students whose parents were posted in the colonies.

It should be noted that except for the embryonic secondary courses to which few Africans were admitted, the post-elementary education then offered in the Congo had a definitely "terminal" character, that is, it was geared to the immediate production of skilled and semi-skilled manpower. The length of training, four or seven years (in the case of the "Ecole des Cadres Supérieurs") corresponded to the time required to obtain the B.E.P.C. ("Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle") or attain the baccalaureate, respectively. But since the programs included a mixture of general and specialized courses, the general level of education reached by the students did not allow them to move up easily to a higher level of education nor to more prestigeous occupations or professions.

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101. Journal Officiel (French Republic), 1945, p. 503.

But even these limited opportunities existed more on paper than in reality. The transfer of French educational institutions had moved from the mere intentional level of policy statements to the formal level of paper organization. To a limited extent[102] school structures had been put into operation. One essential step remained to be taken if the educational development plans of the early 1940's were not to have the same fate as that of the 1911, 1920, and 1937 plans: adequate physical facilities and sufficient personnel had to be provided, and both required expenditures of funds not locally available. Massive investment funds from outside sources were absolutely necessary. This is precisely the reason why, for the first time in history, post-war France devised a large-scale development plan applicable to French overseas territories and provided the money needed to implement them through the "Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social"--commonly known as FIDES.

The Contribution of FIDES (1947-1958). French post-war reconstruction was undertaken along the lines of the Monnet Plan for Modernization and Equipment. Within the framework of the French Union, the Plan was extended to include the development of the Overseas Territories. Originally, a ten-year plan was drawn up and the FIDES fund was created to finance it. A.E.F., like other territories, was invited to submit a ten-year plan for the period 1947-1956, but work really got started in 1950.[103] The Paris planners were dealing with territories at widely different stages of development. In A.E.F., preliminary studies on which to base the plans were lacking. Also, work on approved projects could proceed only at a slow pace, chiefly because A.E.F.'s low degree of development gave it an equally low "absorption capacity." Policy changes in Paris also contributed to the slow start. For instance, by the time A.E.F. was ready to put its ten-year plan into operation, Paris had decided instead on a series of four-year plans. All this makes presently available statistics somewhat incoherent: it is seldom possible to separate the amounts approved and those actually spent in a given year. The shared responsibilities of the Metropolitan, the Federal, and the Territorial governments also adds to the confusion. In principle, FIDES was to pay half the construction costs, while the other half was financed through loans whose interests were to be borne by the Territories. The operating costs (maintenance, personnel, etc.) were to be paid out of local current budgets.

Out of the 51 billion CFA francs[104] approved in 1948 for the

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102. See Appendix III for A.E.F. school statistics for the years 1935, 1939, 1943, and 1946.

103. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 109.

104. The CFA (Colonies Françaises d'Afrique) franc was created in

1947-56 period, "61.4% was to be allotted to the infrastructure, 14.3 percent to production, and 24.3 percent to social projects."[105] These allocations de-emphasize production to which, it was hoped, private investment would contribute. Although subsequent plans altered the balance, it is now apparent that initial investments overburdened local budgets with sharply rising maintenance costs without corresponding rises in tax revenues.

"Social projects" included mainly public health and education. Attention to the latter echoed a statement contained in the preamble of the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic: ". . . equal access for children and adults to instruction, vocational training, and culture."[106] Accordingly, the ten-year plan (for Middle Congo) aimed at universal education within this period.[107] Out of the 50 new classrooms to be opened in 1948, 25 were to be in village schools. Middle Congo allocated 32 million CFA francs, or 12.5 percent of the total budget, to education for the year 1948--not including 11 million granted by the Federal Government to private education. But Territorial Chief Fourneau estimated that nearly a billion CFA francs would be required to reach Middle Congo's educational goals.[108] Such a large sum could simply not be found without the help of FIDES.

It will be recalled that FIDES credits were not used for the maintenance and operation of facilities created in implementation of the Plan. Every classroom FIDES helped build therefore caused maintenance and operation costs to rise. Since the same cost items made up most of the education budgets before and during World War II, Table 2, a comparison of educational expenditures expressed as percentages of total budgets, should make this point clear.

Educational expenditures had been rising in the Congo before the post-war period. The ratios listed tend to minimize this fact since

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1945. Its value was set at two Metropolitan francs in 1948. Its present value is 0.02 NF or approximately four cents (U.S.).

105. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 110.

106. Quoted in Enseignement Outre-Mer, Bulletin de l'Inspection Générale de l'Enseignement et de la Jeuness du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer (Paris: Société Parisienne d'Imprimerie, 1950), p. 33.

107. M. Fourneau (Chief, Middle Congo Territory), in a speech delivered at the opening of the Second Annual Session of the Representative Council, August 18, 1948 (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle, 1948), p. 10.

108. Ibid.

TABLE 2

SCHOOL PERSONNEL AND SUPPLY EXPENDITURES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BUDGET MIDDLE CONGO AND A.E.F.--1925-1957

Year	Middle Congo	A.E.F. Government General	Year	Middle Congo	A.E.F. Government General
1925[a]	4.6%	---[a]	1941	---	2.0%
1926	4.6	---	1942	---	3.7
1927	3.6	---	1943	---	2.8
1928	2.8	---	1944	---	3.2
1929	3.1	---	1945	---	3.9[e]
1930	2.9	---	1946	---	4.2
1931	3.3	---	1947[c]	6.6	1.2
1932	2.8	---	1948	12.9	1.9
1933	3.0	---	1949	9.3	1.9
1934	2.2	---	1950	10.3	2.1
1935[b]	---	1.6	1951[d]	10.7	1.2[f]
1936	---	1.3	1952	13.0	1.3
1937	---	1.3	1953	14.2	1.2
1938	---	1.4	1954	13.8	1.5
1939	---	1.2	1955	14.8	1.2
1940	---	1.3	1956[g]	18.9	1.9
			1957[h]	26.2	---

a. Annuaire Statistique de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, Vol. I (Brazzaville: Haut Commissiariat de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, 1950), Table XV, p. 200. No education expenditures appear in the A.E.F. general budget for the years 1925-1935.

b. Ibid., p. 189. No separate territorial budgets existed during the period, 1935-46.

c. Ibid., p. 191. General and territorial budgets were resumed in 1947. Percentages based on budget forecasts for the years 1945-1950.

d. Ibid., Vol. II, Table D, I-8. Percentage based on actual expenditures.

e. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 191. Percentages based on budget forecasts for years 1945-50.

f. Ibid., Vol. II, Table D, I-6. Percentages based on actual expenditures.

g. Enseignement Outre-Mer, No. 8, December, 1956, Table IX, p. 36. Percentages based on figures which include all educational expenditures.

h. Ibid., No. 10, December, 1958.

NOTE: Full responsibility for the cost of elementary education was turned over to each territory in 1947. This explains the decrease (4.2 to 1.2) in the general budget.

both general and educational expenditures tend to vary together. On the other hand, quotations of actual amounts spent for educational purposes may be misleading unless corrections are made to offset the changing value of the monetary unit from year to year. But the rise of educational expenditures can be shown in another way. From 1945 to 1946, for instance, the ratios of educational expenditures (for personnel and supplies) to total budget increased from 3.9% to 4.2%. Yet, educational expenditures increased 70%. The small 0.3% increase in ratio is explained by the fact that the total budget increased by 57%.

Tables 3 and 4 summarize FIDES contribution to educational development in A.E.F. and in the Congo.

TABLE 3

CONTRIBUTION OF FIDES TO EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN A.E.F. 1947-1955

Year	CFA Francs
1947-48	7,600,000[a]
1948-49	12,200,000
1949-50	90,000,000
1950-51	196,700,000[b]
1951-52	153,700,000
1952-53	304,900,000
1953-54	100,900,000[c]
1954-55	201,200,000

a. Annuaire Statistique de l'Afrique Equatoriale, op. cit., Vol. I, Table XXVIII, p. 213.

b. Ibid., Vol. II, Table III B, p. D I-20.

c. Ibid., Table III C, p. D I-21.

NOTE: Figures by territory not available before 1953.

TABLE 4

CONTRIBUTION OF FIDES TO EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN THE MIDDLE CONGO
July 1, 1955-June 30, 1958
(in millions of CFA francs)

	Public Education	Private Education	Percentage by Type of School	Total
Primary Education	185.4	239.31	58.8	424.71
Secondary Education	144.0	74.0	30.2	218.0
Higher Education	None	None	None	None
Technical Education	53.6	25.6	11.0	79.2
Total	383.0	338.91	100	721.91

Source: Enseignement Outre-Mer, op. cit., No. 10, December, 1958, pp. 50-51.

NOTE: The same source (December, 1950) states that for all the territories taken together, FIDES funds were to be allocated to the various types of education thus: primary, 25.0; secondary, 37.5; higher, 4.5; technical, 32.0; and popular, 1.

As more and more school facilities came into existence as a result of FIDES intervention, the territorial and federal budgets became less able to contribute to school construction and equipment. Originally, France had undertaken to support 55% of the cost of development projects, while the territories were responsible for the remaining 45%. Starting in 1952, the territories were expected to pay interests on past loans. But local revenues failed to rise sufficiently, due to the fact that most of the development funds had been invested in projects which were unlikely to produce quick returns: means of communication, public health, and education. In July, 1953, France increased

her share to 75%, and by 1956, she had assumed responsibility for 90% of the Plan's total expenditures, without prospects of reimbursement.109

Such a combination of relatively massive French investment and greatly increased local effort produced dramatic educational growth in A.E.F., and particularly in the Congo. Detailed enrollment statistics showing the progressive increase from 1945-46 until 1953-54 would demonstrate this point. Unfortunately, records are incomplete with regard to the development of education in each of the four A.E.F. territories before 1950. Nevertheless, the following figures give helpful indications.

TABLE 5

EVOLUTION OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
IN A.E.F. AND IN THE CONGO[a]
1946-1954

	1945-46		1950-51		1953-54	
	A.E.F.	Middle Congo	A.E.F.	Middle Coñgo	A.E.F.	Middle Congo
Boys	31,062	-	78,448	35,900	111,289	49,252
Girls	3,088	-	15,068	7,251	24,011	10,080
Total	34,150	-	93,516	43,151	135,300	59,332
School Attendance Ratio[b]	4%	-	10.8%	34.3%	20.3%	57.0%

a. Includes public and private schools at all levels.

b. Selected base: 15%, that is, potential school enrollment is estimated to be 15% of total population. School attendance ratios are obtained by dividing the enrollment figures by the estimated potential enrollment.

Source: Enseignement Outre-Mer, op. cit., Bulletin, No. 8, December, 1956, pp. 16-17.

109. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 114.

Before World War II, the Congo was leading the rest of the federation in educational development. Roughly one-third of total A.E.F. school enrollment was found in the Congo. It appears in Table 5 that the Congo built on this early advantage until more than 43 per cent of A.E.F. school children were enrolled in Congolese schools. Many factors contributed to this situation. The Congo benefited greatly from the presence of the Federal Government in the Brazzaville area: Federal educational institutions (secondary and technical) were created and developed in that area before spreading to the other territories. Strictly Congolese efforts deserve much of the credit for seizing and retaining a leading position: funds allocated to education have been consistently greater in the Congo than in any other A.E.F. territory. Liberal allocations of funds would not, in themselves, have produced such results if conditions for their effective use had not existed. The Congo shared with Gabon the advantage of having numerous missionary establishments with European and African personnel eager to put available funds to immediate use. Governor Eboué and his successors, and later the members of the Representative Councils, had the good sense to recognize the potential of the existing mission organizations. Beginning in 1943, public funds subsidized in increasing amounts the educational efforts of the missions. In 1950, FIDES credits were extended to the missions for the purpose of school construction. Although FIDES credits supported only half the costs of private school construction, they constituted "seed money" placed in very fertile soil. Table 6 will show the post-war growth of mission education in A.E.F. and indicate its importance in relation to total growth. Although before 1950, statistics by territory are not available, it can be assumed that at least half of the A.E.F. mission schools were located in the Congo.

There were always more mission school establishments than the number recognized and subsidized by the government. The changing quality of the mission schools and the criteria by which they were evaluated influenced their inclusion in statistical reports. The drop from 110 to 85 in the number of Catholic mission schools from 1938-39 to 1945-46 thus becomes understandable. On the other hand, the dramatic increase (from 192 to 453) in the total number of mission schools during the period 1948-49 to 1951-52 suggests not only an increased educational effort but also a certain relaxation of standards. Indeed, in their determination to extend school facilities quantitatively, the Administration, the Representative Councils, and the missions paid less attention to standards of quality. As a result, by 1953, educational growth was thought to have become disorderly. This led to the Administration's drive to "normalize" the school situation in A.E.F.

TABLE 6

EVOLUTION OF MISSION EDUCATION IN A.E.F.[a]
1939-1952

	1938-39	1945-46	1948-49	1951-52
Catholic Missions				
Number of Schools	110	85	135	-
Enrollment	8,909	11,210	19,581	-
Protestant Missions				
Number of Schools	41	47	57	-
Enrollment	2,771	4,232	5,722	-
Total				
Number of Schools	151	132	192	453[b]
Enrollment	11,680	15,442	25,584	50,380

a. All levels and types of education.

b. Primary school level only; more than half were located in the Congo.

Source: Annuaire Statistique de l'Afrique Equatorial Française. For 1938-1949 period: Vol. I, op. cit., p. 71; for 1951-52 period, Vol. II, op. cit., Table IVa-b.

"Normalization of Education": 1953. In 1953, a most important document appeared in the form of a letter[110] sent to the Chiefs of Territories by the Governor General of A.E.F. Not only did it outline plans for the future development of education in A.E.F., but it also restated some of the principles of policy which guided French educative action. Indirectly, it also allows the observer to see beyond the school statistics reported in the preceding section.

110. This typewritten letter, No. 117/IGE, dated February 11, 1953, is found in the Archives of the Ministry of Education, Brazzaville.

The letter first considers the primary school enrollment figures for the school year 1951-52: 108,144 pupils in 863 schools comprising 2,164 classes in A.E.F.'s public and private primary schools, that is, a fourfold increase over a six-year period. A closer look at the distribution of pupils among the six primary grades revealed a situation characterized as "abnormal" by the Governor General:

Preparatory classes I and II:	76,275 pupils	(73%)
Elementary classes I and II:	20,497 pupils	(19%)
Middle classes I and II:	9,148 pupils	(8%)

Although the opening of beginners' classes allowing the greatest possible number of pupils to be affected by schooling remained a goal to be pursued, a structural distribution such as appeared in these statistics was said to depart too greatly from commonly accepted norms, and therefore reforms were necessary on the following grounds:

1) The school must have a lasting influence on the pupils, and through them, on the community. To attain this objective, primary education is designed to communicate a certain body of knowledge, over a period of five or six years, with methods appropriate for children of a certain age level. The length of the course and the choice of material to be taught are determined not only by the sum of knowledge to be transmitted, but also by the developmental stage of the child and by his emotional and social needs. Therefore, a school system which deprives the majority of the pupils of a complete cycle of studies is inadequate, even dangerous.

2) A child leaving school at eight or nine years of age has not firmly acquired the basic literacy skills; he is only prepared to start learning them. More important, the new modes of behavior which his pliable personality has begun to learn are bound to be lost as soon as the child returns to his previous environment. The idea that such a child can change his social environment or influence its evolution is preposterous. The village school, especially a truncated one, has a very limited influence on the adult community. This function is better performed by "basic education" programs and methods.

4) Middle level classes must be multiplied and strengthened if they are to allow a good selection, in terms of quantity and quality, of secondary school pupils destined to become the economic and social cadres of Africa without which no rapid evolution is possible.

5) Three-grade village schools must soon develop into full six-grade primary schools in order to avoid the large-scale "uprooting" of children caused by the need to send many of them to urban or regional primary boarding schools. The present system of primary school scholarships, in fact, turns these young uprooted children into functionaries. It must come to an end.

The letter proposed an eight-year program designed to correct the situation. In the circumstances, the following structural distribution was thought to constitute a minimum goal:

Preparatory classes I and II:	70,000 pupils
Elementary classes I and II:	48,000 pupils
Middle classes I and II:	46,000 pupils

This new distribution represented a total increase of 58,000 pupils, or more than half the 1951-52 enrollment, to be effected over a period of eight years. It meant the opening of 1,185 new classes (assuming a maximum enrollment of 60 pupils per classroom in the elementary grades and 50 pupils in the middle grades), and, above all, the training of as many qualified teachers as the number of new classes. The majority of primary school teachers, public as well as private, were "moniteurs" holding a primary school certificate only. These were thought "wrongly" to be fit to teach in the preparatory grades; they were totally inadequate at a higher level. On the other hand, recruiting most of the primary school teachers in France was out of the question. The cost was prohibitive, and besides, there were not many French teachers willing to come to A.E.F.[111] Training, on the spot, teachers capable of handling any primary level class was the only alternative.

Under the circumstances, it was believed that teacher preparation in A.E.F. could not yet be done at a level adopted in France only a decade earlier, that is, the "baccalauréat" plus one year of professional training leading to the "Certificàt d'Aptitude Professionnelles a l'Enseignement" (C.A.P.E.), which allowed its holder to bear the title of "instituteur." Instead, the "Brevet Elémentaire" (B.E.) or the "Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle" (B.E.P.C.) level was considered as sufficient, although, with added professional training, its holder could only become an "instituteur-adjoint."[112] Of the two "brevets," the former was to be preferred. Although it required the same length of studies (four years beyond primary), it differed from the B.E.P.C. in two important respects: 1) its curriculum contained more mathematics, geography, and history; 2) it did not call for the study of modern languages, and thus excluded the possibility of its holder trying to

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111. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 287. The authors claim that of the 72 posts for French teachers envisioned under the 1946 Ten-Year Plan, only 22 had been filled by 1949. Three Inspectors General in succession went to France on recruiting missions. They themselves failed to return.

112. This is the type of teachers the Mouyoundzi Normal School was training. Creation of this school had been applauded by the Africans who thought it would lead to the C.A.P.E. It was loudly criticized by them when it turned out only "instituteurs-adjoints."

pursue his studies toward the "baccalauréat." In other words, its program was more suitable for future primary school teachers, and since it was definitely terminal in character, it improved the chances of retaining teachers in the profession. The scheme called for one year of professional training beyond the B.E., but in view of the teacher shortage, the candidates who had just failed the B.E. examination could be accepted in the fifth year and granted the title of "moniteurs supérieurs."

In accordance with these plans, the creation of a number of "Normal Courses" was envisaged. The establishments would offer all five years of the course, not only the fifth, professional, year. This organization was thought to be necessary since teachers needed to be "formed" over a long period in a suitable atmosphere.

"Normalization" of education, then, meant a reorientation of the educational effort emphasizing vertical instead of horizontal development, the adoption of new criteria for the purpose of allocating financial resources already strained to the breaking point. The scheme, as proposed to the territorial governors, was based on the assumption that the horizontal extension of educational opportunities could, and should, be curbed and the enrollment in beginners' classes kept at 70,000 for the following eight years. In fact, only five years later (1956-57), this figure had increased by more than 55%, and the distribution by courses appeared thus:

Preparatory classes:	108,913 (64%)
Elementary classes:	41,036 (25%)
Middle classes:	18,891 (11%)

With the Congo school system being the most advanced and its structural distribution being slightly closer to "normal," the task of making it conform to the new standards should have been easier than in the other three territories. The Congo Governor's reaction to the Governor General's proposal clearly showed how unrealistic the scheme was. His reply[113] will now be summarized.

The principles on which the "normalization" plan was based were all valid, in Governor Rouys' opinion, but its implementation would affect the Congo most since half the A.E.F. school population was Congolese. With school expenditures already absorbing 25 per cent of the local budget (including subsidies to private education), any additional burden would endanger the precarious budget balance. The Governor agreed that while the plan was being implemented, no new schools

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113. Letter No. 1351/SE of July 24, 1953, signed by Governor Rouys. Typewritten document kept in the Archives of the Ministry of Education, Brazzaville.

could be opened. This would also limit the development of girls' education. Hence the period over which the "normalization" could be effected would have to be extended over much more than eight years. Any prediction was risky, tied as it was to the increase in the financial resources of the territory; therefore the plan could do no more than establish an order of priority.

The supply of qualified teachers was a determining factor in the rate of vertical development of the Congo school system. Now the current production of the Federal Normal School of Mouyoundzi was approximately ten "instituteurs-adjoints" and 55 "moniteurs supérieurs." Until the proposed "normal courses" could increase the supply (in 1958), the number of additional elementary and middle classes which could be opened each year was limited to 15. This number could be doubled from 1959 on, provided the proposed "normal courses" opened in October, 1954. But the plan called for the opening of over 400 classes! On the basis of teacher supplies alone, the implementation period would have to be extended to 16 years.

Governor Rouys' calculations also assumed that very few beginners' classes would be opened in the next few years. On the other hand, he did not consider the possibility that the missions might contribute to the training of qualified teachers. Neither did he foresee how difficult it would be to stop the school pyramid from growing at the base. In fact, the Administration soon realized that it had cast itself in the role of the "Sorcerer's Apprentice."

State versus Missions. On the eve of World War II, the Catholic missions of the Pointe-Noire Vicariate alone had some 530 "écoles de catéchistes," or "Bible schools," in which some 10,000 boys and girls of school age were receiving religious instruction in native languages.[114] These "schools" were not recognized by the Administration, and bringing them up to official standards was beyond the financial means of the missions. After the war, however, when subsidies to private education were substantially increased,[115] the missions could afford to divert a larger share of their own revenues to the "upgrading" of these "schools." This movement coincided with the Administration's renewed effort to spread public education and it launched an all-out competition between the two major missionary groups (Catholic and Protestant) on the one hand, and the Administration on the other hand. The key to the groups' strategy lay in Article 5 of the January 2, 1937, decree which stated that:[116]

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114. "Documentation Scolaire" (Bishop Fauret), op. cit.

115. Territorial governments supported primary level schools; the Federal Government, the secondary; and FIDES, school construction.

116. Nos Ecoles, op. cit., p. 5.

> It [the village school] may only be established, by decision of the Governor General, in villages which can, in a radius of four to five kilometers around the school, supply at least 60 pupils of school age.

In a sparsely populated country like the Congo, hundreds of small villages did not contain many more than 60 children of school age. Therefore, the first group, Catholic, Protestant, or "public," who succeeded in setting up a recognized school in a village could automatically prevent any other group from coming in. Thus, each group was irresistibly tempted to spread its resources thin and wide, relying on future resources to consolidate early gains. In this "race" the missions had a significant advantage over the Administration because of already firm contacts in hundreds of villages too small to justify the establishment of an administrative post. This advantage was compounded by the inevitable laxity of official school inspection left to overworked directors of "secteurs scolaires."

Now the Governor General's "normalization" initiative with its emphasis on vertical development and on improvement of standards takes on full significance. There was a strong suspicion among administrative officials that the mission schools' phenomenal growth was not quite "right." In July, 1953, the Congo Administration ordered a special inspection of ". . . all the public and the private schools of the Territory."[117] An Administrator-in-Chief of Overseas France and a Primary School Inspector were designated to carry out the assignment. In addition, the inspection team was expected to:

> . . . propose any appropriate measures regarding matters of coordination and normalization as well as determination of public education budget and subsidies to private education.

The inspection mission soon aroused the Catholic missionaries' suspicions. First, it was carried out in the months of July, August, and September, that is, during the long vacations! Second, the School Inspector on the team had served two years in Ubanghi-Shari where he had earned an anti-missions reputation. The report of the inspection findings confirmed the missionaries' suspicions: it barely mentioned the public schools and turned out to be a long indictment of the mission schools.

In its introduction, the report clearly states the problem as the inspectors saw it:

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117. "Coordination de l'Enseignement du premier degré au Moyen-Congo--Aperçu des conclusions de la mission d'inspection." Typewritten document dated 4/11/53, RB/DW. Copy of document obtained through the courtesy of Bishop Fauret, Pointe-Noire.

The irregularities reported here concerning the nonobservance of general and educational regulations, and the unexpected development of private schools during these last years--a development which has its repercussions on public finances--call for reappraisals. This question must be asked: "Does the Middle Congo, where school attendance is relatively advanced, obtain from primary education qualitative results commensurate with its efforts?"

Throughout the report it clearly appears that a single criterion was used to answer this question: to what extent are the official regulations applied? The answer was well known in advance: to a very limited extent. The inspectors, then, went out to find factual evidence to support their conclusions. They found plenty.

In the area of establishment of schools, some schools, authorized since 1949, had been found which were closed temporarily or permanently for lack of the minimum number of 60 pupils. The decision to close them had not been reported to the Administration. Many "annexes" under the responsibility of substitute "moniteurs" had been added to regular schools and operated as separate units without official authorization. In certain areas where a single school would have satisfied the need, private schools competing for influence against one another or against the public school were found--in spite of precise directives designed to avoid such occurrences. The development of education did not seem to be the principal aim of such a competition which was made possible by the privilege the mission had to open "catechism schools." The December 23rd, 1939, decree allowed ". . . coranic and catechism schools to give rudimentary instruction in the French language in communities without a public school." In fact, such schools run by catechists of a very low educational level operated as full-fledged primary schools--in violation of the January 31st, 1938, decree forbidding the establishment of a private primary school without Administration authorization. When, on the one hand, religious instruction was known to be given in African dialect in authorized schools up to the 5th and 6th grade level, it was intriguing to find, on the other hand, such thorough French language instruction in catechism schools.

In the matter of pupil recruitment, pupils were not always recruited in the immediate vicinity of the school but often had to travel far in order to avoid attending a public school or a school of a different faith. Too often pupils were recruited who had long since passed the school age limit. Eighteen year old boys were found in beginners' classes. They were useful for maintenance and construction work, but their scholastic value was doubtful. In general, the age limits were not respected. In a fourth grade class of 32 pupils supposedly below 13 years of age, only 11 were found to be of that age or below, one girl was more than 15, and some boys were 18 to 20 years old. In some preparatory classes, girls of 15 and 16 years of age were found. These girls were there at the request of their fiancés, minor civil servants, who wanted them to learn the French language before

their marriage. Such schools could hardly be classified as primary schools. Too, new pupils were admitted in the beginners' classes at any time during the year. If this procedure affected school statistics, it also affected the number of class repeaters. This practice was in direct violation of Article 6 of the January 2nd, 1937, decree which forbade admission after the first fifteen days of the school year.

Private education trained its teachers in five centers with 302 pupils distributed in three classes. Although these centers were described as "normal schools," they did not belong to that category. How could they when candidates for admission were not even required to hold the primary school certificate and when graduates had approximately reached that certificate's level? Public school teachers were trained either at Mouyoundzi (37 students from the Congo, in three classes) or at Boko (54 students from the Congo, in two classes). There was no reason why private education could not closely follow this model. In addition to these 302 teacher-training students, private education had, during the previous year, 147 "moniteurs-in-training" in full charge of classes. Their use had been authorized by Circular No. 6 of Governor General Eboué as a temporary wartime measure. Authorization was granted under strict conditions and was valid for only one year at a time. In no case was the number of authorizations to exceed 1/10th of the number of regular personnel. At the time of inspection, "moniteurs-in-training" made up nearly 30 per cent of the total teaching staff of the private schools. In some village schools, they constituted the entire staff and thus taught without proper supervision. Finally, no authorizations had been requested nor issued during this last school year, but the "moniteurs" were still in service.

Too many schools still kept no records, and those which existed were improperly kept--often in improvised record books. Beginning and end-of-year reports often contained simply total enrollment figures; when age and class distributions were given, they did not correspond to daily records. Inspection reports too often showed only the inspector's signature and a date--no evaluation, no advice on the proper management of the class. Teachers, European and African, were transferred without the Administration being notified--in violation of decree No. 787 of March 6, 1938. School attendance certificates were not always given when pupils left; some pupils had been admitted to a school although their previous attendance certificates indicated that they had reached the school age limit. The textbooks used in public schools were also those used in private schools, but their complete list was not always kept in the archives. Some schools, however, used textbooks not authorized by the Government General--in violation of Article 17 of decree No. 787.

The official programs were not always posted in the classrooms. When they were, simple reference to a book page was often made. In most programs moral education was replaced by religious instruction given in African dialect--in violation of Article 3 of the January 31, 1938, decree.

The official timetable for classes was rarely followed. The regular 30 hours of weekly classroom instruction became 52 hours and 15 minutes in a certain sixth grade: French, 14 hours instead of seven; 14½ hours of arithmetic instead of 3½ hours; 3 3/4 hours of history and geography instead of 1½; no moral instruction; no music; no manual work; and 4¼ hours of religious instruction. Scores of similar examples could have been quoted.

In the example just cited, ten pupils obtained their primary school certificate (C.E.P.) out of an enrollment of 32. A rapid survey of other schools showed an average rate of repeaters of 43.5 per cent, with a rate of 53.5 per cent for the beginners' class. To this "dropout" rate had to be added the losses occurring during the school year. These losses were estimated to be about 14 per cent, in spite of year-round recruiting. One cause of such a high rate of attrition was said to be the great distance the children had to walk in order to reach their school.

In conclusion, the inspectors stated:

> We express the hope that primary education will soon reach a degree of effectiveness proportionate to its cost; this effectiveness can probably be obtained if the Administration, as representative of the Government and manager of public funds, knows how to exercise the financial and pedagogical control for which it is unquestionably responsible.

In the eyes of the inspectors, then, the problem was rather simple: the "unexpected" growth of private education was made possible through numerous breaches of the official regulations. These regulations were still in force, and they carried sanctions. Therefore, apply the sanctions and solve the problem.

This inspectors' report was read to the members of the Territorial Education Council at its November 7, 1953, session. It produced an immediate reaction on the part of private education spokesmen, particularly from the vice-president of the Catholic Parents Association and from Bishop Fauret, who was especially responsible for Catholic mission education in the Congo. In a letter to the Governor General,[118] Bishop Fauret protested the manner in which the inspection was made and challenged the validity of most of its conclusions. He made no claim that private schools were strictly abiding by all official regulations, but suggested that many of these were outdated and unsuitable. Besides, the public schools, largely overlooked by the inspectors, were probably

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118. Copy of letter dated January 22, 1954, and kept in the Archives of the Apostolic Vicariate of Pointe-Noire. Obtained by courtesy of Bishop Fauret.

just as guilty. But this argument was not likely to carry much weight. Indeed, by local administration logic, if the public schools were not quite up to standards, they required more funds in order to improve, but if the private schools were found lacking, government subsidies had to be withdrawn until these schools could measure up.

The report's repeated mention of the "unexpected" development of private education attracted the particular attention of Bishop Fauret. The Catholic missions were obviously proud of their achievements. Their case was presented like this in the March 28, 1953, issue of "La Semaine de l'A.E.F.," a publication of the Catholic Church.

A comparison of enrollments and budget allocations for public and private Congo schools showed the following figures:

TABLE 7

COMPARATIVE ENROLLMENTS AND BUDGETS FOR CONGO SCHOOLS
1950-53

	Enrollment (1000's)	Public cost (in millions of CFA francs)	Year
Public	17.7	58.3	1950-51
Private	23.6	45.3	1950-51
Public	22.2	87.9	1951-52
Private	28.0	62.3	1951-52
Public	24.0	128.0	1952-53
Private	32.3	70.0	1952-53

Thus, between 1950 and 1953, public school enrollment increased by 35.4 per cent and private school enrollment, by 36.8 per cent--a very comparable development. But while private education was intensifying its efforts, government subsidies were proportionately reduced. Including 1953 budget figures (public schools: 187,714,000 CFA francs; private education: 68,000,000 CFA francs), public education expenditures increased by 225 per cent from 1950 to 1953; private education subsidies increased by 26.7 per cent.

It seems that this is precisely what public education supporters found unacceptable, namely, that private education should retain a leading position in spite of financial handicaps. It is probable that few French civil servants, if any, would have objected to the existence of mission schools in the Congo if these had remained unimportant in comparison to public schools.

In this controversy, the Congolese élite, as shall be seen later, did not play an active part, tending to consider it an "imported quarrel" to be fought among Europeans. As far as the Governor General was concerned, there is evidence to show that he was anxious to avoid serious clashes. To that effect, he issued a letter to the territorial governors warning them against a too rigid implementation of the new regulations contained in the decree No. 3.477/IGE of October 30, 1953, and the Circular of November 23, 1953. The governors were reminded that the essential aim of the regulations was to ensure precise control of the quality of private education and its close cooperation with public education.

The atmosphere generated by this controversy was hardly conducive to closer cooperation. At least, the events of 1953 led to another reorganization of education in A.E.F. This was done by the decree No. 4153/IGE of December 30, 1953.[119] This decree concerned: the "normalization" of primary education; the professional education of teachers of the "brevet élémentaire" level; the organization of secondary education copied on metropolitan secondary education, with necessary adaptations to local conditions; and the reorganization of technical education oriented toward the needs of the territories. Finally, the scheme dividing the territories into "secteurs scolaires" was improved by the creation of primary school inspection districts, each under the responsibility of a professional primary school inspector.

The discussion of a subsequent report will give an idea of the effectiveness of this reorganization.

Toward Completion of Institutional Transfer: 1954-1957. The Administration's determination to coordinate all efforts in order to "normalize" the Congolese school system was made evident in the preceding section. Its plan to curb horizontal educational development in favor of vertical development was obviously unrealistic, but it showed in a striking way the effects of uncontrolled growth and tended to channel efforts in new directions. The missions, after protesting against criticism, found themselves in basic agreement with the official

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119. Annuaire Statistique de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française (1951-55), op. cit., p. BV-3. (The decree itself cannot be found in the Congo Archives.)

point of view or felt compelled to accept it rather than renounce the support of public funds. Those connected with public schools also saw the advantages in harmonious coexistence. It can be gathered from the 1957 annual report of the Director of Education[120] that the parallel development of public and private schools was pursued effectively during these last years of French colonial rule. Before discussing educational policy, school statistics[121] summarizing the development of Congolese schools from 1953-54 to 1956-57 will be presented.

TABLE 8

MIDDLE CONGO PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
1953-1957

	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	A.E.F. 1956-57
Public	25,244	24,345	25,770	29,789	90,702
Private	31,439	32,785	33,774	37,821	78,138
Total	56,683	57,130	59,544	67,610	168,840

TABLE 9

MIDDLE CONGO PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY COURSES
1953-1957

Courses	Schools	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
Preparatory I & II	Public	16,106	15,433	15,739	18,072
	Private	20,780	21,738	21,841	23,382
Elementary I & II	Public	6,472	6,183	6,853	7,789
	Private	7,850	8,049	8,576	10,346
Middle I & II	Public	2,666	2,729	3,178	3,928
	Private	2,809	2,998	3,357	4,093

120. Inspection Académique de Moyen-Congo, "Rapport sur la situation de l'Enseignement au Moyen-Congo au 1er Janvier 1957 et son

TABLE 10

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS PER CLASSROOM
IN MIDDLE CONGO PRIMARY SCHOOLS
1951-1957

Schools	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
Public	62	60	56.3	53.2	53.3	59.2
Private	38.5	40	47.8	48.9	49.0	54.3
Average	46.0	50	52.0	50.6	50.8	56.3

These statistics provide ample evidence that private education did harmonize its educational development effort with that of public education. Table 8, for instance, shows that private school enrollment for 1954-55, the first year following the "normalization" decree, is slightly greater than the previous year's. Table 9 indicates that much of this increase occurred at the elementary and the middle course levels. In fact, total enrollment in both private and public schools was held down rather successfully during the first three years following the "normalization" decree. Figures for 1956-57 showed a marked increase over the previous year, suggesting that the adjustment period was over and that rapid development of Congolese education was resumed. Table 10 shows another example of how private education followed public education's lead: much of its increased enrollment was managed through steady increases in the number of pupils per classroom. Indeed, the number of private schools actually dropped from 268 to 254 during the 1953-54 school year. This reorganization effort, fully supported by the Administration, also involved closing down some schools while opening others in more appropriate places. This system of compensation was still applied at the beginning of the 1956-57 school year: private education closed down eight preparatory, five elementary, and three middle classes but obtained authorization to open nine preparatory classes, 17 elementary, and ten middle, for a net gain of 20 classes, or precisely the number of new public school classes opened during that year.[122]

évolution au cours de l'année 1956," RB/BR/13/2/57. (Only a carbon copy of this typewritten document was made available to the writer.)

121. Statistics found in annexes to the above report.

122. Ibid.

Finally, another measure contributed to the improvement of the situation in the preparatory classes. Circular No. 395 of April 26, 1956, forbade repetition of the beginners' class. For the pupils who could not move up to the second grade at the end of one year, some special "catching up" classes were organized whenever possible. The program of the beginners' class was reviewed during the first three months, and the repeaters moved directly up to the elementary course at the end of the year.

Thus, many of the areas of friction between public and private education were eliminated. One major question still remained: government subsidies had increased regularly but were still considered insufficient by the mission authorities. This matter was not settled until the Congo became independent, that is, when the Congolese Government took over responsibility for most of the cost of private education.

Training and upgrading of in-service teachers was pursued as an essential condition for the qualitative improvement of primary education. The Congo now had its own teacher-training institution, the Collège Normal Raymond-Paillet, at Dolisie, which had already graduated two successive groups of "instituteurs-adjoints" and one group of "moniteurs supérieurs." To these were added the graduates of the Federal Normal School of Mouyoundzi assigned to the Congo. The "moniteurs" (approximate level of general education: 6th grade) were used only in the beginners' classes, but efforts were made to improve their level of general education and their professional skill. In the long vacation of 1956, for instance, 224 "moniteurs" attended special courses organized in three centers (Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire, Fort Rousset). In addition, these "moniteurs" were encouraged to take correspondence courses, such as those offered by the "Centre National d'Enseignement par Correspondance" (Paris), in preparation for the B.E.P.C. or even the baccalaureate examinations.

One of the main justifications for the emphasis on the vertical development of primary education was that this should provide better selection of secondary school candidates. In October 1956, 302 pupils were admitted in "sixième" (the lowest secondary school class) out of 890 who took the examination. Such a high proportion of failures, however, left much room for improvement. A temporary solution was found in the creation of "7th grade" classes as a sort of preparatory class for admission into the secondary.[123] In 1955-56, three such classes were in operation, one each in Pointe-Noire, Brazzaville, and Fort-Rousset, and almost all their pupils were admitted in secondary in October, 1956. Similar classes were opened at Dolisie and Djambala. In all cases, European teachers were placed in charge.

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123. In France, pupils are generally admitted in the secondary after five years in the primary; French African pupils were regularly given six years of primary education.

The large post-war increase in European population in the Congo--connected with the implementation of the Plan--had caused the development of primary schools following metropolitan programs of studies in the three main urban centers of the Congo, that is, in Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire, and Dolisie. Among the special features of these schools, three attracted Congolese criticism: 1) the existence of kindergarten classes; 2) the maintenance of a lower number of pupils per classroom; and 3) the provision of a school bus service. The Administration responded by abolishing the kindergarten classes and encouraging the local Red Cross to operate a nursery school, by increasing enrollment per classroom, and by letting private enterprise handle transportation.

The problem of placement of Congolese educated youths continued to preoccupy responsible French educators. Following passage of the "Loi-Cadre," placement of primary certificate holders still presented few problems. Since a relatively small proportion of pupils passed the certificate examinations and a still smaller proportion was admitted into secondary, the swelling enrollment in the middle courses promised to multiply these problems. Already the 1953 economic recession had caused high unemployment at a time when the school "normalization" reforms were forcing many youths out of school before they could obtain their primary school certificates. Thus, educators realized that ". . . within the framework of formal education, all efforts must be made to stop the youths' exodus toward the cities and to prepare them for manual work."

In urban centers, the Apprenticeship Sections were thought to be adequate to their task. They admitted only primary certificate holders, gave them one year of general education for orientation purposes, then a second year of strictly specialized training in trades currently in demand--using methods developed in France for the "Formation Professionnelle Accélérée" (F.P.A.). The Sections' Heads were also responsible for the placement of apprentices. In 1956, they had been fully successful in Pointe-Noire and in Dolisie. But in Boko, a similar section was closed down when it turned out that it did not correspond to local needs.

In rural areas, "Manual Sections" offered two years of vocational training in a broader range of skills. They were aimed at producing "polyvalent" tradesmen adapted to a variety of lower technical tasks required at village level. However, the main responsibility of rural schools was not to train craftsmen, but farmers. The Director of Education remarked that little had been done so far in this area and that most attempts had failed. Beginning in October, 1957, new Agricultural Sections were to be set up with the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture. The sections were to admit middle course pupils, with or without the primary school certificate, and to provide training in agricultural techniques adapted to local conditions. The first sections were to be set up in the vicinity of agricultural stations

and in areas where the "paysannats" (modern agricultural settlements) were being developed.

The industrial development prospects of the Pointe-Noire area, tied to the building of the Kouilou Dam, were also given consideration by the education officials. It was thought that the existing vocational schools of Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire could be expanded and supplemented by "F.P.A." centers in order to face the increased demand for specialists and technicians. But no hasty transformation was to take place until industrial development was assured: "Nothing would be more dangerous than giving at this time too great an expansion to technical education in the absence of employment opportunities."

Only secondary education in a narrow sense was discussed by the Director of Education in his 1957 report. In this respect, the Congo was more advanced than any of the other A.E.F. territories in that it had a Federal "lycée" (Savorgnan de Brazza, in Brazzaville) and a territorial "Collège Classique et Moderne" (Victor Augagneur, in Pointe-Noire). In October, 1957, the latter was to have eight classes distributed over six grades--one grade short of the complete "long" secondary cycle.

Reference was also made to the few Congolese students currently in France. Those who were in French institutions of higher learning were placed under the responsibility of the Federal authorities. But this left some thirty scholarship holders pursuing secondary or technical studies in France. Their situation was described as very unsatisfactory, since few students ever obtained their baccalaureate in France. Some had been repatriated and admitted in newly established Congolese secondary schools in order to improve their chances of completing their secondary education. The rapid development of local secondary schools was seen as the best solution to the problems created by immature African students who had reached France with or without the authorization and support of local governments.

Finally, full credit was given to the contribution of FIDES to the construction and equipment of school facilities. In addition to the construction of the "Collège" at Pointe-Noire, the improvement of the Normal Schools at Dolisie and Mouyoundzi, and the equipment of the Vocational School at Brazzaville, a total of 178 public primary classes were built or repaired from 1953 to 1957 at a cost of 67 million CFA francs. This figure did not include the building improvements accomplished with local funds, nor the FIDES funds allocated at federal level to private schools (a total of 128 million CFA francs for A.E.F. private primary schools from 1953 to 1957). For the immediate future, various new constructions and improvements were planned, particularly for girls' classes, for the repair of 100 primary classrooms, and for the addition of 150 new classes.

The implementation of such a "realistic" program was expected to produce, by the end of the year 1961, the following results:

Public secondary education: 1700 students (including Federal "lycee" and Normal School enrollments).

Technical education (various levels): 500 to 600 students.

Manual and Agricultural Sections: about 1500 pupils.

Public primary education: about 45,000 pupils, for a total of about 80,000 pupils including private primary school pupils.

These figures were thought to lie close to the ". . . optimal schooling of the Congo in the present state of the demography and means of penetration."

Following this discussion of the educational situation and policy during the school year 1956-57, the examination results of the July, 1957, session will give an indication of the qualitative "output" of the Congolese school system:

TABLE 11

MIDDLE CONGO EDUCATION EXAMINATION RESULTS
LOCAL PRIMARY SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (C.E.P.)
JULY 1957

	No. of Candidates			Passed			Percentage of Candidates over 6th Grade Enrollment	Percentage Passed over Candidates
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total		
Public	877	90	967	384	35	419	42	43
Private	955	122	1,075	348	41	389	62	36
Others	565	52	615	133	14	147	-	24
Total	2,397	264	2,657	865	90	955	-	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, "School Statistics on January 1st, 1958," p. 56. (Mimeographed.)

In addition, private education presented 102 boys and 18 girls to the "moniteurs" examination. Forty-four boys and five girls were admitted. Public education no longer trained "moniteurs."

At the secondary level, no Congolese had yet reached the baccalaureate level in local institutions, but examinations were held in three centers (Pointe-Noire, Dolisie, and Brazzaville) for the "Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle" (B.E.P.C.) and for the "Brevet Elémentaire" (B.E.).

TABLE 12

CONGO EXAMINATION RESULTS FIRST SECONDARY CYCLE (B.E.P.C.)
(PUBLIC AND PRIVATE)
JULY 1957

	Europeans		Africans		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Number of Candidates					
Pointe-Noire	11	6	68	3	79	9
Dolisie	0	0	25	0	25	0
Brazzaville	29	30	176	2	205	32
Total	40	36	269	5	309	41
	Number of Passes					
Pointe-Noire	7	7	19	0	26	7
Dolisie	0	0	3	0	3	0
Brazzaville	8	9	40	0	48	9
Total	15	16	62	0	77	16

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, "School Statistics on January 1st, 1958," p. 62. In addition, 19 Africans obtained the B.E. out of 75 candidates.

Transfer of Control: 1958. When, on September 28, 1958, the Congo, in response to General de Gaulle's referendum, chose autonomy within the French Community, a most decisive step was taken in the political evolution of the Congo. Except in matters of foreign affairs and defense, full executive power fell in the hands of democratically elected Congolese. But this was by no means the first time Congolese leaders were in a position to influence domestic policy. Within the framework of the French Union of 1946 some Congolese representatives had held positions in "deliberative bodies" at the Territorial, Federal, French National, and French Union levels. It is at the two lower levels (Territorial and Federal) that Congolese representatives had their best opportunity to influence policy. The powers of the Territorial Assemblies and of the Grand Council of French Equatorial Africa were at first strictly deliberative, execution being the exclusive domain of appointed French officials. Assemblymen and Councillors, for instance, could not propose programs of action, but had considerable influence in the shaping and orientation of such programs through their financial control. Until 1956, African and European representatives were elected by separate colleges, giving the European minority a relatively large representation. Criticized on these grounds, the double college, however, had at least two great advantages. First, the presence of influential Europeans in Assemblies undoubtedly helped the appointed executive adjust its attitudes to the new conditions. Second, within the representative bodies, conflicting European and African interests could have led to deep divisions and to greatly reduced effectiveness. Thanks largely to the European members' assumption of the role of mentors of their African colleagues, moderation and wisdom prevailed while the latter members served their apprenticeship in parliamentary behavior and technique.

In educational matters, French post-war policy met with the general approval of the African élite. Apart from the declared goal of universal education, promised access to secondary and higher education was enthusiastically received. But if basic agreement existed at the general policy level, divergences soon developed in two important areas: 1) the speed of educational development and 2) its orientation in the direction of ever greater conformity with the metropolitan school system. The African representatives consistently pressed at Territorial and Federal levels for speed and uniformity. This position was clearly illustrated in parliamentary debates when educational matters came under discussion. Two examples will be given here.

In 1947, responsibility for primary education had been turned over to the territories, and its administration and budget submitted to the scrutiny of the Territorial Assemblies. Secondary education and scholarships in France remained the responsibility of the Government General, and submitted to the control of the Grand Council of the French Equatorial Africa. Thus, at the May 13, 1950, meeting of the Grand Council, the councillors were invited to approve minor modifications to a proposed decree regarding the granting of scholarships. The modifications

under discussion were concerned with the composition of the Territorial and Federal commissions responsible for these matters. But it gave the councillors an opportunity to express their views, not only on the question of scholarships, but on the whole operation of the secondary school system.[124] Indeed, the councillors were not inclined to discuss the matter of scholarship commissions, since, in their opinion, the existing secondary school programs did not adequately prepare African students to pursue their studies in France. The argument went somewhat like this: one of the most serious problems in A.E.F. is education. In order to solve this problem, the largest possible number of students must be sent to France and returned to train the school cadres. But this will only be possible "when educational programs in A.E.F. and the Metropole are "unified." Monsieur Evouna, a Grand Councillor from Gabon, quoted a formal wish expressed by the Grand Council Commission formed to study this proposed decree:

> That a cricular be sent to territorial governors, requesting them not to block systematically the sending of scholarship students to the Metropole.
>
> That appropriate measures be taken to ensure that no scholarship student is sent back to A.E.F. except for very good reasons.
>
> Finally, the Commission reiterates the often expressed wish that the school programs in A.E.F. be standardized with those of the Metropole.

The Congolese representative, Monsieur Tchichelle, who later became Vice-President and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Congo, would rather have had the Administration concentrate on applying existing decrees and regulations instead of worrying about new texts. The "Ecole de Cadres Supérieurs" came under particular criticism. In spite of the Administration's claim that this school and the secondary courses of Brazzaville and Bangui were bringing their students up to the level of the first part of the French baccalaureate, no metropolitan institution, as of 1950, had yet accepted their graduates at that level. Again, the standardization of programs and diplomas, at all levels, was seen as the only solution to the problem.

In the course of the same session, another matter provided the Grand Councillors with an opportunity to express their views regarding the role of private education, particularly that of the Catholic missions. Father Le Comte, the Catholic missions' spokesman and a Grand Councillor himself, presented a five-year school development plan for

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124. Débats du Gran Conseil de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, Session Ordinaire, 24 avril 1950" (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle, 1950), p. 114.

which the Church was seeking financial assistance from FIDES. The Administration had just accepted the principle of such an assistance, and the detailed plan was being submitted to the Grand Council prior to the presentation of the fund request to the Administration and to FIDES. For the financial year 1950-51 alone, a sum of 204.5 million CFA francs was considered for A.E.F. Catholic education, of which 131.5 million francs were to be spent in the two Congolese dioceses.

On this question, European and African representatives who took part in the debate were sharply divided. The European Councillor from Chad, while agreeing in principle that public funds might be used to assist the missions in their educational efforts, made two important objections: 1) On the basis of the submitted plan, he estimated that the Catholic missions themselves intended to spend about 100 million CFA francs per year for five years on buildings and equipment (half the FIDES contribution), plus an equal amount for operating costs. He doubted that the missions were able to carry such a burden, and wondered who would be called upon to assume responsibility for part of the added operating costs. 2) He insisted that Territorial Assemblies be consulted first, since the territories would eventually be called upon to pay part of the new schools' operating expenses.

In answer to the first objection, Father Le Comte admitted that the rising cost to the missions for operating the schools was indeed a serious problem. But, he contended, building costs tended to rise more sharply than operating costs. Besides, under existing conditions, the efficiency of available personnel was reduced for lack of adequate physical facilities.

Another European councillor, Monsieur Cazaban-Mazerolles, after stating that he was not surprised at this new mission request for assistance funds, expressed the traditional opinion of the "republican" Frenchman:125

> I wonder why, within limited programs such as ours, one can think of granting to an education system which I would call denominational such considerable sums. What we want is a public education which produces free men in the spirit of the Republic.

This introduction of the French State-Church controversy in the discussion brought immediate protests from many of the African councillors, some two-thirds of whom were mission-educated. Their desire to keep this controversy out of Africa was made quite plain, in the words of Councillor Tchichelle:

> You know that the peoples of A.E.F. favor the multiplicity of schools, whether denominational or lay; in their view education

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125. Ibid., p. 120.

is education, whether public or private.

. . . . . .

I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of granting the funds, no matter how large the sum. As my Colleague Yetina remarked a minute ago, roads, bridges, all that is fine, but as long as there is nobody in a position to appreciate the importance and the usefulness of these things, they will be useless. I insist on supporting this effort whose sole aim is the development of education.

Finally, by a majority vote, the Grand Council declared in favor of granting the missions the requested credits. Of course, the request itself had to be forwarded by the A.E.F. Government to the FIDES authorities since favorable decision was only made possible by the Grand Council's approval.

In 1955, the Congo Territorial Assembly was given another opportunity to state its position on some of the main educational problems of the Congo.[126] The matter under consideration, proposed modifications to the manner in which already approved total subsidies to private education were to be used, was first presented to the Assemblymen by the Administration as a clear-cut choice between the provision of educational opportunities to more Congolese girls and a salary increase to Congolese teachers of the Catholic missions. Bishop Bernard, of the Brazzaville diocese, had included 19 European missionaries in his application for subsidies. The Administration, with the approval of the Assembly, had agreed to pay the salaries of only ten of those teachers. A substantial part of the total grant for the year, 1955, was to be used to increase the African Catholic teachers' pay. Bishop Bernard protested that most of the nine European teachers left out of the subsidy list were to staff girls' schools and that unless a sum of 1,736,500 CFA francs was granted for their pay the mission's plan for the development of girls' education would be seriously jeopardized. The Administration claimed to be unable to add this sum to the already approved total grant and proposed that Bishop Bernard be allowed to take the sum out of the 13,868,250 francs already earmarked by the Assembly for increases in African teachers' pay.

The Assemblymen's first reaction was to urge the Administration to find some way to pay those nine teachers out of general or reserve funds. Upon the Administration's insistence that no such solution could be envisaged, the Assemblymen were faced with two equally unpleasant alternatives: turn down the Administration's proposal and thus run the risk of being accused of neglecting the education of girls or accept

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126. Assemblée Territorial du Moyen-Congo: Provesverbal Provisoire de la Séance du 10 mai, 1955, pp. 42-69. (Mimeographed.)

the proposal and betray the interests of one of the most vocal groups among the African voters. As indicated earlier, private school teachers had long suffered from being paid much less than their public school colleagues. Encouraged by the mission authorities, they had come to believe that they were being paid low salaries because their representatives in the Assembly did not grant the missions sufficiently large subsidies. But there was little the Assemblymen could do directly to increase teachers' pay: under the terms of the subsidy grants the Administration was entitled to "verify" the uses to which the funds were put after they were spent, but actual allocation of funds within the limits of the total grant was left to mission authorities.

The 1955 subsidy, however, had been made in two parts, one of some 63 million francs for general operating expenses and a special one (13,868,250 francs) to be divided among African teachers. Now, the Administration argued, paying nine European girls' school teachers out of this last amount, as the Administration proposed, did not mean a reduction in African teachers' pay but a slight reduction in the amount of new increases in their pay. The speciousness of this argument did not escape the Congolese Assemblymen who saw that the net result of the operation would be a reduction in the African teachers' future pay. The Assemblymen, as the missions probably hoped, first tried to have the Government increase the total mission subsidy. When this failed, the Assemblymen, as the Administration perhaps hoped, suggested that the Catholic missions could do without the additional funds. The missions had pioneered in the education of African girls and had provided such education to a limited extent for many years without special help from public funds. Besides, the Assemblymen reasoned, these girls' school teachers were already in the Congo and would be put to work in girls' schools whether or not the Government helped pay their salaries.

It is not certain that this involved question had to be brought to the attention of the Assembly in the first place. Bishop Bernard had used the girls' education issue as a way to get larger subsidies. The Administration, unwilling or unable to respond favorably, decided to take the funds where it knew it would hurt the Assemblymen, but hesitated to do so without the Assembly's approval. The Assemblymen clearly indicated that they wanted both education for girls and higher pay for African teachers. The question was "solved" by a majority adoption of the Administration's original proposal, provided that Bishop Bernard would give his written assurance that the African teachers' pay "would in no way be reduced as a result of his use of the 1,736,500 francs to cover the salaries of nine European teachers." The ambiguity contained in the term "reduced" was not dispelled, but the resolution satisfied the Assemblymen who could then assure their constituents that they had not compromised on either the principle of girls' education nor higher teachers' pay. On the other hand, it did not give the missions more funds but allowed them to pay European teachers out of funds previously earmarked for African teachers--so long as the net result did not bring about a reduction in the previous salary of their African teachers.

Finally, the Administration could not be blamed for allowing the use of funds for purposes not approved by the Assembly.

These two examples show clearly that Congolese leaders, from the time they were given a voice in the determination of educational policy, had two main preoccupations: 1) the provision of more educational facilities through the expenditure of ever larger funds from any sources available (public or private), and 2) the development of school programs and standards equivalent, rather, identical, to those of France. By the time the Congo was granted autonomy, its school system was one of the most highly developed in Africa, and except for minor adaptations, it was a reproduction of the French school system--minus the apex of the pyramid. The first step was even taken toward the introduction of higher education: the 1959 Federal budget, prepared before the four autonomous republics were born, included a new item entitled "propédeutique." This meant that funds were appropriated for the purpose of creating a post-secondary level class in preparation for higher education.[127]

With the proclamation of autonomy, on November 28, 1958, the Congolese leaders received executive as well as deliberative powers to govern the Congo. The institutions they inherited were introduced very slowly at first, then at a fast pace during the post-war years. Now these leaders had the power to adopt, adapt, or reject the institutions they had inherited. The following school statistics covering the last full school year under French administration (1957-58) will give an idea of the nature and importance of the school system France left behind in the Congo.

On January 1, 1959, it was estimated that 72 per cent of the school-age population of the Congo was actually attending school.[128] But the source quoted in the following tables shows a wide variation in school attendance rates from one region to another, ranging from 49 per cent (Sangha) to more than 100 per cent in several areas. Rates exceeding 100 per cent were found because the school-age population was grossly underestimated. Following UNESCO practice, the school-age population was assumed to be equal to 15 per cent of the estimated total population, an obviously too low proportion. A 20 per cent base would have been much closer to reality. This would have produced an average school attendance rate of about 50 per cent with 25 per cent only in the case of girls. But it would have shown the Congo less favorably in comparisons with other African territories using the accepted 15 per cent base.

During the last year of French rule, the Congo education budget reached 1,205,265,900 CFA francs, or 26.2 per cent of the territory's budget. This amount does not include FIDES nor mission contributions.

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128. Enseignement Outre-Mer, op. cit., p. 25.

TABLE 13

CONGO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, JANUARY 1, 1958
NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPILS

Level of Classes	Public			Private			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Preparatory Class I	8,505	4,060	12,565	10,587	5,499	16,086	19,087	9,559	28,646
Preparatory Class II	5,889	2,231	8,120	7,030	3,028	10,058	12,919	5,259	18,178
Elementary Class I	4,258	4,387	5,645	5,715	2,099	7,814	9,973	3,486	13,459
Elementary Class II	3,048	745	3,793	3,620	1,093	4,713	6,668	1,838	8,506
Middle Class I	2,376	490	2,865	2,662	613	3,275	5,037	1,103	6,140
Middle Class II	1,924	371	2,295	1,503	235	1,738	3,427	606	4,035
Total Primary	25,989	9,284	35,283	31,112	12,567	43,679	57,111	21,851	78,962

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, "School Statistics on January 1st, 1958," p. 30.

TABLE 14

CONGO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, JANUARY 1, 1958
NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND CLASSROOMS

Types of Schools	Public (N=187)	Private (N=295)	Total (N=482)
Regional Schools	62	59	121
Village Schools	121	221	342
Girls' Schools	4	15	19
Number of Classrooms	544	726	1,270

TABLE 15

TEACHER-TRAINING ENROLLMENT, JANUARY 1, 1958
(FIVE-YEAR POST-PRIMARY PROGRAM)

Institutions	Total of Four General Education Classes			Professional Training Class			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Public									
Dolisie	113	-		16	13				
Mouyoundzi	-	46		-	0				
Total			159			29	129	59	188
Private									
Chaminade	68	-		10	8				
Javouhey	-	11		-	-				
N'Gouédi	85	8							
Total			172			18	163	27	200

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 42.

NOTE: In addition, the Catholic missions were training (two-year course) 110 boys and 14 girls to be "moniteurs" and "monitrices." The public system had no "moniteur-training" program.

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS, JANUARY 1, 1958

Grades	Public[a]			Private[b]			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Sixième	254	92	346	138	41	179	392	133	525
Cinquième	166	54	220	84	33	117	250	87	337
Quatrième	120	54	174	72	17	89	192	71	263
Troisième	71	46	122	57	13	70	133	59	192
Seconde	29	21	50	33	0	33	62	21	83
Première	26	24	50	10	0	10	36	24	60
Terminales:									
Philosophy	3	2	5	9	0	9	38	7	45
Science	8	4	12	0	0	0	8	4	12
Mathematics	17	1	18	0	0	0	17	1	18
Total	673	274	947[c]	394	103	497	1067	378	1445

a. Pointe-Noire; Brazzaville.

b. Brazzaville (2); M'Bamou (Sem.).

c. Out of the 673 boys enrolled in public secondary schools, 202 were European and out of 274 girls, 231 were Europeans. Comparable figures for private education are not available.

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 44.

TABLE 17

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, JANUARY 1, 1958

Ecole Professionnelle (Brazzaville)	Boys	Girls	Total
1. Industrial section	113	-	113
2. "Moniteurs polyvalents" section	8	-	8
3. Commercial section			
First cycle	82	27	109
Second cycle	12	5	17
Total	213	32	247

	Public	Private	Total
Total enrollment in Apprenticeship Sections (all boys):	142	60	202
In "manual" sections attached to regional schools (all boys):	248	164	412
In homemaking classes (all girls):	none	423	423
Total	390	647	1037

Source: Ministry of Education, Brazzaville, p. 47.

This, then, was the school system inherited by the Congo nation from France. For the size of its population, the Congo was perhaps the best educationally endowed of Africa's emerging nations.

EVALUATION OF COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

The object of this section is to review briefly the main aspects of educational policy and practice in the Congo over a period of more than three-quarters of a century and to submit critical judgments in terms of the effectiveness of stated policy and reported practice.

In tackling this task the writer has adopted as an analytic tool the model, discussed earlier, of Professor Paul R. Hanna.[1] In this "Model of National Investment in Education," education--formal or informal--is viewed essentially as a process of communication consisting of "INPUT," a "message" and its "source," reaching "receivers" through various "channels" and "processes" ("THROUGHPUT") and producing certain changes ("OUTPUT") in the behavior of the receivers. Mainly because of its high adaptability to different situations, this model is adopted in the present analysis. Its use will enable us to see some similarities and crucial differences that are produced when an educative message (that is, generalizations, values, and skills) finds its source in an indigenous culture and its formulation in transferred institutions.

Criteria of functionality will be used to evaluate the effects of the French educative message transferred to the Congo. Educational policy and practice, then, will be judged "functional" or "dysfunctional" according to their objective consequences, that is, whether the objective "output" corresponds to the aims of the "input."

Finally, the analysis will allow the writer to illustrate the circularity of the educative process over a period of time: the "output," that is, the receivers' changed modes of behavior, contributes to the formulation of a modified "input." This phase of the analysis should be particularly useful in evaluating educational developments in a newly independent Congo and in submitting the conclusions of this dissertation.

French Educational Policy in the Congo from 1883 to 1905

The French government's involvement in Congo education during this period was limited to vague statements of intent and to half-hearted

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1. Paul R. Hanna, "Conventional and Unconventional Education for Newly Developed Countries," in America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education, ed. Clarence Hunnicutt (Syracuse University: School of Education, 1962), p. 2.

support of missionary action--provided this action was consistent with the government's basic policy, that is, the use of French as the language of instruction and as a means for spreading French civilization and influence. Because of the provisions of the 1885 Act of Berlin, even this cardinal rule could hardly be sanctioned by law. All France could do was give special encouragement to missionaries who would "naturally" adopt educational policies congruent with French cultural and political aims. Even this minimum effort was approved only by a handful of politicians in Paris and administrators in the Congo.

General policy conflicts which might have developed between Savorgnan de Brazza and the French business interests regarding human resource development in the Congo remained academic, since public formal education was not provided.

For over twenty years, then, the French government tried only indirectly to establish the basic elements of its educative message to the Congo populations. It never attempted to translate its basic policy into specific programs of studies, thus stopping short of carrying out the "input" phase of formal education in the Congo.

The Catholic Missions' Educational Monopoly: 1883-1905

The primary aim of the Catholic missionaries' action was to convert the Congolese to the Catholic religion, and in so doing to raise the "moral" level of the population. The secondary aim was to raise the material level of the population through general and vocational education. In no way was the secondary aim to be allowed to take precedence over the primary aim or to defeat its purposes.

The source of the Catholic missionaries' educative message was a dual one: the religious and moral teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and French civilization. In addition, the missionaries found in Congolese culture some elements worth preserving. Those elements, however, were not made a part of the formal curriculum developed by the missionaries: it was implicitly assumed that Congolese society itself would continue transmitting those cultural elements in the traditional manner.

From the very beginning, one of the Catholic missionaries' chief concerns was to adapt their French-Catholic educative message to the normative needs and to the receptive capabilities of the Congolese population. Adaptation, in this situation, implies selective adoption and rejection of cultural elements present in the two cultures being brought into contact. This policy is based on the practical assumption that cultures are composed of independent and interchangeable parts. Knowing how little this assumption corresponds to facts, one should not be surprised that adaptation attempts so often produce unexpected and, too frequently, undesired effects.

The requirements of Christian truths and moral standards constituted the Catholic missionaries first set of criteria in deciding what their Congolese pupils should learn; their second set of criteria was based upon the Congolese's presumed limited ability to learn and probable opportunities to use what they could learn as means of improving their social and economic conditions. According to the first set of criteria, the Congolese were automatically granted a status of equality with the whole family of man. But the second set of criteria clearly suggested a relationship of cause and effect between inferior learning ability and restricted social and economic opportunities on the one hand, and adaptation of formal educational structure and content to "Congolese conditions" on the other hand. This questionable relationship was assumed and, indeed, frankly stated on numerous occasions by the early Catholic missionaries. Their words and actions consistent with this position lie at the root of the Congolese's deep distrust for any form of "adaptation to African conditions." Adaptation and inferiority have become intimately associated in the minds of the Congolese and will probably remain so until adaptation is rather seen as "an African solution to an African problem."

The message resulting from the Catholic missionaries' many-sided adaptation policy may not have been very clear. Apart from the conflicts between the missionaries' teaching and the example of the French traders and administrators, internal contradictions undoubtedly existed in the missionaries' formal educative message. For instance, if the French priests were able to resolve for themselves the conflicts resulting from the combination of Judeo-Christian beliefs and ethics with the French scientific and industrial civilization, it is far from certain that their Congolese pupils were able at once to accomplish such a feat.

The early Catholic missionaries' blueprint for educational organization in the Congo--as described in Bishop Carrie's "Coutumier"--is consistent with stated policy. In practice, these plans were never truly put into operation. The quantitative development of schools which the plans' operation required did not take place until after the Second World War. By that time, the "Coutumier's" rigid hierarchy of educational structures and programs was still much less consistent with the Congolese political, social, and economic realities. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, these proposed structures and programs, although different in many respects from the French model, were not too well adapted to the Congolese situation. Although "free" Congolese children were reluctant to accept integration with mission-purchased slave children, Congolese society was much less stratified than the missionaries believed. The chiefs' sons, for instance, never enjoyed in the Congo a position similar to that of the chiefs' sons in Moslem North Africa. The persistent interest of both the missionaries and the French colonial administrators in Congolese chiefs' sons may thus have been a bad second-hand adaptation of an adapted solution. Furthermore, Bishop Carrie's plans for careful guidance of mission-educated Congolese to specific social and professional positions had very little chance of success: what children wanted above all was a chance to learn

"white man's ways"--to acquire the white man's magical powers. No matter what a Congolese child learned at the mission, he became a "lettré," a new type of person differentiated only from the non-educated, not from other "lettrés." Thus the missionaries soon realized that the pursuit of their secondary educational aim often tended to defeat their primary aim: numerous pupils hopefully trained for tasks connected in some way with mission work left the mission and escaped the influence of the missionaries; hence, the missionaries' heavy emphasis on religious instruction and cautious attitude toward rapid expansion of general and vocational education facilities.

Apart from this last observation, it is true that many factors contributed to the slow rate of progress of Catholic mission education (after twenty years, total enrollment did not exceed 2,000 pupils in regular attendance). The main factor was undoubtedly a lack of funds. Since government subsidies were mostly absorbed by the customs duties the missionaries had to pay on their imports, the missions were financially dependent on a small subsidy from Rome, voluntary contributions from European Catholics, and the profits of gardens and orchards operated by some mission stations. These sources of income determined to a large degree the direction of the missions' educative action. Funds from the first two sources tended to give priority to religious action; funds from the third source tended to tighten the missions' expenditure budget. The need for strict economy reduced quantitative educational development and influenced the types of education the missions could provide. Due to the lack of enthusiasm Congolese parents had for education and to the extreme irregularity of the "free" pupils' attendance, early Catholic missionaries relied heavily on "redeemed" slave boys and girls as a more stable source of pupils. If the slaves' purchase price was low, the cost of food, clothing, and shelter for those boys and girls was relatively high. Hence, each pupil had to contribute to the financial welfare of the missions by working in the mission fields and shops. It is then no surprise that Félicien Challaye considered that the Catholic missions were less interested in training pupils for a trade than in obtaining skilled manpower for the benefit of the missions.

In fact, the Catholic missions did train an undetermined number of Congolese who filled low-level posts in the Colony's Administration, trade, and building industry. Thus appears an interesting relationship between policy, practice, and results: providing general and vocational education was an avowed aim of the early Catholic missionaries. In practice, the missions' own self-preservation requirements oriented their educative effort, with little attention for the manpower needs of the Colony as such. Although the objective outcome was often disappointing for the missions, their pupils and the Colony reaped some benefits.

French Educational Policy and Practice during the Incubation Period: 1905-1937

Stagnation best describes this long period if one is interested in the quantitative development of Congolese education. However, the same period is rich in policy statements issued by the three formal education agencies: the French Government, the Swedish Evangelical Mission, and the Roman Catholic missions.

One of the best proofs of the French Government's lack of interest in the development of the Congo is perhaps the fact that the Catholic Church was allowed to monopolize the field of education for more than twenty years. At the beginning of this century, as the Church-State controversy reached its maximum intensity in France, and as the concessionary companies' scandals attracted French public attention to the Congo, it was to be expected that the French Government could not continue to ignore its educational responsibilities in the Congo. Indeed, two official policy statements were issued at that time, one by Inspector General Foncin, and the other by the Minister for Colonies, Clémentel. Although these statements applied to the whole French Empire, they contained references to the Congo.

Inspector General Foncin, in pressing the French Government to action in the field of colonial education, may have been motivated primarily by the desire to provide the children of French colonists with the type of free public education to which they were entitled by law. This preoccupation undoubtedly played an important role in educational development in the French colonies: it prompted the establishment in the colonies of metropole-type schools from which indigenous populations could not be barred in view of France's non-discriminatory principles. The Congo, because of its small French population, did not "benefit" from this situation until the later 1940's. In any event, Foncin devoted a substantial part of his report to the problems of native education. Graphically, the school system he recommended would have produced a rather low pyramid with a very narrow apex and wide base: a very small élite trained in European-type schools for predetermined posts, a number of low level administrative auxiliaries and craftsmen, and, at the base, the masses, barely introduced to the French language and civilization.

Underlying Foncin's educational pyramid were the two familiar principles of French Government policy: to spread the use of the French language and to match educational opportunities to the skilled manpower needs of each colony. A top school administrator himself, Foncin pressed for the establishment of regular school administration in the colonies and called for metropolitan financial contributions to support it. Furthermore, the public school system should not replace the missions' school system, but serve as its model.

A wide range of opinion existed at that time in France and in the colonies regarding policy toward missionaries. The extreme anti-clericals favored extending to the colonies the anti-Church laws being adopted in France. The moderates, however, were inclined to accept reassurances--such as Félicien Challaye's--that Church action in the colonies did not present the same "dangers" as in France. In any event, France was simply not free to adopt religious discrimination policies in the Conventional Basin of the Congo. Bishop Augouard, for his part, was determined to appeal above France to the signatory powers of the Act of Berlin in an effort to defend his missions' rights in the Congo.

The best indication of the French Government's limited freedom of action with regard to mission operations in the Congo is the fact that the Swedish Evangelical Mission succeeded in gaining a foothold in the Congo in 1909. In spite of the potential threat to France's cultural and political influence that the Swedish missionaries represented, the Congolese Government could not prevent their entry nor refuse them land concessions.

Minister Clémentel's instructions to colonial governors endorsed Inspector General Foncin's proposals except on two important points. First, Clémentel introduced the concept of "association" as France's new native policy, but he made it clear that this policy could not yet apply to the Congo because the Congolese were not yet culturally prepared to play the role of France's "associate." From official sources, this time, adaptation was clearly linked to inferior status. Second, Clémentel made educational development entirely dependent on local revenues. For the Congo, in 1905, this meant practically no funds at all for educational purposes with little prospect for improvement. Indeed, many concessionary companies, the local administration's chief source of tax revenues, were in deep financial difficulties themselves and were threatened by official liquidation due to the pressure of French public opinion.

In 1911 the French Government came one step further into Congolese education: a formal decree, at last, created a public school system--on paper. The system incorporated most of the policy principles already reviewed: the transfer to Africa of the French school system in an "adapted" form, the teaching of the French language, and "middle" and vocational education tailored for the French-recognized needs of the Black Africans. However, the creation of a public school system in the Congo had an important indirect consequence: public financial support was withdrawn from mission schools. At this point reappears a parallel already drawn between French Government economic and educational development policies in the Congo. France had relinquished her economic development responsibilities to concessionary companies, but when the latter were reduced in number and power, the French Government failed to provide an adequate substitute for the companies' development

activities. In education, the French Government let the missionaries carry most of the burden for nearly thirty years with little more than token financial support. When government subsidies were withdrawn from the mission schools, an adequate public school organization was devised as an alternative, but the French Government failed to provide this organization with the financial means to operate.

The victorious end of the First World War and the creation of the League of Nations brought to France a fresh determination to carry out her "mission civilisatrice" in her neglected colonies. But as far as Congolese education was concerned, this new determination did not produce drastic changes. However, the previous withdrawal of government subsidies to mission schools was recognized as a mistake. The great potential usefulness of a prosperous mission school system under French Government control was at last appreciated. Government subsidies were once more granted to schools operated by French missionaries, but strict regulations prescribed the exclusive use of the French language for all non-religious instruction. Even "foreign," Protestant missions, if denied financial assistance, were at least recognized officially as formal education agencies. Finally, school inspection was organized to ensure conformance with regulations.

Aside from these developments no major policy changes were introduced until 1937. Even Minister for Colonies, Albert Sarraut, who, in the early 1920's exerted such powerful influence on French colonial policy, was content with restating established French educational policy and re-emphasizing that, ". . . effort should be directed toward ensuring above all a full development of primary, technical and vocational education."[2]

If plans were ambitious enough, practice was very disappointing. The few classes opened by the local administration between 1905 and 1911 probably had an insignificant effect. The beginning of public school practice in the Congo occurred after 1911, that is, after publication of the "Decree Organizing Education in French Equatorial Africa." Public institutions rarely "just grow" in French ruled territory; the State must first establish their legal foundations. The 1911 decree did not create a public school system in the Congo but only made it legally possible for a system to be created. The will and the means to carry out stated policy were still to be found. If the means failed to materialize it is because the will was, in the final analysis, seriously lacking. The surrender of Congolese territory to Germany before the First World War is a sufficient proof of the French Government's lack of positive interest in the Congo. In practice, then, discontinuation of government support of mission schools and failure

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2. Quoted by George H. Kimble in Tropical Africa (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1960), Volume II, p. 110.

to develop public education made the 1910-1920 decade Congo education's "darkest hour."

Accomplishments during the period 1920-1937 were hardly greater than during the preceding decade. The phrase "la mise en sommeil de l'enseignement" was first applied to that period. It implies that education was deliberately relegated to a position of very low priority, as indeed it was: completion of the Congo-Océan Railroad monopolized the country's resources.

Government educative action in the Congo between the First and the Second World War may have been more important through private than through public efforts. The Government made unmistakable its intention to regulate private education, that is, to control the growth of mission schools, to set up their academic standards, and to orient their action in directions favorable to French interests. But how well were the regulations enforced? The 1911 decree foresaw the creation of a School Inspection Service which was set up only in 1928. Up to 1928, then, school inspection must have been reduced to a bare minimum for both public and private schools. There is no indication that school inspection improved markedly from that date until 1936. In fact, government control of private education was exercised at the two opposite ends: establishment and staffing of mission schools and sanction of certificates awarded to the mission schools' products. Government officials could not be certain of what happened in between to mission schools' pupils, particularly to those (the vast majority) who failed to reach the primary school certificate level. Nevertheless, private education was profoundly affected by government regulations. Protestant schools, for instance, were forced to develop in accordance with the French model followed by public and Catholic schools. One can only speculate as to what would have happened if Protestant schools had developed along widely different lines.

In summary, public school practice in the Congo between 1905 and 1937 deserves M. Davesne's sharp criticisms: inadequate buildings, absence of teaching aids, uneducated and untrained teachers, ineffective school inspection, and lack of specific curriculum and school management regulations. The quantitative results were a maximum of 4,000 pupils receiving formal education in all of French Equatorial Africa (1937), or between one and two per cent of the school-age population; not a single African doctor, veterinarian, midwife, agricultural officer, nor qualified craftsman was produced. Before World War II, formal education in the Congo was incapable of filling the very limited manpower needs of the country. This situation does not constitute a proof that the French policy of limiting educational facilities to probable employment opportunities is a failure. For other reasons, educational facilities were even more limited than this policy would have allowed, although the policy may have offered handy excuses while education was being neglected.

The Catholic missions pursued a policy regarding educational aims, organization, structure, and programs that remained unchanged during this period. Their monopoly of Congolese education came to an end, though, forcing the Catholic missions to state their position in relation to public schools and to Protestant mission schools.

The Act of Berlin offered the Catholic Church strong guarantees for continued religious and "civilizing" action in the Congo Basin, and the Catholic missionaries were determined to take full advantage of those guarantees, even if this meant open opposition to French Government policies. In fact, the Catholic Church, being represented in the Congo by French missionaries, had every desire to cooperate to the fullest possible extent with the French Government in a concerted attack on the Congo's social and cultural problems. It is no surprise that the concrete proposals submitted by Father Rémy resembled so closely those proposed by Inspector General Foncin. Indeed, the "language schools"--which Father Rémy called "civilization centers"--if pursued by the Catholic missions with the moral and financial support of the Administration, would have virtually guaranteed to the Catholic missions a dominant position in the field of education. The missions, because of their relatively low cost of operation and because of the missionaries' willingness to work in extremely difficult "bush" conditions, would have quickly gained valuable footholds throughout the Congo. Likewise, in the area of technical and vocational education, Government support of the missions' action would have offered the quickest and most economical way to solve the problems of skilled manpower needs. For the missions, this would have meant being paid to do only what they had been doing all along in a haphazard and incidental manner.

It appears that if the French Government had had the interests of the Congolese population uppermost in mind, it would have taken full advantage of the Catholic missions' willingness to cooperate. But, in the final analysis, all lies in one's conception of "the interests of the Congolese population." The French Government believed that Catholic education was "miseducation."

When it came to counteracting the influence of Protestant missions, the French Government and the Catholic missions found further grounds for agreement. Official opposition to Protestant missions was not related to Protestantism itself, but to the fact that Protestantism in the Congo was represented by non-French missionaries, and feeble efforts were made to keep them out of the Congo. In fact, no strong action was taken by the French Government either to prevent the Swedish Protestants entry into the Congo or to curtail the latter's activities. This official attitude can no doubt be explained by the Protestant missions' sound tactical decision to use missionaries originating from a small neutral country and by those missionaries' careful avoidance of political involvement in the Congo. The Catholic missionaries repeatedly made efforts to show a direct link between the Swedish Evangelical Mission and German Lutheranism. These efforts having

generally failed, the Catholic missions chose another alternative: to spread their action horizontally and to gain footholds over the widest possible territory before the task was made more difficult by the presence of Protestant missionaries. This policy only re-emphasized the previously established priority attributed by the Catholic missions to the more purely religious aspects of their work at the expense of general and vocational education. The colonial administration's dropping of financial support, such as it was, of the Catholic mission schools added one more reason for keeping formal education's costs down to a minimum.

Catholic mission educational policies after World War I were closely similar to those actually adopted by the French Government, with an important exception: official regulations and inspection of mission schools in return for government subsidies. The Church naturally preferred subsidies without controls but could not realistically hope to obtain satisfaction on this point. Official school inspection has remained a necessary condition and a source of friction between the Church and the French authorities. As a matter of principle, the practice could hardly be challenged by the Church, but the Catholic missionaries had good reasons to be suspicious of the true motives of the French officials in charge of school inspection. Since the French Revolution, the French civil service as a whole had not been particularly favorable to the Church. During the period between the world wars, the Congo Government's irregular inspection of mission schools was carried out mostly by non-educators, who seemed more prone than educators might have been to let their political or personal convictions color their judgments of the mission schools. What professional educators did take charge of school inspection were products of the French Normal Schools, many of which were well-known centers of anti-clericalism. In any event, official inspection of mission schools remained sporadic and perfunctory until 1937.

Catholic mission educational policy, then, remained unchanged during the 1905-1937 period. Circumstances caused Catholic missionaries to reaffirm or to clarify their previous positions, particularly with regard to government agencies and to Protestant missions. In practice, the Catholic school system in the Congo somewhat deteriorated between 1905 and 1920 and then regained some vitality. But the phrase "mise en sommeil de l'enseignement" can apply to the Catholic missions almost as well as to the colonial administration.

Converting the Congolese to a Protestant brand of Christianity was, naturally, the primary aim of the Swedish Evangelical Mission. Education came second, together with health care, but for the Protestant the link between conversion and formal education was more functional and direct than for the Catholic missions: an illiterate Protestant is considered by Protestant leaders to be a contradiction in terms since Bible-reading is such an important Protestant principle. However, it does not matter what language a Protestant individual can

read or write as long as the Bible has been translated into that language. In the Congo, the Swedish missionaries thought it more practical to learn the vernacular themselves than for the Congolese to learn a European language. Since the early Protestant missionaries established on the left bank of the Congo River (on Belgian territory) had already translated the Bible into Ki-Kongo, this language, also spoken by some Kongo tribes on the French side of the Congo River, was used almost exclusively by the Swedish missionaries as long as the French authorities allowed them to do so, that is, until 1921.

From 1909 until 1921, the formal education offered by the Protestant missions in the Congo meant something different from either public or Catholic mission education. The French language and culture were absent from the curriculum; deliberate or incidental training of the Congolese as "auxiliaries" in colonial administration and trading was impossible; and Protestant action was at first limited to those Congolese tribes who spoke Ki-Kongo or some closely related dialect. The early Protestant schools, then, developed into a closed system dedicated to the literacy needs of the Protestant converts and to the missionary manpower needs of the Protestant missions themselves: catechists, pastors, teachers, carpenters, and masons. Of the Protestant mission schools' products, only the craftsmen could find a place outside the missions. This situation undoubtedly discouraged many young Congolese from seeking education and training in Protestant institutions. The experience of the Catholic missions which painstakingly trained many Congolese only to see them leave the missions for more lucrative employment was not repeated to the same degree in the case of the Protestant missions. Combined with the Protestant missionaries' insistence on quality--as opposed to the Catholic missionaries' insistence on quantity--the relative absence of non-religious motives for becoming Protestants goes far to explain the often-observed high religious standards of the Congolese Protestants.

The Swedish Evangelical Mission's sincerity of purpose in formal education was put to a most severe test by the 1920 decree regulating private education in the Congo. The Protestant missionaries had to rebuild their school system from its foundations, to learn the French language, to teach that language to their native "moniteurs," to adopt new textbooks, new methods, etc., or to abandon formal education. In fact, they had little choice in the matter: their continued operation as a somewhat disturbing element in the Congo could not have been long tolerated by the French authorities. Already in 1917, a decree stipulated that native "moniteurs" had to be French subjects, an obvious attempt to weaken the ties between the Kongo tribes on both sides of the Congo River. Protestant missionary action among these tribes, building on existing close ethnic relationships and disregarding political boundaries, was encouraging the development of a politically dangerous group of tribes using the same native language (being put into written form) and holding the same set of Christian beliefs. But this was not an intended result of Protestant missionary action since

the Swedish missionaries readily accepted the necessity for cooperating with the French authorities toward the goal of progressive assimilation of the Congolese through the transmission of the French language and culture. By 1926, the Protestant missions were ready to resume their formal educative action, this time in conformance with the French Government's policies.

French Policy and Practice in Congolese Education from 1937 to 1940

This period marks the beginning of the French Government's effective and direct involvement in Congolese formal education. Before 1937, in spite of brave policy statements and detailed educational schemes, the French Government chiefly relied on time, and on the missions' assistance, to perform the educative task in the Congo. But from 1937 on, two developments appear as unmistakable signs that the French authorities were at last ready to assume their responsibilities. These signs were: the "professionalization" of the Congolese public school system and increased budgetary allocations necessary to carry out the new plans.

Relieved of the burden which construction of the Congo-Océan Railroad had put on his recent predecessors, Governor General Reste could turn to education as one of his major tasks. Reste was in basic agreement with the general aims of education formulated during the past quarter of a century, but realized if these aims were to be pursued effectively, an adequate organization supplied with the necessary funds had to be set up. His first step was therefore to create a Department of Education, staffed with competent professional educators given the task of reorganizing education in French Equatorial Africa.

It was to be expected that this "professionalization" of the school system would bring about an intensification of the institutional transfer process from France to Equatorial Africa. Indeed the educational structures which emerged from the 1937 decree reorganizing education in French Equatorial Africa looked more like their French model than ever before: school administration patterns and practices, types of schools, divisions by grades, examination systems, etc., all familiar French educational structures, were actually transferred to Equatorial Africa. The widely held view that formal education in French-speaking African territories was and is a "carbon copy" of the French school system is strongly supported by superficial observation of educational structures. In reality, it can be demonstrated that the 1937 reorganization of education in Equatorial Africa constitutes the French Government's most determined effort to adapt French education to African conditions. To find support for this assertion, one must look beyond structures to the functions the structures were expected to perform.

The 1937 decree created in Brazzaville an "academic secondary school" which was an exact replica of the metropolitan "lycées." In

France, the function of this type of school was to lead the élite of French youth to higher education and to positions of leadership in French life. Now French colonial policy in Africa before World War II did not foresee the possibility of admitting Black Africans to high positions of leadership before many years, even generations, to come. What function was an academic secondary school supposed to perform in Brazzaville then? Simply, to fill the secondary school needs of the children of the French settlers and civil servants whose number was expected to increase rapidly following the improvement of communications in French Equatorial Africa. Black Africans, although not barred from admission to this school, were not expected to enroll. Strictly speaking, this was an "adaptation to local conditions." It should be noted that, as before, "adaptation" is closely associated with "inferior status."

The 1937 decree set up a Higher Primary Education structure: "Enseignement Primaire Supérieur." In France, for over one hundred years, this type of school could be found in small provincial towns. Its function was to provide further education to capable elementary school graduates who, for geographic, sociological, or economic reasons, did not have the desire or the opportunity to pursue their studies at the university level. This type of school practically closed the door to higher education, but otherwise constituted the most flexible post-elementary school structure in France. As it developed up to 1937, it performed the function of adding a complement of general education, providing vocational training for subordinate posts in the "tertiary" sector of the economy (that is, administration, commerce, and industry), and preparing candidates for primary teacher-training schools. In June, 1937, this type of school was integrated in the French secondary school system. It later gave birth to the present "Collèges Modernes." It appears, then, that the Higher Primary School established in Brazzaville, and later in each of the territorial capitals of French Equatorial Africa, was functionally adapted to local needs as perceived by the French colonial authorities.

"Technical" education was also organized after the French model. Two levels with different structures and functions were clearly distinguished. Specialized, trade school training was only partly placed under Department of Education responsibility. It was expected that other public and private agencies would make important contributions in this area. Likewise, agricultural education--at a specialized level--was the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture in accordance with French metropolitan practice. But a departure from the French model, at least in emphasis, was revealed in the particular care with which manual work and general agricultural education was made an integral part of Congolese education at all levels. As a part of the school curriculum, manual and agricultural education was supposed to benefit all students, no matter what their particular calling might be. In addition, it was expected to identify pupils with special aptitudes for trades or agriculture. The latter was given special emphasis through the institution of "Agricultural School Days." Finally,

African Handicraft Sections, set up to improve and preserve native handicraft techniques, represented a direct adaptive measure.

The 1937 professionalization of Equatorial African education was a result of the French Government's renewed commitment to supply adequate formal education. It was also an expression of confidence in the Government's ability to perform the task. As in 1911, this confidence induced the French Government and the French colonial administrators to relegate private education to a marginal position in the field of formal education. The 1937 decree barely mentioned private education's existence. A 1938 decree stated the Government's position with regard to missions. They were to be treated in strict conformance with the provisions of the Act of Berlin (1885) and the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1919), that is, as religious organizations expected to concentrate on their evangelizing task. In other words, the 1938 decree aimed at "putting the Missions back in their place." This assertion is supported by the Government's decision to give no privileged treatment to the (French) Catholic missions in the Congo. Obviously, the professional educators, in the best tradition of French public education, could not tolerate the prominent role the missions had assumed in Congolese education.

In spite of greatly increased budgetary allocations (the education budget almost doubled in three years), tangible results were still meager on the eve of World War II. Of course, the new structures had barely had time to take root before World War II upheavals altered the situation. It would not be fair to evaluate the effects of the 1937 reorganization of education on such a short period of time. Besides, the educational structures transferred in adapted forms from France to the Congo in 1937 have remained basically unchanged up to this date.

The Catholic missions were not opposed in principle to the structural innovations introduced in Congolese education during the period immediately preceding the Second World War. The functions assigned to these structures also met with the Catholic missions' approval, although their long experience caused them to adopt a frankly skeptical attitude. Official policy and practice toward the missions, however, represented a conception of the proper role of the missions which the Catholic missionaries, in particular, could not accept: they still saw themselves as Frenchmen dedicated to the service of God and Fatherland. On patriotic grounds, they believed that they were entitled to preferential treatment in a French-administered African territory; on religious grounds, after over fifty years of missionary action in the Congo, they were ready to base their claims on the argument traditionally used by the Catholic in France: the Catholic parents' right to have their children attend Catholic schools. Thus, the patriotic and the religious reinforced one another in the eyes of the Catholic missionaries in justifying their all-out opposition to the French Government's new position in the Congo. One can only speculate as to what the probable course of events would have been if the War had not brought a complete change in official policy regarding the role of the missions in Congolese education.

According to the Catholic missionaries it would seem that the new official attitude in favor of the Protestant missions was adopted chiefly as a means of annoying the Catholic missions. In fact, the new professional educators were genuinely impressed by the standards of quality which the Protestant missions had managed to maintain. At the level of French colonial policy, the recognition at last granted to the Swedish missionaries was a testimony to their strict adherence to the rules of political neutrality and to the success of their efforts to conform to official regulations regarding the use and the teaching of the French language.

French Policy and Practice in Congolese Education since World War II

Numerous policy statements were issued during this period and they were followed, at last, by practical results. As indicated in the previous chapter, educational developments in the Congo from World War II until 1958 were all consequences of two major policy decisions taken by the French Government: the transfer to the Congo of democratic political institutions and the supply of development funds to carry out the new policies. This meant that positions of leadership in the political, social, and economic life of the Congo would be created in increasing numbers, and that the Congolese themselves would have access to many of those positions. The Congolese school system in operation in 1940 was obviously not geared to the performance of functions demanded by the new policy. The following sections will review briefly how education was used instrumentally in pursuit of new native policy goals.

French official policy, as formulated by Félix Eboué and his successors and as incorporated in the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic, did not aim at preparing the Africans for self-government, much less for international sovereignty. On the other hand, the policy followed until 1940 was considered outdated and even contrary to the best interests of both the Metropole and the colonial populations. A solution was sought which would allow the Africans to retain some pride in their traditional institutions and at the same time to accept a degree of acculturation which would enable them to play a positive role in a modern version of the French Empire. If these two aims were theoretically compatible, the adopted solutions were not very successful. In order to give back to the non-acculturated Congolese a sense of pride for their own culture, a form of indirect rule was devised. Traditional chiefs were to be identified and given administrative powers. They were to exercise these powers under the supervision and guidance of French administrators. The scheme was based on a misunderstanding of the role of the chief in traditional Congolese society. Their two main functions, judge and teacher, had already been assumed by Frenchmen and acculturated Congolese. The new functions the Administration wanted the chiefs to perform were essentially modern ones, connected with the gradual evolution of the Congolese society toward European patterns.

It was assumed that the traditional chiefs would retain their authority no matter what functions they performed. In fact, the more the Administration tried to increase the chiefs' prestige and powers, the less effective authority they had over their people. Indeed, for those functions which the Administration wanted performed French colonial servants or acculturated Congolese were better suited. The latter type of Congolese received much attention after the War. The Administration made it plain that these were the models to be imitated by granting them the status of "notables évolués." They were those who had "evolved from a primitive state" and had adopted, to various degrees, the values and ways of living of the Europeans.

The school system was frankly aimed at producing "évolués," Black Africans who could assist the Europeans in the task of "civilizing" their countrymen. But sharp limits were set to the level at which the "évolués" were to play their role: important decision-making positions were still to be held by Frenchmen. Therefore, during the first ten years following the end of the Second World War, the Congolese skilled manpower requirements--as set by the French Government--did not differ in nature, but only in quantity, from those of the pre-war period. Consequently, the pre-war educational structures and functions were retained after the War. This explains why Governor General Eboué and his successors only continued and intensified the educative effort set in motion during the late 1930's. However, post-war educational policy differed in one important respect: the cooperation of the missions was actively sought, welcomed, and supported by the local administration. Even the Protestant missions began to receive government subsidies in 1943.

Governor General Eboué was determined to end the stagnation which had characterized school development in Equatorial Africa. Under the difficult wartime conditions, little could be done to expand the school system. The uncertainties of the immediate post-war period had the same effect. Once more, fine statements of intent were about to suffer the same fate as previous ones: to be followed by more statements and few practical results. But now, for reasons not especially connected with Equatorial Africa, one of the most significant events of the post-war period occurred. At last, relatively massive investment funds became available for the social and economic transformation of dependent countries.

Up to this point in the development of the Congolese school system, it is obvious that the essential ingredient missing from all development schemes was money. It was finally recognized that if the numerous vicious circles of underdevelopment were to be transformed into upward spiralling movements, the economic and social infrastructures had to be created with the help of outside funds. In the late 1940's, the Congo started receiving such funds through the "Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social" (FIDES), and the rapid growth of the Congolese school system was the result.

In the field of education, FIDES-financed plans aimed at universal education in the French Union territories within a ten-year period. Like most other public development funds, FIDES was intended to supply only part of the required capital. Local sources were expected to pay for the rest as well as for the operating costs of completed projects. Local revenues were not large enough to match FIDES funds in attempting to insure ". . . equal access for children and adults to instruction, vocational training and culture." Furthermore, since more than three-fifths of FIDES funds were to be allocated to the country's economic infrastructure, i.e., not likely to contribute directly and early to increasing public revenues, and almost one-fourth was going to public health and education which resulted in increasing the public financial burden, FIDES educational targets were totally unrealistic. But this scheme should be judged by its accomplishments, not only by its optimistic objectives. In this respect, FIDES direct and indirect effects on school expenditure and expansion are primarily responsible for the rapid post-war growth of the Congolese school system. More important, perhaps, FIDES funds were the tangible proof that the French Government was, at last, determined to take the practical steps required to end the long period of educational stagnation.

The French Government's efforts to "normalize" the Congolese school system (1955) did not stem from a desire to change policy, but rather from the realization that the educational structures which had developed--for lack of adequate control--were not performing the functions policy had assigned to them. It was believed that the bulk of the primary school population had a school career too short to enable education to reach its two main assigned purposes: to have lasting acculturative effects and to supply candidates for further studies in sufficient numbers. In other words, the actual school structures were found non-functional. The adequacy of the planned structures was not questioned in the least; it was assumed that a "normal" (that is, European-like) grade distribution and more effective teaching would ensure proper transmission and reception of the educative message. The results, even at the structural level at which the reforms were applied, were not too encouraging. Arresting expansion at the bottom of the school pyramid during an eight-year period was contrary to the French-stated aim of universal education and contrary to the expectations of the Congolese people and their emerging leaders. The attempt also ignored the fierce competition which had developed between the three main groups providing formal education in the Congo: the public school authorities and the Catholic and the Protestant missions. Nevertheless, the reforms managed to attain some degree of "normalization." Four or five years after the plan was put into effect, the percentage of Equatorial African pupils enrolled in the two top primary grades had gone from eight up to eleven per cent of the total primary school enrollment. If, as a result of the Administration's drive to "normalize" grade distribution, fewer pupils dropped out of school voluntarily, thousands of others were forced out of school ("déscolarisés") before completing the primary cycles of studies. The problems created by these pupils sent out

because they were considered too old or had repeated too often served to highlight the main defect of the Congolese school system as it was functioning during the last years of French rule. The system is geared primarily to the production of certificate holders. The individual who is exposed to the system for a number of years but who fails to obtain a certificate is, to a certain degree, alienated from the socio-cultural group in which he was born, but given only a marginal position (at best) in the modern group into which he thought he was being invited. No evaluation of Congolese formal education can ignore the fate of these marginal products for the sake of the few "successful" ones.

The French Government's previous efforts to adapt Congolese school programs to local conditions had led to the creation of local examinations and certificates, the so-called "native certificates." Although Congolese school programs did not differ greatly from the metropolitan programs, French school children in temporary residence in the Congo had to follow metropolitan programs if they wanted to return to the metropolitan school system later. Hence the establishment of special schools following metropolitan programs in the main urban centers, that is, where French children were concentrated. At the secondary level, the problem did not exist, since Congolese secondary schools followed metropolitan programs and had the majority of their enrollment made up of French children. The existence of a double school system in the Congo did not necessarily imply that one system was inferior to the other, but the Congolese, especially the educated ones, were bound to feel that the "native" system was definitely inferior. The metropolitan system led to academic secondary, to higher education in France, and to decision-making positions; the "native" system had a terminal character and prepared subordinate cadres. In spite of the French officials' insistence that both systems were of equal quality, "native certificates" were not accepted by metropolitan institutions of higher learning. The emerging Congolese leaders needed no stronger evidence that adaptation meant inferiority. As these leaders gained increasing political powers during the last years of the colonial regime, it is not surprising that they pressed harder than ever for a so-called "harmonization" of Congolese and metropolitan school programs.

On the other hand, the French Government's determination to adapt the school system to Congolese conditions gradually weakened. In the first place, no law prevented Congolese children from attending metropolitan type schools in existence. As more Congolese students qualified for entrance in these schools, it became increasingly difficult to deny them admission. The rapid political developments which followed the "Loi-Cadre" made French officials realize that many Congolese would soon be making decisions at a higher level than before, even if the possibility that the Congo would soon gain international sovereignty still seemed remote. These new conditions imposed new functions on the Congolese school system, functions which required a school system geared to higher education opportunities. Since France was the logical place for such opportunities, only two alternatives were open to

educational planners: adapt the metropolitan higher education system in order to allow admission of "native certificate" holders or move toward the completion of the transfer of the metropolitan school system to the Congo. The latter solution seemed the easier one, and it was ardently desired by Congolese leaders and students.

However, the French Government's persistent desire to adapt to local conditions was finally manifested by the decision to create in Brazzaville a "Center for Higher Studies," which, unlike metropolitan universities, could be designed to perform locally required functions. This was done with a large measure of success by setting up a new type of institution offering both traditional French higher education and a "social promotion" section which provided higher education opportunities to "native certificate" holders.

The post-war period saw no drastic change in the educational policies of the missions established in the Congo. The missions welcomed the French Government's decision to speed up its educational effort and to recognize and encourage the missions' contributions to the educative task. The Catholic and the Protestant missions were quick to take full advantage of the new official attitude demonstrated by significant, if small, government financial support of private education. For the Swedish Evangelical Mission, this was a departure from a previous attitude of careful avoidance of official entanglements. While still holding the view that formal education was the primary responsibility of the state, the Swedish Mission authorities realized that militant French public educators dedicated to the idea of "neutral" education and equally militant Catholic priests pursuing an anti-Protestant policy would soon make strictly private Protestant efforts seem insignificant now that more abundant funds were becoming available. The Swedish Evangelical Mission therefore claimed and obtained its fair share of school support funds. But if an intensified educational effort automatically resulted in somewhat reduced standards of quality, such standards remained one of the primary preoccupations of the Protestant educators. Their schools in the Congo were not singled out for attack by the official inspection mission at the time of the Administration's drive to "normalize" education in the Congo. Perhaps the Protestant schools, numerically small as they were, were not considered as a serious threat to public education by the official inspectors. But even if this was the case, their being officially ignored by the inspection mission was a sort of tribute to the Swedish Evangelists who were operating in a delicate situation, that is, in a predominantly Catholic and French-ruled territory.

It is very difficult to evaluate the role of the Catholic missions in the post-war expansion of education in the Congo. It can be asserted that much larger government allocations of funds and personnel in the immediate post-war period would have had little effect if the missions (and primarily the Catholic missions) had not previously built up the "absorption capacity" of the Congo in the field of education. In terms

of religious conversion as well as in terms of training of catechists and Congolese clergy, the results of Catholic missionary action have been rather disappointing, especially if "normal" standards of quality are used. Nevertheless, most Congolese who were affected by missionary action became more receptive to modern ideas, values, and ways of life. More immediately important, thousands of mission-educated Congolese were able to play a direct intermediary role in the rapid modernization of the Congo. Thus it can be asserted that Catholic missionary and educative action in the Congo constitutes a major link in the cumulative chain of factors which have caused this poorest of the four French Equatorial territories to seize and retain a leading position in the socio-cultural evolution of middle Africa. Particularly, the Church played a vital role in providing academic training, through seminaries, for many of the Congo's political leaders at a time when public schools did not offer such training to Congolese students. From the Catholic missions' standpoint, the political orientation of mission-educated clerics and seminarians was perhaps an unexpected and probably an undesired outcome of missionary action. Nevertheless, it served the political aspirations of the emerging Congolese nation.

In general, it can be stated that the Catholic missions, as well as the Protestant missions, have been responsive to the rapid post-war changes in the political, social, and economic situation of the Congo. The missions were quick to take full advantage of increased government support of private education, and in order to qualify for such support their educational policy was made to coincide in a large measure with the policy adopted by the Government. To be sure, the mission schools' operation up to 1953 was often at variance with the official regulations. For this situation, the Administration's neglect of its supervisory role is very much to blame. Left largely to their own devices, the missions took advantage of their relative freedom to adapt often outdated official regulations to the requirements of the task at hand. Particularly as far as the Catholic missions were concerned, such adaptations--or breaches of the official regulations--were perhaps unavoidable consequences of their consistently followed policy of spreading their educative effort in order to reach the largest possible number of Congolese children. Thus government subsidies helped launch the spectacular horizontal expansion of the Catholic school system, albeit perhaps indirectly, by enabling the Catholic missions to allocate a larger proportion of their private funds to the conversion of "catechism schools" into primary schools. Nonetheless this expansion displeased the anti-missionary elements in the French administrative and educational circles.

It is very difficult to evaluate the long-range consequences of the Catholic authorities' choice of this expansionist option. The choice is probably functional, if one remembers that the Church's primary objective was to convert the Congolese masses to the Catholic religion. Two or three years of intensive religious instruction was considered sufficient to turn Congolese children into full-fledged

Catholic converts, since continued missionary action could keep strengthening their convictions through church instead of school attendance. If, from the point of view of religious action, the validity of this approach remains debatable, psycho-pedagogical criteria suggest that its educational value is still more doubtful. Theoretically, at least, it should be possible to communicate a given set of ideas and skills to young children in a specially designed two- or three-year cycle of studies and to accomplish this with a reasonable degree of understanding and retention. But primary education in the Congo was not designed to accomplish such a task: the primary cycle was of six years' duration and although a very small minority of the pupils completed the cycle, all were taught as if they were going to complete it. To the extent that the primary cycles of studies constituted the minimum basic information, skills, and attitudinal changes which the Congolese children required, it is obvious that the effects of private primary education were very superficial and short-lasting. Actually, much depended on the environment which absorbed the children after their short school careers. As the French realized, these children were more likely to be re-assimilated by their social environment than to be capable of constituting progressive elements in their environment.

In all fairness to the Catholic missions in the Congo, it must be recalled that the shortcoming of their schools also characterized the Protestant and the public schools. Since the Church accomplished whatever results were accomplished at a much lower cost to the French and Congolese treasuries, considerable credit is deserved.

Finally, one must remark that the Catholic Church in the Congo has demonstrated a willingness to harmonize its educative action with that of the Administration. While defending their rights and their policies, the Church authorities have been generally responsive to the demands of the changing political, social, and economic realities of the Congo, even if this attitude was partly prompted by the desire to retain the benefits of Government subsidies. It is the Church's privilege to serve the national interest through education, even when the national interest is defined in terms not perfectly agreeable to the Church. These conditions allowed the Church to retain her influential position in the Congo both before and after independence.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM

> Considering that French is the official language of the Republic of Congo, and that an education of French character has become the instrument of the cultural, political, economic, and social development of the Congolese people . . .
>
> Conscious of the special ties which unite the two nations [France and the Congo] in the Community and in the moral and spiritual family of the French-speaking peoples . . .[1]

This introduction to the Cultural Cooperation Agreement, signed on the day the Republic of Congo won its independence from France (August 15, 1960), is mot mere official rhetoric. Rather it is the expression of a reality fashioned by three-quarters of a century of a colonial relationship which ended in peace, harmony, and cooperation. One might say that such close cooperation was made absolutely necessary by the failure of the colonial regime to bring the Congo up to a stage of development at which it could enjoy more self-sufficiency. In fact, the Congo had a real choice of alternatives at the time of General de Gaulle's September, 1958, referendum as the decision of the Republic of Guinea has demonstrated. If the Congolese people, directly and through their elected representatives, chose to remain in the French family of nations, it is because they saw in continued cooperation with France their best chance of rapid development in general directions already followed since the end of World War II.

Continuity, then, characterizes in the Congo the transition from colonial territory to sovereign Republic. Political power changed hands but the institutions, with minor adaptations, remained. Institutional policies also showed a large degree of continuity. This is not surprising since the Congolese leaders who had helped formulate these policies over the last decade were, by and large, the same as those who struggled among themselves for control of the French inheritance. A few family quarrels erupted during the two years which separated autonomy and independence, but the Congo's relations with France and the rest of the world were not affected by these events. There was a large degree of agreement among Congolese leaders regarding the roads the new nation should travel during the years ahead; the disputes centered around the man or group of men who were to guide the nation.

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1. Journal Officiel de la République Française, "Communauté--Accord de Coopération Culturelle," Special issue No. 60-277S (November, 1960), p. 50.

Continuity in Educational Aims and Policy

The emerging Congolese leaders did not feel the need to change the aims of education in the Congo. Education was itself one of the inherited institutions. Its adoption was a natural consequence of the adoption of the other economic, social, and political institutions; its further development along previously established principles was also considered as a necessary condition for the nation's progress within the framework of these same institutions. A sense of urgency regarding educational problems was felt only in the need to provide educational facilities to more people, at all levels. This was an intensification, not a redirection, of educative action.

This general satisfaction with the school system--except in its quantitative aspects--allowed the Congolese leadership to concentrate on economic, political and administrative problems while the schools continued to function as before. The organic law of January, 1937, since then modified in details, continued to form the legal foundation of the school system. In other words, the existing instrument with its structures, content, and functions was borrowed virtually intact and assigned a double mission: gradual provision of formal education to the whole school-age population of the Congo and the training of administrative and technical cadres in sufficient number to fill the needs of the country.

Particular objectives were assigned to each level and type of education. These were stated by the education authorities in a report to the Congolese Planning Commission at the beginning of 1960.[2]

Extension of primary education to the whole school-age population was to be accomplished within two or three decades. The general aims of primary education were not restated, the previously accepted ones remaining unquestioned.

Secondary education was assigned the task of preparing the middle and higher level manpower needed to Africanize the country's cadres, that is, to replace expatriates, to take care of attrition in the ranks of existing African cadres, and to meet the additional needs resulting from the demographic, social, and economic development of the Congo. Thus it was estimated that about 100 "bacheliers" ("baccalauréat" holders) and 300 to 350 "brevetés" ("brevet élémentaire" or "brevet d'études du premier cycle" holders) would be needed each year for the next few years. It must be noted, however, that secondary education as such was not expected to provide specialized training, but only to lay the foundations for middle or higher level administrative and technical careers.

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2. Unsigned typewritten report found in the Archives of the Ministry of National Education, Brazzaville.

Technical education ("enseignement technique"), in general admitting students after primary education or after parts or all of a secondary course of studies, was expected to train directly:

1) The technical and commercial cadres in technical "collèges," up to the technical baccalaureate level;

2) The skilled tradesmen ("ouvriers qualifiés) in vocational sections, usually attached to other types of schools;

3) Family aids and housewives in home economics centers.

In addition, the development of a type of basic vocational education immediately following primary education was to be encouraged in order to serve the majority of primary school leavers who did not go on to any of the formal types of post-primary institutions. This training was to concentrate on trades, woodworking, masonry, etc., in urban and in large village centers and on modern agricultural techniques in rural areas.

Post-secondary education, planned during the last months of the colonial regime, was introduced in the Congo by the creation (December 3, 1959) of the Brazzaville Center of Higher Administrative and Technical Studies ("Centre d'Etudes Administratives et Techniques Supérieures"). Placed under the responsibility of a French cabinet minister, the Center was a French institution established in Brazzaville for the benefit of all four republics of the ex-French Equatorial Africa. Its aim was to provide a supplement of general education and more advanced technical knowledge to young Africans who were about to be given positions previously filled by middle and higher level French personnel. It was also to act as a preparatory school for metropolitan institutions of higher learning.

It must be noted in connection with this educational plan that the formulation of its aims, the determination of the required structures and methods as well as its formal presentation, were all the work of French technical assistants, former responsible officials turned advisors. Their plans, by and large, met with the approval of the Congolese elected and appointed officials who held the powers of final decision. This point is demonstrated by the records of the National Assembly debate which followed the submission by the executive branch of the Government of a proposed organic law reorganizing education in the Republic of Congo.[3] The full text of the law is translated below:[4]

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3. Journal des Débats de l'Assemblés Nationale du Congo, Report of the September 28, 1961 Session. Brazzaville: Impremerie Officielle.

4. Recueil des Lois, Session Extraordinaire, September 20-28, 1961. Mimeographed brochure issued by the National Assembly, Brazzaville, pp. 1-5.

LAW 44/61

TITLE I

General Provisions

ARTICLE 1 Any child living in the Territory of the Republic of Congo is entitled, without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, belief, opinion, or wealth, to an education which ensures the full development of his intellectual, artistic, moral and physical aptitudes, as well as which offers civic and occupational training.

ARTICLE 2 Providing education is a duty of the Nation. This education must provide each child with training adapted to life and to modern social obligations, and contribute to raising the general level of culture.

ARTICLE 3 This education is dispensed in public and in private establishments.

ARTICLE 4 School attendance is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16.

Exceptionally, education may be given in the family under conditions which will be stipulated by a decree.

ARTICLE 5 Education is free. During the period of compulsory schooling, school supplies are also provided free of charge.

ARTICLE 6 Formal school is complemented by extra and post-curricular activities.

TITLE II

Higher Council on Education and School Commissions

ARTICLE 7 In addition to the Ministry of National Education, a Higher Council on Education is instituted, made up in equal number of:

--members of the National Assembly,
--representatives of the Ministry of National Education,
--representatives of Public Education,
--representatives of Private Education,
--representatives of parents' associations.

This Council is presided over by the Minister of Education or his deputy.

ARTICLE 8 The Higher Council on Education must be consulted in matters of programs, time schedules, and regulation of school examinations.

Within the limits of budgetary resources, it decides on: the opening of primary and complementary levels (post-primary, secondary, first cycle) levels in accordance with recognized needs.

It is also consulted about the opening of other school establishments, particularly secondary and technical schools.

ARTICLE 9 In every "prefecture" is instituted a school Commission made up in the manner described in Article 7. This Commission is presided over by the "Préfet."

Any proposal for the opening of a primary or a complementary school is submitted, first, to the decision of the Higher Council on Education, then, to the advice of the School Commission.

TITLE III

Categories of Private Education Establishments

ARTICLE 10 There are three categories of private schools: assimilated establishments, subsidized establishments, free establishments.

Whenever it decides to open a private school, the Higher Council classifies it in one of the above categories.

ARTICLE 11 Classified in the first category are the private primary and complementary education establishments in existence at the date the present law is enacted.

The other types of private establishments existing at the date the present law is enacted shall be classified by the Higher Council within three months of its constitution.

ARTICLE 12 The assimilated establishments are obligated to provide instruction in exact conformance with that of public establishments of the same nature, and according to identical schedules. They are to submit to the pedagogical, sanitary, financial, and administrative control and to the inspection of the Ministry of National Education under the same conditions as similar public establishments.

The teaching staff of the above-mentioned establishments shall be made up exclusively of teachers having the status of "functionnaires" or contractuels[5] of the State. These

5. A person under contract, that is, not a member of the civil service.

teachers are appointed following the proposal of the person in charge of education in the society under consideration. As much as possible, these teachers are selected among those who have received their professional training in a private institution.

Promotion and disciplinary rules concerning this staff are subordinated to the same general conditions as those concerning staff of the same nature in public education. However, they have an equalizing board, a promotion commission, and a disciplinary council of their own.

Similarly, the public education staff shall have its own commission.

Assimilated establishments receive allowances corresponding to the cost of school supplies.

ARTICLE 13 Private education establishments of the second category are granted a contract assuring them of an annual State subsidy in return for adherence to study plans and programs specified in the contract.

ARTICLE 14 Establishments of the third category may not receive any subsidies from the State, from local collectivities, or from public or semi-public bodies.

Theyare nevertheless subject to the control of the State. This control is concerned with the hygienic arrangement of premises and with the provision of education in accordance with morality, the law, and the constitution.

TITLE IV

Neutrality of Education

ARTICLE 15 Instruction in public and private establishments of the first and second categories is respectful of all philosophical and religious doctrines.

These establishments must accept all pupils, irrespective of origin, race or belief.

In public or assimilated establishments, religious instruction can only be given outside regular school hours.

TITLE V

Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 16 Public education has at its disposal an agency for information and for educational research; it also has social and health services.

Assimilated establishments can, at their request, avail themselves of these services free of charge.

ARTICLE 17 Decrees of the Council of Ministers shall determine the details of application of the present law.

ARTICLE 18 Breaches of the provisions of the present law, and of the decrees issued in application of the law, may be sanctioned by lowering the status of establishments, the cancellation of the subsidy contract without compensation, or the closing down of the establishment.

These sanctions are applied by decree of the Council of Ministers, after consultation with the Higher Council on Education.

ARTICLE 19 The present law, which shall come into effect on October 1st, 1961, shall be applied as a Law of the State.

Brazzaville, September 28th, 1961

The President of the Republic
Head of the Government

(Signed) Abbé Fulbert Youlou

While the legislative proposal was being prepared, its provisions were submitted to parents and teachers (public and private) in Brazzaville. Then, a National Assembly Committee met to study the proposal in detail. No records of these sessions are available but the Secretary to the Committee reported to the Assembly on the four amendments proposed by Committee members.6

One Assemblyman proposed that the compulsory school attendance period be set between the ages of 6 and 18 instead of 6 and 16 (Article 4, first paragraph). The concern here stemmed from the fact that many

6. Journal des Débats, op. cit., p. 2.

parents had complained that their children had been dismissed from school because of their age, but before they had received enough education to find adequate employment. But the Government would not ". . . yield to parents' blackmail," the Secretary reported. Places in schools were better used by young, hardworking pupils than by older repeaters. The proposal was rejected. The same Assemblyman asked that the term "exceptionally" be stricken from paragraph two of the same Article, but he could not explain clearly why he wanted it. This was also rejected.

A third proposal concerned Article 12. Identical textbooks should be used in all schools, some members thought. The Committee, again, decided that school programs alone ought to be uniform; teachers should be free to find their teaching material in any textbook adapted to the program and to his pupils.

Finally, Article 15 originally stated that ". . . [instruction] is neutral." This was modified to read ". . . is respectful of all philosophical and religious doctrines."

The Committee, therefore, changed very little of the original text. The Secretary's report was adopted unanimously, minus one abstention, by the Assembly. Then, the Secretary moved that the text of law be approved as a whole, without a vote on each Article. After some discussion, the move was also adopted, with only two abstentions.

Most of the interventions, in the Committee as well as in the Assembly, were concerned with a point not mentioned in the text under consideration. An Assemblyman proposed that the secondary school entrance examination be eliminated in order to allow pupils to be admitted on the basis of the grade average obtained during the last primary school year.[7] Some Assemblymen positively approved of the idea, and none argued against it. The Minister of Education himself declared in favor of eliminating the secondary school entrance examination ". . . like in France . . ." but pointed out that his department was still trying to find place for over 200 pupils who had passed the last entrance examination. Under the circumstances, the Government felt that competitive examinations had better be maintained, but promised to reconsider the decision as soon as expanded secondary school facilities made a new procedure feasible.

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7. In November, 1956, France had adopted a similar admission procedure for public school pupils. At the time, the French Director of Education in the Congo considered that the introduction of such a reform in the Congo was premature and not adapted to local conditions. (See Circular No. 345, dated March 7, 1957, a mimeographed document found in the Archives of the Ministry of National Education, Brazzaville.)

One last remark was made regarding private education's personnel policies. An Assemblyman reported that in some private schools, teachers with the rank of "instituteurs" were sometimes forced to work under simple "moniteurs." He also reported that some private school teachers' promotions were affected by the frequency of their attendance to religious ceremonies. These remarks were made for the record and did not give rise to any discussion. However, they reveal areas of serious friction between the mission authorities and their Congolese school staff: the missions' disciplinary control and its consequences on the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of Congolese teachers in their employ. They also indicate the strength of the private school teachers' political influence and their success in making their voices heard in Government circles.

Title III of the September 28 Law "assimilating" private education finally settled the old problem of private school teachers' status and salary. Indeed, these teachers were integrated in the civil service ("Fonction Publique") and received full pay from the State, in accordance with salary scales applied to public school teachers. Having won this most important battle, private school teachers turned to their next objective, that is, to gain the largest possible measure of freedom from Church control. Now, Article 12, paragraphs 3 and 4, provided for separate private and public disciplinary councils. This became a controversial issue to be resolved a few months later by a decree of application of the Law--in close agreement with the teachers' point of view.[8] The relevant provisions of this decree are summarized below.

Article 5 of the decree of application created a Commission to deal with the personnel problems of "assimilated" schools. It was to serve as a promotion commission and as a disciplinary council. It was made up of the Minister of National Education (chairman), five elected representatives of the staff category under consideration, the representative of the Civil Service Minister, the Director of Primary Education, the Chief of the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Education, and two representatives of private education (presumably one Catholic and one Protestant).

Article 6 stipulated that when the Commission acted as a disciplinary council, it could only recommend sanctions to be decided upon by the Head of Government who held the disciplinary powers.

As of the end of June, 1962, this decree was one of only three issued in application of the September 28, 1961, Law. When the Law was adopted by the National Assembly, it was highly praised by Congolese officials as representing the best compromise between a public takeover

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8. Decree No. 62-143 of May 16, 1962. (Mimeographed document available at the Ministry of National Education, Brazzaville.)

of private education and complete separation of the private and the public school systems. It was said to provide private education with the financial and moral support it needed to develop according to its ". . . own personality," within the framework of Congolese institution and in the interests of the Nation. As such, the solution was received with good will, if not with enthusiasm, by mission authorities. But the full implications of the Law will clearly appear only as other decrees of application are issued to define it in operational terms. On such occasions, certain provisions may be reinforced, or practically nullified, as in the case of Article 12.

Further evidence that Congolese educational policy since independence shows a high degree of continuity with pre-independence policy is offered in a report by the Minister of Education:[9]

> As far as our future plans are concerned, guided by a policy of cultural emancipation, they are as numerous as ever.
>
> We intend to continue developing all categories of education without exception, but our future effort will bear particularly on secondary and technical education.

The Minister did not explain his understanding of the phrase "cultural emancipation," but the term "cultural" is taken in the strict, "European," sense. Hence, the heavy emphasis on the "vertical development" of the educational system, that is, expansion of secondary and higher education. The immediate consequence of this policy was the Government's decision to open at least one "Cours Complémentaire," or "Collège d'Enseignement Général" (C.E.G.) in each sub-prefecture. Launched in October, 1959, by the opening of five "collèges" with 400 students in eleven classes, this project was pursued vigorously and became the most visible form of educational development since independence. In 1961-62, 27 such "collèges" were in operation, with 2,419 students in 71 classes. Obviously, this particular school structure offered a solution to many pressing problems connected with the rapid increase of primary school graduates. Now that the initial steps are taken in the creation of these "collèges," the Government's emphasis is expected to bear on the expansion of the "lycée-type" secondary school. Indeed, plans call for the expansion of the two existing "Lycées" and for the creation of four more, two in secondary urban centers and two for girls only in Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire. In the near future, secondary schools should absorb ". . . about eight per cent of the primary school population, which constitutes a normal rate."

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9. Congo: Bulletin Périodique édite par la Ministère de l'Information, Janvier-Février, 1962, No. 11, "Communication de M. Grandzion, Ministre de l'Education Nationale sur la situation de l'Enseignement au 1er janvier, 1962." (Mimeographed. Unpaged.)

In comparison, technical education was developing very slowly, but expansion was foreseen, particularly in connection with industrial development projects in the Kouilou area.

Although higher education is still outside the competence of the Congolese Ministry of Education it preoccupies Congolese leaders and directly involves the Minister of Education. In 1961-62, 175 Congolese students were attending French institutions of higher learning. The Congo's expanding secondary schools and the country's need for professional level cadres would soon raise this number considerably. On the other hand, the Congo, for years to come, cannot supply the students nor the funds to keep a full-fledged university in operation. The French-proposed solution, i.e., higher education facilities serving all four equatorial African republics, was readily accepted by the Congo, particularly since Brazzaville was their most logical location.

Higher education planners were faced with the following problems when the four equatorial republics were born:

1) the need to Africanize a large number of professional level posts previously kept out of the African's reach;

2) The insufficient number of candidates academically prepared to receive high level training of the traditional type;

3) The necessity to make optimal use of existing facilities in order to obtain rapid results at a manageable cost.

The adopted solution--unique in French higher education and in Africa--was the creation of the "Centre d'Etudes Administratives et Techniques Supérieures" (C.E.A.T.S.) in Brazzaville. The Center recruited its students among young civil servants whose academic background (mostly B.E.P.C.) would normally have denied them admission to higher education institutions. Its program was aimed at strengthening these students' academic background while improving their "technical" competence.

The Center was located in Brazzaville for the same reasons that, in the past, other new institutions were invariably located there: central geographic position, more abundant local supply of students, more attractive living conditions for European personnel, availability of Federal physical facilities, plants, libraries, and resource personnel engaged in administrative, technical, and research work. But no matter how logical this choice, its net result was, once more, to endow the Congo with institutions it could not have dreamed of obtaining if the other three republics had not brought their contributions in material and human resources. And, as before, the other three republics protested against what they considered as favoritism. The most vocal were naturally the Gabonese, since theirs was the second best claim for having the Center located in their country (high schooling rate,

more advanced economic development, etc., but small population--less than a half million--and eccentric geographic position). Plans called for the establishment of affiliated institutes in each of the other republics.

But by October, 1961, the Center, reorganized under the name of "Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur de Brazzaville" and including a section in which traditional French higher education was introduced, could boast of almost a dozen professional schools and institutes, all located in Brazzaville, except one, the "Institut d'Etudes Agronomiques," at Wokambo, Central Africa Republic. This was too much for the Gabonese who withdrew all their students from the Center. In no uncertain terms, the Gabonese Minister of Education served notice to his colleagues that unless Gabon received its share of higher education facilities it would withdraw from the scheme.10 As a result, the establishment of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur d'Afrique" was decided. This "Fondation," administered by a board composed of the four Ministers of Education of the Equatorial Republics and of French representatives, acts as a coordinating body for highly decentralized higher education structures. Each republic is to have in its territory some professional schools to which other republics will send their students. It is understood that full-fledged universities in each republic will grow around these professional schools as soon as a sufficient number of students make it possible.

At present, the "Fondation," in its various Institutes and Schools, offers higher education in four areas: Law, Literature, Science, and Medicine, at three levels: 1) traditional higher education given in strict conformance with French standards; 2) special preparation for admission to traditional higher education without the normally required "baccalauréat"; 3) education for "promotion sociale," that is, preparation for careers at the subprofessional level, for B.E.P.C. holders.

The opening of higher education facilities in Brazzaville should have ended the practice of sending the graduates of Congolese secondary schools to France for further education. Since France was paying the costs of both the Brazzaville Center and the metropolitan scholarships, she could not be expected to support Congolese students in overcrowded French universities while offering some of the same programs to half-empty classes in the Congo. Yet, in October, 1961, some of the fresh Congolese "bacheliers" succeeded in obtaining scholarships for studies in France. The situation was becoming intolerable, and the Congolese Government decided to correct it. On June 27, 1962, decree No. 192 announced the Government's decision to keep at home all the students

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10. La Semaine Africaine, No. 499, 22-29 mars, 1962, "L'harmonisation de l'Enseignement en Afrique Equatoriale," statement of M. Ekoh, Minister of National Education of Gabon, March 14, 1962.

who could receive appropriate training in local institutions.[11] The decree further provided for the setting up of a special committee responsible for estimating highly trained manpower requirements, and, through judicious scholarship award decisions, orienting Congolese students in appropriate fields of study. The Committee, composed of key ministers, apparently holds the authority and competence needed to carry out such an important assignment. As of mid-1962, however, it was still too early to make any prediction regarding its effectiveness.

Finally, the Minister's statement mentioned two points which indicate the Congo's desire to improve its contacts with the world outside France and the Community. English language instruction is to receive priority as a modern language in Congolese schools.[12] Also, half a dozen French-speaking Canadian teachers were expected to join the Congolese secondary school teaching staff in October, 1962, as part of Canada's foreign aid program.

School Administration

Formal organization of education in the Congo expectedly follows the French pattern. Of course, there are many differences. Higher education, for instance, is not yet organized on a strictly Congolese basis. Neither is scientific research. Besides, educational administration has been so repeatedly reorganized in France recently that it is difficult to keep up with it. But its general pattern, being a part of France's civil administration, retains its typical character, easily recognizable in its transferred location in the Congo.

The Congolese school system readily appears to be governed by two superimposed bodies. One, which may be called "political," is the Minister's Cabinet; the other, administrative and technical, and subordinated to the first, is the "Inspection Académique."[13] The first body

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11. "Message from Minister Grandzion," Congo Information, Bulletin Quotidien d'Information (Brazzaville: Agence Congolaise d'Information, 4 juillet, 1962).

12. During the summer of 1962, Congolese trainees, some of them prospective English teachers, were preparing to leave for the United States under an A.I.D. program.

13. There is no adequate translation for "Inspection Académique." "Inspection" means more than inspection; in fact, it covers most administrative functions. "Académique" refers to the administrative divisions of Napoleon's Imperial University. Thus, for administrative purposes, each one of the four A.E.F. territories was likened to an "académie" having at its head a school administrator of the rank of "Inspecteur d'Académie." (No "Recteur" was

is only made up of the Minister of National Education and his immediate assistants, the Director of Cabinet, the Chief of Cabinet, and a small clerical staff. None of these officers are necessarily professional educators, although they often are. The Minister, himself a member of the National Assembly and of the Cabinet, is responsible to these two bodies, and to the people, for the whole operation of the school system. He advises the Government and the Assembly on matters of general policy, prepares new legislation, submits budgets. He has full power to enforce the Government's decisions in educational matters. But his purely technical and administrative functions are carried out through the "Inspection Académique" headed by the Director of Education, a career educator holding the rank of "Inspecteur d'Académie."

The Director of Education is the highest ranking functionary in the Ministry of National Education. He is responsible to the Minister for the operation of the schools. He is the Minister's main source of professional advice regarding the organization of the schools, their staff, programs, methods, buildings, etc. As inspector, he must verify that schools are being operated in accordance with official regulations, and must report on the performance of the teaching and administrative staff. He exercises his powers directly in the area of academic and technical secondary education, through directors in the case of primary, "complementary," and teacher-training schools, and through heads of departments ("chefs de services") dealing with matters of personnel, supplies, examinations, etc.

The Director of Primary Education, a professional educator holding the rank of "Inspecteur Primaire," is responsible for the operation of all primary schools in the country. He is assisted in his task by a number of primary school inspectors, one in each of the twelve Congolese prefectures and in some of the sub-prefectures. The prefectural inspectors are the head school administrators in their respective prefectures, but they have no authority over post-primary institutions located within their territory. The "lycées" are directly supervised by the Director of Education, and the Teacher-Training Schools and the "Collèges d'Enseignement General" (or "Cours Complémentaires") are supervised by their own special Director and an "Inspecteur Primaire," whose offices are located in Brazzaville.

As of mid-1962, no formal organization chart of the Ministry of National Education had been drawn up. The writer was told that its preparation had been ordered for some time, but the delays were not explained. Possibly the need for it was not urgently felt, since the organization was familiar enough to those concerned. However, its absence may be interpreted as a sign that a rapidly changing informal

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necessary, since higher education was not organized.) After independence, the terms were retained for lack of better ones.

organization was in operation. The preparation of an organization chart would have called for clear definitions of functions and lines of authority and perhaps shown embarrassing discrepancies between rules and reality. Local adaptation of the administrative set-up had been effected by Frenchmen to fit a situation as they saw it. Now, Africanizing forces are at work which could best operate at an informal level. An organizational chart might tend to arrest a strongly desired evolution.

On the basis of various documents, personal interviews, and direct observation, the writer has attempted to reconstruct a picture of the formal organization of the Ministry of National Education. This is represented in the organizational chart given in Appendix IV. Examination of that chart and the following remarks should clarify the preceding discussion.

1) The nature and functions of the Higher Council on Education, the Disciplinary Council, and the Prefectural School Boards have already been discussed. It should be emphasized that these bodies hold no executive powers. Their influence on school operation may fall short of or exceed the limits assigned to them by official regulations.

2) Higher education is under French academic, financial, and administrative responsibility. The Ministers of Education of the four republics sit on the Board of Directors, and each chairs it in turn.

3) The Director and the Chief of the Minister's Office ("Cabinet") have little official power of their own, but their actual power may be great, depending on the personalities involved. These two posts exist in all Congolese ministries, and at least one of the two is at the present time held by a French technical adviser ("conseiller technique"). As of 1962, the Director of Cabinet of the Ministry of Education was a Frenchman, while the Chief was a young Congolese. The former gentleman, by virtue of his personality, experience, and skill was in a position to exercise great power. Indeed, he was the key official in the Ministry of Education.

4) The Director of Education, a French "inspecteur d'Académie," held an easily defined position at the top of the hierarchy of appointed officials. On an informal plane, however, his position was rather ambiguous. As a technical assistant, his functions tended to be merely advisory, but, as an "Inspecteur d'Académie," he was the highest-ranking French civil servant among all the French administrators and teachers employed by the Ministry of National Education. As such, it was his responsibility to supervise their work and report on their performance to his superiors in France. As Director of Congolese Education, he also held direct executive powers within the framework of the Congolese civil service, and thus became a target of forces pressing for Africanization. But his replacement by a Congolese is particularly difficult in the circumstances: no Congolese is qualified to hold the rank of

"Inspecteur d'Académie," and none is likely to be for several years. Now, French civil service rules, and the Frenchmen's sense of proper hierarchical order, make it unthinkable for a "lycée" professor, for instance, to be supervised and "graded" by a person of lower service rank. Nevertheless, Africanization forces are likely to prevail. The solution may be a complex two-headed directorship with one Congolese retaining over-all responsibility while one French technical adviser exercises direct control over French technical assistance personnel only.

5) The Director of Teacher-Training schools and "Collèges d'Enseignement Général," also a Frenchman, is in a somewhat similar position regarding Africanization. He supervises the work of many French school directors and teachers whose careers depend on proper annual inspection reports to their superiors in France. In this case, however, the Director only holds the rank of "Inspecteur Primaire" and most French teachers involved are "instituteurs." Now, immediately following the birth of the autonomous Republic of the Congo (November, 1958), a group of Congolese "instituteurs-adjoints" was sent to Saint-Cloud, near Paris, where they went through an accelerated primary school inspection course. They returned to fill all the primary school inspection posts in the Congo. Although, strictly speaking, it could be argued that these Congolese "Inspecteurs Primaires" are not quite up to metropolitan standards, any one of them could theoretically fill the post in question, and one is likely to do so very soon, with or without the assistance of a French technical adviser.

6) The Director of Primary Education is one of the Congolese "Inspecteurs Primaires" just referred to. He holds over-all responsibility for primary school operation throughout the Congo. At this level, the teaching staff being almost entirely made up of Congolese, no nationality-based administrator-teacher problems are involved. Frictions do develop between the Director of Primary Education and other politically influential prefectural inspectors. This is to be expected because the position offers attractive opportunities for promotion. Since none of the persons involved is qualified (according to French standards), political astuteness is likely to determine the winners.

7) Among the heads of administrative departments, two are still French: the person in charge of Finances and Supplies and the person in charge of Educational Library and Research. The functions of the former are more or less those of a bookkeeper. The latter has very little to do with the work implied by the terms "library" and "research." A very limited quantity of reference materials for teachers is presently available at the "Inspection Académique," and very few teachers know of its existence or care to use it. Besides, as presently organized, it could only serve teachers in the Brazzaville area. The "research" function of this department is rather concerned with curriculum evaluation and development, but its means in staff and funds are totally

inadequate for the job. In addition, this department is responsible for the publication of an educational journal ("revue pédagogique").14 Finally, the same department, during the school year 1961-62, produced a weekly radio program broadcast over Radio Congo, a state-owned station, for the benefit of Congolese teachers. It discussed methodological problems, clarified points of school legislation, and offered a correspondence course. The program's audience was obviously limited and the response to the correspondence course almost nil.

8) The Departments of Personnel, Examinations, and Scholarships will be discussed at length later.

9) As indicated in the preceding policy discussions, the situation of private "assimilated" education is very ambiguous at present. It is subject to the same rules and regulations as public education, and therefore requires the same supervision and administrative control; yet it retains its own administrative organization. The Catholic Church has appointed Congolese priests as directors of education at the diocese level, but the French priests who filled these posts before independence have remained as "technical assistants." In accordance with Church rules, each bishop retains ultimate responsibility for Catholic education. The Protestant Church is further advanced in the Africanization process, since the Evangelical Church of the Congo has been granted autonomy from her Swedish Mission parent. The Church President is a Congolese although the Swedish former President has stayed on as have the other Swedish missionaries and teachers. In fact, the new official regulations regarding "assimilated" education are much too recent to allow valid judgments as to their actual operation.

10) School construction and health services do not appear on the organizational chart. These services are centralized in the relevant ministries, that is, the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Health. Another Ministry, the "Function Publique," is also involved to a certain extent in two areas of educational administration: personnel and examinations. This point will be examined later.

11) Finally, a National Commission for UNESCO was created by decree early in 1962. An Assistant Primary Inspector, a Congolese, was appointed to insure constant liaison between the Commission, UNESCO, and the Ministry of National Education.

School Finances

By any standards, the proportion of financial resources invested in education in the Congo is very high, although the exact amount of

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14. Eduquer-Instruire. Brazzaville: Ministère de l'Education Nationale. (Brochure.) As of mid-1962, only No. 1 in the series had appeared.

this investment is impossible to determine. Annual school expenditures come from many different sources, each using different accounting and reporting methods; some expenditures are not reported at all. The Ministry of National Education's annual budget includes chiefly personnel and matériel expenditures for primary, secondary, and technical education in public schools, and since 1961, in "assimilated" schools. Prior to that date, public subsidies covered only a varying percentage of the cost of private education's personnel and supply costs. But even now, this personnel item does not include the salaries and traveling expenses of the French teachers and administrators paid directly by F.A.C. ("Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération").[15] Capital investment in school construction, furniture, and staff housing comes almost entirely from sources outside the Congo. F.A.C., and recently, F.E.D.O.M. ("Fonds Européen pour le Développement Outre Mer"), the European Economic Community's financial aid agency, bear most of these costs for public education and part of the costs for private education. In the case of the latter, mission organizations contribute large but unreported sums, mostly from foreign sources. The cost of higher education is also absent from Congolese budget figures. This is true of local facilities and of scholarships in France. The European Community and the United Nations (Special Fund) have recently joined France in supporting these costs.

Nevertheless, since the personnel item in the Congolese education budget represents a fairly regular type of expenditure, it might be useful to compare it with the total national budget over a number of years as an indication of the Congo's educational effort. It must be noted, however, that the national budget itself includes different groups of items from year to year. For example, the 1962 budget includes the cost of supporting the Congolese Army. Prior to that date, such expenditures were borne directly by France and did not appear either in the Congolese budget or in the technical aid accounts. Of course, France granted a special subsidy to the Congo in order to compensate for the newly added burden. Although this may be considered as only a shift in accounting procedures, it affects the total budget figures and tends to decrease the relative importance of other expenditure items.

With these cautionary notes in mind, it is now possible to examine the following budgetary statistics.

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15. Although paid by France through F.A.C., French technical assistance personnel pay personal income tax to the Congolese Treasury.

TABLE 18

REPUBLIC OF CONGO NATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL CURRENT EXPENDITURES (IN MILLIONS OF CFA FRANCS)[a]

	1960	1961	1962
1. National Budget (total)	4,465	5,598	7,232
a) Personnel	2,233	2,481	3,368
b) Matériel	695	1,042	1,194
2. Education			
a) Personnel	608	764	897
b) Matériel	121	175	192
c) Scholarships	107	113	138
Percentage: cost of education personnel to "national" personnel costs (2a to 1a)	27.2%	30.8%	26.6%

a. 245 CFA francs equal one U.S. dollar.

Source: U.S. Embassy (Brazzaville), Unclassified memo.

The Republic of Congo is normally expected to pay for current expenditures out of local revenues. Thus its forecast budget is nearly always balanced, but deficits occur regularly. So far, the French Treasury has erased the deficits through special subsidies. But it is in capital investment and in technical assistance that French financial contributions are most substantial. In 1961, foreign aid to the Congo totalled almost four and a half billion CFA francs, some two-thirds of it from French sources[16] and most of the rest from Common Market sources. Foreign aid in education has been particularly substantial. The Congo's three-year school development plans called for capital investments of some one billion four hundred million CFA francs, half

16. Excluding contributions to the Congolese Army, to the traveling expenses of Congolese politicians, to coffee and cocoa price stabilization funds, to Air Afrique, and to research foundations. In addition, France spends an estimated one billion CFA francs a year in the Congo for her own military installations.

of them for primary school development. Both F.A.C. and F.E.D.O.M. authorities were reluctant to grant such relatively large sums for primary education, but readily agreed to the Congolese requests for secondary education. In order to keep up with primary school expansion, the national budget has had to support a larger share of primary school construction. Thus, local and foreign sources (excluding mission contributions) financed the following investments in 1961:[17]

1. On the national budget:

   Construction of: 34 primary school classrooms;
   36 staff apartments;
   22 C.E.G. classrooms;
   15 staff apartments for C.E.G. teachers;

   Purchase of: buildings and cost of alterations.

2. On F.A.C. budget:

   Construction of: 40 primary school classrooms;
   9 C.E.G. classrooms.

In addition, the following constructions were to be undertaken (funds already approved):[18]

1. On national budget: funds not yet allocated

2. On F.A.C. budget:

   Construction of 112 primary school classrooms:
   42 urban and 70 rural Cost: 80 million CFA francs

3. On F.E.D.O.M. budget:

   Extension of the "lycée" of Brazzaville: 158 million

   Building (permanent type construction) of 12 "collèges d'Enseignement Général": 386 million

   Building of "Ecole Normale Supérieure":[19] 250 million

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17. "Situation de l'Enseignement au 1er janvier 1962," the Minister of Education's annual report, Annex II. (Mimeographed.)

18. Ibid.

19. Part of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale," benefitting the four republics.

It should be noted at once that in spite of the comparatively great financial sacrifices the Congo is making for the support of its schools, it could not maintain this level of current educational expenditures without foreign aid. Local resources currently applied to primary school expansion would be more than absorbed by the cost of foreign teachers and technicians which will be required for many years at the post-primary level, and no expansion at any level would be possible. The availability to a nation of foreign assistance funds can be considered as a sign of that nation's ability to attract such funds. In this sense, they are "national resources." The preceding discussion has shown that the Congo is allocating a large share of its national resources, local and foreign, to education. These allocations may or may not be justified, according to the educational outcomes that they are paying for. Before judgment is passed on this question, it is necessary to discuss further how instruction actually occurs in Congolese schools and what are its quantitative and qualitative outcomes.

Curriculum

Over the years, various policy statements have referred to the need to adapt school programs to African conditions. Programs of studies were actually developed which paid attention to "local conditions." Unfortunately, the absence of documents makes it impossible to judge the exact nature and extent of the effected adaptations beyond somewhat superficial changes in structures and general program orientation. In the Congo, a few days before the Addis Ababa UNESCO/ECA Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa at which a strong plea was made for adaptation,[20] a new primary school curriculum was issued by decree.[21] This decree established a 30-hour, five-day school week, declared Thursday a holiday to allow pupils to receive the religious instruction of their choice, and spelled out in detail the new program of instruction in all subjects at all six primary grade levels. This sixty-page document cannot be reported here, but in order to show its general orientation and to give an idea of its content, numerous examples will be quoted from the moral and civics, history, and geography programs at different grade levels. These subjects are selected because they are the main avenues through which values and attitudes are transmitted in the schools.

Moral and Civic Instruction. At the preparatory level, the program (ten minutes per day), common to both grades, is linked to hygiene:

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20. Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "The Content of Education in Africa," Final Report, UNESCO/ECA Conference, Addis Ababa, May 15-25, 1961.

21. Decree No. 5307/EN-IA of May 9, 1961, 61 pp. (Mimeographed.)

> One of the teacher's tasks, if not the most important, is to communicate principles of hygiene at the very beginning of schooling. He will thus contribute to the relentless war waged against numerous illnesses and to the correction of bad habits, particularly on the subject of nutrition, all of which cause such devastation in tropical and equatorial countries.
>
> Hygiene and moral instruction at the preparatory level aim at making children acquire good habits: cleanliness, politeness, and punctuality.

The suggested subject matter is presented in the form of statements in the first person: "I am a clean little boy," "I do not stick my pencil into my ears," etc. Moral precepts are related to rules of behavior in the family: obedience, respect, family solidarity.

At the elementary grades level (ten-minute talks each day), moral instruction:

> . . . [is] extracted from stories, readings, and everyday incidents of school life, and aimed at reinforcing and further developing already acquired good habits.
>
> At every opportunity the teacher will attract attention to good examples and correct undesirable tendencies. Moral instruction, far from being confined within the artificial limits of a lesson, must dominate, regulate, and command all teaching. Through his character, his behavior, his language, the teacher himself will be his pupils' most persuasive example.

Suggested content embraces the school's physical and social environment, schoolmates, the local community and its institutions, the nation and its great men, and awareness of universal brotherhood.

At the middle grades level, informal talks accompanied by readings are aimed at

> . . . bringing students to the reasoned practice of personal and social virtues such as moderation, sincerity, modesty, kindness, courage, tolerance, and communicating to them love of work, taste for cooperation, teamwork spirit, respect for the given word, understanding of others, love of country, respect for other countries, and desire to help the United Nations in its peace efforts.

To those who are about to leave school, a supplement of civic instruction is offered: the administrative, legal, and political organization of the village, the prefecture, the country and its parliamentary system, the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

History Instruction. The official program does not include any formal history (nor geography) instruction at the preparatory grades level.

At the elementary grades level, only one thirty-minute lesson per week is scheduled. It consists of informal talks and simple and concrete stories about great men and salient episodes of Congolese life:

> Teachers will seek precise and picturesque details likely to help evoke the near past. For that purpose, they shall interview old people and ask permission to see the prefectural records.
>
> Three historical periods are to be considered: the state of the country before the arrival of the French; French administrative organization; and present administrative organization. . . .

At the middle grades level, a thirty-minute lesson per week is scheduled for virtually the same program as at the elementary level:

> While initiating the pupils, without the use of abstract terms or historical jargon, to the knowledge of essential facts and dates of the Congo's national past, the aim is to recreate in a concrete and striking way the life of the Congolese at the main periods of the country's past.

Geography Instruction. This program is more elaborate than the history program and requires two thirty-minute lessons per week.

> Lessons are conceived as ways to initiate pupils to the observation and understandings of the main facts of geography and its usual vocabulary.
>
> All lessons are to be based on observation of the environment and explanation of photographs. One should be content with teaching the current technical terms; definitions must be understood and memorized.

At the middle grades level, the program of the previous level is reviewed, and the skills acquired are applied to:

1. Local geography: study through observation--direct, as much as possible--of the village, the city, and the region around it.

   Preparation by the pupils of short monographs of the village, the city, or the ward.

2. Initiation to the concept of scale and to cartography.

3. Main aspects of the geography of the Congo, with constant use of maps, charts, and pictures.

4. Essential concepts related to Equatorial Africa, West Africa, and France.

The decree also proposes a month by month distribution of the subject matter over a two-year period. France, for instance, takes up one month (June) at the end of the second year.

French language instruction, the only language in the program, naturally occupies the largest share of the weekly schedule. If one adds reading and writing time to language lessons proper, French takes up the following blocks of the thirty-hour week:

Preparatory grades I and II:	20 hours
Elementary grade I:	18 hours and 20 minutes
Elementary grade II:	15 hours and 50 minutes
Middle grades I and II:	12 hours and 45 minutes

Finally, a program is outlined for the teaching of agriculture to boys and home economics to girls. Through thirty-minute weekly lessons, boys in the two middle grades study the plant, its growth and reproduction, the soil and its conservation. This takes up the first four months of the year. The rest of the year is devoted to the study of the main food and cash crops of the Congo, their description, importance, methods of cultivation, etc. Home economics is taught in 45-minute weekly sessions from the first elementary grade through the end of primary education. Sewing, knitting, the care of clothes, house cleaning and gardening are part of the program.

Another category of subject matter closely related to the preceding ones, "Leçons de choses" (literally, "lessons about things") and applied science, receive two and three times more attention than agriculture and home economics. These lessons consist of:

> Observation (accompanied by explanations and practical exercises) of common objects, animals, plants and minerals, and of the main useful materials: metals, wood, stones, potteries, tissues and foods.

As mentioned many times before, secondary education in the Congo is of two main types: 1) the "long cycle," seven-year, academic type provided in "Lycées" and "Collèges Classiques et Modernes"; 2) the "short cycle," four-year, general type, usually provided in "Collèges d'Enseignement Général." The curriculum of the first type is identical to that of comparable "lycées" in France. Indeed, the "baccalauréat" examination it leads to is prepared, supervised and controlled by the University of Bordeaux, France. This program need not be described here. It should be noted, however, that virtually no Congolese students select the classical program. As of 1962, the "C.E.G." programs in the Congo were the same as those followed by similar schools in France, although adapted programs were to be available in the near

future. But the secondary school programs in France itself have been modified recently (June 10, 1960), in part under the influence of the emerging States of the Community which had adopted them. Here again, the history and geography programs will be discussed briefly.

The French "C.E.G." history programs, used unchanged in the Congo, aim at covering the whole period of recorded history, emphasizing Western civilization, and centering around the history of France. The subject matter is distributed over the four-year course of studies:

"Classe de sixième" (first year of secondary level): concept of chronology, ancient civilizations of the Orient, Greece, and Rome.

"Classe de cinquième": the Middle Ages, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the sixteenth century.

"Classe de quatrième": the Modern Period, up to the time of the Congress of Vienna.

"Classe de troisième": Contemporary Period, from 1915 to the Second World War.

The program includes African history only to the extent that the fate of Africa was determined in the European capitals.

The study of the continents, France, and the Community describes the scope of the geography programs distributed over the four years of the short secondary cycle. It is at the level of the "sixième" that important modifications were made. That year was previously devoted to the revision and reinforcement of basic concepts of physical and human geography. The new program retains this subject matter as a first part, to be completed by March 15th at the latest. The rest of the year is devoted to the study of the African continent previously included in the "cinquième" together with Oceania, Asia, and the Americas:

> The African Continent is selected because its study is relatively more simple; but also because it is more interesting for children, especially French children since powerful ties link their country to some African countries. Finally, it will be easier for the States of the Community to adopt this program, since it is itself better adapted to the understanding of the Community.

The Collèges d'Enseignement General or the "Cours Complémentaires," as they were called until recently, were set up in France to serve the students considered incapable of or uninterested in pursuing secondary studies up to the "baccalauréat." Primary school teachers were recruited mostly among them. But since the Second World War, these primary school teachers also must obtain the "baccalauréat." This

constituted the start of a major breakthrough for students who were previously denied entrance into the closed secondary school system. It forced changes in structures and programs in both the "Cours Complémentaires" and the "Lycées." The latter, since 1953, add to the "Section Moderne" (no Latin nor Greek required), a "Section M" which requires only one modern language. The "C.E.G." programs, on the other hand, have felt more strongly the influence of the "Lycées" programs. Thus, Congolese "C.E.D.'s" offer instruction in at least one modern language, enabling their best students to reach the "baccalauréat" through the M section of a "lycée." Students are currently being encouraged to select English as their first modern language. Spanish and German are also offered, although the availability of appropriate teaching staff often determines which modern languages are offered in a particular school.

In summary, the omission of classical language instruction, and the frequent inclusion of only one modern language, allow the "C.E.G." programs to pay more attention to the French language, science, and mathematics instruction--all subjects particularly unfamiliar to most Congolese students' out-of-school environment.

Textbooks and Teaching Aids

As noted earlier, the Ministry of National Education does not impose any particular school textbooks. Official programs are compulsory in all public and "assimilated" schools, and as long as textbooks conform to these programs they are approved by school authorities who have only to be informed of their use. In practice, however, the textbooks most widely used are those selected and supplied free of charge by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry has an impressive collection to choose from. A partial list[22] of textbooks adapted to Africa and compiled by a French researcher includes publishing firms most actively engaged in this effort.[23] The authors are all French teachers and school inspectors experienced in African education. There are textbooks available for all subjects at all primary grade levels. Most of these books, however, are intended for the schools of "Afrique Noire," that is, French-speaking Africa (including the ex-Belgian Congo), and within this wide area, they are more often better adapted to the schools of ex-French West Africa. This is understandable, since authors and

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22. Typewritten list prepared "Service de Recherches Pédagogiques pour les Pays en Voie de Développement," Paris, September 28, 1961, French Ministry of Education.

23. They are: Librairie ISTRA, 7, rue de Lille, Paris 7°; Librairie HACHETTE, 79, Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6°; and Librairie FERNAND NATHAN, 18, rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris 6°.

publishers concentrate on the best possible market. Besides, during the 1950's, Frenchmen were thinking in terms of large federations, such as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, within the French Union. The former federation, because of its larger total population and its relatively more advanced schooling, was more in need of adapted textbooks, and represented a more attractive market. The states of this West African federation, now separate and independent republics, all include a more or less important element of Islamized populations. Books adapted to the environment of these school children are less appropriate for the "purely" Bantu populations of Gabon and Congo, but they still represent a marked improvement over books written for French metropolitan schools, and they are presently used in the Congo. The list as of 1962 follows:

Republic of Congo--Ministry of National Education
List of School Textbooks in Use at the
Beginning of the 1962-63
School Year[24]

Title of Textbooks	Authors	Publishers
Manuel d'Agriculture	A. Davesne	Librairie ISTRA
Calcul des Ecoles d'Afrique Noire (Cours élémentaire)	Aurial et Séguier	HACHETTE
Calcul Vivant (1er livre)	Vassort	HACHETTE
Contes de la Brousse et de la Forêt	A. Davesne	ISTRA
Géographie (Cours Elémentaire des Ecoles d'Afrique Noire)	F. Geffroy	HACHETTE
Géographie (Cours Moyens I & II des Ecoles d'Afrique Noire)	Rubon & Sacx	ISTRA
Langage au Cours Préparatoire:		
Mamadou et Bineta--Syllabaire	A. Davesne	ISTRA
" " --lières lectures	"	"
" " --lisent et écrivent couramment	"	"
Langue Française (C.M. II)	"	"
Lectures Vivantes (C.M. II)	"	"

24. Typewritten list supplied by the Ministry of National Education, "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville, March, 1962.

List of Textbooks (continued)

Title of Textbooks	Authors	Publishers
Famille Diawara (C.E. II)	A. Davesne	ISTRA
Hygiène et Conseils Divers-pour les Africains de la zone tropicale	F. Grébert	ISTRA
Leçons de Choses et Sciences Appliquées (C.M. II)	Béart et Jolly	Fernand NATHAN
Exercises d'Observation (C.M. I) (C.M. II)	Boucher et Paule	" "
Livre de Morale (C.E. II) (C.M. II)	Souché	" "

Although most of the above-listed textbooks were written before the Congo issued its official school program, they follow the general distribution of subject matter and cover approximately the same areas. There is a close similarity between the Congo's programs and those of other French-speaking African states for which the textbooks were produced in the first place. In certain subjects, several different texts are being published. In French language instruction, for instance, Congo authorities may choose from among at least ten more or less complete sets already on the market. But in history, no textbook adapted to the Congo was available in 1962 although some were expected to be published in 1963. Unlike geography, treated as a descriptive physical science and relatively easy to adapt to any given physical setting, history is generally used as a major instrument of cultural transmission (even indoctrination) in the schools. This point is clearly demonstrated by the following comparison of four history textbooks "adapted" to African schools. Their treatment of two topics, "slave trade" and "education and health services" will be compared:

1. Géographie et Histoire de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, by Pierre Gamache. Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1949 (out of print). Publication sponsored by the Government General of A.E.F.

This text, written by a former French teacher in A.E.F. for use in the top primary grades, states in the author's foreword:

> . . . it is not altogether a bad thing for the Africans to learn about their country and to realize what they owe to those who have bestowed upon them the benefits of their culture.

Slave trade is mentioned in the text only in connection with its official abolition by the Second Republic, in 1848, thanks largely to

the insistence of a French humanitarian, Victor Schoelcher. The author introduces the subject in these words:

> French Equatorial Africa was, from time immemorial, the blessed land of slavery. The Blacks used in this sad trade all came from Africa, and central Africa was supplying a large number of them.
>
> If white slave-traders were profiting from it [slave-trade], many petty kings and sultans were [also] living off this trade, making a true, well organized industry of it. . . .

Then, the role of the French seamen, explorers (such as de Brazza) and "pacifiers" in putting an end to slave trade against the armed opposition of African tyrants, such as Rabah and Senoussi, is eloquently presented.

On the subject of education and public health, historian Gamache simply quotes Albert Sarraut:[25]

> [in the field of health] It has been necessary to fight, in the natives, the obstacle which their habits, prejudices, superstitions, and sorcerers put in the way of the French doctors' efforts.
> . . . . . .
> Health centers were multiplied: hospitals, clinics, laboratories, Pasteur institutes.
> . . . . . .
> Schools have been established to train native doctors, assistants, nurses, midwives. . . .
>
> The educational effort encountered, at the beginning, native routine, then France multiplied the schools which every day prove insufficient in number. Everywhere the native has a thirst for knowledge.

2. Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale, by Djibril Tamsir Niane and J. Suret-Canale. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1961.

This text first appeared in October, 1960, as a history textbook published by the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Guinea, for use in the primary and secondary schools of that country. It was intended to replace the old history textbooks ". . . imbued with the colonial ideology, less concerned with the history of African peoples than with the history of colonization."[26] This book is obviously imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology:[27]

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25. Albert Sarraut, Grandeur et Servitude Coloniales (Paris: Le Sagittaire, 1929).

26. Authors' foreword, p. 3.

27. Ibid., p. 142.

> One must judge colonization on the basis of its objective role. Now, this objective role has been to impose, for the benefit of a handful of men, the exploitation of the masses in colonized countries by taking away from them all freedom, all human dignity.

And, further:[28]

> Thus was revealed the true character of colonization: the frenzied exploitation of African populations for the benefit of foreign imperialist capital.

On the subject of slavery, the book first explains how, following the discovery of America, large plantations were established by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. When the local supply of enslaved laborers became insufficient, the Spaniards and the Portuguese came to buy slaves from Africa:[29]

> In exchange for slaves, they gave shoddy merchandise, cloth, firearms, and alcohol. This shameful trade for humanity is called slave trade.
>
> It lasted from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, taking millions of men from Africa. During three centuries, Africa no longer enjoyed peace for, in order to obtain slaves, one had to pillage and to destroy villages, then to bring the captive to the ports where the Europeans' ships were waiting for them.[30]

This quotation makes no specific mention of the French and the British slave traders, but French native policy ("indigènat") is presented as a form of slavery:[31]

> The native, a French subject, was deprived of all rights. Without trial he could be beaten or emprisoned according to the commandant's fancy. He had to pay taxes, regardless of his income. Finally, he had to support the burden of forced labor; he was requisitioned for cultivation, portage, road-building, or for the needs of the settlers or of the chiefs.

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28. Ibid., p. 149.

29. Ibid., p. 63.

30. Note that the authors carefully avoided to identify those who seized the slaves and brought them to the ships. In the French language original, the indefinite pronoun "on" is used.

31. Ibid., p. 156.

On the subject of education and health care:[32]

> In order to obtain subordinate cadres (clerks for government or trading firms) a few schools were set up: but only a truncated education was provided, aimed at making young Africans despise their culture and people, admire the colonizers, and submit to them. The normal school W. Ponty [Dakar] trained teachers and "native" doctors provided with a diploma without equivalence to those of France, which denied them all opportunities of obtaining French degrees and even of having access to higher education.
>
> In 1945, the proportion of Africans knowing how to read and write was lower than 5% of the population. There were not ten Africans who had had access to higher education.
>
> In the field of medicine, the army doctors of the "Colonial Medical Corps" could hardly satisfy the needs of European and African civil servants. "Native Medical Assistance" had cruelly insufficient personnel and facilities. The fight against "sleeping sickness" was undertaken only when it was feared that it would cause a shortage of manpower.
>
> In spite of these difficult conditions, many teachers and doctors, Europeans and Africans, did an admirable job: in spite of all precautions, education given in the schools effectively contributed to the emergence of national consciousness.

3. Histoire des Peuples Noirs, by Assoi Adiko and André Clérici (Collection d'Histoire à l'Usage des écoles d'Afrique). Abidjan: C.E.D.A., 1961.

The two first books represent opposite extremes in their interpretation of colonialism. This third one adopts a more balanced attitude, but clearly represents an African nationalist point of view. According to the introduction, its author aims at presenting ". . . without passion, hatred, or exultation" an overview of the history of Black Africa to African school children before introducing them to world history.

Author Adiko, like his Guinean colleagues, explains the origin of slave trade by the fact that the European plantation owners in America needed more manpower than was locally available:[33]

> In their African trading posts ("Comptoirs") the Portuguese acquired the habit of buying slaves whom they resold in America. In order to engage in this dishonorable activity, they did business with African chiefs. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese lost their trade monopoly in Africa to the advantage of the Dutch, the British, and the French--who all had American possessions--trade was intensified and systematized: it became the "triangular trade."

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32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., pp. 82-83.

Further details are offered concerning the character of slavery:[34]

> This crime against humanity is very different from the usual forms of slavery. In Africa, as in ancient Greece, there were slaves. But if they often led a life of hardships, they were sometimes integrated by their masters into the life of the family or the group. The African slaves transported to America served exclusively to develop the land and the mines conquered by the Europeans. Slavery has made possible the development of the American colonies.

On the subject of education, this textbook states:[35]

> In French-speaking Africa, for example, where the situation is less bad, schooling is still far from reaching the total school-age population; the proportion of illiterates is still considerable (80 to 95%); in addition, there is the problem of adult education. If primary education has been developing, particularly since 1945, secondary institutions have been established very slowly. As far as higher education is concerned, it was created recently, for example at Dakar, where various higher education institutions were transformed into a full-fledged university.

In the field of public health:[36]

> The colonial period had already seen a real demographic upsurge, a combined effect of established security and of the discoveries of modern medicine. The recent systematic vaccination campaigns organized by the researchers and doctors of the Pasteur institutes have improved the state of health of the populations. It is true that infant mortality remains a social scourge.
>
> After the war, new progress was made in the diffusion of antibiotics and powerful insecticides such as DDT. On the continent, the health missions, national or international, multiplied. The number of hospitals, available beds, medical staff, stationary or mobile, really started to increase while remaining very inferior to the needs.

The authors further report that between 1930 and 1960 the total population of French-speaking Africa (excluding the ex-Belgian Congo) increased from 19 to 29 millions, a more than 50% increase. But he warns against the unreliability of census figures for that period. The Guinean textbook, for its part, flatly states that the population

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34. Ibid., p. 86.

35. Ibid., p. 157.

36. Ibid., p. 154.

of Equatorial Africa, ". . . estimated at 10 million inhabitants at the beginning of the century, fell to less than 3 million in 1921."[37] This is an excellent example of the way "facts" can be used in support of a particular thesis.

4. Histoire d'Afrique Equatoriale (Middle Grades I & II), by J. Ernoult. Issy-Les-Moulineaux: Editions Saint-Paul, 1961.

This text, written before independence and often revised since its first publication, is part of a series of booklets on history and geography. It is being used in the Catholic schools of French-speaking Africa.

The problem of slavery is treated in much the same way as in the third textbook. But this is added:[38]

> The Catholic Church, since the very beginning, has protested against slave trade: in 1462, Pope Pius II condemned slavery, and the Popes and the missionaries have ceaselessly opposed it.

Progress in education and health care since World War II is summarized in these words:[39]

> The number of schools is increasing, but education is not provided equally in all territories [of A.E.F.], and certain areas do not offer sufficient outlets for the youth coming out of schools. The medical effort already undertaken has to be pursued through the establishment of many more clinics and the training of the African in better hygienic practices.

In the last chapter, the booklet also mentions the work accomplished by the Church in providing Christian education and in training an African clergy.

Only one of the history textbooks just compared is presently used in Congolese schools. The content of future Congolese history textbooks can be expected to vary according to the viewpoint of their authors, but it can be predicted that they will follow the general lines of the third and fourth texts just discussed, and be closer to the former. This is based on the fact that no Congolese is yet capable of writing a history textbook. French writers, on the other hand, have long

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37. Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale, op. cit., p. 152.

38. Cf. p. 20.

39. Cf. p. 51.

hesitated to undertake the task. They realize that no text will be acceptable to Congolese authorities unless it stresses the history of the Congo before the colonial period. Now, unlike the kingdoms of Mali and Ghana, the kingdoms of Loango, Kongo and Anzico are only known through spotty documentary and archeological evidence. European scholars, even those sympathetic toward African nationalist feelings, are still reluctant to admit oral tradition as a major source of historical evidence. However, a compromise is certain to be adopted in the near future.

To the school textbooks already discussed, one must add those produced by the religious missions. Even before this century, missionaries, Catholics as well as Protestants, had written many textbooks: French-native language dictionaries, language and religious instruction school texts, etc. After the 1920 regulations regarding the exclusive use of French as the language of instruction, the Swedish missionaries simply adopted the "official" textbooks. They still do, and so do the missionaries of the Salvation Army in the few schools which they operate in the Congo. The Catholics, however, because of the importance of their school networks throughout French-speaking Africa, have both the talents and the financial resources to write and publish their own textbooks. Thus, "Les Editions Saint-Paul, Presses Missionnaires," located at Issy-Les-Moulineaux, near Paris, publish a fairly complete series of textbooks adapted to the primary schools of French-speaking Africa. These texts, written by priests or by men and women belonging to religious orders who have had teaching experience in African schools, also follow the curricula prescribed for African schools in the last ten years or so. Quite apart from the economic advantage offered by independent publication of textbooks for their own schools, Catholic missionaries are led to adopt this solution in order "to repair the damage" caused by the exclusion of religious instruction as such from the official programs. In this way, the Church can infuse a Christian, Roman Catholic spirit in all subject matter taught in the schools. In the words of Pope Pius XI: "It is necessary that all education, the whole school organization--personnel, programs, textbooks--be governed by a true Christian spirit."[40] For example, a primer, after introducing the sounds "...ien" and "...éen," can use this practice text:[41]

> Our guardian ["gardien"] angel stands guard over us.
> The European ["Européen"] has a white skin, the Dahomeyan ["Dahoméen"] has a black skin; both are children of God. They should love one another like brothers.

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40. Quoted in the foreword of Apprenons à lire, a primer written by C. Grill and published by Les Editions Saint-Paul, 1960. (This text was first published in 1940.)

41. Ibid., p. 68.

The Catholic school textbooks, like the public school ones, and for the same reasons, are more closely adapted to West African schools than to the Congo. However, the publication of school programs specifically Congolese will undoubtedly encourage the production of textbooks also specifically adapted to the Congo.

At the secondary level, the programs being almost identical to those of French metropolitan schools, French textbooks are used. Although the need for adaptation is less acutely felt at that level, there is a current movement toward adapting history and geography texts, particularly those used in the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général."

A final note must be added. This discussion of Congolese school textbooks is largely "academic": textbooks are in terribly short supply in Congolese schools. In rural schools, only a few books are available per classroom. In some cases, not even the teacher has a textbook in some subjects. In Brazzaville, during the academic year 1961-62, only 15 textbooks for moral and civic instruction were made available by the Ministry of Education to 35 classrooms which needed them!

Examinations

The Department of Examinations, at the "Inspection Académique" of the Ministry of National Education, is concerned with two types of examinations: 1) school examinations designed to measure the achievements of pupils at various levels; 2) competitive examinations. The competitive examinations are of two types: a) for entrance into the "classe de sixième," that is, the secondary level, and certain special sections such as teacher-training or home economics; b) on behalf of the Civil Service ("Fonction Publique") for direct recruitment of personnel or for promotion from one category to another in the various government services. In this last case, the Department of Examinations is only responsible for preparing questions designed to assess the level of general education attained by civil service candidates and for grading papers. The "technical" parts of the competitive examinations are the responsibility of the government services concerned.

Annual school examinations are held on a nationwide scale at two levels:

1) At the end of the primary course of studies, that is, for pupils completing the second year of the middle grades ("Cours Moyen, deuxième année"). They decide whether the candidate will receive a Primary School Certificate ("Certificat d'Etudes Primaires Elémentaires"). Pupils' candidacy is not automatic but requires a school director's recommendation. The Certificate itself does not open the doors to secondary studies. Examination questions are selected from those submitted by middle grade teachers, and cover all subjects in

the programs[42] in strict conformance with those programs.

The Secondary School Entrance Examination ("Examen d'entrée en sixième"), held about one month before the Primary Certificate Examination, is a competitive examination, that is, it forms the basis for selection of as many secondary school pupils as there are places available in all types of post-primary schools. Age and the marks obtained by successful candidates determine their orientation: candidates thirteen years old or less on the date of the examination are oriented toward the long course of secondary studies offered in the two public "lycées" and in the Catholic "Collège Chaminade"; fourteen-year old candidates are oriented toward the short course of studies offered in over two dozen "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" and in the vocational section of the "Lycée Technique" in Brazzaville (exceptionally strong candidates in this group may be admitted in the first group); candidates older than fourteen years of age are oriented toward the teacher-training institutions or toward the Agricultural School at Sibiti. Girls up to twenty years of age will be admitted in a newly established vocational school for secretarial training.

At the end of the secondary short cycle ("classe de troisième"), two different series of examinations are given. Students who have not studied foreign languages are given a particularly difficult examination in French, mathematics, and science. Successful candidates receive a "Brevet Elémentaire" ("B.E.") which is normally a terminal certificate, that is, its holder is not expected to pursue his general education any further. This certificate was once thought to be particularly suitable for prospective primary school teachers. It is becoming less and less popular.

The second type of examinations include foreign languages, even Latin, and is given to pupils of the "classe de troisième" of "lycées" and "Collège d'Enseignement Général" who have studied one or two modern languages, whether or not they hope to pursue their secondary studies. Successful candidates receive the "Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle" (B.E.P.C.) which, like the C.E.P.E., does not automatically enable its holder to pursue further general or specialized studies. The Department of Examinations holds competitive examinations for admission to teacher-training courses. Successful candidates are admitted to the so-called "Section A" preparing assistant teachers ("instituteurs-adjoints") through a one-year course of studies. Some of the unsuccessful candidates may, if they wish, be admitted to "Section B" preparing "moniteurs supérieurs" through a one-year course of studies. Students of "Section A," upon graduation, are awarded a Normal School Certificate, while students of "Section B" merely receive a Normal School Leaving Diploma.

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42. The June, 1962, Session did not include questions related to moral and civic instruction.

Admission to the second stage of the secondary course ("deuxième cycle") may be granted to students originally oriented toward a short course of studies. These students are selected through competitive examinations given by each "lycée."

"Baccalauréat" examinations are not the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education. The "baccalauréat" is the first of the French university degrees; and as such it can only be conferred by a university--in the case of the Congo, by the University of Bordeaux. A committee made up of the local "Inspecteur d'Académie" and of "lycée" teachers is responsible for administering the tests and grading the papers. A candidate who scores 10 out of a maximum of 20 points is automatically given the title of "Bachelier de l'enseignement du second degré." Candidates scoring between 7 and 10 are given a second chance ("repêchage") by taking an oral examination called "de contrôle." This oral session is held locally. It should be noted that whereas the written examinations are controlled by France--presumably in strict conformance with French standards--the oral examination jury is subject to certain local pressures. Apart from the fact that the candidates are personally known to some of the examiners, the latter may tend to be responsive to the desires of local academic and political authorities who like to report the largest possible number of passes.

The Department of Examinations is one of those recently Africanized in spite of its highly technical functions. The great importance of examinations as the keys to further studies, to lucrative employment, or to promotions, makes this Department the focus of all sorts of pressures and criticisms. In the present political climate of the Congo, French technical assistants tend to avoid being involved in the operation of this Department. Thus, the responsible Congolese officials are left to face difficult problems:

1) French teachers tend to avoid examination assignments: paper grading delays their departure for the Metropole where they spend the summer holidays.

2) Some examination centers are difficult of access. This often causes delays for which the Department is blamed.

3) The Department lacks an adequate supply of textbooks, reference books, mimeographing material, etc.

It should be emphasized that the Department of Examinations is <u>not</u> expected to contribute to the evaluation and to the improvement of school programs. It is simply informed of effected changes.

Scholarships[43]

Until after World War II, boarding facilities had to be maintained in regional and territorial primary schools in order to provide educational opportunities to out-of-town children. With the spread of three- and six-grade primary schools to smaller centers, the Government's main scholarship effort has shifted to the secondary school level for which facilities are not yet made available in centers smaller than sub-prefectural headquarters.

In public secondary schools (academic and technical "lycées," "collèges d'enseignement général," and vocational schools), the directors admit as many boarders as there are beds available in government-maintained facilities. Each school receives a monthly allowance at the rate of 7,500 CFA francs per boarding student--paid as a lump sum together with the school's operating allowance. For private schools, a total amount is set aside in the annual budget (15,000,000 CFA francs in 1962), and a number of scholarships is allotted to each school in proportion to its total enrollment. The amount of monthly allowance per student is theoretically set at 6,000 CFA francs for Brazzaville and 4,000 CFA francs for Pointe-Noire, plus an annual allowance of 4,500 CFA francs per student to cover the cost of bedding and clothing. In practice, private schools keep more boarders than the number of government scholarships would normally allow. By keeping costs at the lowest possible level, by making maximum use of existing facilities, and by adding private donations and mission funds to government scholarships, the private secondary schools manage to maintain up to twice the number of boarding students supported by the government. Since scholarships are not granted to students individually but included in the total school's subsidy, students are only concerned with being admitted as boarders. If the economy measures adopted by the mission authorities may sometimes reduce their personal comfort, the students have not been complaining.

In 1962, six private institutions received scholarships--one Protestant (N'Gouédi) and five Catholic. Among these five, actual distribution of scholarships is left to Church authorities who may allocate them according to needs.

Although the students are mostly unaware of it, a Scholarship Commission examines the records of all scholarship candidates proposed by the school directors. Within the limits of the allocated number of scholarships, grants are made depending on the student's examination results and on his parents' ability to pay (most African students are eligible under this second criterion). Failure to be promoted to the

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43. Most of the information reported in this section was obtained in the course of personal interviews with the Head of the Department of Scholarships, Ministry of Education, Brazzaville.

next higher grade brings about a 50 per cent reduction in scholarship funds; two successive failures, a cancellation of all funds; and, in most cases, this is equivalent to a dismissal from school.

The Scholarships Department merely administers the program. Full powers of decision are held by the Scholarship Commission made up of the Minister of National Education (Chairman), the "Inspecteur d'Académie," the Primary School Inspector, the Heads of the Scholarships and the Finance Department, three National Assemblymen, the "Proviseurs" of the two public "lycées" and the Director of the Technical "Lycée," the Director of Catholic Education (Archdiocese of Brazzaville), the President of the Evangelical Church of the Congo, the Colonel of the Salvation Army, and the President of the Parents Association. This Commission is concerned only with the allocation of scholarships applied to secondary studies (academic or technical) in Congolese institutions.

For studies in local higher education institutions and for secondary and higher education abroad (mostly in the Metropole), two committees were set up by Decree No. 192 of June 27, 1962. As of the summer of 1962, these committees had not started to operate. However, their mere composition is of interest here:

I) Orientation Commission ("Commission d'Orientation"):

Minister of Planning and Equipment, Chairman.
Members:
Minister of National Education
Minister of Civil Service
Minister of Finance
Other Ministers and representatives of public and private agencies

This Commission is charged with the responsibility of assessing, at any particular time, the country's trained manpower needs and of establishing the principles governing the allocation of scholarship funds in a manner most likely to fill these needs.

II) Executive Committee ("Commission Compétente"):

1) Permanent Secretariat:

"Inspecteur d'Académie"
Inspector of Administrative Affairs
Head of the Department of Scholarships
Representative of the Minister of Finance
Representative of the Civil Service Minister
Representative of the Minister for Economic Affairs
Representative of the Minister of Labor

2) Other members:

One representative for each of the following departments or organizations: Higher Education, Secondary Education Technical Education, Primary Education, Catholic Education, Protestant (Evangelical) Education, Pupils' Parents Association

Two representatives of Congolese scholarship students in France (chosen by students among those who are in the Congo at the time of the annual Commission meeting)

It is hoped that these two high-power commissions will have the information and the authority required to make the most efficient use of human and financial resources available for the training of the country's cadres.

Teaching Staff: Status and Training

Congolese public and "assimilated" school staff are integrated in the Congo's Civil Service. As such, their status is determined by Civil Service rules laid down in August, 1957, that is, approximately one year before the Congo became an autonomous republic. Since independence, the organization has been modified, especially at the higher levels, but the old rules still apply generally to the schools' staff.

Civil servants are classified into five main categories designated by letters A, B, C, D, and E, according to their level of general education and professional training:[44]

Category A:	personnel recruited in Higher Professional Schools ("Grandes Ecoles")
Category B:	recruited among "licence" holders (normally, three years beyond the "baccalauréat")
Category C:	recruited among "baccalauréat" (2 parts) holders
Category D:	recruited among holders of the "baccalauréat" (first part only), the "Brevet Elémentaire," or the "Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle"
Category E:	recruited among holders of the "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires"

Selection for all categories is done through competitive examinations, except when a candidate enters a category lower than the one for which he is qualified to apply. In order to allow for slight differences in levels of training, each category may be subdivided into

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44. "Délibération No. 42/57 portant statut général des fonctionnaires des cadres du Territoire du Moyen-Congo," p. 6. (Mimeographed.)

subcategories. There are ten steps within each category. Promotion from one step ("échelon") to the next higher step is normal every two years, but promotion after one year is granted for exceptional performance, or delayed one year for disciplinary reasons. These categories and steps apply to all administrative, financial, technical, and social services (including Education and Public Health).

In accordance with this classification, it is now possible to give school personnel statistics:

TABLE 19

REPUBLIC OF CONGO: SCHOOL PERSONNEL
MAY 1, 1962

Schools	Men	Women	Total	Distribution by Rank	Percentage of Total
Public	863	119	982	Instituteur	3.2
				Instituteur-adjoint	16.0
				Moniteur Supérieur	15.1
				Moniteur Titulaire	18.9
				Moniteur Contractuel	43.2
Assimilated (Catholic)	873	72	945	Instituteur	2.6
				Instituteur-adjoint	12.2
				Moniteur Supérieur	20.6
				Moniteur Titulaire	45.6
				Moniteur Contractuel	19.0
Assimilated (Protestant)	268	23	291	Instituteur	0.3
				Instituteur-adjoint	8.6
				Moniteur Supérieur	20.9
				Moniteur Titulaire	51.2
				Moniteur Contractuel	18.8
Assimilated (Salvation Army)	33	1	34	Instituteur	0.0
				Instituteur-adjoint	2.9
				Moniteur Supérieur	17.6
				Moniteur Titulaire	61.8
				Moniteur Contractuel	17.6
Total	2037	215	2252		

Source: Information based on oral communication from the Head of the Personnel Department, "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville, and on mimeographed statistical tables prepared by the same Department.

The ranks appearing in Table 19 correspond to the following civil service categories: "Instituteur," category C; "Instituteur-adjoint," category D; "Moniteur Supérieur," category E_1; "Moniteur Titulaire" and "Contractuel," category E_2. The rank of "Instituteur," according to the rules of the French civil service, requires a "baccalauréat" which no Congolese primary school teacher holds. Those appearing in the above figures are foreign teachers, that is, missionaries and French technical assistance personnel teaching mostly in the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général." In October, 1963, some 17 Congolese graduates of the Education Section of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" (Brazzaville) were to enter this category and teach in the "C.E.G.," although they will not hold the "baccalauréat" degree. Above them, a few "Inspecteurs Primaires" belong to category B, although they do not hold a "licence." They have gone through an accelerated training course organized for them at the "Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud" (near Paris).

Percentage distributions among the other ranks deserve comments:

1) The "Instituteurs-adjoints" must hold a "B.E." or a "B.E.P.C.," and must have had at least one year of professional training. Percentages in the various school systems show that the public schools have a higher proportion of this type of teacher. This is largely explained by the fact that public Normal Schools were organized before the private ones in the Congo (cf. the Federal School at Mouyoundzi, now operating as a girls Normal School, and the Normal School at Dolisie). Until recently, the Catholic school system had only one source of "Instituteurs-adjoints" (Collège Chaminade, Brazzaville), and the Evangelical Church still has only one source (N'Gouédi Normal School). Moreover, until the assimilation of the private school personnel (September, 1961) into the Civil Service, conditions were more attractive in the public school system, and an undetermined number of private school-trained "Instituteurs-adjoints" joined it. (This is also true of the lower categories.) In fact, one should expect to find a much higher percentage of "Instituteurs-adjoints" in the public schools. In the almost complete absence of "baccalauréat" holders at the time the Congo cadres were rapidly Africanized, these teachers formed a large part of the educated élite of the Congo and constituted the richest reservoir of potential leaders in the political, social, and administrative fields. The emergence of these former teachers to leadership positions in all African French-speaking countries is a well-known phenomenon. Furthermore, the remaining "Instituteurs-adjoints" are still being tapped for higher administrative or teaching positions. Such is the case of the "Instituteurs-adjoints" being trained for school inspection and for teaching in the expanding "C.E.G." system.

2) The "moniteurs supérieurs" are those who, because of their age or of their lack of demonstrated intellectual ability, have never succeeded in obtaining their "brevet." In fact, they receive almost the

same professional training as the "instituteurs-adjoints," but their lower academic qualifications sharply limit their opportunities for higher or different positions. Thus, they tend to form a more stable element, as indicated by their presence in similar proportions in all four school systems. Of course, a number of them occasionally succeed in moving up to the next higher category by passing the "brevet" examinations.

3) The "moniteurs," "titulaire" or "contractuels," constitute more than three-fifths of the teaching staff in all four school systems, ranging from 62.1 per cent (public schools) to 79.4 (Salvation Army schools). Their level of general education is rarely higher than the "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires," that is, sixth grade education. The "moniteurs titulaires" receive, in addition, one year of professional training. They are integrated in the Civil Service. The "moniteurs contractuels," on the other hand, are substitute "moniteurs" employed temporarily on a year-to-year basis in order to fill most urgent personnel needs. They are given an initial two-month training course and as close on-the-job assistance and supervision as possible. They constitute one-fifth or less of the private school staff, but more than two-fifths of the public school staff, a further indication that the combined effect of rapid primary school expansion and of a heavy turnover in the normally trained staff has greatly lowered the educational and the professional training levels of the public school staff. It is generally assumed that the quality of public school instruction was proportionately lowered. However, reliable evidence to support this contention has not been gathered.

4) Women constitute less than 10 per cent of the teaching staff, and the greater part of the number reported is not Congolese but is made up of French Catholic nuns, wives of Protestant missionaries, or of French technical assistants. The small number of Congolese girls in the teaching profession can easily be explained. Until recently, girls' education lagged far behind; girls attending school tended to enter at an older age than boys and to leave sooner. Since the breakup of the A.E.F. federation, the Federal Normal School of Mouyoundzi has been converted into a Normal School for girls. At the end of the academic year 1961-62, seven girls were enrolled in the graduating class; two of these were expected to join the teaching profession! A similar situation exists at the Ecole Javouhey, run by Catholic nuns, and at N'Gouédi, run by the Evangelical Church. It will undoubtedly be some years before Congolese girls constitute a substantial part of the Congolese teaching staff.

Teachers' salaries are determined by the Civil Service categories and the steps ("échelons") within the categories to which they belong. Minimum and maximum indices are set for each step and apply to all branches of the Civil Service. These indices range from 120 to 1900 when applied to school personnel. In monetary terms, it is sufficient to remark that a beginning "moniteur" (category E, first step) earned

16,000 CFA francs per month in 1962, while the beginning "instituteur-adjoint" earned 34,000 CFA francs per month, plus "fringe" benefits and, when possible, free housing.[45] It should be noted that French and Congolese teachers are paid according to the same scale. French teachers actually earn more than Congolese teachers do, partly because of their higher classification and because of various special privileges and allowances for service overseas.

Professional preparation of teachers is both theoretical and practical in character. Theory is reduced to a bare minimum, in view of the low level of general education of the student-teachers. Instruction consists of a brief introduction to the study of basic pedagogical principles, of methodology, of classroom management, and of school legislation. Practice teaching is carried out in any conveniently located primary school.

Teacher-training textbooks adapted to Africa, like primary school textbooks, have attracted the attention of French educators. The earliest example dates back to the 1890 "Coutumier de l'Oeuvre des Enfants" mentioned earlier. The A.E.F. government sponsored the publication of another one in 1928.[46] Some are undoubtedly being written at present, but two are already in use:

1) Mémento de l'Instituteur d'Afrique Noire, by André Terrisse.[47] This 127-page paperback is a practical guide for public school teachers. Its "inspirational" content emphasizes the social role of the teacher, his nation-building mission, and his contribution to the advancement of civilization. It is adapted to the level of the "moniteurs."

2) Pédagogie du Maitre Africain, by F. Macaire and P. Raymond.[48] This 382-page book is divided into three parts: Pedagogy, Methodology, and Psychology. Thus, it can be used at all current levels of African teacher education. It attempts to present an overview of the philosophical, social, and psychological foundations of education as well as a

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45. During the same period the legal minimum wage in the Brazzaville area stood at approximately 8,500 CFA francs per month for domestic servants (about $35 U.S.). Because of the current high rate of unemployment, this minimum wage is also the actual salary of most laborers and domestic servants.

46. Pierre Gamache, Guide pour les Moniteurs (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle, 1928). (Out of print.)

47. Paris: Fernand Nathan, undated.

48. Issy-Les-Moulineaux: Editions Saint-Paul, Presses Missionnaires, 1960.

fairly detailed discussion of methods. Its aim is to train not just teachers, but Roman Catholic teachers. Religion and religiously based moral education is the authors' main preoccupation. The teacher is seen as a representative of parents, Church, and State, in that order. Although the text is clear, simple, and well-organized, it may be a little difficult for the "moniteurs," but it adequately fills the needs of the "instituteurs-adjoints."

The low level of academic and professional preparation of most Congolese teachers does not escape the attention of local school authorities, public as well as private. Efforts are constantly being made to fill the gaps: practical guides and model lessons are supplied to the "moniteurs"; supervision is as close as the available experienced personnel will make it; week-end and summer workshops and lectures are organized. But it remains that these inadequately trained teachers have fewer opportunities for professional growth than their better trained colleagues in more developed countries.

Quantitative Outcomes

The main elements of the Congolese educational system, as it presently operates, have all been discussed. The outcomes of this system can be considered under two aspects. The quantitative results reflect how many Congolese school children are being educated, to what level, in what types of programs, etc. An indication of quality may also be given in quantitative terms by considering the number of successful candidates at the various official examinations. Such is the object of the present section. Then, attempts will be made at suggesting some of the qualitative effects of Congolese formal education through a rapid analysis of pupils' responses to questionnaires designed to study the impact of modern education on the aspirations of Congolese youth. This will be treated in the next section.

Since the Congo gained autonomy, its school population has grown by leaps and bounds. The "optimal" school enrollment foreseen for 1961 by the Director of Education in his January, 1957, report was almost reached during the school year 1958-1959, and it was exceeded by fifty per cent during the 1961-1962 school year. The following figures will show this rapid progression:

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49. "Situation de l'Enseignement au 1er Janvier 1962," Annex I. Mimeographed report prepared by the "Inspection Académique" and presented by M. Prosper Grandzion, Minister of Education, Brazzaville (February, 1962).

TABLE 20

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT[a]
1959-1962

	1959		1960		1961		1962	
	No. of Class-rooms	Enroll-ment	No. of Class-rooms	Enroll-ment	No. of Class-rooms	Enroll-ment	No. of Class-rooms	Enroll-ment
Primary Education	1,341	89,477	1,641	99,339	1,865	115,331	2,103	135,207
Secondary Education[b]	95	2,424	114	3,313	137	4,361	185	5,968
Technical Education	-	1,153	-	1,365	-	1,644	-	1,721

a. Combined figures, public and private schools.

b. Including "lycées," "collèges normaux," "collèges d'enseignement général."

In 1962, the percentage of school-age children in school was officially claimed to have reached 81%. However, this ratio means little unless the basis selected for its computation is clearly understood. The percentage of school-age children attending school in most African countries is only equal to an estimated percentage of an estimated total population. For the purpose of international comparison, UNESCO has selected 15 per cent of total population as a basis for computation. On this basis, 129,000 children in school would represent a 100 per cent school enrollment rate in the Congo (15 per cent of 860,000), that is, only 6,000 children less than the number actually enrolled! In fact, the official enrollment percentage (81 per cent) is obtained by multiplying an estimated population figure of 830,000 by 20 per cent, producing a school-age population of 166,000. Although this is most probably an underestimated total, it is a fair basis for comparison with other less educationally developed countries which may take advantage of the 15 per cent UNESCO basis. However, for the Congo, it does not give a realistic appraisal of the task to be accomplished.

A more accurate ratio can be computed thus:

The total population of the Congo, at the latest estimate,[50] stood at 860,000. Since the Congo has made school attendance compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16, the importance of this age group must be estimated. Demographic tables report figures for the 5 to 15 age group. This age group, in the Congo, is believed to make up as much as 25% of the total population. Taking the ratio 24% for the age group 6 to 16, one would obtain a school-age population of approximately 206,000 children. Compared to the 1962 school enrollment of 140,000 (135,000 plus an estimated 5000 in secondary schools 16 years old or younger), this figure would produce a school enrollment level of 68%. It should be noted that this conservative estimate still represents a very respectable level of accomplishment. It also allows for the fact that many Congolese children still begin school after six years of age, and often leave it before they reach 16 years of age. These facts will clearly appear in the more detailed statistics for the school year 1961-1962.

As of January 1, 1962, there were, in the Congo public school system, 269 primary schools totaling 962 classrooms; in the "assimilated" school system, 425 primary schools totaling 1,141 classrooms, for a combined total of 694 schools and 2,103 classrooms.[51] Pupil distribution by system and by grade appear in Table 21.

Table 21 still shows a rapid enrollment drop from the first to the sixth grade. This situation, however, cannot all be attributed to a high rate of dropout. The school system is still expanding at the base at a faster rate than population growth. The problem of primary school losses in the Congo has not been studied on the basis of a representative sample of schools over a whole cycle of studies.

The proportion of girls enrolled in primary schools is fairly high compared with that of other African countries. This is partly due to the large percentage of Congolese living in urban areas (about 30 per cent). Indeed, the over-all percentage (37%) conceals a variation of 12% (44% to 32%) in girls' enrollment between the Djoué prefecture (which includes Brazzaville) and the Alima prefecture (in difficult-of-access Northern Congo). The geographical isolation of some areas of the Congo and the lag in girls' enrollment are likely to keep the Congo away from its goal of universal education for many years to come.

Congolese post-primary education, often called "secondary" for euphemistic reasons, is in fact composed of three sections: 1) secondary (academic), 2) "cours complémentaires" or "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" and teacher-training, and 3) technical and vocational, in that order of prestige. The second section has had the greatest enrollment increase in recent years; the third, the least. Enrollment in each section is reported below.

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50. Reported in "La Semaine Africaine," No. 505, May 3-10, 1962

51. "Situation . . . ," op. cit.

TABLE 21

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY GRADES
JANUARY 1, 1962

Grades	Public	Assimilated	Total	Percentage of Grade to Total
Cours Préparatoire I (1st Grade)	19,922	20,420	40,342	32
Cours Préparatoire II (2nd Grade)	11,574	15,735	27,309	22
Cours Elémentaire I (3rd Grade)	8,765	11,626	20,391	16
Cours Elémentaire II (4th Grade)	7,135	8,714	15,849	13
Cours Moyen I (5th Grade)	5,393	6,318	11,711	9
Cours Moyen II (6th Grade)	5,035	4,459	9,494	7
Total[a]	59,667 (35% Girls)	75,540 (38% Girls)	135,207 (37% Girls)	

Source: "Effectifs Scolaires--Enseignement Public" and "Effectifs Scolaires--Enseignement Assimilé"--Au 1er Janvier 1962. (Two mimeographed tables prepared by the "Inspection Académique.")

a. Totals are taken from the first-quoted report; they are based on a later count than the grade by grade report.

TABLE 22

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY GRADES
JANUARY 1, 1962

A) "Lycées" and "Collèges Classiques et Modernes"[a]
(Long Cycle)

Grades	Public		Assimilated		Total	Percentage of Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
Sixième (1st year)	562	171	163	108	1004	35
Cinquième	321	82	130	93	626	22
Quatrième	177	72	112	55	416	15
Troisième	172	60	93	16	341	12
Seconde	136	38	27	2	203	7
Première	106	18	26	6	156	6
Terminales						3
Philo.	12	8	11	1	32	
Sc. Exp.	31	4	-	-	35	
Math.	13	2	-	-	15	
Total	1530	455	502	281	2828	100

a. The two "lycées" (public) are located in Brazzaville and in Pointe-Noire; the two Colleges Classiques et Modernes (Catholic, "assimilated") are both in Brazzaville: Collège Chaminade, for boys, and Collège Javouhey, for girls. (The three Catholic seminaries are not included.)

Source: Unpublished records of the schools concerned.

In this section, as well as in the primary schools, most of the students are enrolled in the two lower grades. Although the first year ("sixième") is under increasing pressure from the growing number of primary school graduates, the drop here is largely due to elimination, that is, reorientation of weaker students toward other types of schools,

and to a number of students permitted to repeat the first or the second year. The drop in enrollment from the "troisième" to the "seconde" is expected to disappear soon. As the number of successful candidates to the "B.E.P.C." examinations increases, many will be given the opportunity to enter the "long cycle" of studies which begins in the class of "seconde."

Girls make up only about 25 per cent of the enrollment in this type of secondary school. In fact, the percentage is much lower if one considers that European (mostly French) girls are included in the total. In the two "Lycées," only one girl out of three is Congolese. In all, the percentage of Congolese girls in this type of secondary school probably does not exceed 10 per cent. Among the boys, 20 per cent in the "Lycées" and 10 per cent in the Collège Chaminade are European.

TABLE 23

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY GRADES
JANUARY 1, 1962

B) "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" and "Collèges Normaux" (Short Cycle)

Grades	Public[a]		Assimilated[b]		Total	Percentage of Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
Sixième (1st year)	900	136	281	123	1440	50
Cinquième	551	109	176	40	876	30
Quatrième	321	57	27	7	412	14
Troisième	129	22	28	8	187	6
Total	1901	324	512	178	2915	100

a. 18 centers.

b. 11 centers.

Source: Unpublished material, "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville.

The number of students preparing for the teaching profession is impossible to determine with precision. The total number of students in above sections "A" and "B" (5,743) is 225 short of the number reported by the Minister of Education (5,968). Part of the discrepancy may be attributed to a number of students enrolled in the various public and private "Sections Normales," that is, a fifth-year section attached to some C.E.G.'s: the normal schools of Dolisie and Mouyoundzi for the public school system; the teacher-training sections of Collèges Chaminade, Javouhey, and Makoua for the Catholic schools; N'Gouédi for the Protestant schools; and the intensive one-year course organized in Brazzaville to meet the present shortage of trained public school teachers. In addition, older students, and those who show little promise of successfully completing the "short cycle" and obtain a B.E.P.C., are often transferred to a special teacher-training course and become "moniteurs supérieurs" or simply "moniteurs."

The distribution of students among the four C.E.G. grades shows the biggest drop from the lower to the upper grades. This situation is easily explained by the fact that out of 29 centers only three public and four or five private centers offered the full four-year course during 1961-62. Six of the 18 public school centers, opened in October, 1961, offered only the lower grade; the rest offer two or three grades. According to plans,[52] this type of secondary schools was to be established in every prefectural center and in two or three subprefectural centers, and have a 5,000-student enrollment by 1970. A more recent decision to extend this network to every subprefectural center in the country rather suggests that some 10,000 students may be enrolled in this type of secondary schools by 1970.

The situation is even more confused with regard to technical education. This type of education is offered through three kinds of structures: a "Collège Technique" (long cycle), the technical field equivalent to the "Lycées"; the "Centre d'Apprentissage" (short cycle), recently renamed "Collèges d'Enseignement Technique," the technical field equivalent to the "Collège d'Enseignement Général"; finally, the "Sections Manuelles," usually attached to primary or secondary schools. The first structure prepares its best students to the "Baccalauréat de l'Enseignement Technique" which opens the way to higher technical education and to mechanical engineering. Its commercial section prepares administrators and accountants, and delivers a "Brevet d'Enseignement Commercial." The second structure has a "terminal" character: it prepares students for positions in commerce and industry at the subprofessional level and delivers a "Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle" (C.A.P.). The third structure prepares clerks and

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52. "Plan de Développement de l'Enseignement du Second Degré--Cours Complémentaires et Collèges Normaux, 1960-1970." (Typewritten document prepared by the "Inspection Académique," Brazzaville.)

craftsmen. In 1961-62, 31 schools comprising 84 classes were offering one type of technical education or another (68 classes in 23 schools for boys; 16 classes in eight schools for girls). But there was only one "Collège Technique" (Brazzaville), four "Centres d'Apprentissage" (one public, one Protestant, one Catholic [for girls], in Brazzaville, and one Catholic [for boys], in Pointe-Noire). The rest were "Sections Manuelles."

Reliable statistics regarding distribution by grades is not available. It is sufficient to report that, in 1961-62, 478 boys and 16 girls were enrolled in the "Collège Technique"; 685 boys and 110 girls in the "Centres d'Apprentissage," public and private; the rest, 432 boys and girls, were presumably distributed among the various "Sections Manuelles." In addition, a small but undetermined number of boys were being trained as craftsmen in the Brazzaville center for "Formation Professionnelle Accélérée" (Intensive Vocational Training) under the auspices of the Congolese Ministry of Labor.[53] In recent years, this center has been operating at a minimum level, since skilled workers in the building trades are in oversupply in the Congo.

One of the main features of the 1959 educational reform in France was the introduction of the "cycle d'observation." In accordance with this scheme, the programs of the two lower secondary grades ("sixième" and "cinquième") are to be almost identical in all types of secondary schools. During these two years, students are under close observation in order to determine what type of education is best suited to their ability and aspirations. This procedure is being adopted in a limited way in the Congo, but its effectiveness is doubtful. The operation of such a "cycle d'observation" requires the use of reliable testing instruments and cooperation of highly trained teachers and guidance specialists, all conditions almost nonexistent in the Congo.

Enrollment statistics concerning the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" are not given here for two reasons: 1) this institution is open to students from all four Equatorial African republics, and the exact number of Congolese students in each field of study is difficult to determine; 2) it is not under Congo Government nor Education Ministry control.

Finally, quantitative results of the various examinations held at the primary and secondary education levels will give an indication of the effectiveness of instruction in Congolese schools.

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53. This center has operated in Brazzaville since 1950. It was very effective in training urgently needed skilled workers for the building boom of the early 1950's.

TABLE 24

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)
SCHOOL EXAMINATION RESULTS
1961-1962 AND 1962-1963

Examinations	1961-1962 Number of Candidates	1961-1962 Number Passed	1961-1962 %	1962-1963 Number of Candidates	1962-1963 Number Passed	1962-1963 %
Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (C.E.P.)	7444	4269	57.4	7853	4900	62.4
Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle	715	286	40.0	942	432	45.9
Brevet Elémentaire (B.E.)	181	52	28.7	283	68	24.0
Probatoire (Baccalaureate, First Part)	-	72	-	228	103	44.8
Baccalauréat (Second Part)	-	43	-	107	64	59.8

Source: Information supplied by the Department of Examination, Congolese Ministry of Education, Brazzaville.

Qualitative Outcomes

The task of assessing the total impact of formal education on the beliefs, attitudes, and aspirations of Congolese youth cannot be realistically undertaken at present. Educationists and sociologists have barely begun to explore this area of research. The necessary conceptual schemes and research tools are lacking. In this section, the writer intends to report on his application of certain social science research techniques to this problem: questionnaires, sociometric tests, and sentence completion tests.

Due mainly to the scarcity of research literature dealing with this aspect of Congolese culture and society, it was not possible--nor perhaps entirely desirable at this time--to define a very narrow and precise area of investigation, to formulate very specific hypotheses, and to develop questionnaires aimed at the rigorous testing of these hypotheses. The questionnaires used have elicited responses which may be of interest not only to educationists but also to students of the rapidly changing sociological realities of Tropical Africa. For this reason, a fairly detailed report of the data gathered will be offered in the hope that other researchers may find them a valuable source of hypotheses. But only a preliminary analysis of the results will be attempted whenever the responses obtained are directly relevant to this study.

The data were gathered during the second half of the 1961-1962 school year. They are the results of three series of tests[54] given at three levels of the Congolese school system:

Tests I & II: at the level of the sixth grade ("Cours Moyen II"), that is, at the end of the primary school; and at the level of the tenth grade ("Classe de troisième"), that is, at the end of the first cycle of secondary studies.

Test III: at approximately the twelfth grade level, that is, at the end of the second cycle of secondary studies and at the end of the professional training year of the teacher-training institutions.

All subjects were requested to fill in a "personal data sheet" (see Appendix VI). Tabulation of responses has revealed the following characteristics of the samples.

Tests I & II--Sixth Grade Level. A total of 13 classes were used in the sample, 8 in urban and 5 in rural environments; 9 were in public schools, 2 in Catholic schools, and 2 in Protestant schools.

The 581 subjects in the sample[55] (440 boys and 141 girls) showed the following characteristics:

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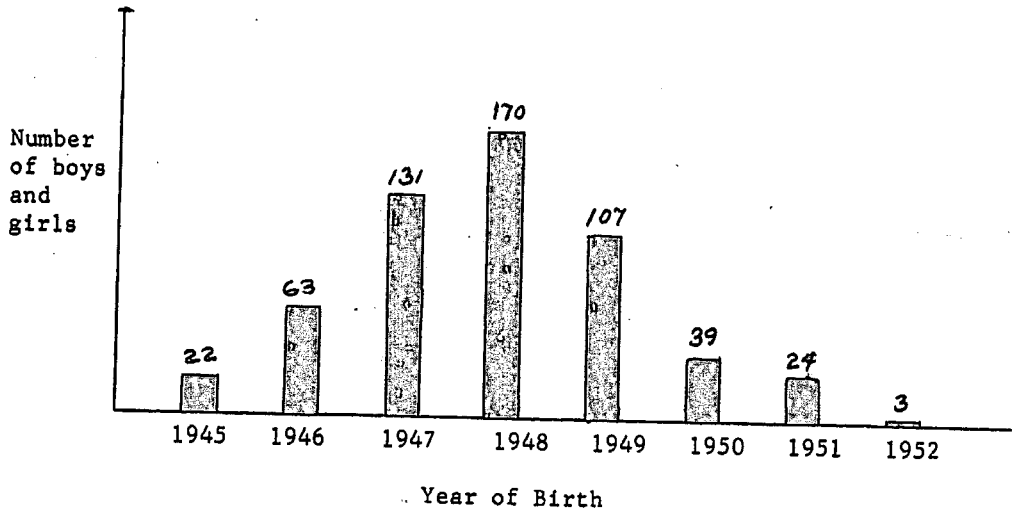
54. The tests, as they were used, are to be found in Appendix VI.

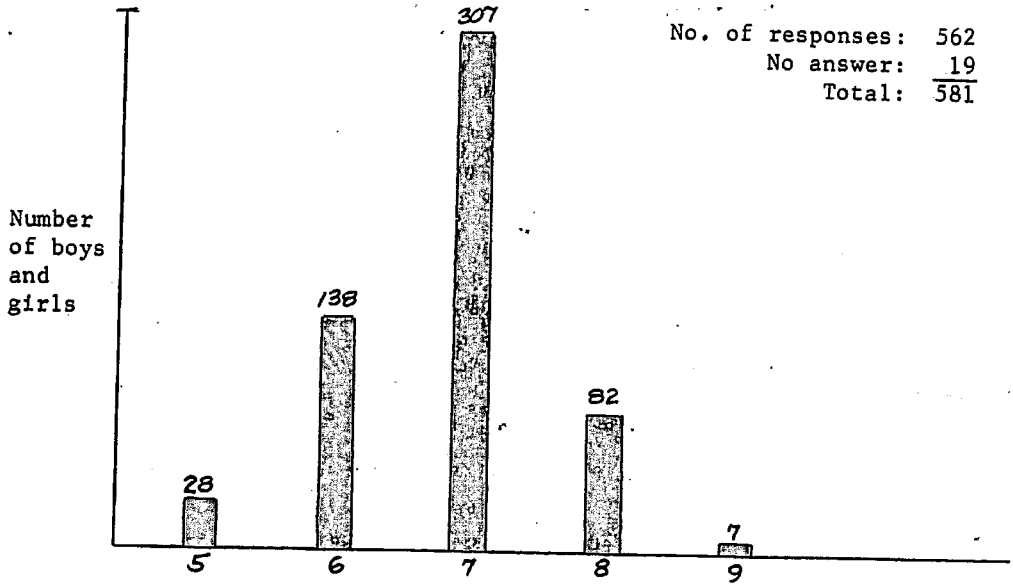
55. Total Congolese sixth grade population during the school year 1961-1962 stood at 9,494 boys and girls. This sample therefore represents more than 6% of the sixth grade universe. However, no particular attempt was made to reproduce an accurate cross-section of Congolese sixth graders. Certain geographic areas are not represented due to limitations of time and transportation accessibility to this investigator. Rather, schools of various types (public, private, urban, rural, for boys only, mixed, ethnically homogeneous, ethnically mixed, etc.) were included, not necessarily in the same proportions as they exist throughout the Congo (Brazzaville). Nevertheless, this sample may represent a range of variations wide enough for the purposes of this investigation.

1) Age Distribution



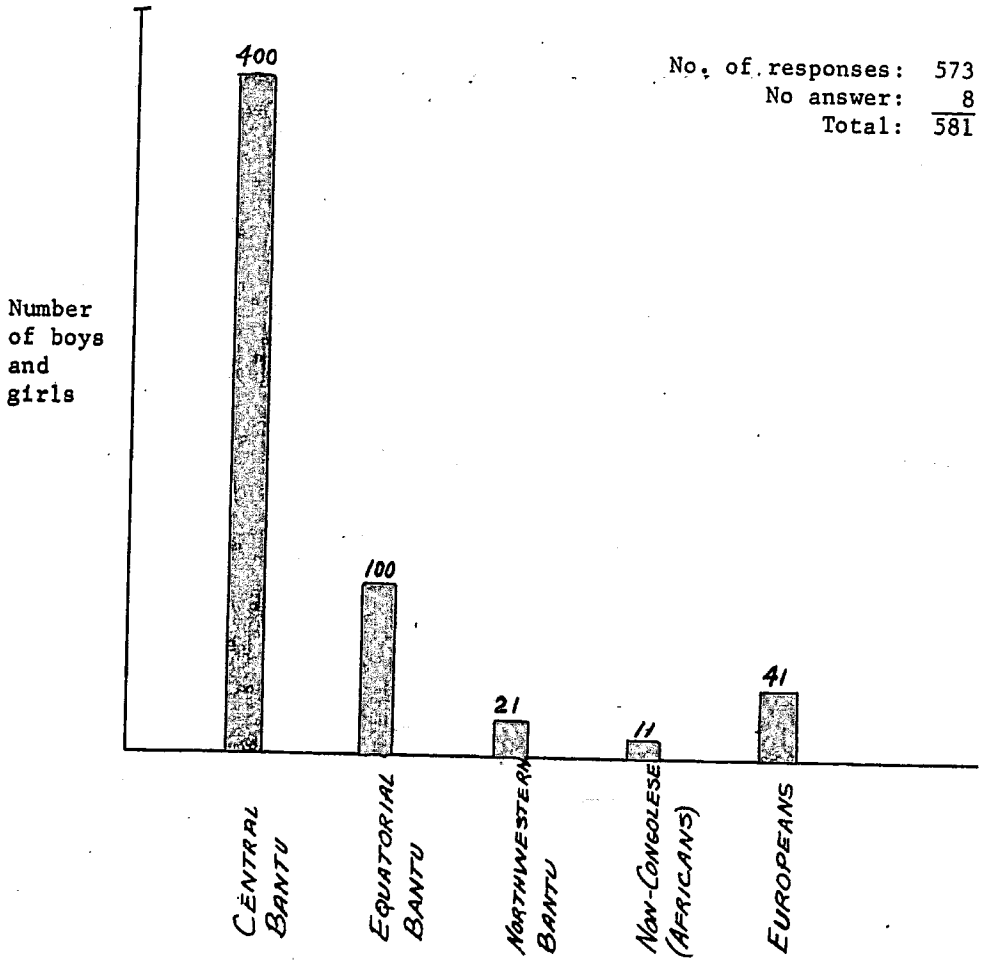
NOTE: The subjects were asked to write down the year of their birth instead of their age, a common practice in the Congo, in the hope of getting a quick and accurate answer. However, many answers were given as "about 19___." It is probable that errors would tend to lie on the side of underestimation: most Congolese pupils would tend to lower their age in order to qualify for entrance in academic secondary schools.

2) Years in School Attendance ("Normal" duration of Course: 6 years)



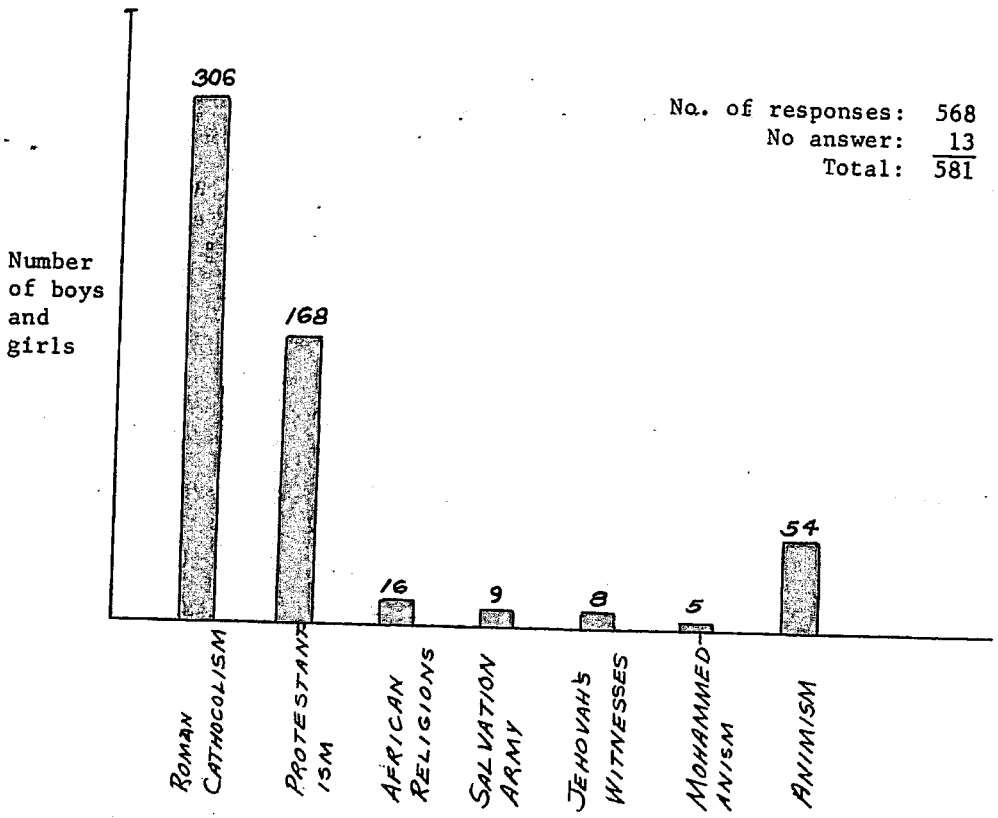
NOTE: Less than 30 per cent of the subjects reached the end of the six-year primary course in six years or less. If most of the 41 Europeans are excluded from this group, the proportion drops to less than 25 per cent. Therefore, 3 Congolese pupils out of 4 repeat one year or more while in primary schools. However, a comparison of these figures with "Age Distribution" indicates that this is not the only reason for the relatively advanced age of the six-grades' population: 84 per cent complete primary school in 7 years or less, but only 31 per cent are aged 13 or less at the end of their primary studies. This points to a large number of late starters, a situation which has certainly improved since this group reached school age. Current practice is to give every six-year old child who applies and cannot be admitted in overcrowded schools a certificate which will guarantee his admission the following year.

3) Ethnic Composition



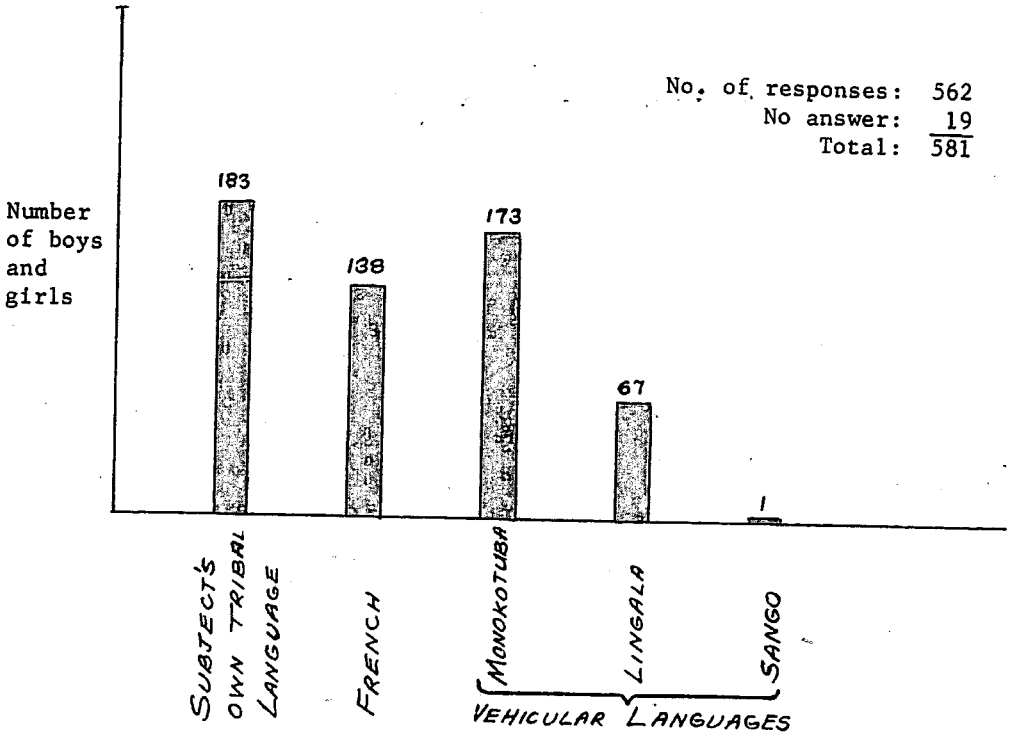
NOTE: The Congolese subjects (91 per cent of the sample) have been classified into the three main groups discussed earlier, using the classification adopted by Murdock. In fact, over forty different tribes are represented in the sample. The Central Bantu are overrepresented since they occupy the easily accessible areas of the country between Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire. The category "Non-Congolese" includes all Africans born outside the Republic of Congo. The category "Europeans" includes mostly French children attending the "Ecole du Stade" located in the administrative section of Brazzaville.

4) Religious Affiliations



NOTE: The religious groups listed here correspond to those listed in the "personal data sheet." This procedure was adopted in the hope that the subjects would find it easier to indicate their true religious affiliations, particularly if they happened to belong to a nativistic (African) religious movement. In spite of these precautions, the data should be interpreted with doubt as to their accuracy. For instance, full-fledged members of Christian religions are not differentiated from catechemens. Furthermore, the category "animism" did not appear in the questionnaire under this name, but rather as "non-baptized" which is the term generally used in the Congo to designate those who do not belong to any formal religion. The term "paganism" has undesirable overtones, and the term "animism" would not have been understood by most sixth graders. It should be noted that not a single "Matswanist" affiliation was claimed, although this political-religious movement had thousands of adherents in the Congo before 1956.

5) Language Spoken Most Often Outside the Classroom



NOTE: Although close to one-third of the subjects claimed that they spoke their own tribal tongue most often outside the classroom, almost 10 per cent indicated that they did not know their tribal tongue. French is spoken in class by all sixth graders, but only 25 per cent of them used French most often outside the classroom. The remainder used mostly two of the three "vehicular" or "trade" languages which have developed in the area. These serve as "lingua franca" (Monokotuba, from Pointe-Noire to Brazzaville; Lingala, from Brazzaville to the northern part of the Congo; and Sango, in the Bangui area). They are not tribal tongues, although their limited vocabulary and simplified syntax are borrowed from tribal tongues spoken in their respective areas. The frequency with which the subjects used these "vehicular" languages indicated the extent of their inter-tribal relationships.

6) Other Characteristics

Place of Birth: 54.2 per cent (305 subjects) of the pupils were born in rural areas, although 8 of the 13 schools of the sample are located in urban areas (population of 5,000 or more). This indicates that in the majority of cases the pupils' parents have recently moved to the city, or that they still live out in the country while their children go to the cities in search of better educational opportunities.

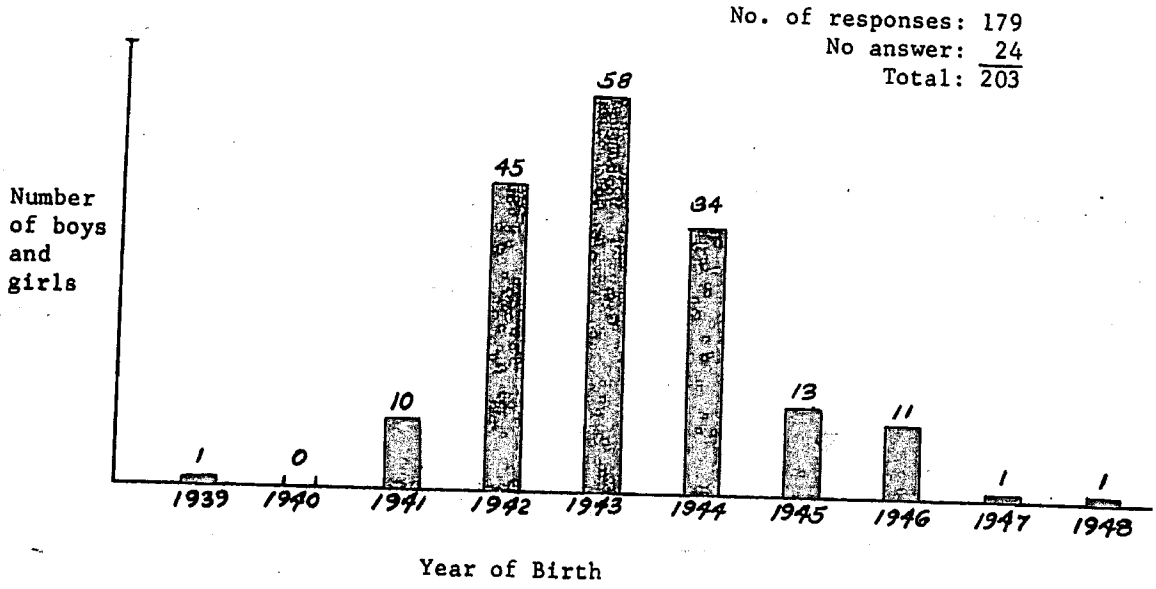
This last indication is confirmed by responses to the questions regarding fathers and guardians. Four hundred and eighty-two pupils reported the names and occupations of their fathers, leaving about 100 presumably deceased. Now, 230 reported the names and occupations of their guardians, indicating that 130 pupils have both a living father and a guardian. In most of these cases (22 per cent of the sample), one may assume that the fathers live "out in the bush" while the children attend village or city schools with the help of relatives acting as guardians.

Tests I & II--Tenth Grade Level. A total of 7 classes were used in this sample, 5 in urban and 2 in rural environments; 5 were in public and 2 in private schools; 5 offered academic courses, 1 industrial course, and 1 commercial course.

The 203 students[56] (199 boys and 4 girls; 107 day pupils and 96 boarders) showed the following characteristics:

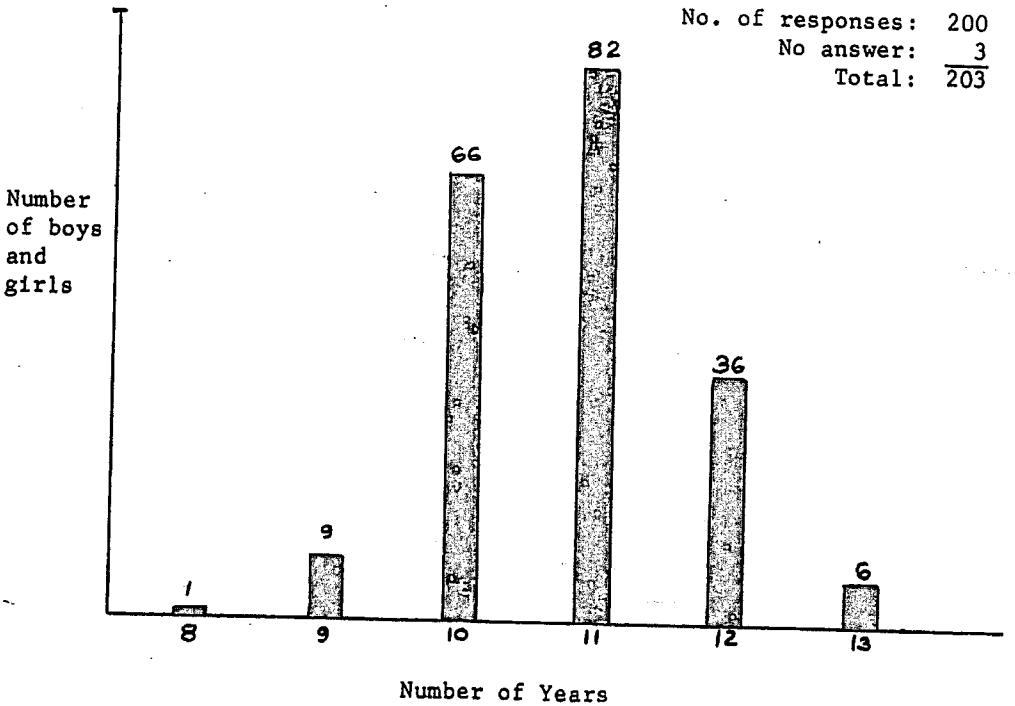
56. The total tenth grade enrollment in the Congo-Brazzaville during the academic year 1961-62 was 617, including the "lycées," but excluding the teacher-training schools. If the 232 tenth graders enrolled in the two academic "lycées" are also excluded, a total of 385 remains for the type of schools represented in the sample. Hence, this sample includes more than 50 per cent of the universe.

1) Age Distribution



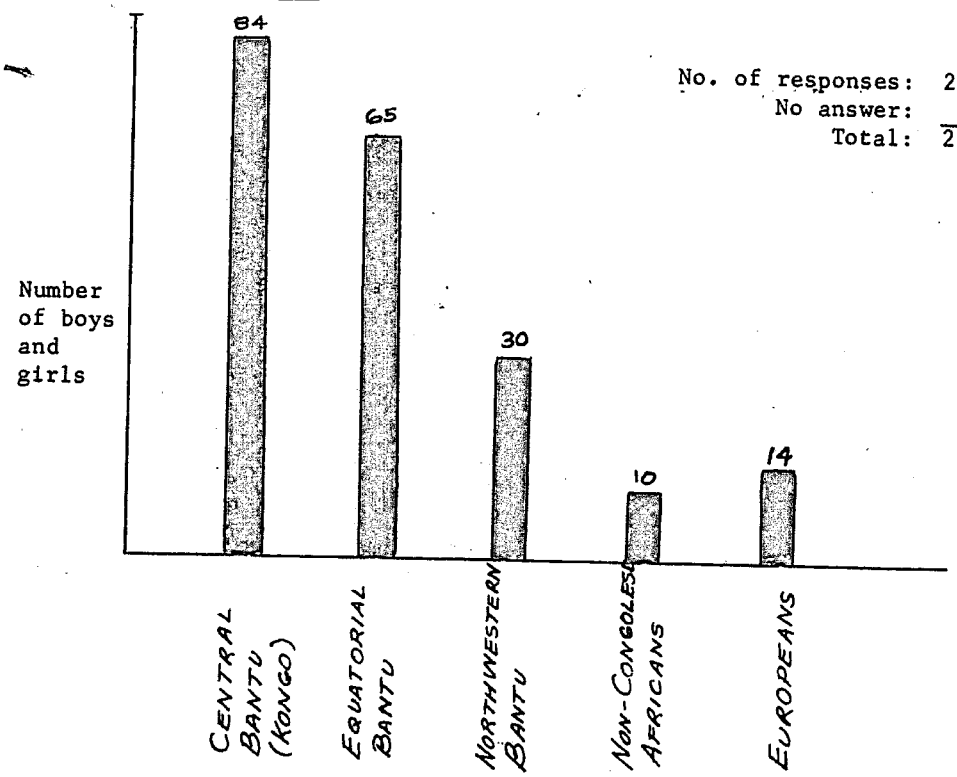
NOTE: Age variation, as could be expected, is much wider at this level. Most of these students were born during or shortly after the Second World War, at a time when less pressure was exerted on children to start school early. Only 13 students (7.1 per cent) reached the end of this ten-year course of studies before they reached age 17, and several among the 14 Europeans tested are included in this group.

2) Years in School Attendance ("Normal" duration of Course: 10 years)



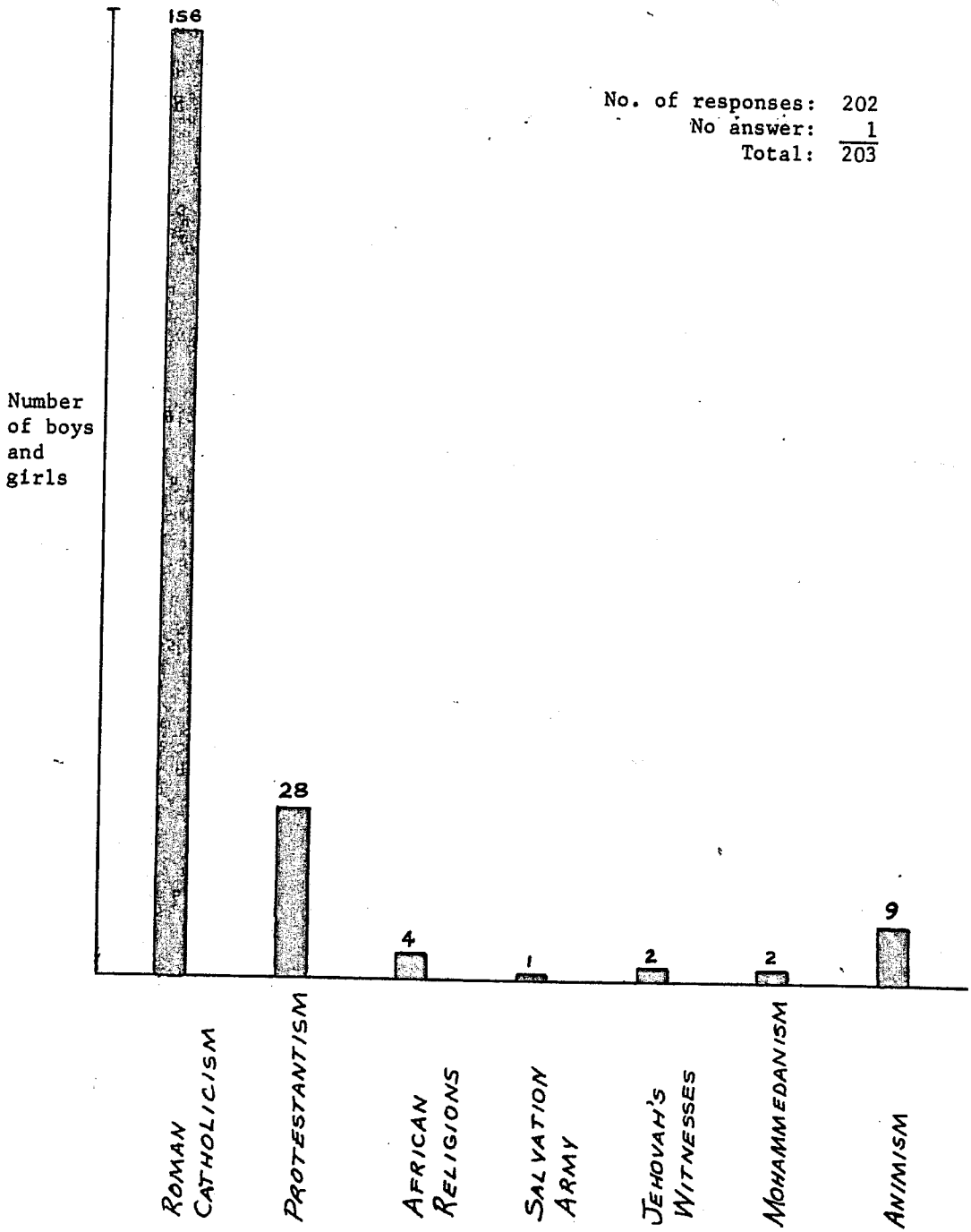
NOTE: Although the bulk of the tenth graders sampled (almost 80 per cent) were between 18 and 20 years of age, a glance at the above chart shows that more than 90 per cent of the sample attended school from ten to twelve years. Therefore the repeaters among them are much fewer than in the sixth grade sample. This is to be expected since the selective processes have had more opportunities to operate, particularly at the time of the secondary school entrance examinations.

3) Ethnic Composition

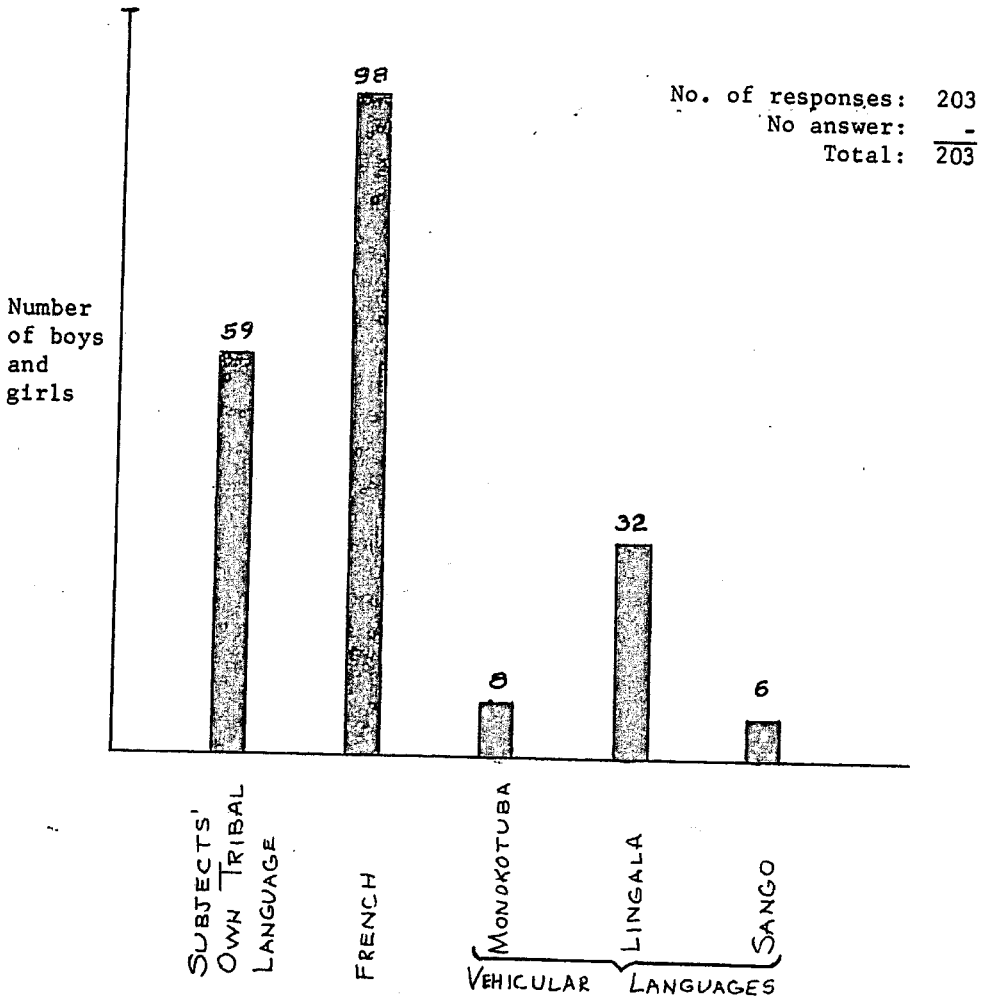


NOTE: The three main Bantu groups are represented in the sample in nearly the same proportions as in the Congo population as a whole (see, for instance, the 41.4 per cent for the Central Bantu group). Although the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" are being established throughout the country, few of them can already offer a full four-year course. Students in the samples classes are consequently drawn from all parts of the Congo.

4) Religious Affiliations



5) Language Spoken Most Often Outside the Classroom



NOTE: The mixture of ethnic groups in schools partly explains the students' knowledge and relatively frequent use of "vehicular" languages. However, at this level, the French language is reportedly spoken most often by almost half of the students, almost as often as all tribal and "vehicular" languages put together. This should indicate a higher degree of French acculturation at this school level.

6) Other Characteristics

Place of Birth: These tenth graders were born before 1948, that is, before the post-war economic development could launch the population movement toward the cities. This explains the relatively high percentage of students (77%) born in rural areas. Besides, two of the classes sampled (Fort-Rousset and Makua) are located in rural centers which draw students from surrounding rural primary schools.

One hundred and forty reported their father's occupation, and one hundred and nine also reported their guardian's occupation.

Responses to Test I--Sixth Grade Level. Test I was designed to gather information regarding the occupational aspirations of the Congolese school children.

> Question No. 1 (Test I-A): "Indicate three (3) trades or professions in which you would like to engage once your studies are completed. (Write in the first blank space the one which attracts you most, in the second blank, your second choice, etc.)"

This is a free choice question which could be made on the basis of aspirations and/or opportunity. It did not have to be realistic, that is, the subjects were not instructed to make a choice as consistent as possible with their capabilities and with the educational and occupational opportunities available in the Congo. In order to test the hypothesis that such a free choice might result in the sixth graders selecting from a narrow range of occupations, Form I-B[57] was developed and administered to one-half of the class in three schools, while the other half was given Form I-A. Form I-B listed 39 occupations commonly known in the Congo. The subjects were requested to cross off the names of all listed occupations but five, then to list these remaining five in the order of the subjects' preference.[58] But the responses of the very first group showed that this technique did not appreciably extend the range of occupational choices while it tended to restrict the subjects' spontaneity of choice. For instance, in the first group where this technique was applied:

1) Ten occupations included in list I-B were not mentioned by those who took Form I-A. These 10 occupations were mentioned 29 times

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57. A similar technique was used by Gérard Althabe in his study of the young unemployed "school leavers" in Brazzaville. The results he obtained will be discussed further in this section.

58. See Form I-B in Appendix VI.

by I-B subjects, but only 11 times were they the object of a first, second, or third choice.

2) Seventeen out of the 39 listed occupations were not selected at all (example: blacksmith, store clerk, tailor, lawyer, farmer, etc.).

3) Those taking Form I-A selected four occupations not listed in Form I-B: professor, sailor, midwife, and "gendarme."

This experiment was repeated with similar results in an urban school and in a rural school. Form I-B was then abandoned. However, data obtained through Form I-B are included in the following tables.

The writer's choice of occupational categories is, to a certain extent, arbitrary. It is therefore necessary to give further details as to what subcategories were included in each of the seven or eight categories listed in Tables 25 and 26.

1. Teaching. Occupations classified under this heading include "professeur" (in an academic or technical "lycée," or in a "collège d'enseignement général"), "instituteur" or director of a primary school, and school inspector.

2. Health Services. Occupations: doctor of medicine, nurse (male and female), midwife, and pharmacist.

3. Technical and Scientific. Occupations: engineer (civil, mechanical, railroad, etc.), electrician and radio repairman, auto-mechanics and machine shop worker, and the building trades (mason, carpenter, etc.).

4. Public Administration. Included in this category are occupations commonly connected with public administration, from "Préfet" down to office clerk. Post office, telephone and telegraph employees are also included.

5. Armed Services. These include army, navy, air force, "gendarmerie," and police. They also include merchant sailors, commercial airline pilots, and air hostesses.

6. Agriculture. Agricultural engineer and "moniteur" are added to the "farmer" subcategory.

7. Business. Traders, managers, and salesmen are classified under this heading. Office work, unless it is explicitly connected with business operations, is classified under "clerical," in the Public Administration category.

TABLE 25

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS
TEST I--QUESTION 1
SIXTH GRADE LEVEL

Occupations (First Choice)	Urban Schools	Percentage	Rural Schools	Percentage
1. Health Services	138	34.50	29	17.5
2. Technical and Scientific	91	22.75	24	14.5
3. Teaching	71	17.75	76	45.8
4. Public Administration	35	8.75	14	8.4
5. Armed Services	32	8.00	11	6.6
6. Agriculture	7	1.75	5	3.0
7. Business	0	-	0	-
8. Others	26	6.50	7	4.2
Total	400	100.00	166	100.0

Preferred Location

Of the 542 subjects who stated their preference, 460 wished to work in an urban environment, and 82 in a rural environment.

TABLE 26

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS
TEST I--QUESTION 1
TENTH GRADE LEVEL

Occupations	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice	Total	Percentage
1. Teaching	65	27	35	127	21.8
2. Technical and Scientific	34	40	36	110	18.8
3. Health Services	48	39	20	107	18.4
4. Public Administration	18	40	33	91	15.8
5. Armed Services	10	16	24	51	8.7
6. Law	5	13	15	33	5.6
7. Agriculture	8	3	10	21	3.6
8. Business	4	6	6	16	2.7
9. Others	9	12	8	29	4.6
Total	201	197	187	585	100.0

Preferred Location

Of the 192 subjects who stated their preference, 131 wished to work in an urban environment, and 61 in a rural environment.

8. Others. Occupations which are not easily classified under any one of the preceding, or which were selected too rarely to justify classification into a separate category, are all grouped in this section. They are: arts (painting, sculpture), crafts (traditional or modern), law,[59] priesthood. A few chauffeurs, station masters, housewives and matrons are also included.

The occupational categories have been listed in order of students' preference--as indicated by the total number of times a particular category of occupation was chosen. Actually, the rank a category occupies on the basis of total number of choices happens to correspond to the rank it would occupy if only the "first choice" were considered. In the two preceding tables, this holds true with only one exception: at the tenth grade level, the category "Technical and Scientific" holds second place according to total number of choices (110), but third place, after "Health Services," on the basis of first choice. This observation suggests that, in this kind of investigation, a single occupational choice might prove sufficiently representative of the students' occupational interests.

Most trades or professions selected by the Congolese students can be performed within the framework of the Congolese "Fonction Publique." Teachers, doctors, and health officers are all civil servants. Even technicians and agriculturalists are usually employed by the Ministry of Public Works and by the Ministry of Agriculture. Those interested in law intended to work in connection with the administration of justice, as magistrates or court clerks, rarely as independent attorneys. If one also adds the Armed Services and work connected with state-owned airlines, only the "Business" category remains outside the framework of the civil service. On the other hand, many of the bookkeepers and office clerks classified in the "Civil Service" category will undoubtedly be absorbed by private business.

Question No. 2: "In a short paragraph motivate your first choice (example: 'I would like to be _____ because . . .')."

Responses to this question would deserve careful content analysis. But in this study, only a rapid discussion of the main motives guiding the Congolese students' choice of an occupation will be presented, although such elicited responses may not accurately reveal the "true" motives behind the students' occupational aspirations. The responses are offered here as given by the students, grouped into eleven categories of motives and arranged in order of frequency at the sixth grade level. Frequency at the tenth grade level is slightly different, as the following table shows.

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59. At the tenth grade level, Law is listed as a separate category.

TABLE 27

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF CONGOLESE STUDENTS
TEST I--QUESTION NUMBER 2
MOTIVES FOR OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

Categories of Motives	6th Grade Level Frequency	%	10th Grade Level Frequency	%
1. Social service				
To: a) kinship, tribal groups and friends	91	10.8	10	3.0
b) the nation or humanity	212	25.0	90	26.7
Total	303	35.8	100	29.7
2. Intrinsic interest in knowledge + accomplishment connected with chosen occupation	170	20.1	74	22.2
3. Economic advantage				
For: a) the subjects and their families	113	13.4	16	4.7
b) the country	20	2.4	41	12.2
Total	133	15.8	57	16.9
4. Prestige attached to the occupation or to the performer	69	8.1	16	4.8
5. "Romantic" attraction	43	5.1	15	4.5
6. Travel opportunities (studies abroad)	36	4.3	30	8.9
7. Attraction of work conditions (security, leisure, etc.)	34	4.0	19	5.6
8. Parents' wishes	32	3.7	6	1.8
9. Imitating parents	19	2.2	9	2.6
10. Ability	-	-	10	3.0
11. "Revenge"	8	.9	-	-
Total	847	100.0	336	100.0

Students could and often did mention more than one motive. Furthermore, the categories selected by the writer sometimes overlap. For instance, "helping relatives," a social service, may become possible primarily because the selected occupation produces high monetary returns. Also, the categories "romantic attraction" and "prestige" may, in this cultural setting, be related in unsuspected ways. The following quotations from the students' responses may clarify the way in which the analysis of responses was conducted. (Numbers and letters in parentheses refer to relevant categories in Table 27.)

A girl who chose to become a teacher or a nurse wrote:

> I shall teach the pupils (1-b) and even my little brothers (1-a). I shall help my parents in case of accidents and I shall earn my bread (3-a). I shall be proud of my job (4). It will be my turn to give back the blows which I received at school (11).

A student who has chosen to work as an electrician writes:

> I shall have the courage to take electric motors apart and I shall no longer be afraid of the electric current (2). I shall install electricity in the homes or in the streets and my work will last for a long time (3-b).

One who wished to become a "bureaucrat" declared:

> I like that job very much (2) and one earns a lot of money (3-a), and because this position offers advantages to those who are coming after us, to our younger brothers (1-a).

Easily classified among the "romantic" motives is this statement by one who has chosen to become a pilot:

> I would like to ride in space like the American or the Russian cosmonauts, for example, Gagarine and John Glenn.

But more difficult to classify is this statement by a sixth grader who wished to become a chauffeur:

> I will ride in a taxi. I will take customers everywhere. I will be known by many customers (4). I will wait for customers at the Customs Office. All the places I wanted to see on foot I will see in a taxi (5).

This future teacher declared:

> I would like to be a teacher because people keep bringing children into the world and children will always come to school. Thus I shall never be out of work (7). Now a tailor, if he runs out of customers, will run out of money.

In this statement, "intrinsic interest" and even "social service" are clearly demonstrated:

> I would like to know the causes of illnesses in general (2), and how to cure them, in order to destroy in myself and in my environment this kind of paganism in which we are immersed, fetishism, belief in sorcerers (1-b).

But in this one, "intrinsic interest," "social service," and "economic advantages" are inextricably involved:

> I would like to be a "Préfet" because I wish to organize my prefecture well (2) and to make it rich (3-a), and also to change the culture ("faire évoluer") of the people who are not yet well civilized (1-b).

It is often stated that the young educated Africans' sole interest in education stems from the fact that it is the best road to personal economic and social advancement. Table 27 shows that social service motivation and interest in knowledge per se may play a larger role than suspected in determining the students' choice of an occupation. The responses just analyzed strongly suggest that most Congolese students are acutely aware that they are indebted to their family and to their country for the education that they have received, and they show a deep desire to repay their debt. Indeed, most other motives such as monetary gains, prestige, job security, etc., seem to matter only to the extent that they are means of rendering more and better services to the community. The immediate objection to this interpretation is the fact that the truthfulness of such elicited responses is easily challenged: the subjects would tend to give the response which they believe is expected of them. This is a valid objection. But the fact that the subjects did declare such altruistic motives is an indication of the hierarchy of values which they hold as a result of the education they have received in the homes and in the schools. Departures from this motivational pattern, for instance, the "revenge" motive (mentioned mostly by girls), show the candor of the responses and tend to support the writer's interpretation.

Question No. 3: "In what place (name of city, village, or rural district) would you like to perform your chosen profession?"

Responses to this question were divided into two groups: 1) those who wished to work in an urban environment, and 2) those who wished to work in a rural environment. An urban environment was defined as one in which 5,000 or more people lived. In the Congo, this means Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire, Dolisie, and Jacob. A large village such as Fort-Rousset (prefectural headquarters in the north of the country) was classified as a rural environment, even if it offers certain urban amenities.

Results appear at the bottom of Tables 25 and 26. Subjects were verbally instructed to decide on a location with respect to their first choice occupation only. Consequently, the sum of urban and rural responses cannot exceed the number of first choices made in any category of occupation.

Question No. 4: "What studies or what apprenticeship do you intend to undertake in order to fulfill your occupational ambitions?"

This question was included in the questionnaire in the hope that it might provide an opportunity to test the earnestness of the subjects' first choice of an occupation. It was assumed that if a subject had seriously considered embracing a certain profession he (or she) would also have worked out in some detail the steps most likely to lead to the fulfillment of the subject's occupational goals. In this respect, the responses to Question No. 4 were rather disappointing. If the subjects were aware of this means-to-end relationship, they generally failed to demonstrate their awareness. At both the sixth and the tenth grade levels, one subject out of five neglected to answer the question or simply wrote: "I don't know." Of those who gave a positive answer, an overwhelming majority stated that they wished to pursue their studies:

At the Sixth Grade Level:

a) Further studies	394	(82%)
b) Apprenticeship	86	(18%)
Total	480	responses

At the Tenth Grade Level:

a) Further studies	146	(90%)
b) Apprenticeship	16	(10%)
Total	162	responses

The option "Apprenticeship" meant that the subjects intended to submit to some form of on-the-job training as opposed to "Further Studies" which require admission to a school or to a formal course of studies. Of course, the choice between these two options is largely determined by the level of general education and of professional training which the selected occupation requires. Most of the Congolese students' occupational choices do require studies and training at a level higher than the sixth or the tenth grades. What the subjects failed to reveal, on the whole, is specific information regarding the courses of studies which they intended to follow.

The obvious explanation for this failure is that the subjects simply lacked the necessary information. If so, the failure might be their teachers' rather than theirs. However, in reviewing the responses to Question No. 4, one gathers the impression that, as far as the Congolese students are concerned, this matter of occupational guidance is academic, even somewhat irrelevant. They seem to take for granted that

all a student has to do is to pass examinations, to step over a number of academic hurdles in order to stay in the race: these hurdles occupy strategic positions along a marked course which automatically leads to professional competence.

Responses to Test II. Test II was designed primarily in order to find out to what extent ethnic and religious differences affect the Congolese school children's choice of companions for work and play. Indirectly, the results of this test could give some indications of the contribution formal education is making toward the goal of national unity.

The sociometric technique used is the one developed by J. L. Moreno and Helen Hall Jennings and described by the latter.[60] It has been applied widely in industrialized countries. In the Congo, the technique was previously applied on a limited sample (42 pupils) by a French researcher.[61] The questions used by the writer and translated below are similar to those used by Hauser. They possess the main characteristics described by Jennings, namely, 1) a specific number of choices allowed (in this case, three), 2) a specific criterion for choice (in this case, cooperation in school work), 3) different levels of preference designated for each choice.

TEST II

Work Teams

1. Write the names (in the order indicated below) of three (3) pupils of your class with whom you would like to form a work team[62]

   First Choice _____
   Second Choice _____
   Third Choice _____

60. Helen Hall Jennings, Sociometry in Group Relations (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948). Discussed by Goode and Hatt in Methods in Social Research, pp. 249-255.

61. A. Hauser, "Compte-rendu provisoire de recherches sociométriques," (December 1950-January 1951). Unpublished report available at the Institut de Recherches Scientifiques au Congo, Brazzaville.

62. Subjects were verbally instructed that "work" meant "school work."

2. Write the name of the leader of this team; if it is you, say so.

   Team leader: _____

3. By what pupils do you believe you have been chosen?[63]

4. What pupils would you rather not have in your work team?

   _____

5. Name the pupil (1 only) with whom you would most like to go for an outing.[64]

   _____

This test was given to the same sample as Test I. Some general observations will be given concerning the analyses of this test's responses.

A sociometric matrix was prepared for each of fifteen classes on the basis of responses to Test II. Nine of these classes are sixth grades (three urban and six rural) and six are tenth grades (four urban and two rural). These graphic representations immediately reveal some aspects of the social structure of a sample of Congolese classrooms. The patterns of social attraction, leadership, and rejection which emerge suggest the following tentative generalizations:

1. Mixed (boys and girls) classes are neatly divided into two social groups on the basis of sex--in spite of the fact that boys and girls appear to be seated at random in the classroom. Except in rare cases, when a subject crosses sex lines it is to reject a pupil of the opposite sex; the two groups virtually ignore one another.

2. In classes where a number of Europeans as well as Black Africans are present, a clear division along racial lines appears in addition to the division by sex. These racial groupings, however, are slightly less exclusive than the sex groups. For instance, a European boy may attract or reject an African boy, but ignore European girls.

3. Apart from clear-cut divisions along sex and along racial lines, Congolese classrooms are very loosely structured. In no case is a pupil

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63. Responses to this question will not be analyzed in this report.

64. Outing, in French "promenade," applies to a walk as well as to a ride by any means of transportation.

selected or rejected by more than half of his (or her) classmates. Indeed, the "star" position is usually shared by up to five pupils; "isolates" are rare; and very few are "rejected" by more than a handful of their classmates. This generalization is less valid in the case of the Industrial Section of the "Lycée Technique."[65]

4. A large number of Congolese students chose themselves as team leaders. In the fifteen-class sample analyzed, exactly 40 per cent of those who chose a team leader appointed themselves to that position. At the sixth grade level, the average rate of self-appointment to the leadership position (41.1 per cent with a low of 23.3 per cent and a high of 55.3 per cent) is slightly higher than at the tenth grade level (38.3 per cent, with a low of 11.5 per cent and a high of 46.8 per cent). It should be noted that the lowest rate of self-appointment (11.5 per cent) occurred in the Industrial Section of the "Lycée Technique." This remark points to a relationship between the amorphous quality of most class structures and the generally high rate of self-appointments to leadership positions. Both variables may be strongly affected by the fact that the team formation task required by a sociometric test is unfamiliar to Congolese school children.[66]

The Congolese students' willingness to reach across ethnic and religious lines in order to select team mates might conceivably be measured by the frequency with which such line crossings occur in the sample. But choices are strongly affected by available alternatives. In this sample of sixth and tenth graders, each class forms a closed social unit, with greatly varying numbers of alternatives available to subjects from one unit to another. For example, in a class predominantly made up of Roman Catholic Kongo, a subject is more likely to select a member of this ethno-religious group simply because the subject has fewer alternatives. Therefore, no statistical comparisons across classroom units can be made unless a complex weighting system can be devised.

In Test II the subjects generally made rational sociometric choices instead of blindly deciding on the basis of ethnic or religious affiliations. However, it is possible that rational choices could have resulted in a more balanced distribution of "stars," "isolates," and "rejected" among members of the various ethnic groups. Hence, the two following generalizations:

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65. A. Hauser made a similar observation after giving a sociometric test to a vocational training class. He suggested that this phenomenon may be due to the fact that vocational school pupils have more opportunities to engage in teamwork.

66. If Congolese school children have experienced some form of teamwork in their traditional culture, the method is almost never used in Congolese schools as a teaching technique.

1) Sociometric choices in Congolese schools are influenced but not determined by ethnic factors.

2) Religious affiliation seems to have very little influence, if any at all, on patterns of social attraction and rejection in Congolese schools.

Test III--Characteristics of Sample

1) Classes

Types and levels:

A. Higher Education ("Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur"), Teacher-Training Section, "baccalauréat" level.
B. Two public "lycées," two classes at "baccalauréat" level ("classes terminales").
C. Two private "colleges classiques et modernes," one for boys, at "baccalauréat" level; one for girls, at the tenth grade level.
D. Three Teacher-Training Schools ("Cours Normaux"), two public, one private; two classes at the tenth grade level; two at the professional year level (B.E.P.C. plus one year).
E. Two Catholic Seminaries, one class at the tenth grade level, the other at the eleventh grade level.
F. A group of in-service teachers holding the rank of "instituteurs-adjoints" or "moniteurs supérieurs."

2) Subjects

	155 boys
	27 girls
Total:	182

3) Place of Birth

Urban area:	54 (including 12 Europeans)	30%
Rural area:	128	70%
Total:	182	

4) Occupation of Father or Guardian

Traditional:	78
Modern:	86

5) Age Distribution

14 years:	1	(0.6%)[67]	21 years:	10	(5.6%)
16 "	11	(6.4%)	22 "	12	(7.0%)
17 "	12	(7.0%)	23 "	4	(2.3%)
18 "	20	(11.1%)	24 "	8	(4.6%)
19 "	12	(7.0%)	25 "	11	(6.4%)
20 "	29	(16.9%)	over 25:	42	(24.4%)

6) Ethnic Composition

Equatorial Bantu:	25	(13.8%)
Northwestern Bantu:	40	(22.1%)
Central Bantu:	90	(49.8%)
Non-Congolese:	14	(7.7%)
Europeans:	12	(6.6%)
	181	

7) Religious Affiliations

Roman Catholics:	130	(74.3%)
Protestants (Evangelical):	31	(17.7%)
Salvation Army:	2	(1.1%)
Jehovah's Witnesses:	2	(1.1%)
Animists & Non-believers:	10	(5.8%)
	175	

8) Marital Status

Single:	118
Married (kinds of ceremonies)	
"Customary":	33
"Civil":	60
"Religious":	28

9) Prior Studies in

Public schools only:	49
Private schools only:	72
Both successively:	43

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67. All percentages are computed on the basis of the number of relevant responses for each characteristic.

10) Occupations (present or preparing for)

Teaching:	116 (including 76 with previous experience)
Medicine:	8
Law:	5
Technical careers:	12
Others:	4

11) Language Spoken Most Often Outside of the Classroom

Mother tongues:	70 (39.8%)
French:	78 (including 12 Europeans) (43.2%)
Lingala:	24 (13.7%)
Monokotuba:	4 (2.3%)
	176

Representativeness of Sample. Test II was originally designed for students about to finish their secondary studies and for teachers-in-training. This sample includes students from all three "classes terminales" existing during 1961-62 in Congolese secondary schools (33 students out of a total population of 82). It includes students in the "professional training class in each of the three main Congolese teacher-training centers, that is, in the "Cours Normal" (Brazzaville), in the "Collège Normal" (Dolisie), and in the "Section Normale" of Collège Chaminade (Brazzaville). Missing are students from the Normal School for Girls (Mouyoundzi) and from the Protestant Normal School (N'Gouédi), that is, about twenty students. On the other hand, about half the "instituteurs-adjoints," presently being trained at the "Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur" to fill positions in the expanding secondary school system of the Congo, have been included. Twenty in-service primary school teachers complete the teacher part of the sample. Finally, the two top classes of two Catholic seminaries have been added. Since only ten girls were enrolled in the above classes, a tenth grade class (seventeen girls) at the "College Javouhey" (Brazzaville) was also used. Hence, there is no doubt that this sample includes a substantial number of Congolese students who will occupy leading positions in the Congo within ten years.

The reported occupations of the subjects' father or guardian have been classified into two categories: "traditional" and "modern." The results are only approximate since some traditional occupations such as farming or fishing are perhaps being performed with modern methods. Occupations were classified as "modern" when they were obviously performed within the framework of a cash economy.

Current marriage ceremonies are performed according to ancient custom, by civil authorities, or by Church ministers. A couple may get married in any one way or in all three ways. This explains the fact that the submitted data show more marriage ceremonies than there are married subjects.

Responses to Test III. In this third attempt at exploring the areas of impact of formal education on Congolese youth, three series of questions were submitted to subjects who themselves have been exposed to at least ten years of formal education and who, in turn, will soon be in a position to influence others. Test III, then, explores the changes in beliefs, values, and attitudes to which formal education has powerfully contributed, and suggests some of the directions in which formal education will probably orient Congolese youth in the years to come.

Responses to Test III questions should be placed in the perspective of Congolese "traditional culture" previously outlined in this report. Selected responses discussed here are only those most relevant to the objectives of this exploratory test. The original text of Test III may be found in Appendix VI.

In Test III, Form A, 28 open-ended questions were submitted to the subjects who were instructed to complete the sentences "with the first thing that comes to mind." This technique has been used successfully by Maria Leblanc in her study of Katangan women.[68] Other students of the psychology of Africans have also used this technique considered "most promising because of [its] flexibility" by a leading Africanist.[69] The validity of the technique rests on the assumption that an incomplete but commonly used sentence will evoke almost automatically a word or part of a phrase which will complete a sentence and thereby reflect what a person has often heard or believes as a matter of fact. In order to obtain this kind of response, the subjects were allowed only 15 to 20 minutes to complete the twenty-eight sentences. They were instructed to pass on to the next sentence if a response did not come immediately to mind.

Twenty-one out of the twenty-eight sentences used are translations or adaptations of a list of twenty-four incomplete sentences used by George D. Spindler in a similar test he gave to hundreds of students at the Stanford University School of Education.[70] The other questions (Nos. 6, 11, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, and 28) were especially developed for this test in the Congo.

A method of content analysis was applied in order to classify similar and frequent responses to fourteen of the twenty-eight incomplete

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68. Maria Leblanc, Personnalité de la Femme Katangaise--Contribution à l'étude de son acculturation (Louvain: Editions E. Neuwelearts, 1960).

69. S. Biesheuvel, in "Report of the CSA Meeting of Specialists . . . ," op. cit., p. 4.

70. George D. Spindler, "Values Projective Technique." (Mimeographed.)

sentences. The following results are expressed in percentages (in parentheses after each sentence) of the total number of different responses obtained for each sentence.[71]

Results. Sentence No. 1: "I wish my parents _____" (185 elements recorded). The most frequent response was "...were educated" (30.3%). Next in frequency is this response: "...were rich" (22.2%). It should be noted that in the Congolese context "educated" and "rich" are almost synonymous. Other frequent responses were: "...had health" or "...a long life" (14.1%); "...happiness" (7.6%); "...were Christians" (5.9%); and others unclassified (20%). These unclassified responses do not fall into any of the previous categories, and each does not occur frequently enough to be worth special mention. One example: "...would use fertilizers in their fields."

Sentence No. 2: "All men are born _____" (180 elements). The most frequent response was: "...equal" (28.3%). Some added "...and free" but 8.3% specified "...before the law." Other responses were "...bad" (6.7%), half of them mentioning the "original sin"; "...good" (5.6%); "...to serve"--others or their country (5.6%); "...different" (3.9%); and "...brothers" (2.8%). A large number of responses (78 or 43.3%) occurred still less frequently. These include: "...of Adam and Eve," "...white," "...naked," etc.

Sentence No. 6: "Foreigners[72] should _____" (193 elements). Most frequent responses: "...respect local customs" or "...try to understand the Congolese and their ways" (24.4%); "...adjust to local customs" and "...obey local laws" (24.4%); "...be welcome" or "...be given hospitality" (22.3%); "...cooperate with the Congolese" or "...work for the good of the Congo" (19.5%). Unclassified responses are few (9.3%). These include statements such as "...leave jobs for those who are unemployed," an obvious reference to the presence of non-Congolese black Africans, not to "Europeans."

Sentence No. 8: "If I had a son I would want him to _____" (190 elements). The most frequent responses referred to some profession: "...be a doctor" (18.9%) or "...be a technician," "...a teacher,"

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71. Note that the total number of responses classified may exceed the number of subjects in the sample, since a single response sometimes falls into more than one category.

72. The term "foreigner" ("étranger") has an ambiguous meaning in the Congolese context. French nationals and whites in general are commonly called "Europeans"; non-Congolese black Africans are often referred to as "étrangers." This must be kept in mind in interpreting responses to Sentence No. 6.

etc. (20%, for a total of 38.9%). Next in importance: "...be intelligent" or "...be educated" (30%); references to moral character, such as "...be honest," "...be sincere," etc. (16.3%); and "...be a great man" (3.7%). Unclassified responses: 11.1%.

Sentence No. 11: "A well brought up child ought to _____" (190 elements). Most frequent response: "...be respectful" or "...be obedient" (32.1%). Other responses: "...be polite" or some reference to good manners (29.4%); "...be a good example" or some reference to good behavior (20%); "...be successful" (3.7%). Unclassified responses: 14.7%.

Sentence No. 12: "Everyone should want to _____" (189 elements). Most frequent response: "...improve oneself"--presumably through education, as sometimes mentioned (19.0%). Other responses: "...seek the good," "the truth," or some similar ideal (14.3%); "...seek wealth," "security," or "a good profession" (13.2%); "...obtain what one thinks is best" (12.2%); "...serve one's country" (9.5%); "...work" (2.6%). Unclassified responses: 16.9%.

Sentence No. 14: "I wish I had _____" (189 elements). Most frequent response: "...more intelligence," "...more memory," "...more education," or "...success" in whatever certificate the subject was seeking (29.6%). Other responses: "...a..." material object such as a scooter, a car, a house, or "...two large copy-books in order to copy literature" (19.6%); "...wealth" or "...a good position" (18.5%); "...a beautiful wife" or "...children" (14.3); "...work" (2.6%). Unclassified responses: 20%.

Sentence No. 15: "Good parents ought to _____" (190 elements). Most frequent response: "...educate (bring up) their children" (55.2%). Other responses: "...supervise their children" (11.6%); "...help (provide for) their children" (9.0%); "...love their children" (5.3%). Other unclassified responses (19.0%) include "...be indulgent," "...be understanding," or "...set a good example" and "...guide their children."

Sentence No. 18: "Fetishers are _____" (189 elements). Most frequent response: "...deceitful," "...liars," "...crooks," "...thieves," or "...false healers" (49.7%). However, some of these judgments are preceded by "sometimes" or "often." Other responses: "...dangerous," "...harmful" (even "diabolical") (16.4%). Another 5.3% expressed disapproval, and 4.7% thought fetishers were rather "ridiculous," "jokers," "out of fashion." However, 13.2% believed that they were "sometimes useful." Unclassified responses: 10.6%. One response expressed a widely held view: "...sometimes deceitful, but they are necessary."

Sentence No. 19: "Nudity is _____" (164 elements).[73] The most frequent response is one of strong disapproval. Sixty per cent of the responses contain words such as "sinful," "immoral," "indecent," "horrible," "despicable," and "disgusting." One statement makes nudity "...the worst of vices," while a few others see it as a sign of barbarianism, "...an act of primitives." On the other hand, 12.2% confine themselves to "factual" statements such as "...the state of being unclad," or "...a sign of poverty." Some--particularly the European students--tried to be witty: "...dangerous for catching a cold," or, simply, "...economical." Finally, a mere 12.2% consider nudity "...a natural state." Unclassified responses: 10.9%.

Sentence No. 21: "Bars and dance-halls are _____" (183 elements). As in the case of No. 19, the most frequent response expressed disapproval: "...bad for young men and women" (33.9%); "...a dangerous threat to morality" (11.5%); while 7.6% consider bars and dance-halls "...wasteful" (of time and money); 13.7% call them "places of recreation," but the French word "distractions" may imply mild disapproval. On the other hand, 13.7% approve of them provided that they are visited with moderation. Finally, another 13.7% make morally neutral statements. Unclassified responses: 7.1%.

Sentence No. 23: "Ancestors are _____"[74] (179 elements). Factual statements were most frequent: "...those who have brought us into the world" or "...dead" (26.8%). Next in frequency was: "...to be honored," "...worthy of respect" (23.0%). Other responses: "...wise," "...our philosophers" (10.0%); "...representatives of tradition" (8.9%). Some gave rather negative statements: "...ignorant," "...illiterate" (7.3%); 5.6% believed that ancestors are helping them, watching over their interests, while 1.7% were afraid of their ancestors' influence on their lives. Unclassified responses: 9.5%. These include statements such as: "...despised by young people," "...responsible for our good or our bad fortune," "...uncivilized," "...too conservative," "...greedy," and "...people who have a civilization different from ours."

Sentence No. 24: "In a family one ought to _____" (182 elements). An overwhelming majority (71.0%) offered one of the three following statements (in order of frequency): "...love one another," "...help one another," "...be united," that is, all references to family harmony or solidarity. An additional 4.4% mentioned the obligation to work for the good of the family. Finally, 10.9% wrote: "...respect

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73. This low number of responses suggests a certain reluctance from the part of the subjects to react to Sentence No. 19.

74. The word ancestor ("ancêtre") is sometimes used in French (in a familiar, slangy way) to designate living persons, old-timers.

(or obey) the head of the family." Unclassified responses: 12%.

Sentence No. 28: "Professors should _____" (191 elements). Responses were rather vague and varied widely. Of these, 27.2% wrote: "...do their job well" or statements to that effect. Other responses: "...get to know their pupils better" or "...try to understand their pupils" (20.0%); "...be more indulgent," "...less demanding" (6.8%), "...love their pupils" (6.3%); "...be just" (4.7%); "...give special attention to the weaker students" (4.2%). Unclassified responses: 23.6%. These include: "...be tougher," "...be better paid," "...be well-dressed," "...help the Congo make up for wasted time."

Form B of Test III[75] is another application of a projective technique.[76] The subjects were asked to describe in a short paragraph their concept of the "Ideal Congolese Young Man" and of the "Ideal Congolese Young Woman." The age of the young man or woman was not specified, but it was stressed that the description had to be an expression of the subject's own ideal.

The responses have not been analyzed in a strict statistical way, but a composite picture of the young man and woman described may still be drawn. The characteristics do not necessarily appear in the order of frequency with which the subjects mentioned them. Nevertheless, the writer believes that the following is a sufficiently faithful portrait of the "Ideal Congolese Young Man," as described by a sample of male Congolese students:

> The Ideal Congolese Young Man is physically and morally healthy. He is honest, hard-working, altruistic, just, well-mannered, thrifty, disciplined, and human.
>
> His first obligation is to acquire a good education (at least up to the level of the tenth grade). He must learn as much as he can about his country, its history, its natural assets and its needs.
>
> Once established in a good and secure position, the Ideal Congolese Young Man must look for a wife who will be his companion as well as the mother of his children. He must choose her for her qualities of heart and mind, without regard for tribal origin or for fortune. As a provider, he gives priority to a comfortable home equipped with modern conveniences, and to education for his children.

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75. The same sample was given all three forms of Test III. A few did not respond to one form or another.

76. Also used by Professor George D. Spindler at Stanford University. See The Burton Lecture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 4.

> But all this is largely a preparation, a setting of the stage for the Ideal Congolese Young Man to play a role which transcends all others: to serve his country, his "dear Congo." He must realistically appraise the Congo's position in Africa and in the world; he must lead his nation--within his sphere of activities--in effecting the cultural, social, and economic evolution required of a young country about to join Africa and the world on the road to human progress.

The female[77] Congolese students' concept of the Ideal Congolese Young Man does not differ essentially from the composite picture just drawn. Inevitably, the Ideal Congolese Young Man is educated ("lettré"), a faithful and considerate husband, a good father, and a citizen dedicated to the service of his country. Only his moral and religious convictions,[78] his duties as a husband and a father are stressed more heavily.

A composite picture of the Ideal Congolese Young Woman, as seen by a sample of male Congolese students, can also be drawn:

> The Ideal Congolese Young Woman is educated ("instruite"), but at a lower level than the young man (somewhere between the sixth and the tenth grade). Her moral standards are high; she is conscious of her equality to man.
>
> The Ideal Congolese Young Woman is above all a good mother, a faithful wife and companion, and the educator of her children. Her role in the development of the Congo is just as important as her husband's, but she is to stay clear of politics and only exceptionally have a career of her own. Her contribution is in her home--a modern one, independent of family entanglements. She has freely chosen her husband without regard to dowry or social position. She is as scrupulously faithful to her husband as she was pure before marriage. She is attractive and elegant without ostentation; she knows how to blend harmoniously the old and the new.

This portrait reveals the ambivalence of the Congolese young men's attitude toward the modern Congolese young woman: they want a wife who is their companion, their intellectual equal, as well as the mother of their children. And yet, they regret the days when the Congolese woman was a hard-working, submissive creature whose existence was largely absorbed by the needs of her husband and children. One student put it succinctly in these words: "The Ideal Congolese Young Woman should not imitate European women, except in being faithful and submissive."

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77. Note that the small sample of female students obtained is generally of a lower academic level (tenth grade) than the male students.

78. The sample is drawn mostly from a Catholic girls' school.

The female Congolese students, in their description of the Ideal Congolese Young Woman, are generally willing to meet the Congolese young men's requirements. They are acutely conscious of the role they are expected to play in the modern Congolese society, and they intend to play it precisely at the level and the way Congolese young men would have them. Their duties as housewife are spelled out in more detail, and they are more concerned with gaining emancipation from their parents than from their future husband.

As many subjects have observed, these ideal (perfect) Congolese young men and women probably do not exist in large number at present in the Congo. But the object of this test was to identify the characteristics of an ideal person as they have been communicated to the Congolese youth through the various forms of education, and to help predict the directions in which tomorrow's Congolese youth will be oriented.

The third and last form of Test III also applies a projective technique, this one still less developed than the two preceding ones. A short statement actually written by a young African was quoted.[79] Then the subjects were requested to comment briefly on the text. Twenty lines were provided for that purpose. The text will be presented below in an English translation:

> Here, no matter what one may say, no well-defined institution shows any sign of development. Everything is to be done. Not a language capable of serving all parts of the country, merely local dialects. In matters of moral: naive and more or less incoherent fetishist institutions. On the artistic side? Spontaneous creations without strict principles. Therefore, nothing but potentialities.

This statement, most Africanists would agree, is not fair. Its author, a non-Congolese Roman Catholic African living in Brazzaville when he wrote this statement in the late 1940's, reached the conclusion that African culture had very little to offer to a modernizing nation. He urged the Europeans (that is, the French) to agree among themselves as to what cultural elements best fitted the emerging African nations and to transfer these elements to Africa without further delay. None of these details about the quotation was revealed to the subjects of the test. Indeed, the text was intended to shock the students, to make them react in a clearly positive or negative way. It was fully expected that some students might at once register a strong protest, perhaps even stand up and walk out of the room. No such thing occurred. Most subjects silently wrote as long a comment as the available space would allow.

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79. M. Ayouné, quoted by Georges Balandier in Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires (Paris: A. Collin, 1955).

In view of the fact that the quoted text is a rather difficult one, only the responses from the more advanced students (a total of 111) are analyzed here. The method of content analysis used does not take into account specific elements of the students' comments, but classifies each response as a whole into one of two groups: "positive" or "negative," that is, in general agreement or disagreement with the quoted opinion. Responses within each group were then classified into two groups: "without reserve" or "with reserve." The results are reported below:

1. Positive responses:	a) without reserve:	37%
	b) with reserve:	34%
	Total:	71%
2. Negative responses:	a) without reserve:	7.4%
	b) with reserve:	21.6%
	Total:	29.0%
	Total:	100.0%

The percentage of positive responses is high, amazingly so against the background of the young African nationalism. It should be emphasized that responses to all three forms of Test III were given anonymously. The responding students could not be directly identified, and they were assured that their teachers would not be shown the completed test sheets. No doubt, many factors may have biased the students and caused them to respond in a way which does not represent their "true" attitude toward the value of their own culture. One factor which may have had a subtle influence is related to the subjects' training as students. They have all been exposed for some ten years to a method of literary criticism ("analyse de texte") which puts in their hands only texts written by recognized French writers. Thus, a "good student" is expected to place himself in over-all agreement with the author, and to offer timid qualifications. This training may have developed in students an attitude toward the printed word which influences the results of this test.

EVALUATION OF CURRENT EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

National Goals and Education

The attitude of the Congolese Government and people toward France and the rest of the world in this post-independence period is reflected in the educational policies adopted by the Congolese leaders during the last decade. Local autonomy and international sovereignty were not considered as means of effecting radical changes in the institutions introduced by France but rather as an opportunity for Congolese leaders to make institutional decisions in the same general directions as before in accordance with priorities dictated by Congolese interests. Hence, the Congo's insistence on the development of a school system as closely similar as possible to the one which had produced the French decision-makers in the Congo during the colonial period. Since the Congo has never been a colony of settlement, the Congolese people have only been exposed to a restricted segment of French society made up mostly of priests, teachers, doctors, and civil servants. The presence in the Congo of a few planters, technicians, and traders, and the somewhat subordinate position these individuals occupied in the colonial society, only reinforced the Congolese's convictions regarding the kind of education most likely to fulfill their individual and national aspirations. Hence, the unquestioned acceptance of the ideal of universal, compulsory, and free primary education as an end in itself and as a preparation for a secondary education oriented toward institutions of higher learning in France or elsewhere, and the eventual establishment of such higher education institutions in the Congo.

The aim of forging national unity under Congolese leadership has naturally received top priority since the creation of the autonomous Congolese Republic in 1958, and formal education has been given a vital role to play in this nation-building enterprise. Primary education, as set up by French authorities, directly and through missionary societies, was largely functional in this respect: its uniform message communicated by means of a single language de-emphasized tribal differences, tended to develop among all Congolese youth a common set of ideas, attitudes, and skills, and encouraged loyalty toward a broader social and political entity. But this entity was not specifically defined in Congolese terms. It embraced the whole ex-French Equatorial Africa and the French Union or Community under the leadership of France. The primary school system was adopted unchanged except for slight corrections in the content of its message which was altered in order to include more detailed knowledge of the Congolese territory, its people,

their history, and their new form of government. However, in this shift of emphasis from a French and Equatorial African community to an emerging Congolese nation, the mass communication media were more active than the schools. The adaptation of the schools to requirements of the nation-building task have been slow and half-hearted compared with the reorientation of those in Guinea and Ghana. But their performance, again, is a reflection of the more conservative attitude of the Congolese leadership.

The second order of priority established by Congolese leadership after 1958 was concerned with the rapid "Africanization of cadres." At this point an important distinction must be introduced. If the term "cadre" is to retain meaning it must be applied to a group of persons adequately qualified by virtue of general education, specialized knowledge, and experience to hold responsible positions and to inspire, direct, and supervise the work of others. Thus, "Africanization of cadres" must be distinguished from mere "Africanization of civil service posts." The latter is virtually accomplished in the Congo as in most new African countries; the former has merely begun. The Africanization of civil service posts, timidly initiated at the time of the "Loi-Cadre" (1956), proceeded at a swift pace after 1958. The primary criteria for appointment to middle-and high-level posts were ethnic and political, and sometimes related to qualities of character and judgment, but only secondarily to technical competence and experience. Large-scale Africanization of the civil service was managed through the rapid promotion of minor officials several steps up the civil service ladder and the juxtaposition of foreign technical advisers in most of the important positions. In the Congo, this process was facilitated by France's willingness to supply the technicians and to pay for their services.[1] But Africanization of the cadres (in the strict sense) remains one of the main goals of the Congolese leadership, and formal education is expected to fulfill this mission. The existing secondary school system, oriented as it is toward higher education at home and abroad, promises to supply an ample quantity of young Congolese with the necessary knowledge and skills. Whether the proper attitudes of service to the Congolese community are being developed at the same time is a more difficult question to answer. In any case, this rising new generation of technically competent Congolese cadres can expect some opposition from the older generation which will be reluctant to step down from their hard-won positions. At least the older generation has not so far systematically fought efforts to educate and train new cadres.

Once united and competently led, the Congolese nation has to decide where to go. Congolese leaders of all ethnic groups and party affiliations have repeatedly affirmed their intention to follow a course of

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1. The private sector has been much slower in effecting Africanization. As long as businessmen will stand the political pressure, they will be reluctant to adopt such a costly solution.

close cooperation among African states and with France and the rest of Western Europe. Such a course is believed essential if the Congo is to receive the financial and technical assistance it needs in order to reach the goal of industrialization, the key to world prestige and higher standards of living. Ever since the 1958 Referendum when France strongly hinted that a "yes" vote meant the construction of the Kouilou Dam and the creation of an industrial complex in the Pointe-Noire area, Congolese leaders have been obsessed by the promises of rapid industrialization. At present, educational structures and programs are not oriented toward the production of industrial and technical manpower. But a reservoir of students with sufficient general education are becoming available for "accelerated" technical training programs which could adequately meet the demand if industrialization should become a reality.

If agricultural development is the theme of countless speeches by Congolese leaders, progress toward the solution of Congolese agricultural problems of a technical and economic nature appears to be very slow. In the area of agricultural education, efforts initiated by the French are being pursued by the Congolese. These efforts are mainly concerned with the vocational training of agricultural "moniteurs" and engineers. However, thus far the wider role of the school in the general education of the rural population has largely been ignored in relation to agricultural development. It may be that the association of formal education and agriculture is simply considered as a contradiction in terms. In any case, as further analysis will demonstrate, it is in its contribution to agricultural development that Congolese formal education is found most wanting.

Beyond these general comments concerning Congolese national goals and their relationship to educational policy and practice, a brief critical review of particular aspects of the Congolese school system can be offered as a summary of the descriptive analysis presented in the preceding chapter.

School Administration

The central administrative structure of educational organization in the Congo was retained intact after independence. This is a natural consequence of the continuity of functions assigned to formal education since independence. Other factors also contributed to this lack of pressure toward change: the Ministry of Education and its technical services form a part of the organization of all Government services. Since the latter followed the French model, pressures toward organizational uniformity in all services are strong. Finally, the Congolese, administrators as well as administered, have become familiar with this system and with no other. Radical changes would have seriously complicated the already difficult problems posed by rapid Africanization of cadres and might have reduced the efficiency of the many French technical advisers who stayed on after independence. Short of the impetus

which a revolutionary movement might provide, it is unlikely that the recently promoted Congolese cadres will feel a strong desire to initiate changes--with the element of insecurity which change implies.

In view of the nation-building function assigned to formal education in the Congo, the highly centralized character of French educational organization retained by the Congolese appears to be the appropriate one. It is probable that local community control of educational policy and administration would be very inefficient in trying to build a unified nation, since local community leaders are generally illiterate and also ignorant of the educational goals set by the national leadership. If a decentralized system could work at all it would tend to emphasize local differences and to encourage the retention and the development of some tribal characteristics which stand in the way of national unification. Centralization, then, serves the social, cultural, and political goals of the Congolese Government.

However, in the economic sphere centralization appears to be doubly dysfunctional: it tends to discourage local effort and to put the financial burden of ever increasing school expenditures on the national Government and it produces a school system little responsive to the particular economic needs of the local communities. As a result, village schools are really alien institutions offered as "free gifts" by the central Government which also sets their goals and controls their operation; local communities only supply the pupils who, educated largely without regard for local community needs, strongly wish to leave this community as soon as possible.

The same conclusions apply to school organization itself. As long as the Congolese schools are certificate-oriented and devoted to the preparation of élite cadres, there is no need to alter structures. The familiar divisions by levels ("ordres d'enseignement"), types, and grades again facilitate rapid quantitative developments with the help of French teachers. Changes will be required only when proper attention is paid to the vast majority of Congolese school children who occupy a marginal position in the system as it presently exists, that is, to all those who are sacrificed to the cadre-building objectives of Congolese education.

School Finance

The Congo's financial sacrifice for educational purposes is indeed great. From the time Congolese leaders could exert some influence in matters of educational investment, since the end of the Second World War, they have consistently pressed for a larger share of resources to be allocated to education. As a result, for each of the past several years, education has absorbed more than a quarter of the current national expenditures. These relatively large sums do not cover all the costs of operating private schools (which provide educational services to roughly half the Congo's school population), nor all the

costs of the secondary school personnel. Furthermore, most of the capital investment funds for buildings and equipment come from foreign sources, as does support for developing higher education. It is obvious that without foreign aid (mostly from France and the Common Market), the Congo could not continue to provide the educational services presently offered to Congolese youth. In this respect, the Congo does not differ from most other developing countries. The Congo must accept this situation, even try to prolong it for several years, if the discouraging circle of ignorance and underdevelopment is to be broken in the near future.

At this point certain difficult problems face the Congolese leaders. The Congo has unquestioningly adopted the French principle of free, universal education between the ages of 6 and 16. The democratic ideal of equality of opportunity appears to justify the adoption of this policy. However, it is possible that the same purposes could be served--particularly at the secondary school level--by setting up a system of fees and scholarships. Such a system is presently in operation in the Congo in secondary boarding schools. It could be extended to include urban day schools. Some of the money recovered through the collection of fees from the students who can afford to pay might then be used to help provide educational opportunities in rural regions where none is available at present.

The cost of salaries for teachers and administrators represents more than 75% of the total operating costs of Congolese schools. In view of the wide gap which exists between the salaries of teachers and those of unskilled laborers, it would seem that the teachers' pay could be reduced without adversely affecting the supply and quality of school teachers. Since Congolese teachers form part of the civil service, action in the area would have to originate from the civil service and equally affect all branches of the service. Congolese leaders at present show no intention of taking such a step, and it can be forcefully argued that higher teacher salaries are necessary to attract the highest quality talent into that profession that is crucial to the general upgrading of human resources.

Public and private schools in the Congo have always operated with little or no direct financial support from the population where the schools are located. Just a few years ago, this situation was unavoidable: parents often showed little enthusiasm for formal education and lived at a level of bare subsistence. Now that the desire for formal education is fairly universal and that more people live in a money economy, a larger share of the cost of construction and maintenance of school buildings--particularly at the elementary level--could be supported by the local population, especially since a substantial part of the local contribution could be made in the form of labor or local material. But now that people have come to expect "the Administration" to provide free education, it will be difficult to obtain greater local effort. Finally, a more serious obstacle is perhaps the

fact that formal education in the Congo does not appear to be of immediate and direct benefit to the local communities in which the schools are located. On the contrary, the rural schools are a constant drain on the human resources of the local communities: as a result of schooling, many children leave the villages never to return; and those who remain have only learned skills of little or no use to the local community. In other words, local financial support of schools is unlikely to increase unless the aims and the content of Congolese education undergo a radical change.

Curriculum and Textbooks

From the birth of formal education in the Congo to independence, official programs of studies have been substantially the same as in French schools at corresponding levels and types of institutions. Throughout that period, repeated attempts have been made by missionaries and governments to adapt the content of education to local conditions. Formal statements of intent regarding instructional content, in order to be effective, call for textbooks and examinations that are appropriate to local conditions and needs. Until recently and with very few exceptions, however, school textbooks used in the Congo were prepared in France for French school children. Similarly, examinations for the pre-war "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires Indigène" (C.E.P.I.), designed to sanction completion of the Congolese primary course of study, differed from its French counterpart, the C.E.P., mainly in standards of attainment, not in content. It is for that reason that Congolese leaders--as soon as they could influence decisions--insisted on the abolition of the C.E.P.I. and on the adoption of a curriculum designed to enhance the pupils' chances of admission into French "lycées" and eventually into French institutions of higher learning.

Since World War II the Congolese school curriculum, in both theory and practice, has been made even more similar to the French school curriculum with the exception of the social studies program. As long as the Congo was part of the French Union the history and geography programs were centered less around Metropolitan France and more around the "France d'Outre-Mer" with attention given to individual territories. During that period, also, new history and geography textbooks began to appear and made the new curriculum objectives of local appropriateness a classroom reality. By the end of the War, numerous French teachers with long years of experience in the overseas territories were prepared to write textbooks for a market vastly expanded by the recent school developments. For the same reasons, such textbooks were designed to meet the needs of large regions or groups of territories such as French West Africa or French Equatorial Africa. This long delayed step represented a definite improvement over the type of textbooks which reportedly contained statements such as "Nos ancêtres, les Gaulois . . ."

However, new textbooks with appropriate content and emphasis on the Congo have not yet been produced. This is likely to remain a problem for some time. Even the cheap and readily available pre-independence textbooks are in extremely short supply in Congolese primary schools. It is doubtful that Congo-centered textbooks, with their limited school market, will keep pace with the curriculum changes desired in the years ahead.

At the secondary level, very little curricular change is likely to take place as long as the baccalaureate examination ("bachot") is controlled by a French university. A transfer of responsibility from a French university to the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" would not change the situation, since the latter is being developed mainly along the lines of traditional French higher education.

There remains the choice of a type of school where a curriculum adapted to Congolese needs could be developed: the "Collège d'Enseignement Général." Indeed, this fast-growing type of school, established throughout the country, could be made to serve the needs of local communities in general, vocational, and technical education. Unfortunately, the role of these schools has not been carefully defined and they are still trying to find their missions between two alternatives: 1) a continuation of primary education with some degree of vocational specialization, or 2) a preparation for the second stage of secondary education offered in the traditional French "lycées." To the extent that the first alternative is favored, some program adaptation is being made along the lines followed in primary education. It appears, however, that social and political pressures may force the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général" to offer a course of studies leading a few students to the "bachot" and leading the others practically nowhere.

Considering all the factors that influence the educational effort, it is not surprising to find that the Congolese school curriculum is not radically different from the French-devised, pre-independence curriculum. The difficult task will be to change the curriculum to a more responsive instrument to the needs of the new Congo nation.

Examinations and Scholarships

The examination system set up by the French and retained by the Congolese has the same merits and is open to the same criticisms as similar systems throughout the world. As long as the Congo cannot offer a secondary education to every Congolese of secondary school age, selection of the ablest candidates could be based on worse criteria than competitive examinations. One might deplore the fact that these examinations almost alone decide which children will continue up the Congolese educational ladder. But considering the absence of objective measuring instruments adapted to the Congolese school population and

the relatively low level of professional preparation of most teachers, a more comprehensive assessment of the candidates' performance and aptitudes is very difficult to obtain at this time. At least these examinations have a high degree of face validity. Indeed, the content of the examinations, in strict conformance with the prescribed curriculum, determines to a large extent the actual content of classroom instruction. The examinations' predictive validity is, however, much more difficult to establish. This is an area where much research must be done.

The Congolese examination system is questioned because it is only capable of making rough distinctions regarding the aptitudes of the candidates. At this time, examination results simply send a minority of pupils up the educational ladder for eventual admission at the university, orient a group of lower performers toward the teacher-training institutions, and divert a group of the lowest test performers to vocational schools, and drop the rest unprepared on the labor market. When school facilities become available to the whole six-to-sixteen age group (as the 1961 school law provides), the examination system may appear to lose much of its present functions. If maximum utilization of human talent is to be attempted, valid and reliable test results concerned with a wide range of abilities and personality characteristics will become necessary. The present examination system is unprepared for this task.

Finally, the Congolese Department of Examinations plays no direct part in program evaluation and development. It is only expected to determine how well a given body of knowledge has been absorbed by the Congolese school children. Any change in curriculum is simply communicated to the Department of Examinations which must take the change into account when preparing future examination questions. The Department's failure to contribute to the vital evaluative functions of program development has been inherited from the traditional French system, and few if any Congolese educators are trained to correct the situation. This represents a serious handicap at a time when the whole educational system needs to be re-examined and possibly redesigned.

The Congolese scholarship system also performs useful functions. Scholarships are generally awarded on merit. They are awarded justly and democratically if one assumes that the competitive examinations are valid in uncovering talent for academic work; they increase the chances that the available places in secondary and higher education are occupied by the academically most deserving pupils.

The number of scholarships for secondary education will be decreasing as free schooling becomes available to more pupils up to the age of 16. However, age 16 is about three years short of the normal age for completion of the baccalaureate course. The scholarship system is likely to be maintained for these pre-baccalaureate years as well as for higher education to be pursued in the Congo or abroad.

Frequent charges are made that scholarships are awarded for political reasons, on ethnic grounds, or through favoritism. Such things undoubtedly occur, but there is no indication that they occur on a large scale. In any case, the Congolese Government has taken a step in the right direction by setting up a high-level commission representing a broad range of interests and competencies to determine the country's trained manpower needs and to direct the judicious distribution of scholarship funds. Assisted by competent technicians, the commission will render invaluable services if it can remain sufficiently insulated from political pressures.

Teaching Staff

Until World War II, education and health were virtually the only fields of activity where educated Congolese were employed at a near professional level. Teaching, even more than work in a health clinic, derived much prestige from this situation. Since the war, however, the gradual opening up of a broader range of opportunities for social and economic mobility has decreased the relative attractiveness of the teaching profession and reduced the sources of teacher supply. Independence and the concurrent Africanization of cadres in both the public and the private sectors have carried this process further, depriving the schools of some of their best qualified teachers, forcing the premature promotion of others to vacant posts, and causing the assignment of unprepared teachers to overcrowded classrooms. Even within the school system, the complete Africanization of primary education personnel was soon followed by the current move to Africanize the secondary level, beginning with the "Collèges d'Enseignement Général." It is obvious that this rapid Africanization and an improvement in the level of academic and professional preparation of teachers can hardly be accomplished simultaneously. Under these circumstances, the former goal will probably receive priority during the next few years. But one particular feature of the Congolese system will facilitate the eventual correction of this situation. The fact that teachers in both public and private schools are civil servants--with the security and salary conditions carried by this quality--will encourage the young Congolese to base their vocational choice on higher considerations. This is perhaps the best justification for the integration of school teachers into the civil service: the system tends to facilitate the supply and retention of good teachers as long as the interrelated factors of quality and prestige are maintained at a high level. It is to be hoped that rising standards of professional preparation will soon counteract the relative loss of prestige which teachers have suffered in recent years.

The teaching profession in the Congo not only attracts the better talent; indeed, job security is especially attractive to the less qualified. These "less qualified" pose one of the most serious long-term problems facing Congolese education because no matter what new

and desirable directions the education authorities decide to take, the classroom teachers will, in the final analysis, determine the actual content of education. This large number of insufficiently educated and trained teachers is likely to resist any substantial departure from the routine to which they have become accustomed.

Quantitative Outcomes

The quantitative development of Congolese education is remarkable. A conservatively estimated school enrollment of close to 70% of the school-age population is certainly among the highest--if not the highest--in tropical Africa. Such an achievement in one of the more economically deprived areas of Africa requires examination. Many of the obvious factors which have contributed to this development, such as the work of Christian missionaries, an insistent popular demand for schooling and the pressures of the Congolese political leadership have been operating in other African territories with less impressive results. It is therefore necessary to look for some other basic factor, and none seems more likely than the privileged geographic position of the Congo compared with that of Ubanghi-Shari and Chad. From the time of the earliest and limited contacts with the European civilization, the Congo River area has played a unique role and has on the whole benefited rather than suffered from the kinds of contacts established between Europe and Africa. Those religious and commercial contacts have increased the Congolese populations' receptivity for European ideas, attitudes, and institutions. The nineteenth century explorers and missionaries found in the area a fertile ground precisely where they needed one. The region situated between the Atlantic Ocean and Stanley-Pool became and remained a busy corridor, and its two terminal points (Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire) naturally developed as the main administrative and commercial centers serving French Equatorial Africa. Building on this initial advantage, the lower Congo--through a circular cumulative process--has up to now been the first to benefit from new development efforts. In education, the first schools and thereafter every new type of educational institutions were established in the lower and middle Congo before they could spread further inland. For instance, the geographic factor enabled the mission schools to flourish, and in turn the public schools found there available "moniteurs" and eager students. Once launched, the movement provided the opportunities which the Congolese recognized and used. The current development of the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale," with its concentration of facilities in Brazzaville, is the most recent manifestation of this phenomenon.

In recent years the Congolese leaders have been determined to create more educational opportunities for more people at all levels. Unfortunately, parliamentary debates and policy statements fail to show comparable concern for the content of education--as if education could be obtained first in quantity, then used to serve any desired

purpose. If this were true, the Congolese educational effort could be judged as a success.

The rate of primary school expansion can be expected to decrease gradually over the next decade as the percentage of school-age enrollment approaches 100 and each percentage point becomes more difficult to gain. Interrelated geographic, economic, and social factors will account for this situation regardless of political decisions, but recent policy statements also indicate that emphasis is now shifting to "vertical development." These statements should be interpreted as signs that more attention will be paid to the development of secondary and higher education, and that serious efforts will be made to eliminate "wastage" as the Congolese school children move up the educational ladder. A comparison of the 1957-1958 first grade enrollment with the 1962-1963 sixth grade enrollment shows that (if one ignores the problem of repeaters) of the 28,646 children who started in the first grade in October, 1957, 7,853 were considered ready to take the primary school leaving certificate examination, and only 4,900 passed the examination. This input-to-output ratio is slightly better than five to one. It must also be remembered that passing this certificate examination does not entitle its holder automatically to enter one of the various types of Congolese secondary schools. One can estimate that the present primary school system succeeds in putting one Congolese pupil through the competitive secondary school entrance examination out of every six or seven it starts out with in the first grade. There is obviously great room for improvement in the Congolese primary school system at the "throughput" level. In other words, much work can be done to make the Congolese primary schools accomplish better whatever they have been trying to accomplish.

At the post-primary level, trade and technical education have been expanding at a much slower pace than "general" education. If the Congo were about to embark on an industrial development program, this situation would be viewed with alarm. In fact, this situation reflects the low level of the current demand for technically skilled workers and the pessimistic predictions regarding the future of industrial development in the Congo (see the first chapter). Since the 6 to 16 years of age school attendance law forces the Congolese Government to offer some type of secondary education to all capable pupils in this age group, emphasis on the "Collège d'Enseignement Général" type of schooling is preferable (for the time being) to the haphazard production of narrowly specialized technicians who could only swell the ranks of unemployed specialists. In this way, the training potential of Congolese youth can be raised while the Congo searches for its most promising area of economic opportunities. If and when the Congo successfully starts to move in the economic field, the school will have produced a large pool of young men and women ready to be trained for any specific jobs required.

Qualitative Outcomes

While school examination results may give some indication of how effective the school system is in transmitting a particular body of knowledge and skills, other and perhaps more important areas of content lie largely outside the focal interests of such examinations. Indeed, examination results tell little of the attitude changes, beliefs, and aspirations which result from educational experiences. The three questionnaires submitted by the writer to a sample of Congolese pupils have explored these areas in the hope of collecting more information on the exact nature of the products (the "output") of the Congolese school system. Granted that the attitudes, beliefs, and aspirations revealed have not been produced by the school in isolation from a wider social context, the school remains largely responsible for the observed behavior changes.

On the whole, the results of the questionnaires confirm the common observation that the modern "European" orientation of formal education in the Congo has been highly successful in turning its subjects away from the traditional Congolese way of thinking and living. The occupational choices, the sociometric choices, and the value orientation of Congolese students revealed by the test results summarized in the preceding chapter strongly support the conclusions of more casual observation. The occupations most attractive to sixth and tenth graders (teaching, health services, and technical and scientific careers) are those introduced by the colonizers. All require a certain amount of formal education; most of them are performed in the Congo within the framework of the civil service. No perfect causal relationship is suggested here between formal education and the choice of these careers. The colonial situation as a whole created these careers and attracted the Congolese to them, but formal education made their pursuit feasible. It is interesting that environment and immediate opportunity make little difference in the students' choice: rural sixth graders chose most frequently the same occupational categories as the urban sixth graders--only the order of preference changes, the former group choosing technical and scientific occupations less often than teaching or health services. Together with Public Administration, these three categories account for seventy-five to eighty per cent of all occupational choices at both grade levels.

As expected, the categories Agriculture and Business are the object of very few choices. And, in the case of Agriculture, the few who chose it often indicated their wish to become agricultural engineers or "moniteurs," tasks which require education and which are performed by civil servants. Cultivating the land in the traditional African way attracts no "lettré." Modern agriculture in the Congo is only practiced in connection with the production of a few cash crops controlled by large European companies or by the Government. It has failed to produce models of highly successful and independent Congolese farmers. Besides, farming does not offer the advantages of city living and, like commerce,

it cannot guarantee a steady and relatively high income. This last remark points to the vital elements common to the most popular occupational choices: high income (by traditional Congolese standards) and security. Teachers and textbook writers, as well as preachers and politicians, spend much effort trying to convince school children of the dignity of farming and of manual labor in general. The foregoing analysis suggests that unless these occupations can offer both high income and security these worthy efforts to educate modern farmers will remain largely unsuccessful.

Social service and intrinsic interest are most frequently mentioned among the factors motivating the Congolese students' choice of occupations. However, in the emerging way of life in the Congo, a secure monetary income is one of the best means of helping the family and the nation. Social service, therefore, may still be considered as an important part of the Congolese students' "true" motivation. At least one must conclude that students have understood that being of service to others occupies a high position in the hierarchy of values. This should be expected since the main educative agencies, the parents, the school, and society at large reinforce one another's efforts in transmitting this particular value. The test results even provide an illustration of the effects of formal schooling on the Congolese youths' understanding of "others." Social motives represent 35.8% of responses at the sixth grade level and 29.7% at the tenth grade level. The subjects also indicated what social groups they were willing to serve, i.e., a) kins, tribal groups, and friends; b) nation or humanity. It is significant that the tenth graders appear to have gone much further than the sixth graders in transferring their loyalty from their immediate social circle to the nation or to humanity. If formal education can be credited for much of the shift, this observation has important implications for the role of the school in the development of national consciousness and loyalty.

The test administered by the writer failed to elucidate the question as to whether the Congolese students know what steps they must take in order to fulfill their occupational ambitions. The students' responses give the impression that little attention is being paid by both students and teachers to school and vocational guidance. Here again, as in the case of Congolese leaders with regard to curriculum development, it appears that little importance is attributed to the type and to the precise content of formal courses of studies one takes. The Congolese youths tend to accept on faith an unanalyzed concept of education as an infallible means of fulfilling individual and national ambitions.

The writer's sociometric investigation lends support to previous findings that Congolese classroom units in fact do not operate as well-structured units. The amorphous quality of sixth and tenth grade classes as social units is clearly demonstrated by the very small number of times any one student is chosen or rejected by his classmates.

On the other hand, mixed classes (containing boys and girls, Europeans and Congolese) are markedly divided according to sex and national origin. This finding can be used as an illustration of the fact that the socio-cultural environment of the school extends into the classroom: sex and "racial" integration in the classroom remains only apparent as long as de facto segregation is the general practice in the society at large. By the same token, the writer's sociometric findings indicate that religious differences have little effect on social relationship patterns in the Congo. Also, ethnic (that is, tribal) differences may influence but do not determine the same patterns. While the school's positive contribution to Congolese national unity has been suggested by the test results, there is no evidence that the school currently exerts an adverse influence. Although this contention was hardly in need of support--particularly with reference to ethnic differences--the apparent absence of religious sectarianism among Congolese school children is significant. In a narrow sense, this may ironically represent a partial failure of missionary action, but it also constitutes a strong argument against the frequent African nationalist charge that European missionaries have introduced new and strong divisive forces in African society.

The projective techniques used in this study to measure the elusive changes in attitudes and value orientation can hardly be expected to produce firm conclusions in precisely defined areas. However, they do produce data which support general conclusions already reached on the basis of more casual observation:

1. In areas where "European" values and attitudes are in conflict with traditional African values and attitudes, the Congolese who have been exposed to ten or more years of formal "European" education are turned away from their cultural heritage. This is most evident with reference to the idea of change and progress and to the scientific attitude. The data also bring to light the quasi-unanimity with which the educated Congolese have embraced a modern set of values and attitudes. A deeper and more detailed study would undoubtedly uncover evidence of cultural persistence at different levels of the Congolese personality, but the somewhat superficial responses reported here do demonstrate European influence.

2. In areas where formal European education reinforces traditional African attitudes, the result is consequently a reaffirmation of position. But here again a closer scrutiny might lead to surprising conclusions. For instance, belief in God or loyalty to family and ancestors is reinforced by mission school education, but these concepts differ in more or less subtle ways in the European and in the African cultural contexts. Reinforcement therefore may be only an apparent enhancement because of a lack of precision in our instruments used.

3. Ambivalence characterizes many areas where the transition is still being effected between traditional and modern values and attitudes.

This observation is best illustrated by the position Congolese young men take toward the role of women in the Congolese society: the ideal Congolese young woman, they believe, is a docile, hard-working wife and mother and at the same time is a modern educator, a refined companion, and a politically aware member of a democratic society. Here again the essential fact brought to light by the writer's questionnaire is not the existence of this ambivalence but the evidence that almost all the educated Congolese find themselves in the same ambivalent position. The present attitude of the Congolese "lettrés" with regard to their duties toward family, tribal group, and nation provide an equally valid illustration of this education-produced dilemma.

In spite of the limitations of this questionnaire, this type of investigation focuses on some outcomes of the educative process that school examinations commonly ignore. Furthermore, it gives a voice to a fair cross-section of the student population, the academically unsuccessful as well as the successful. Beyond quantitative results, this analysis attempts to reveal not only how effectively a given body of knowledge and skills contained in a formal curriculum have been transmitted to a number of school children but also the new values, outlook on life, and aspirations which a generation has acquired partly as a result of exposure to formal school experiences. More important, perhaps, it offers a glimpse of the directions which the present generation may give to the education of the next generation.

CONCLUSIONS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Significance of This Study

Some generalizations emerge from the preceding review of the historical development of formal education in the ex-French Congo. Drawing upon the detailed analysis of the educational system presently operating in the newly independent Republic of Congo, upon the apparent effects formal education has had on the ideas, attitudes, and aspirations of the Congolese people, and using the Hanna model for Educational Investment in Human Resources Development, the following are the most significant of these generalizations:

1. Formal education has consistently enjoyed great favor as an instrument of French colonial policy in the Congo, Brazzaville. Instruction of the indigenous populations--so long as it was offered in the French language--has always been considered as a good thing by the French in the Metropole as well as in the colony. A few dissident voices may have been heard among the traders and the concessionary representatives, but their influence in this area has probably not had much effect in practice.

2. Before World War II, the high priority enjoyed by the educational enterprise was largely confined to the intentional level; intentions failed to command the practical means required by the stated ends. Indeed, the fact that for more than a quarter of a century the Roman Catholic Church, ostracized as it was in France, was allowed to monopolize the field of Congolese education paradoxically illustrates both France's strong desire to educate and her failure to commit the necessary funds and personnel required to carry out stated policy.

3. French logic demanded a drastic reduction if not an elimination of the educational role the religious missions had assumed in the Congo and an active involvement of the State, but the practical difficulties were such that logic lost to compromise and ambivalence, to half-hearted support of missionary action, or sometimes to rejection of missionary action with no adequate substitute. In addition to physical and economic factors, including the world-wide depression of the 1930's, which made the development of formal education a most difficult task in the Congo, this politico-religious conflict between the French State and the missions accounts for the stagnation which characterized educational development before World War II.

4. Education in the whole ex-French Equatorial Africa has suffered more than in the Congo. The Congo's privileged position is explained by a combination of factors all more or less closely related to this

territory's geographic location which influenced Congolese receptivity to the European educative message and made these populations the first beneficiaries of every new educational initiative. The Congo has wisely compounded its initial advantages since the post-war expansion movement was launched and has continued to do so as higher education is being established in equatorial Africa to produce the teaching personnel.

5. From the beginning and until this day, the effect of the content of formal education has been both dynamic and static. The ideas, beliefs, and attitudes consistently communicated by the schools in the French language tended to turn Congolese pupils gradually away from selected aspects of African culture and toward the values of European culture as interpreted and represented by the French educators. This does not mean that the French spoke with one voice in the formal and in the informal educative message they attempted to transmit. Indeed, the two main groups of Frenchmen, the missionaries on the one hand and the civil servants and traders on the other hand, represented two different traditions: that of the "Fille aînée de l'Eglise" (the Eldest Daughter of the Church) and that of the French Revolution. To this value conflict must be added the contribution of the Swedish Protestant missionaries. There is little evidence, however, that the Congolese pupils have paid much attention to the contradictions in the message that they received. The Congolese "évolués" have demonstrated no interest in what they consider as "querelles d'importation."

6. The French formal education message in the Congo was actually assimilative to a high degree. But the French missionaries as well as the French government officials avoided the gross error of assimilating (that is, considering as <u>similar</u>) the cultural and educational backgrounds and needs of the Congolese to those of French children. The necessity to adapt French school programmes, structures, and methods to the Congolese situation was readily recognized from the start of the colonial period. Policy statements reported in this study firmly establish this fact.

7. Even in practice, steps were taken to transfer to the Congo only selected elements of French educational institutions. One can offer in support of this contention the French reluctance to introduce academic and classical studies in the Congo and the mission and public schools' emphasis on the "practical" aspects of curriculum content coupled with a heavy component of manual labor in school gardens and shops.

8. In their effort to adapt the school to the needs of the Congolese society, the French educators have in a limited way been willing to innovate. The integration of vocational and technical training in the formal school system of the Congo does not parallel but <u>precedes</u> by at least a generation a similar development in metropolitan France.

9. In the final analysis, however, one must recognize that the French educators made very little progress toward their goal of educational adaptation to Congolese conditions and needs. Indeed, as the Congolese school system developed it became more and more similar to the French system. This trend toward identity has been reversed only recently as a result of the Africanization movement. This gap between adaptive policies on the one hand and the growing similarity of French and Congolese school programmes, structures, and methods on the other hand should cause would-be reformers of current African education to pause and reflect. It is clear that the apparent soundness of new educational schemes does not ensure their success in practice. Little is said nowadays about the educational needs of Africa which has not been said in the past three-quarters of a century. Before vast efforts are expended for the implementation of schemes basically similar to old, forgotten ones, serious attempts should be made to discover the factors which caused previous attempts to fail.

10. All schemes developed to adapt formal school institutions transferred to the Congo were naturally influenced by the realization that the Congolese conditions were different from those prevailing in the countries where those institutions originated. But, in the context of the colonial situation, "different" almost invariably meant "inferior." Whether this inferiority was real or not lies beyond the scope of this study. It remains, however, that different conditions were commonly perceived as signs of inferiority by both colonizers and colonized. No wonder differential treatment of the colonized has always met the strenuous resistance of the colonized themselves, whether or not the colonizer's treatment was justifiable in the colonized's own interest.

11. The rapid post-war expansion of primary education in most African colonies reflects great social and political changes in the metropoles and in the colonies. The case of the Congo illustrates the fact that greatly increased educational expenditures were a necessary but not a sufficient factor in this rather phenomenal expansion of educational services. Only those colonies, such as the Congo, which had built a substantial foundation could take full and immediate advantage of the new attitude of the colonial powers with regard to school development. It must be recognized that the work of the religious missions played a very important part in laying the foundations for the development of both private and public schools. Considering the funds and the personnel which France actually committed to educational development, only the combined action of the government and the missions can explain the post-war rise in the Congolese school population.

12. Post-war reforms in the political field allowed Congolese leaders for the first time to influence educational policy and practice applied to their land. The educational aims of the Fourth French Republic with regard to her colonies, consistent with her political goal of granting more local self-government while pursuing a policy

of integration of the colonies within the French Union, were not opposed by the emerging Congolese leadership. Universal primary education and a rapid development of secondary and technical education, the Congolese leaders seemed to realize, could lead to full independence as well as to a restricted measure of self-government.

13. In the field of primary education, Congolese leaders pressed for greater contribution from all available sources, private as well as public. Quantitative development was stressed to the almost complete neglect of the content of courses of studies. Secondary education, however, received most of the Congolese leaders' attention. At this level, "quality" was inseparable from quantity, but the former tended to be measured only in terms of the number of Congolese secondary school graduates admissible every year in French metropolitan institutions of higher learning.

14. French educational policy during the decade preceding Congolese autonomy and independence still included the aim to adapt French educational institutions to the needs of the Congo. But the presence of a larger number of French nationals required the transfer to the Congo of institutions identical to those of the Metropole. Once established in the Congo, the French "lycées" could not deny admission to increasing numbers of Congolese students in the face of French principles of racial equality and of strong Congolese political pressures.

15. By the time Congolese leaders assumed full control over the country's schools, the educational system had become basically identical to that of the Metropole, and the leaders were committed to the ideal of universal primary education geared to the production of qualified candidates for academic secondary schools. Although only a very small percentage of the primary school population could hope to enter the secondary schools--and a still smaller percentage could go on to the university--the whole Congolese school system operates to serve the needs of this small minority.

16. The production of a national élite is an admittedly legitimate function of the Congolese formal school system. Also legitimate is the system's function in spreading literacy and in communicating to the young nation a common body of knowledge, attitudes, and skills required of any group of people entrusted with the responsibilities of self-determination. But a modern educational system also ought to serve other than these mainly political aims. Indeed, current Congolese educational policy gives proper attention to cultural, social, and economic goals to which the schools are supposed to contribute. It appears, however, that Congolese education in the past twenty years has not achieved any sort of balance among its various aims, but has been more successful in the political field--often at the expense of its other aims.

17. The first generation of Congolese leaders who seized power after the enactment of the 1956 "Loi-Cadre" had been trained by the

French for intermediary positions only. Since that time, Congolese secondary schools have produced a sufficient number of "bacheliers" who, following further studies abroad or in local institutions of higher learning, are eager and increasingly capable of filling most of the decision-making positions available. In the present state of development of the Congo, any significant expansion of a secondary school system exclusively geared to the production of an élite may lead to oversupply, waste of trained manpower, and social and political unrest.

18. The Congolese primary school system has reached a level of quantitative development (over 70 per cent of the school-age population are reported attending school) beyond which every gain becomes relatively more difficult and expensive. The mounting wave of pupils finishing the primary schools is currently forcing a massive expansion of secondary school facilities. This movement is not necessarily alarming. Much depends on the career ambitions of the present and future secondary school population and on the type of education offered to them.

19. A survey of the occupational choices of the Congolese school children indicates that an overwhelming majority of the young educated Congolese express interest in a rather narrow range of occupations connected with the tertiary sector of the economy. Occupations in the area of agricultural and even industrial production are the object of very few choices and most of these are specifically related to supervisory positions, not to direct production. Indeed, one of the main characteristics of the occupational patterns revealed by this survey is that most of the chosen occupations can be performed within the framework of the Congolese civil service: teaching, health services, and public administration. Even technical careers, although selected more often than generally expected, are of the "maintenance" type, may be classified as services, and are often performed by civil servants.

20. In view of the sharply limited industrial potential of the Congo, the Congolese school children's lack of enthusiasm for technical and industrial careers is no cause for alarm. But the almost total neglect of agriculture by the school children who have reached the end of the primary school cycle poses one of the most serious problems to the Congo as well as to all tropical African countries. Traditional African agriculture suffers most from the fact that African girls, the traditional African food growers, refuse to follow in their mothers' footsteps as soon as they have been exposed to formal education for some years, and Congolese boys show no inclination to fill the void created by the girls who turn away from agricultural activities.

21. Formal education, at present as well as during the colonial period, makes a negative contribution in the area of Congolese agricultural development. Farming, as currently practiced in the Congo, offers no opportunities to fulfill the aspirations of educated youths, and the school does not communicate to them the desire nor the skills

required to change conditions on the farms. This situation illustrates one of the most persistent vicious circles which beset economic development: educated Africans cannot be expected to take up farming as long as the prestige, the financial rewards, and the living conditions associated with farming are so low, and farming will not progress and make its essential contribution to economic development as long as educated and skillful Africans abandon the land in the hope of finding employment in the cities.

22. There seems to be an inherent conflict between the three main legitimate social aims of Congolese education. If formal education succeeds in arousing in the young ambitions necessary to sustain their efforts to acquire the tools of leadership, the same education "spoils" the young for the agricultural and industrial tasks which must still be performed by the majority of the population at this stage of Congolese economic development. When the industrialized European countries were at a comparable stage of economic development, a type of formal, leadership-oriented education was offered to a socio-economic élite and another type of education was offered to a number of children from the lower classes. By the time education became compulsory and universal in those countries, the local economies had become better prepared to satisfy the aspirations of an educated population. The French educational institutions presently transferred to the Congo are--at the insistence of the Congolese themselves--of the first type, that is, leadership-oriented. While only a few Congolese can fill the equally few leadership posts available, the majority of the Congolese school children are being taken part of the way toward posts that do not exist and turned away from occupations which badly need performing if the Congolese are to make their full contribution to the economic development of their country.

23. In the past twenty years, Congolese leaders have been single-mindedly concerned with the need to provide formal educational opportunities to an ever greater proportion of the Congolese population. The exact nature of this education was assumed to be unimportant as long as it closely resembled European education and measured up to European standards.

24. The sovereign people of Congo and their leaders must now consider the true effects of formal education--not only its quantitative outcomes, but also the kinds of attitudes, aspirations, and skills it develops in the Congolese youth. Then, on the assumption that educative outcomes are to a large degree causally related to the content of the educative message being transmitted, efforts should be made to devise an educative message most likely to produce the skills and attitudes consistent with the national goals of the Congolese people.

Further Research

This study is an attempt to describe the educational system presently in operation in the Congo-Brazzaville. The writer assumed from the start that an historical perspective was an essential condition to the understanding of the present situation. The development of the Congolese school system since 1883 was therefore described in the context of the colonial situation of which it was a part and a product. Since no similar work has been produced in the last thirty years, this part of the study, in spite of its shortcomings, may contribute useful knowledge. Further research in this area is unlikely to produce discoveries which would alter our interpretation of the present situation or suggest radically different solutions to the current educational problems of the Congo.

The analysis of the present Congolese school system, however, constitutes a much greater challenge at all stages of the educational process. This study has explored some of these areas of research and has pointed out some inconsistencies between the nature and purposes of the current Congolese educative message, the adequacy and effectiveness of the means used in the transmission of the message, and the quality of the outcomes of the educative process as they relate to the goals of the Congolese nation.

Hopefully, as the dialogue continues between the Congolese people and their cultural and political leaders, the goals of the new nation will be more clearly identified and formulated. At the same time, educators will play a vital role in translating the national goals into suitable sets of generalizations, attitudes, and skills, that is, into the curriculum which can be communicated to the Congolese youth through the schools in such a way as to produce the desired results. Educators cannot carry out this mission successfully without an improved knowledge of educational processes as they best operate in the Congolese context. The Congolese educators and their French technical advisors are keenly aware of most of the weaknesses of the current system when compared with the standards of modern European educational systems. And ready-made solutions which would make Congolese education conform more closely to the European educational institutions are (naturally, perhaps) being applied in the Congolese context. Current educational outcomes, however, indicate that other solutions might be more appropriate in the areas of educational structures, curriculum, teacher preparation, didactic methods, and tests and measurements. Each of these areas constitutes a rich field of experimentation and research.

One of the greatest advantages which the establishment of higher education institutions will bring to the Congo and to Equatorial Africa is that, for the first time, groups of scholars and researchers will find an institutional base from which to launch studies related to the preservation, transmission, and transformation of the Congolese cultural heritage. In the case of educational research, it is unfortunate that

the "Fondation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique Centrale" is currently developing a teacher-training school in Brazzaville and a pedagogical research center 500 miles away in Libreville, Gabon. Although this development may have been partly dictated by political imperatives, it also follows the French pattern which tends to divorce research from teacher preparation and classroom practice. This procedure is least appropriate in the case of newly developing nations that need to make fundamental compatible changes at all stages of their educational systems. More productive efforts will have to be exerted if Congolese formal education is to perform its role as an effective instrument of national goals and aspirations. Research may help find or create such an instrumental role for education.

APPENDIX I

MAJOR PRODUCTS AND EXPORTS OF THE CONGO (1961)

Products	Production		Exportation (in metric tons)	
	1960	1961	1960	1961
Agricultural Products:				
Peanuts unshelled	8.129	11.164	1.642	1.675
Peanuts shelled	2.960	13.746	1.318	2.716
Pineapples	6,5	30,5	6,5	2,2
Bananas	1.384	3.517	1.327	084
Coffee	481	426	300	678
Cocoa	695	808	520	824
Maize	1.679	622	...	1
Paddy rice	3.680	1.826	...	...
Palm kernels	6.782	7.420	6.514	6.102
Raw tobacco	540	788	337	212
Kola nut	-	11	...	...
Copal	69	52	99	188
Rubber	96	102	87	81
Industrial Products:				
Peanut oil	1.764	3.617	802	738
Palm oil	5.134	5.266	3.533	3.356
Palm kernel oil	285	420	198	...
Cane sugar	13.201	15.324	...	...
Soap	1.133	3.802	...	...
Fish products	4.255	2.961	16	20
Beer	32.700 hl	21.098 hl	337	168
Cigarettes	825	852	...	...
Cloth	1.631	1.980	...	...
Raw petroleum	51.847	102.939	86	1.349
Hides and skins	...	1.436	4	71
Peanut cakes	1.422	3.362	...	2.890
Castor nuts	...	40	...	...
Hunting Products:				
Elephant tusks and teeth	...	...	2.500	2.587
Mining Products:				
Zinc	...	1.903	...	1.908
Lead	7.669	1.590	7.304	2.645
Tin	46,7	60	20	56
Gold	0,081	0,092	0,091	...
Others	-	-	1.159	0,3

APPENDIX I (Continued)

Products	Production		Exportation (in metric tons)	
	1960	1961	1960	1961
Energy				
Electrical energy (1000 KWH)	26,269	30,942	...	...
Total Exports of Congo Lumber			266.101	258.888
Logs:				
Mahogany			6.762	7.085
Walnut			180.303	227
Iroko			1.640	3.772
Premium quality okoumé			7.357	6.893
Logs for boxes			1.067	196
Other quality okoumé			27.051	33.298
Gabon walnut			317	173.901
Ebony			...	0,1
Other woods			30.025	29.391
Lumber:				
Iroko squared			128	9
Mayombe walnut squared			17	62
Ebony			-	3
Mahogany			259	208
Gabon walnut			12	54
Iroko			193	1.245
Mayombe walnut			4.858	2.533
Other woods			6.172	6.311

Global Total in Kilos	Exports 1961	Imports 1961
	395.259.996	294.923.153
Total Value (in CFA francs)	4.869.001.033	19.518.109.855

Source: Republique du Congo, Service de la Statistique, Ministère des Affaires Economique et des Eaux et Forêts, Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique, No. 7, Octobre-Novembre-Décembre, 1961, Brazzaville.

APPENDIX II

SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM DECREE NO. 6 OF JANUARY 2ND, 1937, CONCERNING THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN A.E.F.[1]

Article 1. Education provided in the school establishments of A.E.F. consists of:

1. Elementary primary education;
2. Higher primary education;
3. Vocational education;
4. Secondary education;
5. Private education.[2]

Article 2. Elementary primary education is provided free to children of both sexes:

1. In village schools;
2. In urban regional schools.

Article 3. This education consists of three levels:

The preparatory course ("cours préparatoire")
The elementary course ("cours élémentaire")
The middle course ("cours moyen")

1° The aim of the preparatory course is to teach spoken French, writing, arithmetic (numbers 1 to 100). It includes two sections:

a) A beginners' section[3]
b) The preparatory, properly so called.

Minimum age for admission in the beginners' section is 6; no pupils can be maintained in this section beyond the age of eleven. A pupil who,

---

1. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., p. 134. Reprinted in "Nos Ecoles," Bulletin de l'Enseignement en A.E.F., No. 1, pp. 4-16.

2. Note: In fact, two parallel school systems, one "public" and one "private" were set up, each consisting of four types of education.

3. Note: This elementary school structure is a copy of the French model, but the beginners' class of the preparatory course constitutes a special adaptation to African conditions, making the elementary studies last six years instead of five.

after 4 years in the preparatory course has not reached the elementary level, must be expelled from school.

2° The aim of the elementary course is to teach written French, arithmetic, hygiene, practical agriculture, and manual work ("travail manuel"). In addition, it teaches some geography and history.

The course consists of two sections, a first and a second year. No pupils can be admitted in the first year if he cannot read fluently, write acceptably in a copy-book, express himself with ease in French on familiar subjects (the school, the village, the trades, plants and animals, etc.), and do the four operations with numbers 1 to 100.

The upper age limit in the second year is 14.

3° The middle course specifies and completes the work undertaken in the elementary course; it prepares to the native school certificate and to the entrance examination for the higher primary school.

No pupil can be kept in the middle course beyond age 15, except in the case of higher primary school candidates who may stay on until age 16. (Limit raised to 17 for the year 1937-38.)

Article 5. Village Schools.

The village school is, in principle, a mixed school (for boys and girls) with three grades: a two-grade preparatory course and the first grade of the elementary course. It is created by the Governor General only in villages which, within a 4 to 5 kilometer radius, can bring together 60 pupils of school age.

Article 6. Urban and Regional Schools.

1° Urban and regional schools consist of all three elementary levels. They have as many classes as the importance of the school population allows. They are opened by decision of the Governor General, depending on the financial conditions of the colony, in cities, district seats, etc.

2° These schools are mixed, except in centers where a girls' public school already exists.

3° The urban and regional schools are directed by a European teacher; his assistants are native "moniteurs."

4° The urban and regional schools are, in addition, further training centers for teachers in service who will be appointed there after a few years in village schools.

Article 7. The Director of an urban or a regional school has the following responsibilities:

1° In addition to the regular duties of a school director, he gives a "model lesson" once a week.

2° On Thursday mornings, he gives to his assistants a further training course ("cours de perfectionnement") of two hours' minimum duration consisting of theoretical and practical pedagogy.

3° He is in charge of extracurricular activities: school cooperatives, school garden, shops, adult courses, the school library, etc.

4° He supervises all the village schools of a school district ("secteur scolaire").

Article 8. Girls' Schools.

In important centers, girls' schools will be set up at the second elementary grade level. In mixed schools, a separate girls' section will be organized at the same level.[4] In these special schools or sections, a substantial part of the school day (three hours) must be devoted to sewing, home economics, child care, and hygiene. Female teachers are responsible for this type of education.

Articles 10 through 28 concern: discipline, sponsoring committes,[5] school holidays, school registers, annual reports, pupil recruitment, attendance certificates, medical inspection of pupils, timetables, adult courses, annual vacation, native school certificate (C.E.P.I.), scholarships, school districts, vacation courses, school lands and buildings, and boarding school for "métis."

Article 29. Vocational and Agricultural Education.

Vocational education is provided in three ways:

1° Manual training, whose aim is to develop manual aptitudes in children. In principle, it is intended for all children in the elementary and the higher primary who thus can learn to "tinker" and improve native dwellings and furniture. It is given in shops adjoining the schools.

---

4. This separation of sexes is consistent with the traditional French school organization patterns.

5. These committees were to perform functions similar to those of Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) in the United States. It is difficult to verify to what extent they operated in A.E.F.

2° Apprenticeship ("apprentissage)[6] reserved for young men who wish to learn trades in demand in European industry. This type of training is not the responsibility of the primary school, but must be given in vocational schools to students whose manual aptitudes have been identified in the course of manual training. One such vocational school will be established in Brazzaville.

3° African handicraft training aims to improve native techniques while preserving their originality. This type of training is given in "craftsmen quarters," that is, shops adjoining primary or vocational schools. Its pupils are selected among those who show the talent and the desire required.

Agricultural training is offered at two levels:

1° Agricultural education is meant for all pupils in elementary and higher primary schools. It consists of:

a) Maintenance of a flower garden on the school grounds and in the village.
b) Cultivation of a vegetable garden: local and European vegetables likely to contribute to native nutrition.
c) Maintenance of a plantation reserved for cash crops which the Administration's economic policy aims to introduce or improve in the region.
d) Maintenance of an orchard.
e) Visits to nurseries, to experimental farms of the Department of Agriculture, and to the best kept native plantations.

2° Agricultural apprenticeship takes place in special schools of agriculture and in farm-schools organized by the Department of Agriculture. It is meant for youths and adults, not for primary school children.

Article 31. School cooperatives ("mutuelles scolaires)[7] have a dual objective:

a) To improve the welfare of their members through the sale of produce and objects made by school children in the course of manual training.
b) To develop the taste for manual work as well as the practice of solidarity and husbandry.

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6. The French term "apprentissage" does not necessarily imply "indentured" or "on-the-job training." Here, it means "trade school education."

7. These were created by a decree dated December 19, 1928, and modified in 1933.

Article 32. Higher Primary Education.[8]

Higher primary education is given at the Edouard-Renard School in Brazzaville. Its function is to train the native civil servants of the second-level cadres of A.E.F. and the commercial agents. It also aims at giving the best students the opportunity to pursue their education beyond the elementary level.

Article 33. Secondary Education.

Secondary education created in A.E.F. is submitted to the same obligations as in the Metropole regarding admission of students and programs of study.

It will be offered in a "secondary course" in Brazzaville (grades 6 to 3 included), as soon as the circumstances will allow, by a decree of the Governor General.

Article 34. Private Education.

Private education in the A.E.F. has the same objective as public education, and must apply the same methods of instruction.

The practical, non-academic character of the school system organized by the January 2nd, 1937, decree is apparent. The system was also intended to encourage agricultural development. This policy is emphasized by the following decree issued even before 1937:

DECREE of June 4th, 1936, established in all the schools of A.E.F. "Agricultural School Days" ("Journées scolaires de la Culture") devoted to each of the essential crops of its agricultural economy.[9]

---

8. The "enseignement primaire supérieur" is difficult to locate precisely within the French educational system. It has been said that "Its characteristic is to have no character of its own." It is not "secondary" in the sense that it does not lead to higher general or professional education, although, since 1937, it has been placed under the responsibility of the Department of Secondary Education. But the "cours complémentaire," a very similar structure, was until recently a part of primary education. In many ways it is a continuation of general elementary education, but it often includes training for non-technical occupations.

9. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., p. 619. Reprinted in "Nos Ecoles," op. cit., pp. 75-76.

Preamble:

Considering that it is much easier to lead the new generations toward agricultural progress than to make the old generations abandon their outdated methods, and that consequently we must urgently devote our main effort to the education of the more alert, flexible and trustful young minds;

In view of the decree of April 29, 1936, organizing agricultural districts in A.E.F.:

Article 1. "Agricultural School Days" are instituted . . . .

Article 2. These "School Days," by district, will be as follows:

Bas-Congo District:

Oil-palm Day;
Coffee-tree Day;
Banana-tree Day;
Peanut and Maize Day.

Haut-Congo, Sangha, Oubanghi District:

Oil-palm Day;
Coffee-tree Day;
Cotton-tree Day;
Peanut Day.[10]

Article 4. Under the guidance of the District Chief, of the Director of the school, and of an agricultural specialist, these Days will be devoted to: visits to plantations, natural growths, and fields under cultivation; to demonstrations or lectures on cultivation procedures, the operation of agricultural implements and processing machines (crushers, presses, etc.) owned by planters in Native Provident Societies (Société Indigènes de Prévoyance") which will soon be set up; to a lecture on the agricultural activity of the District, on the organization and the role of Native Provident Societies, etc. . . .

Article 5. At the close of each "Day" an individual assignment will be given to each pupil bearing on what he has seen and remembered. The three best essays in each District will be sent to the Governor General who will grant appropriate rewards.

Next to the general reorganization of the school system, the most important educational development of this period was the reorganization

10. Similar "Days" are enumerated for each of the four other agricultural districts of A.E.F.

and expansion of the "Ecole Edouard-Renard" by the decree No. 7 of January 2nd, 1937:[11]

Article 1. The Edouard-Renard School of Brazzaville, administered by the Governor General and placed under the immediate supervision of the Director of Education, has for objectives:

a) To train natives for local administrative cadres and for private commercial enterprise.

b) Eventually, to provide further opportunities to students who simply wish to pursue their studies beyond the elementary level.

Article 2. The School comprises three sections:

1) An Education Section, to which is attached a section for "moniteurs" and "monitrices";

2) A Medical Section;

3) An Administrative and Commercial Section.

Article 12. The duration of studies is four years: the two first years are devoted to general education; the third, general and special for selected vocation; the fourth, in large part in the schools (Education), in Administration offices, etc.

Article 13. Curriculum--General Education:

Moral (theory and practice)
French language
Arithmetic, metric system and geometry
Elementary physical and natural sciences applied to hygiene and agriculture
History of A.E.F. and French civilization
Geography of A.E.F., France and the world
Handwriting, drawing, music, singing, physical education and manual work

Article 15. Specialized Education:

Teaching: psychology applied to education; theory and practice of education; school legislation.

Article 42. Advisory Council ("Conseil de perfectionnement"):

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11. Journal Officiel de l'A.E.F., p. 140 (1937). Quoted in "Nos Ecoles," op. cit., p. 88.

The Advisory Council is made up of:

Chairman: Governor, Secretary-General, or his representative.
Members: Director of Cabinet of the Governor General or his representative,
The President of the Chamber of Commerce of Brazzaville,
The Director of the Political Bureau,
The Director of Education,
The Chief of the Department of Agriculture,
The School Doctor,
The School faculty,
The Directors and the Directresses of the primary schools where the students do their practice teaching.

The Council meets at the call of the Chairman or once a year.

Article 44. The management of the School and the results obtained are reported to the Advisory Council. The Council gives its advice on any material or pedagogical matter and particularly on the desirable size of graduating classes. It expresses wishes regarding possible modifications; it assists in the placements of the students.

Article 45. "Moniteurs" Sections:

The students must hold the C.E.P.I. (Native Certificate of Elementary Education) and be 16 to 17 years of age. They are recruited by the Governor General among:

1) The candidates for admission at the Edouard-Renard School who have not passed the competitive examination, but have obtained sufficiently high grades;
2) The students of the Edouard-Renard School who apply for a transfer;
3) The students of the girls' schools whom the Directress recommends on the basis of intelligence and character.

Article 47. The duration of the course: 12 months (may be extended for three months' periods).

The students admitted at the Edouard-Renard School enjoyed full scholarships, but in return, had to sign a contract under whose terms they were expected to serve the Colony (in teaching or administration) for a period of ten years. If the graduates decided to join a private firm, they were expected to reimburse the Colony at a rate determined by the Governor General.

Finally, the Vocational School of Brazzaville should be described on the basis of the decree No. 8 of January 2nd, 1937:

Article 1. The aim of the Vocational School of Brazzaville is:

a) To train skilled laborers ("ouvriers spécialisés");
b) To train foremen and shopmasters.

Article 2. It is made up of three sections:

a) A wood section: woodwork, furniture-making, carpentry;
b) A metal section: fitting, forge, auto mechanics, etc.;
c) A masonry section.

Article 3. As required, new sections may be added by decision of the Governor General on the recommendation of the Director of Education, after consultation with the Advisory Council (similar to that of the Edouard-Renard School).

The students were recruited among middle school pupils from all A.E.F. The course of study lasted four years, most of the fourth one being spent in appropriate shops (Art. 12).

APPENDIX III

SCHOOL STATISTICS FOR THE FOUR A.E.F. TERRITORIES
(1935, 1939, 1943, AND 1946)

	1935	1939	1943	1946
Primary Education				
Number of Classes	152	155	235	---[d]
Total Enrollment (Girls)	15,871 (1,447)	20,895 (3,799)	25,381 (3,915)	31,562 (2,832)
Public School Enrollment	6,584	9,290	9,512	---
Private School Enrollment	9,287	11,605	15,869	---
Secondary Education (Higher Primary & Teacher-Training)				
Number of Classes[a]	1	3	14	---
Total Enrollment	10	90	224	623
Vocational Education				
Number of Schools[b]	2	4	20	---
Total Enrollment (Only boys)	40	118	426	1,974[c]
Percentage of Total Budget Allocated to Education	1.47	1.56	4.74	4.20

a. No private institutions recognized.

b. Classes attached to primary schools not included.

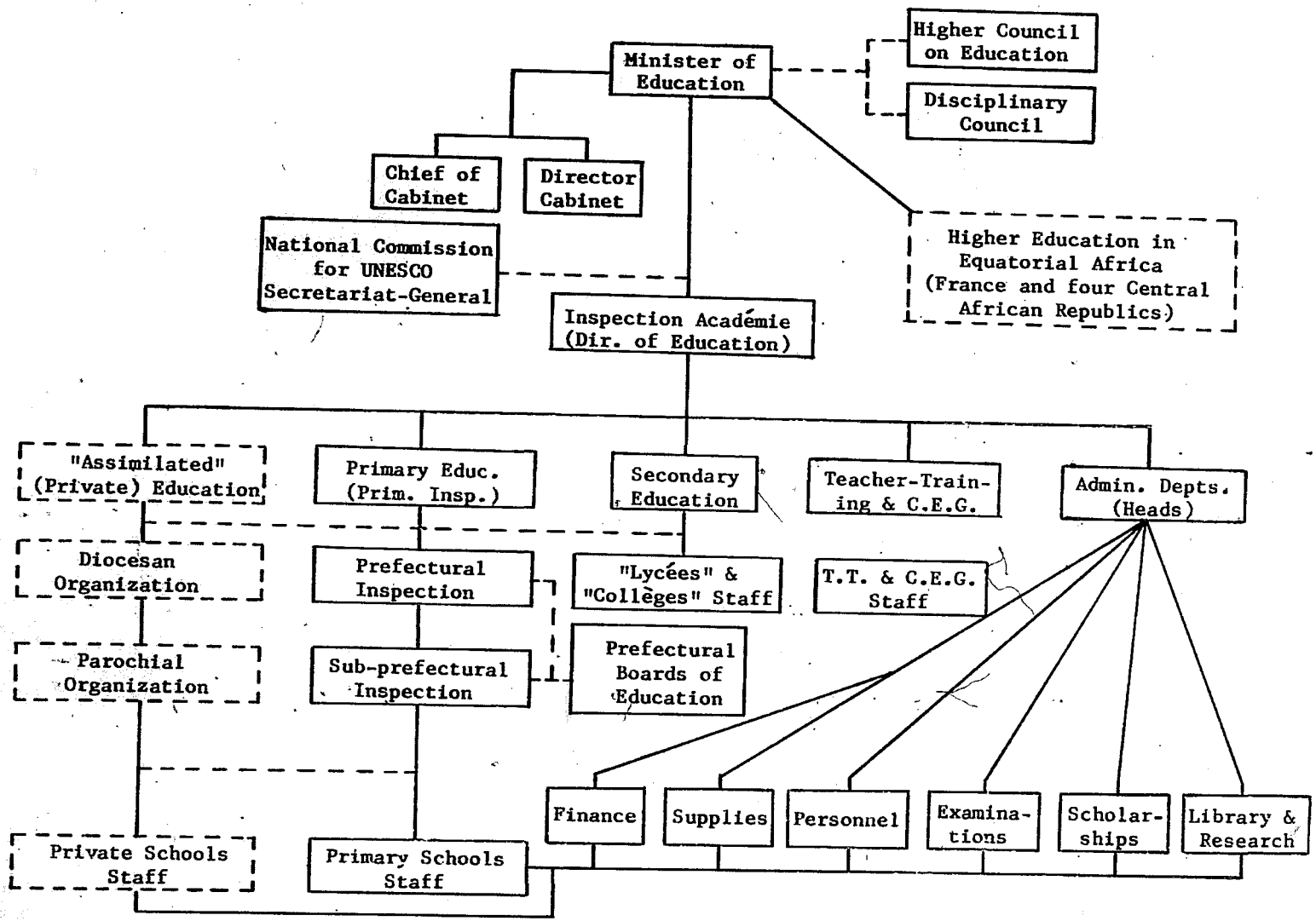
c. Including 178 girls.

d. (---) No data reported.

Sources: For the years 1935, 1939, and 1943, Journal Officiel de l'AEF, December, 1943 (Brazzaville: Imprimerie Officielle). For 1946, Enseignement Outre-Mer, Bulletin de l'Inspection de l'Enseignement et de la Jeunesse du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Décembre, 1950 (Paris: Société Parisienne d'Imprimerie).

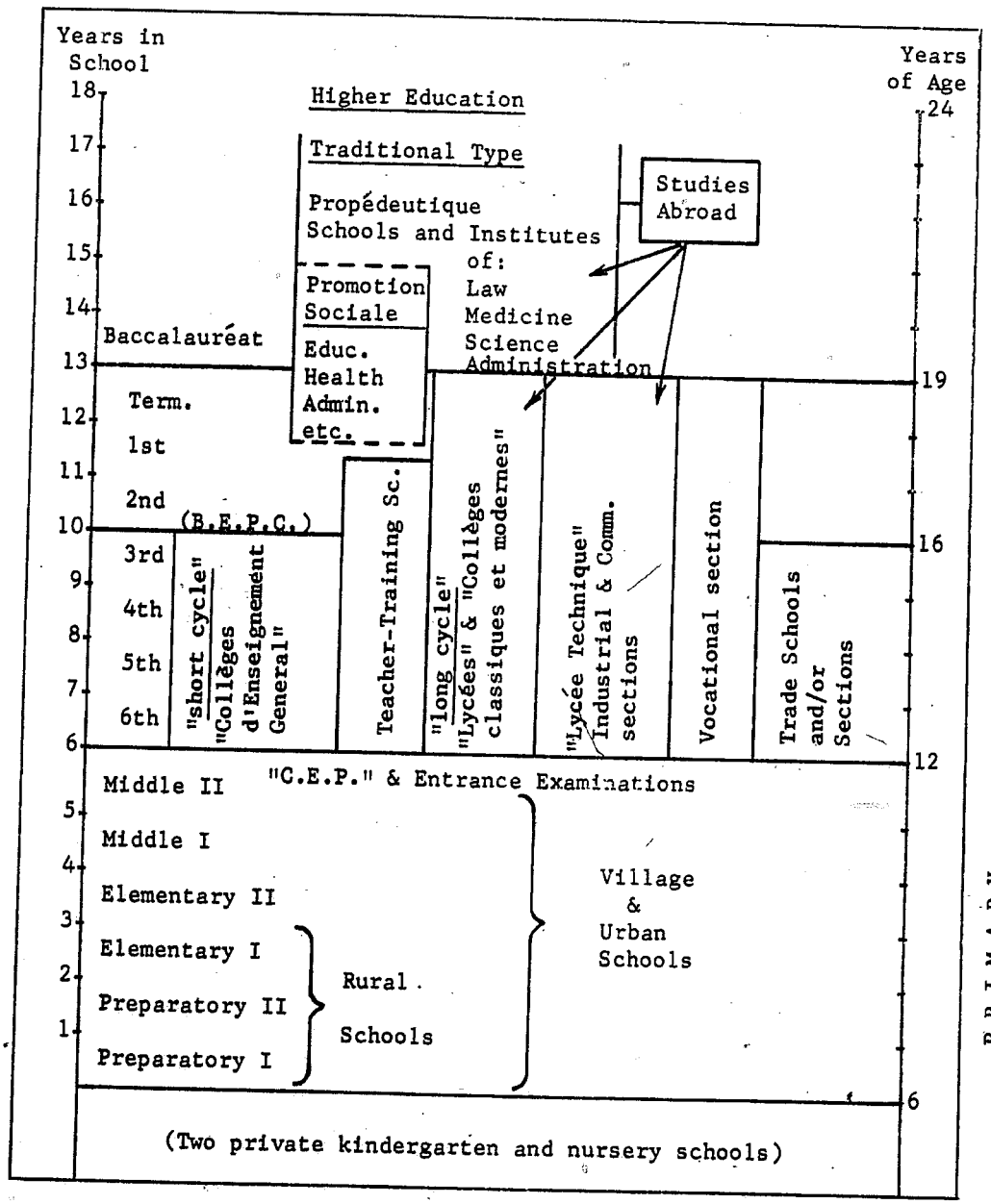
APPENDIX IV

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)--ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION



APPENDIX V

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)--DIAGRAM OF SCHOOL SYSTEM



APPENDIX VI

TEST FORMS

TESTS I & II — FICHE INDIVIDUELLE

NOM de l'ECOLE _____

ADRESSE _____ / _____ / _____
(V) (S.-P.) (Préf.)

CLASSE _____ Pensionnaire _____ Externe _____

NOM et PRENOMS de l'ELEVE: _____

GARCON: _____ FILLE: _____ ANNEE de la naissance: _____

LIEU de la naissance _____ / _____ / _____
(V) (S.-P.) (Préf.)

NOM et PRENOMS du PERE _____

PROFESSION du PERE _____

NOM et PRENOMS du TUTEUR _____
(si autre que le père)

PROFESSION du TUTEUR _____

DEGRE de PARENTE du TUTEUR _____
(Ex. oncle pat. ou mat., frère, etc.)

NOMBRE d'ANNEES de SCOLARITE _____

ETHNIE (race): _____

RELIGION: Lassyste____ Matsouaniste____ Musulmane____ Protestante____
Témoins de Jéh____ Salutiste____ Kibanguiste____ Catholique____
Non baptisé (e)____

LANGUES PARLEES: Familiale (de race)_____.

Véhiculaires: Lingala____ Monokotuba____ Sango____ Arabe____ Pidgin____

Autres langues africaines _____

Langue parlée le plus souvent en dehors de l'école: _____

Date: _____

TEST I-A

INTERETS PROFESSIONNELS

1. Indiquez trois (3) métiers ou professions que vous désireriez exercer une fois vos études terminées.
(Ecrivez en premier lieu celui qui vous intéresse le plus, en second lieu, le second, etc.)

1er choix _____

2ème choix _____

3ème choix _____

2. En un court paragraphe, motivez votre premier choix.
(Exemple: "je voudrais être _____ parce que. . . .").

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. A quel endroit (nom de la ville, du village ou du district rural) voudriez-vous exercer votre métier?

_____

4. Quelles études ou quel apprentissage comptez-vous entreprendre afin de réaliser vos ambitions professionnelles?

_____

_____

_____

TEST II

EQUIPES DE TRAVAIL

1. Ecrivez les noms et prénoms (dans l'ordre indiqué ci-dessous) de trois (3) élèves de votre classe avec lesquels (les) vous aimeriez travailler en équipe.

   1er choix _____

   2ème choix _____

   3ème choix _____

2. Ecrivez le nom du chef de cette équipe; si c'est vous, indiquez-le.

   Chef d'équipe: _____

3. Par quels élèves croyez-vous avoir été choisi?

   _____

4. Quels sont les élèves dont vous ne voudriez pas dans votre équipe de travail?

   _____

5. Nommez l'élève (1 seulement) avec lequel (ou laquelle) il vous plairait le plus de faire une promenade?

   _____

ALTERNATIVE TEST I-B

INTERETS PROFESSIONNELS

1. Dans la liste ci-dessous, barrez les métiers qui ne vous intéressent pas ou qui vous intéressent peu, jusqu'à ce qu'il n'en reste que cinq au maximum.

Militaire	Instituteur (trice)
Téléphoniste	Electricien
Forgeron	Dessinateur (trice)
Empl. de bureau	Plombier
Opérateur-radio	Prêtre (pasteur)
Empl. de boutique	Ménagère
Planton	Empl. de voirie
Infirmier (ère)	Chauffeur
Dactylographe	Religieux (euse)
Médecin	Ingénieur
Gérant (e) de boutique	Maçon
Agent de police	Coiffeur (euse)
Tailleur (couturière)	Menuisier
Avocat	Pêcheur
Peintre	Cordonnier
Mécanicien	Artisan
Comptable	
Sténo-dactylo	Empl. P.T.T.
Cultivateur	Mécanicien-CFCO
Aviateur	Maraîcher (ère)

2. Placez dans l'ordre de préférence les 5 métiers choisis.

1)_____ 4)_____

2)_____ 5)_____

3)_____

3. En un court paragraphe, motivez votre premier choix.
(Exemple: "je voudrais être _____ parce que . . .")

_____

4. A quel endroit (nom de la ville, du village ou du district rural) voudriez-vous exercer votre métier (de 1er choix)?

_____

5. Quels études ou quel apprentissage comptez-vous entreprendre afin de réaliser vos ambitions professionnelles?

_____

Date_____

TEST III

FICHE INDIVIDUELLE

NOM de l'ECOLE _____

ADRESSE _____

LIEU de naissance _____ / _____ / _____
(V) (S.-P.) (Préf.)

ETHNIE _____ RELIGION _____

SEXE _____ AGE _____

CELIBATAIRE____ MARIE (E)____ DIVORCE (E)____ VEUF (VE)____

MARIAGE coutumier____ officiel____ religieux____

PROFESSION du PERE _____

PROFESSION du TUTEUR _____

ECOLES FREQUENTEES:

(nom)	(O ou P)	(Degré du cours)	(Diplôme obtenu)

METIER EXERCE (s'il y a lieu) _____ (nom) _____ (années d'exp.)

METIER auquel vous vous préparez _____

LANGUE PARLÉE le plus souvent en dehors de l'école: _____

TEST III

A - EXERCICE DE COMPLEMENT DE PHRASES

Veuillez compléter les phrases suivantes à l'aide de un ou plusieurs mots qui vous viendront immédiatement à l'esprit.

1. J'aurais désiré que mes parents _____
2. Tous les hommes sont nés _____
3. Les artistes sont _____
4. L'honnêté est _____
5. N'importe qui peut aspirer aux plus hauts postes si _____
6. Les étrangers devraient _____
7. Les intellectuels devraient _____
8. Si j'avais un fils, je voudrais qu'il _____
9. Les gens qui réussissent le mieux _____
10. Les riches devraient _____
11. Un enfant bien élevé doit _____
12. Chacun devrait désirer _____
13. Ce qui est fait est fait, _____
14. J'aurais voulu avoir _____
15. De bons parents doivent _____
16. Ce n'est pas l'origine d'une personne qui compte, c'est _____
17. L'individu est _____
18. Les féticheurs sont _____
19. La nudité est _____
20. Pour réussir, il faut _____
21. Les bars et les dancings sont _____
22. Le niveau de vie des classes populaires devrait _____

23. Les ancêtres sont _____

24. Dans une famille, on doit _____

25. Le temps, c'est _____

26. Les gens bien connus sont _____

27. Inutile de se plaindre _____

28. Les professeurs devraient _____

TEST III-B

Décrivez, en un court paragraphe, votre conception:[1]

1. Du parfait jeune homme congolais

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. De la parfaite jeune femme congolaise

_____

_____

_____

_____

1. L'âge n'est pas spécifié, mais on insiste que ceci doit représenter votre conception.

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