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AN EMERGING PROBLEM FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNERS IN  
ZAIRE: UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE EDUCATED  
CAUSES AND TENTATIVE SOLUTION

A Dissertation Presented

by

RADJA S. BIN SAIDI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

June 1978

Education

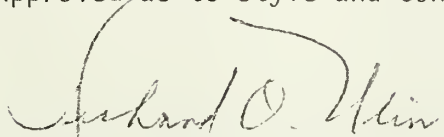
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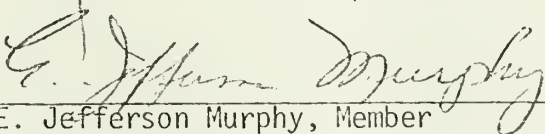
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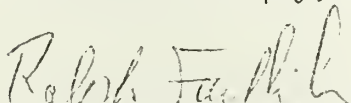
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## ABSTRACT

### An Emerging Problem for Educational Planners in Zaire: Unemployment Among the Educated Causes and Tentative Solutions

(August 1978)

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Directed by: Dr. Richard O. Ulin

This study is both a critique of the policies of educational reform put into effect in Zaire since independence as well as a definitive statement of how the objectives of social, political, and economic development as defined by Zaire's leaders can be implemented through a coherent national education policy. The Zairean pre-colonial philosophy of education, together with the Belgian colonial educational assumptions, objectives, and policies are discussed in order to put the present educational issues in Zaire in their proper historical and cultural context.

In its conclusion, the study describes the importance of a political culture or national ideology as the proper foundation and template for the development of cultural, political, and economic objectives in the schools. The democratization of education, when it is not based on a solid Zairean ideology, is doomed to fail to meet the objectives of authentic national development.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

One hundred years ago, Nietzsche wrote: "The day will come when the only political problems will be those of education" (cf. Menach 1976:4). Today around the world, discussions about education quickly lead to several apparently insoluble dilemmas: should priority be given to freedom or to authority, the future or the maintenance of tradition, occupational skills or the humanities? But particularly in developing nations, education poses immense political, economic and social problems, for it has to cope with a multitude of new demands: the people's access to new and old cultures, national independence, the acceleration of history, industrialization, urbanization, modernization and the spread of the mass media.

Every African country is facing these new education demands. Each is experiencing difficulties in finding an ideological framework for an educational philosophy which will define the aims, content and methods of national educational systems, and which will determine appropriate responses to the crucial questions of national identity, and political and economic development. These difficulties were created, in large measure, with the interruption of African societies by the coming of the colonial powers.

In response to these present problems, there are many African intellectuals and leaders who argue that socio-political, economic, and educational planning has to return to pre-colonial roots for the answers.

There are those who argue that we must reunite the everyday experience of life to present national aspirations. Further, others see the colonial period as a minor incident in the normal evolution of African society. And then, there are still others who plead that we have to build from what we have. The ideological controversy has divided African intellectuals and leaders in two camps: modernists and traditionalists. These differences can be summarized as follows:

The Modernists are those who advocate departure from traditional culture in exchange for western models, including even the minor details of western fashion along with such major features as science, technology, or religion.

The Traditionalists themselves can be divided into sub-groups: Conservatives, Utopian Reactionaries and Defensive Modernists:

The Conservatives are those who desire to preserve their cultures as they were before the colonial period. Many African traditional chiefs belong to this group.

Utopian Reactionaries are those who want to depart from the current way of national life and that of the recent past to seek refuge in a romantic image of a more distant African past: this group is composed of many African Humanists, and to some extent, the apostles of Negritude.

Defensive Modernists are those who want to preserve as much as possible of the traditional way of the African past but with some forms of modernization. The advocates of



of African Socialism (e.g. Nyerere) or of Authenticity (e.g. Mobutu Sese Seko) belong to this group.

The educational philosophy that actually emerged in the newly independent African states achieved an uneasy balance between modern and traditional. When we look at the pre-colonial African educational systems, we will find, as in our case study in Zaire, that African leaders and officials gave little thought to the conceptualization and organization of a distinctively African educational system. Politically, the leaders of these states see education, in very general terms, as a good thing. All African states, therefore spend a large proportion of their national budgets on it. The unarticulated purpose of education in these nations has been to turn the African child into a European adult. That this is the case is illustrated by widespread expectations of education as the principal means to enable Africans to emulate the material achievements of Europe and America. According to S. I. Edokpayi, the African educational systems never have been conceived of in terms of economic development, but rather in terms of advancing the African to the standards of European culture and sophistication (1971).

To construct an educational philosophy that is at once authentically African and at the same time relevant to national development, the African leader must ask himself the following questions: What kind of education? For what kind of peoples? For what purpose? To answer these questions, African educational policy makers and planners have had to look back to the pre-colonial traditional philosophy of education

and then to the colonial educational policies and experiences. These ideological roots of an educational philosophy need to be harmonized with the present social, political and economic aspirations. N'Krumah once said that a new African ideology can be based upon the cultural heritage as a source of modern ideas for Africa today; but he also stated that the influence of Western thought in Africa is more apparent than real (1964:78).

#### A. African Traditional Educational Philosophy

First of all, let us see how education has been viewed in traditional African societies. Here, the human being is destined to a communal life, not rugged individualism. The complete, educated man in these societies, is the one who has acquired the savoir-vivre, sociability, and self-awareness in relation to himself, to his fellows, to his family, and to his community; as well as a self-control of his emotions and a steadfastness of character. This education cultivates an individual sense of responsibility for the welfare of the whole community; the individual comes to perceive himself as a mirror of the community. And this education is also conceived as a gradual process aimed at transforming the child's personality by modifying his successive environments. The child's education is accomplished by imitating adult life and by being placed in a learning apprenticeship situation. The efficiency of traditional education is due to the total integration of education with everyday social life. Traditional education is not an entity separated

from community as it is with the formal education system inherited from the colonial period. With traditional education there are not what we call today: "drop-outs" or "school leavers" or "educated unemployed." There is no gap between educational objectives, the individual life experience, and community self-reliance in the economic sphere.

This traditional perspective as a philosophy is widely shared by a number of African statesmen and educators; let us examine how they have articulated the place and purpose of education in these traditional societies.

For Abdou Moumouni, the traditional African education, in the global sense of that word, was never separated from instruction, understood in the precise limited sense. These different aspects in any attempt to "mold" human beings are constantly and intimately connected, to the point where it is often necessary to resort to abstractions to separate the factors relating to either education or instruction. Traditional African education embraces character-building, the development of physical aptitudes, the acquisition of those moral qualities felt to be an integral part of adulthood, and acquisition of the knowledge and techniques needed by all people if they are to take an active part in social life (Moumouni 1968:28,29).

In pre-colonial Africa, traditional education could be described as a preparation for life. Communities provided practical, spiritual, intellectual, and job-oriented education according to their particular social needs. As Kajubi describes it, "traditional education was

directly relevant to the needs and problems of the tribal society. It produced emotionally stable and economically productive members of the community and above all, it was compulsory and free for all the children. There was no shortage of teachers, for every adult was a teacher to a lesser or greater degree. Every old man or woman was a reference library and resource center. Nature itself was the playground" (Kajubi 1970:80).

This traditional African philosophy of education is not very different from that advocated by some contemporary Western philosophers of education, such as Decroly, Frenet, Montessori, Dewey, Illich and others. Professor E. B. Castle expresses his appreciation of traditional African education in these words:

African tribal education was essentially a preparation for life in the sense that school education today is no such preparation. This training took the form of the type of instruction we associate with apprenticeship, working with and watching the skilled elder. It was an exercise in participation in which the child's whole personality was engaged. It included not only simple manual skills but the inculcation of communal values and engagement in emotionally satisfying ritual activity, song, music, rhythm and dance.... The old education is not viable today.... The content of education has changed and must change.... But the concept of the purpose of education need not change. African tradition requires that teaching should no longer be based exclusively on the written and spoken words; this view is supported by the best modern educational opinion; but many African teachers, and particularly students, demand that it should be so based, and they view with suspicion attempts to lift them out of the verbal rut. Thus while African tradition points to a most desirable type of education, Africans seem to be demanding a poor type of education turning their eyes from their wisdom in an understanding of what constitutes the useful (Castle 1966:199-201).

The same views are expressed by Dr. M'Bow, UNESCO General Secretary, when he insisted upon the adaptation of school in Africa to the African social, political and economic conditions; because in traditional



societies the acquisition of knowledge and skills were not separated from the community's life and this is the kind of educational philosophy which can be put in practice (M'Bow 1974).

### B. The Colonial Educational Philosophy

European colonial authorities replaced this useful and practical philosophy of education by introducing the old European school system with its elitist and selective character which discriminated against children from weak socio-economic groups, which neglected the rural, agricultural and other indigenous traditional manual activities and rationales, and which was European value-laden and exclusively oriented towards urban, civil service, commercial, and Christian activities.

M. Brevie, the former French General Governor in West Africa summarized and outlined the purpose of the colonial education in Africa in the following words:

The duties of colonialism and political and economic necessities have imposed a twofold task on our work in education:

- a. On the one hand, we must train indigenous cadres to become our auxiliaries in every area, and assure ourselves a meticulously chosen elite. We must also educate the masses, to bring them closer to us and to transform their way of living; from the political standpoint we must make known to the people our intention of bringing them into French way of life...
- b. On the other hand, from the economic viewpoint we must train the producers and consumers of tomorrow (Brevie 1933).

In other words education had the purpose to assimilate the African to French culture and to train the producers and consumers of French products.

But this imposed educational system, whatever its strengths and weaknesses, was taken over by some, if not all, independent African states in one way or another as a principal instrument for nation-building and national development. It was regarded with enthusiasm by the masses all over Africa, who considered education to be the main road for their children on the way up, or, in cases of rural poverty, on the way out to the cities. Regardless of the selective character of this colonial educational system, it did not reduce the demand; on the contrary, nearly everyone wanted to have a chance at it.

For most African elites, there was an extraordinarily strong commitment to western education; after all, their own positions of power were predicated on how well they approximated the European models of sophistication, taste, and decorum.

### C. African Critiques of Colonial Education

But for some other African leaders and intellectuals, the colonial school system did nothing to serve or strengthen African traditional political, social, and economic values and realities; rather, it contradicted and subverted them. It was seen to have produced cultural misfits, men without roots or genuine traditional values. It has succeeded only in divorcing the elites from contact with their indigenous parents, brothers and sisters; as a result, the elite class could find identity neither in the traditional culture colonialism had disparaged and repressed, nor in a total acceptance of foreign values.

As Babs Fafunwa put it in defining this colonial school system which continues to exist in spite of independence, "the present school system tends to alienate the child from his cultural environment. The system educates the child out of his environment. Traditional education based on a European pattern has contributed to the lack of social and economic progress in Africa, for it has to some extent disorganized and disoriented African societies and divorced the educational needs of Africa from their economic imperatives" (Fafunwa 1967:47). Along with Fafunwa, other African leaders and intellectuals, such as Leopold Sedar Senghor of Sénégal, Sekou Touré of Guinea, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire to mention only a few, have expressed their rejection of the colonial school systems, and all are advocates for a change in the philosophy and aims of this colonial education legacy.

In defining the philosophy of "Négritude," President Sedar Senghor of Sénégal described his rejection of the colonial school heritage in these words:

Négritude was a reaction against the French colonial policy of assimilation... We have been taught, by the French masters at Lycée, that we (Africans) had no civilization... The early hope of salvation we held out for was to let ourselves be assimilated ... The French forced us to seek the essence of Négritude when they forced their policy of assimilation and thus deepened our despair... Early on we could assimilate mathematics or French language, but we could never strip off our black skins nor root out our black souls" (Senghor 1961).

And for Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, he viewed it as "an education which had a different purpose. It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was

motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. In these countries, interest in education therefore stemmed from the need for local clerks and junior officials; on top of that various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education.... This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong especially in the economic field..." (Nyerere 1968:263).

For Sekou Touré, the President of the Republic of Guinea, "that education was designed to assimilate us (Africans), to depersonalize us, to westernize us, to present our civilization, our culture, our sociological and philosophical conceptions, even our humanism as the expression of a savage and almost unconscious primitivism, in order to create a number of complexes in us which would drive us to become more French than the French themselves..." (Touré 1959).

We can summarize by saying that today's African elites are victims of an upbringing which makes them only superficially modern and only superficially African because the colonial school implanted within them the notion of an individual-centered utilitarianism which was contrary to the African pre-colonial ways of life. With this kind of education, artificial Africans, without root and without an African future, emerge. And with this kind of education there can be no national development for self-reliance but only the



development of underdevelopment.

Fanon views the psychological difficulties that confront the native educated elite in these words:

in the first phase, the native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. This is the period of unqualified assimilation. In the second phase, we find the same native disturbed; he decides to remember what he is. But since the native is no longer a part of his people, he is content to recall their life only. Past happenings of his childhood will be brought out of the depth of his memory; old legends will be reinterpreted in the light of a borrowed (Euro-American) estheticism and of a conception of the world which was discovered under other skies. Finally, in the third phase, which is called the fighting phase, the native after having tried to lose himself in the people will shake the people and will be the awakener of the people" (Fanon 1968:22).

Political independence won, African leaders and intellectuals began a search for African freedom, defined by Paulo Freire as:

...that acquired, not an ideal located outside of man nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion. To surmount the situation of oppression men must critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity..." (Freire 1968:31-32).

To be a fuller "man" the African must, because of his flirtation with the culture of the colonizer, try to solve the central problem which Paulo Freire raises: how can the oppressed, as a divided, unauthentic being, participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation? Only as they discover themselves to be "hosts" of the oppressor can they contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy. As long as they live in the duality in which 'to be' is 'to be like' the

oppressor, this contribution is impossible" (Freire 1968:33).

To be liberated and independent, the African must count first of all on his own forces and abilities. In referring to education as a liberation of the African man, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere once said "a truly liberated nation is a self-reliant nation, one which has freed itself from economic and cultural dependence on other nations, and is therefore able to develop itself in free and equal co-operation with other members of the world community" (1974). But present African school systems, instead of contributing to national development for self-reliance, are contributing to Africa's dependence upon foreign investors and, in a word, they are contributing to the development of underdevelopment.

In the aftermath of the colonial period, Africa is left with two realistic choices for the social foundations of its educational systems: either renounce altogether the relevance of the aspirations cultivated by the European colonizers, or, espouse political, social, and economic changes within the spirit of its past traditions.

Because of colonialism, contemporary African societies are caught between the conditions of day-to-day African life and the European ideals. Africa must learn to deal and live with both of these. As Nehru of India once said: "nothing is more advantageous and more creditble than a rich heritage, but nothing is more dangerous for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot progress if it merely

imitates its ancestors, what builds a nation is creative, inventive and vital activity" (Jyaswal 1965:23).

Africa's new conditions, a number of writers assert, must be based on various ideological syntheses between the "best" of African spiritualism and western materialism. Such syntheses bear many labels, including Pan-Africanism, African Socialism, African Humanism, African Authenticity, Ujamaa, African Emancipation, Négritude and others. Such modern African ideologies have, in a number of African states, produced philosophical foundations of emergent educational systems. The transformation of the post-colonial school systems then, is based on this philosophical basis.

This study is not only a review of this emergent African educational philosophy, but also a critical appraisal of past valiant efforts, as well as a prescription for operationalizing this philosophy on a national basis. As UNESCO's Conference on secondary school curriculum in Africa, held in Tananarive in 1962 expressed it:

The attainment of independence in Africa now makes it necessary to reexamine a type of education which in many African countries was formerly designed to 'assimilate' young Africans (to the culture of the metropolitan countries); curriculum reform is thus a corollary of political emancipation, cultural emancipation being the means by which the 'African Personality' can be asserted. This calls for the African cultural heritage and the transformation of that culture to African adolescents in secondary schools" (Fafunwa 1967:47).

Aside from the psychological problems attendant upon the disjunction of African traditions and European education, the social and economic costs of maintaining this cleavage during the late colonial and early independent period were and are extraordinarily high, producing among other

things, high unemployment for school drop-outs and as we will show for Zaire, inadequate employment for school graduates and inappropriate education for the masses.

#### D. Purpose of Study

Given this general context of debate and struggle between African and European traditions in defining African educational objectives, our study focuses on the problem of unemployment among graduates and the educated drop-outs and school leavers in Zaire by analyzing the role of school in national development, and progress for self-reliance, viewed through the "Zairianization" of the school education systems.

We shall look at the impact of the "Zairianization" policy on the problem of unemployment among both drop-outs and graduates. This study does not question the policy of Zairianization of schools, but seeks to evaluate some of the issues that arise in the actual implementation of the policy. While the policy of Zairianization has been clearly formulated, its operationalization in educational planning has just begun. The inherited educational systems in Zaire today were designed for an alien society and culture. The essential mission of these systems was to safeguard the interests of the colonial power. It is, therefore, appropriate for Zaire to react against the centralization, authoritarianism, and verbal rigidity of these educational systems and to establish the truly indigenous education system that the policy of "Zairianization" promises. President Mobutu Sese Seko, in referring to the need to



revolutionize, rather than simply to reform, the system of education, argued that the colonial system of education is irrelevant to contemporary cultural, social, political, financial, and economic aspirations of Zaire. That is the reason Zaire must have its own authentic school education system based upon its own present and future realities and aspirations (1973c).

#### E. Significance of Study

Immediately after Zaire's political independence in 1960, school education was given an important role to play in the achievement and the consolidation of the developmental goals of nation-building, and economic and social growth. As a result, ever increasing financial resources were put at the disposal of the educational ministry, and enrollments exploded at all levels. The first government of the independent Zaire tried to stimulate the social demand for school education for the following reasons:

(a) to prevent shortages of qualified Zairean manpower, so as to promote national political stability, national independence, and economic development;

(b) to fulfill promises made by nationalist leaders during the period of struggle for national independence and unity, to expand the availability of education to more of the people, and to make it less elitist in character.

This social demand, which the government stimulated, has, however,

created new problems of its own. Today we see that the massive expansion of school education since independence has largely eliminated the shortage of educated manpower; thus, this is no longer the same national problem it was in 1960. On the contrary, unemployment among graduates and drop-outs is a clear indication of a surplus of educated manpower, due in large measure in this author's view, to the wrong kind of education and poor educational planning.

As part of the total body of the unemployed, those who are school educated deserve special attention for two reasons. In the first place, the school educated sector of the population has a special potential contribution to make in the development of Zaire. To have this segment of the population remaining idle is a tremendous economic and social loss for Zaire. It also represents a potential source of political alienation from the national government, as youths find their dreams of personal success unfulfilled. Thus the quality of education must be upgraded and better adapted to Zaire's realities and aspirations.

In the second place, the government, and therefore the society, has already invested large amounts of already scarce resources in education, and the unemployment of those who are products of this education puts into doubt the wisdom of this investment. As President Mobutu Sese Seko reiterated in one of his speeches, for this educated population to justify continued support for national education, it must participate and contribute to the national development of Zaire (Mobutu Sese Seko 1973a:31). Thus, unlike the European model, where education at least

implicitly operates to facilitate the maintenance of elite power, Zaire has embarked on a path where education is to serve national, not elite, interests.

#### F. Thesis Overview

Chapter Two covers a brief history of the current Republic of Zaire from the Congo Independent State, the Belgian Congo, the Republic of Congo, and on to the Republic of Zaire. The third chapter deals with the Belgian colonial policies and their implications for education in contemporary Zaire. The fourth chapter examines the post-independence school educational objectives, policies, organization and their manifold consequences. The fifth and final chapter focuses on the proper role of school in Zaire's national development.

## C H A P T E R I I

### ZAIRE IN BRIEF

#### A. Historical Setting

Until the latter half of the fifteenth century, Zaire was part of the terra incognita to the European, as indeed Europe was to Africans. According to Western historians, it is likely that from 1000 BC on, groups of peoples speaking proto-Bantu languages began to arrive from the west and northwest part of Africa, probably from the region that is now Cameroun and eastern Nigeria, and they settled in the western and southwestern areas of what is now the Republic of Zaire (Oliver 1966; Murphy 1974:360). By the time the first Europeans arrived, Zaire's inhabitants were mostly of Bantu origin but with some small groups speaking Sudanese and Nilotic languages in the northeast and east.

In 1485, the Portuguese navigator, Diego Cao, reached the estuary of the Congo River and named it Zaire (from the original Ba-Kongo ethnic name Nzadi). Then, in 1487, he sailed up river to the first cataracts of the Zaire River in Matadi's region, and while there, he established contact with the people of the Kingdom of the Kongo who lived along the river. From this association the river was soon renamed the Congo River on the European map. The first official contact with the Kingdom of the Kongo was marked by establishment of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Kongo and several European nations (cf. Rotberg 1965:75ff).

By the 1840's, the European powers recognized their commercial

interests in this part of Africa and began to make specific territorial claims. In the case of Zaire it was the Scottish missionary, David Livingstone, who engaged in a series of explorations from 1840 to 1873 that brought Zaire to the attention of the western world.

#### B. The Congo of King Leopold II

During his travels inside Zaire, from east to west, Livingstone disappeared and was not heard from for two years (1869-1871). Henry Morton Stanley, a journalist, was commissioned by the New York Herald to look for him. Stanley's search for Livingstone brought Zaire to the attention of Belgium's King Leopold II. Between 1873 and 1885, explorer Stanley, now working for the Belgian king, laid the foundation for what was then called the Congo Independent State, which is today called the Republic of Zaire.

The Congo Independent State was formally recognized by the Berlin Conference of European great powers in 1885, and the Belgian king, Leopold II, was recognized as its rightful sovereign. For the next 23 years, King Leopold controlled the destiny of the Congo Independent State as if it were his personal plantation. Then, under the force of mounting criticism of his indigenous policies in the Congo Independent State, the monarch willed the territory to Belgium.

The most damaging criticism was the report of Roger Casement, a British consul in Africa, who travelled extensively in the Congo in 1903 and produced evidence that agents of Leopold II forced the Africans to



work be terroristic methods, which included imprisonment, mutilation, corporal punishment, and frequently, death.

Casement concluded that this Domaine Privé of King Leopold II had been a veritable hell on earth. Native soldiers were used to punish villagers who failed to produce their agricultural quota. To prove that punishment had indeed been inflicted, these same soldiers produced hands, ears, and other body parts as evidence that they had carried out their orders. Further, women were held hostage to force their husbands to work for the state. Frequently, famine resulted when Africans were forced to neglect cultivating their fields to work in the rubber forests (Cook 1973:60).

### C. The Belgian Congo

From 1908, when the Belgian Parliament assumed direct control over what had been King Leopold's Congo Independent State, until 1960, when independence was gained, the Belgian Congo was the object of extensive and paternalistic colonial development. The policies and practices of this period are detailed in Chapter III.

### D. The Independent Republic of Zaire

1. Geographical Setting. The Republic of Zaire, which gained its political independence from Belgium on June 30, 1960, is situated in the heart of Central Africa and covers an area of 914,550 square miles (2,345,000 square kilometers). It is bounded on the north by the Central

African Empire and the Republic of Sudan; on the south by the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia; on the west by the Atlantic Ocean and the People's Republic of Congo; and on the east by the Republic of Uganda, the Republic of Ruanda, the Republic of Burundi and the United Republic of Tanzania.

In size and situation, Zaire is unique in Africa. It is the continent's second largest country, lying at the center, and it contains most of the same kinds of ecological habitats found elsewhere in black Africa. Because of its geographical position, Zaire can be either a bridge or a barrier between the different regions of the African continent, and its stability and political orientation are therefore of crucial importance to Africa.

2. Socio-Political-Setting. Relative to its vast land area, Zaire has a rather small population. According to the July 31, 1970 census, the population of the Republic of Zaire officially was 21,637,876, among whom were 932,042 foreign nationals (State Ministry of the Interior 1970).

Zaire has one of the most complex ethnic structures in Africa. Historically no ethnic grouping dominated Zaire as a whole, but each was powerful at local or regional levels. The most important of these ethnic groups were Ba-Mongo, the Ba-Luba, the Ba-Kongo, the Ba-Lunda, each of which played a significant role in pre-colonial Zaire.

3. Languages. There are four important national languages spoken in the Republic of Zaire: Swahili, Kikongo, Tshiluba, and Lingala. In addition

to these four national languages, French is used as the official language for administration as well as for commercial, diplomatic, and educational communication with other countries.

4. Religion. The government of the Republic of Zaire takes no position as far as religion is concerned. The three main denominations represented in Zaire are: Catholic, Protestant and Kimbanguist. Of these, the Catholic adherents are in majority, followed by the Protestant and then Kimbanguist Christians; there are also a few Muslims. But the majority of the Zairean population does not adhere to any of these three forms of Christianity; instead they have maintained their commitment to various local or ethnic religions.

5. Government. Zaire is a unified, socialist, democratic state. It has a parliamentary regime with a unicameral legislature, and one national political party, the Popular Revolutionary Movement. The national political party is formally a part of the national administrative establishment of Zaire; altogether these parts include:

(a) the national party,

(b) the President of the Republic, who is at the same time the President of the party, and the commander-in-chief of the national armed forces,

(c) the National Executive Council (government) headed by a Prime Minister,

(d) the National Assembly,

- (e) the Constitutional Court and
- (f) the Law Courts and Tribunals.

For administration, Zaire is divided into eight regions (provinces or states), together with an autonomous capital city of Kinshasa. The eight regions are: Bandundu, Equator, Eastern Kasai, Western Kasai, Kivu, Shaba (formerly Katanga), Lower Zaire and Upper Zaire (formerly Oriental). The regions are divided into sub-regions (districts), the sub-regions into zones (counties) and finally zones into local communities or villages. The important administrative cities are Kinshasa, Lubumashi, Kisangani, Kananga, Bukavu, Mbuji Mayi, Likasi, and Matadi.

6. Economy. Potentially, Zaire is one of the wealthiest nations in Africa, and the variety of its natural resources is equalled only in Algeria and South Africa. Zaire has extensive mineral deposits, mainly in the south; these make Zaire one of the most important sources of minerals for the western world. There is a highly developed mineral extraction and metallurgy sector based primarily on copper, cobalt, industrial diamonds, zinc, and tin.

In 1953, Zaire was the leading African producer of cobalt (86 per cent of the total African production), diamonds (64 per cent), tin (60 per cent), tungsten and zinc minerals (53 per cent), silver (51 per cent); the second largest producer of copper (34 per cent) after Zambia and an important producer of gold. The raw mineral products were, as a rule, refined within the country and this favored the creation of secondary industries, which doubled their production between 1950 and 1953. Another

indication of the high degree of industrialization is given by the production of electric energy (in 1956: 1,743 million kilowatt hours), the highest in Africa after the Union of South Africa (George Brausch 1961:1).

Zaire has many areas, particularly in the northern and eastern regions, which are suitable for the growing of valuable cash crops such as palm oil, cotton, coffee, corn, rubber, tea, and cocoa, both for domestic and export markets. Yet production has declined since independence, mostly due to the falling commodity prices paid for Zairean and fiber on international markets.



## C H A P T E R I I I

### AN OVERVIEW OF BELGIAN COLONIAL POLICY AND COLONIAL EDUCATION

#### A. Belgian Colonial Policy

It is obvious from the literature and personal experiences that Belgian colonial policy had no precise definition of objectives. A former Belgian Minister of Colonies once remarked, "Belgians are reluctant to define their colonial policy but they are proud of their first realizations and sure of the righteousness of their intentions" (Hailey 1957: 148). When King Leopold II began ruling the territory of the Congo Independent State as his personal plantation in 1908, the policy he adopted for the territory was based entirely upon the exploitation of the territory's natural and human resources, rather than upon any program for the preparation of the local population for their eventual political and economic independence. Even by 1908, when, as a result of international pressure, the sovereignty over the Congo was transferred to the Belgian state, the colonial charter which was enacted for the administration of the Congo under metropolitan control made no reference to the territory's political future.

According to Lord Hailey, the chief concern of Belgium with regard to the Congo was to develop the great mineral wealth of the territory and to improve the standards of life of its inhabitants, and this was to remain the prevailing characteristic of Belgian policy until the end of the Second World War (1957:219). The Belgian objective was identical to

that of King Leopold, i.e. exploitation of the Congo's riches. Robert Godding, once a minister in the exiled wartime Belgian government, exemplified the nature of colonial policy in the Congo when he said that "during the war, the Congo was able to finance all the expenditures of the Belgian government in London, including the diplomatic service as well as the cost of our forces in Europe and Africa, a total of some 40 million shillings. In fact, thanks to the resources of the Congo, the Belgian government in London had not to borrow a shilling or a dollar, and the Belgian gold reserve could be left intact. In one word the Belgian colonial policy during this period was based upon the exploitation of the Congolese and their mineral resources" (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1947:63).

The Belgian colonial policy from 1908 to 1947 was not affected by the experience of the British and French who had more experience in the colonial field. The Belgian programs were based upon an assumption that a consideration of political goals for the indigenous population could be postponed until the economic and social aims were achieved. The policy that evolved was an undiluted paternalistic one. Based upon various condescending attitudes, the Belgian colonial educational policy envisioned the formation of servants and auxiliaries to further the colonial mission of exploitation.

#### B. The Philosophy of Belgian Colonial Education

Many African scholars and intellectuals have accepted as fact the

assertion that western colonial education was the most important benefit that Africans derived from the colonial occupation, particularly because it was instrumental in their struggle to free themselves from European political control. But it would be a gross distortion to state that colonial education was a humanitarian gift meant to civilize Africans, as it is sometimes described. Quite clearly, the Africans were already civilized, but not in ways that the Europeans would recognize. It was a cornerstone of colonial policy that the introduction of European educational systems was a pre-requisite for the exploitation of Africa and its peoples.

The formal education of the indigenous population by the colonial government produced the interpreters, clerks, priests, and technicians to execute those tasks essential to the proper functioning of the colonial government, church, and commerce. By such a colonial education preparation for self-rule was precluded.

According to Colin Turnbull, literate Africans were useful in many ways, although too much literacy was considered by the Europeans to be dangerous and undesirable (1968:96-97). A certain amount of technical training was essential to provide cheap, semi-skilled labor, but it could not be allowed to continue beyond a given standard lest Africans by competing with whites.

It was the missionaries who first found the necessity to teach their converts how to read the Bible and to write their names. It was the missionaries, especially the Protestants, who introduced the

western formal educational systems into the colonies, but they did so because of their need for local preachers, interpreters, and converts. For all intents and purposes, the school was the church. The two were one and the same.

Unlike the British, for example, the Belgians allowed little African participation in political bodies at any level until the 1950's. Belgian policy assumed a long period of colonial relationship between the parent nation and the colony. Because of this attitude, there was no room for indigenous general education as was the case in the British and French African territories.

The former Governor General of the Belgian Congo and later representative of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, Pierre Ryckmans, summarized Belgium's policy and objectives in the Congo in these words: "We (Belgians) believe in the civilizing mission of the West. We think our Western Christian culture is superior to the native culture of Africa and that to have planted it there was good in itself and for it to disappear would be bad in itself. We believe that, if emancipation jeopardized the existence of Western civilization in Africa, that would not represent progress but the reverse. If we were not so convinced we would have no justification for being in Africa. We do not believe that the extension of the right to vote is an end in itself; we consider political progress to be a means to an end, the end being social, cultural and economic progress. If it is correct to say, 'good government is no substitute for self-government,' it is correct to say, 'self-government

is no substitute for good government'" (Ryckmans 1974:201).

From this statement we can see that the Belgian education and political policy in Congo did not envision self-government for the peoples of the Congo at the beginning. For the Belgians, a few years of schooling for the indigenous peoples would suffice to produce an efficient work force to exploit the great mineral deposits of the Congo area. One scholar suggested that Belgian policy was based on the assumption that "it is better to have 90 per cent of the population capable of understanding what the government is trying to do for them and competent to help the government in doing it than to have 10 per cent of the population so full of learning that it spends its time telling the government what to do" (Kimble 1959:292). E. Jefferson Murphy summarized the Belgian policy in the Congo by saying that "the Belgians followed a policy that was fundamentally akin to that introduced by Leopold II. Economic development was the sacred objective, and everything was subordinated to it. African culture was not thought to have any particular relevance, nor was the spread of Belgian culture seen as important. Whatever was needed to induce the African to work, to desire goods, and to produce goods or services was relevant. Education, which began to spread through missionary efforts even during the days of the Congo Free State, consisted exclusively of primary schooling, with an emphasis on literacy, arithmetic, and the glorification of work" (Murphy 1974:360).

When they started defining the objectives of their schools in the Congo, the Belgians placed the primary emphasis on a utilitarian



education that would both equip the child for a productive role in society and provide him with a solid religious faith. The Manual for the Congo Personnel of the Territorial Administration, first published in 1920, urged European administrators to promote the moral and material evolution of the indigenous population and it set forth a pattern:

We should avoid one error in particular. The advancement of primitive people to a higher and better level is possible only if, instead of importing our ready-made concepts, principles, and institutions, we patiently strive to develop native civilization on its own grounds, according to its customs, its deepest trends, and in its own language. We would not attempt to form Europeanized natives but to train Africans, better equipped for life possessing greater skill, and instructed in the knowledge that suits their mentality and their environment" (Kitchen and Sloan 1962:192).

### C. The Development of Colonial Educational Policy in Zaire

1. Congo Independent State: 1885-1908. The development of colonial education began shortly after Protestant missionaries first entered the region in 1878. They were the first to teach their converts and catechists to read the Bible themselves and to be missionaries' auxiliaries. While King Leopold II was not interested in the education of the indigenous peoples, under a concordat with the Holy See signed in 1906, he agreed to make perpetual grants of land to Catholic missions. From that time until the 1950's, with the creation of the state schools, the Catholic Church was encouraged to establish missions and take over their management in the colony. After this treaty with the Vatican, Protestant missionaries were denied the right to create more schools and to educate the people of the Congo. From this point in time until the end of Leopold's cruel

exploitation of indigenous peoples in 1908, education was left in the hands of Catholic missionaries. This education was specifically associated with the conversion of the African to Catholicism.

2. Belgian Beginnings in the Congo: 1908-1924. When Belgium annexed the Congo in 1908, the colonial charter, passed by the Belgian Parliament on October 18, 1908, provided for religious liberty and free education for the peoples of the Congo. By the end of 1922, there were more than 2,000 schools and more than 60,000 pupils (Jambers 1947:11).

On July 10, 1922, a liberal Belgian Minister of Colonies, M. Frank, appointed a commission to create a statute of colonial formal education whose starting points included the following features:

- (a) The school must be adapted to the indigenous environment;
- (b) More education than instruction should be provided for the indigenous;
- (c) Education must be given in indigenous languages in the first years;
- (d) Collaboration must exist in the field of education between Christian missions and the colonial government;
- (e) Importance must be given to girls' education; and
- (f) More training schools must be created so as to expand the supply of elementary school teachers (Jambers 1947:14).

By the end of its work in 1924, the Commission published a report and it included the following elaborations of its starting points:

- (a) Adaptation to native environment  
The school should offer knowledge that will be helpful to the child in his daily life. The program of instruction should be conceived in terms of the native environment. The teacher in the Congo should have a knowledge of the local language and the customs of the people. European programs in history and geography should be disregarded, and lessons should be drawn from the local environment. Hygiene, along with agriculture and the arts and crafts should be stressed....
- (b) Instruction and Training  
The first concern of the school should be with the development of character and moral discipline... Children need a new moral framework to replace the discarded African imperatives, and Christian morality will meet this need. As experience in other colonies has shown the danger of a bookish type of instruction, there should be opportunity for manual and agricultural training.
- (c) Language of Instruction  
Instruction should be given in native languages. French will not be taught in villages; in the urban centers, it may be one of the subjects studied but will not be the language of instruction. While many Africans want to learn French, it is important that the Africans be taught and trained in their language.
- (d) Cooperation of the Missions  
The Christian religion, which the missionaries propagate, involves an excellent moral training for the natives. Belgian missionaries especially render an important service, for in addition to spreading the gospel, they spread the lore and influence of Europe to all corners of Central Africa. Therefore, it is important for the government to help the missions establish a school system. A public school system would create a serious drain on the treasury.
- (e) Importance of the Normal Schools  
As the expansion of education depends upon the training of local teachers, the creation of normal schools is of great importance.
- (f) Compulsory Attendance  
It would be impossible to put into effect any compulsory education law because of the lack of facilities and the resistance of some parents to sending their children to school even if offered free meals and clothing, prized free medical supplies and post-school benefits for the children.
- (g) Schools for Girls  
Schools for girls are important in order that educated

young Africans may have wives with a similar background. The school program for girls should be modelled after the program for boys, emphasizing training, home management, hygiene and child care (Scanlon 1965:210).

The school role in this period was thus conceived to be the preparation of the indigenous populations to serve the Belgians.

3. The Colonial Consolidation and African Discontent: 1924-1947. The period from 1924 to 1947 was marked by general discontent and the breakdown of indigenous isolation. In the Belgian mind, the Congo was destined to be left in isolation to proceed tranquilly along its path of material prosperity in strict subordination to Brussels. This policy had worked when the Congo had existed as a world on its own, and while the Africans were denied various political rights.

But the Second World War intruded into this pattern. The horizons of the Congolese were rapidly widened as a result of African troops serving abroad in Egypt, the Middle East and Burma. Also in the Congo itself, the Africans observed American blacks who had come as missionaries or soldiers being treated as the equals of whites. At the same time, to many Congolese, Hitler became a kind of mythical figure, whom they imagined coming to the Congo in the shape of a liberator who would drive out the Belgians.

Aside from the war, the social dislocation resulting from the rush to the booming industrial centers made the situation in the Congo at the end of the war all the more uneasy. The economic efforts of the war years had been intense. There had been several indications that

the pre-war calm was not going to last forever, and that the Congolese were beginning to feel that their collective strength could be a match for European force. In 1941 there occurred a strike of the Union Minière African employees, and rioting erupted at Elizabethville: in 1944, came the revolt of a group of African soldiers of the colonial army at Luluabourg, followed in 1945 by strikes and rioting at Matadi. These signs among others, pushed the Belgians to change their colonial policy in general and their educational policy in particular.

In 1947, a new curriculum based on the African child's background and future political responsibility was adopted and implemented. The changes included an improved primary school system to prepare more students for secondary schools. It was developed by what was called the Free Organization for Indigenous Peoples, along with the collaboration of various Christian mission societies. One of its recommendations was the establishment of academically oriented primary and secondary schools as a foundation for higher education.

The secondary schools were given the following objectives:

- (a) to give to all Congolese students a general basic instruction;
- (b) to give to the majority of secondary school students a technical training to prepare them for skilled employment;
- (c) to train a small and intelligent group of indigenous students for more advanced professional and technical education;
- (d) to train an elite group of students for university instruction (Congo Belge 1929).



4. The Movement for Independence: 1948-1958. The agitations of the early 1940's continued unabated, in spite of these reforms. In 1948, the carte de mérite civique was introduced; this was a certificate which attested good behavior; and accorded those few Africans who received it full liberty to integrate with the whites. In 1948, a school reform bill was passed by the Belgian Parliament which changed the educational objectives in the Congo. The secondary school educational program was to be the same and equal to that of secondary education in Belgium. Further, this reform encouraged the development of higher education for the peoples of the Congo. Specifically, this educational re-organization had a twofold purpose:

(a) to prepare the Congolese masses to play an important role in the development of their communities;

(b) to prepare an elite class of individuals for leadership positions in the Congo (Van Hove 1951:13).

These policies were implemented almost immediately with the creation of more state controlled primary and secondary schools, and development of Lovanium University in Kinshasa in 1956 and the State University of the Congo in Lubumbashi in 1956. By 1957, there were altogether some 30,514 schools in the Congo (see Table 1).

Table 1

## Schools in the Congo, 1957\*

Official and Subsidized Schools:

Kindergarden	897
Primary	18,070
Intermediate and Technical	29
Pre-University	2
University	2

Nonsubsidized Schools

Kindergarden	202
Primary	11,292
Secondary	20

<u>Total</u>	30,514
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\*Adapted from Schuyler 1962:103.

C H A P T E R I V  
POST-INDEPENDENCE EDUCATION IN ZAIRE

With the attainment of independence from Belgium, Zaire soon was engulfed in internal conflict for control over the national government and also with a series of secessionist movements. Nonetheless, in spite of these military and political struggles, successive policy statements on education emerged and were implemented. In this chapter, we shall examine the ideological and political roots of the expansion of educational opportunities, how these roots gave rise to specific policies embodied in the Constitutions of 1960, 1964, and 1967, and then how these policies were implemented. Further, we shall look at some of the unforeseen consequences of the implementation of educational expansionist policies: an increase in illiteracy, and drop-outs and their disillusionment and unemployment.

Shortly after independence in 1960, the first Zairean government followed a policy of expanding schools at all levels for two main reasons. First, the Belgian colonial school education did not produce or train enough highly qualified educated Zaireans to take over their jobs and posts upon independence. Consequently, the educational establishment was called upon to meet these urgent training needs. Secondly, when they led the fight for the liberation of Zaire from Belgian colonialism, the nationalist Zairean leaders promised they would open the schools to all the peoples of Zaire. Before dealing with the consequences of these policies, let us see how these policies had their roots in the

ideological premise of democratization of school education.

#### A. The Democratization of School Education

The origin of the policy of educational democratization for the developing nations, and in particular for Zaire, is found in the honeymoon period of African independence; the period which saw the launching of the United Nation's first development decade. This was an optimistic period for most African nations. It was specifically encouraged by the 1960 Addis-Ababa UNESCO Conference, which laid down a grand plan for the achievement of universal, compulsory, and free primary education by 1980. The hope was that if primary, secondary, and tertiary enrollments were increased in the right proportions, then economic growth would somehow follow.

In Zaire, this continent-wide wind of change in the approach to education left its imprint in the constitutions of 1960, 1964, and 1967. It started with the definition of the Ministeré de l'Education Nationale by the first Zairean government. Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of the first Zairean government viewed the new educational objectives to be different from the colonial ones (1960). He chose the term Ministry of National Education rather than the Ministry of National Instruction because for him "instruction" was a term which suggested the involvement of only an elite few. He insisted that education was not a matter for a few but for all citizens.

#### 1. Zairean Constitutions on Education.

a. 1960 Constitution. Patrice Lumumba's educational policies were set forth in this Constitution in the following terms:

1. Provision of primary instruction and education for all Zairean children;
2. Rapid production of thousands of college and university graduates;
3. Rapid expansion of teacher training and technical secondary schools;
4. Provision of scholarships for all college and university students, and
5. Free instruction and education at all school levels.

This Constitution, calling for rapid expansion at all educational levels, later proved to be unwise, though it was an understandable decision at the time it was made. This is due to the fact that at the time of independence there were so few qualified Zaireans ready to occupy important governmental and technical positions. Further, politically it was difficult to pursue any other policy given the extraordinarily high expectations that had been cultivated in the drive for independence.

b. The 1964 (Kananga) Constitution. In this Constitution's chapter on the objectives of Zairean schools, the focus was put on two general principles:

1. the right of all Zairean children to receive school education, and



2. the government's obligation to provide all Zairean children with the same basic national education.

c. The 1967 Constitution. Commonly called the Revolutionary Constitution, the 1967 Constitution did not detail any revolutionary objectives in the field of education. It simply condemned discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or religion.

As we have seen, the three successive Zairean Constitutions all proclaimed the democratization and expansion of schools at all levels. In the minds of the Zairean educational planners and policy makers, there could not be national unity and development without the expansion of schools. But let us see how these policies were implemented before dealing with the consequences.

2. School Organization. According to the Zairean Constitution of 1964, school education was divided into three cycles: primary school, secondary school, and higher education and university.

a. Primary School.

1. Objectives. The objectives of primary school were defined by the National Education Zairean Experts' Conference held in Kinshasa on August 22-28, 1966. These included the preparation of the Zairean child for his productive and effective integration into his society as well as the development of his ability to aid in its transformation, and the preparation for secondary and higher education (Voix de l'Education Nationale 1966).

2. Organization. The duration of the primary studies is six

years, which are divided into three sections as follows:

First degree: first and second years (degré élémentaire);

Second degree: third and fourth years (degré moyen);

Third degree: fifth and sixth years (degré terminal).

The entry age is fixed for a least six years for boys and nine for girls (Moniteur Congolais 1962a). A primary school certificate is awarded at the end of the six years of primary studies. Each secondary school organizes its entry examinations for those in the possession of this primary school certificate (Moniteur Congolais 1962b).

#### b. Secondary School.

1. Objectives. The colonial secondary school objectives were maintained after independence, but some changes were being brought to the content of the curricula. These objectives included both the preparation of an intellectual professional elite and the development of the candidates for higher education (Disposition Générales 1952:21).

2. Organization. Secondary schooling begins with a first cycle, commonly called the cycle of orientation, lasting two years. After this initial period, students are then directed to one of several curricula, depending upon their performance during these two years. A second step, known as the second superior cycle, is divided into two parts: a short cycle which leads to professional qualifications after two or three years; and a long cycle of four years which provides a general academic and intellectual preparation for higher education and university. A state high school diploma, commonly called Diplôme d'Etat is awarded

upon successful completion of the six years of secondary school and after passing the state-wide examination (Examen d'Etat).

c. Higher Education and University.

1. Objectives. The objectives of higher education were and still have not been clearly defined since independence in 1960. But it has a general mission to transmit to students intellectual and scientific knowledge, to insure an initiation into research processes, and to form a highly trained, qualified Zairean personnel and technicians for the development of Zaire.

2. Organization. The conditions of admission to the universities were simplified to include two basic alternatives. First, the candidate was required to possess a six-year high school certificate (which a student receives when he does not qualify for the diplôme d'Etat) and completion of a one-year pre-university orientation program. The second option required receipt of a secondary school diploma received after passing the State-wide examinations (diplôme d'Etat).

On August 6, 1972, the President of the Republic of Zaire signed an ordinance creating one national university, the National University of Zaire, for all higher educational institutions in the nation. The creation of this university was motivated by the conflict which existed among the private universities: Lovanium University which was Catholic, the Free University of Zaire which was Protestant, and the State University of Zaire. It was a conflict based upon different ideologies and competitions which were not in accord with the central government's



political objectives. This university is organized as follows:

(a) The University is composed of four campuses and includes higher pedagogic and technical institutes.

(b) Each University campus is composed of faculties, departments, and research institutions or interfaculties.

(c) All higher institutes are divided into sections.

(d) All higher educational establishments are transformed into higher educational institutes. These include all the specialized institutes which train professional personnel.

3. School Expansion. In this section we will see how this policy of expansion of Zaire's schools after its independence resulted in the expansion of student enrollments and government expenditures.

a. Enrollments. The increase in enrollment according to the Ministry of National Education's statistics was as follows:

At the primary school level, the enrollment was 1,995,230 in the 1963-64 school year; and by the 1970-71 school year it had tripled, with 3,051,563 students (Ministère de l'Education Nationale:1970). On the secondary school level the enrollment was 37,386 in the 1959-60 school year, but it had doubled in 1962-63 with 68,350 enrollments; it tripled by 1967-68, with 120,587 students (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 1970:9).

At the level of higher institutions, the same increases occurred. The enrollment was 1,256 in 1961-62; this doubled in the 1965-66 academic year with 3,704 students. It was 8,401 in 1968-69 and



10,538 in 1969-70 (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 1971). Tables 2 and 3 and Figure 2 give an idea of this increase in enrollments.

b. Government Expenditure on Schools. The accelerating public demand for more school education resulted in substantial increases in governmental expenditures, especially on school buildings, salaries for teachers, professors, experts, technicians, and scholarships for students at the National University.

According to the Ministry of National Education figures (FIKIN:1970) the education budget doubled from 1968 to 1970, as indicated in Table 4. And according to UNESCO figures, the government expenditure on school education increased by substantial amounts annually between 1964 and 1969 by the percentages shown on Table 5.

## B. The Result of the Democratization Policies

Having examined the roots of Zairean educational policy, the policies themselves, and their implementation, let us now assess the results of the eighteen years from independence to 1978.

1. Illiteracy. The increase in the volume of school education still has not achieved the primary goal of universal national literacy. Illiteracy in Zaire, aside from being fueled by population growth, is increasing despite the overall political emphasis on decreasing the number of illiterates.

In addition, even if Zaire were to achieve the initial nationalist objective of universal literacy, literacy itself could hardly contribute

Table 2

## Primary School Enrollments (1962-68) in Thousands\*

Year	GRADE						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1962-63	667	381	275	209	162	112	1,805
1963-64	714	415	311	237	185	133	1,995
1964-65	716	430	317	236	188	140	2,026
1965-66	716	438	324	240	193	154	2,065
1966-67	767	466	345	251	200	164	2,193
1967-68	770	508	390	276	217	177	2,339
Average percentage of students who continue	62	79	79	84	84	82	

\*Adapted from Annuaire Statistique de l'Education Nationale, 1968-69. Ministere de l'Education Nationale, Direction Generale de Planification.

Table 3

## Secondary School Enrollments (1961-67) \*

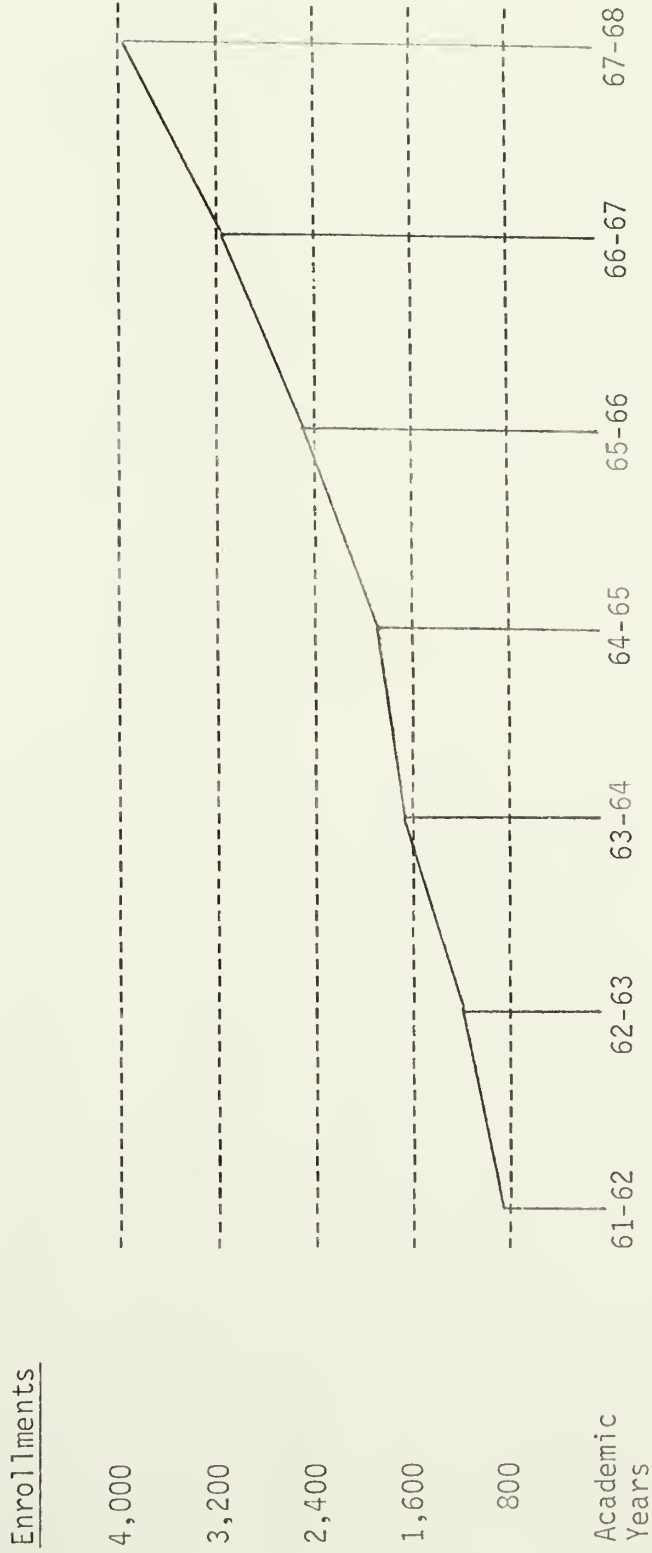
<u>Year</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Total</u>
1961-62	25,376	11,279	7,214	4,096	771	418	49,152
1962-63	30,861	19,819	9,700	5,636	1,595	739	68,350
1963-64	38,215	24,453	16,940	8,315	2,841	1,509	92,273
1964-65	34,630	22,844	16,281	10,272	3,087	1,778	88,891
1965-66	57,965	34,905	22,235	13,556	7,942	3,965	138,270
1966-67	62,406	39,885	26,725	17,120	10,390	5,511	162,237

Average percentage  
of students who  
continue                      73%                      80%                      74%                      68%                      77%

\*Adapted from Annuaire Statistique de l'Education Nationale, 1968-69.    Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Direction Generale de Planification.

Figure 2

Higher Education Enrollment Trends (1961-68)



Adopted from Annuaire Statistique de l'Education Nationale, 1968-69. Ministere de l'Education Nationale, Direction Generale de Planification.

Table 4

## Government Expenditure on Education (1968-70)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total National Budget</u>	<u>Educational Budget</u>	<u>Percentage of National Budget</u>
1968	\$250,000,000	\$40,242,000	16
1969	438,242,000	78,314,000	17
1970	429,910,000	81,852,000	19

Table 5

Zairean Expenditures on Education, Expressed as Annual  
Percentage Increase from 1964 to 1969\*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage Spent on Education</u>
1964	25.0
1965	16.0
1966	20.7
1967	20.8
1968	19.0
1969	18.7

\*Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1973:389



to national development, because it is based upon European assumptions, objectives, and pedagogies and is not relevant to community development within Zaire. Until the government comprehends that literacy is not synonymous with education, and that literacy campaigns must be rooted in the same ideology as the total educational policy, attempts at increasing literacy will continue to produce disappointing results.

2. Drop-outs. Today in Zaire most of the unemployed are young people from 10 to 20 years of age. Primarily, these represent either those who never attended school because there was no school in their area, or those who are school leavers; most of the youthful unemployed fall in this second category. The government has experienced continuing problems coping with the discontent and alienation of these people. Many of them are hapless victims of lay-offs attributable ultimately to financial problems created by various world-wide economic trends.

These drop-outs represent a continuing serious--even dangerous--problem for Zaire's national development. The government has invested large sums of money in their education and has not garnered a fair return on this investment. In the author's view, this is because these children have not received the kind of school education needed to prepare them for careers in their own communities as skilled and employed farmers, craftsmen, weavers, artisans, wood-workers, blacksmiths, etc.

Returning to the scope of the problem, let us consider just how substantial the number of drop-outs has been at primary, secondary, and

advanced levels. Table 6 depicts the gross rate of promotion in primary school from 1959-60 to 1964-65 and, by extension, the drop-out rate. It should be noted that of every 100 pupils who entered the first grade in 1959, only 17 reached the sixth grade and more than half of these 100 pupils did not pass beyond the fourth grade.

On a national level, out of the 667,000 pupils who entered primary schools in Zaire in the 1962-63 school year, only 177,000 reached the sixth grade (see Table 2). From these two figures comes the conclusion that the drop-out rate at the primary school level represents more than 80% of the total pupils admitted in the first grade.

From an analysis of enrollments of students at the secondary level, we can see that of 25,736 students who started the first year of secondary school in the 1961-62 school year, only 5,111 reached the sixth year (see Table 3). And of these few, only a small minority received the Diplôme d'Etat. Even then not all were given assurances of admission to their first year at a university.

3. Employment of Educated Nationals. To set the problem of unemployment among Zairean school leavers in its proper context, we should be mindful of the fact that the unemployment of the education is a world wide problem. Even in the United States, efforts have been underway to create more jobs for school graduates by the early retirement of older people. Further, some industries are getting government loans and subsidies to create more jobs for these graduates. Schools are becoming more vocationally oriented, especially with the creation of more community colleges in the United

Table 6

The Primary School Drop-out Rate (1959-65)\*

<u>Year</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>	(Grades)
1959-60	100						
1960-61	-	53					
1961-62	-	-	41				
1962-63	-	-	-	29			
1963-64	-	-	-	-	26		
1964-65	-	-	-	-	-	17	

\*Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale. Planification "Etudes préparatoire à la Planification" Vol. II Rapport détaillé. p. 23.

States.

But in a developing and economically dependent nation--such as Zaire --with its limited financial resources, government is unable to do much to expand employment for its school graduates in the private sector. Rather, the government seeks to make employment available in the national army, national police, public administration, the party, and schools. With these limitations, Zaire's only hope for jobs for its graduates lies heavily on industries controlled by foreign investors. Let us now see what types of employment we find in Zaire and how they are controlled.

a. Types of Employment. Currently, there are two types of economic organizations in the Republic of Zaire, the modern one and another which we may term semi-traditional. The semi-traditional economy does not require a very high degree of professional specialization and has an embryonic division of labor. In this kind of economy, a person does not earn his income from one job alone, but from many which he performs alternately, e.g. carpentry, construction, and farming. The bulk of his revenue is used for his domestic consumption. The vast majority of Zairean adults are employed in the semi-traditional economic sector and most of these are independently self-employed.

The modern economy requires professional specialization and is based on an elaborated division of labor. In this type of economy, labor is entirely compensated in cash, rather than in kind. Thus when we use the term "unemployed" we refer to the person who either has lost his paying job and is looking for another in his specialization, he has reached a

responsible age and is looking for a paying job, or he has been fired from his previous job.

Zaire, being an underdeveloped and newly independent nation, finds that modern sector employment is limited to only the very few who are emerging as graduates of the institutions of higher education.

The modern economy consists of two important sectors: state and private enterprise. According to government figures of 1970, there were about 7,680,000 Zaireans in the semi-traditional job sector; and about 1,498,631 Zaireans in the modern sector. In this latter group, there were about 262,525 unemployed. Table 7 shows the state of employment in the modern economy. From this table we notice that Zaire's government controls a substantial portion of the employment in the modern economy; and is more a consumer than a productive employer in the national development of Zaire. It should be noted that this form of employment is not profitable in itself, as for example with copper mining, but requires substantial tax levies to support it. In the private sector most of the employment contributes very little to national development, as a substantial portion of the productive value of what is produced leaves the country. These employment data represent the economic turmoil of a Zaire seriously affected by the political instability in the period from 1960 to 1966. Foreign investment created adequate employment for the few educated Zaireans at the start of this period, but this was short-lived as Zaire experienced an economic crisis in the late 1960's and early 1970's provoked by the decline in mineral prices on international



Table 7

## Employment in the Modern Economy of Zaire in 1970\*

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Specialization</u>	<u>Employees</u>
STATE:	Permanent Civil Servants	26,200
	National Army	63,200
	National Police	20,800
	Temporary Civil Servants	160,500
PRIVATE ENTERPRISE:	Salaried Employees	392,406
	Wage Earners	400,000
	Self-Employed Workers	165,000
UNEMPLOYED:		262,525
TOTAL:		1,498,525

\*Source: Bureau de la Présidence de la République du Zaïre, 1970

markets, the problems created by the 1973 oil crisis, and the domestic political instability.

### C. Critique: What went wrong?

1. The Origins of the Unemployment of the Educated. In Zaire the economic patterns of the modern sector were established and left intact by the Belgian colonial administration when it departed in 1960. The style of life which they had established, based upon extraordinarily high salaries for those with school diplomas, might have been revised after independence but it was not.

Since the late 1960's, secondary school graduates or university drop-outs entering the civil service have expected their incomes to be from fifty to seventy times the average income from semi-traditional employment. Primary and secondary school graduates and drop-outs actually prefer to be unemployed than to work as farmers, craftsmen, artisans, or in other occupations which they consider appropriate only for illiterates. This rejection of the values of traditional and manual labor arises in the attitudes cultivated in the primary and secondary school curricula, and because Zaire's government does not actively encourage those working with their hands to market what they produce.

### 2. The Obsolescence of Curriculum for Zaire's Present Needs

As in other developing nations, education in Zaire tends to be excessively theoretical and academic. Education of this type cannot

bring rapid social, political, and economic development, which is a priority of independent Zaire. American educational planning during the depression years was pragmatic, oriented to solve immediate economic, social, and political problems of that time. This is the sort of philosophical orientation that Zairean educational planning needs today for its own development.

The content of Zairean education is not based on current national developmental needs and aspirations. In Zairean schools, for example, students learn about the technical, abstract features of western science and industry, but they are not given the opportunity to implement this knowledge in the concrete, practical problems of developing and reformulating Zairean science and industry. Thus, the present educational orientation produces mass consumerism, dependent on the creative powers of expatriate industry and manufacture. And the cruel irony is that in this orientation, the very possibility of national development that is truly indigenous is thwarted by the educational process intended to advance it. Thus, the Zairean child is not adequately prepared for self-employment; in fact, part of the present process calls for the rejection of curricula that are based on the child's environment and experience. The child is taught, in effect, to repudiate manual work and the traditional skills that abound in his everyday experience. This unarticulated, but nonetheless, thoroughgoing rejection of the legitimacy of the Zairean child's traditional knowledge and skills is the fundamental cause of the current educational crisis in Zaire. As Foster put it, "African

rejection of vocational training is a reasonable response to a situation in which the rewards continue to go to those with an academic education" (Anderson and Bowman 1965:142-66). The value of an academic education in Zaire is meaningless if the academy does not contribute to national development. Academic education has a place in national development only when it is suffused with a strong, pragmatic focus on Zairean capabilities and needs.

### 3. Democratization Misconceived

The policies of expansionism of schools were instituted to universalize and democratize the school, as proclaimed by the UNESCO Addis Ababa Conference in 1960. The policies as implemented, however, fall far short of their lofty goals. Let us define how a meaningful democratization of education in today's Zaire could contribute to successful national development.

First of all, the democratization of school in Zaire as implemented by Zairean educational planners and policy makers in the early 1960's was misdirected, primarily because they were aiming to democratize a school system which was not Zairean at all in its content or in its objectives; it was nearly totally European.

Democratization is a vast and multidimensional concept, especially in the socially pluralistic Zairean case. Democratization should not be equated solely with the passing of formal legislation to make schooling generally accessible, nor is it merely a matter of the extension of the

of the educational system. Equal access is by no means identical to equality of opportunity for obtaining an education that is relevant to today's economic, social, and political conditions.

Equality of access is essential, to be sure, but is not by itself sufficient to guarantee a genuine equality of opportunity. Education should be free at all levels and in all its forms, as we have seen with the role and objectives of traditional education in the pre-colonial egalitarian communities of Zaire. Democratization requires that everyone, and above all the working peasant populations, should have the opportunity not only to enter the educational establishment or to have access to specialized forms of training or re-training, but also to complete their education and to have real prospects for obtaining further education according to their intellectual and educational needs so as to contribute to the development of their own communities.

This means that there must be created a new, supplementary system of pedagogical measures needed to support these objectives. Although the expansion of school education in Zaire was based on the goal of democratization, we find, in point of fact, that most of the well-built, thoroughly equipped, and modern school buildings are for the children in the urban centers of Zaire. Teachers, too, prefer to stay in these centers. Thus we find the better teachers gravitate to these urban schools, while those less well prepared are sent to rural Zaire.

So when we refer to the democratization of school education for national development, we should look to the model of Zairean pre-colonial



education which enabled the child to receive his education and training according to his ability and according to his community's needs for its own development. The return to this genuinely democratic educational system requires that the school system in Zaire be decentralized and control given to local communities. With today's degree of centralization, the contribution of rural Zaire to the national development will continue to be insufficient.

C H A P T E R V  
EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It was indeed almost entirely in the factories and mines, workshops and mills, not in its schools, that the skills which fed Britain's industrial advance were both accumulated and transmitted (Dore 1976:15).

Education has to liberate the African from the mentality of slavery and colonialism by making him aware of himself as an equal member of the human race, with the rights and duties of his humanity. It has to liberate him from the habit of submitting to circumstances which reduce his dignity as if they were immutable. And it has to liberate him from shackles of technical ignorance so that he can make and use the tools of organization and creation for the development of himself and his fellow man (Nyerere 1974:20).

After independence Zaire, like other African nations, counted on school education as a primary tool for nation-building, political stability, social development, and economic independence. But Zairean authorities and educational planners in their educational reform policies failed to introduce the thoroughgoing changes that were necessary to meet these objectives.

After its political liberation, Zaire followed the same spirit of other newly independent African countries by declaring that it would move toward true economic liberation by developing a self-reliant economy. In pre-colonial Zaire, education was viewed as a tool for the development of economic liberation through the strengthening of communities as part of ethnic efforts. The present formal educational system inherited from the colonial powers, contributes to Zaire's continuing underdevelopment by making Zaire more dependent on the developed world in that most

graduates are educated for employment in the industries capitalized and controlled by ex-patriates. Today, if you take a child from any Zairean urban primary school and put him in a Belgian urban primary school, he will have no trouble adjusting either his language or behavior, as Zairean education is based on European social, political, and economic standards.

This must change, for as Tanzania's Julius Nyerere once said:

We have to be part of the society which we are changing; we have to work from within it, and not try to descend like ancient gods, do something, and disappear again. A country, or a village, or a community cannot be developed; it can only develop itself...if real development is to take place, the people have to be involved. But they can only do so from a position within the society (Nyerere 1973:25).

Nyerere's philosophy of the commitment of educated Africans to work in every sphere of the society or country, can succeed only if the purpose and philosophy of education are adapted to national needs. In Zaire today, attitudes fostered in the colonial period persist in the philosophy of education; e.g. to work with one's hands is demeaning; thus rural children attend school in the hope of escaping their parents' way of life.

School is regarded by Zairean parents and their children as a passport to privilege--to the civilization of the Mercedes. But disillusionment is setting in, and more parents, especially in rural communities, are reluctant to send their children to a school which does not deliver what it promises. So many educated young people are unemployed, intolerant of traditional mores, impudent to their non-literate parents, and frustrated by their own idleness, that it is evident that the educational system is not contributing to national development.

The crisis in education in developing countries is highlighted by studies of educational economics, which demonstrate that past efforts simply to expand these irrelevant schools has begun to cost more than these countries can reasonably afford. This basic problem has been clearly defined by Nyerere (1967), Coombs (1968), Callaway (1970), and Kajubi (1970); each has argued that the schools must be redefined to fit the needs of each developing nation.

Although school education is indeed "the axis to which man attaches his spiritual, intellectual and ideological values" (Skorof 1970:10), it is also increasingly recognized as the most effective means to enhance the social well being and development of the local community. Education in a modern country must serve the needs of national development, assist in fostering and promoting national unity, prepare and equip the youth of the country so that they can play an effective role in the life of the nation, while insuring that opportunities are provided for the full development of talents and personality (Court and Ghai 1974:3). And Kaddura states that:

education is one of the fundamental elements for the realization of development, and the value of education should be measured by the proportion of its contribution not only in quantitative economic growth but also to the eradication of poverty or the reduction of its disadvantages and the increase of employment opportunities for the citizens, besides improving the distribution of the revenues among them. Education has an individual value of improving the productivity of his fellow citizens (1973:25).

In recent years, some Zairean planners have recognized that there is very little correlation between education and economic growth for national

development. President Mobutu Sese Seko declared that "the expansion of school education must not be viewed as an end in itself, as it had been, but it must be adapted and planned in accordance with the socio-cultural and political-economic needs of Zaire and national aspirations for development on the basis of self-reliance" (1966). And on another occasion, in defining the important role of the student in national development of Zaire, he said that,

a Zairean student, not only from the university level but from all school levels must not only be a consumer of the way it is now, but he must be first of all a producer as well as a great contributor to the national development of Zaire. Only in this way can Zaire gain economic independence from the European powers and become master of her own economic destiny (Mobutu 1971).

As a developing nation, Zaire's investments in school education must help to produce schools which promote national dignity and national development, not just to train students for highly paid jobs in the Zairean modern economic sector, but more importantly, for service in the development and modernization of traditional technical, agricultural, and artisan activities and skills. This approach to educational planning is clearly stated by Robert Jacobs:

There is little dispute concerning the important role which education must play in the total development of a society. Education must not only produce the trained manpower required for industrial progress, political development, and social advance; it must also create an adequate social base to undergird developmental aims, adequate in terms of values, attitudes and motivations, and skills to support modern national objectives. An expensive new irrigation system contributes little to increased agricultural production if the farmers in the affected area refuse to accept the new and hold to old traditional ways of farming; health clinics and immunization centers do little to eliminate disease if those who could be served are suspicious

of these innovations and continue to patronize the witch doctor; a new highway will not open a formerly isolated area if the old foot paths and cart trails continue to be used in preference to the new products of road engineering skill. Illiteracy, ignorance and superstition are perhaps the most formidable barriers which education must remove (Jacobs 1964:17).

Curriculum planning for the redefined school of Zaire must include the provision for extensive training in helping to modernize the traditional Zairean techniques of village-level production. New techniques must be developed that are related to traditional agricultural, and industrial techniques of production. Such a school curriculum must be redefined according to the philosophy spelled out below.

#### A. Development and School

The traditional pre-colonial Zairean school system was a preparation of the child for active participation in community life and was rooted in the economic, political, social, and cultural needs and expectations of the Zairean people. The Zaireans educated in this system were producers and consumers first of their own products and had little desire for imported goods.

As we have insisted in Chapter IV, the redefined Zairean school must include vocational subjects to develop the student's skills for future self-employment.

In rural Zaire, where the land still is in the hands of peasants and where more than 80% of the population still depends upon agricultural activities, educational planning should not be a complex problem,



but should be planned mainly with the emphasis on the agricultural sector. As has been expressed by Jayasuriya when defining the main aims of schools in Sri Lanka:

First, to correlate the education imported to the needs of the locality and second, to prepare pupils for life and according to their ability and natural equipment by creating a love of their village environment and by concentrating on occupations, traditional or otherwise, which could be developed nearer the pupil's home to counter as far as possible the tendency of village lads to migrate to towns and semi-urban areas in search of employment and thereby to swell the ranks of the unemployed and to become useless to themselves and to the community (1969).

To contribute substantially to national development, the educated must be proud of their cultural origins and they must be what President Mobutu commonly calls authentiquement Zairois, i.e. they must have a nationalistic and patriotic spirit.

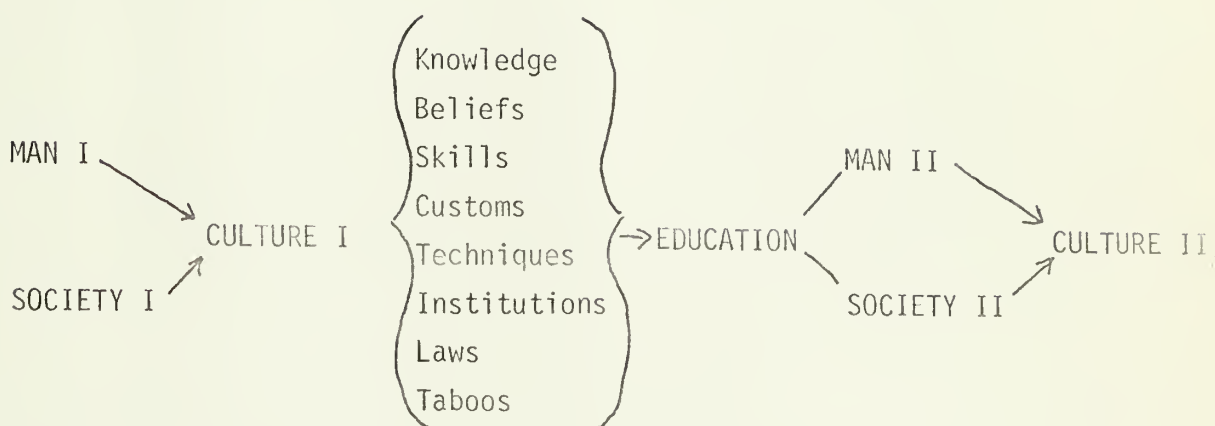
### B. School and Culture

The traditional and new social and cultural conditions of Zaire must be the most basic foundation of the school curriculum. In all societies, the first role given to the school was, and still is, to transmit, to conserve, to develop, to expand, to ameliorate the socio-cultural skills, knowledge, beliefs, customs, and other traditions from one generation to another. Therefore, one cannot have or speak of education without these traditional ingredients.

Having as one of its functions the transmission of the old culture (Landsheere 1976:31), the school can either modify the old culture and/or reproduce the same old culture. Therefore, there is a dynamic culture

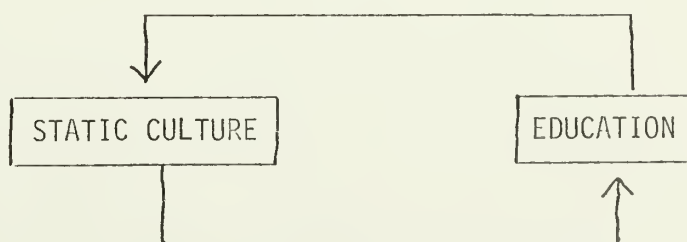
and a static culture.

The following sets forth for us the role of school as a transmitter of the culture:



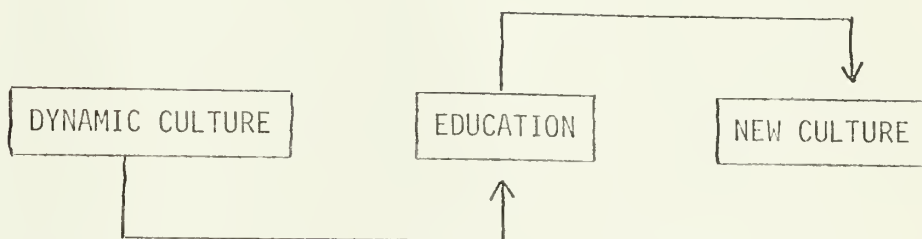
1. Static Culture and School. In this kind of culture, the school role is to reproduce the original culture exactly. In other words, it educates youths to be and to act exactly the same way their parents were.

When this kind of function is given to schools, there is no social development per se. This school role, in a static culture, can be summarized as follows:



2. Dynamic Culture and School. A culture must be dynamic if there is to be any meaningful progress in human development; and education is the vehicle of this cultural dynamism. The role of school in this culture,

is to transmit the old culture in a way that it can be modified by the young generation according to their aspirations. The fundamental function of school in a dynamic culture can be demonstrated in the following:



One of the overriding problems in Zairean education is how to transform the school system inherited from the Belgians, which is not now contributing to Zairean national development for self-reliance, into a viable, relevant, and functional system of learning the past, present, and future. As Zaire is a multicultural nation, the role of today's national education in the transmission of traditional cultures is not an easy one, for it must instill in each Zairean young and adult the need to unite into one strong nation which can cope with the political, economic and social conditions of modern Zaire. To do this, the educational system must use the fact of its cultural pluralism to create a state of equal coexistence in a mutually supportive relationship within the framework of the one nation of people of diverse cultures. Each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights he expects to enjoy. This type of education teaches students not only to respect and to appreciate

cultural diversity, but also to understand the historical, social, political and economic, and psychological factors that have produced the contemporary conditions of inequality, domination, and alienation. It focuses on real life problems and issues and helps students to develop a moral commitment and the necessary skills to move the society toward greater equality and freedom, toward the eradication of degrading poverty and dehumanizing dependency, and toward a meaningful identity for all people. Thus, school curricula must reflect, for example, the traditional medicines of the Pygmy, the Bakuba ethnic art, and Wagenia fishing skills, so that students regard their nation as a composite of many parts.

### C. An Authentic Educational Philosophy for Zaire

Zaire's system of education must be redefined and redesigned according to the needs for national development as we have described it. In using the rich traditional wisdom and skills, and the new socio-political and economic aspirations of a modern nation, Zaire must produce not only competent academicians, but middle management technicians who can meet the needs of social, political, economic, technical, and agricultural development. To meet these objectives, Zaire should consider defining its education on the model suggested by Nyerere, considered by many African scholars as the father of a new African philosophy of education for self-reliance. Nyerere attempts to take cognizance of Tanzania's present economic system and tries to educate its citizens to participate fully in it.

The main focus of Zaire's schools should be the education of all citizens to work together as participants in one nation, in transforming traditional Zaire into a modern and powerful nation. Now let us turn to some of the main objectives of the curriculum of such an education.

#### D. School Curriculum Reform in Zaire

Today, because of new technological and scientific discoveries, education has multiple objectives in any developing country. These objectives include conveying traditional knowledge, skills, and wisdom; serving as an instrument for social change; operating as an agency for political indoctrination; and working as an important force for economic development and progress. For these objectives, educational planning in Zaire becomes a complex problem. According to Alexander King, any educational system of any given country, has to respond to four different types of demand:

- (1) The demand of the individual for the development of his personal potential and for preparation for a career.
- (2) The demand of the economy, which, as part of national investment, requires a future manpower with highly developed skills relevant to economic needs.
- (3) The demand of the consumer, which may mount high in an affluent and urban society, for more education as desirable in itself.
- (4) The demand inherent in social change, extension of equal opportunity, the function of stabilizing, breaking down or replanning existing social strata in accordance with politically determined goals (King 1969:5).

In Zaire, education has some fundamental political, social and economic objectives. Some of these basic school objectives were expressed by the Tananarive UNESCO Conference in 1962:

The attainment of independence in Africa now makes it necessary to re-examine a type of education which in many African countries was formerly to assimilate young Africans (to the culture of the metropolitan countries). Curriculum reform is thus a corollary of political emancipation, cultural emancipation being the means by which the African personality can be asserted. This calls for the rediscovery of the African cultural heritage and the transmission of that culture to African adolescents in schools (Fafunwa 1967:47).

Education in Zaire is first and foremost as an important agent of socialization.

1. The Basic Socio-Political and Cultural Objectives of School. As we have described it earlier, Zaire is a multicultural nation, therefore, the citizens of Zaire are not born into a national political culture to which they are socialized from an early age. Divided by ethnicity and traditional beliefs and living most of their lives in the communities where they were born, most Zaireans today are socialized first to a traditional culture of their own immediate environment. Socialization to a national political order, if it has to take place, is thus more appropriately characterized as resocialization, for it is larger than their ethnicity and they have to learn the skills necessary to become active citizens of the new Zaire.

Therefore, in Zaire, the primary objective of school ought to be the resocialization of the Zairean child and adult to Zaire's national culture. Politically, education must help to develop intelligent citizens; economically, education must produce a new source of manpower, an intelligent working class, and in rural areas, literate consumers and producers of goods, such as village craftsmen and artisans.



2. Mass Education and Primary or Elementary Education. Education must change its bias of being almost entirely an academic preparation for secondary school and thus limited to young people. It must be open to all citizens of Zaire. It must provide Zairean adults and youths with the means to perform fully their political, economic, and social role and give them sufficient knowledge to understand Zaire's national culture, and play their rightful part in national activities. The elements of this education may be summed up as follows:

(a) the ability to use one of the four national languages to express their cultural ideas and beliefs;

(b) the ability to read in one or more of these languages (functional reading);

(c) the gradual phasing out of French as the official language;

(d) the ability to calculate in writing (functional mathematics);

(e) knowing Zaire, its institutions, its geography, its history, the significance and scope of the Zairean activities. In other words, loyalty to the ethnic group needs to be transformed to loyalty to Zaire as a nation. The rights and privileges of citizenship need to be fully understood, respected, appreciated, and maintained through the medium of education, school being the main vehicle.

(f) The preparation for secondary school must be considered as the last objective of this primary school.

(g) In sum, this education must readjust the Zairean adult to the new political, economic, and social conditions and must prepare the

Zairean child for his responsibilities and rights as a citizen and for self-employment as a way to contribute to Zaire's development.

3. Secondary School. Secondary school in Zaire, for the moment, is much too academically oriented to fill the needs of most of Zaire's children. The aims of this level of education should include:

- (a) opportunities for all students to progress according to their aptitudes and ability;
- (b) a wide range of experiences which emphasize basic subjects and practical skills attuned to the students' environment;
- (c) training for middle-level technicians through well-planned vocational education programs for those students who will enter the labor market after secondary school or those who will not be able to finish it;
- (d) opportunities for the development of students who will proceed to higher education.

4. Higher Education. Zaire needs highly trained professionals for its own development; further, since many highly trained Zairean professionals rely for the moment, on foreign investment, it would be wise for Zaire to invest a portion of its budget in the training of people for such positions. This type of education should focus on:

- (a) the production of highly qualified Zaireans able to deal with the scientific, economic, and social conditions of the world today;
- (b) the training of nationals who can adjust world models to the needs and aspirations of Zaire;

(c) the techniques for the modernization and expansion of Zaire's traditional heritages and customs, and

(d) the training of highly qualified nationals who can meet foreign investors' job qualifications in Zaire.

### E. Conclusion

We can conclude our study with a tentative definition of the philosophy of educational reform in Zaire by saying that Zaire, like other developing countries, is facing a serious crisis in its educational policies and in the content of its school curricula. The educational policy or philosophy must originate from Zaire's cultural conditions and its modern socio-political and economic aspirations as a modern nation. During our study, we have realized that there can be no authentic school if it is not based on Zairean conditions. There can be no school contribution to national development for self-reliance if it is not rooted in the traditional past, present conditions, and future aspirations

To have a strong educational policy, Zaire must have a clearly formulated political ideology which will be a foundation of this educational activities. The school will be used as a means to achieve social and economic objectives as defined and articulated by this ideology.

Zaire's schools must produce authentic Zairean citizens, not black Europeans. In today's world, a political ideology sets the tone for national social and economic development. By the term 'ideology,' we mean any intellectual structure consisting of a set of beliefs about the conduct

of life and the organization of society, a set of beliefs about man's nature and the world in which he lives, a claim that the two sets are interdependent, and a demand that those beliefs should be professed, and that claim conceded, by anyone who is to be considered a full member of a certain social group (Corbett 1966:12).

An ideology can also be defined as a political culture. As such, it is a part of the general cultural system in which the individual is involved in three possible ways: by his interest in it, by his participation in it, and by his individual value orientation or political beliefs (Parsons 1964). This political culture consists of empirical beliefs expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place. It provides the subjective orientation to politics. A political culture is a more or less integrated system of values and norms which individuals and groups project on the political plane in order to promote the aspirations they have come to value in life. As a political currency, ideology is useful in implementing any policy. It lends meaning to political acts, elevates social conflicts and tensions to a more sophisticated plane of political dialogue, and contributes to the process of consensus formation and, thus, to the normative integration of the policy in general. To the common man, ideology helps make the world less jumbled and more coherent, understandable and secure. For modern Zaire, ideology represents a valuable instrument in efforts to inculcate populations with the values of the modern political culture and tools for effective governance (Dion 1959:45-59).

The role of ideology in Zaire, which has as a primary goal the achievement of socio-cultural integration while preserving, insofar as possible, the rich and diverse cultures of its several ethnic and linguistic groups, should be to bind the Zairean communities together. And for a culturally plural state like Zaire, which is seeking to replace more traditional forms of political life, ideology will provide a rationale for new patterns of political obligations. The school ought to be the means to achieve the objectives fixed by the ideology. This ideology must be formulated according to the Zairean masses' inspirations, needs, and conditions.

Political liberation movements in Zaire, such as the National Congolese Movement led by the late Patrice Lumumba, tried to define the ideological policies of an independent Zaire in terms similar to those stated above. Today Zairean authorities, inspired by the same ideas, have created a national political party, the Popular Revolutionary Movement, led by President Mobutu Sese Seko. The Zairean national party's guiding force is a true Zairean nationalism, defined in the politics of authenticity proclaimed by President Mobutu.

This authenticity is considered as a basis for genuine Zairean political, economic, and cultural development. Its objectives can be defined as the preservation of the Zairean personality and the safeguarding of her autonomy which are the objectives of Zaire's foreign policy as well as her internal orientation. It is based upon the assumption that there is no people, no nation, nor group of nations which have found themselves

in the same historical, geographic, or human conditions that are absolutely identical to those of Zaire and which therefore could affectively presume to point to the path which Zaire should follow (cf. Sékou Touré 1964).

According to President Mobutu, Zairean authenticity is a political philosophy based upon Zaire's historical experiences and present conditions. It is a recourse to the Zairean past to look for positive cultural values which can contribute to the development of modern Zaire. Defined as such, it is against the importation of foreign ideologies, but it is also not simply a naive nationalism (Mobutu 1973b). The implementation of the policies of authenticity has not been an easy task for the Zairean authorities. Some of them have succeeded and others have failed.

However, with regard to school education, the policies of authenticity have accomplished very little. Aside from the political nationalization of the mission schools (a political measure which did not work and which forced the Zairean government to return the schools to the missionaries), nothing significant has been changed in content of the educational system of Zaire. As it has been defined by Zaire's leaders, the ideology of authenticity could be an effective foundation of the content of the Zairean school curriculum.



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