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ELITES AND THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM IN
THE CONGO (K).

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EDUCATION AND ELITES: THE MAKING OF THE NEW ELITES
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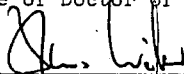
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SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

William Milford Rideout, Jr.

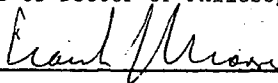
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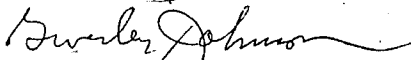


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CHAPTER I
AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATED
ELITES IN THE CONGO

A. Introduction

The independence of Ghana in 1957 struck Tropical Africa with a reverberating impact. Ensuing political shock waves transmitted the undeniable message to Black African colonies that independence was as achievable for them as it previously had been for American and Asian colonies. Flexing and contorting, the bulk of the African continent from the central Sahara to the Zambesi ended colonial rule within less than a decade. Although some thirty new nations were born during this time, none experienced the kind of immediate post-delivery complications which convulsed the Congo, the heartland of Africa. For five years thereafter, roughly until General M'obutu seized power in November 1965, the country endured repeated insurrections. Over extended periods during that time, the Congo was a focal point of international concern. The United Nations' intervention, while termed a failure by some,¹ may have helped to prevent an armed Cold War

¹Conor Cruise O'Brien, "The Congo Since Independence," East Africa Journal (October, 1965), pp. 7-24.

confrontation which would have magnified the suffering of the Congolese people. The seriousness of the situation was accentuated by the periodic warnings of political commentators that the Congo's demise would end the effectiveness of the United Nations as the conquest of Ethiopia had ended that of the League of Nations.

The turn of events which led to the Congo's chaos was little understood by a world accustomed to the Pax Belgica which had clothed the Congo since it became a Belgian colony following the scandals of 1902-1908. As a colony the Congo had been relatively peaceful, had cooperated with the Allies during two World Wars, and had made solid economic progress. Independence had come rapidly after only eighteen months of negotiations and intense political activity by the Congolese, but it had also come quite smoothly and peacefully. However, six days after the Congo had become a full member in the family of nations, celebration turned to catastrophe when a mutiny of the Forcé Publique² ushered in a new era in Congolese history, an era of semi-anarchy coupled with international concern and intervention.

In response to the mutiny, the European inhabitants panicked and, by the end of July, the white population had dropped from a little over 80,000 at independence to 20,000,

²The Force Publique (Public Force) has become the Armée Nationale du Congo (ANC), the National Army of the Congo.

most of whom were in Katanga. Among those who fled were most of the 10,000 Belgian functionaries.³ Nowhere in Africa, except Guinea, had there been such instant Africanization. The dimensions of the disruptions created by this exodus are illustrated by the depletion which occurred in some of the key occupations (Table 1.1).

TABLE 1.1
Post Independence Shortages
of Some Key Technical Personnel

Technicians	Immediately Pre-Independence	Immediately Post-Independence
Agriculture: engineers	542	None
Civil Aviation: technicians	100	Very few
Meteorology: various specialists	61	18
Telecommunications: technicians	328	24
Postal Service Officials	175	1
Health: physicians	760	200

Source: United Nations, United Nations Civilian Operations in the Congo: First Year of Operations (July 1960-June 1961) (New York: Report Number 10, 1962).

The Congo faced the prospect of a total breakdown in the functioning of its critical services.

³J. Gérard-Libois and Benoit Verhaegen, Congo 1960 (Brussels: Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politique, Vol. II, 1961), pp. 1080-82. The Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politique will hereafter be identified by its initials, CRISP. By 1959 the European population in the Congo had reached 110,000. The uneasiness which developed among the Europeans in 1959 and early 1960 caused this number to drop to 80,000 by independence on June 30, 1960.

In seeking to explain this situation which launched the United Nations "on the largest and most complex internationally authorized and administered operation in history . . . ,"⁴ attention was increasingly focused upon the unpreparedness of the Congolese people for independence. The blame was soon left on the doorstep of the colonial education system, and the international press placed special emphasis on how few university graduates the Congo had at independence. The "correct number" was listed variously as 11, 16, 26, and 30. Too often ignored were (1) the level of education short of a university degree which many Congolese combined with practical experience, and (2) the general lack of such practical experience on the part of those few who were university graduates. Furthermore, comparisons, when made with other African countries, were seldom valid. Because many of these countries had more inhabitants with university degrees at independence, the insinuation was that the Congo was "the exception" in Africa; thus the Congo had the army mutiny, the Congo had to request foreign intervention, the Congo had to combat secessionism, the Congo experienced tribal warfare, etc.

As these events transpired, it was convenient to elaborate on and to continue to interpret them in terms of

⁴Ernest W. Lefever, Crises in the Congo, A United Nations Force in Action (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institute, April, 1965), p. 181.

an expanding list of failures of the Congo's education system. The simple accusation that the Belgians merely transferred the basic or elementary portions of their education system to the Congo colony was convenient and partially true, but it was also inadequate.

Formal education and experience for independence for the Congolese were dependent upon their educational and occupational roles and upon their experiences and responsibilities during the colonial period. The country had developed impressively since 1885 and the general education system had contributed to making that development possible. Yet the system which had served the colonial Congo creditably was accused of failing to form the kind of elite an independent Congo required. The critical and rather obscured point remained--it was not simply the exact number of "degree carrying" university graduates there were or were not at independence, but rather the lack of an elite qualified by relevant education and experience to assume responsibility for governing the country.

B. Concepts of Elites

Concepts of elites and of the roles which they play or ought to play in societies might understandably bring to mind recollections of the philosophies of Plato and Nietzsche and phrases such as "elect" and the "fit to rule." Influenced by "unhappy connotations" and by modern ideals of liberalism

and democracy, reactions to elite concepts have often tended to be hostile.⁵ However, there has more recently been a growing recognition and conviction that studies of elites might have contemporary relevance for efforts to understand not only developed but developing societies.⁶

Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto dedicated much of his life's work to expanding and redefining an elite concept for contemporary utilization, and is credited with having developed a "most original and most . . . successful . . . theory of elites."⁷ He gave the concept breadth and flexibility by insisting that its meaning "must not be sought in its etymology;" there simply exists, he contends, a certain class of people with certain characteristics, "and to that class we give the name of elite."⁸ Interestingly Pareto also distinguished between "governing" and "non-governing" elites and devoted attention to the latter as

⁵S. F. Nadel, "The Concept of Social Elites," International Social Science Bulletin (Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1956), p. 414.

⁶H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner, and C. E. Rothwell, The Comparative Study of Elites (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1952), pp. 22-23.

⁷Franz Borkenau, Pareto (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1936), p. 219.

⁸Vilfredo Pareto, Mind and Society (Ed. A. Livingston, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935), paragraphs 246 and 2027.

well as to the former.⁹ However, Fascism, and accusations of Pareto's association therewith, delayed the revival of a revised elite concept until World War II had ended and colonial empires had begun to contract.

In 1952, the project on Revolution and the Development of International Relations (RADIR) initiated the recent emphasis on studying the evolution and development of elites in underdeveloped areas. This project considered its objective to be "to describe and explain the world revolution of our time," and it hypothesized that "by learning the nature of the elite we learn much more about the nature of the society . . ." and that ". . . elite studies are . . . clues to social change and revolutionary trends in the whole community . . ."¹⁰ Nadel followed this with a further justification for a broad interpretation by writing for UNESCO in 1956 that "in exploring it (the elite), we shall explore not anything of philosophical import, but merely the adequacy of a particular conceptual tool," the use of which he endorsed.¹¹

A few years later (a) Hagen theorized on how an

⁹Vilfredo Pareto, Allgemeine Soziologie (Translated and Edited by C. Brinkmann. Tübingen, 1955), p. 222. Also quoted in: Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 194.

¹⁰Lasswell, Lerner, and Rothwell, op. cit., p. 1.

¹¹Nadel, op. cit., p. 414

innovative elite evolves to provide the thrust and leadership required to break away from the traditional society;¹²

(b) Moore wrote that "... since development cannot be achieved so long as most of the elites are opposed or neutral thereto, its initiation entails the enlisting of enough of the existing elites and/or the creation of new elites who stand to profit from such development;"¹³ and

(c) Shils described the elites of the new states as being "dynamic" above all else and dedicated to change, in the process of which they assume a moralistic posture while opposing the ancient regime and molding the new.¹⁴

Still more recently, Coleman has observed that "Elites have attracted special attention in developing countries because elites generally have heightened visibility and greater discretionary power in societies undergoing rapid change. . . This preeminence of elites in traditional societies explains the strong interest of development planners and social scientists in elite education, orientation, and succession, and in inter-elite relationships."¹⁵

¹² Everett E. Hagan, On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962).

¹³ Wilbert E. Moore, "The Social Framework of Economic Development," in Braibanti and Spengler (Eds.), Tradition, Values, and Socio-Economic Development (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961), p. 53.

¹⁴ Edward Shils, Political Development in the New States (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962).

¹⁵ James S. Coleman, Education and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 355-56.

As the foregoing references indicate, the elite concept did achieve both flexibility and utility. Nadel was sympathetic with this development because he felt that the usefulness of the "elite" concept was that it provided a simple "shorthand" for "holding together intellectually what hangs together empirically."¹⁶ Elites were defined as: "The existence in many, perhaps most, societies of a stratum of the population which, for whatever reason, can claim a position of superiority, and hence a corresponding measure of influence over the fate of the community."¹⁷ Rothwell has put it this way: "The concept of elite is classificatory and descriptive, designating the holders of high positions in a given society."¹⁸ The definitions are, in fact, not dissimilar from a basic concept of Pareto's that people with superior qualifications could be termed "elite."

C. Concern About the Elite in Africa

The question of elites in Africa, the most developmentally deprived inhabited continent, goes back to the colonial era when it constituted a critical component of the controversy between direct and indirect rule. The

¹⁶ Nadel, op. cit., pp. 413-415.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 143.

¹⁸ Lasswell, Lerner and Rothwell, op. cit., p. 2.

French followed a direct rule model of colonial government and emphasized the development of an achieved elite within the bureaucratic meritocracy. Under this system the educated could gradually accede to positions of power and responsibility according to their education and performance. In contrast, the British model of colonial government was one of indirect rule--of continuing to support the ascribed elite by governing pre-colonial political units through the traditional structure and by establishing what Lipset terms "elitist" based education.¹⁹

However, these two positions appeared more dichotomous in principle than they were in practice. While the Africans' access to the French colonial elite was determined almost wholly by educational achievement according to French definition, it was often easier for the traditional elite, if interested, to get this type of education for their children. In the British areas the African colonial elites were heavily traditional in origin. Nevertheless, towards the end of British colonial rule, recruitment to leadership positions from among the ascribed elite began to be increasingly determined by educational achievement.²⁰

¹⁹S. M. Lipset, "University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries," in Comparative Education Review (Vol. 10, No. 2, June, 1966), p. 149.

²⁰P. C. Lloyd, The New Elites of Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 382.

The Belgians, by contrast, developed a hybrid policy somewhere between the policies of the two major colonial powers in Africa which they took pride in proclaiming as their unique paternalistic policy. It is often overlooked or ignored that the Belgian colonial education system, which was an integral component of paternalism, provided ". . . craft skills, vocational training (which) reached levels higher than in any other African colony"²¹ and also boasted one of the most extensive primary school systems in Africa.²² Furthermore, as Professor Van Bilsen, among the earliest Belgian advocates of independence for the Congo, pointed out, "France and Britain didn't train Africans and Asians in their universities so as to be prepared for future independence, but it worked out this way."²³ Nevertheless, Britain and France did not, like Belgium, deliberately adopt a policy which would serve to limit the formal education available to native students so as to disqualify them from entering universities even in

²¹Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African, A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 358.

²²L. J. Lewis, "Education and Political Independence in Africa," Comparative Education Review (Vol. 5, No. 1, June, 1961), p. 41.

²³A. A. J. van Bilsen, "Some Aspects of the Congo Problem," International Affairs (Vol. 38, No. 1, January, 1962), p. 24.

the metropole. In 1922, as in 1948,²⁴ the prospect of a Congolese being educated "so as to participate in directing the social and political lives of the masses" terrified substantial numbers of the colonials.²⁵ And while the Belgian system did produce skilled and literate Congolese, it did not result in a cadre of elites comparable to those found in Nigeria, Ghana, and Senegal.

Influenced by events in the Congo as well as in some of the other newly independent countries, international concern about the elites of the new nations has grown steadily in conjunction with a nagging malaise over future prospects for countries especially characterized by low levels of human resources development. Countries which happen to be most underdeveloped in this aspect are overwhelmingly African and fall into Harbison and Myers' Level I category²⁶ and/or Black's Seventh Pattern.²⁷ Thus countries in the post-independence period, especially those in Africa, have experienced an expanding interest in the

²⁴ Interview with Professor Guy Malengreau, Louvain University, May 4, 1968.

²⁵ G. Cooreman, "L'Enseignement au Congo," Congo Vol. II, No. 2, July 1922), p. 190. This series of articles was edited by de Jonghe, Director to the Minister of Colonies.

²⁶ F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 33.

²⁷ C. E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 93-4.

study of their elites not just for humanitarian and academic reasons.²⁸ Rather this concern for elites has been supported and encouraged by international donors and by regional organizations preoccupied with problems related to human resources development as a vital factor influencing economic development, to the capacity of aid recipient countries to absorb foreign assistance--in sum with problems related to the prospects of these countries achieving viable economies at levels amenable to their peoples.

D. The Elite Groups in the Congo

"In theory, there can be as many competing, conflicting, or co-existing dominating conflict groups in a society as there are associations. Whether and in what way certain associations, . . . are connected in given societies is a subject for empirical analysis."²⁹ In the European ruled Congo there were three fairly distinct categories of elites coexisting simultaneously and reflecting three identifiable segments within the society. The degree of status reserved to each was different, but each category recognized and acknowledged in a functional sense the respective general parameters of the others. These three were: the European elite which controlled the colony; the elite of the traditional society which was allowed to retain limited

²⁸ P. C. Lloyd, op. cit., p. 382.

²⁹ Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 198.

prerogatives; and the non-traditional elites which developed under the influence of Belgian rule.

As the colonial administration evolved, the status of the traditional elite was increasingly overshadowed by that of the rising non-traditional elite. This process, by which the non-traditional elite in the Congo was created and gradually came to surpass the traditional elite, derived essentially from the influence of foreign rule per se compounded by the drive to develop the colony which disrupted the traditional values of status, prestige, and income.³⁰ By the 1950's components of the non-traditional elite were in a position to challenge the colonial elite which had created them. The dynamism demonstrated by the non-traditional Congolese elite is reminiscent of the processes by which elites have historically emerged and changed--a key phenomenon which Pareto called the "circulation of elites."

1. The Colonial Elite

It would appear that a colonial power small in size and population would in seventy-five years probably make relatively little impact on a colonial area as large and inhospitable to Europeans as was the Congo. However, in the case of Belgium the reverse occurred. The limited metropolitan base which inhibited choices and influenced

³⁰Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958), pp. 46-50.

policy decisions for the Congo Free State (and subsequently for the Belgian Congo) demanded from the outset that Leopold either act quickly to consolidate his position in the Congo or risk losing his prize.³¹

Almost immediately, therefore, he began to mobilize from available sources--the Catholic Church, business, and the government (including the Belgian Army)--the manpower he needed to exploit the new state. Until near the end of the Congo's period of colonial status, this same triumvirate managed successfully to coexist and cooperate, and their personnel constituted the bulk of the colonial elite. As the Congo became a colony of Belgium, the number of Belgians serving in its administrative structure grew larger at the expense of other Europeans previously employed. Belgian colonials, the ruling elite in the Congo and the model for the non-traditional elites, have been well described by Hodgkin:

Belgians. . . are essentially a nation of townspeople--a 'bourgeois' nation--in whose history the self-governing commune has played an important part; whose paintings reflect the esteem in which the prosperous burgher, the civic dignitary, the comfortable middle-class family circle, have traditionally been held. Internal differences and disagreements--between Flamands and Wallons, between Catholics and Anti-clericals--are real enough, and these are exported to the Congo. But they are normally overlaid by a common belief in what are sometimes regarded as Protestant values--material success, thrift, self-help, domestic decency and comfort, respectability;

³¹Neal Ascherson, The King Incorporated, Leopold II in the Age of Trusts (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963).

in the Calvinist gospel of work; and in the small monogamous property-owning family as the pivot of society. To be 'civilised' means to accept, and act upon, these moral beliefs. Thus one idea which, in spite of deviations, has profoundly influenced--and continues to influence--Belgian policy is the idea of 'civilising' the Congolese, in the sense of training them to be good burghers, organising their lives and behavior on the basis of Belgian middle-class values.³²

As in most of colonial Africa, there was a dual society in the Congo--Europeans and Congolese lived in the same political and geographical entity, but they did not live together. "Except for certain fundamental liberties, borrowed from the Belgian Constitution . . . natives and non-natives (were) under juridical regimes completely distinct from each other; they (were) not under the same civil or penal laws, . . . the same social and economic laws, or the same administrative regulations."³³ This colonial elite was the most elitist of the plurality of elites--the group to which Pareto referred as the "upper elite," and which Nadel termed the "governing elite." Thus, what Nadel has listed as the classic characteristics of elites, not all of which are required for the "relatively specialized" elites, would in the Congo have fit snugly and uniformly only the colonial elite. These characteristics,

³²Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 48.

³³R. Montagne, "The 'Modern State' in Africa and Asia," Cambridge Journal (Vol. 10, July, 1952).

with some indications of how they applied to the colonial elite, are as follows:

- a. An aggregate of people with distinct characteristics:
While there were significant differences between the conglomerate of Europeans represented within the colonial society, these differences paled before the much greater racial, cultural, and economic differences which separated them from the Congolese. The impact of these factors was further compounded by the Europeans' ³⁴ awareness of their obvious minority position within the colony.
- b. A position of high status, some degree of corporate group character as well as exclusiveness: The lifestyle of the Europeans and their complete control of military and political power gave them a kind of status quite different from that possessed by Congolese. The factors mentioned in (a) above led to an exclusiveness which was patently evident in education and occupation and strikingly apparent in colonial urban planning--the cities were divided into European and Congolese quarters well separated from each other by extensive green zones.
- c. An awareness of their preeminent position as the consequence of some attributes which they shared by

³⁴European in this study is synonymous with White. Americans and immigrants from the Near East were the largest non-European groups in the "European" category.

- right: Belgian rule was based on paternalism-- Belgium was portrayed as the "father" with the Congo as the "son." This homology was clothed in both evangelism and the "the white man's burden." As late as 1948, ex-Colonial Governor-General Ryckmans reaffirmed the policy of paternalism with his proclamation that it was the duty and the mission of Belgium in the Congo "To rule in order to serve."³⁵
- d. A recognition of their general superiority by the society at large: The double standards in formal education, occupations, law, administration, etc., were evidence of the inferior position of the Congolese, who for decades offered relatively little objection to this institutionalization of European superiority. To occupy and exploit such a vast area meant that the Europeans had to be able to conquer and control it. This could only have been accomplished with at least the acquiescence of the Congolese.
- e. And finally imitability--the elite, exerting influence from a position of power being accepted as a model: The Congolese began to dress like Europeans, accepted their religion in large numbers, tried to adopt their life-style insofar as they could, and increasingly tried to gain a European type of formal education and

³⁵Pierre Ryckmans, Dominer pour Servir (Brussels: Education Universelle, 1948).

thus occupation. Although the efforts were occasionally tragi-comic, and gave rise to a barrage of "colonial style" jokes, the attempt to imitate the colonial rulers was desperately real.³⁶

Addressing the formation of new elites elsewhere, Kerstiens has suggested that in the first years after the founding of a colony the White colonial elite probably were not perceived as being an elite because of the real lack of contact between them and the natives.³⁷ In part this was also true in the Congo Free State. It should, however, be emphasized that the lack of early interracial contact appears to have been related more to the limited number of Whites available to mingle with the Congolese than it was to a desire by Whites to maintain separation for other reasons. The initial meagerness of the non-native (White) population is illustrated by early Congo Free State censuses:

December 31, 1886, 254 of whom 46 were Belgians; January 1, 1895, 1,076 of whom 691 were Belgians; January 1, 1898, 1,678 of whom 1,060 were Belgians.³⁸ While Nadel wrote that

³⁶Nadel, op. cit., pp. 415-417, 421.

³⁷Thom Kerstiens, The Elite in Asia and Africa, A Comparative Study of Indonesia and Ghana (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pp. 19-20.

³⁸Angelo S. Rappoport, Leopold The Second, King of the Belgians (New York: Sturgis and Walton Co., 1910), p. 204.

"great emphasis (should be placed) on the condition of imitability",³⁹ the colonial elite of the early Congo Free State period was so different that it was difficult for Congolese to accept them as a realistic model. A position analogous to the one often attributed to the early British Raj in India was reached--imitability was nearly impossible to accomplish even if desired.

The second generation of the European colonial elite, representing a change in style, motivation, values, and sheer numbers, evolved for the most part after the establishment of the Belgian Congo. Those among the non-missionaries were no longer the short-term adventurers prevalent in the Congo Free State period, but instead were more often career administrators and officials with the government and parastatal organizations and large companies. These new longer-term colonial residents were a part of the growing bureaucracy responsible for administering the increasingly welfare-oriented colonial policies promulgated in Brussels. That is not to say that these members of the colonial elite became a "mediating elite", such as Eisenstadt has identified in Israel, who established "close personal relations" between members of the elite and the rest of the community and were willing and ready to communicate the "main values of the"

³⁹Nadel, op. cit., p. 417.

society."⁴⁰ The Congo's colonial elite sought improvements for the Congolese but effectively blocked them from achieving equality. There was little interest on the part of the colonial elite in general to play the "mediating" role even when such a policy was promoted by the government during the last decade of colonial rule.

At the same time, even though the governing colonial elite did increasingly try to maintain a separateness, they did over the years become recognized by Congolese as being equally human, fallible, and imitable.

As the colonial elite multiplied--slowly until after World War II when the rate of Belgian immigration into the Congo jumped significantly--their families became an ever larger proportion of the colonial population. Thus it gradually became patently obvious to the Congolese that the kind of education that they should have for their own children should be similar to that which the colonial elite were establishing for European children, i.e., full formal academic education. Without this type of formal educational preparation, the Congolese could never qualify within the colonial system for the most desirable occupations--identified by colonial prestige indicators such as housing, offices, trips to Europe, material possessions, etc. Thus the

⁴⁰S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Place of Elites and Primary Groups in the Absorption of Immigrants in Israel," American Journal of Sociology (Vol. 57, 1952), pp. 227-231.

colonial elite provided the indigenous population with a model, alien to the traditional society, in which status was acquired by occupations based upon educational qualifications. As Foster has summarized, ". . . emergent conceptions of social status were partially the result of reference group characteristics of the European minority itself in that it provided models for status acquisition based on education and occupation."⁴¹

Consequently as colonial development progressed, as the formal education systems developed, as Whites and Blacks increasingly worked to tame the environment, and as enlightened colonial policies began to evolve which stressed education and welfare (demonstrated elsewhere by the Dutch "ethical" policy, Britain's assumption of the "white man's burden," and France's "mission civilisatrice"), those colonized began to realize that they could attain what the White man had if given the same opportunities. The White colonial elite increasingly became an elite model for the non-traditional elite.

2. The Traditional Congolese Elite

Although Belgian colonial and governmental officials have claimed kinship with the British indirect rule pattern,

⁴¹Philip J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 8.

and in fact "officially adopted" an indirect rule policy under the Colonial Minister Franck (1918-1924),⁴² the Belgians in practice followed it only at the lower levels of tribal administration. From the establishment of the Congo Free State, the traditional elite was steadily reduced to a position of subordination to the colonial elite, fundamentally because of the power the latter derived from their scientific and technological capabilities. The traditional elite who had signed the treaties with Stanley which gave Leopold his claim to the bulk of the Congo basin,⁴³ continued to play their historical roles in a restricted context because they were useful to the colonial government.

By seriously limiting the powers of the traditional elite, the Belgians deprived them of the means by which they could continue to retain effectively their elite status. Denied the right to traditional sources of revenue by a colonial government which refused them either a sufficient subsidy or alternate sources of income, and also prohibited from exercising other hereditary powers, the traditional

⁴²L. Franck, Le Congo Belge (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, Vols. I and II, 1930).

⁴³H. M. Stanley, The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State (New York: Harper & Brothers), Vol. 2, pp. 195-207, and Vol. I, pp. 375, 261-265. By the end of 1884 Stanley had induced over 450 African chieftains to sign treaties.

elite gradually ceased to possess many of their chieflike characteristics. What status they retained was constantly threatened by colonial administrators. An impersonal foreign government and its representatives rather than inherent or inviolate indigenous rights became the determiners of chiefly authority and prerogatives. While the traditional elite continued in many instances to be treated with respect, it would be difficult to claim that this attitude was based upon a recognition by Congolese society in general of the traditional elite's superiority.⁴⁴

Thus the Belgians deviated from basic British practices of indirect rule by not allowing indigenous rulers and their entourages either to have significant political power and responsibility or to educate their children with a view to developing in them capabilities required to retain their hereditary positions in an evolving society.⁴⁵ Occasional efforts were made in the Congo to establish schools for the sons of chieftains, the last of which was during the administration of Colonial Minister Blisseret in 1955. Three government sponsored schools were established at that

⁴⁴ Paul Caprasse, Leaders Africains en Milieu Urbain (Elisabethville) (Louvain University: School of Political and Social Science, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1959).

⁴⁵ Dwaine Marvick, "African University Students: A Presumptive Elite," in James Coleman, op. cit., p. 464.

time especially to train prospective chiefs and other hereditary tribal representatives for local government leadership. However, pressure from the Catholic Church, based to a large degree upon the fact that many of these children of chieftains came from polygamous families and would themselves almost assuredly practice polygamy in adulthood, forced the closure of these schools in 1957. The Church's reason ostensibly was that such institutions represented a scheme to remove the elite of the country from the mission schools and place them in Nazi style Führerschulen.⁴⁶ It also threatened to shift control of forming the elite from Church to State institutions.

Not only did the Belgian colonial education policy not provide special programs for the traditional elite, it in many instances deliberately alienated this sector. Combined with the limits the colonial government placed on the traditional elite's political powers and responsibilities, the result was that they stagnated and ceased to be an important cognitive model although there is still evidence of pockets of affective feeling for some of the traditional leadership.⁴⁷ Consequently, the traditional elite will play a limited part in this study because their effectiveness

⁴⁶ "Quand le maître d'école crée des maîtres," La Libre Belgique, June 1, 1955, quoted in George Brausch, Belgian Administration in the Congo (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 53.

⁴⁷ Paul Caprasse, op. cit.

authority ceased to exist except within restricted spheres.

3. The Non-Traditional African Elites

Nadel has also contributed to the development of a definition of elite which has served as a "seedbed" for conceptualizing the new African elites. His normative-oriented definition has been referred to by such authors as Goldthorpe,⁴⁸ Le Vine,⁴⁹ and Foster,⁵⁰ but each has taken it essentially as a point of departure. A growing effort has been made to examine the impact of selected factors on various categories of elites within African society. Thus Wallerstein has stressed "education, social position, occupation, and economic power" as important factors in describing the French-speaking African political elite.⁵¹ The list of crucial factors has been increasingly narrowed in Le Vine's study of the African political leadership which concentrates on education and subsequently occupation.

⁴⁸J. E. Goldthorpe, An African Elite, Makerere College Students, 1922-1960 (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965).

⁴⁹V. T. LeVine, Political Leadership in Africa (Stanford: The Hoover Institution Studies, 1967), p. 15.

⁵⁰Foster, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

⁵¹Immanuel Wallerstein, "Elites in French Speaking West Africa: The Social Basis of Ideas," The Journal of Modern African Studies (Vol. 3, No. 1, 1965), pp. 1-33.

as key elements in identifying the modern African elite⁵² and in Goldthorpe's examination of the East African elite which continues to emphasize education and occupation⁵³ and which is supported by Coleman,⁵⁴ Foster,⁵⁵ and Apter.⁵⁶ Legum on the other hand maintains education alone is the most significant factor in elite formation in modern Africa.⁵⁷

In using these factors for the conceptualization of elite studies, there have understandably been differences in defining the term elite. Perhaps the simplest definition found is the one by Lasswell: "elite are the influential." And in employing this concept Lasswell adds:

A great variety of definitions--contemplative, manipulative, conceptual, and operational--have been and doubtless will be given to the elite category. By this time most scientific observers realize that any single definition for such a key term as 'elite' is inadequate. Too many objectives of science and policy are at stake. The scholar's obligation is

⁵²LeVine, op. cit., pp. 12-19.

⁵³Goldthorpe, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵⁴Coleman, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵⁵Foster, op. cit., p. 5.

⁵⁶David E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

⁵⁷Colin Legum, "Africa's Intellectuals," East Africa Journal (May, 1965), pp. 15-21.

discharged when he gives his definition in general terms and shows by specific indices what is intended in concrete situations.⁵⁸

Following Lasswell's counsel and the guidelines suggested by the above referenced research on elites in Africa, this study will, within the framework of the development of the Congo, (1) focus essentially on the evolution of the new (non-traditional) Congolese elites and the formal education system, and (2) explore and analyze the relationships between education, and more specifically formal education, and occupation which will provide significant insights and factors for determining the nature of the formation of the new elite in the Congo.⁵⁹

Those conferring new elite status on Congolese were the colonial elite. Their objective was to modify Congolese behavior so that it would be more acceptable to and productive for Europeans. While protesting vigorously to the contrary, the colonial elite were insisting, ethnocentrically, upon what they considered a desirable degree of Europeanization for the new Congolese elite--in effect that they

⁵⁸ Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner, World Revolutionary Elites (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M. I. T. Press, 1965), p. 4.

⁵⁹ Indicating the pervasive importance of education, Coleman has written, "Education has acquired such high visibility in the developing countries not only because it has been an important criterion for political elite recruitment of the present generation, and is regarded as a prime mover in economic growth, but also because it is, quite tautologically, highly visible." Coleman, op. cit., p. 5.

evolve into an amenable hybrid between the colonial and the traditional. Thus from the early years of European rule, those Congolese who associated with Europeans, and who were judged by the latter as having achieved an acceptable level of performance and behavior, were called elites. Congolese so designated were generally rewarded not only materially but socially. Material advantages enabled them to improve their life-styles while social recognition afforded them at least some amelioration from their inferior status position (a connotation inherent in the policy of paternalism and reflected in the behavior of the colonial elite toward the Congolese). Consequently Congolese considered as non-traditional elites were in a position to become influential vis-à-vis their countrymen. What was expected of the new Congolese elites varied over the eighty year period under consideration here, approximately from 1880 to 1960, and these differences will be examined in the context of generations of new elites.

The generations of elites approach has been used as a method for further refining elite studies (it was briefly mentioned above in reference to the colonial elites). Lerner, in writing about the Nazi elite, separated them into two groups--the pre-1934 and the post-1934. He then justified concentrating his attention on the pre-1934 segment of the Nazi Party leadership.⁶⁰ Levine divided the African elite

⁶⁰Lerner, op. cit., pp. iii, vii.

into two generations (the first or independence generation and the second or post-independence generation), but instead of discarding one in order to concentrate on the other, as Lerner did, LeVine compared the two.⁶¹ Coleman has pointed out likely generational differences between elites,⁶² and Abernethy and Coombs have dealt with internal struggles between different kinds of elites within a newly independent country.⁶³

To clarify this analysis of the development of the non-traditional elites, they will be considered in four generations which will be distinguished by changes in colonial policies toward the Congolese, their educational system and occupations--factors already indicated above.

E. Sources of Research Materials

A basic acquaintance with the Congo and its education system was acquired by the writer in working on problems related to educational reform and human resources developments there from 1960 to 1962. Subsequent trips to the Congo and to Belgium were made to gather research materials for this dissertation during 1967, 1968, and 1969. In the Congo, statistical data and documentation were collected

⁶¹LeVine, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

⁶²Coleman, op. cit., pp. 356-362.

⁶³Abernethy and Coombs, "Education and Politics in Developing Countries," Harvard Education Review (Vol. 35, 1965), pp. 287-302.

from the Office of Catholic Education, the Office of Protestant Education, the Congo Protestant Council, the Congolese Ministry of Education, the United Nations agencies in the Congo, and the Belgian Technical Assistance mission. Officials of these organizations were also interviewed as were some faculty, staff and student body members at each of the Congo's three universities.

In Belgium research activities concentrated on reviewing basic government documentation related to the development of the Congolese education system. These materials were studied at the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, at Louvain University, and to a lesser degree at the collection of the former Ministry of Colonies (now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in Brussels. More contemporary information was provided by the Belgian Office of Cooperation for Development. At each of these locations Belgians, and on some occasions Congolese working and studying in Belgium, were interviewed if they had been or were actively engaged in work relevant to this topic.

It should also be mentioned that because of its research activities related to the Congo's educational development, the Arnold Bergstraesser Institut at the University of Freiburg has assembled rather extensive documentation. These sources, primary as well as secondary, were generously made available for this study.

At Stanford the Hoover Institute made it possible to

obtain required missionary biographies and autobiographies plus a substantial number of Belgian government and colonial publications. The Hoover Institute was also able to provide extensive secondary source materials when primary sources simply were not available. In addition they supplied journals published in Belgium from the World War I to Congolese Independence period. These scholarly journals on Africa and the Congo in which leading Belgian colonial decision-makers often wrote were invaluable for acquiring insights into changes in colonial policies and practices which were not always readily apparent in more official documentation.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

The purpose of this chapter is to describe briefly the physical context of the study. Stress will be placed upon the Congo's natural resources which provided pre- and post-independence administrations with opportunities not only to build the economy but in so doing to shape the society as well. Overall no nation in independent Black Africa is quite as richly endowed as the Congo. As Helen Kitchen pointed out, "Almost as large as India but with considerably more impressive resources, it has only some 14,000,000 mouths to feed as against India's 450,000,000."¹

A. The National Profile

The great central basin drained by the Congo River constitutes both the heart of Tropical Africa and the bulk of the territory comprising the Democratic Republic of the Congo.² While it is the largest country wholly in Black Africa, it is the third largest in all of Africa (after Sudan and Algeria--both with extensive desert areas), and

¹Helen Kitchen, Footnotes to the Congo Story (New York: Walker and Company, 1967), p. vii.

²Unless required for greater clarity, the country will hereafter be referred to simply as the Congo.

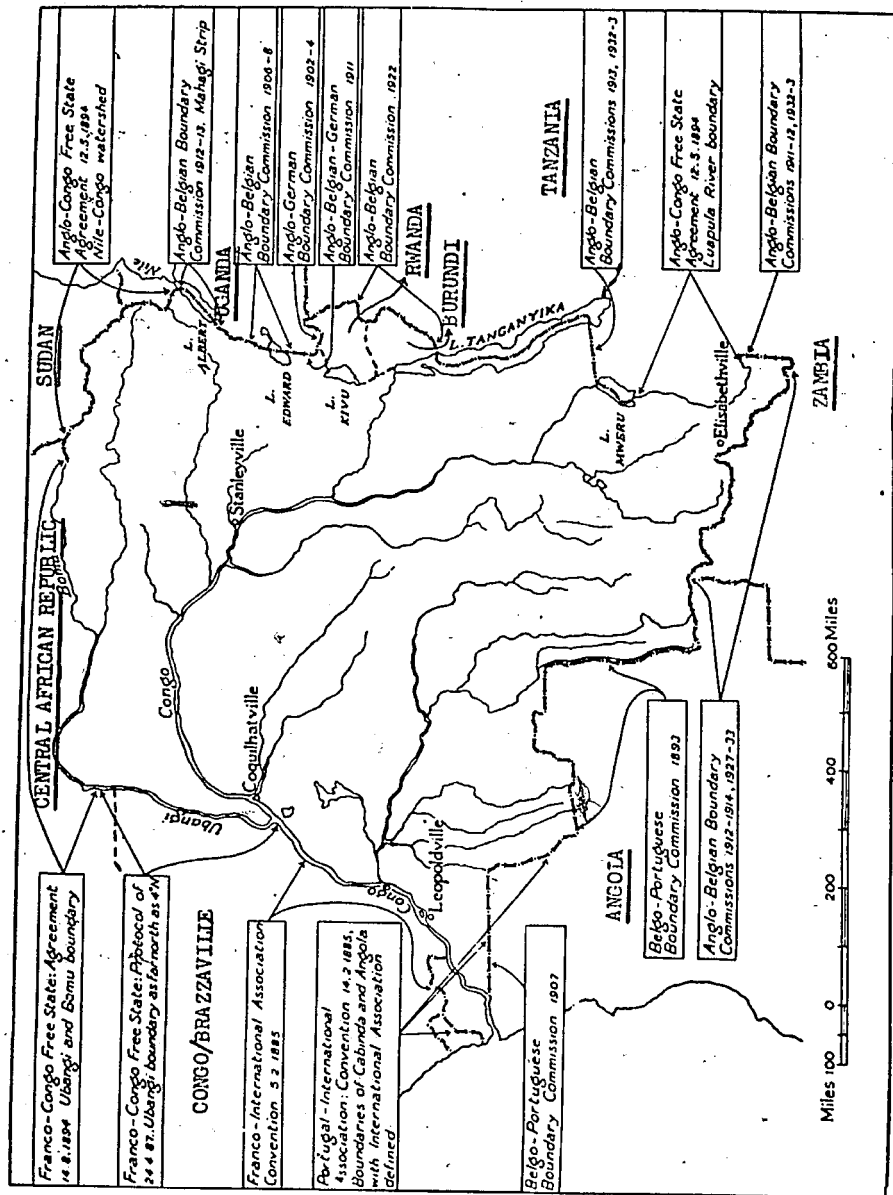
eleventh largest in the world; it is over four times the size of France, eighty-two times the size of Belgium, or roughly equal to the United States east of the Mississippi River.

From its twenty-five mile long coastline on the Atlantic Ocean, the Congo's northern boundary, as shown in Figure 2.1, moves eastward climbing the rising escarpment that rings the African continent. As it does so it detaches the Portuguese enclave of Cabinda from the rest of Angola. Before reaching Leopoldville the boundary hits and follows the Congo River in a north-northeasterly direction. The Congo, the Ubangi, and then the Bomu Rivers form the frontier through the Congo basin first with the Republic of Congo (Congo/Brazzaville) and next with the Central African Republic (C. A. R.). The divide between the Nile and Congo Rivers' watersheds serves as the boundary between the Congo and the southern Sudan and northwestern Uganda.

Swinging southward along the great lakes astride the Rift, the eastern boundary is formed with the remainder of Uganda by Lake Albert, the Semliki River, the Ruwenzori Mountains (whose peaks reach nearly 17,000 feet), and Lake Edward; with Rwanda by Lake Kivu; with Burundi by the Ruzizi River and the northern tip of Lake Tanganyika; with Tanzania by Lake Tanganyika; and finally with northern Zambia mostly by Lake Mweru and the Luapula River.

FIGURE 2.1

Map of the Congo with Major Rivers



Source: Great Britain, Naval Intelligence Division, The Belgian Congo (Oxford: University Press for HMSO (B.R. 522), 1944), pp. 220-221.

From east to west-northwest the southern boundary with northwestern Zambia is drawn along the watershed dividing the Zambezi and Congo Rivers. With Angola the frontier becomes erratic as it is delimited in sequence by the Kasai River for some 250 miles; by roughly the 8° parallel south as it goes overland; by the Kwango River for some 180 miles; and once more by a parallel to the Congo River estuary which then serves as the final 100 miles of boundary to the Atlantic.

Viewed in the African context especially, the Congo has relatively marked natural boundaries with the former French colonies to the north and with the former British colonies to the east and southeast. The most politically troublesome boundary since independence is also the most unnatural--the one with Angola. It is also the one which splits such significant tribes as the Lundas, Tshokwes and Bakongos.

B. Climatic Zones

The area enclosed by these boundaries falls into four climatic zones:

1. A zone of equatorial climate which extends to about 3° to 4° of latitude on either side of the Equator with a high and constant humidity, and with rain falling throughout the year;
2. Next tropical climatic zones, with distinctly marked seasons inverted in the two hemispheres (northern and

- southern), causing an exceptionally high and regular rate of flow of the Congo River which is alternatively fed from north and south of the Equator;
3. Then in southern Katanga, situated much farther from the Equator than is the northern frontier of the Congo, the southern savannah reaches altitudes over 3,000 feet which contribute to seasonal differentiations and marked variations in daily temperatures; and
 4. Lastly there is a small climatic zone in the east created by the mountains where temperatures fall approximately 1° centigrade for every 500 feet gained in altitude.

This amount of climatic diversity permits the Congo to grow a wide variety of crops ranging from bananas to strawberries.

C. Vegetation and Crops

As illustrated by Figure 2.2, either savannah or forest, reflecting the distribution of average annual rainfall, covers almost the entire area of the Congo. Roughly 48% of the total surface of the country, the whole of the central basin zone extending at an altitude of approximately 1,500 feet, is filled by dense jungle type forest. The savannahs, intermittently forested, border the equatorial basin both north and south. Vegetation in the savannahs varies depending upon water, soil and the extensiveness of

AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES

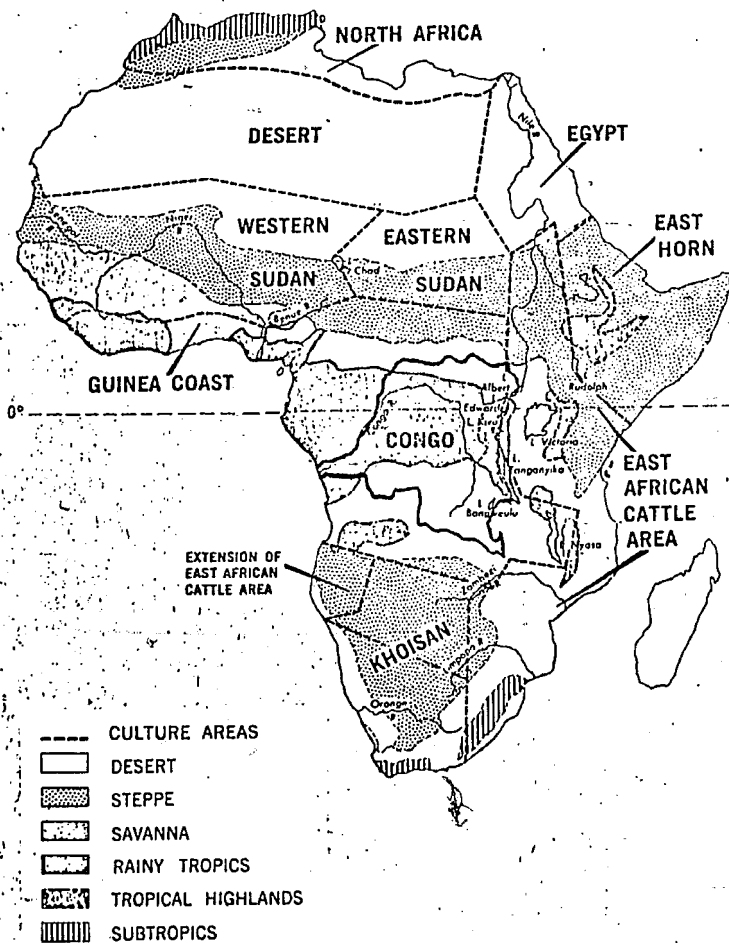


Figure 2.2--Africa: Culture Areas and Vegetational Zones.

Source: James L. Gibbs, Jr., Peoples of Africa (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965).

traditional agriculture. To the east the basin is closed-off by mountains which provide a variety of vegetation from tropical to temperate depending upon the altitude.

Within this central zone of warm climates, characterized by an average annual temperature between 76 and 80° F. in the basin to a few degrees cooler on the peripheries, hunting and gathering, fishing, animal husbandry, cultivation and various combinations of these constitute the type of traditional subsistence production found throughout the country. The overall distribution of these livelihood patterns and the degree of uniformity within the Congo are illustrated in Figures 2.31 and 2.32.

African agriculture has been strongly influenced historically by three separate crop infusions--the first from the Near East, the second from Southeast Asia, and the third from the Americas. These crops enriched the African diet and appear to have assisted the Bantu speaking people to conquer and settle most of central and southern Africa. The pace of change in the adoption and adaptation of new agricultural crops and methods increased sharply under European rule. In historical context, however, this was simply a continuation of the recurring outside impact expressed in terms of crop and dietary changes. This process indicates that the Congolese have gradually and selectively been willing to accept and profit even from very basic changes when they improved life.

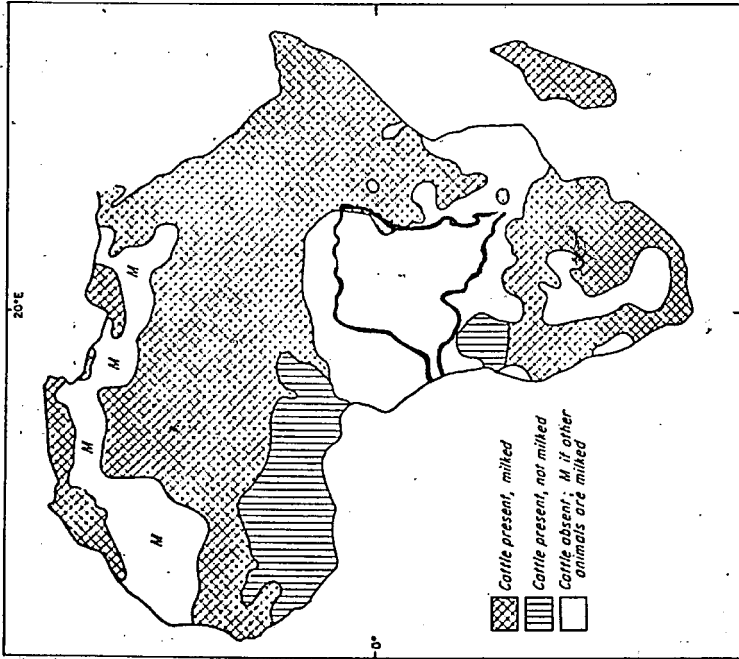


Figure 2.31--Distribution of Cattle and of Milking

Source: George P. Murdock, Africa, Its Peoples and Their Culture History (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company Inc., 1959), pp. 18 and 20.

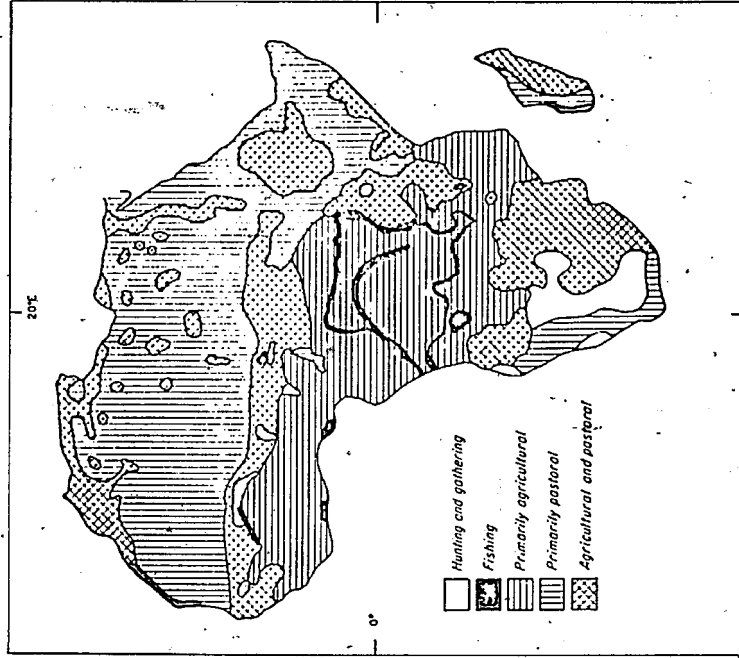


Figure 2.32--Distribution of Types of Subsistence Economy

Source: George P. Murdock, Africa, Its Peoples and Their Culture History (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company Inc., 1959), pp. 18 and 20.

The agricultural modifications accomplished by the Congolese resulted in the development of cultural differences which are especially evident when Congolese cultivators are compared with herding peoples to the north, east and south. (See Figures 2.31 and 2.32).

D. Hydrography

As the name implies, the Congo corresponds for the most part to the heartland drained by the Congo River system-- one of the richest and most extensive basins in the world. About 2,500 miles long, the river is the sixth largest in the world, but in the area it drains and in its rate of flow, it is exceeded only by the Amazon. The river is navigable for 1,035 miles between Leopoldville (Kinshasa) and Stanleyville (Kisangani). Allowing for portages thereafter, the Congo's upper tributaries (especially the Lualaba) are navigable for another 600 miles into the southernmost province of Katanga. The river and its tributaries provide both the commercial bloodstream and the skeletal framework linking the area drained. The most important navigable tributaries of the Congo besides the Lualaba are the Ubangi and the Kasai Rivers.³

³The "Voie Nationale" is the designation of the route from Leopoldville to Port Francqui by boat then by railroad to Elisabethville (Lubumbashi). The rail connection was officially opened by King Albert and Queen Elisabeth in 1928.

Potential hydroelectric power in Africa has been estimated at 40% of the world total, and about half of this lies in the Congo.⁴ A goodly portion of this potential is located between Leopoldville and Matadi where the river in 200 miles drops over 1,000 feet in a series of 32 falls.

The great lakes on the eastern boundary play a double role as reservoirs for the river systems and as navigable waterways. The most important is Lake Tanganyika which is some 450 miles long. On a continent which contains vast water-starved areas, the Congo region exists as a great "core" watershed of plenty.

E. Minerals

During the post-independence period mining has furnished roughly one-third of the tonnage and two-thirds of the value of the country's exports and is the most important economic factor in its prosperity. Principal mining products by province are: Katanga: copper--6 to 7% of the world production; cobalt--65% of world production; germanium--70% of world production; as well as tin, radium, manganese, and zinc; Kasai: diamonds--principal world producer; Oriental: gold--2% of world production; Kivu: commercial quantities of tungsten, tantalum, coal, lead, and iron; Kongo Central (Bas-Congo)--iron. In addition to

⁴ Andrew Boyd and Patrick van Ronsburg, An Atlas of African Affairs (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 46.

what is known and mined, the Congo is estimated to have very significant unproven mineral deposits:

F. Summary

The Congo separates geographically into three basic areas, the Northern Savannah, the Forest Zone and the Southern Savannah. Nevertheless, the country has shared a common economic base, i.e., fishing (where possible) and agriculture (excluding cattle). Until the 19th Century the Congo followed these traditional subsistence crop patterns which, with their slash and burn cultivation methods, supported low population densities. In the 1950's the Congo ranked 26th in Africa in people per square mile.⁵ Thus the natural resources and potential wealth of the Congo have remained undiluted by excessive population pressures.

In an agricultural and sparsely populated region, the Congo River and its tributaries bound the basin's savannahs and jungle core together. By the same token, once the Europeans had climbed the western continental escarpment and reached Leopoldville, and the Arabs had pushed across the eastern plains to the great lakes of Central Africa, the Congo River system served them as a

⁵G. Tondeur, Agriculture nomade au Congo belge (Brussels: Ministry of Colonies, 1957). Neighboring Rwanda and Burundi rank first and second on the continent with over 280 people per square mile.

highway for the exploitation of the basin's people and resources. And finally, it served as a major factor determining the creation first of a colonial empire and then of an independent Congolese nation.

Bordering on nine states, and assured of sufficient natural resources to support not only a viable but a dynamic economy, the Congo exerts a major influence upon the peace and prosperity of the continent. Material resources, although critical ingredients for national growth and power, can also remain unrealized potential. Their constructive utilization is dependent upon the human resources the nation has to accomplish the transformation. Consequently special attention has, since the Arab and European incursions, focused on the Congolese in general and their elites in particular. A better understanding of contemporary Congolese is enhanced by some familiarity with their origins and characteristics--the topic to which we now turn.

CHAPTER III
THE CONGOLESE:
THEIR ORIGINS AND CHARACTERISTICS

"When one talks of the Congo, he must avoid under pain of error, considering it as a homogeneous unit."¹ Nevertheless, there are significant commonalities which the Congo's people share, and in sketching the societal context within which this new nation was formed an effort will be made to present the homogeneous as well as the heterogeneous aspects.²

A. Common Elements in Congolese Heritage

1. Origins

With the exception of a few tribes along the Congo's northern and eastern frontiers, and the Pygmies in the interior, the Congo's people are believed by most contemporary

¹Office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques pour le Congo Belge (Bruxelles: Imprimeries Dewarichet, Vol. I, Oct., 1958), p. 14.

²The heterogeneity to be found among the people of most African states has received considerable attention for a variety of political, economic, etc., reasons. However, in the Congo a large number of those among the colonials were Flemish, and it has been suggested that their fight in Belgium to obtain equality for the Flemish language and culture may have predisposed them to assist Congolese cultures threatened by assimilation. Rene Lemarchand, "The Bases of Nationalism among the Bakongo," Africa (Vol. XXXI, No. 4, October, 1961), p. 346, and Crawford Young, Politics in the Congo (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 266-268.

African historians, linguists, and anthropologists, to be of Bantu stock. Thought to have originated in the Benue River-Western Cameroons region, these people, in what appears to have been one of the great migrations of mankind, moved westward to the Atlantic and southeastward to the Cape occupying the bulk of what is Tropical Africa.

Although they may have carried with them the secret of iron making, they were basically "hoe agriculturalists." The Bantu cultivators gradually absorbed or displaced the Bushmen and the Pygmies, the hunters and foragers, as they moved across the Congo.³ It is interesting to note that the Benue Region homeland of the Bantus encompassed essentially the kinds of terrain which Bantus successfully occupied on their migration: it did not include desert, and the Bantus did not subsequently occupy the desert regions either to the north or in the southwest.

2. Languages

In dealing with the linguistic structure in contemporary Africa, Murdock and Greenberg are in agreement on the Congo with the exception of some of the tribes which overlap the Northern Savannah and the eastern mountain regions of

³Jan Vansina, Introduction a l'Ethnographie du Congo (Mouscron, Belgium: Imprimerie Vanbraekel, 1966), presents a slightly different explanation on the Bantu migration into the Congo.

the Congo frontiers.⁴ While it is agreed that there is significant linguistic similarity in the Congo, the major language groups include, depending upon definitions, from 250 to 400 tribal dialects. Understandably language problems have plagued educators as well as politicians both before and since independence, and disagreement on educational language policies continues.

3. Art

Cultural areas for the African continent based upon art--i.e., a survey of art "material known to archeologists and ethnologists"--have designated west central Africa as a region called the Congo Area.⁵ Including all of the Democratic Republic of the Congo except for a thin slice along the eastern frontier, this area "has yielded so many of the art treasures in museums and private collections that it has the reputation of being the richest in the indigenous arts."⁶ These art objects were traditionally highly functional and had strong religious connotations.

⁴Murdock, op. cit., and Joseph H. Greenberg, "Africa as a Linguistic Area," in William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits, Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 15-28.

⁵Justine M. Cordwell, "African Art," in Bascom and Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 37.

⁶Ibid., p. 38.

4. Music

African music areas are very similar to the art areas; again almost all of the Congo is included within one region which in this instance is called the "Central Africa" area. The most significant difference for the Congo between the art and music units is that the latter detaches the Bas Congo region and places it within a separate "West Coast" area. Even so, ". . . the music concepts (in the interior of the Belgian Congo) are similar to those of the West Coast area but, so to speak, a 'dilution' of the characteristic concepts and patterns."⁷

For Tropical Africa the art and music boundaries share two major, nearly common, delineations: one running east-west along what is roughly the jungle--Northern Savannah and Sudan boundaries to the Nile, and the other going north and south along a Nile River-Great Lakes axis (see Figure 2.2). In both cases, the Congo, with minor exceptions, is not only a unit, but it dominates the area in which it is included.

5. Religion

In pre-missionary Africa, "the religion was . . . familial The ancestors were venerated, and it was the family which venerated them. They were the irreplaceable

⁷Alan P. Merriam, "African Music," in Bascom and Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

dialectic steps for ascending to the heavens."⁸ This religious ideology was remarkably the same throughout the Congo, with the similarities being so strong that one "finds them again and again in the technical names designating spirits, manes (ancestors of the clan), sorcerers, religious specialists."⁹ All believed in a Creator, associated in many regions with the spirits of nature, the ancestors, or an evil spirit as the prime mover. However, the presence of evil, calamity, and death were attributed most often to the action of human beings themselves.¹⁰ The Creator was generally favorable or could be influenced by sacrifices, libations, and prayers. Although the ancestors could become hostile, the Creator provided man with the means of neutralizing their ill effects. "The magical rites of the witch-doctors have indeed an effect on man, on beasts, on the manes or the ancestors," but they do not have power on the Creator.¹¹ Therefore, man might, in spite of all, appeal to the Creator for help as a last resort.

⁸Martin Ekwa, S.J., Le Congo et l'Education, Réalisations et perspectives dans l'enseignement national catholique (Léopoldville: Imprimerie Concordia, 1964), p.9.

⁹Vasina, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰J. Van Wing, Etudes Ba-Kongo, Sociologie, Religion et Magie (2nd ed.: Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959).

¹¹Ibid., p. 302.

The ancestors were usually benevolent toward their descendants, for if their line of descent died out, the ancestors would lose their ties with the living and thus with the earth. This general relationship of mutual dependence between the living and the dead family members existed everywhere in the Congo except in the extreme northeast where the ancestors were felt to be a major source of unhappiness in life.

Ancestor worship required no clergy, though it has required interpreters or technicians to advise and provide protective fetishes against the evils which they could diagnose. This ad hoc arrangement meant that nowhere in the Congo did a formal indigenous religious organization exist. Therefore, indigenous religion was ill-equipped and poorly organized to resist Christianity, especially when it came in association with the colonial powers.

Generally the Christians looked upon the indigenous beliefs and practices as non-religious and were convinced for the most part that, if the people were given the chance to understand Christianity, they would gladly give up their traditional beliefs. On the other hand, they looked upon Islam as a real and immediate threat.¹² Thus for political

¹²When Stanley crossed the continent for the first time, he found the Arabs no farther down the Lualaba-Congo than Nyangwe. Six years later when Stanley came upstream in the steamboat "En Avant" to establish a post at Stanley Falls (later Stanleyville and now Kisangani), he found the Arabs

as well as religious reasons, Leopold's proclaimed policy from the beginning was to check the Arab penetration from the east and to make the Congo safe for Christianity and, insofar as possible, for Belgian Catholicism.¹³ Understandably, this policy was not only popular in Belgium but above reproach and beyond attack. Unlike France and Great Britain, Belgium never ruled large Muslim populations elsewhere, so there was never any felt concern about offending Islam. With France responsible for guarding the religious boundary to the north,¹⁴ the Belgians concentrated their efforts against the Arabs to the east, and by 1960 it was estimated that less than 2% of the Congo's population were Muslim.¹⁵ Therefore, unlike most African states to the

already there and was shocked to find them conducting slave raids at Basoka, some 115 miles downstream from Stanley Falls. See F. Flamant, et al., La Force Publique de sa Naissance à 1914 (Brussels: Editions J. Duculot, S. A., 1952), pp. 24-26.

¹³The following quote is ascribed to Leopold II in 1887: "When I appear before God, I will esteem myself happy for having opened the way to evangelization among the 40 million blacks of Central Africa." Service de l'Information et de la Propagande du Congo Belge, Congo Belge, 1944 (Léopoldville: InforCongo, 1944), p. 41. A further consideration was that as the Catholic king of a Catholic state, he was under moral and religious obligations to promote the Faith.

¹⁴Gerald Lucas, Formal Education in the Congo-Brazzaville: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice (Stanford: Comparative Education Center, Cooperative Research Project, No. 1032, 1964, mimeographed), points out how de Brazza initially attempted to conquer the Islamized populations of the Ubangi-Shari regions by bringing in Algerian Muslims--an effort which the French Catholic missionaries soon managed to stop.

¹⁵Jacques Baulin, The Arab Role in Africa (London: Cox and Wyman, Ltd., 1962), pp. 12-14.

north and east, the Congo at independence did not have, as a result of colonization, a potential Christian-Muslim confrontation with which to contend.

6. Summary

From the commonalities which appear in languages, forms and types of art, and music and religion, it appears again that the Forest Zone did not serve as the barrier which it has often been considered between the savannahs to the north and south. In these basic aspects of its cultural heritage, the great Congo basin, coinciding to a very significant degree with the present Democratic Republic of the Congo, possesses general cultural homogeneity. Only in the northeastern and interlacustine regions do the national boundaries, although arbitrarily fashioned in Europe, include distinctly different people. Obviously similar people have been excluded, however.

In turning to an examination of the social organization and socio-political structure, there continue to be factors of homogeneity but equally important factors of heterogeneity as well.

B. Socio-Political Similarities and Differences

1. Social Organization

When the cultural focus shifts to such considerations as "food-producing activities, the division of labor by sex, the housing and settlement patterns, the kinship and marriage patterns, the forms of social and political organization, and

a few miscellanea such as cannibalism and genital mutilations," the boundaries between tribes assume irregular layer configurations stretching east-west across the continent.¹⁶ Within the Congo these boundaries coincide with linguistic groupings and the matrilineal descent belt while the underlying geographical zones remain clearly recognizable (see Figure 3.1).¹⁷ These delineations indicate the heterogeneity not only of the Congo, but of almost all other Tropical African states as well, especially the larger ones.

The matrilineal "belt" which reaches across Central Africa, occupying most of the Southern Savannah region in the Congo, tends to obscure some interesting shadings between matrilineality and patrilineality. Although classified as patrilineal with their forest area neighbors, the Mongo people evidence matrilineal customs stronger than might be expected. On the other hand, the Luba, who are in the Southern Savannah, are, unlike their neighbors on the savannah, patrilineal rather than matrilineal. The Bakongos, while matrilineal originally, have been in such close touch with non-matrilineal people, especially Europeans, for so long that their matrilinealism has been considerably diluted.

¹⁶Murdock, op. cit., pp. viii, 228-238, 271-313.

¹⁷See Murdock, op. cit., p. 28, and Vansina, op. cit., p. 25. The 15 cultural areas, when compressed into their five major cultural divisions, practically agree with cultural and linguistic boundaries drawn by Murdock and Greenberg.

FIGURE 3.8

Cultural Regions of the Congo
Major Geographical Regions

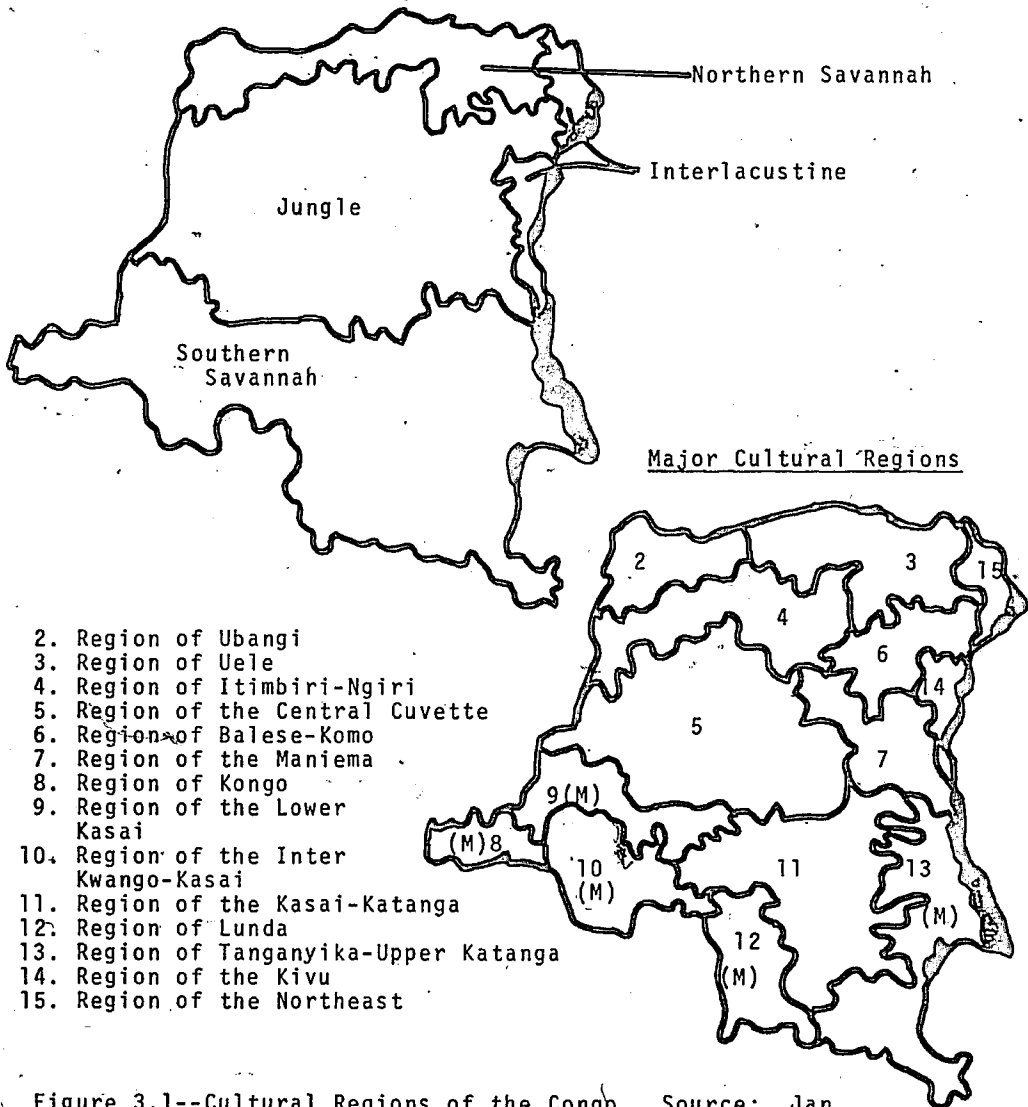


Figure 3.1--Cultural Regions of the Congo. Source: Jan Vansina, *Introduction à l'ethnographie du Congo* (Kinshasa: Editions Universitaires du Congo, 1966), p. 25.

(M) denotes matrilineal regions. No. 11 represents the Baluba patrilineal incursion into the Congo matrilineal belt.

Note: The shaded areas are lakes.

Lineage mattered less following the break-up of the Bakongo kingdom and wealth and personal initiative came to be more important considerations.¹⁸

Historically, however, the traditional basis of the political and social structure in the Congo was lineage, and although there were exceptions, it was overwhelmingly unilineal, either matrilineal or patrilineal. Descent was usually traced to a common ancestor on either the maternal or paternal side, and those descending from that ancestor formed a clan. The clan was the religious, social, and economic framework within which the society functioned--the living, the dead, and the yet unborn. Marriage was strictly regulated so as to prevent incest and mates were found outside of the clan. Bride-wealth was the common means of compensating for the loss of a female member to another clan. Polygamy was common throughout the country, but, except for chiefs or kings, the number of wives was in fact limited. Kinship molded the social structure, age groups played a secondary role, and the development of associations, where they occurred, was generally not based upon descent or kinship but upon free choice.

Lineage patterns also made a significant difference historically in the kinds of political structures which developed in the Southern Savannah (kingdoms), and in the

¹⁸Isaria Kimambo, "The Rise of the Congolese State Systems," in T. O. Ranger, Aspects of Central African History (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), pp. 36-37.

Forest Zone (segmentary societies). Of interest to this study has been the role the traditional elites from these two socio-political patterns have played since the Congo's colonization--first partially by the "Arabs" and then wholly by the Europeans.

2. The Traditional Socio-Political Organization and Structure

The common denominator for societal and political organization throughout the Congo was the village. The village was almost uniformly led by a headman whose duties, regardless of his official name or titles, were fundamentally the same. Operating on a small unit basis, the village resisted, insofar as they could, and for the most part passively, foreign influences. With few exceptions they sought diligently to maintain the traditional culture and beliefs. It was at this level that the State especially needed the help of the churches in order to penetrate the villages so as to gain the cooperation of the people and to recruit the manpower the State had to have.

How the village was linked to the rest of the world created a basic political difference between the patrilineal and matrilineal regions. With some exceptions, the patrilineal societies had only limited and informal linkages which required little in the way of traditional leadership beyond the village chief or the chief of a cluster of villages.

Matrilineal societies, on the other hand, developed political systems which extended far beyond the basic village or village clusters and consequently trained a traditional elite prepared for more complex political and leadership roles.

In the patrilineal areas extensive segmentary systems were usually found which permitted an incorporation of clients (those who were non-property holders or were refugees). Patrilineal societies were almost always patrilocal. This meant their political structure was based upon leadership developed in a social group because these groups were local, self-centered, and cohesive. In the few instances in which kingdoms developed in the Congo patrilineal areas, the legitimation of power rarely depended upon sanctification or deification of the rulers. The major exceptions to this were the Luba (see below). The Mongós, although they had a modified type of leadership sanctification, never produced kingdoms of significance. The kingdoms of the Azande, Mangbetu, and some of the smaller tribes, respected their rulers because they were the descendants of the founder of the kingdoms, not because they were divine.

In short, the major patrilineal region, the Forest Zone, developed only insignificant kingdoms. While the Northern Savannah did spawn kingdoms worthy of the name, they were smaller and usually located in the regions inhabited either by non-Bantus or by Bantus sufficiently divorced from

the remainder of the Congo's Bantus so that they spoke another branch of the Bantu dialect. The Azande and Mangbetu are examples of this.

The greatest Congo kingdoms, those of the Bakongos, Kuba, Lunda, Luba, and Msiri's "combination" of the latter two, were established largely in the Southern Savannah, and, with the exception of the Luba, all were basically matrilineal. In practice the women did not exercise authority, and the residence pattern was actually a combination of avunculocal and patrilocal with both demonstrating great residential mobility.¹⁹ Because of this flexibility of residence, the matrilineal societies did not define their political structures on a local kinship basis--local groups were not that cohesive and pertinent to the social structure. Instead, the matrilineal societies defined their allegiance more in terms of possession of territory--a practice which gave the states a fundamentally political rather than a social basis.²⁰ The Lubas, the major patrilineal exception in the Southern Savannah, followed their neighbors in making their kings divine and supported this divinity with an array of ideological and symbolic customs. Nevertheless, the Lubas suffered from constant civil wars, as the localized

¹⁹Vansina, op. cit., p. 16. Also Murdock, op. cit., pp. 271-306.

²⁰Jan Vansina, Kingdoms of the Savanna (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

patrilineal groups retained too many political functions which exercised a divisive influence straining the kingdom's cohesiveness.²¹

As Murdock has pointed out, the extension of personal relationships beyond the community may be facilitated: (1) by various cultural devices, e.g., local exogamy, blood brotherhood, safe-conduct, and market peace; (2) by regularized development of social groups which cut across community lines; and (3) by consolidated political unification.²² While all of the Congo's regions practices these in varying degrees, it was the matrilineal but "multi-local" systems in the Southern Savannah which followed especially numbers (2) and (3) successfully enough to build a series of extensive kingdoms.

1. The Status of the Socio-Political Systems at Colonization

Prior to the arrival of the Belgians, severe stress had already been placed upon the Congo's indigenous social and political systems as a result of the slave trade, internal migrations, and the Arab expansion. With few exceptions societies touched by these events were less able to cope with European colonialism in the late 19th Century

²¹Kimambo, op. cit., p. 39.

²²George P. Murdock, Social Structure (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 85.

than might otherwise have been the case. However, as will be indicated below, these societies would, at even the best of times, probably have been hard put to resist a sustained foreign encroachment which could call upon modern technological support.

The states in the Congo, identified previously as being organized essentially on either a segmentary basis (the Forest Zone and most of the Northern Savannah), or on a kingdom basis (the Southern Savannah, the Interlacustine and Northeastern regions), can meaningfully be examined in the framework of a political classification model suggested by Almond and Powell. Their typology of "political systems according to degree of structural differentiation and cultural secularization" contains three major divisions. The first is "Primitive Systems: Intermittent Political Structures" which, in summarizing, "have all the capabilities which are to be found in the more elaborate and complicated types of political systems."²³ This major division, the only one applicable to the Congo, is subdivided into three groups: Primitive Bands, Segmentary Systems, and Pyramidal Systems.

a. Traditional Elite in the Segmentary System

The Segmentary Systems, which in the Congo are those

²³Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: A Democratic Approach (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1966), p. 221.

groups predominantly in the Forest Zone, are characterized as consisting:

. . . of a number of autonomous kinship or lineage units, all belonging to a common tribe. The tribe itself has no explicit political organization or structure, and each one of the component lineage segments is a self-governing unit. However, when conflicts arise between members of different segments of these tribes, some informal political machinery becomes available which makes it possible to resolve disputes and conflicts of this kind without too serious a disruption of safety and order.²⁴

These segmented societies never really offered any broad tribally based resistance to colonial occupation. This acquiescence would appear, without the above explanation of their political system, to be incongruous given the numerical importance of some of these tribes. The Mongo, for example, are in this group; they occupy most of Equator Province south of the Congo River, and are extensive enough so that since independence a national commission on language policy in education has recommended that the language of the Mongos become the fifth national language.²⁵ While the segmentary system managed to exercise sufficient control over internal dissension, in keeping with the above definition,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 222. Also: David Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 8; and Aidan Southall, The Alur (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1953).

²⁵ Language Commission, "Utilisation des langues congolaises dans l'enseignement," (mimeographed, C.S. 67/COM.II/DOC.3). "The four indigenous national languages are Kikongo, Tshiluba, Kiswahili, and Lingala.

it appeared unable to cope with the serious external threats posed first by Arab invasions in the eastern Mongo regions, and second by European encroachments from the West. In spite of the treatment these people received subsequently in the Congo Independent State (CIS), they did not revolt as a tribal group although they probably had the greatest provocation of any in the Congo.²⁶ The major exception to this was the Batetela-Bakusu group located in the south-eastern edge of the Mongo region, and the explanation below of this episode is relevant to this study.

Indigenous leadership in much of the eastern part of the Congo had suffered from the impact of the Arab slave-traders who established major supply and recruitment centers on the Lualaba and Congo Rivers through which slaves and ivory were transported to Zanzibar.²⁷ Reports of these trading practices and indications of the consequent displacements they created had been reported before Stanley by Burton and Speke in 1858, and more dramatically by Dr. Livingstone just prior to his death in 1872.²⁸ Thus even the former interlacustine kingdoms within the Congo were

²⁶E. D. Morel, Red Rubber (London: T. F. Unwin, 1906).

²⁷Margery Perham and J. Simmons, African Discovery (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), pp. 231-242.

²⁸H. Waller (ed.), The Last Journal of David Livingstone in Central Africa (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1875).

partially smothered by an expanding series of small Arab sultanates in the eastern region.

The largest and most powerful of the Arab states was founded by Tippo Tip and extended from the Nyangwe region to beyond Stanley Falls. With an army of approximately 800, this ruler controlled an independent state within the boundaries of the CIS; it was vital for the CIS that his cooperation be secured and this was accomplished by Leopold's appointing him as the CIS's first Governor of Stanley Falls. The arrangement lasted until 1892 when the so-called "Arab War" broke out. Continuing until 1894, the war ended Arab rule in the Congo. It also severely disrupted once again the eastern region of the Congo which had been Arab occupied and considerably "pacified" prior to this conflict.

At the close of the war, the Belgians betrayed and killed an Arab ally, Congo Lutete, who had a sizable contingent of loyal African tribesmen "recruited from all parts of 'Arabized' Central Africa from Zanzibar to the Lomami" River in the Congo.²⁹ However, because these troops had originally been stationed in the Batetela region and contained a minority of Batetelas, they have historically, and inaccurately, all been called "Batetelas" by the Belgians.³⁰ The second largest tribal contingent

²⁹Flamant, op. cit., p. 350.

³⁰Ibid.

within this "Batetela" force were the Bakusu, closely related neighbors of the Batetela. Both tribes are classified as members of the larger Mongo family.³¹ Following Gongo Lutete's execution, the Belgian officers, because they respected the demonstrated ability of the "Batetela," incorporated them as existing units into the Force Publique.³² The distrust and hatred these troops held for the Belgian officers, stemming from Gongo Lutete's death, appears to have simmered for almost a year and a half until, triggered by subsequent mistreatment by Belgian officers, it erupted into a series of three major revolts which altogether took over twelve years to put down.³³ The leaders of the

³¹Murdock, op. cit., pp. 284-290, puts the Batetela and Bakusu in the same Mongo Province subgroup and points out no significant differences between them in social organization.

³²Flamant, op. cit., pp. 363, 382, 396, and 456. Gongo Lutete was himself a Bakusu by blood. As a child he had been a slave of the Arabs, and because of his fighting and leadership abilities, he became Tippo Tip's chief slave and ivory hunter. He gathered around him his own band of followers who were loyal and well trained. See Dr. Sidney Hinde, The Fall of the Congo Arabs (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897).

³³See Flamant, Ibid., pp. 349-466, and D. C. Boulger, The Congo State (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1898), pp. 242-258 for interesting accounts of these mutinies. The three were: at Luluabourg, 1895; in the northeastern Congo, 1897 (the worst); and at Shinkakas (near Boma), 1900. While Flamant passingly indicates that some Belgian officers made a few mistakes, Captain Guy Burrows, The Curse of Central Africa (London: R. A. Everett & Co., Ltd., 1903), a Britisher who served in the CIS, presents a scathing account of "the type of Belgians" who came to the Congo: ". . . the majority are officers of the Belgian army who have left their regiments for their regiments' good and for the benefit

mutinies appear overwhelmingly to have been of Batetela-Bakusu origin.

From the point of view of the influences of foreign training on the Congolese, this revolt is extremely interesting. Members of the Mongo people, the Batetela and Bakusu were among the few groups from the segmentary system who offered the Belgians serious resistance. However, this resistance was not led by the traditional Batetela-Bakusu elite, who in fact do not appear to have reacted forcefully against either the Arab or the Belgian occupations any more than did the traditional elite in most other segmentary societies.³⁴ Rather the revolt which occurred was led essentially by Batetelas and Bakususes first trained by the Arabs, then incorporated as units into the Force Publique and given additional training by the Belgians. In this sense, the Batetela-Bakusu were among the first Congolese to learn new skills, in this case military, from the conquerors and then to use this knowledge against their teachers. Their military leadership developed as a

of their creditors." (p. 107). He also levels a severe attack against two of the Belgian Army's Force Publique heroes, Michaux and Lothaire. While Burrows is obviously biased in his reporting, there is probably considerable truth therein as well.

³⁴One exception to this which should be pointed out was the resistance of the Budja people who live north of the Congo River, northwest of Bumba in Equator Province. Practicing cannibals, and living in an area difficult to reach by river, they were well led by traditional chieftains, and were finally overcome in 1905 by negotiations rather than by being totally defeated. Flamant, op. cit., pp. 482-483.

consequence of foreign training and was fundamentally distinct from tribal tradition or training. By coincidence, it was a member of the Batetela tribe, trained in the colonial formal education system who, some fifty years later, was to lead a different, but more successful, political battle against the Belgians. His name was Lumumba.

b. Traditional Elite in the Kingdom

Kingdoms, in the Almond and Powell classification, can fall into any of three major divisions, but in the Congo they again fall under the first division, although under a "Pyramidal Systems" category ranked above "Segmentary Systems."³⁵ These people are identified as having ". . . several layers of authority (chiefs and subchiefs) in which the local units tended to have the same powers as the central paramount chief."³⁶ In view of their greater political cohesion, however, it would be anticipated that kingdoms could have offered more resistance to the Belgians than did the segmentary regions. On both a short and long term basis, this was generally true. The kingdoms also provided the most important members of the traditional elite, and they managed to retain considerable influence

³⁵Comparing descriptions of the Ashantis, who are listed as exemplifying this category, with those of the Bakongos and the Lundas, two of the most important centralized kingdoms in the Congo, it would appear that the Congo kingdoms would, overall, fit most closely within this grouping. Georges Balandier, Sociologie des Brazzaville noires (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1955), p. 66.

³⁶Almond and Powell, op. cit., p. 222.

among their people during the colonial period. It is, therefore, relevant for this study to briefly review the state of the major kingdoms at about the time of colonization.

The Bakongo Kingdom, having established relations with Portugal initially in 1484, had been the first whose people were converted and exploited by Europeans. The Kingdom had flourished intermittently from the 14th to the 17th Centuries.³⁷ Weakened by the slave trade, attacks from the Yaka Kingdom, Portuguese intervention in internal affairs, and loss of trade to Angola, the Kingdom was badly fragmented by 1885 and was easily dismembered by France, Portugal and Leopold II. Nevertheless, the memory of lost leadership and power were major factors in the resurgence of Bakongo nationalism in the post-World War II period. However, the Bakongo revival was not led by the decimated traditional elite, but by the new elite.³⁸ Inspired by their history and a time when the Bakongolese were treated as equals by the Europeans, the new Bakongolese elite forged the first significant tribally based political party in the

³⁷ See Balandier, op. cit., and Leon Guebels, op. cit.

³⁸ Crawford Young has pointed out that a factor contributing to Belgium's decision to grant independence to the Congo was the realization in 1959 that they could no longer guarantee control of the Bas Congo. The Bakongo people clearly demonstrated that they were following their own political leaders and probably could, if ordered, isolate Leopoldville from the Atlantic. This was intolerable. Interview with Crawford Young, July, 1969, in Kinshasa, Congo.

Congo in the 1950's.

The kingdoms in the southern and southeastern Congo were in somewhat better condition but not even the historically great Luba and Lunda Kingdoms were in a position to challenge effectively the expansion of European authority. The heart of the present province of Katanga, which included much Luba and Lunda territory, had been conquered by Msiri. He had proceeded to establish a wealthy kingdom based upon trade east and west with the Portuguese colonies on each coast: for guns and gunpowder he exchanged copper, ivory, and slaves. Since Msiri was then the strongest of the rulers in the Southern Savannah, and since the claims of any of the European powers to Katanga were nebulous, it was a race between Leopold, Rhodes of South Africa, and Portugal to determine which would succeed in coming to terms with Msiri annexing the region.³⁹ In the process, Msiri was shot by a Belgian agent in 1891, and the kingdom collapsed into Belgian hands.

What remained of the Lunda empire, which also included a Luba minority, was claimed by the Portuguese on the basis of treaties which they had secured from the traditional ruler of the Lunda, the Mwata Yamvo. However, since Leopold II had little regard for Portuguese power, he occupied Lunda

³⁹ Roland Oliver, Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa (London: Chatto & Windus, 1957). Godefroid Munongo, "Minister of Interior" in the Tshombe Katanga Government, is the grandson of Msiri.

holdings in the eastern region of Kwango in 1890. While the Portuguese objected vehemently, Leopold claimed that the Mwata Yamvo's treaties were invalid since the kingdom was disintegrating as evidenced by the Lunda's defeat by the Tshokwa tribe which had driven the Mwata Yamvo into Belgian controlled western Katanga.⁴⁰ Residing in the Katanga from then on, the Mwata Yamvo remained a powerful figure among his people.

Among the important patrilineal kingdoms, the Mangbetu Kingdom in the northeast, being encroached upon by the southward migration of the Azande Kingdom (Sultanate), could not resist Leopold's forces as well. In this instance the Belgians offered the weaker tribe some protection against the stronger. As for the Azande Kingdom, it first joined the Belgians to fight the Mahdists in the Sudan, then turned against them from 1892-1912 when they found that the Belgians had come to stay and to rule.

C. Summary and Generalizations

In reviewing the origins of the Congolese and the characteristics of their societies prior to the foreign incursions of the 19th and 20th Centuries, the prevalence

⁴⁰Biebuyck and Douglas, Congo Tribes and Parties (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1961), p. 21. Moise Tshombe, formerly "President of Katanga" and Prime Minister of the Congo, was the son-in-law of the Mwata Yamvo who died in 1963.

of an underlying homogeneity has been stressed although without denigrating the important heterogeneous factors which have and continue to exert divisive political pressures. As indicated, in terms of art, music, religion, and linguistic families, the Congolese have shared fundamental cultural components. Those exceptions to this generalization have, outside of the Pygmies, been restricted to groups overlapping the eastern or northeastern borders. Thus, in addition to the political imperative to consider those within the present boundaries of the Congo as an entity, significant cultural bases exist for doing so as well.

With reference to socio-political organization, the Congolese have had in common a unilateral descent group (or lineage) even though there were matrilineal and patrilineal differences. The kingdoms, and especially those on the Southern Savannah, had developed centralized and hierarchical political structures more sophisticated than those found in the Forest Zone and most of the Northern Savannah. Yet based on Almond and Powell's classifications by degrees of "structural differentiation and cultural secularization," the Congo's kingdoms were placed in the same general category as its segmentary systems. Listed in sequential sub-categories, the differences between them were less extensive than their designations might have indicated.

Furthermore the functional socio-political distinctions between these regions have been mitigated by the political disarray prevailing in the southern kingdoms during the last half of the 19th Century. Msiri's kingdom did not really constitute an exception to this since, as a foreign African conqueror, he ruled over portions of territory historically within the Luba and Lunda kingdoms. With the centralized kingdoms disrupted, the importance of the basic village component became even more predominant as a factor peculiar to both the segmentary and kingdom systems.

Even though much of the traditional socio-political structure was patently exposed to institutional and social changes which might be prescribed by the invaders, opposition to the imposition of such changes did come from the villages, albeit passively for the most part, and from some kingdoms still able to fight for their self-preservation. Of the latter, those under the direction of the traditional leadership which launched serious early resistance movements against the CIS and the Belgian Congo were: the Azande (1892-1912), the Bayaka (1895, 1902, 1906), the Baluba of Kasongo Nyembo (1907-1917), and the Baski (1900-1916) kingdoms.⁴¹ It is worth noting that almost none of the larger political entities in the Congo, with the initial exception of Msiri's domain, sought with any consistency or determination to

⁴¹Crawford Young, op. cit., pp. 281-82.

prevent the first European intrusions. When the Congolese resorted to arms they did so largely after the Europeans were relatively ensconced and exercising and extending their power and demonstrating clearly that they intended to remain as rulers. In challenging the Europeans at that point the Congolese had already greatly compromised their chances for either success or meaningful concessions.

Within the general structure of Congolese societies, status was basically ascriptive--age, sex and lineage were the major determinants. For kingdoms, with their defined functional hierarchy, ascription was certainly more important than it was in the segmentary societies. However, social differentiations among Congolese were limited to free commoners, to slaves, and, in addition within the kingdoms, to the aristocracy.

Overall it was cooperation rather than competition which was the prevailing theme in all the societies, and it was the task of the traditional elite to preserve this social fabric in the form handed down from their lineage ancestors. In this sense ascription was also supported by religious sanctions.

Traditional education promoted cohesiveness of the society and success meant one shared and completed with his group the induction into full tribal membership. The educational process transmitted the culture, including the religion, and ascertained that the members had sufficient

training to support themselves as adults in the community. Education was thus homogenizing, conservative, and traditionally meshed with religious instruction.

As has been pointed out for Ghana, and it is equally true for the Congo, ". . . the relative absence of a complex system of division of labour or function implied the absence of formal educational institutions."⁴² Occupations were, with few exceptions, limited to agriculture and/or fishing supplemented by hunting; they were occupations shared in a quite uniform village life style pattern. If other occupational specializations were developed, it usually meant that they were practiced in addition to, not in place of, agriculture. Artisans and craftsmen with special skills and abilities, at times gained through apprenticeships, were respected and honored, but such deference largely accrued to the individual and did not lead to a system of stratification based upon occupation. Education in terms of advanced training did not promote social differentiation.

Consequently, the concept of achievement meant relatively little in Congolese society. As noted, there were different political, and occasionally occupational, roles, but they never carried the status implications which came to prevail in Western societies. The Congo had neither castles nor peasants--often it was difficult to determine

⁴²Foster, op. cit., p. 33.

who were the slaves. Certainly some people possessed more than others but that did not appreciably change their life styles. Wealth did not really translate into social differentiation or foster sub-cultures. Furthermore, the Congo had no cities to promote occupational specializations or the production, consumption and exchange of goods and services in an environment detached from the basic primary producing rural sector. Had there been urban conglomerates, they might have nurtured an achievement orientation and occupational stratification. As it was, the traditional village structure and its functions remained homogeneous and free from potential urban heterogeneous contamination.

Although Congolese societies were conservatively oriented, they were not inflexible nor did they refuse to change. As has been pointed out, they have historically accommodated significant changes in crops which in turn influenced their very patterns of living. These changes were fully comprehended and accomplished by Congolese for purposes which fit within their functional frames of reference. Also the changes were carried out at a pace which was amenable to the modifications which were required concomitantly of the social structure in order to maintain equilibrium. In this way the high degree of traditional interdependence which existed between functions performed

and social structures was protected and sustained.⁴³

Structural-functional interdependence, perhaps especially critical to growing cultures which live at a subsistence level permitting few mistakes and inhibiting risks, meant that the social organization would be directly influenced by the infusion of new institutions. Formal education particularly, in becoming a part of the lives of many Congolese, made a profound impact on the society.

Those portions of European institutional transfer and of Congolese structural-functional adaptation in terms of social reorganization upon which this study will focus will be the growth of the formal education institution and of the new Congolese elites.

⁴³Ibid., p. 34. Regarding a similar phenomenon in Ghana, Foster has noted, ". . . These societies were all characterized by a high level of structural-functional integration consequent upon a limited degree of institutional differentiation and the relative cultural homogeneity of their populations."

CHAPTER IV

CONQUERED AND CONTROLLED

During Leopold's reign education for the Congo's people was not, in and of itself, a major concern. It was important, however, as a component of the King's major preoccupations which, as evidenced by his activities, were: (1) the establishment of a colony, (2) the expansion and protection of that colony, and (3) the creation of not only a self-sustaining but a profit-making colonial economy. These emphases were to continue beyond Leopold's rule.

Cursory and sporadic attention was given to matters specifically related to the well-being of the natives. Leopold's rationale for giving these considerations a low priority was his belief that the natives would automatically benefit from the oeuvre civilisatrice, first because the State would enjoy physical and financial security, and second because of the economic and social advantages which all would subsequently share as a result of the ensuing development and prosperity. To serve in promoting the objectives of the State, largely economic and political in nature, was to be education's primary responsibility in this scheme. This emphasis never changed during Leopold's

reign.

A. Finding the Congo and Founding a Kingdom

That the Congo should be established as a nation, and that Belgium, one of the smallest and newest of Europe's states at that time, should become one of Europe's colonial powers, was essentially the work of King Leopold.¹ Ruling the Congo for twenty-four years before bequeathing it as a colony to Belgium, the impact of his administration has never ceased to influence the relationship between the two countries and the subsequent development of the Congo. His policies also had profound social and educational implications which makes them and their origins of special concern for this study.

1. Coveting a Colony

In 1853, at the age of eighteen, Leopold became the Duke of Brabant and he also began to travel. He toured the Far East, the Near East and North Africa (he never visited Tropical Africa or the Congo), and he became infected by imperialism. "Administration, the problems of colonial strategy, the proper relationship of metropolitan power to native rule, did not attract him so much as the very limited science of using backward populations to produce wealth from the natural resources of their own country."²

¹Ascherson, op. cit., especially points out how Belgium became a colonial power in spite of itself.

²Ibid., p. 47.

In 1864, the year before he became King of Belgium, he returned from a trip to the Far East and presented to Frere-Orban, then Finance Minister, "a piece of marble from the Acropolis . . . cut into it is a relief portrait of the Duke of Brabant, and round the head runs an engraved sentence of startling directness: Il faut a la Belgique une Colonie."³

Once Leopold II decided that it might be possible to secure a colony in Africa, he began a series of machinations with philanthropic-styled organizations which intimated the prowess he was to display subsequently in dealing with concessions, parastatal organizations and high finance. Because he could not depend upon the Belgian Parliament to support his colonial ventures, he turned to distinguished international committees. Not long after Stanley had met Livingstone in Africa, Leopold invited prominent geographers from major European powers to attend an "International Geographic Conference" at Brussels in 1876.

In an opening session, Leopold insisted on the necessity to "liberate Africa from slavery and to carry civilization there." The conference voted to establish the International African Association (AIA, l'Association Internationale Africaine), which was to dedicate itself to the repression of the slave trade and to opening up Africa to

³Ibid. Belgium must have a colony.

⁴InforCongo, op. cit., p. 90.

international commerce. To achieve its objectives, the AIA determined to organize exploration parties and to establish hospitals and scientific stations in Africa. National committees to support the AIA were then formed in member countries.

Between 1876 and 1884, the Belgian National Committee, by far the most active one, sent six expeditions into Africa, the French Committee two, and the German Committee one. The Belgian Committee's work served to link Leopold to Africa, although little else was accomplished--of the 25 Belgians landed in Zanzibar who tried to reach the great central lakes, only 9 made it inland and back. Meanwhile, French explorations reinforced France's claim to French Equatorial Africa, and the work of the German Committee later supported Germany's acquisition of Tanganyika.

Leopold's break came after Stanley descended the Congo River in 1877. Following his return to Europe he agreed to Leopold's offer in 1878 to participate in the founding of the Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo (Committee for Studies of the Upper Congo). Whereas the AIA had solicited funds from members, but collected very little, the Comité d'Etudes was a commercial venture supported by funds from an international syndicate " . . . to equip an expedition to obtain accurate information" ⁵ In an effort to maintain a "link with international legitimacy," the new

⁵H. M. Stanley, The Congo and the Founding of its Free State (New York: Harper & Brothers, Vol. I), pp. 26-27.

Committee was to include on its Executive Council members of the Belgian Committee of the AIA, and the General Secretary of the AIA's Executive Committee. The Comite d'Etudes declared its goals to be commercial: it would seek to establish communications between the Lower and the Upper Congo,⁶ a task which Stanley had launched in the Congo by the middle of 1879. What had begun as a philanthropically sponsored effort to help the natives, to promote knowledge, and to suppress slavery had, in three years, become an internationally financed commercial effort.

By the end of 1879, Leopold realized that the Comite d'Etudes would provide no additional funds, and wrote Stanley that, " . . . the King will therefore offer to take on the responsibility of carrying on the project, reserving for himself an absolute freedom of action."⁷ With growing confidence that he could succeed, Leopold in 1883 reimbursed the subscribers to the Comite d'Etudes and took personal control of the project. Because of the secrecy which Leopold and Stanley managed to maintain, the Committee had not been fully aware of Stanley's successes in the Congo and were quite willing to accept the terms offered by the King. Meanwhile, Stanley and his men had, after working for a year and a half, established permanent posts in the Bas Congo and

⁶InforCongo, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

⁷Father Roeykens, Les Débuts de l'Oeuvre Africaine de Léopold II, 1875-1879 (Bruxelles: Academie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1955), p. 416.

had dragged three steamers up nearly two hundred miles of river cataracts and launched them in Stanley Pool at the end of 1881. By 1883 Stanley had eight steamers on the Congo, had founded a station at Stanley Falls, and had convinced hundreds of Congolese chiefs to sign treaties which Leopold had designed " . . . to delegate to us (him) their sovereign rights over the territories, . . . (to) be as brief as possible, and in a couple of articles . . . (to) grant us everything."⁸ By drawing upon methods used by the British in North Borneo and by the Americans in dealing with Indian tribes, Leopold tapped powerful precedent for the methods he practiced on the natives and built a sovereign base for an organization which was little more than a commercial company.

Reflecting the fact that the Comité d'Etudes had expired in late 1883 and that Leopold was financing the Congo project from his own fortune, a new organization, Association Internationale du Congo, was the next formed to inherit the Congo. It was established to closely resemble the AIA, and the symbols remained unchanged, including the flag of the AIA, which was to become the first national flag of the independent Congo in 1960. As Leopold explained, "Care must be taken not to let it be obvious that the Association du Congo and the Association Africaine are two different things. The public doesn't grasp this. It concludes

⁸ Stanley, op. cit., Unpublished letters, p. 161.

that there are two phases . . . "9 in the organization's development. Under the umbrella of these organizations, Stanley had, by the time the Congress of Berlin met in 1885, a force on the Congo River of approximately 100 white men and six hundred Africans fully armed and equipped with a fleet of steamers which could take them throughout the navigable inland basin.

The Berlin Act outlined in 37 articles the rules for the partition of Tropical Africa. Of these, only Article 6 contained "Provisions relative to Protection of the Natives, of Missionaries and Travellers, as well as relative to Religious Liberty." The nations involved were to "bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the slave trade." Furthermore, it was agreed, " . . . without distinction of creed or nation" to "protect and favour all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions, and undertakings created and organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization."¹⁰ Clearly, the "religious,

⁹Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰Sir E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., New Impression of the Third Edition, Vol. II, 1967), pp. 468-487 for the text of the General Act of Berlin, 1885. These quotes are from p. 473.

scientific, or charitable institutions" were foreseen as the instruments by which the natives would be "instructed" and would consequently receive "the blessings of civilization." The remainder of Article 6 provided for protection of missionaries, scientists, and explorers, for religious toleration, and for public worship.

There was relatively little evidence in this treaty of what Leopold had announced at the Brussels Conference of 1876 as the rationale for having convened the scholars: "To open to civilisation the only part of our globe where she has not yet penetrated, to pierce the darkness that envelops entire populations, is . . . a crusade worthy of this century of progress" ¹¹ Nevertheless, it was the content of the Act of Berlin, almost devoid of concern for the Africans, which accurately portrayed the emphasis of the signatory powers' concerns in Tropical Africa.

2. Recognition and Expansion

With excellent timing and finesse, Leopold in 1884 had obtained agreements with the United States, France, and Germany, ¹² prior to the opening of the Berlin Conference on

¹¹Rappoport, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158, from the text of the King's opening address to the Conference.

¹²See Sir E. Hertslet, *op. cit.* Declarations exchanged between the United States of America and the International Association of the Congo, Washington, 22 April, 1884, pp. 602-604. Exchange of Notes between the Congo Free State and France, respecting the right of Pre-emption of France over the Territory of the Congo Free State, Paris, 24 April, 1884, pp. 562-63. Convention between the German Empire and the International Association of the Congo, Berlin, 8 November, 1884, pp. 572-73.

November 15, 1884, which sanctioned the AIC's being treated as though it were sovereign. Its recognition by the great powers at the conference was assured by the AIC's statement of "Accession of the International Association of the Congo to the General Act of the Berlin Conference of February 26, 1885, being read at the final sitting of the Conference."¹³

Although in agreements with Britain and most of the other powers the AIC was recognized as the sovereign power over the "Free State," no boundaries had been established. The Act of Berlin only delimited a "Collective Conventional Free Trade Area" which stretched from coast to coast across central Africa with the "Geographical Basin of the Congo" as a component thereof.¹⁴ This meant that Leopold was impelled not only to obtain the recognition of the other powers, especially neighboring colonial powers Portugal, France, Great Britain and Germany, to the Congo's boundaries, but that in accordance with the Act of Berlin (Chapter VI), the areas claimed had to be "effectively occupied."¹⁵ The French Government was willing to recognize the AIC's Congo

¹³Ibid., p. 550.

¹⁴Ibid., for the "Collective Conventional Free Trade Area" see the General Act of the Berlin Conference, Chapter I, Article I, inclusive of the extended zone provided for in 3. For the Eastern Boundary of the Geographical Basin of the Congo see the same Chapter and Article, but numbers 1 and 2.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 484-85.

claims only in exchange for "rights of pre-emption" because France, and practically all of the other powers, believed that the Association would be forced "sooner or later to sell its possessions on account of its precarious financial position."¹⁶ France felt the Congo could be acquired by default more easily than by challenging the claims of other colonial powers at the Conference. Therefore, France signed a treaty with the AIC on February 5, 1885, which included most of the territory Germany already had recognized plus the Katanga.¹⁷ The Belgian Government recognized the same boundaries two weeks later.

Leopold's problem at that point was to secure other international recognition and to occupy effectively the territory. The latter consideration was extremely important because boundaries arbitrarily drawn in Europe on a map of Central Africa meant little when the region was for the

¹⁶S. E. Crowe, The Berlin West African Conference, 1884-1885 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Imperial Studies, No. 19, 1942), pp. 81-82.

¹⁷Hertslet, op. cit., Convention between the Government of the French Republic and the International Association of the Congo, Paris, February 5, 1885, pp. 564-565, and Declarations exchanged between the Belgian Government and the International Association of the Congo, Berlin, February 23, 1885, pp. 544-545. See the map facing page 604 for the exact boundaries established by these two treaties plus those indicated by the treaty with Germany.

most part unsurveyed.¹⁸ The most critical portion of the territory, the River mouth and the Bas Congo¹⁹ linking the great inland basin to the ocean, became the first clearly delimited portion of the Congo Independent State (CIS), because of Portuguese and French counter-claims to the same area. This Bas Congo region had been AIA-AIC occupied by 1880 and had very soon thereafter provided limited revenue from exports of ivory, lumber, and rubber.

Since the upper Congo River had been explored by Stanley, and since he had planted stations along its banks as far east as Stanley Falls before 1885, there had been no question about the AIC's claim to these riverine regions.²⁰ The extent of the territory which was to be included beyond the river, however, varied from treaty to treaty and from

¹⁸ Stanley, op. cit., Vol. II. Although award of the Congo area to the AIC occurred in February, 1885, Leopold did not notify the signatories of the act that the AIC was transformed into the Congo Independent State until August 1, 1885. Hertslet, op. cit., p. 551, contains the text of the "Notification by the King of the Belgians to the Queen of Great Britain relative to the formation of the Independent State of the Congo, the assumption of the title of Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, and the exclusively personal union between Belgium and the Congo, Ostend, August 1, 1885." Similar notifications were addressed to the Heads of all the Powers signatories of the General Act of Berlin.

¹⁹ Bas Congo, or Lower Congo, covers the region in the Congo from the ocean to Stanley Pool--Kinshasa. The Haut Congo, or Upper Congo, refers to the remainder of the country.

²⁰ Stanley, op. cit., Vol. I.

interpretation to interpretation.²¹ The river core thus became the artery for expansion as well as exploitation.

Fearing expansionist moves by European colonial powers more than by the Arab States in the eastern half of the Congo Basin, Leopold reached a modus vivendi with the Arabs by appointing in 1887 their most powerful Sultan, Tippu Tip, as the CIS governor of Stanley Falls.²² Then for the next nine years Leopold, by pumping men and material up the Congo River and its tributaries, inflated the CIS to roughly the boundaries the country inherited at independence.

From 1885 through 1887 there was continuing exploration and the establishment of stations east and south-east along the Kasai River and its tributaries as well as north and north-east along the Congo and the Ubangi River systems. In 1888 expansion-exploration activities centered on the

²¹Force Publique, Histoire du Congo (Léopoldville: Imprimerie Force Publique, Vol. II, "L'Etat Indépendant du Congo, 1885-1908," 1959). This publication has an excellent series of maps and descriptions of how the CIS boundaries were expanded and consolidated.

²²R. P. P. Ceulemans, La question arabe et le Congo (1883-1892) (Bruxelles: Académie royale des Sciences coloniales, Classe des sciences morales et politique, Vol. 22, Fasc. 1, 1959), pp. 100-104. Stanley warned Tippu Tip that if he did not cooperate with the CIS there was a good chance that it would fail and Tippu Tip would have to put up with having a great power like France as a neighbor. Tippu Tip agreed to become the CIS governor.

northern areas and were highlighted by Stanley's attempts to rescue Emin Pasha--an effort which lasted well into 1889. The remainder of that year and the next were devoted to renewed activity on the Kwuillu-Kwango Rivers in the south central region, and "Kwangō Oriental" was claimed for the CIS at Portugal's expense.²³

Meanwhile the alliance with the Arabs was disintegrating, and in 1891, without Brussels' consent, the Force Publique moved against the Arabs in a "war" which was to last until 1894 when the Arab Sultanates in the eastern Congo were crushed.²⁴

In the southeast activities were undertaken by three expeditions sponsored by the Katanga Company. These were sufficient to secure recognition by Great Britain in 1894 of the CIS's sovereignty over Katanga in the face of Cecil Rhodes' efforts to move into the region.²⁵ In 1894, normal French recognition was obtained for the revised northern

²³Hertslet, op. cit., p. 557. Decree of the King of the Belgians, Sovereign of the Congo Free State, creating an additional administrative district of the Congo (Eastern Kwango). Brussels, 10 June, 1890.

²⁴Ceulemans, op. cit., p: 355.

²⁵Hertslet, op. cit., pp. 578-580, for the text of: "Agreement between Great Britain and His Majesty King Leopold II, Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, relating to the Spheres of Influence of Great Britain and the Independent State of the Congo in East and Central Africa. Signed at Brussels, 12 May, 1894."

frontiers and agreement was reached with Portugal on the CIS-Angola border.²⁶

Leopold's policy was to explore and to establish stations in the present Central African Republic-southern Sudan regions. Temporarily he managed to secure the Lado Enclave on the Upper Nile, and had troops nearby when British and French colonial aspirations in Africa clashed at Fashoda. In spite of having CIS troops stationed in the Bahr el-Ghazal, no lasting territorial gains resulted, and Leopold's dream of an outlet on the Nile had to be satisfied by access through Lake Albert.²⁷

Through Leopold's aggressive strategy of keeping neighboring powers on guard while exploring and occupying territory constantly, the Congo achieved essentially its present boundaries--the basin drained by the Congo River and its tributaries. The region which proved to be the least difficult to lay claim to, Katanga, also proved to

²⁶ Ibid., for the text of the "Boundary Agreement between France and the Congo Free State, 24 August, 1894," see pp. 569-70; for the text of the "Declaration. Portugal and Congo. Approval of Report of the Boundary Commissioners of 26 June, 1893. Lunda Region. Brussels, 24 March, 1894," see pp. 596-598. George Grenfell signed for the Independent State of the Congo.

²⁷ Robert O. Collins, King Leopold, England, and the Upper Nile, 1899-1909 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968). Collins writes: "It was no secret that the Congolese ministers did not share Leopold's passion for the Bahr al-Ghazal, but none was strong enough to check the King's ambitions. August Beernaert, Belgium's Prime Minister from 1884-1894 had been able to." p. 346.

be the richest in long-term profits to the colony.²⁸

As outlined above, Leopold was unquestionably directing activities in the Congo. For most of the first two decades, he was absorbed in the affairs of establishing, enlarging and protecting the area. This left little of his time, resources and available manpower free to deal with questions related to native welfare and education or even to the effective or efficient expansion of the country's economic base. Therefore, to accomplish the former he turned to the missionaries, and to accomplish the latter he turned to business. Leopold's meager resources were simply insufficient to the task of founding the CIS alone. The practical and/or political considerations which led him to seek this participation of the Catholic Church and business will be briefly outlined in the following sections.

B. Exploitation and Financing

The AIC, the CIS, and Leopold were essentially one and the same--a union consummated by the joining of the King's private fortune with the treasury of the CIS. From 1879 to 1890 it has been estimated that he subsidized the Congo

²⁸For a chronology of this expansion see: Force Publique, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 106-117, with maps on pp. 70-105. A thorough account is also found in: Charles Liebrechts, Congo: Suite à mes souvenirs d'Afrique (Bruxelles: Imprimerie de l'office de publicité, 1920), pp. 47-94.

operation with between E 400,000 and E 500,000.²⁹ Because military and exploitative activities were constant and expensive, Leopold was desperately trying to secure money to finance them. He looked successively to: (1) ivory; (2) ivory and the European capital markets; (3) ivory, the European capital markets, and rubber; and (4) the exploitation of the previous through the introduction of concessions.

Prior to the establishment of the CIS, Stanley had reported on the wealth of the Upper Congo between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls.³⁰ While rubber and timber were mentioned as potential export products, he realized that the major immediate trading would be in ivory.³¹ This was the Congo's " . . . one asset . . ." which was " . . . valuable enough to pay for the enormous cost of transporting it from Stanley Pool to the navigable regions of the Lower

²⁹ Sir H. Johnston, George Grenfell and the Congo (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1908), p. 451. Rappoport quotes the same figure of 40,000 per year which the King was spending in the Congo from his own fortune. See Rappoport, op. cit., p. 217.

³⁰ H. M. Stanley, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 363-375.

³¹ A. Maurice, op. cit., Ivory was repeatedly the theme of correspondence between Stanley and his lieutenants and between Stanley and Brussels.

Congo and yet yield a profit.³² It became not only a State monopoly but was the immediate cause of the Belgo-Arab War in 1892.³³

However, ivory, the major export commodity from 1878 to 1893, simply could not provide enough income because of inherent limitations of supply and availability, lack of sufficient State employees to control its gathering and export, and Arab competition which moved it eastward rather than westward.

Leopold then sought to augment his capital resources from the French and Belgian exchanges. In spite of his efforts, it was not until 1888 that the Belgian Parliament approved the sale of CIS bonds on the Belgian market. The bonds fell to half price within one year, and a second issue sold only one-third of its offering. Leopold began to show the strain, and Marie-Henriette, his wife, warned him, "You

³²Sir H. Johnston, op. cit., p. 452. Grenfell makes several references to raids on the natives for their ivory. Natives were eventually forbidden to sell ivory to anybody but the Congo State officials, and if they violated this order they were punished and their ivory was confiscated. In May, 1890, Grenfell wrote, "State officers having a commission on the ivory they get, it makes them keen about securing all they can." Because State officials were doing well in their commissions, the State was able to reduce their official salaries to a nominal sum.

³³R. P. P. Ceulemans, op. cit.

are going to ruin us with your Congo."³⁴ Increasingly desperate for financial assistance, Leopold even tried unsuccessfully to get the Vatican to provide funds by asserting that the work of evangelization was costly and the Church should help to provide the infrastructure.

Finally in 1889 the Belgian Parliament approved a loan of 25,000,000 francs to assist with construction of a railroad around the cataracts from the ocean port of Matadi to Leopoldville. In return for this support, Leopold willed the Congo to Belgium, providing Belgium would accept it within ten years. If not, the loan would pay interest at 3-1/2 percent.³⁵ At almost the same time Leopold managed to secure changes in provisions of the Act of Berlin which had limited the sources of revenue in the

³⁴ Ascherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-150. The Queen's concern over "le pari Congolais" (the Congolese gamble) in a financial sense foreshadowed what was to be called "le pari Congolais" in the political sense which referred to the rapid granting of independence in 1960. The Queen's comments on this are contained in: Rapport au Comité permanent du Congrès colonial, "La Politique économique au Congo Belge," Bibliothèque Congo (Bruxelles: Goemaere, Imprimeur du Roi, 1924), p. 308.

³⁵ See Rappoport, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-189 for the text of the agreement. Also Hertslet, *op. cit.*, "Convention providing for a Loan by Belgium to the Congo Free State, and for eventual Annexation of the State to Belgium." Signed at Brussels, 3rd July, 1890." pp. 545-46.

Congo.³⁶ Yet in spite of these steps, and the gradual establishment of a government monopoly on rubber as well as ivory, exports still were not covering expenditures.³⁷ Increased promotion and control of trade were determined essential, and a trial company, the Société Anonyme Belge du Haut Congo, was established in central Equator at the end of 1888. By 1892 it had opened thirty-four warehouses and had exported ninety tons of ivory and one hundred twenty-five tons of rubber.³⁸ The success of this concession company was not lost on Leopold.

The King now took two steps which were to make him an extremely rich man and were to contribute to his loss of the Congo--he began to emphasize the exportation of rubber, and

³⁶Hertslet, Ibid., pp. 488-518 for the text of: The General Act of the Brussels Conference relative to the African Slave Trade, etc., Signed at Brussels, 2nd July, 1890. This act, maneuvered onto the Anti-Slavery Conference, became effective in 1892 and permitted duties on imports not to exceed 10% ad valorem at the port of entry. However, Grenfell complained that somehow or other taxes ranged " . . . as high as 30% ad valorem on some articles and (was) never less than 10%." Johnston, op. cit., p. 452.

³⁷Although the monopoly was established informally at an earlier date, the CIS made it official by issuing a decree on September 21, 1891, initially restricted to the Uélé and Ubangi regions. See George Martelli, Leopold to Lumumba, A History of the Belgian Congo, 1877-1960 (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1962), p. 138, which contains the text of the decree.

³⁸Franz M. de Thier, Le Centre Extra-Coutumier de Coquilhatville (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Etudes Coloniales, Fasc. II, 1956), p. 18. The company was founded by the larger Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce d'Industrie (CCCI).

he turned the bulk of the State over to concessions for exploitation. Rubber, while not paying like ivory did, still provided a profit, and its export could be expanded. And concessions, Leopold found, would attract capital, pay taxes, and pay shareholders profits. Income derived from lands reserved for the Crown, an area roughly seven times the size of Belgium, was to be used to support the King, while income from the concessions was supposed to maintain the State. Thus were government and business joined in monopoly and consummated in profit. The relationship continues, albeit diminished since independence.

~~From 1898 to 1906 a new series of concessionaire~~ companies or trusts were created. While interest was beginning to develop in mineral exploitation, the major focus remained the collection of rubber and ivory which, for a small capital investment, provided substantial short-term profits. In addition to having a free hand over the extraction of the material wealth of their concessions, the companies also acquired control over the human resources therein without which the exploitation was impossible. Given the increasing numbers of European personnel brought in by the companies, the Congolese began to be used in a way and to a degree the State never could have done if only because

the number of State employees was so limited.³⁹ That the system paid in the short term is demonstrated by the increase in rubber exportation which jumped from 241 tons sold in Antwerp in 1893, worth one million francs, to double that amount in 1895, and by 1906 it had reached a record of 6,000 tons worth 47,000,000 francs.⁴⁰ In 1896 the CIS budget was balanced, and two years later the railway from Matadi to Leopoldville was completed. By 1909, the first year of Belgian colonial rule, the Congo's imports were 22,126,994 francs, and its exports were 56,167,224 francs.⁴¹

However, such expansion required increasing amounts of Congolese labor which were secured in essentially three

³⁹The shortage of State personnel, both military and administrative, was a constant complaint made by Stanley and his lieutenants (see Stanley, op. cit., Vols. I and II). Stanley was provoked enough on one occasion to write to Colonel Strauch, Secretary General of the AIA and later the President of the Comité d'Etudes du Haut-Congo, ". . . It is very easy to plan grand schemes, but it is quite a different thing to carry them out in practice." and added, ". . . you have all of Europe to search for good and capable and honest men." See A. Maurice, op. cit., pp. 98, 100.

⁴⁰Martelli, op. cit., p. 140.

⁴¹Rapport au Comité permanent du Congrès colonial, "La Politique économique au Congo Belge," Bibliothèque-Congo (Bruxelles: Goemaere, Imprimeur du Roi, No. 15, 1924), pp. 308. The trade with Belgium was 15,505,690 francs in imports and 52,085,699 francs in exports demonstrating the extent to which the CIS was economically linked to Belgium. This was in keeping with Leopold's wishes that the CIS economy should complement Belgium's and that the best way to assure this was through monopolistic controls.

ways:

- (a) recruitment by agents of the state or by native chieftains (Agents of the state were promised an important bonus if they enlisted an optimum number. This included acquiring the slaves of other tribes.);
- (b) massive transfer of populations of soldier-workers originally from areas which had been in revolt and especially from the Arabized areas around Stanleyville; and
- (c) voluntary employees--which were usually the worst.⁴²

The official documentation at this time, " . . . demonstrates fully that the . . . dominate preoccupation" was with the " . . . harvest and condition of rubber."⁴³ That the balanced budget did little to alleviate the conditions of feudal exploitation which existed is demonstrated by the outbreak of the atrocity scandals which, although simmering for several years, reached a fever pitch in 1903-05.⁴⁴ While the deprivations which resulted directly from the

⁴²Thier, op. cit., p. 23.

⁴³Ibid. The emphasis of Leopold's activities in the Congo are clearly indicated by Stanley who dedicated his two volumes on the founding of the Congo Free State to Leopold and to all those gentlemen "who assisted him" . . . to realize the unique project of forming a free commercial state in Equatorial Africa." Stanley, op. cit.

⁴⁴The report of the British Consul at Boma, Roger Casement, published in February, 1904, stunned Europe and contributed to the publication and circulation of E. D. Morel's books: King Leopold's Rule in Africa (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1905), and Red Rubber (London: T. F. Unwin, 1906).

rubber trade were bad enough, the by-products were even worse: Casement estimated that the population of the Congo fell by 3,000,000 from about 1887 to 1903.⁴⁵ It was also estimated by Casement that the concession companies kept about 10,000 men under arms during this period so as to enforce their quotas. The impact upon the villages and the social structure was profound. The chiefs were helpless to protect their people, and if they did not obey quota demands then the "village had its native soldiers, with a native in charge, to see that the rubber and ivory were brought in" ⁴⁶

C. Summary

What had begun as an international crusade in the finest Victorian sense, to protect suffering humanity in Africa, had turned into largely a commercial venture with international rights and privileges guaranteed by a treaty sanctioned by a congress of the major world powers. True, the Act of Berlin was precise in its position against slavery, but it was, by contrast, extremely vague about the

⁴⁵ From Lord Monkswell's speech in the House of Lords debate, July 29, 1907, as reported in Ascherson, op. cit., p. 251. It is felt that the increased traffic and portorage throughout the Congo caused sleeping sickness to spread into this inland basin region in an epidemic wave. Given the rate of death and sickness, the rubber quotas imposed by the concessions meant that fewer were available to collect the quotas and fewer were available to raise and collect food.

⁴⁶ Emily Banks, White Woman on the Congo (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1943), p. 125.

obligations colonial powers owed to those people who were now being traded by geographical area rather than as individuals. Moreover, the powers of Europe permitted to be established in the heart of the African continent the kind of absolute monarchy which Western Europe itself no longer condoned. And the Republic of the United States endorsed it. A European monarch and a two year old committee financially supported by him, rather than an elected government, had been given a fiefdom almost as large as the combined metropolitan area of the European signatories of the Act, excepting Russia and Turkey. The idealistic underpinnings justifying the initial effort corroded quickly, and the Act reflected this by addressing itself far more to trade and commerce than it did to uplifting the Africans.

Logically what might have been expected to transpire did--Leopold had his personal fortune invested in the establishment of the Congo Independent State, and he wanted a maximum return on his investment as soon as possible. This led to the establishment, after several years of financial drain, of a "plunder economy" dependent upon and assured by exploitation of the natives. It also meant only as much in the way of the "amelioration" of the "moral and material condition" of the natives as would be required to placate European public opinion and satisfy the State's semi-skilled, skilled, and military manpower needs. In the Act of Berlin, nothing had been mentioned specifically

of education, and the extent of its development was to depend upon its utilitarian value. Consequently, the initial guidelines for native education were established on the fairly straight-forward basis of providing enough preparation to the Congolese to permit them to perform the jobs which the Europeans required.

The Congo's formation as a political entity was, to an incredible degree, tied up with Leopold and his dreams of empire and wealth. Because of the way in which he succeeded in getting the Congo created as an Independent (or Free) State, it was in a position to go bankrupt--to "go out of business." Furthermore, provision had been made in a treaty with France to cover that very eventuality. The CIS was clearly faced with the prospect of being divided among other European colonial powers. This possibility, and compunction to succeed, was something "legitimate" African colonies did not share. Certainly Europe's colonial powers sought to make their colonies self-supporting, but the Congo in effect had to achieve this goal in order to survive once Leopold's limited sources of revenue were exhausted. Consequently, although a laissez-faire policy toward business was prevalent throughout Africa, in the Congo business was brought into the State as a full-fledged and powerful partner whose successes in exploitation directly determined the continuance of the political entity. Of comparable importance was the role of the missionaries which will be

discussed subsequently. The historical significance of these two entities, business and missions, with and within the State, placed them in positions of power which they were to retain, although with some restrictions, throughout the Congo's colonial history. They were vital to the State, and the latter was compelled to give full and careful attention to maintain their support and their continued, complete, and if possible, expanding participation.

While Leopold established a Congolese capital city, the King and cabinet remained in Brussels. Only their appointed administrators worked in the Congo. This established the tradition of rule from Brussels even before the colony was established. It also made it difficult for the Congolese to understand how this resident bureaucracy, which appeared all-powerful, was in fact dependent upon and responsible to political policy makers--to the King, cabinet, and later to the Parliament and the citizens of Belgium as well.

Meanwhile, the Congolese made European occupation and domination possible. They cooperated, at least acquiesced, with European activities. Although reluctant to join the foreigners, they had, nevertheless, generally treated them with considerable hospitality, occasionally avoidance, and only rarely with open hostility. Europeans were seldom unable to secure from the Congolese the necessary food, guides, porters, etc., which they required. The presence of the

Europeans was, except for the few mission, government, and trade stations, on an intermittent, brief and irregular basis. Early experience had taught the Congolese that if they provided, insofar as they could, what the Europeans wanted, then they would go away again and leave the Congolese alone. However, increasing needs for manpower by the colonizers meant that an active rather than a passive degree of participation in the Congo venture was required of the Congolese. For this, CIS rule had to be extended down to the village level. Chieftains were co-opted into the task of recruiting their own people to provide the labor and accomplish the tasks the Europeans demanded. The chieftains' own sources of income and prestige and their authority as the traditional elite were steadily eroded in the process. Their compensation for cooperating with the Europeans was being allowed to retain their nominal positions.

CHAPTER V
CHRISTIANITY COMES TO THE CONGO

Stanley's descent of the Congo River was immensely important for the future of the Congo--in part because Stanley was a formidable journalist and his achievements received extensive international press coverage over a period of years. It also came at a time when the missionary movement was flourishing, and Central Africa was perhaps the greatest challenge in the world-wide mission field because it was portrayed as the very vortex of immorality, paganism, and human degradation. It was also the key source of the slave trade, and responding to a dying Livingstone's pleas, missionaries determined to do battle with this evil at its point of origin rather than leaving such efforts to the consulates at African ports and to the naval patrols at sea. Missionary work in the Congo also afforded the opportunity of combating the penetration of Islam which was spreading steadily westward from Zanzibar and southward from the Sahara.¹ The fervent goal of the missionaries was to convert the natives to Christianity, and the degree of success of a mission was measured by the

¹M. Perham and J. Simmons, op. cit., p. 17.

number of converts gained.²

Although social liberalism was revitalizing religious activities in the expanding slums of Europe and America, the conditions at home which demanded Protestants and Catholics to attempt to care for the body as well as the soul did not prevail in Africa: Africa had no industry-generated deprivation. Still the social action component was an integral part of the religion many missionaries took with them to the Congo and was in fact an element explaining the flourishing of missionary activities during this period. Africa was seen as needing a Christianity devoted to propagating the faith and to civilizing the people. Working, teaching and leading Christian lives were the means for obtaining these objectives. Thus the work ethic in the Congo, as well as in North America and Europe, was to be a means of improving the spiritual and material lot of its peoples. This was an approach to religion which made sense to the missionaries and which could sustain them in the most inhospitable circumstances.

Whereas Protestants were "seeking the evangelization of the world in this generation,"³ the Catholics, with an

²An annual tally of converts was and is carried in official government reports.

³Winthrop S. Hudson, American Protestantism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 123. This was the motto of the Student Volunteer Movement which is representative of the fervor and the intensity behind Protestant evangelization at this time.

evangelization policy stretching from Pius IX, Leo XII, Pius X, to Pius XI (the Pope of the Missions), not only wanted to keep the Protestants from getting ahead of them in Tropical Africa, but were also being prodded by Leopold in Belgium to enter the Congo for nationalistic reasons.

A. The Missionary Movement During the CIS Period

1. The Protestants

The Protestant dream was to found "a chain of mission stations stretching across Africa,"⁴ from the mouth of the Congo to Zanzibar to bar the further expansion of Islam and form the base for the growth of Christianity. Protestant missionary efforts to penetrate Central Africa followed close upon the first efforts of the explorers in East Africa, Uganda, Tanzania, and Malawi. On the West Coast of Africa Protestant missionaries pushed into the Cameroons, set up missions on Fernando Po, and were ready to respond to the challenge by Robert Arthington in 1877. He offered to pay the Baptist Mission Society (BMS) £ 1,000 to establish a mission on the Congo River from which to move inland to determine if the Lualaba River that Livingstone had found and the Congo were not one and the same.⁵

⁴Ruth Slade, English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908), (Bruxelles: ARSC, 1959), pp. 32-33.

⁵Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 63, and W. Holman Bentley, Pioneering on the Congo (New York: Revell, 1900), Vol. I, p. 58 has a text of the letter which Arthington sent to the BMS Committee making the offer. The offer had been

for the establishment of the BMS enterprise in the Congo.

Urged on by a second offer from Arthington to pay "the cost of a steamer for the Upper Congo, and a fund for her maintenance," missionaries Bently and Crudgington reached Stanley Pool in 1881, having been the third white party after Stanley and de Brazza to do so. The Protestant steamer "Peace" was delivered to the Matadi area in 1883 in parcels of about 65 pounds each so that they could be carried overland the 250 miles to Stanley Pool.⁶ Within four months Grenfell, helped by Congolese chiefs, their men, and converts, had the pieces at Stanley Pool, and by 1884 the ship was making its first up-river trip.⁷

Although supported only by private contributions, the zeal of the Protestant missionaries gave them an impressive lead over the Catholics during the first half of the CIS period, i.e., 1885-1897. Even prior to the founding of the CIS, four Protestant groups were already established

accepted by the BMS shortly before Stanley emerged at the mouth of the Congo after his three-year crossing of the continent. Arthington died in 1894 leaving large donations in trust for British missionary societies.

⁶Johnstone, *Ibid.*, p. 95. A BMS mission named for Arthington was founded in 1882-83 in what was to become Leopoldville.

⁷J. Davis, *Africa Advancing* (New York: The Friendship Press, 1945), p. 41. It had taken Stanley two years to build the road over which Grenfell transported the first mission steamer, the En Avant, to the Pool.

there: the Baptist Missionary Society (British), the American Baptist Missionary Union (later called the ABFMS), the Swedish Missionary Society, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (American). A string of Protestant mission stations linked the ports, the Boma-Matadi region, with Stanley Pool along the Congo River portage route. By 1897 one more Protestant mission, the Plymouth Brethren (British), had begun to work in the southeastern Katanga. While three of these orders were exclusively located in the Lower Congo, one, the BMS, founded stations along the River up to Stanley Falls. By 1891 the Protestants had 79 missionaries at 19 posts, and by 1898 they had 180 missionaries at 41 posts. Comparable figures for the Catholics were: 1891--11 missionaries at five posts; and 1898--115 missionaries at 18 posts.⁸

The Protestants' early lead meant that their missions were, for logistical purposes, extremely well placed along the Congo River and the river-portage route. This advantage decreased sharply when the railroads were built, especially the Matadi-Leopoldville link (1898), connecting the Upper and Lower Congo, and later the Port Francqui-Elisabethville line through the Lulua-Baluba regions. By then the Catholic-State agreements were in effect which provided the Catholic Church support and land along this and other critical transportation/communication links

⁸Ed. de Jonghe, "Les Missions religieuses au Congo Belge," Congo (January, 1933), p. 11.

built subsequently.

2. The Catholics

Historically Portuguese Catholic orders had been responsible for evangelization of the Bas Congo region, but their long periods of inactivity in what was to become the Congo had led to the reallocation of that area to the French Holy Ghost Fathers. They were responsible for the Bas Congo as well as the region upstream to Kwamouth, while a second French order, the White Fathers, established stations in the eastern Congo along Lake Tanganyika and also had a station as far west as Kwamouth.⁹ While Leopold decidedly wanted Catholic missionaries in the Congo, he wanted them to be Belgians. Therefore, as early as 1876 he had approached the Scheut Fathers to ask them to assume this missionary responsibility.¹⁰ After having become the Sovereign of the Congo, Leopold, who had continued to coax and cajole Belgian Catholic orders to work in the Congo, obtained the Pope's agreement to the creation of two Apostolic Vicarates there: the smaller, West Tanganyika, occupied an eastern strip of the CIS and

⁹Ibid., p. 34

¹⁰The order is officially the Coeur Immaculé de Marie but is called the Pères de Scheut. Scheut, a suburb of Brussels, was the seat of the order. Missionary activities of the Scheutists were confined to Mongolia at the time Leopold convinced them to take on the Congo. When first approached, the King was requesting their participation on the part of the AIA.

remained under the French White Fathers; the larger, the remainder of the Congo, was placed under the Pères de Scheut.¹¹ This redistribution of ecclesiastical authority, agreed to in 1886, became effective on May 11, 1888, by Pontifical Decree. The same year the Scheut Fathers arrived in the Congo and established as their first mission station Berghe-ste-Marie at the site of the former White Father's station at Kwamouth.

Although it took twelve years, Leopold had secured the Pope's approval and had succeeded in getting Belgian Catholics to assume responsibility for missionary work in the Congo. The accomplishment was significant for the future, for its implications were profound: (1) The base was laid for the establishment of a national (i.e., Belgian Catholic) mission and a foreign (essentially non-Belgian and Protestant) mission. (2) Leopold's proposal that a Belgian Catholic order become responsible for missionary activity in the CIS implied for Belgian missions the support of his government and prepared the way for the state subsidy system for the Catholic missions established

¹¹de Jonghe, (ed.), op. cit., pp. 4 and 17. The missions which had been founded in the Apostolic Vicariate of the Congo by the French Holy Ghost Fathers were abandoned by the end of 1887 as was the only mission of the White Fathers in that region (at Kwamouth). Leopold was anxious that transfer be phased so as not to give the natives the impression that the Europeans were leaving. Perraudin, Zaire, XII, No. 1, 1958, pp. 60-64.

in 1906.¹² (3) Claims by Portugal to ecclesiastical responsibility in parts of the CIS were terminated. (4) The politically powerful Catholics in Belgium were drawn into a position which was to become increasingly supportive of Leopold and later of Belgian annexation of the CIS. (5) French Catholic orders, which had done much to strengthen France's claims in Tropical Africa, were situated so that they were no longer contiguous to French colonial territory and were further neutralized by not having direct access to the navigable portions of the Congo River. (6) Finally, the Catholic missionaries were to outnumber and to counteract the Protestant missionaries who were looked upon as a threat--as a growing source of excessive foreign influence in the country's internal affairs.

Furthermore, if a colony were eventually to be established, there were a number of other excellent reasons why the Catholic Church should be intimately involved: Belgium itself was a Catholic nation whose existence in considerable part derived from its desire to be free from the Protestant rule of The Netherlands' House of Orange, and this independence had been acquired only in 1831.

¹²The text of Leopold's proposal, signed by Edmond van Eetvelde (Secretary of State of the Department of the Interior of the CIS), which is contained in de Jonghe, op. cit., pp. 5 and 6, stated: "By the exclusion of interference of all foreign power in the ecclesiastic affairs of the new state, our missions will be put in a position to follow their apostleship with the support of my government and under the Holy Congregation and of extending the domain of the Faith in the regions outlined."

Politics in Belgium had and has a strong religious flavor, and if the monarchy wanted to continue to count on Catholic political support, it was prudent to solicit the Church's cooperation and better yet to have it committed through involvement.¹³ The role which missionaries had played and were continuing to play in the establishment and maintenance of colonies in Asia and Africa by the other major powers was extremely important. For a small nation like Belgium the missionary contribution was still more vital.

The problem of finding manpower for the colonial endeavor was also critical. In regions of the world where life was difficult for Europeans, where it was hard to find qualified officials willing to accept such assignments, it was still possible to recruit missionaries who could be induced to assume, in addition to activities related to proselytization, at least limited administrative responsibilities for the colonial government. Mission posts also served as reminders and evidence of the new government. Missionaries offered the added advantages of costing the State little, if anything, of remaining in the assigned country for extended periods; and of handling their own recruitment and logistical support. There was furthermore considerable evidence that Leopold felt himself under certain

¹³After the founding of the CIS, the Catholic-Conservative Party of Prime Minister Beernaert was to be extremely helpful to Leopold on issues involving the Congo. See Collins, op. cit., p. 246.

moral and religious obligations to promote the Faith.¹⁴

Belgium, as a union of the Flemish and the French-speaking Wallons, not only owes its existence and its cohesiveness to Catholicism, but also to the economic benefits derived from the union of the two regions. Consequently in terms of what are usually considered as requisite factors for a national culture, a Belgian national culture is difficult to identify. It is, quite to the contrary, many of the basic "non-religious" cultural elements such as language, customs, art styles, etc., which detract from rather than contribute to Belgian unity. The strength of these cultural differences has been clearly demonstrated by the constant reinforcement, especially since 1960, of the Flemish-Wallon (French) language border cutting across the heart of the country. Given a situation in which religion and commerce have played an extremely important unifying role in Belgium it was natural that: (1) the Church (as indicated earlier) would be asked to become an active partner in the CIS, not only to secure the support of the Belgian public, but also to bind the CIS more closely to Belgium not just through Catholicism, but through Belgian Catholicism; and (2) business would be encouraged to provide capital and

¹⁴Service d l'Information de la Propagande du Congo Belge, Congo Belge, 1944, op. cit., p. 41, quotes the King as having said in 1887, "Lorsque je paraîtrai devant Dieu je m'estimerai heureau d'avoir ouvert la voie a l'Evangélisation parmi les 40 million de Noirs de l'Afrique Centrale." (When I appear before God, I shall consider myself fortunate to have opened the way to evangelization among the 40 million Blacks of Central Africa.)

management because of business's capabilities in Belgium and because the Belgian Government was not interested in shouldering these tasks. Using the Belgian model in which Church and business had forged linkages for a heterogeneous society, Leopold proceeded with the "Belgianization" of the Congo. Thus not long after the Church began to establish itself in the Congo, Leopold initiated measures to attract Belgian capital as well.

B. Manpower Shortage

1. The State

On the practical side, the State's manpower requirements were increasing significantly from year to year as the territory was expanded and as the economic exploitation not only grew but began to diversify. In view of Leopold's ambitions and his limited budget, it was not surprising that the manpower crisis should first have been felt in the Force Publique.

Stanley had entered Africa from Zanzibar when making his first trip across the Congo, and understandably his armed escort was composed of Zanzibaris. As a result of his experiences with them, he expressed a genuine affection for Zanzibari troops and sought to have the core of his native troops composed of them.¹⁵ Zanzibari troops continued

¹⁵Maurice, op. cit., pp. 115-116, Letter No. 62, from Stanley to Linder points out that one of the Zanzibaris had been with Stanley for twelve years.

to play a key role in the Congo's Force Publique until about 1890.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Hausas, Sierra Leoneans, Ghanaians, and Kaffirs from South Africa had also been recruited, although only the Hausas ever became as numerous as the Zanzibaris. In spite of continuous recruiting efforts, there were never enough men, and gradually the new rulers of the CIS began to seek Congolese. Leopold wrote to de Winton in September, 1885, "The English Government will allow us to recruit neither Hausas, nor Indians, and we will not have more Zanzibaris."¹⁷ Former sources for the supply of non-Congolese African troops were drying up, and new sources of foreign native labor (elsewhere in Africa, and in India and China) were difficult to tap. Recruiting European troops below the non-commissioned officer level would be not only difficult but prohibitively expensive.

The earliest Congolese employed as Force Publique "auxiliaries" were from the Equator region between Coquilhatville and Nouvelle Anvers. These people, classified as

¹⁶ Maurice, Ibid., A replacement contingent of 200 were recruited in 1882 to relieve many of the estimated 150 who were serving Stanley in the Congo. (Letter from Leopold to Strauch dated April 24, 1882, p. 144). In 1885 another 200 were recruited, but many of these were reported to have "come out of prison," and further recruitment from Zanzibar appeared undesirable from that time. Letter from Sir Francis de Winton to Leopold II, dated July, 1885. See Marcel Luwel, Sir Francis de Winton Administrateur Général du Congo 1884-1886 (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, No. 1), 1964, p. 251.

¹⁷ Marcel Luwel, Ibid., pp. 254-255. Letter from Leopold II to Sir Francis de Winton dated September 27, 1885.

"Bangala" (although there was no such tribe), were located near the frontier region of the Belgian-Arab conflict, were from segmentary societies which had limited political allegiances, had historically traded up and down the river and therefore had relatively little fear of being moved to different stations along the river; and because of the impact of the rubber levies and the concomitant social disruption, they could be induced into serving with the Force Publique to escape worsening conditions at home. Sir Francis de Winton mentions the use of "Bangalla auxiliaries" at Stanley Falls as early as 1885.¹⁸

At the same time, another tribe, the Balubas, were receiving increasing attention as a possible source of manpower for the new State. Wissmann, a German explorer employed by Leopold, had recruited a large number of Balubas to assist him during his second trip (1884-85) of exploration in the Kasai region. He found them quite willing to follow him throughout northeastern Angola, northern Katanga, the Kasai and Kasai-Congo River regions--and he was impressed with their service. As a result of Wissmann's reports, Leopold urged that efforts be made to recruit Balubas to

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 258. Letter from Sir Francis de Winton to Leopold II, dated December 2, 1885. Crawford Young, Politics in the Congo, op. cit., pp. 240-246, has a very good description of how the myth of the Bangala tribe came to be and the influence it had in the Congo's political development. These people were mistakenly identified as coming from the same "Bangala" tribe originally because many of them could speak an indigenous trading language which later evolved into Lingala.

work for the State.¹⁹ Shortly thereafter consideration was being given to the establishment of a police force which would be staffed by Balubas.²⁰ While it seems that the Balubas were willing to accept State employment in the central Congo region, they were not then willing to accept assignments as far from home as Stanley Falls.²¹

It appears that a major consideration in the Balubas' receptivity to employment by the Europeans was directly connected to their recent migrations westward to escape Arab slave traders. A number of them had moved into the region of the Bushongos (Bakubas), and as 'displaced persons' had "found in domestic slavery an acceptable condition" in exchange for protection.²² Some Balubas had evidently also scattered into Angola to await the withdrawal of the Arab

¹⁹Ibid., de Winton was anxious to talk to Wissmann about his native laborers (Letter from Sir Francis de Winton to Leopold dated July 9, 1885, p. 248), and Leopold urged de Winto to, "give to Wissemann (sic.) all the assistance you can. It would be a great benefit if he could recruit new men, for we can find no more of them anywhere except in China." (Letter from Leopold II to Sir Francis de Winton, September 27, 1885, p. 254). ¶

²⁰Ibid., from a Letter from Sir Francis de Winton to Leopold II, dated December 2, 1885, page 259.

²¹Ibid. This may have been because of the Arab presence there at the time.

²²Comte Edmond Carton de Wiart, Compagnie du Chemin de fer du Bas-Congo au Katanga, 1906-1956 (Bruxelles: M. Weissenbruch S. A. Imprimeur du Roi, no date), p. 94.

slave traders from their homeland.²³ Missionaries and railroad builders reported later that these Baluba "refugees" were quite willing through association with the Europeans to escape their exile and their degraded status. Those who had initially fled their areas of origin thus came to provide Europeans with an entree into Baluba society within the original Baluba homeland.

A third major indigenous source of manpower, initially mentioned in connection with the need for soldiers, was the purchase of slaves to a limited extent from Congolese tribes (domestic slaves), but more extensively from the Arabs in the eastern Congo. The idea of purchasing slaves and then freeing them, but keeping them at the service of the State, especially in the Force Publique, grew increasingly attractive as the difficulty of recruiting foreign natives increased and as the Congolese by and large made it clear that they preferred to remain in their home villages rather than serve the state.²⁴ In fact, two ideas appear to have gained acceptance concurrently--the recruitment of Congolese for the Force Publique and the establishment of colonies of libérés (freed slaves) around major CIS stations. Lieutenant Vangele, commander of Equateur station, recommended in 1884

²³Eva Coates Hartzler, Brief History of Methodist Missionary Work in the Southern Congo During the First 50 Years (Cleveland, Transvaal, South Africa: The Central Mission Press, 1960), pp. 20 and 23.

²⁴Ceulemans, op. cit., p. 224.

that slaves be purchased, detached from their homes (dépayser), and placed around the stations to form a "belt of friends" (ceinture d'amis).²⁵ In 1885 de Winton in the same vein suggested to Leopold that if they could capture from the Arabs the large numbers of slaves which the latter held, the slaves, " . . . could be given freedom, and used on our stations" ²⁶ Three months later, de Winton elaborated upon this scheme, "The best plan will be to buy your soldiers, free them, place them say under a ten years engagement of service which is only another form of conscription. Employ them at long distances from the districts to which they belong, give them wives and plots of land, and you will thus have a self supporting force of constabulary. I believe there is good material on the Congo but the man must belong to you otherwise he is of little value."²⁷ The suggestion appealed to Leopold, and he in turn, some months later, asked the assistance of the British Anti-slavery Society to establish centers for slaves purchased and freed who would then be settled around

²⁵Ibid., pp. 224-225.

²⁶Luwel, op. cit., Letter from Sir Francis de Winton to Leopold, dated April 10, 1885, p. 241.

²⁷Ibid., Letter from Sir Francis de Winton to Leopold, dated July 9, 1885, p. 252.

the stations.²⁸ This policy of settling freed slaves around stations was still being favored by the King in 1889.²⁹

Nevertheless by 1890 the need for manpower reached a point where Leopold permitted bonuses to CIS agents for the recruitment of men, women, or adolescents.³⁰ By 1892, just prior to the outbreak of the Arab War in the eastern Congo, extensive negotiations were underway with Tippu Tip for the purchase of several thousand Congolese slaves largely intended to serve the State as soldiers. A number of women were also requested, for it was felt desirable to have at least "one soldier in three accompanied by his wife."³¹ This was to add stability to the new communities and make them independent of neighboring tribes as a source of women. In the Kasai meanwhile, and apparently unknown to the CIS government, over 5,000 had been freed from Arab control by escaping to CIS and missionary stations or

²⁸Ceulemans, *op. cit.*, quoting the letter Leopold II to Strauch, November 25, 1885, p. 225. †

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 226. Quoting a note from the King dated May 2, 1889.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 228-230. Ceulemans lists the scale which was generally followed in awarding these bonuses--the amount increased according to the number of years of service pledged.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 231.

by being freed by CIS troops.³² The State's policy in seeking to secure Congolese soldiers by levy or by purchase, as put by Van Eetvelde, CIS Secretary of State for the Department of Interior, was " . . . that one takes men by force--as in Europe--or one buys them; it is of small importance."³³ Although the King had written late in 1886 that he wanted " . . . to diminish our Hausas and our Zanzibaris and replace them with an indigenous force,"³⁴ there were only about 200 Congolese in the Force Publique by 1891. However, during that year the number jumped to 1,600.³⁵

2. The Church³⁶

In line with the State's policy to establish what were essentially self-contained stations supported by detribalized natives, the Church quickly began to play an

³²Ibid., p. 233, and Dieu, op. cit., pp. 86-88. These Balubas were later recruited for industry and railway construction work. This is well described by Barbara Boseker, "Ibo and Baluba Receptivity to Change" (University of Wisconsin, 1969, unpublished paper), pp. 17-25.

³³Cuelemans, op. cit., p. 235. Taken from a letter from Van Eetvelde to Wahis, dated April 4, 1892.

³⁴Flamant, op. cit., p. 45. From a letter from the King to Gordon.

³⁵Boulger, op. cit., p. 228.

³⁶Note: When "Church" is capitalized and used in the singular, it means the Catholic Church.

extremely important role. As indicated earlier, the Church's ability or success in attracting converts was no better than that of the Protestant missions. However, from about 1892 on, the Church made dramatic gains in their rate of expansion. This was undoubtedly attributable in large part to the State's willingness to provide land and support to the Church's efforts, but it was probably more a result of the State's acceptance of Church mission stations as national stations which would be treated preferentially--almost as if they were the State's own stations.³⁷ Thus, as the Scheutists moved inland up the Kasai River and its tributaries--their major inland thrust--they did so at the time the State was trying effectively to occupy the area, was putting down the still-active Arab slave trade, and was about to engage in the Arab Campaign. As the Force Publique grew, so did their activities against the Arab slave-traders. When slave trains were seized, there was always a question as to what to do with the captured slaves who were usually a long way from their homes and had no means of living in an alien region. While a number of them could be settled near State stations, there were far too many slaves requiring too much of the administrators' time. Therefore, as reported by the Catholic missionaries

³⁷ Even as late as post World War I, the Colonial Government appointed the mission stations as "auxiliary offices" of the State. While occasionally a Protestant mission would be appointed, the stations usually so designated were Catholic.

in the Kasai, these slave trains were led to the newly established Catholic mission stations where they formed an instant station population and congregation.³⁸ Brussels simply did not know of the great number of potential workers available in the Kasai or they undoubtedly would not have budgeted 500,000 francs to purchase men from Tippo Tip just prior to the outbreak of the Arab Campaign in 1892.³⁹

C. Missionaries Become Educators

Thus during the early years of the CIS, missionaries and State officials found it equally difficult to recruit Congolese adults for their respective purposes. Mature Congolese were essential to the development of the country and, as indicated, they were acquired substantially through intimidation, levy, purchase, and a "freed" indentured status. Nevertheless, the State officials, as well as the missionaries, regarded the adults in general as corrupt, immoral, the "product of centuries of barbarism," and the

³⁸Dieu, op. cit., pp. 86-99. Father Cambier, one of the most famous of the Scheut Fathers, reported painfully slow progress in efforts to convert the Congolese in the Lower Kasai region until the Belgian officers began to deliver to the missions the captured slaves they had freed from attacks on Arab slavers. In the establishment of Luluabourg-St Joseph, for example, Cambier wrote that 307 freed prisoners had been led to the Mission and released at the end of 1891, and within three months the mission population was 255 with 88 children baptized. In April, 1892, the mission was sent another 140 children by the Force Publique.

³⁹Ceulemans, op. cit., p. 234. The sum is taken from a letter from Five to Wahis.

men in particular as being "laziness incarnate."⁴⁰ Although the children were bright and intelligent, puberty was " . . . a most critical period. Under the influence of his passions, which are ardent, he (the Congolese youth) tends to return to the savagery instinctive of his race. There is the importance of not allowing him to be released at this moment from the tutelage of his educators, of not permitting that prematurely developed brain to fall asleep, of submitting the adolescent to a training program without letting up."⁴¹ Therefore the answer was to try to influence and control Congolese at an early age by establishing schools, for " . . . the children constitute very nearly all . . . hope for the future."⁴²

Thus, while the missionaries and the State did what they could to secure the required labor force, they actively recruited children as well in order to mold Christians and citizens for the future while also gaining access to the society through them. The missionaries had an advantage in that they approached the Congolese as men of God and could appeal to them religiously. Missionaries sought

⁴⁰ Dieu, op. cit., p. 76. Letter from Father Cambler to his brother J. dated January 30, 1889.

⁴¹ General Albert Donny, Manuel du voyageur et du résident au Congo (Brussels: Hayez Imprimeur de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Vol. I, Reenseignements pratiques, 1900), p. 135.

⁴² Dieu, op. cit., p. 175.

to convert or placate adults so that the children could be put into mission schools where they could simultaneously receive instruction in Christianity, literacy, and vocational skills. The chances of making a good Christian out of a child, especially if he were placed in a mission school, were much better than they were for an adult.

The Congolese, although trying to protect their culture from the foreign intrusions, were influenced to temper their resistance by the traditional respect they had for religion and for men of religion, and by the curiosity and interest generated through the discovery that they and the missionaries shared some basic religious beliefs. The common belief in a Supreme Being or a Creator (noted in Chapter III) appears to have been most significant in providing the missionaries a religious entree with the Congolese. The missionaries could assure the Congolese that through Christianity a way could be found to approach the Creator, so that instead of being a disinterested power He might become a compassionate personal God. However, achieving access to the Creator required that they become practicing Christians and live by the Bible's precepts. Especially for the Protestants, this meant that the Congolese must be able to read the Bible in order to understand God's Word themselves. It also meant that in addition to vocationally oriented training directed toward employment in new occupations, missionaries were keenly interested in

giving basic literacy instruction in order to promote and support their proselytizing activities. This was not discouraged by the State, for given the constant shortage of European personnel, having Congolese able to read and understand simple written instructions was advantageous to the State as well.

However, it still proved difficult to get the children to come to schools. The chieftains and the parents were reluctant to trust children to the missionaries initially, especially if the school were any distance from the village, and being in school was often considered either as unremunerated work for the children or as a loss of productivity for the village. Even those villagers who were willing to consider sending their children to schools--who did not flee into the jungle to hide their children when the missionaries approached--⁴³often bargained to obtain payment in exchange for their enrollment.⁴⁴ Even after the

⁴³Ibid., pp. 147-187. In the Lower Congo the priests used a horse as one means of attracting the natives, since even in the Lower Congo very few horses had ever been seen. The priests would then preach to the Congolese attracted by this strange animal and would attempt to convince the chieftains to send children to the mission schools.

⁴⁴Dieu, Ibid., pp. 163 and 166. The Scheuts distributed pieces of cloth in order to secure the permission of chieftains and parents to allow the children to come to mission schools. Banks, op. cit., near Coquilhatville wrote: "This was a new way of regarding education; instead of welcoming free schools, some of the parents thought their children should be paid to go." (p. 147). Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, reported that because the local chieftain was certain that the missionaries were receiving a bonus per

children had been in attendance there were often strikes for student wages which in several instances closed down the schools. Because there appeared to be no immediate economic justification for the education which the missionaries were trying to impose, the Congolese generally mistrusted it and sought to avoid placing their children in the hands of foreigners. As a result, it was especially the Catholic boarding schools, developed during the 1890's, which benefited from the State policies of obtaining children either seized as orphans or liberated from slavery. The schools also began to attract children from settlements growing up near the missions. Protestants, because they had been in the Congo longer, had already gradually built at least a limited clientele in the mission environs from which to draw students.⁴⁵ Slowly the communities around

pupil taught, he should receive a share of it. The chief refused to believe that the missionaries were not in fact receiving special pay for operating the school, and as a consequence the students struck and the school closed down. This happened in the Lower Congo (p. 142), and in the Upper Congo as well (p. 273).

⁴⁵ Bentley, Ibid., clearly illustrates in his accounting of the founding of the BMS missions up to 1899 a very consistent pattern: Within a year or two of the founding of a station a school was started which after initial severe difficulties was gradually expanded and improved. By about the 5th or 6th year the first convert was made and he was almost always the missionary's personal servant and had received some education. Thereafter the students would be gradually converted until a small church was founded at the mission station. The education of the converts would continue until they were felt capable of going out on missionary assignments themselves. These converts, once in

the stations began to provide the children needed and, subsequently, employment opportunities for the skills they learned, and recruiting for schools gradually ceased to be a problem.

1. The First Schools

The schools developed for Congolese children during the CIS period fell into three major categories: (1) The Free Schools (écoles libres) were established by the missionaries without State assistance and free of State regulations and requirements. These schools were in the majority, and many had been established by the Protestants before the State was in a position to exercise any authority. (2) The State School Colonies (colonies d'enfants de l'état) were established pursuant to the Education Act of 1890, initially for orphans and abandoned children.

While managed by the Belgian Catholic missionaries, the schools were financed by the State which dictated the curricula; one school was for girls and two were for boys with the latter being trained to form, "contingents of good quality for the Force Publique and some clerks and

in the field would invariably start a village school first as a means of becoming accepted, thereby gaining an entree for proselytizing. They faithfully followed the pattern set by their missionary models.

interpreters for the administration.⁴⁶ The schools established by the Education Act of 1892 for the Authorized Mission School Colonies were often called the Colonies Scolaires.⁴⁷ While the Act of 1890 officially recognized the State's obligation to, and the need for, an educational system, the Act of 1892 solicited the help of the Belgian Catholics in manning and expanding these schools, and it also offered them the right to open schools freely.⁴⁸ The State assisted in supplying the children for the schools, and secured the promise of the Church to consult the State

⁴⁶D. Rinchon, Les Missionnaires Belge au Congo, Aperçu Historique 1491-1931 (Bruxelles: l'Expansion Belge, C. R. Congo, 1932, Vol. I, No. 2), p. 43. The act which established them can be found quoted in: Etat Indépendant du Congo. Gouvernement Central. Bulletin Officiel de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo, 1885-1908, pp. 120-122.

⁴⁷Eugene Huberty, La Collaboration Scolaire des Gouvernements Coloniaux et des Missions Afrique Britannique-Afrique Belge (Louvain, Université Catholique de Louvain Thesis for the 1re Lic., Sc. Pol. et Coloniale, Ecole des Sciences Politique et Sociales, unpublished, January, 1949), p. 159. For the law see: Etat Indépendant du Congo, Gouvernement Central. Bulletin Officiel de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo, 1885-1908. 1892, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁸Dieu, op. cit. The first state school, which set the pattern for others, opened with 500 students " . . . under the joint direction of an officer of the Force Publique and missionaries who assured secular instruction and the formation of the childrens' morals. It constituted a precious nursery for non-commissioned officers for the Force Publique and for elite craftsmen for the service of the State."

on matters related to curriculum content.⁴⁹ In fact, the State exercised little control over the mission schools, in part perhaps because of the lack of personnel.

2. Varied Response by Missionary Orders to Education

The rapid development of educational responsibilities which devolved upon the missionaries appears, by its depth and breadth, to have caught the churches by surprise. Most Catholic, as well as Protestant, missionaries were not from educationally oriented orders or denominations. To demonstrate this point, Dr. Barbara Yates divided the mission societies in the Congo during the CIS period into three groups according to their educational performance: Group I (the Baptist Missionary Society, the American Baptist Missionary Union, the Swedish Missionary Society [Svenska Missionsforbundet], the White Fathers, and the Jesuits), constituting approximately 36% of the total, were the best and provided at least, " . . . the basic three R's at central station schools and a maximum of six years of schooling They were, as well, the major

⁴⁹ Johnston, op. cit., pp. 471-73. As the slave trade slackened after the end of the Arab Campaign, orphans became an increasing source of children for the State supported schools. " . . . the officials of the State were authorized . . . to lay hold of any children without visible father or mother and hand them over to the care of Belgian religious missions. Here they were brought up and educated by the fathers and sisters. As a matter of fact this often led to the original purpose of these Christian missions being altogether abused and their resources strained." "This passion for snatching orphans and turning them into little serfs had done a great deal to break up family life in the regions of the State which are under control."

leaders in textbook production, although some were more active than others."⁵⁰ Group III (the Scheutists, Trappists, Mill Hill Fathers, and Premonstratensians), constituting 35% of the total, were the worst educators " . . . concentrat(ing) almost solely upon oral religious instruction (and) providing virtually no secular education. They had no advanced training schools. Those few pupils who spent any time on reading and writing did so only for several months."⁵¹ In between was Group II, which made up 28% of the total and included some eight societies, whose educational practices fluctuated widely between the two extremes. Altogether, however, a significant proportion, " . . . of the available manpower (was) de-emphasizing education at a time when missionaries made up more than 15% of the total number of Europeans in the Congo."⁵² They

⁵⁰ Barbara A. Yates, The Missions and Educational Development in Belgian Africa 1876-1908 (Columbia University: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1967), p. 128-29. Dr. Yates has mustered extensive documentation to support these groupings for this period.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 129-30.

⁵² Ibid. Those societies in Group II were: American Presbyterian Congo Mission, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Congo Balolo Mission, Foreign Christian Missionary Society, Garenganze Evangelical Mission, Westcott Inland Mission, and the Redemptorists. The 1% not accounted for represented the Belgian Holy Ghost Fathers who only arrived in the Congo in 1907 at the end of the CIS period.

therefore represented at least quantitatively a sizeable part of the potential cultural change agents.

Although he definitely intended the Church to play the major educational role in the Congo, Leopold was more concerned about getting Belgian Catholic orders into the Congo than he was about getting educationally-oriented orders. The primary focus of the missionaries, even the teaching societies, was conversion and civilization of the natives--that education would be the major vehicle for accomplishing this was learned through experience, an acknowledgment inferred in the agreement between Church and State in 1906.

3. The Vatican-CIS Educational Agreement of 1906

From 1888 the Church-State policy of mutual support had profoundly altered the comparative position between the Catholics who, by 1908, had 403 missionaries in 58 stations, and the Protestants who had 200 missionaries in 43 stations. The Protestant proportion of the Congolese Christian and student populations eventually stabilized at approximately 15%. However, given the agreement between Leopold and the Vatican in 1906, it was difficult for Protestants to maintain a following and a presence as extensive as that. The basic provisions of the 1906 Agreement were as follows:

1. The State of the Congo will cede to the establishment of Catholic missions in the Congo the lands necessary for their religious works under the following conditions:
2. Each mission establishment will engage, in accordance with resources, to create a school where the natives will receive instruction. The program will contain particularly agricultural and forestry education and a practical professional education of manual trades;
3. The program of studies and of courses will be subject to the governor general and the topics to be taught will be fixed by common agreement. The teaching of national Belgian languages will be an essential part of the program;
4. A periodic report will be made by each mission director to the governor general on the organization and the development of the schools, the number of pupils, the progress of the studies, etc. The governor general, by himself or by a delegate whom he will designate expressly, will be able to assure himself that the schools adhere to all the conditions of hygiene and salubrity;
5. The governor general will be notified of the nomination of each mission director;
6. The missionaries will undertake to supply for the State, in the way of indemnity, the special tasks of a scientific nature which are within the competence of their personnel, such as explorations or geographic, ethnographic, linguistic, etc., studies;
7. The extent of land to allow to each mission, the establishment of which will be decided by common accord, will be 100 cultivable hectares; it will be able to be extended to 200 hectares for reasons of necessity and of importance to the mission. These lands will not be alienated and they must remain utilized in promoting the works of the mission;
8. The Catholic missionaries undertake, to the extent of their personnel availability, to assure the sacerdotal ministry in the centers where the number of followers makes their presence desirable. In case of permanent residence, the missionaries will receive from the government payment convenient in each particular case;
9. It is suitable that the two contracting parties will recommend always to their subordinates the necessity to maintain the most perfect harmony between the missionaries and the agents of the State. If difficulties

begin to arise, they will be dealt with amiably by the respective local authorities, and if understanding cannot be obtained, the same local authorities will refer to superior authorities.⁵³

As in the case of Leopold's earlier negotiations with the Vatican to install Belgian Catholic orders in the Congo, this further linkage between Church and State was extremely significant for the educational development of the Congo and reaffirmed the importance of education in Church-State relations. Education had essentially become the "quid pro quo"--for rendering educational services to the natives the Church would receive generous grants of land for its use. Thus, the State acknowledged the need for the development of an educational system which would provide the nation's manpower needs for trained laborers, farmers and foresters. The State was, furthermore, not willing (and probably not able) to take on the task of developing the educational system which it recognized was needed, but it was willing to subsidize considerably the Church's role in education. From the State's point of view this arrangement was also financially advantageous since payment to the Church was largely in the form of land--the State's most plentiful commodity. As the Congo's economy evolved from ivory to rubber to mining and plantation agriculture, the need for indigenous manpower trained and available to do more than "gather" exploitable resources became increasingly acute.

⁵³The text of the convention was contained in de Jonghe, op. cit., pp. 14-15. One hectare is equal to 2.47 U. S. acres.

The 1906 Act helped to push the Church into greater educational activities and orders like the Scheuts became increasingly active in education.

D. Modification in the Congolese Social Structure

The authority of the State became more pervasive as the stations grew and the core of natives settled around them, both voluntarily and involuntarily, expanded. To these settlements were attracted " . . . opportunists, independent enough, without a well defined political structure who very rapidly understood the interest which they could derive from collaboration with the Europeans."⁵⁴ The Congolese settled near these stations had to some degree begun to be removed from their traditional society.

As noted earlier, Europeans had initially encouraged the movement of Congolese to the State and mission stations. Later, however, there developed some colonial concern that this process might be getting out of hand, especially since the growing Congolese populations in these areas had nothing in the way of legitimate local government--they were outside of the jurisdiction of the traditional rulers, and the colonial government had not provided alternative means for governing such indigenous conglomerates. Although

⁵⁴de Thier, op. cit., p. 22. Bently, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 171 and 209, also felt that there was a strong element of self-interest totally unrelated to the Gospel behind invitations from villages inviting the missionaries to establish posts within their boundaries.

concerned, many of the missionaries were not in fact interested in trying to prohibit potential Christians or converts from settling near their stations. Missionaries claimed with pride that these stations became " . . . islands of relative tranquility in the midst of the disruptions created in the back-country by official and intensive exploitation of the lands . . . (and also) became the first settlement . . . center(s) of attraction for the people" ⁵⁵ These Congolese were originally referred to as the dépaysés or, roughly, those who had left their areas of origin. They were found, "Wherever a mission had been established (and we make no distinction by religion although we should perhaps make distinctions by nationality) (they) . . . formed a nucleus of accessible natives ready to listen to the word of authority and to submit immediately to its influence." ⁵⁶ They were also to be found near government administered stations after Congolese had begun to be employed by the government and after schools for training them were founded to ensure the supply of State employees. This group might best be described as assuming

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 29. This was written especially about Coquilhatville (Mbandaka), but it is applicable to other settlements, notably those in the Upper Congo where large portions of the interior were badly disrupted and exploited during the earlier years of European rule.

⁵⁶ Donny, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

an adaptive posture: they retained their Congolese anchorage yet selectively took from the Europeans without extensively aping them.

A second category were Congolese who had not only left their areas of origin, but who were actively trying to separate themselves from traditional indigenous life style and culture and were imitating the Europeans. These "ersatz Europeans" created consternation among a substantial body of Europeans from all sectors of the White community. While terminology changed, it was this group which was most often referred to in the 1920's and 1930's as détribalisés--the detribalized Congolese.⁵⁷ Since the Belgians were not consistent in their use of these or comparable terms to identify the two categories under consideration, this study will follow the definitions above and will use dépaysés and detribalized (détribalisés). Part of the definitional difficulty between these two categories was that those who had been considered as dépaysés at one point might well have moved to the detribalized category later.

In addressing the growing problem of detribalized

⁵⁷In the early period of concern about these problems, the term déraciné (uprooted, or having been cut off from their roots) was used instead of detribalized. However, by the 1930's déraciné was being used in some instances for those termed above as dépaysés and in other instances as the detribalized. The only way to determine which category was being discussed was from the context.

Congolese there was a significant difference between the policies and practices of both the government and the missions. Missionary leaders wrote and spoke extensively of the dangers of developing a religious elite which would not succeed in producing "Native preachers for natives."⁵⁸

Among the Protestant leaders Bentley wrote:

. . . we do not want to denationalize our native converts; indeed so far as they denationalize, they lose their influence. A native who went into the villages to preach, dressed in coat and trousers, hat and boots, was no longer one of themselves; he had become a white man, so of course he talked as the white men did, and abandoned the native customs; but when he went to them as one of themselves, in dress and manner, they listened to what he had to say, and it had far greater power. Then again, a native in European clothes and boots began to fancy himself a white man, without the white man's ability and worthiness. We want them to understand that it is not clothes that make the man, and to teach them to be, and not to pretend to be. A clean shirt and a neat loin-cloth is by a long way the simplest, coolest, and best style of dress for the native men; very much more decent and becoming than the imitations of white men's dress which they often make . . . We have to Christianize, not to Anglicize.⁵⁹

On the Catholic side, Monseigneur Roelens of the White Fathers wrote in discussing vacations at home for students for the priesthood:

They (vacations at home) maintain our future priests in contact with native life. Thus they know in addition

⁵⁸W. Millman (ed.), Report of the First United Missionary Conference on the Congo (Matadi, Congo: Swedish Mission Press, 1902), p. 59. This was the report of the first Protestant missionary conference, and was held at Leopoldville, January 19-21, 1902.

⁵⁹Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 187-88.

to their own customs the intimate life of their countrymen, their secret feelings, their thoughts, the hidden motives for their actions; if not, they would not penetrate the depths of their souls, they would not know or understand them sufficiently and they (the priests) would pass for 'European blacks.'⁶⁰

At the same time, a substantial number of the Congolese pastors Bentley wrote about and held up as models appear in photos in his books well dressed--European style.⁶¹ Roelens' policy of vacations at home loses much of its significance in view of the rules for students in the petit séminaire: They had two half days for walking outside of the compound per week plus one full day per month. In groups of three or less, without surveillance, they were " . . . forbidden to stop in villages or to enter into houses without special authority."⁶² The rest of the time they remained at the seminary under supervision.

On the government side the question of the detribalized was raised with mounting concern during the late 1880's and the 1890's when many Congolese were being sent abroad for various types of training.⁶³ Liebrechts, a former official.

⁶⁰ Monseigneur Victor Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, 1891-1917, Souvenirs du Premier Evêque du Congo Belge (Louvain: Imprimerie St. Alphonse, Vol. II), pp. 175-176.

⁶¹ Bentley, op. cit., Vols. I and II.

⁶² Roelens, op. cit., p. 175.

⁶³ Auguste Roeykens, "L'oeuvre de l'éducation des jeunes Congolais en Belgique, une page de l'histoire de la politique scolaire de l'et indépendant du Congo, 1888-1899," Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire (Beckenried, Switzerland: Vol. XII, 1956), No. 2, pp. 92-107 and No. 3, pp. 175-189.

of the CIS, warned that the pride of a Congolese " . . . in his race can not be secured by training some as an elite in Belgium, outside of their milieu, and far from daily contact with their fellow men living in complete savagery. They, in spite of everything, not only submit to the atavistic influence of their race, but they are people cut off from their own race for whom European education is a false base."⁶⁴ Both the Catholic and Protestant missionaries became convinced that the schools in the Congo must be upgraded to the point where training abroad would no longer be necessary, and by November, 1899, the CIS government asked that all Congolese who were studying in Belgium be sent back to the Congo.⁶⁵

E. Concluding Remarks

The establishment of the CIS was accomplished by relatively few men. As noted in Chapter III, its formation was largely the work of Leopold II, but during its infancy it was heavily dependent upon Protestant British and

⁶⁴ Charles Liebrechts, Notre Colonie: recueil des articles publiés dans l'étoile belge sous le pseudonyme Un Vieux Congolais (Brussels: Office de publicité, 1922), pp. 68-69.

⁶⁵ Roeykens, op. cit., p. 189.

Scandinavian officers and administrators.⁶⁶ While Leopold courted British support and professed sympathy for the expanding Protestant missionary movements in the Congo, he looked to the Church to educate and train the increasing numbers of Congolese required. The Protestant missions were permitted to continue their work, although increasingly inhibited by the CIS from about 1901 to the Congo's annexation,⁶⁷ while the Belgian Catholic Church was, because

⁶⁶ Stanley, op. cit., and de Winton, op. cit., point this out clearly, and Flamant, op. cit., p. 506, lists 151 Scandinavians alone as having been in the Force Publique. 58 of them, or 38%, died in the Congo--6 killed in combat and 52 from sickness or accidents during the years 1878 to 1904.

⁶⁷ On April 18, 1904, Grenfell wrote to Mr. Baynes, Secretary of the Baptist Mission Society, the following: "The mails just in bring me word of no advance as regards our negotiations with Brussels re 'Forward Sites,' . . . As you are aware, I have maintained that the lack of success we have had in our recent appeals to Brussels was the outcome of the political situation in Belgium, which made it difficult for his Majesty to maintain the friendly attitude of earlier years. This means of consolation, I fear, is no longer valid, for Le Mouvement des Missions Catholique for February, . . . contains the following:--'The Welle Mission is making a new extension, by the founding of a third post at Gumbali's to the north-east. The recrudescence of the Protestant propoganda in the mission field, the request by his Majesty the King Leopold II, who wished to prevent (prevenir) the installation of Lutheran ministers, and the repeated requests of the natives, have determined our missionaries to delay no longer in putting this project into execution.' The publication of such a paragraph is most significant, and distresses me not a little. It has the ring of an official injunction about it, indicating a great deal more than is on the surface" Quoted in George Hawker, op. cit., pp. 517-518.

of political considerations and promises of financial support, induced to take on increasing responsibilities in the Congo.

The Church could also provide moral suasion, dedicated manpower, political support in Belgium, a greater Belgian presence in the Congo, and a civilizing influence on the Africans which, it was anticipated, would result in control through conversion. The Church had the added advantage of being well equipped to provide from its own sources in Belgium what it would need to build, expand and sustain its religious and educational systems. The State did, of course, help in terms of land, influence, and assistance with Congolese "recruitment," etc.,--all of which were easy and cheap for the State to provide.

The marriage of convenience between Church and State to promote, for different reasons, the education of the Congolèse was to prove durable in spite of the host partner's recurrent changes in designation, i.e., from the Congo Independent (or Free) State to the Belgian Congo to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

When it was determined that the number of Belgians in the CIS army and Church were sufficient to accomplish the task, a Congolization process was launched: (1) the King issued the necessary decree on July 30, 1891, authorizing annual levies of Congolese for the Force Publique;⁶⁸

⁶⁸Flamant, op. cit., Annex 3, pp. 507-08, contains the text of this document.

and (2) the State moved to provide for the upgrading of its Congolese staff, so as to replace the foreign Africans, by issuing the Education Act of 1892. This act provided for the creation of the Colonies Scolaires and made them, as well as the schools for orphans which the State had started in 1890,^s the responsibility of the Church. As the Church's burden grew, the State, through the Concordat of 1906 with the Vatican, formalized the Church's position and provided a liberal government subsidy for its educational activities while also increasing land grants to the Church for the missions' own direct use or for commercial exploitation.⁶⁹ While Catholic school curricula were to be approved by a Governor-General of the Congo, this initially was rather prefunctorily accomplished. The Catholic Church had in effect become the quasi-official state religion, and this was reflected in the official documentation; the Missions Nationale became synonymous with the Catholic Church, while the Protestant missions became the Missions Etrangères. The international complexion of the CIS, both European and African, began to fade, and its Belgian-Congolese character to develop.

Also during the 1898 to 1906 period a new series of

⁶⁹Louis Franck, Le Congo Belge (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1930, Vol. I), p. 338. Franck, Minister of Colonies from 1918 to 1924, observed that within a period of three to four years the school subsidy had brought "meteoric results."

concession companies or trusts were created which reconfirmed the role of business in the Congo. Those concessions awarded in the East and South reflected a longer-term interest in mineral exploitation, and Belgian capital and business were heavily involved. The new dimensions added by business's role in mining included not only an extensive capital investment but also a growing commitment to the maintenance of a stable labor force trained to perform tasks in an industrial and urbanizing environment alien to anything the Congolese had ever known. The previous procedures whereby native laborers were acquired to work for concession holders at jobs fundamentally requiring little more training than they already possessed, or could gain from their own culture, were no longer applicable. Expanded and diversified educational programs began to be developed to meet the new needs.

The combined Belgianization and Congolization process provided the king trained natives willing to follow the meager, although increasing, Belgian cadre. Thus, he augmented his presence and control through dependable, i.e., Belgian Catholic, mission stations as well as by increasing State and commercial outposts--the former being compensated by faith and the latter by profit, but both significantly dependent upon his rule and consequently supportive of it. To maintain the Congo enterprise, to

compensate for the labor and capital which were poured into it, and to induce and sustain the level of commitment and participation which would be required to develop it, meant that it must be profitable to each supporting institution in its own way.

What makes these historical considerations especially relevant for the formation of the new educated elite in the Congo is that, as we shall see, even after the CIS was transformed into the Belgian Congo the educational system continued basically unchanged. By annexation in 1908, there was nothing comparable to the missionary educational system. Certainly there was nothing available with which to replace it, even if this had been desired, and Belgium, like Leopold, had relatively limited resources and inclinations to meet either the Congo's existing or potential educational demands.⁷⁰ When power in the Congo was again transferred in 1960, and this time to the Congolese, the same considerations dictated the decision that missionaries should retain the major responsibility for the nation's educational system.

⁷⁰The Daily News in reporting the decision of the Belgian Parliament to agree to the annexation of the Congo Independent State after a debate which lasted from April to December, 1908, stated, "Never before was greatness forced by circumstances upon a more reluctant people." Quoted by S. J. S. Cookey, Great Britain and the Congo Question, 1892-1913 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the University of London, 1964), from Anstey, op. cit., p. 22.

Although aware (1) that many of the changes they were generating in Congolese societies were having a debilitating effect on the traditional social structure and the position of the traditional elite, and (2) that eventually this might have grave repercussions, the churches and the State were getting what they desperately needed--Congolese participants with whom they could work, who understood what the Europeans wanted, who would carry out their instructions, and who would serve as a vital bridge to the mass of the Congolese. By training and using these people in increasing numbers, the churches and State were also increasingly by-passing the less malleable traditional elite. Still the churches and the State affirmed that the traditional elite should be supported and maintained when in fact such a policy was not of immediate importance and therefore was not, given the existing demands and the shortage of funds and European manpower, implemented.

Throughout the colonial period the administration continued to wrestle with the problem of detribalized Congolese entering the colonial segment of the society. The government needed them to make the colonial economy develop and function, but they did not want them to become imitation Europeans. Meanwhile, such Congolese were increasingly absorbed into the new colonial sector. It was in these often urbanizing environments where Europeans

rather than members of the traditional elite were their models that the Congolese were, intentionally and/or unintentionally, rewarded for changing their ways of life. These Congolese formed the core of what was to become the "centre extra-coutumier" system which was to secure the first significant political self-expression for Congolese.⁷¹

While free choice had initially been responsible for drawing only very few Congolese away from areas of traditional rule, the growing economic and educational opportunities becoming available to them as the country developed began to make coercive recruitment tactics less and less necessary. Through mission churches and schools the villages were penetrated, and Congolese adults cooperated or acquiesced while their children were prepared for new roles in a non-traditional society. The missionaries, supported by the government where necessary, began to modify Congolese society not only by the introduction of these new religious and educational structures, propagating a new faith and new concepts, but also by either proscribing some traditional practices or by not objecting to the continuance of others, depending upon their acceptability in Christian European terms.

⁷¹de Thier, op. cit., pp. 21-31, gives an excellent review of how the Coquilhatville Centre Extra-Coutumier was founded in this way.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST GENERATION OF ELITE

The first generation of non-traditional Congolese elite was fostered by the two major components of the European cadre of the CIS, i.e., missionaries and government officials. Understandably, they specified as elites those most pertinent to their respective needs: for the government they were the growing military force (the Force Publique) while for the missions they were the members of a new religion-education vocation. The Congolese who succeeded as soldiers and as preacher-teachers were those who did well first in the required preparatory education and training and then in job performance.¹ Perhaps reflecting their own backgrounds, the students at Lovanium University in 1961 indicated in a manifesto they, too, considered that these two groups, identified by occupation, had constituted the original members of the new Congolese elite:

The Belgians divided the Congolese successively into two then three or even four new classes. In effect, at the beginning of the colonization there were, on

¹For the Protestants the preacher-teachers were called pasteurs-instituteurs and for the Catholics catéchistes-instituteurs.

the one hand, the basendji or natives, and on the other hand the soldiers of the Force Publique (first Hausa, then Congolese).

The soldiers had as their noble mission the conquest of the regions inhabited by the basendji and their subjection to the authority of the white man . . . A new class then appeared, that of the 'boys' and native domestic servants of the colonizer. The Belgian used them to consolidate his authority over the country. At the beginning of the era baptized 'pax belgica,' the prestige of the domestics exceeded that of the soldiers. They became catechists and taught the Catholic religion, principal source of the general pacification of the Congo by the colonizers.

As the children of the 'boys' and soldiers went to school, a new class grew up, that of the évolués.²

The formation of this early elite set the pattern for the development of subsequent generations of elites and provides special insights into the process by which new elites were created in the Congo.

A. The Force Publique

As reviewed previously, there were compelling needs dictating the "Congolization" of the Force Publique.³

²Manifeste des universitaires congolais (Leopoldville: n.d., 1961). Quoted in Young, Politics in the Congo, op. cit., pp. 195-196. Crawford Young's own opinion of this analysis is that, "There is a great deal of accuracy . . ." in it. Basendji is a slang term for native.

³D. C. Boulger, The Congo State (London: Thacker & Co., 1898), p. 234, quotes Baron Van Eetveld's (Secretary of State for the Independent State of the Congo) report of January 25, 1897, some time after the Congolization process had started: "The State has set itself to the task of creating a purely national army, with the view of lightening the budget of the considerable charges which weighed upon it through having to recruit abroad, and also with the view of putting an end, in accordance with the highest dictates of policy, to its dependence in this matter upon foreigners. It considers, moreover, the period of military service as a salutary school for the native, where he will learn respect for authority and the obligations of duty." The salary of a Congolese soldier was a sixth that of alien soldiers. p. 227.

Consequently, once the policy was decided upon, it was implemented ruthlessly. Levies were imposed on the chiefs and military training camps were expanded and new ones opened.⁴ "The first months of life in these camps must not have been very agreeable for these uprooted men, removed, often in spite of themselves, from their areas of origin. This detribalization, in addition to sicknesses caused by changes in climate and the bad physical state of most of the recruits furnished by the chiefs, was the cause of numerous deaths which decimated the training camps."⁵ These losses occurred in spite of good housing and food provided by the State.⁶

⁴Boulger, *Ibid.*, quoting from Van Eetvelde and the official policy statement: "As is the case in almost all countries, the recruiting, independent of voluntary engagements, is made by annual levies, but 'within the limits of the contingent fixed by the King-Sovereign,' and within these limits, 'the Governor-General determines the districts and localities in which the levy is to be made and also the proportion to be furnished by each locality.' 'The mode according to which the levy operates is determined by the district commissary in agreement with the native chief;' and although the drawing by lot is recommended, we must recognize that it would be difficult in the present circumstances, to have recourse always and everywhere to this method in each village, and to refuse to recognize the customary authority of the village chief . . ." pp. 234-35.

⁵Flamant, *op. cit.*, p. 63. In 1900 the camps reported 16% had died and 10.8% were discharged, while subsequently among troops in the field, in spite of losses suffered in continuing field operations, the rates fell to 7.5% and 3.3% respectively.

⁶Guy Burrows, The Curse of Central Africa (London: R. A. Everett & Co., Ltd., 1903), Captain Burrows, who had served six years in the Congo prior to 1901, and was a District Commissioner of the Aruwimi District, and subsequently a strong critic of the State, wrote: "I found the

While providing for immediate manpower needs, the State adopted a longer term training program as well. Continuing the practice of gathering as recruits those children considered as orphans, the State established two large colonies scolaires (school colonies); one at Boma (1890) and the other at Nouvelle-Anvers (1907). Although these were soon turned over to the Church to operate, the Governor-General named an officer or non-commissioned officer and several native troops to provide the students with military instruction.⁷ The program lasted for three years. During the first two years instruction included military theory and practice, French, a Congolese language, and elementary arithmetic. Students dropped out at the end of each year. After the second year those judged not military "material" were directed into administration or public works (craftsmen) for the State. The men who remained in the military were destined to become non-commissioned officers. During their last year of study

soldiers fairly well housed and fed at Kinchassa, and consequently well contented with their lot. It pays the State to treat its soldiers well"

⁷M. A. Delcommune, Le Congo plus belle colonie du monde (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1920), p. 11. In spite of this rather meager participation in even the training of a military cadre, Delcommune wrote: "After 1885 the State undertook the occupation of the territories of the colony, and was concerned almost exclusively with the military training of the troops needed, leaving to the missionaries the role of educators of the black race."

they were given specialized training related to the branch of service to which they would be assigned. Because the course was rigorous, students who showed promise but who had difficulty in passing were permitted to repeat each of the three years at least once.⁸ At the end of the school the best graduates were sent to training camps as instructors while the rest went to regular military camps for one year before entering on active military field duty.

Near the end of the CIS period, additional training courses were started so the best graduates from Boma and Nouvelle-Anvers were sent to a new school at Boma for one more year to study accounting and administration for the Force Publique. These courses, in addition to providing continued military training, offered elementary accounting, arithmetic, and more French. Graduates of these programs were made sergeants. Gradually additional specialized schools were established for non-commissioned officers in various branches so that the Force Publique had a sufficient number of well trained non-commissioned officers to satisfy staffing requirements by the outbreak of war in 1914.

As the "Congolization" of the Force Publique progressed, the State, to add stability and maintain good morale, encouraged the soldiers to marry and move their

⁸Flamant, op. cit., pp. 84-86. The special program during the third year followed an eight hour day schedule: 3 hours for military theory and exercises; 3 hours for religious classes and exercises; and 2 hours for learning a trade or for manual labor.

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wives and families to the military posts. Under certain conditions the State even assisted soldiers with the payment of doweries.⁹ Special family allowances were instituted to cover the increased costs of food and maintenance.¹⁰ Nevertheless, wives were usually expected to raise food for their families insofar as they could in order to reduce the dependence of the military installations upon the surrounding countryside for supplies. Schools were provided for the children so that they would be " . . . instructed and educated under the control of military authority."¹¹ Furthermore, special classes in other than military subjects were established for the soldiers so that each could eventually, " . . . be licensed as a mason, carpenter, wheelwright, or as some other useful craftsman."¹² This professional training was to assure that a soldier would become neither a "déclassé" nor a "parasite" after finishing his military service. He would, with vocational skills, be accepted and respected by the community in which he might subsequently settle. ¶

As a result of their treatment and training, the

⁹ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

¹⁰ Boulger, op. cit., p. 227.

¹¹ Pierre Days, L'empire colonial Belge (Brussels: Editions du Soir, 1923), p. 259.

¹² Ibid., p. 258-59.

esprit de corps of the Force Publique steadily improved and shortly after the turn of the century they were described as " . . . forming, among the Congolese, a veritable privileged class."¹³ The State refused to permit the soldier to practice polygamy, and it was expected that the wives would dress well and that the children would attend the schools provided. Increasingly the Army began to communicate in Lingala: it became the language of communication between Congolese in the Force Publique as well as the lingua franca of the Force. Furthermore, military units were deliberately mixed tribally to prevent the development of tribally homogeneous units since it was felt that this had been a major factor contributing to the "Batetela" and some other lesser revolts. Care was also taken to avoid assigning soldiers to serve in their areas of origin so that when ordered into action they would not be exposed to affective interference caused by operating against their own tribal group. Thus in a very real sense the whole family, and a nuclear rather than an extended one at that, was in the Force Publique and considerably separated from the rest of Congolese society. The normal societal linkages with the tribe were deliberately weakened.

¹³Vandervelde, op. cit., p. 190. Smith, op. cit., wrote of the camp at Stanleyville, "A regiment of 500 or more black soldiers with their wives makes a small colony in itself. Discipline keeps them apart, and they can only be said to mix with the other natives in the markets. They are all nominal Catholics. Scarcely less than a dozen different tribes are represented." p. 150.

While the ratio of Whites to Blacks was officially 1 to 43, sickness travel and home leave made it more like 1 to 60.¹⁴ However, with the tour of duty for the Congolese a minimum of 7 years (increased from 5 years in 1900), there was considerable time for the European contingent of the Force to make a strong impact upon the Congolese troops. A gross approximation of the ratio of Europeans to Congolese for the whole Congo during this time span would, at the most, be 1 White to 1,000 Blacks, which made the Force Publique environment one of the points of relatively intensive inter-racial contact. Again in Stanleyville, Smith noted the lasting influence of this: "You will pass the brick dwellings of the (retired) sergeants of the Force Publique, and for half an hour the way is lined with the near dwellings of 'old' boys, reservists, etc.,"--a whole section of the city was being inhabited essentially by this detribalized group whose major common link was the impact service with the Europeans had made on their lives.¹⁵

Furthermore, it appears that this phenomenon was a common one. At the completion of their tours of duty, the soldiers were either repatriated at the expense of the State, or, if they had no homes to which to return (or to

¹⁴Daye, op. cit., p. 257.

¹⁵Smith, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

which they wanted to return), they were settled together in special villages.¹⁶ These villages were strongly European influenced, their standards of living and health were markedly higher than those of their neighbors, and they were often respected and imitated by them.¹⁷ In 1902 Grenfell wrote a congratulatory note to an officer in the Force Publique on these "soldier colonies": "It was a source of sincere pleasure to me to see the colonies of the time-expired men at Banalya. Their neat, well-kept houses and the air of contentment that reigned were most inspiring. To find these communities so advanced on the high road to civilization in this far-away place, right in the centre of the continent, is a most important and encouraging fact."¹⁸ Sir Harry Johnston, no friend of Leopold's, investigated the "Congo State system of establishing these soldier colonies," and found that they had been, " . . . severely and--as turns out--unfairly criticized. Like Grenfell, Lord Mountmorres and Mrs. William Forfeitt, B.M.S., have reported favourably on the villages formed by the retired soldiers

¹⁶F. Masoin, Histoire de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo (Namur: Imprimerie Picard-Balon, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 56-58.

¹⁷Johnston, George Grenfell, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 494-96, quoted from a story reporting these facts written by Mrs. William Forfeitt for the B. M. S. Juvenile Missionary Herald.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 333-34.

of the State, 'on their spotless cleanliness, the extent and excellence of their plantations.'"¹⁹ Johnston himself thought that the results of military training had proven overall to give " . . . good results--in the making of sober, clean, intelligent, unsuperstitious, orderly, industrious citizens--." ²⁰

In effect, soldiers often continued to serve the State in various ways which maintained their special status with the regime. One of the practices most disruptive of the traditional elite was to appoint veterans as chieftains. This was accomplished under the provisions of the decree of 1891 that gave the State the authority to invest chiefs.²¹ By 1906 well over 400 chiefs had received investiture, but more often than not those invested were not the existing chiefs, or others who might have become chiefs by traditional practices, but were instead "commoners" such as ex-soldiers, who were more likely to obey the State.²² The

¹⁹Ibid., p. 334.

²⁰Ibid., p. 494.

²¹Maison, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 50-51.

²²Boulger, op. cit., p. 181. Very often invested chiefs were called "medalled" because the State gave them large medals, usually worn around the neck, to indicate their investiture. One of the first areas in which investiture was used to alter the existing structure was in the area conquered from the Arabs. Boulger quotes a dispatch from Dhanis, commander of the anti-Arab campaign on this: "The native chiefs who had submitted to them (the Arabs) have been replaced in their authority; others who disappeared have been replaced by intelligent soldiers of the State . . ."

veterans had acquaintance with, or training in, colonial administration and practices which State officials felt would make them much more valuable administrators than traditional chieftains would be.

From 1888 to the end of the CIS period and World War I, the Congolese came to occupy an increasingly important position within the Force Publique both quantitatively and qualitatively. Their numbers grew from a total of 1,487 in 1889 to 17,833 at the outbreak of the First World War. The budget of the Force Publique increased absolutely from 2,271,628 BF in 1891 to 8,762,700 BF in 1912, although proportionately it dropped from 49% to 17%.²³ At the same time it is interesting to note that during this period the areas from which the majority of troops were recruited shifted significantly. Looking at years of special importance for the Congo--1892 and 1893 as the years of the Arab War, 1908 and 1909 as the years of annexation, and 1912, 1913 and 1914 as the last years prior to the impact of the First World War--the recruitment picture changed as shown in Table 6.1.

The first major areas of recruitment were understandably those of greatest European-Congolese contact, the areas in which there had been the longest experience in working together. These three regions (Bakongo, Bangala,

²³Flamant, op. cit., see Annex 12, p. 257. BF is Belgian Francs.

TABLE 6.1

Percentage of Annual Recruitment by Major Areas

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bakongo</u>	<u>Bangala*</u>	<u>Baluba</u>	<u>Sub Total</u>	<u>Uélé*</u>	<u>P.O.*</u>	<u>Sub Total</u>
1892	23.4	13.8	13.8	(50.0)	9.2	5.5	(14.7)
1893	16.1	8.9	31.3	(56.3)	8.9	7.4	(16.3)
1908	3.4	14.4	15.6	(33.4)	15.0	15.9	(30.9)
1909	3.5	12.9	11.5	(27.9)	17.1	17.1	(34.2)
1912	2.7	14.4	9.3	(26.4)	16.5	16.5	(38.4)
1913	3.2	12.8	8.9	(24.9)	16.8	16.8	(38.5)
1914	3.4	12.8	8.5	(24.7)	18.1	18.1	(40.4)

*The percentages are worked out from figures taken from Annex 4. Bangala covers the region of northern Equateur Province; Uélé (the northern part of Oriental Province), and P.O. (the remainder of Oriental Province).

Source: E. Flamant, La Force Publique de sa naissance à 1914 (Brussels: Edition J. Duculot, S.A., 1914).

and Baluba) contributed 50% of the total recruitment. By the time of annexation the share of these same regions was down to approximately one-third while the newest areas being brought under control in the northeastern part of the Congo were making an equal contribution. By the outbreak of World War I one-fourth were coming from the Bakongo, Bangala, and Baluba regions while the northeast, essentially what is presently Oriental Province, was contributing two-fifths and moving toward one half the total number of

recruits.²⁴ Considering the first group individually, the Bakongo had dropped from 23.4% in 1892 to 3.4% in 1914, while the Baluba hit a peak in 1893 of 31.3% and stood at 8.5% in 1914. It is worth noting that recruitment percentages during the last period are in inverse proportion to the availability of educational facilities: the Bakongo region was in the area of greatest educational concentration, followed by Baluba and then by Bangala areas. Oriental Province was, and is, educationally one of the most backward. Options in the northeastern part of the Congo for securing an education outside of the Force Publique were not nearly as good as they were in the first three regions. Bangala participation remained rather level throughout, and although schools were established early in northern Equateur along the Congo River they were not numerous. Also the poverty of the area made outside employment desirable. The lack of interest in the military on the part of the Bakongos and the Balubas, and their growing abilities to serve the colonial administration in other ways, had, in effect, already made itself felt by the time of annexation (especially among the Bakongos). The Force Publique gradually ceased to be seen as a pathway to new elite status

²⁴ During the war there were special levies for porters as well as troops. An example of this was a special levy of 13,000 military porters made on July 4, 1917, of whom 5,000 were to come from Oriental Province, 900 from Baluba areas, and only 250 from Bakongo areas. Ordonnance-Loi du 4 July 1917, Bulletin Administratif et Commercial du Congo Belge, 9th year, No. 13, July 10, 1917, p. 524.

for those who had other educational and occupational options.

Qualitatively the Belgians were pleased with their colonial army in spite of four major mutinies, the most serious of which had occurred prior to 1900. The Force Publique maintained a myth of "unimpeachable discipline,"²⁵ and this was reinforced by their performance in the field during World War I. Following the German occupation of Belgium, German troops in Tanganyika attacked the eastern Congo. The Belgian colonial administration responded by leading the Congo into the war wholeheartedly and sent troops to fight alongside of the French and British in the Cameroons and Tanganyika.²⁶ Louis Franck, first Liberal Colonial Minister, wrote, "Few institutions have rendered more service to the Colony, not only in the military domain, by occupying the country and maintaining order, but also from a moral and social point of view." The natives, ". . . enter into contact with European leaders, deserving to command, who inspire in them the respect of the white race and the Belgians in particular." "The action of the Belgian officer on his black soldiers has been a powerful

²⁵Young, op. cit., p. 182.

²⁶General Aymerich of the French Army, as well as the Governor General of the Congo, lavished praise on "ces belles troupes" and stressed how "valiant", "glorious" and "heroic" they had been. "Discours prononcé par le gouverneur général," Supplement au Bulletin Administratif et Commercial, September 25, 1916, No. 18., pp. 11-13.

civilizing element."²⁷

However, in spite of the acknowledgement that the Force Publique had played a "glorious role": that "Black troops during the war of 1914-1918 had not been inferior to any other troops either in the qualities of the heart or in the qualities of the brain,"²⁸ the Congolese were not to be allowed positions equal to the Europeans. This contributed to the tendency of Congolese to view the Force Publique as an alternative training institution rather than as a career service. And in fact the Belgians did not discourage this after the training system had been established: "As often as possible, the soldiers have the opportunity of learning a European skill."²⁹

Therefore, although the military had been considered a means to enter the first generation elite, colonial policy prohibited it from retaining its position in the second generation except as another means to acquire more education and training for the occupations which counted for more: i.e., "clerks," "skilled laborers," and those with other "European skills."³⁰ By failing to grant Congolese in the

²⁷ Franck, Le Congo Belge, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 155.

²⁸ G. Van der Kerken, "Populations congolaises," in Max Gottschald (Ed.) Le Congo (Brussels: Institut de sociologie Solvay,) p. 35.

²⁹ Franck, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 155-56.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 155.

Force Publique a role which would command their allegiance to the government and the military institution after independence, a role which would offer Congolese some means by which they might achieve rank and treatment equal to the Europeans, meant that the State (colonial and independent) lost the opportunity of assuring the support of the Congolese military. These Congolese, to gain such positions, eventually mutinied in mass but only after they had become convinced that ". . . independence was not for the soldier . . ." ³¹ and after others, the Congolese bureaucrats and clerks, were realizing the benefits of independence which the soldiers were not. ³² When the Belgian Commander-in-Chief, General Janssens, announced following independence that he had nothing new to promise the Congolese in the Force Publique, but that it would "continue as before," and then himself wrote on a blackboard: "après l'indépendance=avant l'indépendance," the troops determined to take for themselves what the Belgians first and their

³¹ Ganshof van der Meersch, Fin de la souveraineté Belge au Congo (Brussels: Martinus Nijhoff, Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, 1963), p. 397.

³² Ibid., p. 411. van der Meersch quotes from Le Soir, Leopoldville, July 6, 1960: "This morning, July 6, about 500 men left camp in spite of orders, without arms . . . They ran . . . toward the residence of Lumumba and toward the Palais de la Nation (Congolese Parliament building). It is absolutely certain . . . that the hostility of the military is directed against the Congolese ministers, whom they reproach for awarding themselves houses, deluxe cars and 500,000 francs, and more especially against Lumumba who promised them a lot of advantages which they are not receiving."

own leaders second were not giving them, i.e., first class rather than second class positions in their own army which they felt they had earned long ago.³³

At the very end of the colonial period the government sought to establish a long-term (as well as a shorter term) influence over the future Congolese officer corps by establishing at Luluabourg a cadet training center under the command of Colonel Henniquiau.³⁴ Although it had been

³³Ibid., p. 411. Van der Meersch quotes Mr. Bolya as saying that, "the Congolese had been blocked over the years and felt that a change within even the army should occur." Kasavubu also thought it was necessary, ". . . to eliminate from the Force Publique all European personnel who would not adopt parallel evolution." Lumumba estimated that it was necessary, ". . . 'to do something important' in the immediate future and that on June 30 everyone ought to see that the Congo was really independent." Thus, the most important Congolese leaders agreed that the inferior status of Congolese in the Force Publique could only be overcome by post-independence action--but steps to correct the situation were not taken in time. p. 403.

³⁴The military education complex was basically designed as follows: (1) the Ecole Centrale de la Force Publique was designed as a terminal middle school to train Congolese for NCO grades especially in the special branches; and (2) the officers' training schools divided into two sections: (a) the Ecole des Pupilles was for the first half of secondary school and took five years: one year of preparatory post-primary, and four years of the academic "modern science" stream. When this opened in 1953, there were 28 students admitted and by 1958 only 14 remained. For academic year 1958-59, of the 1,950 who submitted applications, 140 were allowed to take the examinations and 23 were admitted. All who possessed the necessary qualifications could make application for admission. However, preference was given to the sons of soldiers and veterans. The teaching staff consisted of 8 trained Belgian lay teachers; there were no clergy teaching; and (b) the Ecole Royale Militaire was the last three years of secondary school. In 1959 there were 13 cadets enrolled in the first year of this three year cycle

announced a failure in 1959, the recruitment in 1960 was such that the administrators of the school felt confident in predicting an excellent level of future recruitment.³⁵

It is interesting that again the colonial administration had turned to the formal education system as a tool for implementing their military policies. After announcing that

" . . . when the first Congolese Second Lieutenants graduate from the Ecole Royale, the Force Publique will be able to pride itself in a moral victory: that of having assured the

with none yet in the last two years.

Those who passed through the Ecole des Pupilles were admitted and those who failed the Ecole des Pupilles were channelled into programs preparing them to become ranking NGOs. Upon successful completion of the Ecole Royale Militaire, the cadets would have become the first Congolese to be commissioned as Second Lieutenants in 1963. At that point they would have entered the Ecole Royale Militaire de Bruxelles to complete their training in Belgium. They would have actually completed their training there and returned to military duty in the Congo about 1968. Le Service de l'information du gouvernement general du Congo Belge, "L'ecole des pupilles à Luluabourg," Pages Congolaises (Léopoldville: No. 424, July 31, 1958), pp. 1 and 2; and Le service de l'information du gouvernement général du Congo Belge, "L'ecole centrale de la Force Publique à Luluabourg, pépinière de futurs officiers Congolais," Pages Congolaises (Léopoldville: No. 6, January 21, 1959), pp. 1 and 2.

³⁵Van der Meersch, op. cit., pp. 399-400, confirms that those being admitted were in fact chosen from among qualified candidates who were the children of soldiers or veterans. From the author's own experience with these cadets, they were outstanding. Some later attended private boarding schools in New England and received their high school diplomas with a commendable record academically as well as socially.

intellectual and civic formation of the Congolese elite,"³⁶ the Belgians found that they no longer had time to train a new generation of elite to suit their own as well perhaps as the Congo's needs.

Essentially the first major colonial organization with an extensive Congolese involvement, the one which made the occupation, pacification and stabilization of the Congo possible so that colonial development could take place, the Force Publique was also the very organization which turned against that leadership of eighty years as soon as the occasion presented itself--as soon as coercion ceased. This reaction would be in keeping with the findings of social psychologists who have established that in social relationships the weakest and most unsatisfactory way to attempt to support and maintain these relationships is through coercion.³⁷ Coercion will result in compliance by

³⁶Pages Congolaises, op. cit., No. 424, July 31, 1958, p. 2.

³⁷French and Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," Group Dynamics, Research and Theory (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1962) pp. 607-624. French and Raven listed five ways in which social power might be maintained: (1) coercive power (one has the ability to punish the other), (2) reward power, (3) legitimate power (one has a right to exercise power over another), (4) referent power (one identifies with another), and (5) expert power (one has special knowledge or expertness). They found that coercion resulted in "decreased attraction (between the two social entities) . . . and high resistance." Kelman got similar results--coercive power didn't last. H. O. Kelman, "Three Processes of Acceptance of Social Influence: Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," American Psychologist, Vol. 11, Aug., 1956, p. 361.

the partner with the least power, but the state of compliance will last only in the presence of the coercer's power.

"Identification" has more durability, for the junior partner in such a situation develops a satisfying relationship, and as a result of the satisfaction he derives from the arrangement he believes in the attitudes and actions he has adopted.

This state of identification will last as long as the relationship remains satisfying. However, the most permanent change, termed "internalization," develops where the content of the induced attitude or behavior is intrinsically rewarding.³⁸ In this instance the one being changed will continue the action the change agent promoted even in the absence of the latter's superior power. What the Belgians managed to achieve appears to have been certainly compliance, and perhaps, especially in relation to the Congolese non-commissioned officers, a certain amount of Congolese identification within the Force Publique. However, the Congolese were allowed neither into the officer corps nor into command levels of responsibility. By not developing a rewarding career service program containing racial equality and opportunities for upward mobility in the officer ranks, the Belgians never gave the Congolese adequate justification for developing the kind of integration nor the degree of participation and commitment which would have made the continuance of the established organization intrinsically

³⁸Kelman, op. cit., p. 361.

rewarding enough to the Congolese so that internalization might have been achieved. The stake of the Congolese in the maintenance of the pre-colonial army simply was insufficient for them to remain satisfied with it in an unchanged form once they were free of the colonial power supporting it. The soldiers had been repeatedly praised for their contribution to the welfare of the State, and yet, after independence they saw others, who in their opinion had done very little, receiving the rewards. In exasperation they revolted, and Congolese troops who were the occupational heirs of the first generation elite took command of their own army and recaptured their elite status.

B. The Religion-Education Elite

Unlike the building of the Force Publique, recruitment by missionaries was basically free of coercion. Even in those cases where the missionaries bought slaves or received captured slave trains from the Force Publique, force was not a means for maintaining control over those who came under missionary influence. Although they occasionally carried arms against rebels,³⁹ doctrine dictated that the missionaries be men of peace and convert by teaching and being a living example of Christian faith. Thus, the

³⁹There are a few instances reported in the late 1880's and early 1890's in which Catholic missionaries admitted shooting at rebel bands and killing attackers. Thus far no account has been found of a Protestant missionary having done this although they used their guns as a bluff.

relationship between the Congolese and the missionaries was a voluntary one--to exist it had to provide satisfaction to each.⁴⁰

As the State evolved and foreign Africans ceased to be a practical alternative to local manpower, State and missionaries were equally dependent upon Congolese laborers. The position of the Congolese in relation to the missionaries was significantly enhanced by the missionaries' fundamentally religious interests: they were seeking to convert, to harvest souls, and the achievement of that objective was, in the final analysis, completely dependent upon the Congolese. Therefore, while the State could be content with one-way communication with the Congolese, i.e., giving orders, the missionaries, in order to "touch" the Congolese, had to establish two-way communications. At the same time the missionaries were students--to destroy paganism demanded that they have some understanding of the major cultural elements which sustained it. Both purposes required them to learn native languages and live close to the Congolese. This in turn led to a greater knowledge about native society than was obtained, with few exceptions, by other Europeans.

⁴⁰When the natives became unhappy with the treatment they received from the missionaries they could and did move. Vandervelde, *op. cit.*, p. 88, reported that many natives ". . . to avoid obligatory Christianization of their children and adolescents . . ." crossed to the French side. Others just moved beyond the reach of the mission stations.

In this way the missionaries acquired a powerful role-- they became the middlemen between the Congolese and other Europeans, including State officials. It was a role which could not be challenged until the Belgian government developed a career colonial service, or until the Congolese themselves decided to act on their own behalf without missionary support.

In the very process of entering the Congo, the missionaries were forced to teach manual skills for their own survival and reading and writing for the sake of promoting Christianity. Thus they were from the beginning at the forefront of whatever education was being accomplished, and this led, as we have seen, to their subsequent near-monopoly of the education system. Because of this, they not only played a part in the formation of the early military elite, but they were in control of the preparation of the others who constituted the first generation elite-- those in religious and educational work.

1. Establishing Relationships

Fear, misunderstanding, and distrust reflected the divergent views which missionaries and Congolese had of each other as they first came into contact. It is difficult to imagine groups with much greater differences trying to establish a relationship.

When the explorers and/or missionaries first arrived

in the Congo, they were, for the most part, not even accepted by the Congolese as fellow human beings. Bentley recorded the following in 1881: "These poor inland folk believe that we are gods, that we send the rain, and can withhold it at will; and, possessing all the secrets of witchcraft, we are objects of terror to them. A mysterious incandescence glows in our white faces, . . . (glowing as hot metal or bright clouds)."⁴¹ Similarly in the Bas Congo, Reverend Lewis wrote in 1898: "Our appearance in the district caused much confusion, and the people were afraid lest we should bewitch them and cause them all to die right off. There were cries of, 'The country is dead, the country is dead'; and I have no doubt that they firmly believed it." And ". . . the first announcement that 'white men' were coming into a town was a signal for a general stampede of the women and children"⁴² Reverend Weeks noted near Coquilhatville that "The general opinion among these people is that we come to take their souls away, and especially those of children, to be made into white men in the white man's country. They believe that it is our

⁴¹Bentley, op. cit., p. 313, Vol. I. This "inland" area was located between Matadi and Stanley Pool (Leopoldville). In many areas of the Congo the color white is also associated with death.

⁴²George Hawker, An Englishwoman's 25 Years in Tropical Africa (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), p. 205 and 208.

subtle way of carrying on the slave-trade."⁴³

Even as late as 1908 at Bosanga, in the northern Congo, Father Haustrate reported an incident in which the chief and local dignitaries had promised land for the construction of a new mission. However, they kept procrastinating and it appeared they might have changed their minds. Soon thereafter, on Good Friday, a tornado ravaged the village. "Considering that disaster as a punishment from heaven provoked by their slowness, they put themselves resolutely to work and in less than fifteen days they had cleared the necessary site for our buildings."⁴⁴

As the Europeans became established, fear often gave way to a Congolese longing to be rid of them and to frustration at their inability to drive the Whites out of the country. Father Cambier's report of a song sung by Congolese paddlers clearly illustrates this:

Oh my mother we are unhappy!
 The cursed Whites make water come over our bodies;
 They have killed the chief of Mankasa;
 The White there has a black beard;
 The monkey also has a beard;
 The White has made us work;
 We were happy before the arrival of the White;
 Let us kill the White who has made us work;
 But the Whites have greater magic than we;
 The White is stronger than the Black:
 But the sun will kill the White;
 But the moon will kill the White;
 But the sorcerer will kill the White;

⁴³Weeks, op. cit., p. 225.

⁴⁴R. P. Haustrate, "Notre-Dame de Bonne-Espérance au Congo," in Dieu, op. cit., p. 200.

But the tiger will kill the White;
 But the crocodile will kill the White;
 But the elephant will kill the White;
 But the river will kill the White.⁴⁵

Certainly there were elements of this fear, frustration, and desire to be rid of the Europeans throughout the following years, but there also developed an interest in finding out what the missionaries were really after. Bentley describes an early interchange which demonstrates this:

The natives were very much puzzled as to our purposes in coming. They would ask, 'Have you come on behalf of the State?' 'No!' 'Then who are you, and what do you come for?' 'We have come to tell you about God.' They would look at each other and then at the strange white men, and wonder whether they were not mad. They had left their home and travelled far to give them information about something that did not concern them; nothing about trade, or food, or daily life; only about God, . . . What could they have come for? It was a mystery to them.⁴⁶

When in 1890 Weeks and Stapleton were founding the station at Monsembe, and were trying to learn the language of the people at the same time, they discovered after several weeks that they were being given a jumble of various dialects by those working for them. Weeks describes the following reaction when he confronted one of the workmen with the accusation that they had been giving the missionaries wrong information:

A broad smile gradually spread over the native's face as he replied: 'White man, when you came first to live amongst us we could not understand the purpose of your

⁴⁵Dieu, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

⁴⁶Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 244.

coming. We brought you rubber and ivory; but you said, 'We do not trade in such things.' We then brought you male and female slaves, and asked you to buy them, and you replied, 'We do not trade in such things.' We then brought you a large jar of sugarcane wine, but you said that you did not drink wine, and we answered that we would drink it for you, and even then you would not buy it. After that we came to the conclusion that there was some wicked reason for your presence in our town, some bad purpose we could not understand, and we therefore arranged among ourselves not to teach you our language, but to tell you as many words and phrases as we could belonging to other languages.⁴⁷

Weeks adds, "They asked us more than once: 'Were you bad men in your country that you had to leave it to come and live here in this land? Or: 'Is there no food in your country that you come here and buy only fowls and vegetables of us? . . . Undoubtedly our presence was a great mystery to the natives."⁴⁸

On the missionary side, needless to say, there was at least an equal degree of bewilderment at the way these people whom they had come to evangelize lived, behaved, and thought. The mutuality of fear and misunderstanding initially present in the contacts between the Congolese and the missionaries, and an indication of the dimensions of the gap separating them, are illustrated by Mrs. Banks, who wrote to England in 1887 of her first visit to a village near what was to become Coquilhatville:

⁴⁷Weeks, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Suddenly one of them spied me. There was a wild shriek of Ndoki (ghost). The women grabbed their babies and ran; the men seized spears and arrows and fled . . . In a moment I was in what seemed a deserted village. This alarm was because I had appeared suddenly--completely white. They had never seen a white woman before, or one dressed all in white.

Bewildered and frightened, I still remained; there had to be a first time and this might as well be it. I walked down the center of the street . . . (to the end) . . . where the chief's hut stood . . . As I neared it, suddenly I discovered that each pike of the fence was surmounted by a human skull. I was in a cannibal village. I turned back, not daring to run; it was like a nightmare, for I seemed to make no progress and was fairly paralyzed with horror.⁴⁹

In addition there were witchcraft, trial by ordeal, infant marriage, polygamy, promiscuity, laziness, human sacrifices, lying, cheating, stealing, etc., to fill early European accounts on the Congo with episodes replete with shock and disgust. Living an "animal life" with no "sense of right or wrong," it was felt that it was only with ". . . the advent of white men that sad picture began to change."⁵⁰ Even though missionaries appear to have reacted more violently to "sinfulness" than did the European government and business officials, the missionary, because of his "soul orientation," could not dedicate himself to evangelization of these people without treating them as individuals. However, for government and business officials more able to

⁴⁹Banks, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

⁵⁰W. Holman Bentley, Life on the Congo (London: The Religious Tract Society, 56 Paternoster Row, n.d. (1896?)), pp. 59, 76 and 60.

withdraw to the security of their own colonial society and ignore the Congolese, there was a constant tendency to treat the natives as a commodity or economic factor whose humanness was, if questioned, irrelevant.⁵¹

The story of the establishment and development of the teacher-preacher elite is very much the story of the missionary effort to penetrate Congolese society successfully during the first thirty to forty years of European rule. A conceptual framework derived from social psychology provides additional heuristic insights and may also serve as a guide in ascertaining that the most significant factors in the development of a relationship between the Congolese and missionaries are duly considered.⁵²

⁵¹Aspects of this continued until independence. A derogative term for the Congolese often heard among other Europeans, but never, in the author's experience, among the missionaries, was "macaque"--a dog-faced monkey or baboon. When being chastised the Congolese were often so addressed.

⁵²Most studies in social psychology which are referenced herein were conducted in the United States, and it is probably not inappropriate nor taking undue license to project them as applicable to American, British, and even Belgian missionaries. The fundamental hypothesis of the Thibaut and Kelley approach which will be used is that rewards and costs to the parties involved govern the establishment, maintenance, and effectiveness of social relationships. Thus the danger incurred is that there may be rewards and costs culturally specific to the Congolese about which the outsider would be ignorant. Efforts have been made to obviate this danger by having Congolese react to what has been written here as well as by trying to consider Congolese cultural factors which might have changed the relative reward-cost levels for them.

The theoretical approach put forth by Thibaut and Kelley will constitute the model since it " . . . seems on the balance to be primarily a functionalistic one. The central concern is with the solutions that must be found to problems created by interdependency." They also " . . . accept as a basic premise that most socially significant behavior will not be repeated unless it is reinforced, rewarded in some way."⁵³ This too is appropriate for examining the voluntary relationship between Congolese and missionaries, for the cost and reward outcomes derived by each were crucial to the survival of the relationship."⁵⁴

Given the chasm separating missionaries and Congolese, the establishment of a mutually profitable relationship was difficult. The key elements involved in its achievement were:

a. Employment and Rewards

The only way the missionaries could secure the food and labor they required was through payment. A variety of artifacts, from beads to brass rods, served as currency and constituted a vital part of the mission "stores." Often ignored or overlooked, "stores"

⁵³John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley, The Social Psychology of Groups (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 5.

⁵⁴A voluntary relationship is simply one in which one of the parties can withdraw--when the outcomes resulting from the relationship become so costly--the rewards so few--that withdrawal becomes desirable.

were a critical component of the embryonic mission.⁵⁵ Communication between the missionary and his new parish members was generally based upon bargaining and trading, something familiar to both.⁵⁶ Like their coastal cousins, the inland Africans of the Congo Basin were willing to become wage laborers to acquire items pleasing or useful to them. Consequently, they were also willing to accept training and employment for compensation.⁵⁷ The pattern was established.

⁵⁵Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 170, wrote: "Good progress had been made in the language and already our brethren talked, and understood with fair ease. With such progress as this, and well-filled stores, we could reckon Lukolela Station to be fairley well established." Weeks, op. cit., p. 46, ran out of supplies when the steamer was delayed in returning to the new station being founded at Monsembe. He reported, ". . . our small supply of barter goods became exhausted; and to be without these articles of exchange in such a country was like being a foreigner in a strange land without money." G. E. Tilsley, Dan Crawford, Missionary and Pioneer in Central Africa (London: Oliphants, Ltd.), p. 283, writing about Crawford's efforts to move into "the eastern fringe of Lubaland," reported he was, ". . . kept in and around Lofol by an absolute lack of barter goods." Only after they arrived was he able to resume his mission plans.

⁵⁶Thus it was that norms, behavioral rules, began to develop between them which were applicable to their interaction and served to facilitate it. Thibaut and Kelley, op. cit., p. 218.

⁵⁷This precedent may explain why Congolese in several locations expected to receive pay for sending their children to school. As previously noted, they were being trained for something not related to their traditional life, and any contribution which the children might make to the village economy was forfeited while they were in school. The same attitude prevailed at first regarding church attendance. In the Bas Congo (1902) Mrs. Lewis complained that after asking a Congolese woman why she did not come to church the reply was, "'What will you give me for coming?' and that is the answer one usually gets." Hawker, op. cit., p. 241.

b. Task Environment

It was a matter of life or death for the early missionaries to establish as quickly as possible satisfactory housing and sources of local food supplies both from the Congolese and from mission gardens.⁵⁸ These needs provided for a common experience between missionaries and Congolese which was of inestimable value in promoting rapport between them.⁵⁹ The missionaries were quite willing to incur tremendous costs to overcome the initial strangeness because they (a) had to succeed in this effort, or fail in their mission and lose their lives as well, and (b) had to work side by side with the Congolese in order to accomplish both ends. In the process of constructing foreign buildings and raising strange crops, the Congolese came to look upon the missionaries as human and helpful, for they also possessed medical skills and could serve as allies in negotiations with the State and even with tribal enemies. The missionaries' self-image and professional identification were gradually developing

⁵⁸Louis Franck, Le Congo Belge (Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, Vol. I, 1930), pp. 340-41. Franck, in writing of the public health in the Congo, noted that in 1880 the mortality rate among the Europeans was 15% per year. By 1895 this had dropped to 8.7% per year, and in 1905 it was 5.42%; and by 1920 1.34%. From 1920 to 1930 the rate varied between 1.35% and 1.18%, or from 11 to 13 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants.

⁵⁹The factor of propinquity, proximity in physical space, has been shown by Newcomb to play an important facilitative role in friendship. T. M. Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction," American Psychologist, Vol. 11, 1956, pp. 575-586.

in them " . . . a feeling of belonging as opposed to transience, in the new environment,"⁶⁰ as a result of the role he was beginning to play in Congolese society.⁶¹ The expertise which the missionaries possessed⁶² was increasingly acknowledged, accepted and appreciated.⁶³

On the other hand, the missionaries developed a new respect for the ability of the Congolese to handle their own environment and to learn the new skills which were

⁶⁰L. Bailyn and H. Kelman, "A Preliminary Analysis of Reactions to a New Environment," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 18, 1962, pp. 30-41.

⁶¹Dan Crawford, Thinking Black: Twenty-Two Years Without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa (New York: George Doran, 1912, and London: Morgan, 1913), in reflecting on this wrote, "Many a little Protestant Pope in the lonely bush is forced by his self-imposed isolation to be prophet, priest, and king rolled into one--really a very big duck he, in his own private pond," p. 325.

⁶²In summarizing the bases of social influence (or power), French & Raven, op. cit., found that a recipient was most impressed by expert power and that he was most likely to be influenced over time by someone who demonstrated it. Kelman got similar results--expert power showed the greatest stability and influence. Kelman, "Three Processes . . . ," op. cit., p. 361.

⁶³Missionary accounts are full of instances similar to the one Bentley described on the upper Congo: Ibaka, the great chief of Bolobo, who had heard of our work on the river, " . . . asked us to build at Bolobo, to give him medicine when he is sick, and to be his white men." With candor Bentley added, "There was no earnest desire for the Gospel in this . . . " Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 171-72.

being taught to them.⁶⁴ The consequence was a coordination of efforts which led first to material and then to educational and religious results.⁶⁵ From the initial training in construction skills, the Congolese could secure employment from the State or the mission stations themselves at increased salaries, and they could also improve their own housing conditions.⁶⁶ Furthermore, as Congolese began to use the growing number of service buildings at the missions, they became co-habitants rather than strangers in them.

⁶⁴ George Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, Congo Missionary and Explorer (New York: Revell, 1909). On October 4, 1884, Grenfell wrote to his sister-in-law, Miss Hawkes, that the fourth English engineer sent out to work on the missionary steamer "Peace" had died before reaching his destination. He concluded, "I must make the best of the resources we have, and drill our country boys into engineers and stokers and sailors. I seemed to wish to devote myself more exclusively to Mission work direct; the Lord seems to say, 'Make use of the people you have; make them help themselves, by doing the work of the steamer.'" Thereafter he did just that. (pp. 212-213). Johnston, op. cit., p. 409, quotes from Louis Goffin, former Engineer-in-Chief of the Congo Railway (Matadi to Leopoldville), "At the present time (1905), 1600 Congo natives are employed on the railway as navies, shunters, engine drivers, pointsmen, station employees, etc." (p. 490).

⁶⁵ A conjunctive task requirement was thus established, i.e., one which gave both the missionaries and the Congolese rewards and satisfaction. Thibaut and Kelley, op. cit., p. 162.

⁶⁶ Hawker, Englishwoman, op. cit., p. 108, reports that in 1888 one of the workers on the mission station trained as a carpenter later built ". . . for himself . . ." so fine a house that it excited the dangerous envy of the King" That Congolese was, incidentally, technically still a domestic slave of another Congolese.

The amount of cooperation required in these tasks demanded the development of interpersonal trust and effective communication.⁶⁷ Although it was initially difficult for the missionaries to explain task objectives with facility, this again forced them to communicate by task-oriented demonstrations which reinforced the very importance of the task and subsequently of the occupation. These working relationships also promoted the growth of affective relationships as will be pointed out later.⁶⁸

c. Social Interaction

The working relationships led to social ones, and they were augmented, as mentioned previously, by the fact that the missionaries did not have the option of retreating to a closed colonial society--missions were rarely occupied by more than two or three Europeans. Although they were to complain against it continuously, it was fortunate for the missionaries (and other Europeans), that African tradition provided a key institution for social interaction--the "palaver." These discussion sessions,

⁶⁷M. Deutsch, "Task Structure and Group Process," American Psychologist Vol. 6, 1951), pp. 324-25. Deutsch found that there was more initiation of communication and more attentiveness to it where a conjunctive relationship existed.

⁶⁸Thibaut and Kelley, op. cit., have found that "social facilitation," a warm friendly atmosphere, in a social context, increases the quantity of physical output (pp. 56-57). This would tend to increase the rewards of each and help to promote a continuation of the social facilitation.

the Congolese "negotiating table," occurred whenever major decisions had to be made. Between Congolese and Europeans the sessions had the advantage of giving each side ample opportunity to understand the other's position and to determine with greater precision what behavior on the part of each would satisfy the other. Usually lasting for hours, and occasionally days, the rewards and costs to each party, the ultimate bargaining positions, could be probed.⁶⁹ The onus attached to any party for ending a palaver without reaching agreement was conducive to finding a working solution.⁷⁰

d. Norms and Roles

From the outset the missionaries began to try to impose their norms and behavioral roles, even though they were unable to enforce them, upon the Congolese. Naturally these norms were based upon the

⁶⁹J. S. Bruner and R. Tagiuri, "The Perception of People" in G. Lindzey (Ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 833-876. Bruner and Tagiuri found that "the accuracy of judging the effects upon another of one's own behavior is likely to increase as interaction continues."

⁷⁰As the missionary-Congolese relationship developed it benefited from the very fact that the Congolese could say no to the missionaries--something not easily done with the State. Thibaut and Kelley found that high cohesiveness (sticking and working together in a group) is promoted by the ability of members to make and resist demands of others. While this has a potential for conflict among the members, it in practice appears to promote working procedures--a modus operandi (pp. 114-115). Also K. W. Back, "Influence Through Social Communication" Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, Vol. 46, 1951, pp. 9-23.

Christian values the missionaries hoped to implant in Congolese society.⁷¹ There is little doubt that the Congolese first sought to follow the norms to please the missionaries, and the missionaries were fully aware of the danger of spawning the African equivalent of "rice Christians."⁷² Undoubtedly Congolese practiced norms without understanding their content. Initially satisfied with occasional adherence to the new norms, the missionaries, as they expanded their educational system, sought more drastic and permanent changes of behavior.⁷³ The process of graduating to the inculcation

⁷¹G. W. Allport, "The Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology," in G. Lindzey (Ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 3-56. Allport states that moral standards such as those expressed in the Ten Commandment are promulgated for the convenience of those who have interests to protect, e.g., for property owners--"Thou shalt not steal"--and for those with sexual partners--"Thou shalt not commit adultery." Thibaut and Kelley, op. cit., p. 133, has expressed it as follows: "B attempts to change the basis for A's performing the behavior from that of doing B a personal favor to that of satisfying social or moral obligations." Thus ". . . acceptance of supra-individual, depersonalized values as the basis for behavior . . ." rather than the changed behavior being done as a favor to the missionaries, and therefore limited to a "missionary environment," was the goal being sought by the missionaries.

⁷²Millman (Ed.), Missionary Conference, op. cit., p. 72. Crawford, Thinking Black, op. cit., p. 216, put it, "The fact is, these obsequious, beaming blacks who make an avenue for you to pass through into their country, propose to treat the Missionary precisely as you in England treat the postman--that is to say, they acclaim him not for what he is in himself, but for what he brings."

⁷³Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, op. cit., pp. 107-08, wrote of the Congolese: "The only rule which gives his life a little continuity is habit." "Don't ask reason of him. He hasn't any. 'It is habit' is his final word." "If we

of the most value laden norms, and those most in conflict with indigenous ones, was a long one, but one in which the missionaries were willing to persist. The goal was to achieve Congolese internalization of norms which would result in the role behavior desired--living the "Christian life." That the impact of the policy was being felt by the end of the CIS period is indicated by Vandervelde's observation that:

. . . it is interesting to point out the paradoxical fact that in Europe we reproach the Catholic Church for preaching resignation to the poor, whereas in Africa, to the contrary, one complains that the Missions, in telling the natives that their souls are worth as much as those of the whites and that all men are equal before God, are creating in them indiscipline, insubordination, and bad tempers. Just yesterday (1908), a high official of the State said to us, 'The most active revolutionary ferment in the Congo is created by the missionaries, Protestant or Catholic.'⁷⁴

Naturally, not all native practices and customs were objectionable or in conflict with Christian precepts. However, enough of the "traditional ways" were slated for either modification or eradication by the missionaries so that what they were ultimately proposing to accomplish amounted in fact to a fundamental change in the society.

want new ideas to be imprinted in his spirit and replace those which already exist there, if we wish that these ideas have a durable influence during the life of the Black, they must be profoundly imprinted by continuous repetition over a prolonged period of time. They must be fixed in his spirit by appropriate means, in order to accustom all the powers of the soul . . . " to free itself of the old and to make the new image and its corresponding action a habit. The catechism was an ideal tool for this purpose.

⁷⁴Vandervelde, op. cit., p. 51.

The State proved to be a strong ally in suppressing many of the customs which were especially abhorrent to the missionaries, e.g., domestic slavery, sale of alcohol, polygamy, etc. Because the State and the missionaries cooperated in the suppression of these practices, they also shared the reprobation of the Congolese. Since the missionaries would have attempted to accomplish these "reforms" of the traditional Congolese society with or without the State's help, the fact that the State did participate as a partner in the effort meant that the missionaries could share, rather than shoulder alone, the blame and resentment of the Congolese for this interference.

Since the job the missionaries were undertaking was obviously vast, they very shortly acknowledged that the major task of converting the Congo would have to be accomplished by Congolese themselves. Therefore, they desperately needed to train native preacher-teachers who would be much more numerous and who would, through their words and behavior, be a more appropriate immediate model to lead the way to Christ.

2. Manpower Requirements Shape Educational Goals and Development

The general priority of mission work was, as Ruth Slade has put it, "to preach, train and teach."⁷⁵ Certainly

⁷⁵Slade, English Speaking Missionaries, op. cit., p. 196.

this was the "calling" which had drawn most of the missionaries to the Congo. However, the realities of living in the Congo so that preaching might, in fact, be accomplished dictated that systematic and continuous evangelization be generally restricted until adequate bases of operations had been established. Basic requirements included good housing, stores, and a church which also served as a school. Until this physical base had been organized, and the language of the region mastered, the most effective preaching occurred at the village(s) which adjoined the mission complex. The geographical conditions of the Congo very early dictated that missionaries would be mission bound.

In accordance with the priorities of the missionaries, education initially concentrated on the training in vocational skills and later upon the three "R's."

a. Vocational Training

The procedure for establishing the stations was invariably the same. After securing the site, generally accessible by river or on a trade route, the missionaries, often accompanied by a handful of skilled Africans, would recruit locals. While providing on-the-job training for them, the building work began. The first house on the station was a native style hut to shelter the missionaries and the stores. Better accommodations for both were immediately

undertaken as the first priority. The informal practical training program had to start at once.

One of Father Cambier's early letters indicated the variety of skills needed: "What have I done since November 24, the date of arrival here? I have been woodcutter, carpenter, joiner, mason, blacksmith, hunter, excavator, picture-frame maker, etc., but a ministering missionary, not at all."⁷⁶ In a similar vein, Crawford, in describing his jack-of-all trades existence, called himself a "Mr. Robinson Crusoe Africanus."⁷⁷ Commenting on the success these missionaries had in training the Congolese in these varieties of skills, Grenfell wrote in 1895: "The mission steamer 'Goodwill,' a vessel eighty-four feet in length, is engineered and manned entirely by Congo people; printing presses at San Salvador, Wathen, and Lukolela are being worked by Congo people; and they have made and laid the bricks for school houses at Stanley Pool and Bolobo."⁷⁸ As previously indicated, the government also had a vested interest in having the missionaries train

⁷⁶Dieu, op. cit., pp. 69-70. A letter written by Father Cambier on January 23, 1889, from Berghe-Sainte-Marie, Congo.

⁷⁷Crawford, op. cit., pp. 415-16.

⁷⁸Hawker, Grenfell, op. cit., p. 395. Quoted from a letter from Grenfell to Rev. J. S. Dennis, written from Bolobo, March 28, 1895.

Congolese with these skills, for their requirements were similar to those of the missionaries.

The training for new occupations, encompassing new skills and concepts, understandably took time. Smith wrote from Yakusu: "Nearly four years had passed since Harry White had first set foot here Scarce any mention has been made of the spiritual aspect of the work. All the operations thus far seem to have been secular and very mundane."⁷⁹ However, there was a large and well-equipped mission station ready for the growth of religious and educational work which would sweep over that region in 1903-04.

The missionary was fully cognizant that these new occupations had to be staffed satisfactorily to allow him to return to his basic missionary duties. To achieve freedom to evangelize meant that a system had to be established for training and teaching Congolese to provide a greater return in numbers evangelized.

While the initial on-the-job type training served fundamental station building needs, its scope gradually became too limited for expanding and diversifying mission and government requirements. A system had to be developed to screen, channel, and provide personnel for specialization. The missionaries and the government, convinced from

⁷⁹Smith, op. cit., pp. 196-97.

experience that children provided them with the best source of pliable manpower, increasingly turned to the establishment of schools for vocational as well as more academic education.

b. Literacy Training

It was from among the most promising workers the missionaries trained that they selected those to whom they first gave literacy training. Those who appear to have been most often selected for this were from one of the key occupations introduced by the Europeans, the domestic servant or "boy."⁸⁰ With the stations occupied usually by only one or two Europeans, one or both of whom were often sick, it was extremely important to have servants capable of caring for them. In part this explains the importance of the position which the boys came to occupy in the new occupational hierarchy. They were often the first to learn to read and write, for it was useful to the missionaries that they possess such skills, and the boys were also available for "classes" when the missionaries found the time to turn from the labors of station building. They too were invariably the first to be converted to Christianity

⁸⁰As noted earlier, a large number of the early government and missionary officials were British or other English-speaking foreigners. They called their personal servants "boys," and the term remained in use in the Congo after the Belgians and other French speakers became the dominant colonial majority.

and served both as the link between the missionaries and the locals and as the missionaries' informants. In effect, they were the first to look upon the missionaries as a model--not one which they could equal but one which they could at least aspire to imitate.

The first boys, like many of the other first Congolese obtained, were often slaves, orphans, or people who had relatively little position or stake in the traditional society. As such, missionaries felt a special obligation to them, and a boy's life at the mission station offered rewards in terms of income, education, advancement, and protection. Resulting from the close association and continuous interpersonal interaction, a strong affective bond often developed between the missionaries and their boys, as the following examples illustrate:

In the southeastern corner of the Congo, Crawford showed kindness to one of Msiri's former executioners, and the young man joined him. The village elders berated their fellow Congolese for following a stranger--"folks you don't even know where they come from." "No," he responded, "but I know where these strangers are going to, and I am going with them." And until his death he followed Crawford.⁸¹

On another occasion when Crawford had returned from an extended trip he reported that the reception by the people

⁸¹Crawford, op. cit., p. 321.

at Lofoi station " . . . made me weep. I fairly broke down . . . My own personal young men flung themselves at my feet and wept" ⁸²

In the Kasai in 1895 the Scheut mission had been evacuated when warned that "Batetela" rebels were prepared to attack. Father Cambier remained when the rebels approached, and "Accompanied by his boy carrying his shells, he went out to meet the attackers." Astonished by Cambier's marksmanship (" . . . they left behind them numerous bodies"), perhaps as well as by his courage, the attackers withdrew. ⁸³

Finally at Yakusu in 1905, Rev. Smith reported that when departing the Congo on leave his boy said, " . . . you are going to your country. You have been with us a long time, and taught us many things, and we love you. We shall always pray that God will keep you and bring you back to us . . . give my love to your mother." ⁸⁴

The shortage of missionaries, Protestants and Catholics, and the magnitude of the tasks made preparing Congolese to serve as full-fledged missionaries a critical consideration. The first step was selecting the most promising from among those the missionaries had given occupational training. The next step was to develop

⁸²Ibid., p. 319.

⁸³Dieu, op. cit., p. 102-103.

⁸⁴Smith, op. cit., p. 102.

affective relationships which, although not considered as being between peers, were at least acknowledged as being between fellow humans. It was through these initial relationships with their "boys" that the missionaries appear to have become convinced that Congolese could and would perform capably the proselytizing tasks that the missionaries increasingly envisioned the Congolese might assume. In addition to providing missions with key personnel, Congolese evangelists would also help to make Congolese feel that Christianity was a Black as well as a White religion.⁸⁵

Quite aware that they were being considered as models by their Congolese religious assistants, the missionaries encouraged this imitation. Knowing how Christians should live would, they felt, make Congolese better evangelists. To a considerable degree, therefore, the effectiveness and sincerity of the missionaries in bringing Christianity to the Congo in part depended upon their making the missionary model an attainable one especially for their Congolese counterparts. Obviously the initial practice of recruiting evangelists from among their "boys" was, on a longer term basis, both an inefficient

⁸⁵Crawford, op. cit., p. 215, made the following observation on this point: ". . . there is . . . the endless Negro suspicion that God is an Englishman: the barefoot Christ of rocky roads in Palestine they cannot conceive."

and an insufficient method. There appeared to be only one way to prepare adequately the Congolese needed--in a formal education system. Thus mission boarding schools were considered to be of primary importance in instructing selected Congolese in "Christian living" as well as in the "three R's" and vocational skills. The boarding schools became mission "homes" replacing the traditional indigenous home and cultural environments.

C. The Founding of the School System

The establishment of a foreign institution which is directed at influencing children is, even without any further complications, a formidable task. In the Congo, however, just the linguistic preparations were confounding: the mastery of several major Congolese languages was one of the first major steps toward building a nationwide formal school system.

1. Linguistic Competence

Once the missionaries moved out of the Kikongo area in the Bas Congo and encountered the variety of languages up the Congo River, they realized they would have to coordinate and concentrate their efforts because the mastery of these languages, reducing them to written forms and preparing translations, combined with the training of new missionaries for the field, constituted a major commitment of

resources.⁸⁶ Considered in the founding of stations, and thus deciding which people would receive first educational opportunities, were the extent to which a language was spoken and the number of people who could easily be reached from potential mission sites.⁸⁷ Then came the availability of such secondary necessities as water, supplies, and building materials, and finally the receptivity of a village or cluster of villages at those "ideal" locations.⁸⁸

As soon as the sites were chosen and mission building had begun, the missionaries combined that labor with language learning. Rev. Weeks described how this occurred when the station at Monsembe was being founded: "Night after night my colleague and I added the words together we had procured during the day and counted them as eagerly as

⁸⁶Not only was this true of Protestant sects, but Catholic orders as well took into account the linguistic considerations when assigning areas of responsibility to each group.

⁸⁷In addition to being receptive to the Europeans, the very fact that the Bakongos and the Balubas were large tribal units meant that their languages would not only be studied and codified early by the missionaries but that subsequently there would be sufficient material printed in Kikongo and Tshiluba to maintain the interest and literacy of those who had basic education. As an example of the effort that went into language, Crawford devoted thirty years to Tshiluba from learning it, to codifying it, to translating the Bible into Tshiluba and to following its printing and publication.

⁸⁸Dr. William Rule pointed out in an interview in July, 1969, that such factors were still relevant when the last missions were established in the 1950's.

any miser might his gold, for we recognized in them a means by which we should eventually be able to deliver our message."⁸⁹ Bentley, the great linguist of the English Baptist Mission Society who spent much of his mission career working on Congolese languages, explained, "A translation of the Scriptures into 'such a tongue as the people understandeth' is a great necessity; but that again presupposes a reading people. Whatever may be the views adopted as to the wisdom of devoting missionary energy and funds to educational work in other fields, in Africa such work is of the utmost importance, and must go hand in hand with the proclamation of the Gospel. Unless the missionaries establish schools, the people must go ignorant--ignorant to a large extent of the Scriptures, and ignorant of much that would fit them for higher knowledge and development."⁹⁰ Grenfell underscored this opinion in a letter in 1902 stating, "The present phase of affairs (the State's blockage of Protestant expansion) is such to lead one to write . . . on the paramount importance of translation work and schools. The people must have God's Word placed within their reach, and be taught to read it. The good seed is 'The Word' (in italics) and this must be sown: in this is the only hope of evangelical Truth making

⁸⁹Weeks, op. cit., p. 51.

⁹⁰Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 297.

its way in Africa. We white people cannot go everywhere preaching the Word, but with God's help we can scatter it far and wide."⁹¹ Grenfell also expressed the opinion that "the weapons of our warfare" with the Catholics would help the Protestants persevere in spite of State opposition. "The weapon upon which we rely is 'The Word,' and this, unfortunately for themselves and for Christianity, the Roman Catholics seem afraid to wield. When they take to its use, we shall rejoice with them in their success."⁹²

The Protestant missionaries' reports to their supporting congregations in Europe and North America of accomplishments in translation activities thus met with enthusiastic responses, and printing presses were furnished to assist with the distribution of newly codified Words.⁹³

⁹¹Hawker, Grenfell, op. cit., p. 494-95. Letter dated May 4, 1902 to Mr. Baynes and written at Bolobo, Congo.

⁹²Ibid., p. 494.

⁹³Yates, op. cit., (Table A-I), p. 431, reports a total of 411 "printed materials" in Congo languages of which 344 were prepared by Protestants and 67 by Catholics. Of the 411 printed by 1908, nearly one-third (128) were printed in Kikongo. Without exception the majority of publications are in the areas in which the British and American Baptist Missions were active: Kikongo, Bobangi (59), Lingala (33), Nkundu (31), Swahili (24), Mongo (22), Lifoto (22), Lokele (21), Tshiluba (13), etc. The languages in which the Catholics published the most were: Kikongo (21-Jesuits), Swahili (20-White Fathers-12; Sacred Heart Fathers-8). Representing their bold push up the Congo River, the Baptist Mission Society published in the largest number of languages (7), with the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and Scheutists second at 4 for each. It was after 1908 that the latter intensified their educational activities, and thus their publications, in Tshiluba.

Impressed by the progress which the Protestants were making, the Catholic orders not only followed suit, but understandably attempted to do better, especially where they were in competition with those Protestant societies which gave special emphasis to education.⁹⁴ This, of course, initially tended to concentrate the educational excellence provided by both religious groups in the same areas--an imbalance which has never been rectified and has subsequently assumed serious political overtones.

2. School System Established

Since they expected to make the greatest impact upon children, the missionaries, logically enough given their Western ethnocentricity, began to build schools. Once the mission base could support expansion and communications were established between the missionaries and their hosts, schools were organized first at the missions and then in the neighboring villages. There were three general categories of missionary schools: (1) the village schools organized by native evangelists; (2) the central station

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 171-76. Yates found that where Group I Protestant missions (those which gave special priority to the building of schools, the provision of books, and the codification of languages) were active, the Catholic missions, even if they had not been educationally oriented in the Congo and instead held to "the primacy of religious practice" as the most important factor in evangelization, felt they had to have competitive educational facilities or lose out to Protestant rivals. The exception to this was the White Fathers who were educationally oriented from the outset.

primary schools which supported the village schools and provided more advanced and specialized education and training and also served as the local educational entrepot directly supervised by missionaries; and (3) specialized religious schools where the missionaries trained Congolese for positions in the churches or in the church educational system.

The village schools were devoted to satisfying Congolese demands to learn to read, write, and do basic arithmetic. Usually these schools only gave the first year, but occasionally they gave the first two years and rarely the first three years. The schools were taught by Congolese, often just literate themselves and unskilled as teachers. Given the number of village schools supported by most mission central primary schools, the former received little in the way of supervision or inspection. Attendance at the schools tended to be erratic, and the drop-out rate was huge. These same problems have continued to plague the Congo's educational system. ¶

At the central primary schools, there was generally a core of boarding students who assured regular attendance and firm class schedules. Subsequent comparisons between boarding and non-boarding school students fostered the conviction that boarding schools were indispensable to the Congolese education system. In spite of their cost the belief persists in the independent Congo. Alternatives to

the boarding schools have not, in fact, been given adequate consideration or opportunities.

At these three different levels of schooling the missionaries addressed the various and sometimes conflicting demands being placed upon them:

a. Proselytizing

The outlying village schools provided an entree into the village for evangelism and served as a reservoir of potential candidates for the central mission schools. Increasingly it meant that the missionaries no longer had to travel throughout the countryside attempting to induce chieftains and parents to send one or more of their children to the central schools; they could now be promoted into them. Recruitment and screening into more advanced educational facilities were systematized and regulated.

b. Basic Training for Evangelic and/or Occupational Purposes

Evangelic indoctrination in the schools could proceed apace--the students were essentially "a captive audience," and the content of the lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic was in practice left to each mission, and to some extent to each missionary. The Protestants, in their first Congo conference in 1902, clearly announced:

All instruction given in the elementary schools is religious instruction. The first half hour after the opening ceremonies is, at all mission schools that have come under my notice, invariably devoted to a Bible lesson. All the reading and writing is from Scripture translations, stories, and catechisms. Most stations have separate departments and classes for instruction in special subjects, as carpentry, arithmetic, mensuration, medicine and hygiene and, so far as possible, the plan seems to be to restrict this extra education to those who have profited by the religious teaching of the day schools, it being considered useless to impart such knowledge to other than Christian men. Secular teaching may sharpen the wits, but imparts no principle of righteousness. It is the fear of the Lord that is the beginning of wisdom and it is that that is given first place in mission day-schools along with such education as supports and maintains it.⁹⁵

This statement of Protestant educational policy was not different from the Catholic. Writing about a Scheut mission in Kasai Father Vandebussche noted: "What do they learn? Religion, obviously, then reading, writing in their maternal language, and the basic rules of arithmetic."⁹⁶

For lack of supplies, books and trained teachers, much of the instruction was by oral repetition in all systems, and a large proportion of those who attended the schools, although able to pass their catechism tests

⁹⁵W. Millman (Ed.), Report of the First United Missionary Conference on the Congo (Matadi: Swedish Mission Press, (1902), pp. 83-84. The conference was held at Leopoldville from 19-21 January, 1902. The first half hour of the school day was considered as "prime time" and thus was invariably devoted to religion.

⁹⁶Dieu, op. cit., p. 138. Notes from Father Michel Vandebussche on mission expansion in Kasai.

for admission to the churches, never reached a state of functional literacy. Meanwhile, however, they had learned to live and work with the missionaries, and by projection with other Europeans as well.

c. Support of Mission Work

In even the best mission schools the work component, occupational or vocational education, was significant. Bentley described the school day at Arthington (Leopoldville) Station: "There is a school of forty boys who, during the dry season work in the brickfield in the morning, and go to school in the afternoon; they do some more work again after school. In the rainy season they build with the bricks which they have made, and work in the gardens and plantations. . . . The expenses of the station have been materially reduced by the sale of bricks. In 1897 they brought in E 150; in 1898, E 185."⁹⁷ In the eastern part of the Congo, a White Father reported, "Our young people have quickly learned to handle a plow" "The resulting produce is sufficient, " . . . to make the stomachs of the five hundred children who occupy our orphanage bulge three times a day" "We find an outlet for our fresh produce in all the posts of the State" and ". . . a modest resource for our missions: it makes more than 20,000 francs per year for

⁹⁷Bentley, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 227.

our orphanages."⁹⁸ Because of the extensiveness of the Catholic plantations, especially those of the Jesuits and Schéutists, from 1906 onward criticism was levelled against their exploitation of children under the guise of education. However, Vandervele, no friend of the Church, summed up his impression as follows: ". . . I am convinced, in the end, that if the Fathers have an obvious preoccupation for gathering around them a great number of children, the greatest number possible, it is not in any way to exploit them, but to proselytize, to 'save souls,' to mark strongly their imprint on the young generations."⁹⁹

d. Advanced Evangelic and/or Occupational Training

Started during the period of the first generation elite and directed toward the formation of a better trained second generation elite, were the schools established by the Catholics, Protestants, and the State. The first Catholic secondary level program for religious personnel was launched by the White Fathers near Lake Tanganyika in 1894 under the direction of Father Roelens. In explaining his determination to provide such advanced training he wrote: "From my arrival in the Congo, I was struck by seeing the

⁹⁸Roelens, op. cit., p. 9. Taken from a letter from R. P. Schmitz to his brother written in 1902.

⁹⁹Vandervele, op. cit., p. 71.

missionaries confined to such narrow limits. I concluded that, in order to extend their influence, it was indispensable to form capable and devout native auxiliaries. Hardly had I been charged with the direction of the Vicarate than I founded, at Mpala, an embryonic normal school."¹⁰⁰

While there was some opposition to the establishment of this school by Congolese--parents did not wish to allow their children to attend and it was necessary to open it with orphans--Father Roelens had to overcome more serious opposition from other missionaries. It was in fact his promotion within the order which permitted him to proceed with the plan at that time.¹⁰¹ "Once the school had trained its first teacher-catechists, there was a rash of demand for them."¹⁰² In 1898, this school, moved to Lusaka (Congo) to escape the spreading epidemic of sleeping sickness, added a small (or junior) seminary (petit séminaire) section to the normal school. This was the first step in preparing Congolese candidates for the priesthood. Subsequently large (or senior) seminary

¹⁰⁰Mgr. Roelens, "Les Pères-Blancs au Congo" in Franck, Le Congo Belge, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 205.

¹⁰¹Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, op. cit., p. 161. Roelens pointed out that the old missionaries were opposed since it was, ". . . their opinion that the best one could do for our Blacks was to make planters of potatoes of them."

¹⁰²Roelens, "Les Pères-Blancs au Congo," op. cit., p. 205.

(grand séminaire) sections were added in 1905.¹⁰³ The normal school for teacher-catechists and the small seminary at Lusaka functioned jointly until separated in 1929. The mixing in the Catholic system of secondary level teachers and candidates for the priesthood lasted for almost thirty years.

On the Protestant side "Some missions started with the determination to concentrate wholly on preaching the Gospel, only to find that they were forced to educate in order to prepare teachers, preachers and leaders, without whom the Kingdom of God could scarcely be established."¹⁰⁴ Then, in view of the size of the country, the dispersment of the population, the limited amounts which the local populations could contribute to support Congolese trained and sent out by the missionaries, it was determined that the best the missionaries could do was to try to send one preacher-teacher (although it was felt more would have been preferable) into a village. " . . . Necessity dictated the solution, the teacher-evangelist would live with his family as members of the village community and subsist

¹⁰³Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, op. cit., p. 169. The first Congolese priest was Stephano Kaoze, ordained in 1917. The pace was a slow one, however, even in the White Fathers' most educationally progressive region: a second Congolese was ordained in 1921; a third in 1922; a fourth in 1926. By 1938 only 20 had been ordained in this system.

¹⁰⁴Stonelake, op. cit., p. 101.

by their (the family's) own efforts, aided by contributions from the faithful (and sometimes from the mission), for his special service in teaching school, conducting daily and Sunday worship and counselling with those in need."¹⁰⁵ The first advanced Protestant training school, the "United Training Institute," was a joint undertaking of the American and British Baptists and was situated in the Lower Congo at Kimpese.¹⁰⁶ As the missions grew, other training institutes of a similar nature developed elsewhere in the Congo. It was difficult because of linguistic differences for one institution to serve practically and effectively all of the regions. However, Kimpese raised and set standards for those which followed. That Kimpese would be steadily upgraded was intended.¹⁰⁷ The objectives

¹⁰⁵ George Wayland Carpenter, Highways for God in Congo, Commemorating Seventy-five Years of Protestant Missions 1878-1953 (Leopoldville: La Librairie Evangélique au Congo, 1952), p. 55.

¹⁰⁶ The Swedish Mission Society had initially been prepared to join in sponsoring the school, but decided not to do so. In 1937 the Swedish Mission Covenant did join. The school at Kimpese has had several different names: First the United Training Institute, it was then the Kongo Evangelical Training Institution, and finally the Ecole de Pasteurs et d'Instituteurs.

¹⁰⁷ Hawker, An Englishwoman, op. cit., p. 286, quotes from an article written by Mr. Lewis, first director of Kimpese, for the Missionary Herald, ". . . all considered that a well-equipped United College would be an immense advantage to the cause of Christ in Congoland."

of the Institution were to, " . . . secure enlightened and intelligent teachers and evangelists, and to train them for evangelical work among their people. The students will be required to do a certain amount of plantation and garden work to secure a supply of food for themselves. There will also be carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops, and a brick-making department, so that they will be able, in their sphere of labour, to build their own houses and schools and chapels without monetary help from the native Churches which employ them, and be in a position to elevate the people by teaching them these crafts."¹⁰⁸

The first classes were given in 1908, and the whole student family was trained as a unit to provide an example of the kind of monogamous family which the missionaries were advocating. The missionaries were confident that, " . . . the effect of this practical common-sense program in producing a high type of leadership cannot be overestimated."¹⁰⁹ Similar, although modified, training institutions were subsequently founded at Bolenge (the Institut Chrétien Congolais), in Equateur; in Kasai at Mutoto; in Katanga (Institut Springer); in Oriental at Yalamba (Ecole Grenfell); etc. They were to prepare those chosen by the missionaries for " . . . the higher and better courses . . . for a

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 288.

¹⁰⁹ Carpenter, op. cit., p. 57.

select few who might be expected to rise to leadership as pastors, teachers or supervisors."¹¹⁰

D. The Mission Schools are Filled

About the turn of the century the White Fathers reported from the Eastern Congo that "The schools have overflowed!"¹¹¹ In the Kasai, "From the beginning of 1903, the Children from Baluba villages, spontaneously and without constraint, have begun to attend the mission school The number of students is going to increase without stopping."¹¹² On the Upper Congo in 1901 and 1902 Grenfell reported that "the children . . . as I find them everywhere, are very anxious to learn to read."¹¹³ In 1908, Rev. Hensey reported "a tremendous hunger, a very passion for knowledge" was being experienced.¹¹⁴ In the southeastern corner of the Congo Crawford noted that, the

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 56.

¹¹¹Roelens, Notre Vieux Congo, op. cit., p. 128.

¹¹²P. Michel Vandebussche, "Rayonnement de la Mission," in Dieu, op. cit., p. 136.

¹¹³Grenfell to A. H. Baynes, Yalembe, Nov. 15, 1902, quoted in Johnston, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 328.

¹¹⁴A. F. Hensey, My Children of the Forest (New York: George H. Doran, 1924), p. 118.

children were "pegging for schools."¹¹⁵ None was more significant than the great educational "awakening" recorded at Yakusu where books and teachers were being requested in " . . . a movement unparalleled on the Upper River."¹¹⁶

In his report for 1904, Stapleton wrote of the activity at Yakusu: "At the end of the year we have schools established in nine-tenths of the Lokele villages, our furthest outpost being seventy miles away . . . Often at our wits' end for teachers, lads who had somehow learnt the alphabet have been seized by eager learners, school-houses have been begun by the young folk as evidence of the sincerity of their desire, until in sheer desperation missionaries' house lads have been sent off to foster the growing work. (Students) have paddled eighty miles to beg a primer, or to buy an exercise book or pencil" ¹¹⁷

So it was that those Congolese, many of whom had been palmed off on the missionaries earlier, were later eagerly sought as teachers and evangelists to pass their skills on to the others. They had become not only a select

¹¹⁵Tilsley, op. cit., p. 483.

¹¹⁶Smith, op. cit., p. 231.

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 236-37. Stapleton, in the BMS Annual Report for 1904 quoted by Smith.

group in the eyes of the missionaries, but also in the eyes of their own peoples. After a slow start the interest in education and the growth in the number of schools and students began to experience a "multiplier effect." Some of the more important reasons for this phenomenon are the following:

1. The Generation Gap

In one of the rare early statements written by a Congolese, this point was made:

. . . before the arrival of the Whites, the chiefs were quite content. But . . . the young men were said to suffer much because . . . the authority of the chiefs had to be carefully respected in all kinds of things good as well as bad. The submissive people were entirely at the service of their chiefs . . . But after the White had arrived in the country, people jumped with joy because the Whites curbed the authority of the local chiefs.¹¹⁸

"Despite apparent exaggerations of the joy with which Europeans were greeted, this essay does indicate a certain gulf between the generations and a typical, universal youthful desire for independence from adult supervision and authority."¹¹⁹ Certainly there was a "wave of the future" element involved for the students in attending formal educational institutions

¹¹⁸ Translation of an autobiographical essay by Philippe Kinkela, one of the first converts to Catholicism, and at the time a catechist for the Redemptorists in the Matadi area, dated May 3, 1902, at Matadi, but forwarded to the journal by Father Isodore Goedleven, Redemptorist, only in January, 1908. Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo March, 1908, p. 27. Quoted by Yates, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 322.

which were never available to and not understood by their elders. That their children should be taught content unknown to the elders by foreigners with no linkages to the village, clan or tribe, in schools often located away from the village was practically incomprehensible.

Understandably many of the older generation and the chiefs did their best to oppose the younger generation's fascination for the education and evangelization which the elders considered as a threat to the traditional way of life. As Stapleton also reported, "Obdurate chiefs, after refusing their young folk a teacher, have been up to beseech for a lad of some sort in order that they might free themselves from the wearying importunity and secure some sleep at night."¹²⁰ In some areas the families disowned those who became Christians,¹²¹ and elsewhere the villagers refused to sell food to the mission boarding school.¹²²

The efforts by parents and leaders of the traditional society undoubtedly slowed and caused reactions against the schools, but those setbacks were relatively temporary. The

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 237.

¹²¹Hensey, op. cit., p. 160, and Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 202, record a case in the Bas Congo where the son of a hereditary chieftaincy was not permitted to become chief because he would not renounce Christianity.

¹²²Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 337.

younger generation increasingly, as judged by enrollments, saw the schools as necessary to the futures they wanted.

2. Congolese Reward Anticipation

At an early date, the Congolese appear to have been quite influenced in their educational and occupational activities by reward anticipation. Grenfell wrote from the Upper Congo: "The children, as I find them everywhere . . . are very anxious to learn to read. 'The Arab reads, the white man reads,' and they feel they too must learn to read if they are to escape the disadvantages of their present position. Education is thus at quite a premium already" ¹²³

The State and the missions alike agreed that the emphasis in training and education was to be practical and that it should satisfy their respective requirements. The rewards the new colonial system could offer, rather than the punishments which it could inflict, were increasingly sufficient to attract the Congolese needed. As missionaries and railway builders learned quickly, and the State with reluctance, the European wage system worked in the Congo

¹²³Grenfell to Baynes, Yalembe, November 15, 1902, quoted in Johnston, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 328. Grenfell wanted to use this desire for education to proselytize for he continued, ". . . the sooner we can put the Gospels in their hands as class books, the sooner we shall have commenced sowing the seed in the same manner that has elsewhere been so widely blest."

but with some modification, i.e., the Congolese preferred to be paid promptly and on a piece-work basis.¹²⁴

3. Improved Standards of Living

a. Clothing

Cloth became extremely important in the Congo and was one of the first items used for barter currency. Workers were often paid in cloth by the missionaries, and invariably the first thing which the missionaries did to new students joining the mission station was to dress them.¹²⁵ A wife's being dressed "decently" was strongly encouraged by the missionaries, and the Europeans' opinions of Congolese men and women were obviously influenced

¹²⁴Weeks, op. cit., p. 82, wrote on this that the Congolese did not work well for pay when it was dispersed on a contractual basis by the month--"pay day is a long way off . . ." But, "Give him (the native) piece-work and pay him by results and you will see prodigies of labour, for every payment made on these lines is an incentive to further effort." Johnston, op. cit., pp. 486-490 quotes from Louis Goffin, late Engineer-in-Chief of the Congo Railway, "The Company . . . put them (the Congolese) on piecework, with the result that it was soon able to rely entirely on local labor . . ." and stop recruiting foreign Africans. "What is it that attaches this population to the Railway? Firstly it is a good salary in good money, and a sufficient salary; secondly it is the regular rations of good food"

¹²⁵Mrs. Lewis wrote that the shyness of the new boys was overcome and they were willing to remain at the mission for they " . . . were very proud . . . when I rigged them out in new shirts and cloths." George Hawker, An English-woman, op. cit., p. 235. While much of the cloth was in bolts, a part of it which the missionary groups had was in the form of clothing which had been contributed by congregations in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Belgium.

by their state of dress.¹²⁶

b. Housing

Strong bricks, doors capable of effectively barring entry, improved cooking arrangements, etc., were all promoted by the missionaries as a means of making the Congolese abodes something more than "black pest-holes."¹²⁷ Crawford felt that adequate housing for the Africans was the continent's "challenge to its Missionaries. Will they allow a whole continent to live like beasts in such hovels, millions of Negroes cribbed, cabined, and confined in dens of disease?"¹²⁸ The Catholics in the fermes-chapelles (chapel farms) and the Protestants in villages near missions sponsored model villages and "clean" and "decent" living conditions.

¹²⁶ Ibid., Mrs. Lewis wrote that the wives of Evangelists dressed like "Christians." p. 140. Vandervelde, op. cit., pp. 122-127 and 169, observed that the wives of those in the Force Publique presented a sharp contrast to traditional native women. Also in the cities, and especially Leopoldville, the "boys" were dressed in impeccable European outfits and behaving very much as their employers about the town.

¹²⁷ Johnston noted that, ". . . the old style of Congo dwelling--grass or palm-thatched--is terribly verminous." A constant fire had to be kept going so that the smoke would discourage the flying, not crawling, insects. By the turn of the century, "intelligent and well-to-do natives (were) . . . deliberately imitat(ing) the missionaries or the railway officials in their style of building." By the end of the CIS period, "whole towns of brick and mortar (were) springing up . . . in the Cataract region, especially round the B.M.S. stations . . ." Johnston, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 761.

¹²⁸ Crawford, op. cit., p. 444.

c. Health

Very early the Congolese came to respect the missionaries' medicine--not only the treatment of wounds and diseases, but gradually the preventative medical practices also.

d. Protection

Major reasons for seeking missionary protection were (1) in order to escape the traditional society: Missionaries were normally not deeply concerned about why refuge was being sought--the assumption was that the refugee was escaping injustices rather than that he or she was wanted as a criminal, for misbehavior, etc. The ability to escape from traditional society steadily contributed to the erosion of the authority of native leaders;¹²⁹ and (2) in order to find a safe-haven during tribal disagreements, or during disagreements with the military or other State agents.¹³⁰ The Congolese also learned very soon, thanks in part to the Protestant-Catholic (and

¹²⁹Emile Vandervelde, La Belgique et le Congo, le passé, le présent, l'avenir (Paris: Imprimerie Ch. Herissey, 1911), pp. 226-27.

¹³⁰The missionaries, of course, were quite aware of this, and as reported by Bentley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 259, they used their middleman position to secure compliance by the Congolese in other things. An example of this was Bentley's attempt to get the Congolese near the mission not to kill wives when the husband died. "I expostulated with them on the folly and wickedness (of this) . . . and emphasized the fact that, in a recent affair with the State, I was able to help them considerably; but if they killed these women now, I would not help them in future affairs they may have with the State."

periodically the Protestant-State) feuds, that all Europeans did not think or react the same and that they (the Congolese) could use the differences between them to their own advantage.

e. Economic Benefits

To his fellow-countrymen, the missionary is by definition of limited means and always seeking more funds. To the Congolese, ". . . the poorest white man is a millionaire . . .,"¹³¹ and the Congolese is very likely to respond to the missionary's message with, ". . . well you might praise God, He has been good to you."¹³² The whole style of missionary life was so much more comfortable than that of the Congolese that when they discovered from those who began to serve the missionaries that part of this affluence could be acquired, it quite naturally made the missionaries and their compounds, as well as the State's stations, that much more attractive.

Recruitment by the missions and the State became less and less of a problem. The traditional elite could not deny the colonial structure the participation of Congolese youth: in face of their own loss of power and the attractions of the new structure, the traditional elite could

¹³¹Weeks, op. cit., p. 56.

¹³²Crawford, op. cit., p. 215.

exercise no longer that degree of control.¹³³

E. The Preacher-Teachers

As already pointed out, the preacher-teachers were usually those Congolese closest to the missionaries--in addition to other considerations they shared a common faith and occupation. As soon as the preacher-teachers felt able to do so, they often volunteered to follow in the missionaries' footsteps. Consequently, in addition to religious and educational training for their preacher-teachers, the Protestant missionaries especially tried to prepare "Christian family" units ready to send out rather than the preacher-teacher alone. There was, therefore, an effort to have these families formed, the wife converted, literate, and trained in "home economics" before leaving the mission station so that they could support each other as a team against the temptations they would face in the traditional environment where they would live and work. As noted earlier, it was also the intention of the missionaries to show the villagers how a Christian family should live, work and pray together.

¹³³L. Philippart, "L'organisation sociale dans le Bas-Congo," Congo (Brussels: J. Goemaere, 1st year, No. 1 & 2, April-May, 1920), p. 54. In discussing this battle over the youth, Philippart, a Redemptoriste missionary, quoted elders as saying, "The missionaries consult the taste of the young people too much. We have nothing more to say. Thus if we wish to remain their (the youth's) masters, we fight against them (the missionaries)."

During the years of the CIS period, the Catholics often tried to establish separate colonies under mission control near villages they wanted to convert. Then they would attempt to attract the Congolese from the original villages into the colonized villages' schools, churches, and "Christian life-style." These Catholic villages, although led by preacher-teachers, were usually near mission stations and were under close missionary supervision. Protestants, on the other hand, urging them to stand on their own, placed the preacher-teachers within villages under the rule of traditional chiefs. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries provided their native missionaries with supplies and materials, financial assistance if absolutely necessary, and advice and counseling.

From the traditional village environment the preacher-teachers selected their best students to go to the central mission primary schools where, if they continued to be among the top students, they were sent to a final advanced teacher training school serving pupils from several central stations. These post-primary programs were extended and improved until they meshed into the full four year post-primary school programs provided for in the educational reforms of 1924-26. Such special teacher-training schools were located at central stations of those missions which were the leaders in education. The first ones were at Mukimbungu, Mpala, Banza Mateke (and later

Kimpese) and Kisantu where they were operated by the Swedish Missionary Society, the White Fathers, the Baptist Missionary Society, The American Baptist Missionary Union, and the J suits. Progression through this system of schools (village, central mission primary, and central mission teacher-training) was based upon both educational achievements and religious zeal. When this formal training was completed, the new preacher-teachers were sent out to expand the missionary network of village schools and churches. This system provided the missionaries and their growing Congolese cadre with the opportunity to select, influence, and recruit the best pupils in the system as future preacher-teachers.

Preacher-teachers were also called back to the central mission stations for special summer teacher-training programs which the missionaries felt were invaluable in reaffirming their (the preacher-teachers') own faith, commitment, and dedication as well as improving their teaching. This also served to keep the missionaries more fully aware of those problems of most concern to their village missions while also permitting them to maintain direct personal relationships with the preacher-teachers.

This periodic "in-gathering" was more important to the Protestants than to the Catholics because the former tried to respond with a preacher-teacher to any village which requested one if the village would provide the

necessary buildings and support. The Catholics tended to expand in a more uniform consolidated fashion so that their villages were usually immediately served by a mission station. The Protestants' more erratic expansion derived first from their original drive to "occupy the field," and later from their desire to continue expanding even though the State repeatedly refused to give them permission to establish new mission stations. This tendency to be over-extended meant mission stations often served very large areas. As a result the amount of autonomy and responsibility the Protestant preacher-teacher had was considerably greater than it was for his more closely supervised Catholic counterpart.

Although the missions mentioned above were the most advanced educationally and had educational systems like this launched usually within a decade or so of their arrival in the Congo, by the end of the First World War most other missions were following a similar pattern. The Catholic system had, by that time, been influenced by the papal announcement that the purpose of missions in Africa was to plant the Church by forming a native clergy.¹³⁴ This coincided, as will be noted in the next chapter, with the

¹³⁴ Encyclicals of Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud*, and Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae*. See: Rev. Thomas J. M. Burke (ed.), *Catholic Missions, Four Great Missionary Encyclicals* (New York: *Incidental Papers of the Institute of Mission Studies*, No. 1, Fordham University Press, 1957).

Vatican-State agreement for providing subsidies to the Church in support of education activities.

F. Official Schools Established

In 1906, in order to assure that sufficient Congolese auxiliary staff were trained for the State's own needs and actually channeled into its employment, the State created new professional schools: one at Stanleyville, another at Leopoldville, and a third, especially to train clerks, at Boma. In 1908, the State turned these schools over to Catholic teaching orders, and they became show-cases of Church-State educational cooperation. For a second time, the first having been the Force Publique schools, the State had started a school system only to turn to the Church to obtain help in operating it.¹³⁵

Subsequently the missions on their own behalf established "free professional schools" with programs almost identical to those offered in the official professional schools. These vocationally oriented schools, official (State-mission) and free (mission), designed to help satisfy the increasing needs of the State (then the Colony) for trained manpower, became the incubators for those who, by the end of the First World War, were to form a part of

¹³⁵Those orders recruited to operate these schools were: Brothers of Christian Schools, Brothers of Charity, Marist Brothers, and Salesian Fathers. F. de Meeus and D. R. Steenberghen, Les missions religieuses au Congo Belge (Antwerp: V. Van Dieren, Ed., Zaire, 1947), pp. 132-133.

the second generation elite--the clerks. The missionaries had soon matched the State's effort to enter into educational activities, and education remained overwhelmingly in missionary hands.

G. Summary and Conclusions

The period of the Congo Independent State was largely one of European, and especially missionary, effort to penetrate Congolese society. The missionaries, like the State, had to be able to mobilize Congolese labor. First hard and unskilled labor--for portage, paddling, etc.,--then increasingly skilled labor was needed. Most skills had to be taught since they were related to European needs, methods, and machinery which were unknown to the Congolese. In conducting training to develop these skills in the Congo, the missionaries launched the vocational education system. The State, in founding its stations, followed a pattern similar to that of the missionaries except that initially the State was able to afford the hiring of more foreign African craftsmen than the missionaries.

Thus it was the missionaries who initiated the training of Congolese not only to replace the few foreign Africans employed but also to assume mission duties. Although the State espoused this Congolization policy, as indicated in Chapter V, it extricated itself from the task of actually giving most of the vocational training by

encouraging the missionaries to expand their activities in the areas of training the State desired.¹³⁶ Later when the State moved to found its own specialized vocational schools, the Catholics were also asked to staff the schools with religious teaching orders. While the Church complied with this request, it then proceeded to establish equally competent church schools to offer comparable programs in these same specialities. The major initial exception to this pattern was in clerical training for which the Church was reluctant to provide training.

While building, training, and launching the formal education system, the missionaries pressed forward with their dream to Christianize the Congo. Spreading throughout the country as rapidly as they could, "occupying the field," they lived close to the Congolese, learned their languages and codified them, learned more about their culture than any other European group, and socially became very involved, particularly in the lives of those they were converting. The Protestants, being fully persuaded that especially " . . . for a primitive people, . . . the only real and true development comes by being brought into

¹³⁶The assumption of this additional burden by the Catholic Church was, as indicated, compensated for by an increasing level of subsidization.

contact with the Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . "137 were obliged to make certain that their Congolese disciples, the preacher-teachers,¹³⁸ were literate and thus able to have access to the Gospel directly. Beyond this, Protestants generally felt that their converts should be able to read the Bible for themselves. This contributed to competition in the field of education between the Protestants and Catholics and led to a major and continuing missionary commitment to education centered on elementary literacy and vocational training. In the eastern part of the Congo a major concern with education was evidenced by the White Fathers who subsequently educated and ordained the first Congolese priests. In the remainder of the country the two major Catholic orders, the Scheuts and the Jesuits, began to offer a vocational-literacy program in part to compete with the Protestants, in part to satisfy their own needs, and in part to qualify for the subsidies which the State was offering to Catholic missions to assume educational responsibilities. *

¹³⁷H. Anet, Message of the Congo Jubilee and West African Conference (Leopoldville: Congo Protestant Council, 1929), p. 10.

¹³⁸H. Anet, "Le rôle et l'importance des missions évangéliques au Congo," in Max Gottschalk, Le Congo (Bruxelles: Imprimerie Scientifique et Littéraire, Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1932), p. 65, writes, ". . . he who says 'catechist' also says 'teacher.'"

Congolese having the most contact with Europeans were those working either with the missionaries and being trained and educated to become the preacher-teachers or with the Force Publique. By becoming increasingly educated, and by becoming Christians, Congolese appear to have aspired to the positions of their European models without fully expecting to achieve them. The education and training which Congolese could receive in the Congo could not qualify them to deal with the Whites as equals. Still the missionaries repeatedly emphasized and acknowledged the importance of the tasks of the preacher-teachers and at least treated them like junior partners in the "work of God."

The preacher-teacher in a regular Congolese village was in a difficult position--he was encouraged to help the Congolese live like Christians, and yet he was to avoid interfering with the rule of the traditional elite. As a result, the preacher-teachers concentrated their efforts on their own bases of operations--their schools/~~and~~ churches. This reaffirmed the continued rather independent and non-traditional orientation of the new religious and formal educational institutions even though they were led by Congolese and located within the villages. The attempt by the government to maintain the posture that the missionaries, and by projection the preacher-teachers, should, unless invited by the State, be kept out of politics

was endorsed by the State and then the Colony. Beyond that government policy was also to exclude or limit Congolese participation in non-traditional politics. Thus having the preacher-teachers as apolitical models representing the non-traditional sector was in keeping with basic government political policies. At the same time, it was through the preacher-teacher intermediaries that the villagers began to be faced with the impending choices or compromises between the contracting traditional and the expanding modern sectors. The preacher-teachers were in fact widely dispersed change agents working under missionary supervision with little if any apparent connection with the government and with little if any political message, beyond that which might be relevant to or coincide with the churches' doctrine, being offered to a culture induced to achieve an incredibly fast rate of change.

While proclaiming its desire to maintain the indigenous structure, steps taken by the State to satisfy its manpower needs deliberately worked to subvert it. The initial over-riding requirement was the establishment of a military force to occupy the Congo, which for political reasons had to be accomplished as quickly as possible. Therefore, Africans from elsewhere were hired as soldiers until those sources of recruitment were proscribed, and the financial upkeep was so severe that the State began to

recruit Congolese. In its recruitment of Congolese, however, the State was getting those who had relatively little "anchorage" in their own society, for they were often the ones the society was willing to surrender to the Europeans.¹³⁹ These Congolese recruits were then deliberately "detrribalized" by the schools and the army in their social relationships and were subsequently excluded from duty assignments in their regions of origin. The soldiers, sent home after five years of service and two years of reserve duty,¹⁴⁰ formed a special point of contact for State and missionary officials. This entree with Europeans, combined with the special kinds of knowledge and skills they acquired in the military service, tended to erode further any control which the chieftains might have had over returned veterans and their families.

By the end of 1898, the Force Publique Congolaise was, "next to the Egyptian Army, the largest and most

¹³⁹Flamant, op. cit., p. 51, made this point very clearly when he reported, ". . . domestic slaves, men against whom they (the selecting chieftains) had some complaint, malicious adults, and even children" were the Force Publique's up until about the last decade of the CIS.

¹⁴⁰Liebrechts, Notre Colonie, op. cit., p. 144. This was directly against the recommendations of many colonial officials who urged that Congolese should not be kept separated too long from their own society.

powerful force in Africa."¹⁴¹ In an attempt to secure significantly greater Congolese leadership potential for this army, the Colonies Scolaires were established and filled with children recruited by, or under the auspices of, the State. After three years of training, these youths had a chance to become instructors at the grade of corporal in the Force Publique where they were required to serve until the age of twenty-five."¹⁴²

While the missionariës continuously worked to improve the level of education available to the preacher-teachers and consequently kept them among the most educationally advanced Congolese, the Congolese in the Force Publique, by comparison, began to stagnate. By the outbreak of World War I they had nearly reached the upper levels of education and rank in the army which the Belgian administration was willing to accord to them. Thus military education and training stabilized in keeping with the limits imposed by the ranks open to the Congolese--a phenomenon which was to be repeated subsequently in other

¹⁴¹The African World, "The Belgian Colonial Forces" in The African World (London: St. Clements Press, Ltd., June, 1935), p. 25. The Force Publique in 1902 numbered 318 foreign Africans, 4,976 Congolese volunteers, 9,583 Congolese militiamen ("drafted"), for a total of 15,377, excluding officers who were all White.

¹⁴²Flamant, op. cit., pp. 85-86. It is interesting to note that the advanced NCO grades open to the Congolese were designated by the Force Publique as "elite" grades.

sectors of the colonial structure. In spite of the performance of the native troops during the First World War, and later in the Second World War, none were promoted beyond the NCO level, and not until post-World War II was there any significant upgrading in their educational preparation, nor was there consideration given to promoting them into formerly European-held ranks. Certainly the living conditions and "fringe benefits" of Congolese troops steadily improved, but then so did those of the rest of the population, especially in the non-traditional sectors. In a sense, the soldiers were tied to the Europeans but frozen in what appeared to be permanent second-class positions. In the end this situation was overcome by the mutiny which gained for the former NCO's sought-after officer ranks and reestablished them as members of the new Congolese elite.

In a sense the whole development, or exploitation, process followed in the Congo during the CIS period was planned and operated much as a private business, or perhaps a modern conglomerate, would be, and the Church was an especially valuable participant in the venture for humanitarian as well as practical reasons. Missionary schools, subsidized and unsubsidized, were founded in order to train Congolese troops, to service the new economy, and to serve the new non-traditional Congolese

Christian society. Since initially the Congolese avoided the schools, those who first attended were the "cast-offs." However, once the schools proved to be a means for improving Congolese life and for achieving economic benefits from the new colonial sector, then recruitment, even from the mainstream of Congolese society, ceased to be a problem. As advances were made economically and socially along the lines desired by the State and the missionaries, the formal education system became more sophisticated in order to provide more highly qualified manpower. With these changes, a new generation of elite came into being.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND GENERATION ELITE

Although programs at the secondary school level for Congolese had begun to appear by the end of the First World War, the government policy which was to add this new dimension to Congolese education throughout the colony developed during the 1920's. The recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes and then the Franck Commissions (1922) were followed by the educational reform act of 1926 and the "Yellow Book" of 1929. These educational reforms prepared for, created, and determined secondary education in the Congo until the "General Dispositions of 1948" were enacted. A proposed interim educational "Reform of 1938" was not implemented because of the outbreak of the Second World War. Thus, the educational system which was to nurture the second generation elite in the Congo was officially established in the 1926-29 period.

Those who graduated under the provisions of the four year specialized secondary school programs provided for under the regulations of the 1920's, the group constituting the bulk of those who came to be called the évolués, have been described and defined by Father Van Wing, one of the outstanding religious scholars of the colonial

period, as follows:

In the proletarian mass one class is distinguishing itself, the évolués. They constitute 40,000 of our 750,000 salaried Congolese. In the Congo everyone speaks of the problem of the évolués. They themselves more than all the others. All the clerks and office workers in the service of the administration and the companies consider themselves as évolués, the nurses and the graduated teachers, and in general those who occupy a social position, who are not obliged to work at common manual labor.

The majority of évolués have benefited from a lower high school education and from religious instruction in the missions.

In brief, they have received a more advanced education and they occupy posts of authority. For these two reasons, the class which they constitute deserves being called leading. Thus, the government, the companies, and the missions are especially preoccupied about them. In order to perfect their education, several means are being tried: Journals (La Voix du Congolais), newspapers, study groups (cercles), various associations that way it is hoped to obtain, with many of them at least, this result: to clarify for them their duty and their role in society.¹

Formal education and occupation continued to be key factors leading to the maximum positions of power and prestige open to Congolese. These factors will also be the main criteria used in examining the second generation elite. A basic change will, however, be noted in the evolution of the preacher-teachers from the first generation to the second generation elite--the combined preacher-teacher group will have been split into two with the priests and pastors on the one hand and the teachers on the other

¹J. Van Wing, "Formation d'une élite noire au Congo Belge," Bulletin Militaire, No. 24 (August, 1947), pp. 71-86. Also published in Lumen Vitae: Revue Internationale Religieuse (Brussels, 1947-48), pp. 156-169. This quote is from p. 157.

both experiencing significant educational upgrading.

The professional orientation and the paucity of those who were subsequently to form the intermediate and third generation elites served to confirm the continuing importance of the second generation elite at independence. To deal with this rather extensive period of the second generation elite this chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will focus on the salient colonial problems and on considerations relevant to reforms in the formal education system and to the elite subsequently. The second part will be devoted to the educational change per se and to the major elements within the second generation elite--the priests, pastors, clerks, teachers, and others in special vocational programs.

Part 1 - Background

A. Annexation

1. The Congo Becomes a Colony

"The greatest satisfaction of my life has been to offer the Congo to Belgium. The Congo is richer than you believe. The duty of a Sovereign is to enrich the nation."²

In October, 1908, Leopold signed the law which transformed the Congo Independent State into the Belgian Congo. The Parliamentary debates determining annexation were long

²Jean Stengers, Belgique et Congo: l'élaboration de la charte coloniale (Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, 1963), pp. 7 and 21.

and hard. While the outcome does not appear to have ever been seriously in doubt, the battle was joined over the terms under which the transfer would be accomplished, especially with regard to the future role of the King in the governing of the Congo and the financial arrangements involved. The government party in power, pro-annexation and Catholic dominated, was facing a less united Socialist-led opposition. Although expressing itself as against annexation basically for moral reasons, the Socialist selected as a major issue the amount it would cost Belgium before the Congo would, if ever, become self-supporting.

Carrying the burden of the Government's position, Renkin, Minister of Justice, and subsequently the first Belgian Colonial Minister, reminded the Socialists that, "Yesterday you were indignant because the Blacks were being exploited in order to nourish useless luxury; today it is asserted that if annexation is approved, it will be the Whites of Belgium who will be exploited for the profit of Congo Blacks."³ Renkin then stressed the Congo's fantastic growth during the CIS period as evidence of what had been achieved and as an indication of what was yet to come. His justification for annexation was basically in economic terms: the colony would provide a source for

³La question de l'annexion du Congo, Bulletin de Colonisation Comparée (May 20, 1908, No. 5), p. 285. The text of major government statements is quoted verbatim in this issue.

capital investment as well as an outlet for Belgian products and know-how, and perhaps one day it would be a colony for the settlement of surplus Belgian population.

The more humanitarian rationale for annexation was briefly presented by Schollaert (chef du cabinet, Minister of Interior), and Davignon (Minister of Foreign Affairs). The former pointed out that, "Belgium, rich, happy and prosperous, should come to the aid of our Black brothers in that land of Africa red with the blood of their children and open for them (the way) to Christian civilization."⁴ The thrust of Davignon's argument was that ". . . the first period of colonisation will be closed . . .," and now it would be possible to move forward with "progressive improvements." However, he warned, as did Renkin and Socialist leader Vandervelde, that this ". . . will not be the work of a day . . .," but that it would be Belgium's goal.⁵ The only references to education were made by Renkin who noted: (1) "Education, which cost 10,000 francs in 1891, today costs 473,425 francs," and (2) ". . . from a moral point of view: the civilized people have, vis-a-vis races still plunged in barbarism, a duty

⁴Ibid., p. 240. "Discours de M. Schollaert," Meeting of April 15, 1908.

⁵Ibid., p. 241-242. "Discours de M. Davignon," Meeting of April 15, 1908.

of education and of tutelage."⁶

The major party in opposition to the government and to annexation was, as indicated above, the Socialist which was, however, split on the issue. Emile Vandervelde in particular broke with the party's position and came out strongly in favor of annexation, asserting that Belgium had both the means and the moral duty to make the Congo a model colony: it would cost more than the 15 million francs per year that fellow Socialists predicted, but Belgium should, nevertheless, assume the task.⁷ He also felt that the Colony had long-term potential, but Belgium must accept that rubber was about finished as a budget surplus producer, particularly in view of native labor reforms which would have to be enacted by the State. These reforms would serve to further reduce the amounts collected and would also increase costs.

Partially in justification for having broken party discipline on the annexation issue, Vandervelde wrote considerably about his trip to the Congo from July-October, 1908. He made education a major focus of concern: ". . . the more I travel, the more I am convinced that the schools of the missions are only makeshift, that organized public

⁶Ibid., pp. 251, 257. "Discours de M. Renkin, Minister of Justice," Meeting of April 25, 1908.

⁷Vandervelde, Les Derniers Jours, op. cit., pp. 20, 166, and 191.

education (should) be imposed on the Congo, and that is why I rejoiced to see the work of M. Bertrand at Coquilhatville in a (state) school where one did not make Baptists, Catholics, or Lutherans, but men."⁸ This in fact became the Socialist's educational policy. Throughout Belgian colonial rule they were to reflect Vandervelde's conviction that the government should assume responsibility for education from the missionaries. However, not until the PSB (Parti Socialiste Belge)-Liberal coalition from 1954 to 1958, when Liberal Colonial Minister Buisseret initiated serious educational reforms in the Congo, did missionary hegemony over education feel challenged."⁹

At length the Charte Coloniale, or Colonial Charter, was issued by the Belgian Parliament, regulating the Congo's transfer and providing for the colonial government. As summarized by Stengers, "The King, in terms of the Colonial Charter, retains executive power and exercises legislative power in the Congo; he designates officials in the judicial

⁸Ibid., p. 161. Mr. Bertrand was the district commissioner of Equator. Interestingly enough, although Vandervelde describes Catholic and Protestant schools at length which he visited in the Congo, he did not elsewhere even mention visiting this State school during his two days at Coquilhatville and the nearby botanical gardens at Eala.

⁹Mr. Rapaport, Belgian national formerly working in the Belgian Colonial Service in the Maniema Region, noted that Buisseret was the first non-Catholic Minister of Colonies in the Belgian Government. More than that, he was simply "non-religious." Interview in New York City, April 18, 1970.

branch, and justice is carried out in his name. When the Colonial Charter says 'the King,' however, it means that term exactly as the Belgian Constitution. The King personally can do nothing . . . "10 for "No act of the King can have effect if it is not countersigned by a minister "11 Leopold continued to reign over the Congo until his death the next year, but the Belgian Parliament had become its effective ruler.

For a second time, with the establishment of the Colony, there was broad international influence being exerted to alter the government of the Congo, and for a second time the humanitarian considerations which in fact generated the crisis were practically forgotten in view of the economic "realities" which dominated the solution making process. Once more guarantees relevant to the education of the Congolese were conspicuous by their absence from the legal documentation regulating the transaction. In the field of education the new government was uninhibited by promises of reform or change.

2. State vs. Protestant: Protestant vs. State

As has been indicated, the first twenty years (1878-98) of Christian penetration and expansion had clearly been years of Protestant missionary domination. However, the

¹⁰Stengers, op. cit., p. 13.

¹¹Ibid., from Article 64 of the Belgian Constitution.

next ten years (1898-1908) saw the Catholics assume a lead which the Protestants were not subsequently able to challenge.¹² To promote the Catholic growth, the CIS government, in addition to subsidizing Catholic education and mission development, prevented Protestant expansion efforts by refusing to grant them new sites for mission stations. The consequence of this tactic began to be felt by the Protestants slightly before the mounting international scandal on the treatment of natives in the Congo began to be taken seriously in Brussels or Boma. Although Protestant missionaries did play a significant role in exposing the atrocities, there is little doubt that, influenced by the State's discrimination against them, the Protestants became increasingly active and associated blatantly with those attacking Leopold's regime."¹³ Since the educational systems established by the missionaries operated from a station school nucleus in support of the outlying village schools, the lack of new Protestant mission stations meant that the Catholics were in a position

¹²In 1898 there were 180 Protestant missionaries in 41 posts compared with 115 Catholic missionaries in 18 posts. By 1908 there were 200 Protestant missionaries in 43 posts compared with 403 Catholic missionaries in 58 posts. From de Jonge, "Les Missions Religieuses au Congo Belge," Congo, 1933, p. 11.

¹³Ruth Slade, op. cit., outlines this Protestant action and "reaction" well.

to expand rapidly into new areas of educational endeavor while the Protestants were checked except for expansion as possible from existing mission station bases.

Because of the international status of the CIS, British, and to some extent American, Protestant missionaries felt that if they could not get redress to their grievances, or at least responses to complaints, they were entitled to appeal to their respective consular officials. The assumption was that those Powers which had signed the Act of Berlin in 1885 guaranteeing religious freedom would be in a position, in fact had an obligation, to press demands relevant to the enforcement of that provision. Although they maintained pressure on diplomatic channels, the lack of results drove them into closer working relationships with the various Congo Reform Associations being established notably in the U. K. and the U. S.¹⁴

Thus the final years of the CIS regime were extremely trying ones for the Protestants. Eager to expand, the State's unofficial policy restricted them to only two additional Protestant mission land grants while during the

¹⁴Rev. Weeks, BMS, illustrated the steps the missionaries usually took as follows: ". . . my mode of procedure was this: I sent my letter of protest, first to the 'Commissaire' of my district; if no investigation into the charges was made, then I forwarded a copy of the letter to the Governor-General at Boma, and then, if after waiting the necessary length of time there was neither inquiry nor redress, the letter, with all particulars, was posted to Mr. Morel for publication in the English Press as the last resort. The State itself forced us to appeal to the public." Weeks, op. cit., p. 25.

same period forty were approved for the Catholics. Although the number of Protestant converts increased rapidly, as did the number of students attending schools,¹⁵ the frustration at having their expansion checked by an arbitrary State was bitter, and perhaps none felt more stunned and resentful than did Grenfell who had served the State with distinction. In 1906 at the Protestant conference he bluntly stated:

I have met it (opposition) from the State, that 'great philanthropic agency of Central Africa,' and have been effectively barred. When I first came to Congo there was no civilized power; the traders were a law unto themselves; and I had seen the evils of this at the Cameroons. There was then not a single missionary of the Cross in the land. I hailed the advent of a European power. I rejoiced in the prospect of better times. I saw the fall of the Arabs; I saw the door closed against strong drink, and when his Majesty bestowed his decorations upon me I was proud to wear them. But when the change of regime came, from philanthropy to self-seeking of the basest and most cruel kind, I was no longer proud of the decorations.¹⁶

Affirming its support of the Protestant missionaries in the Congo, the small Belgian Protestant church complained

¹⁵Smith, op. cit., wrote of Yakusu (near Kisangani) in 1904, "During the past twelve months, twenty-eight schools have been started; in twenty months the membership of the Young People's Society has increased from six to one hundred and fifty, and on the first Sunday in July we baptized eighteen candidates." (p. 232) Grenfell wrote to Miss Hawkes from Bolobo in 1902, "Our Day Schools and Sunday Schools are also prospering, and we shall soon have to think of more accommodation. Yesterday there were nearly two hundred and fifty scholars present" G. Hawker, George Grenfell, op. cit., p. 514.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 547.

in 1909 that, "At the present time, the situation of the evàngelic missions in the Congo is certainly critical. At three points, in spite of the Act of Berlin (1885), their forward movement has been stopped. On the Aruwimi, as on the Lulanga and on the Kasai (Rivers), they have been forced, sometimes imposing considerable material losses upon them, (by the State) to retreat."¹⁷

In the eyes of Belgian administrators, the Protestant missionaries, in addition to being foreigners, became the disloyal opposition to the Congo government. The situation was further exacerbated when the new colonial administration did not, as the Protestant missionaries had fervently anticipated, take steps to bring an end to the CIS policy of restricting the Protestants' expansion.¹⁸ The Baptist missionaries, again British more than American, assumed the responsibility of attempting, with considerable success, to make certain that the reforms which they and others had advocated before annexation were in fact implemented by the Belgian Congo Government before either the United Kingdom or the United States formally recognized the

¹⁷Jules Rambaud, Au Congo pour Christ (Liège: Imprimerie de Nessonvaux, 1909), p. 133.

¹⁸Between 1906 and 1914, the Protestant missions received only 978 hectares of land, while the Catholic missions got 23,106 hectares. Rev. H. F. Drake, Some Contemporary Problems Confronting the Protestant Church in the Belgian Congo (New York: Unpublished, S.T.M. Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1960), p. 52.

new administration.¹⁹ Meanwhile, in 1909, the new colonial government, in spite of the fact that there were probably no more than 70,000 Protestants in Belgium, took the surprising step of proposing that the Protestant missions in the Congo accept as their intermediary with the Belgian Government the Belgian Synod of the Evangelical Churches. It was proposed also that the non-Belgian Protestant missionaries in the Congo be replaced by Belgian Protestants as non-Belgian Catholics had earlier been replaced by Belgian Catholics.²⁰ This obviously was an impossible task for the Belgian Protestants, and they readily admitted that they simply did not have the manpower or finances to assume the burden. However, they were quite willing to play a more active role in conjunction with the foreign Protestant missions,²¹ and they did subsequently assume an intermediary role between the Belgian government and the Protestant missionaries.

The breach between the Belgian Government and the Protestants was further aggravated by the growing rapport between the Protestant missionaries and the Belgian

¹⁹Ruth Slade, English-Speaking Missions, op. cit., pp. 337-58, 361-62, covers this extremely well. The Protestants were instrumental in delaying recognition of the Belgian Congo until 1912.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 347-56.

²¹Rambaud, op. cit., pp. 162-167.

Socialist Party. In 1908, at a time when the Protestants were chafing under CIS discrimination, Vandervelde had gone out of his way to praise the work of the Protestant missions in the Congo, especially in education.²² As a result of his friendliness, the Protestants turned to him for help in defending two American Presbyterian missionaries who were sued in 1909 by the Kasai Company after they had accused it of maladministration. Vandervelde himself went to the Congo, defended them, and won acquittal.²³ While Vandervelde and some of the other Socialists respected what the Protestants were doing in the Congo, basic to their cooperation was common opposition to Catholic/ Government policies in the Congo.

These continuing conflicts between the Protestants and Belgian officials meant that the restrictions placed on Protestant expansion during the last years of the CIS continued into the colonial period. Land grants, subsidies, and special grants permitting the recruitment of children

²²Vandervelde, Les derniers jours, op. cit., wrote on one occasion: "The two women who directed the school and their black teachers (moniteurs) taught children to read in their language; the class books were not something left over from European schools, but manuals carefully adopted to the mentality and interests of the students. I was struck by the school children's air of intelligence, of the cleanliness of their appearance, of the dignity of their attitude. These are men which are being made here. It is an elite which is being created." p. 92.

²³Ruth Slade, English-Speaking Missions, op. cit., pp. 364-75.

were given to the Catholics and denied the Protestants. It was not until the First World War and Belgium's conquest by Germany that the resultant State-Protestant animosity began to abate. Meanwhile, the Protestant share of the Congo's education system was relegated to approximately 15% of the total, while that of the Catholic Church became about 80%. This proportion of Catholic domination of the education system has continued through the first decade of Congo independence.

Nationally and internationally, in secular and non-secular matters, both Catholics and Protestants had made it evident that they were willing to engage in direct political activity to protect and expand their positions in the Congo. Because such a large part of their activities there were in education, the mixing of politics and education in the Congo has had a firm place in the Congo's history. That this should continue to be the case seemed to be inevitable since education had become such an important means for communicating with the Congolese and for exerting control over them.

What was particularly striking about the religious politics of this period was the short-sightedness of the Protestants. While attacking the CIS administration, with justification, they eagerly anticipated the Belgian annexation. They firmly felt the colonial government would

treat Catholics and Protestants with greater equality. They not only overlooked the nationalistic aspects involved, for the Congo government was nearly as much run by Belgians before annexation as it was afterwards, but the personal ones as well. Many of the same people, from Minister Renkin on down, who had administered the CIS later administered the Belgian Congo. Because these officials became responsible to the Belgian Parliament after 1908 rather than to King Léopold did not mean that they would respond more warmly to the Protestants who had been attacking them prior to annexation. The Protestants had no chance of recapturing under the new government what they had lost under the old. It was a battle between the Protestants and the State, with the real winners, in terms of the education system, being the Catholic missionaries.

B. Major Colonial Policies Which Influenced Education

The new colonial government found itself faced with two basic considerations:

- (1) the signators of the Treaty of Berlin were expecting changes following annexation; and
- (2) there was a continuing shortage of European manpower for the colony. Complicated by the Belgian Parliament's reluctance to provide additional money for the colonial budget, greater use would have to be made of Congolese.

Since Leopold's Congo government had been highly centralized, a move to decentralization was determined as the way of providing change and theoretically of promoting greater participation in the government in order to help change the former colonial monolith into a more flexible humanitarian institution.²⁴

1. Indirect Rule

The issue came to be joined as one between direct (assimilation) vs. indirect (association) rule and provoked debates on "Native Policy" throughout the 1920's. The issue is important for the purposes of this study because it influenced the shape of the educational reforms in the 1920's which subsequently led to the preparation of the second generation of elite. In considering indirect rule, however, it is well to keep in mind the assessments made by Lord Hailey and Guy Malengreau. Lord Hailey could not bring himself to equate what the Belgian government called "indirect rule" in the Congo with policy Lugard had espoused. Certainly Lugard's indirect rule bore little resemblance to Belgian colonial rule. Thus Hailey termed the Congo's system "modified differentiation," and added that it became attenuated with time.²⁵ Indirect rule in

²⁴ Andre van Iseghen, Au Congo centralisation et décentralisation (Brussels: Librairie Albert Dewit, 1921).

²⁵ Lord Hailey, An African Survey Revised 1956 (London: Oxford University Press, Rev. 1956, 1957), p. 226.

the Congo represented a decision-making arrangement at the very bottom of the chain of command. The lower level colonial officers, at the bottom of the European administrative hierarchy, were the Europeans to whom the native chieftains reported.

Malengreau has referred to the Belgian policy as "empirical." Such questions as "domination or European settlement, assimilation or protectorate, direct or indirect administration," are believed to have been considered by the Belgians as points of view, the objects of vain academic discussions.²⁶

The old policy of the King-Sovereign was portrayed as not only being centralized but also assimilationist. Franck felt that it represented " . . . a time when we imagined that our Africans could assimilate rapidly and without great difficulty the essential principles of our European culture and our conceptions of public law. This would happen to them, we thought, through example and appropriate legal action, through education, through religious conversion and through wise advice. Today we are better instructed through experience. Without doubt the

²⁶ Guy Malengreau, "La Politique Coloniale de la Belgique," in Principles and Methods of Colonial Administration (London: Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1950), p. 41.

African Negro is not a savage, he is susceptible to progress, but that progress, in order to have any value, must apply essentially to the race and the masses, and the evolution, in order to be fruitful, will have to be slow and gradual."²⁷ The old elite of the masses therefore would be little changed, and the new elite would not be permitted to be significantly ahead of the masses. It was felt that if the natives broke quickly with the past and if the greatest possible number " . . . plunged briskly into the bath of European intellectualism"²⁸ the colonial effort would fail. The Belgians believed that experiences elsewhere, and especially in India, had already proven this. They repeatedly looked to the United States for examples on how to gradually lead the Blacks to positions of increasing equality in the society.

Even though the government had been highly centralized, there were precedents established by Leopold which meshed with the new policy of decentralization. First there was a decree in 1891 which had formally recognized the customary chiefs as being confirmed in their traditional roles by the State, and second there was the 1907 decree which established a procedure for official investiture of the chiefs which resulted in their receiving State salaries.

²⁷L. Franck, "De la politique indigène" Congo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 279-280.

²⁸Ibid.

A subsequent colonial degree of 1910 simply added emphasis to the judicial functions of the chiefs and augmented the power of those duly recognized by the State. The colonial administration frankly admitted:

There still exist too many chiefdoms headed by chiefs who insofar as native custom is concerned are illegitimate, but whom it would be difficult to dismiss without injustice in view of the numerous services which they have rendered to the administration. It is necessary to wait until the question of succession becomes open in order to invest legitimate chiefs and to regroup the populations in their customary clans.²⁹

In many other cases serious questions arose over who the recognized chief was to be, and the final decision was necessarily made by the State. These factors helped to erode the very inherent authority structure of the chiefs which the State declared that it sought to augment. As a result, a large number of chiefs and pretenders to chiefdoms were recognized and installed even in areas which traditionally had had neither the concept nor the institution of chiefdom. Thus the very stability in native policy which this institutional reform was to provide was severely compromised in the process of implementation and subsequently in the number of changes made in chiefdoms pursuant to modifications of colonial policy (see Table 7.1). There were instances in which the number of tribal male followers of a "chief" were not more than fifty, and the average number of subjects

²⁹Congo Belge, Rapport d'ensemble annuel, 1915 (Le Havre, France: Twentieth Century Press, 1916), p. 122.

of chieftancies in Stanleyville district was one hundred fifty adult males.³⁰ The colonial government sought roughly to standardize the number of inhabitants per chiefdom for greater administrative uniformity and economy.

TABLE 7.1

Number of Chiefdoms and Sectors by Year

Year	Chiefdoms	Sectors
1909	1,068	--
1917	6,095	--
1938	1,222	340
1953	460	519
1958	402	521

Source: "La politique d'administration indirecte et ses conséquences sur l'autorité indigène," Problems d'Afrique Centrale (No. 43, 1er Trim., 1959), pp. 27-28. The chiefdom was supposed to be headed by an hereditary chief who was confirmed in office by the Government. A sector consisted of various small groups united for convenience under a chief and council selected by the Government.

In 1914, decentralization as such was imposed on the colonial administration. A Royal Decree called for the creation of four provinces (Congo-Kasai, Equateur, Oriental, and Katanga) with vice-governors reporting to the colonial governor in Leopoldville. In spite of the war, the colonial administration carried through with this plan so that by

³⁰Ibid., and Young, op. cit., quoted from notes made available by Professor G. Malengreau, p. 131.

1918 it had been completed.³¹

The war effort did, however, place a heavy strain on the Colony. Directed by a small European population (4,276 in 1914 and 6,295 by 1917), the Congolese were called upon to field an army and to perform a multitude of new functions aimed at increasing the Congo's contribution to the Allied Powers.³² Besides the requirements of the colonial army, thousands of other Congolese were transferred around the country to work in mines, on roads, railroads, etc. Even though the education system performed well in addressing the additional demands for the training of personnel, an expansion of the magnitude undertaken meant that the colonial government was constantly facing a labor shortage and was forced to exert its authority to meet wartime requirements. By 1917 there were 47,736 native workers employed in industry alone.³³ This degree of

³¹ Colonial accomplishments during the Belgian occupation by Germany were extremely impressive. The Congo was, apparently, the only African colony which continued to build railroads during the war and then stopped when the war ended.

³² As an indication of the rapid increase in shipments from the Congo, the Bas-Congo Railway increased its tonnage as follows: 1915-20,044; 1916-42,216; 1917-55,772; 1918-56,025. The Katanga Railway increased tonnages from 1916-250,000 to 1917-623,039. Governor General Henry, "Discours de la cinquième session du conseil du gouvernement," Bulletin Administratif et Commercial du Congo Belge (8th Year, No. 15, August 10, 1919), p. 14.

³³ Congo Belge, 1917 Rapport Annuel (Brussels: Imprimerie Vromant & Co., 1919), p. 71. Interestingly the majority of these were not located in the mining regions but

mobilization demanded centralization at the same time that the decentralization program was being implemented which ostensibly was to promote indirect rule. Thus a Belgian version of indirect rule was compromised at its very promulgation. As will be indicated later, Minister Franck attempted to place indirect rule in the Congo on a firm foundation in the early 1920's.

In addition to the increasing difficulty in recruiting laborers, many Europeans involved in colonial activities began to fear that the Congolese birth rate, which had previously been estimated at being at a standstill, had actually begun to fall. Understandably this was connected to the disruption of traditional society created by excessive recruitment which drew so many young men away from their homes and villages. This concern over Congolese depopulation contributed at the end of the war to an outcry, essentially naturalist in philosophy, that colonialism and Christianity were not only ruining the "noble savage" but also threatened his annihilation. Thus it was argued that not only should the chieftains be reinstated in their traditional roles and further strengthened, but also the Westernization and Christianization of the Congo should be prohibited or at least severely inhibited. One of those supporting this position wrote

in the industrializing Congo-Kasai region--38% (17,862), which indicates that the Lower Congo regions were already becoming more industrialized than the mining areas in the East and in Katanga.

that, "The private institutions of the Bantus everywhere appear like cliffs battered by the waves of that rising tide, civilization. Whether the sea be calm or rough, its action be slow or brutal, it consumes, disaggregates, destroys incessantly."³⁴

Discussions on indirect rule, accentuated by the efforts to promote administrative decentralization, thus came to focus largely on questions related to the labor force and the preservation of Bantu society and customs. Disputes over the latter, including the accusation that depopulation was being created by the disruption of the rhythm of traditional life invariably generated the sharpest exchanges on monogamy versus polygamy. In response to the strong position of the missionaries against polygamy, the argument was made that disruption of the native society, including the promotion of monogamy, was reducing both the birth rate and the labor supply. Furthermore, the growth of native settlements beyond the control of traditional rulers was increasing the debauchery of native workers in such settlements and promoting prostitution to the detriment of procreation. The missionaries in particular were accused of deliberately trying to destroy indigenous customs not amenable to Christianity through

³⁴H. Rolin, "Du respect des coutumes indigènes relatives aux biens et aux personnes dans l'Afrique australe et centrale," Rapport présenté à la session de l'Institut Colonial International (Paris: 1921), pp. 103-104.

their aggressive conversion and education policies and practices. In these circumstances, the Catholics assumed the major responsibility for defending the Christian position. They did so not only in terms of religious arguments, but also by emphasizing that their right to continue their work of proselytization was guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin.³⁵ (Interestingly, this was the same argument which the Protestants had unsuccessfully tried to employ earlier to compel the government to permit them to expand their mission work.)

Attempting to clarify the Church's position, the Superiors of the Catholic Mission of the Belgian Congo summed up their policy regarding native customs as follows:

A profound spirit of observation and discernment should pervade our civilizing work. It would be a grave error to wish to impose on the native all our social habits and conventions. A European caricature would only with difficulty make a good Negro.

Primitive societies are very rudimentary, but their laws and their customs are sometimes very wise. It is important to respect those which are good and to maintain such traditional aspects. We do not wish in fact or principle to modify the practices, mores, or customs of these people when nothing is found in them which is contrary to (Christian) religion or morals. It would be absurd to make a Frenchman from a Chinese.

Man is made so that he loves and esteems above all that which touches him the closest, and that which belongs to his national character. Thus nothing would be more odious than alterations in his ancestral and secular customs for the benefit of foreign customs of

³⁵L. Le Grand, "De la légalité des village chrétiens," Congo (3rd Year, Vol. II, No. 1, June, 1922), pp. 1-7. Father Le Grand was a Jesuit missionary in the Kwango.

recent importation. Keep therefore from reducing these people to European practices; rather apply yourselves to adapting to theirs.³⁶

This statement was not in fact significantly different from the policy of the State at the same period as outlined by Minister of Colonies Franck:

. . . we are obstinately resolved not to wish to form an imitation European, but rather a better Congolese, that is to say a robust Negro, in good health who is a worker, proud of a task conscientiously completed, respectful of the collectivity to which he belongs; a Negro conscious of his duties vis-a-vis his fellow man and vis-a-vis authority, and not neglecting the accomplishment of either. It is thus a very difficult task which will demand several generations. But any other method would not be rational and would only produce mediocre and insufficient results.³⁷

The important feature of both of these statements was that we, the Europeans, would decide what was good and that we should decide what to adapt to in the native culture. Europeans, i.e., Belgians, were to decide what Congolese components were to be included in the new, but non-European, model of Congolese. These statements in effect reflected the essence of Belgian paternalism and indicated the early pervasiveness of that colonial ideology. Regardless of whether or not such a policy was called indirect rule, it left little in terms of self-determination to the Congolese.

³⁶ Collection de la Propagande Fidèle, Instructions aux missionnaires (No. 135, 3rd ed., 1935), quoted by S. de Vos, "La politique indigène et les missions Catholiques," Congo, December 1923, p. 638.

³⁷ Franck, Congo, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 282.

Of the issues of native policy posited as requiring reforms, those related to native customs and Christian villages were most important to the Catholic Church. For the State, on the other hand, it was the whole matter of manpower and native recruitment. These concerns of Church and State overlapped especially, as will be pointed out, in their influence on education.

2. Question of Native Customs

In order to consider with more objectivity the array of native customs in the Congo which came under scrutiny, they were often divided into two categories. The first included those listed as cruel: trial by poison, human sacrifice, bodily mutilation, etc. The second group, non-cruel, included domestic slavery, polygamy, and property ownership. There was little disagreement among the reformers³⁸ and the Church and State about the undesirability

³⁸The term "reformers" is used to identify those who were actively engaged throughout the decade of the 1920's in attempting to defend traditional Congolese customs and privileges. Theirs was essentially a humanitarian reaction to injustices committed against the natives. Those included in this effort were: Professor H. Rolin of the University of Brussels; Col. Bertrand, formerly of the colonial administration and a member of the Belgian Royal Colonial Institute and the International Colonial Institute; leaders in the Belgian Socialist Party, e.g., Vandervelde, Wauters, etc.; some members of the Committee for the Protection of Natives (founded shortly after annexation), the Labor Commission (1925) and the Permanent Advisory Committee on Labor (1928); etc. There was no reform organization as such; the advocates functioned as interested individuals except when Socialist Party colonial policies drew, especially from Socialist Party members, support for their criticisms of the government's colonial practices.

of the cruel customs: there was disagreement about how and how actively they should be suppressed. The divergence of opinions on what the policies should be on the second category was rather profound. The controversy tended to be centered on the question of polygamy and the position of the chief.

a. Polygamy

Both Church and State recognized that domestic slavery and polygamy were in part related to the traditional means of accumulating and preserving wealth, i.e., in terms of wives, slaves, or animals. As the country's economy developed and money rather than barter became the means of exchange and of accumulating wealth, the prevalence of these traditional customs would, it was thought, begin to wane. While the State aggressively suppressed domestic slavery, it was, as were most of the missionaries, willing to move with patience and "indirection" against polygamy--³⁹

³⁹The missionaries believed that time was on their side--that if allowed to continue uninterrupted, polygamy would die out. That assumed maintenance of approximately the same degree of anti-polygamy pressure by the missionaries and the State. Missionaries were adamantly opposed to any effort to restrain or reverse this general trend as was illustrated by their active participation in Equateur, where Christian villages had been destroyed, (see p.276) in founding "Le Foyer Monogamique" society designed as a native club to protect monogamous marriages. The society was also to gain further privileges for the Congolese such as loans for dowries, equal employment rights including deserved appointments to chieftancies for monogamous candidates, a savings and loan institution, assistance in procurement of

convinced that as the Belgians transformed the economy polygamy would gradually be displaced.⁴⁰ As far as the missionaries and the State were concerned, they felt that their approach was not only compassionate but just since it had the endorsement of the Belgian Parliament as contained in the Fifth Article of the Colonial Charter which favored "the expansion of individual liberty, the progressive abandonment of polygamy, and the development of property." In addition to refusing to allow certain categories of its employees to practice polygamy, the State's major action against polygamy was in the tax structure.⁴¹

With the abolition of domestic slavery and the colonial contempt for polygamy, the chiefs were deprived of important elements of both their traditional prestige

agricultural and occupational materials, etc. "Le Foyer Monogamique," Congo (3rd year, Vol. I, No. 2, Feb. 1922), pp. 244-251.

⁴⁰"La polygamie au Congo," Congo (5th Year, Vol. I, No. 2, Feb. 1924), p. 232.

⁴¹For example, the tax instruction for 1915, characteristically exempted: (1) those who had served as recognized chiefs or sub-chiefs for three months; (2) those who had served three months in the Force Publique; (3) those with over four children living monogamously; (4) those who had been sick for six months in the year; and (5) those who had paid another personal tax. Decree of 17 July 1914 on Native Tax, in the Bulletin Administratif et Commercial (4th Year, No. 3, February 10, 1915), p. 106. Also contained on p. 104 was provision of a supplemental tax for polygamous taxpayers.

and wealth. Thus the government reported in 1914 that "Certain of our chiefs, . . . in order to sustain their rank and preserve their influence, are becoming traders."⁴² And in 1916 it was recognized that "the disappearance, slowly but surely, of domestic slavery and of polygamy is provoking the impoverishment of the chiefs and is ruining their influence."⁴³

b. The Position of the Chiefs

Coming at a time of especially acute shortage of European personnel, the perceived threat to the power of the chieftains impelled the colonial government to try to take some initial remedial action. The Commission for the Protection of Natives had indicated that the only measure which would give authority to the chiefs was to educate them.⁴⁴ Since it appeared impossible to undertake any program for educating the chiefs per se at the time, the

⁴² Congo Belge, 1917 rapport annuel (Brussels: Imprimerie Vromant & Co., 1919), p. 13.

⁴³ Congo Belge, Rapport d'ensemble annuel, 1916 (London: l'Imprimerie Belge, 1918), p. 6. The report continued, "The customary communities are collectivities from which individuals are disappearing. It used to be the collectivity which acquired goods and disposed of them. It was responsible for the acts of each of its members. Its wealth consisted of women and slaves. Our justice, personal tax, the suppression of the slave trade, the battle against polygamy, all are shaking the ancient collectivity and reducing the prestige of the chief."

⁴⁴ Ibid.

alternative course of establishing schools specifically for the sons of chiefs received special attention. The task was one which had to be assumed by the State itself because missionaries, knowing that most chiefly families were polygamous, had found from experience that it was almost impossible to keep sons of these chiefs monogamous and practicing Christians once they returned to their homes. The missionaries were unwilling to assume responsibility for schools which had little chance of promoting Christianity in the Congo. The State was, however, able to employ the services of Catholic teaching orders to staff these as well as other official schools.

By 1915 the State had three schools for the sons of chiefs functioning: one in Lusambo (Kasai), one in Buta (north-central Oriental) and one in Stanleyville (Oriental). The attendance at the schools for sons of chiefs for 1915 and 1918 appears in Table 7.2.

TABLE 7.2
Attendance at Schools for Sons of Chiefs, 1915-1918

	Lusambo	Buta	Stanleyville
1915	38	46	4
1918	19	57	Closed

Source: Congo Belge, Rapport annuel, 1918 (Brussels: Imprimerie A. Lesigne, 1919), pp. 22-23.

In spite of efforts to recruit students for the school at Stanleyville, it was never really well established. Finally

in 1918 the government closed it when of the 14 students who enrolled at the beginning of the year only 8 returned after having spent the vacation between semesters at home. Furthermore, no student had remained at the school longer than two and one-half years.⁴⁵

While attendance at Lusambo had been more encouraging during the four-year period, academic results there were disappointing. In an attempt not to divorce the students from the native environment a village pension system had been arranged so that the students could live in the village near the school and enjoy freedom denied to the other students who lived at the school under the same rules of strict discipline applied to European children. In spite of this exception for the sons of chiefs, educational requirements and supervision were, it was claimed, applied equally to all. In 1916 and 1917, however, the government reported that this experiment had not yet given the results expected.

In Buta, on the other hand, the school appeared to make a solid showing, and it was reported in 1918 that attendance was especially regular and that requests for admission had been numerous. In view of the strength of tribal organization and the power of the chieftains in the northeastern area which the Buta school served, the

⁴⁵Congo Belge, Rapport annuel, 1918 (Brussels: Imprimerie A. Lesigne, 1919), pp. 22-23.

favorable results there were not surprising. Nevertheless, at the end of this period, the State assessed the general effort as follows:

The poor results obtained in the schools for the sons of chiefs is a setback for the Administration. In organizing these courses for the sons of chiefs, the State hoped to prepare them for their future functions by raising their mentality and by giving them the rudiments of a European education. We declare that these sons of chiefs are in general bad students; they are lazy and completely unconcerned with their duties. The accomplished experience appears, unfortunately, to decide in the favor of those who claim that the native chiefs are far from being the better elements in the population.⁴⁶

The State's determination that this educational effort had been a failure had significant results. Not until the end of the colonial period would the State again seriously try to promote special schools dedicated to preparing members of the traditional elite to operate more effectively in the modernizing colonial sector. When the sons of chiefs attended schools, they were usually village schools, and there was relatively little chance, especially given the missionary biases, that the sons of chiefs would be encouraged to go beyond this limited exposure to formal education. Thus, they rarely got to the more advanced schools in which they might have acquired the knowledge and experience which would have placed them on an equal

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 23.

footing with the educated elite.⁴⁷ There were exceptions, e.g., where the sons of chiefs appeared interested in making religion their vocation, where the chiefs wanted their sons in schools and were powerful enough to get them accepted, or where the missionaries thought that the sons might break with traditional practices which the missionaries found offensive (even though the missionaries realized that for the sons of chiefs to make such a break with tradition would probably destroy their chances of being named chieftains), it was possible for the sons of chiefs to secure enrollment in central mission schools. However, it appears that only a small number acquired formal education beyond the rudimentary stage--few profited from attendance at the central mission schools where the new elite was for the most part being formed. In effect it meant that generally the traditional elite would, for a considerable proportion of their dealings with the colonial bureaucracy, rely heavily upon the second generation non-traditional elite, especially the clerks, to serve as spokesmen.⁴⁸

⁴⁷J. de Hemptinne, "La politique indigène du gouvernement belge, Congo (Vol. II, No. 3, October, 1928), p. 372. The Apostolic Prefect of Katanga, de Hemptinne, wrote: ". . . it is appropriate to point out the complete failure of the schools of 'sons of chiefs.' The establishment at Buta is a preemptory demonstration of the inutility of all our efforts in this direction. What would amount to the same thing would be to recruit among the witchdoctors for candidates for the priesthood." If those in the teaching orders shared Mgr. de Hemptinne's views, the failures of these schools would amount to self-fulfilling hypotheses.

⁴⁸Caprassé, op. cit.

While the school for the sons of chiefs at Buta, operated under the Premontres order, remained open until independence, it evidently served largely as a demonstration school. A similar school was established at Nyanza, Ruanda. The way in which the State defined the duties of chieftains, however, makes it appear that schooling, although it might be desirable, was perceived to be of rather marginal practical value:

We ask them in effect to help us to enforce our ordonnances and decrees. Or that they act to raise conscripts, to obtain workers, to collect taxes, force the Blacks to accept injections of serum or vaccine, move villages for hygienic reasons, initiate new agricultural crops, all very useful--the chief is always presenting himself to his subjects with an order or a mission, which is seldom agreeable to the indolent and conservative mind of the Black.⁴⁹

Obviously the colonial administration got a satisfactory level of performance from the chiefs, or else educational changes would have been introduced. The government admitted that "if the European official does not always find the assistance which led him to ask the chief's help, he can generally admit that it is attributable to the chieftain's lack of education and intellectual training rather than to ill will. The remedy is to seek instruction for their eventual successors."⁵⁰ In spite of this,

⁴⁹ Franck, "De la politique indigène," op. cit., p. 285.

⁵⁰ Franck, "Enseignement," op. cit., p. 337. Also see: Congo Belge, Rapport de 1927 sur l'administration de la colonie du Congo Belge, p. 5.

education for the sons of chieftains remained essentially unchanged for the next twenty-five years.

Those previously indicated as favoring indirect rule were convinced that neither the missionaries nor the government had given the case for the preservation of native customs a fair chance. In brief what was being asked for was basically a way to guarantee respect for and protection of native customs most significant to the survival of the Congo's Bantu culture. No agreement was ever reached, however, on what the "significant" customs were which Europeans were willing to accept. A major innovative proposal was that the Congolese participate in determining which customs should be protected. This did not happen. Some of the other more important specific recommendations⁵¹ made were: (1) the government should find a way for slowing down the need for changes in the native culture which resulted from contact with European civilization; (2) polygamy should not only be tolerated, it should also be recognized; (3) European grants to Congolese permitting them to be exempt from native rule should only be accorded with extreme prudence and on an individual basis; and

⁵¹The most complete recommendations on reforms for the protection of native customs appear to have been prepared by Rolin for presentation to the International Colonial Institute in 1921, and published in the Movement Géographique of May 8, 1921. These are quoted in de Jonghe, "A Propos de la politique indigène. Le respect de la coutume," Congo, (2nd Year, Vol. I, No. 5, May, 1921), pp. 760-64.

(4) in principle only cruel customs should be abolished. These proposals were basically unacceptable to the colonial government, for they could have inhibited the colonial administration's freedom of action in labor recruitment, taxation, corvées, etc. For the missionaries, too, they were almost totally unacceptable, especially with regard to polygamy; priests were convinced that "the day monogamy will be assured is the day that civilization will have made a great step."⁵²

C. Recommendations for Educational Reform, 1922-1926

In 1919, when the concern about the disruption of Bantu customs had begun to be widely discussed, the Commission for the Protection of Natives had written in its report, "From a social and moral point of view it is important to guard the native in his traditional habitate in every way possible."⁵³ However, little practical guidance was offered on how this was to be done.

1. Phelps-Stokes Commission

A proposal which satisfied the missionaries and the State, and had at least some elements acceptable to the

⁵²L. Philippart, "L'organisation social dan le bas-congo," Congo (1st Year, Nos. 1 and 2, April-May, 1920), p.65.

⁵³M. O. Lauwers, "Politique et histoire coloniale," Congo (Vol. I, No. 4, April, 1926), p. 596.

reformists, was provided the Congo rather unexpectedly by the Foreign Mission Education Commission. Financed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Commission's report was published in 1922 and given considerable coverage in Belgium. Being relatively impartial, it served at least three important functions: (1) Unintentionally it was a neutral trial balloon in a charged atmosphere where changes were being demanded and considered but where agreement was not being reached even on fundamentals. (2) By pointing out basic weaknesses existing in the education system in the Congo, the Belgian Government, sensitive to international criticism, was compelled, rather willingly, to consider the recommendations. (3) Finally, the report, balanced in its praise, criticism, and recommendations, elicited a constructive response rather than a retort. The basic thrust of the report was that education should be more attuned--or adapted--to the needs of the country. Briefly summarized the Commission recommended that the Colony:

1. Design a system to include both mass education and special education for teachers and for community leaders;
2. Apply and adapt education to the practical needs of the communities;
3. Establish uniform gradations within the school system;
4. Give close and adequate supervision, especially to outstation schools and to the identification and advancement of promising students;
5. Increase female education in both quantity and quality;

6. Supervise and select the languages to be used in the schools; with
 - (a) Tribal languages in the first two or three grades;
 - (b) An indigenous lingua franca through middle school; and
 - (c) French from the fourth or fifth year of secondary.⁵⁴

Clearly, if carefully, the Commission pointed out also that education was not receiving sufficient financial support from the government. With total government expenditures for 1920 at 60,500,000 francs, religion and education were receiving only 1,300,000 francs as compared with some other items such as the army and administration at 8,750,000 francs each.⁵⁵ The educational task remaining was still formidable: "Of the 2,200,000 children of school age, there are less than 200,000 in all types of schools. The primitive and crude character of a very large proportion of these schools is beneath any school test ever conceived by an American or European student of education."⁵⁶

As a general comment for all African countries visited, including the Congo, the Commission reported that

⁵⁴Thomas Jesse Jones (ed., African Educational Commission), Education in Africa, A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), pp. 286-288.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 254. There was added incidentally that 2,500,000 francs were spent for the import of wine and spirits. p. 257.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 258.

school attendance in the primary local day schools was extremely irregular with the hours of instruction limited to "an hour or two in the morning and an hour for a few stragglers in the late afternoon."⁵⁷ The "majority" of teachers in the local day schools "had not had more than the equivalent of 3 or 4 years of schooling. Sometimes they seem to be but little above the standards of the primitive people whose children they are teaching."⁵⁸ This observation in the Congo was further reinforced by a different observer in 1928; ". . . mission schools are primarily devoted to religious instruction and the government schools to filling immediate administrative needs . . . the whole culture and educational level of the native population appears to be as low as anywhere on the continent."⁵⁹

2. Franck Commission

Although the Phelps-Stokes Commission was given "the cordial cooperation of the Belgian Government in the study of the school activities in the colony,"⁶⁰ the Government appointed its own Commission immediately after the Phelps-Stokes report became available. The Belgian commission,

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 44.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹R. L. Buell quoted by J. S. Harris, "Education in the Belgian Congo," The Journal of Negro Education (XV, No. 3, Summer, 1946), p. 422.

⁶⁰Jones, op. cit., p. 288.

appointed on July 10, 1922, chaired by Minister of the Colonies, Franck, was to study and make recommendations for educational reform. After nine sessions, the Commission agreed on the following guidelines for the reform:

1. Education should be adapted to the milieu, (Belgian) programs should not be imposed on the Congo.
2. Teachers should be familiar with the languages, morals, customs and mentality of the natives.
3. Hygiene, agriculture, and workmanship in crafts and arts should have an important place in the programs.
4. The formation of character should be given constant attention. The Black who is under the influence of European civilization loses to a great extent the influence of tribal discipline. He thus needs rules for the new conduct, and he will find them in Christian morals which should be considered first in a curriculum.
5. Of the two national Belgian idioms, only French will be taught in urban centers to natives destined to live in contact with the Europeans. In the villages the vehicular language of the country will be spoken, i.e., Lingala, Kiswahili, Tshiluba or Kikongo.
6. Missions (national) will continue to enjoy the confidence which has historically been accorded them. They will enjoy financial advantages in order to continue the improvement of their schools and to create new ones.
7. Normal schools will be created to assure the training of Black teachers (instituteurs) in sufficient number to serve the native schools under the control of European teachers.
8. The same importance will be placed on female as on male education.⁶¹

⁶¹R. P. Mols, La Formation d'une élite noire par l'enseignement supérieur, Louvain University: Unpublished

The accomplishment of this report in such a short time, and the content of the first four recommendations, clearly indicate the influence of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's report. Franck, moreover, was strongly and favorably influenced in his recommendations by Tuskegee and Hampton Institute.⁶²

The continuation of missionary domination of the educational system, apparent in the recommendations, was subsequently more clearly spelled out: "The policy of collaboration with the missions must be preferred to the extension of official schools. It is, in effect, less expensive and more certain of reaching the native masses even among tribes in the countryside. Moreover, the missionaries are the best scholars of native languages, customs and mentality. They are the only ones capable of fostering in the natives an effective moral discipline, specifically the ethic of the Christian religion." Finally, "the national missions in particular offer an advantage of the first degree: they glow with evangelic lights, (they will make) . . . love of Belgium and Belgian influence . . . (shine) . . . in the most hidden corners of central

thesis, 1947, pp. 2 and 3. J. Mazé, La Collaboration Scolaire des Gouvernements coloniaux et des missions Alger: Maison-Carée, 1933, pp. 99-101.

⁶²Franck, "Enseignement," op. cit., pp. 334-335.

Africa . . . !" ⁶³

The changes recommended in the Franck Commission's report were presented by the Belgian Government to the Catholic Church missionary orders as a convention proposing the terms under which they could be implemented through their joint operation."⁶⁴ During the Church-State contracting process, the actual reforms were prepared, and in 1926 the new structure was inaugurated. To last for twenty years, the convention provided for funds to be directed to the Catholic church to implement the reforms proposed and to increase the number of mission schools.⁶⁵ At the same time provision was made for the inspection and control of education by ordinances dated December 25, 1926, and January 17, 1927. The mission was asked to propose missionary inspectors who would be confirmed by the State and who would be under the authority of provincial inspectors and the inspector general of the government.

⁶³ Mazé, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

⁶⁴ The convention was called the Organization of Free Education with the Cooperation of the National Mission. Unofficially it was the "de Jonghe Convention." While the ratification process started in 1924, it was not completed until 1926. Following its approval by the Belgian Parliament, it was funded in 1928.

⁶⁵ National missions were legally defined as those with headquarters in Belgium and administered by a body of whom two-thirds were Belgians. Protestant mission headquarters were located in the countries sponsoring the respective societies.

D. Manpower and Urbanization

The debates on native policy and educational reform were influenced heavily by the growing economic and social problems which centered on the increasingly acute Congolese manpower shortage and growing urban population. Again, as was pointed out in the previous section, the major reason for the continuing concern over manpower and the concomitant social repercussions (i.e., population imbalance caused by males contracting for work in mines and industries, lowering of birth rates, etc.) was the scarcity of population--the shallowness of the manpower reservoir supplying workers to the rapidly expanding economy. Although there had been an economic slump following annexation, the development of the mining industry, the expansion of the transportation network, and the war boom (1914-1918) provided a level of labor demand which it appeared the Colony could barely meet. Evidence began to accumulate which indicated that the labor practices of government and business would probably result in chronic long term as well as short term manpower shortages.

1. Recruitment and Its Repercussions

As has been indicated, Church and State, in the process of establishing themselves in the Congo, initially sought, as a means of recruiting Congolese, those who were slaves and outcasts. These were often orphans raised as good Christians to serve the State's manpower needs.

Many of them became members of the first generation of elite who had been deliberately settled in separate communities and detribalized.⁶⁶ In spite of Minister Franck's promise in the early 1920's that "our policy in regard to our Black subjects is based on respect for their institutions,"⁶⁷ the continuing effort to make the Congolese into Christians trained to perform many tasks unknown in their traditional environment and rewarding them for their behavioral changes with equally foreign tangibles and intangibles patently refuted the statement.

As the Congo developed, those recruited as laborers began to undergo detribalization in the urbanizing and industrializing settlements, including mining centers, which were receiving and exploiting the workers. However, these evolving communities were not organized, directed and

⁶⁶ A major Catholic innovation for doing this was the ferme-chapelles (agricultural settlements), and for the government it was the separate Force Publique settlements. The Protestants' gathering of Christian communities around their stations was partially intended and partially unintended--once they had recruited the Congolese they needed, it was difficult to prohibit unsolicited growth of these settlements.

⁶⁷ H. Rolin, "Politique indigène," in Max Gottschalk, Le Congo (Brussels: Imprimerie scientifique et litteraire, 1932), p. 101. From the outset this colonial policy had been self-contradicting. The articles in the Colonial Charter against polygamy and domestic slavery needed only to be compared to the "Guidebook for the Use of Civil Servants," which directed colonial administrators to respect native customs and the chiefs' traditional authority, to find the conflict. See de Vos, op. cit., p. 64.

controlled as the first settlements for Congolese recruits had been. In fact, such communities created a serious administrative problem for the colonial government, for only two systems had been established for ruling the Congo's population--direct administration of the Europeans and indirect administration through the chiefs of the native population. Congolese who left the areas of traditional rule were without governmental administration since they were not included under the direct rule applying to Europeans in the non-traditional areas.

By the end of World War I the expansion of urban native communities came to be considered a latent threat to law and order by Europeans. A temporary economic slump hit the Congo as its currency devalued in the process of returning to Belgian franc support from its war-time linkages to Sterling. The urban native agglomerates suffered sharply from the drop in employment, and the concern of administrators, in part self-interest and in part humanitarian, led some to propose the forced annexation of all native settlements to chiefdoms. Claiming to be enforcing a new native policy to respect indigenous customs as they applied to the integration of settlements without chieftains, administrative officials permitted the destruction of six Catholic chapels and twenty Catholic hamlets in Equateur. In addition, " . . . a great number of catechists and Christians, men and women,

were mistreated and imprisoned; Christian groups were dispersed on the grounds that the Administration had authorized it; and thus in several months the work of long years of effort was destroyed."⁶⁸

These incidents finally propelled the missionaries and government officials into examining the issues systematically. It was unanimously agreed that there was opposition to the type of urban native communities described as existing at Leopoldville and Elisabethville:

. . . there are vast agglomerations of Blacks coming from everywhere: there are former soldiers, former workers, domestic slaves who have freed themselves by fleeing from the chiefdoms, boys (domestic servants) who have been discharged or whose employer has returned to Europe, Blacks who come under the pretext of seeking an occupation and working little or not at all; vagabonds, prostitutes, etc."⁶⁹

The missionaries attacked such settlements as uncontrolled areas of sin and vice where the Congolese were being corrupted by the worst European influences.⁷⁰

⁶⁸S. de Vos, "La Politique indigène et les missions Catholiques," Congo (December, 1923), p. 635. As the Church officials made plain in a meeting at Stanleyville two years later, they were still furious that the "illegal directives which provoked the grave abuses had not been withdrawn."

⁶⁹-----, "De la légalité des village chrétiens," Congo (3rd Year, Vol. II, No. 4, November, 1922), p. 523.

⁷⁰Dan Crawford, Thinking Black, *op. cit.*, reviews in detail first the "urbanization" at Msiri's capital at Bunkeya, and then the impact of the growing mining and transportation centers under the Belgian administration. He found the influences of urbanization in both instances almost equally corrupting on the Africans. The Belgian urbanization was worse only because it was more pervasive.

For the administration these were not only islands of anarchy, uncontrolled and untaxed, but they were also concentrations of wasted or very underemployed manpower in an economy desperately short of it. And for the reformers these were settlements to be eliminated, for they forecast the destruction of Congolese culture as well as of thousands of Congolese. However, neither the missionaries nor the State was willing to confuse the situation in major population centers with that in other non-tribally controlled areas. The Church wanted it made very clear that the situation in the major cities differed from that prevailing in Christian villages, such as those destroyed in Equateur. To differentiate between the major non-tribal agglomerations four categories were enumerated:

- (1) The villages or camps of workers and soldiers. At least theoretically a special administrative discipline had been established for them under Belgian direction. While the hygienic, moral and physical state of these entities varied, they were governed at least in a formal sense.
- (2) The urbanizing agglomerations forming particularly at terminals of navigation, rails or roads, i.e., Leopoldville, Kambove, Matadi, etc. These seemed to exist in a state of virtual anarchy.
- (3) Approved villages previously created at the initiative

of the CIS near some of the large population centers. They were inhabited by former soldiers who were either asked to settle there or chose not to return to their chiefdoms. The effectiveness of these villages' governments varied, but all were reported to have extremely low birth rates which concerned the government. Isolation from their areas of origin made it difficult for the ex-soldiers to obtain wives, although prostitutes were available.

- (4) Christian villages established around the missions and under their surveillance.⁷¹

Church-State officials clearly felt that the urbanizing centers, Category 2 above, were their major problem. Because the other three categories were located generally in rural areas, it was easier to assume that those Congolese were not really detribalized. Moreover, since they were under some form of rule, they did not demand immediate attention. For all categories there was a general concern expressed over the charge that lower birthrates prevailed in non-tribal areas. However, the Church insisted that once the population was completely resettled in viable monogamous communities the birthrate exceeded that found

⁷¹E. de Jonghe, "A propos de la politique indigène," Congo (2nd Year, Vol. I, No. 5, May, 1921), pp. 764-65. These villages, such as those in Equateur, were administered by missionaries and their appointed or elected headmen.

in most tribal areas.⁷² The Church emphasized this point by " . . . citing the impressive fact . . . with names . . . of chiefs having 70 to 100 wives and a total of 5, 3, or even 1 child." In the Apostolic Vicarate of the Haut-Congo the average birth rate in monogamous families went from " . . . 2 children for 3 households in 1916 to 5 children for 6 households in 1918."⁷³

It is evident from the types of non-tribal agglomerations and the history of their formation that deliberate recruitment by the Europeans had created and continued to sustain these centers. Furthermore, Congolese even at this time, despite the concern expressed by the State, missionaries and reformers, were still not being attracted by urban magnetism to the extent which, following the Second World War, became so powerful.⁷⁴

⁷²A. Brou, Les jésuites missionnaires au XIX siècle (Brussels: De Wit, 1912 ?), "These sizable families were explained by policies such as the Jesuits': They wanted " . . . to show the infidels what a family established on Evangelic principles was like." " . . . for reasons of highest morality, (the Jesuits) understood it was necessary to marry the students early, and they forced them by all means to make an early marriage contract which also pushed them to work." The girls, if there were not enough in the mission schools, were bought by the missionaries from the neighboring villages for the boys. pp. 1145-1146. The birth rate in Christian settlements was high.

⁷³-----, "Notre politique sociale au Congo," Congo (5th Year, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1924), p. 83.

⁷⁴Congo Belge, Rapport annuel, 1917, op. cit., p. 70. "The difficulty of recruiting industrial workers proves in general the repugnance of the native to absent himself from

The Congolese who first settled in urban areas were employed by Europeans requiring limited numbers of workers. As big urban enterprises developed, their managers, in accordance with government labor regulations, became accustomed to negotiating through chieftains for large numbers of laborers.⁷⁵ Neither the growing government administration nor big business was prepared to deal directly with the new Congolese urban population which had no chief serving as a legally constituted bargaining intermediary required by the government to follow a contract format designed to assure basic rights, privileges and working conditions for the workers. However, there were growing numbers of those who, once recruited from villages, wanted to continue to work in the non-traditional milieu. Many of them, thanks to their training and experience, possessed skills that were in demand, and when given the opportunity they could command an attractive

his village for a long enough period (in view of the State's labor needs) and oblige himself to fatiguing and regular labor in the workshops."

⁷⁵R. Mouchet and R. van Nitsen, Le main-d'oeuvre indigène au Congo Belge, les problèmes qu'elle évoque (Brussels: Imprimerie des Travaux Publics, 1940), pp. 1-2. "Recruitment is made through the intermediary of European agents who go from chiefdom to chiefdom, propagandizing, promising, and persuading, trying to get fit men to enlist in the enterprises which the agents represent. The recruitment by the intermediary of Black foremen is not advised; these recruiters slip easily into abuses of all types." The chief was the key figure in implementing these recruitment drives.

salary on the labor market.⁷⁶ For Congolese so integrated into the colonial sector, if they were given adequate employment opportunities, there was little likelihood they would ever return to traditional occupational alternatives for their livelihood. They were, generally speaking, over-qualified for or "trained out of" the traditional sector.

After having initiated and enforced meaningful regulations for limiting and controlling recruitment and channelling it through the chieftains, the State now had to find some alternative means for tapping the potential labor supplies in areas outside of tribal rule. Very often Congolese located in urbanizing areas who would be most valuable in terms of skills and training were also those most likely to be classified as detribalized. The Belgians therefore faced the dilemma of consecrating this status if they endorsed, aided or abetted their continued separation from the traditional sector and rule. However, there was also a growing recognition that while Congolese among the detribalized who were following European models would probably be least likely to return to a traditional Congolese life-style, the same was probably almost as true for the depaysés or any other categories which might be identified in the process of adjusting to the non-traditional

⁷⁶Guy Baumer, *op. cit.*, p. 17, referred to those whose training and education had prepared them to do well in these cities as "bourgeoisie indigène" -- the trained artisans, qualified workers (civil servants), and small traders.

sector.

Contact with the Whites constitutes for the primitive native a strong moral shock. It is only after two or three years that he submits himself to European discipline. But if, at the end of that time, he returns to his village, he has become uprooted, one who accepts with difficulty the authority of the chief. We have seen soldiers, porters, retired workers, who, rather than re-enter their homes, create villages of 'licencies' (retired) . . . under the authority of a former NCO or a former foreman and they refused to submit to the authority of the native chief of the territory where they were located, even if they originally were from that area.⁷⁷

The State, even if it attempted to "repatriate" these Congolese, might "re-ruralize" them without reintegrating them into traditional life.

Under these circumstances and given the growing pressures from the traditional chiefs, the missionaries, commercial enterprises, and colonial scholars and reformers, the State moved to address the problem of native urban agglomerates. The Belgian innovation for handling this situation was the Centre Extra-Coutumier--the center outside of tribal control.

2. The Centre Extra-Coutumier (CEC)

Politically the possibility of reintegrating the urban native populations into chiefdoms came to be viewed increasingly as both undesirable and impossible. Not only would it be extremely difficult to impose what would amount to foreign tribal rule on many, but the chieftains expressed

⁷⁷Mouchet and van Nitsen, op. cit., p. 185.

little interest in trying to absorb and control these people. While the chiefs thought that urbanizing Congolese were a disturbing element in the non-traditional areas, they were much more disturbing when, as returnees, these people were forcefully incorporated into the chiefdoms.

As the debate continued on whether "repatriation" of urban settlers would promote political stability or not, those concerned with economic questions became increasingly convinced that reintegration into the villages of urban Congolese would mitigate against the Colony's development.⁷⁸ That acclimated urban population, trained to sustained work, was considered by many " . . . the most progressive, the most productive in the native world."⁷⁹ Increasingly stabilization of worker populations became the new policy. Government regulated work contracts were extended from 6 months to a year in the 1920's and then to three years. " . . . (T)he complexity of problems related to recruitment, transportation, medical treatment and 'acclimatization' prior to getting laborers to work . . . were expensive and difficult . . . The companies found that as the labor shortage became more severe and

⁷⁸Baumer, *op. cit.*, p. 54. "It is not in our interests to dispense a labor force which we have painfully accustomed to regular work."

⁷⁹H. Labouret, "Le salariat aux colonies" Revue de politique étrangère, (1937, No. 3), p. 67.

employment prospects more unattractive so proportionately did efforts to obtain higher productivity from the workers (become increasingly difficult)."⁸⁰

The short term employment policy was equally difficult and inconvenient for the Congolese. The stabilization of labor meant placing the workers and their families in conditions where their salaries and comforts would be such that the workers would be satisfied with their lives and would not desire to return to their villages of origin at the end of their contracts but would sign on for another three years.⁸¹

Ideally a stabilized labor community would perpetuate itself through normal reproduction so that the difficult problems of recruitment and disruption of the villages would be solved. Eventually it would no longer be necessary to maintain the level of the non-traditionally ruled Congolese population through village recruitments. The children from these families would be educated, acclimated, and ready to occupy the positions which the companies, government and urban community required.⁸²

⁸⁰ Mouchet and van Nitsen, op. cit., pp. 174-75.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 175-178. By 1940 many companies were getting a worker re-establishment rate of 80 to 95%.

⁸² Ibid., p. 182.

Thus, with the decree of November 23, 1931, the Belgian administration created the Centres Extra-Coutumiers (CEC) which were essentially an extension of colonial indirect rule to the cities.⁸³ A CEC council was to be created including members from different ethnic groups, and one of them with considerable administrative ability would become "chief" and would assume a large part of the administrative responsibility. Legally the CEC meant little, for there was a clause in the decree which permitted it to be "suspended" by the provincial governors. This unfortunately was often done which then placed the CEC's under direct European administration and deprived Congolese of the modicum of participation in self-government which they might have acquired under the CEC system.⁸⁴ Almost ten years later, just prior to World War II, 24 CEC's had been created involving 100,000 Congolese. These functioning centers were mostly in the smaller towns.⁸⁵

⁸³Hailey, op. cit., p. 222, wrote that it was "one of the most original initiatives of the Belgian administration." It did fill a crucial administrative gap.

⁸⁴F. Grévisse, Le Centre Extra-Coutumier d'Elisabethville (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer (ARSOM), Vol. 21, 1951, pp. 39-41. Grévisse, a former district commissioner in Elisabethville, thought the CEC system had been almost a complete failure as a means for initiating Africans to self-administration.

⁸⁵Baumer, op. cit., p. 65.

After the war,

. . . the creation of CEC's virtually came to an end. Paternalism again produced its inevitable vicious circle; capable chiefs could not be found to fill even the limited functions provided under this legislation, yet paternalism itself stood squarely in the way of the acquisition of the necessary political experience to become capable . . . the habits of unilateral action became embedded all the deeper in the political style of the colonial structure.⁸⁶

Practically, however, the decree legitimized government for the growing number of urban Africans who were permanent residents in the cities. Even if Congolese participation in urban indirect rule was not widely implemented, the government then at least had to assume the responsibility for these native areas so they ceased being pockets of anarchy and abuse. By direct or indirect rule the government assumed responsibility for addressing the problems of high death rates, low birth rates, prostitution, venereal diseases, and the almost complete disappearance of family life among the Africans in the cities. The new policy was to stabilize Congolese families in these areas.⁸⁷ The degree to which this was achieved

⁸⁶Young, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁸⁷G. Van Der Kerken, La Politique Coloniale Belge (Antwerp: V. Van Dieren & Co., Editions Zaire, 1943), p. 97, noted that by 1938 when there were 310,294 laborers working at a small or great distance from their homes, there were also 140,176 women and 122,794 children accompanying them as well. An additional 218,233 Congolese workers were "working in place" in their native milieu where family transfer was not a problem.

was indicated by the fact that during the depression those who left the cities to return to the rural areas were for the most part those who had been without families in the cities.⁸⁸

Part 2 - Education and the Formation
of the Second Generation Elite

E. Education for the Second Generation Elites

The educational reforms recommended in 1922 and enacted in 1924-26 advanced the level of education in rural areas but continued the emphasis on programs of basic literacy with strong, practical, agriculturally-oriented terminal training to encourage Congolese farmers to increase production so as to produce surpluses and/or specified cash crops. Concomitantly the schools were to provide a small well-trained group, a few of whom might come from rural areas, of artisans, teachers, and low-level administrative personnel primarily for the government.⁸⁹ With the emphasis

⁸⁸ Mouchet and van Nitson, *op. cit.*, p. 183. The drop in the population of the CEC in Leopoldville was significant: 1929--47,000; 1930--39,460; 1931--35,568; 1932--28,806; 1933--27,094; 1934--26,012; 1935--26,622; 1936--27,258. The population began to increase gradually from 1935 onward. Meanwhile, from 1932 the rate of population growth increased rapidly.

⁸⁹ Mols, *op. cit.*, p. 2. This level of employment was referred to often as "seconde zone," which, as it implies, was limited to the assistant or auxiliary jobs. The more advanced "first zone" positions were reserved for Europeans, and Congolese weren't trained to qualify for them.

shifting to stabilization of the non-traditional labor force, appropriate training in most non-agricultural skills was increasingly in the cities. The goal for the non-traditional sector was higher productivity through mechanization and training which meant that the requisite schooling and training were to become increasingly mechanized and expensive. Basically the formal education system was to assist in providing a constructive approach to the problem of chronic manpower shortage in business and government.

1. Educational System from 1926-1929

With the government's decision to subsidize the national mission schools, the program and organization of official and subsidized education was established jointly by the Church and the State. The schools were structured to provide the following programs: Primary schools, which were divided into first and second level categories, and special schools, which were to provide secondary school occupationally oriented training.

Primary schools of the first level (écoles primaires du premier degré) were established throughout the country-- in urban centers, at mission stations, but mostly in villages in the bush. Because of this they were, unfortunately, often designated as "rural schools." This insinuated that mass literacy training was to be considered rural, or

interior, while the more advanced educational programs were "urban." The rural schools were " . . . to limit themselves to a simple thinning. Their importance (was) nevertheless great because they constitute(d) the most advanced outposts of civilization."⁹⁰ The two year curriculum stressed agricultural training and literacy.

The primary schools of the second level (écoles primaires du second degré), located in principle population centers and at mission stations in the interior, were, in contrast to the rural schools, called "urban schools." They were to be under European direction and would accept into their three year program the best students from the first level schools. While the curriculum was to be more academically oriented, manual training was also included.

The special schools (écoles spéciales pour la formation de l'élite), which would accept the outstanding graduates of the urban schools, had three types of occupationally oriented training programs: (1) normal schools (écoles normales) to provide teachers; (2) clerk-candidate schools (écoles moyennes) initially largely to furnish employees for the colonial government, private businesses, and tribal services, but later used to provide general secondary training for others as well, such as

⁹⁰De Jonghe, "Rapport au congrès de l'I. C. T." (Paris: May, 1931), quoted by Mazé, op. cit., p. 106.

nurses, medical assistants, etc; and (3) other professional schools (écoles professionnelles) for vocational training. Basically, as will be noted in more detail, the second generation "elite were the skilled workmen, the conscientious civil servants, and the teachers . . ." who graduated from these "special schools for the training of the elite."⁹¹

The school system to implement this program was organized into three different systems based primarily on their funding:

a. The Official (or Government) Schools

From 1910 the Colonial Government began to found new official schools in major urban centers which were funded from the colonial budget.⁹² However, the teachers continued to be provided by Catholic teaching orders: the Christian Schools Brothers served in Boma (1910) and Leopoldville (1910); the Brothers of Charity of Gand at Lusambo (1911) and Kabinda (1912); the Marist Brothers at Stanleyville (1911) and Buta (1913), and the Salesian Fathers at Elisabethville (1911).⁹³ By 1920 there were nine

⁹¹Mols, op. cit., p. 3.

⁹²These schools, outgrowths of those originally established in 1906 (Leopoldville and Stanleyville) and 1908 (Boma) as professional schools, had been reorganized following annexation.

⁹³Congo Belge, Rapport annuel, 1917, op. cit., pp. 16-17. All were boarding schools except for one school at Boma. The professional schools created in 1926-29 were preceded by secondary level schools improvised during the First World War.

official schools with 1,861 students.

b. Subsidized Schools

These were the national (Catholic) mission schools. Because of the subsidy they received, they followed a program determined by the government and they submitted to official inspection. From 75 to 80% of the schools in the Congo fell within this category.⁹⁴

c. Non-subsidized Schools

While a residual into which all other schools were placed, the most important components in this group were the Protestant schools and all schools for religious training, both Catholic and Protestant.

Minor educational reforms in 1929 reconfirmed the policies contained in the reforms of 1926. The alteration made in 1929 did not change the program. It remained first level primary (2 years), second level primary (3 years), and vocational training in the special schools (3 or 4 years). It was stressed that those primary schools

⁹⁴ Officially approved programs were outlined for the subsidized and official schools. For the subsidized schools they appeared in Congo Belge, Organisation de l'enseignement libre au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi, avec le concours des sociétés de missions nationales (Dison-Verviers: Imprimerie disonaise, 1920); and for the official schools in Congo Belge, Inspection générale de l'enseignement instructions pour les inspecteurs provinciaux relatives aux programmes à suivre dan les différentes écoles et à leur interprétation (Boma: Imprimerie du Congo Belge, n.d.), pp. 29-36.

subject to government control (the official and subsidized schools), were to develop "moral qualities, an aptitude for work, and a habit of continuous effort."⁹⁵ The lower primary schools were increasingly developing either a rural or urban character. In the rural areas the orientation was " . . . to train children for regular work in agriculture and local crafts . . . (since) a somewhat advanced literary education would be of little use to them."⁹⁶ In the population centers, on the other hand, the schools were to train " . . . for work and sustained efforts," as well, but " . . . a greater place was to be given to academic education in order to prepare pupils for more advanced studies."⁹⁷

In the official primary system, however, the program was consolidated into one unit of 6 years followed by training for a maximum of 4 years in the special schools. The change made the official primary schools even more elite oriented while the secondary schools were upgraded. Franck in 1930 stated the government's policy as follows:

Not only does our native policy intend to base itself on the respect of the (native) customs and institutions which it hallows, but we are trying to associate the greatest number of clerks and Black employees with our administration and with the activity of our

⁹⁵Congo Belge, Organization de l'enseignement libre au Congo Belge. English translation from George, op. cit., p. 6.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid.

industry and our commerce. In line with this idea, we are far from having done enough; good will is not lacking; what has caused the failure is the lack of natives sufficiently instructed. But we will watch carefully to increase their number. All people love to be administered by those of their own race; if the native will not for a long time yet be capable of filling superior colonial functions, he can as clerk-typist, office assistant, teacher, render enormous services in the administration of his country and of his countrymen; it is the best means of associating them and of convincing them of the nobleness and generosity of our native policy.⁹⁸

2. Modifications of the 1938 Educational Reform

Nearly a decade later some further revisions were made in the educational system which again reinforced the earlier emphases. First level primary education, basically rural, was to be considered as serving the educational needs of the masses.⁹⁹ Second level primary education was determined to be a means of identifying and preparing students for the secondary vocational schools. The attraction of superior (post-secondary) education outside of the priesthood was foreshadowed by the extension of

⁹⁸ Franck, "De la politique indigène," Congo, op. cit., pp. 295-296.

⁹⁹ L. Franck, "Etudes de colonisation comparée," Bibliothèque-Congo (Bruxelles: Goemaere, Imprimeur du Roi, Vol. I, No. 2), p. 121. ". . . these small village schools of the missions render serious services, and except in the European and industrial centers, it does not appear that in the present state of economic and social development in the colony, except for certain improvements and more coordination, it would be useful or possible to do more for the general state of the native children in the interior."

secondary schools such as the Astrida Institute in Ruanda-Urundi.¹⁰⁰ The 1938 recommendations also insisted on adaptation of education to the " . . . social and economic milieu of the native," and the program stressed inclusion especially of " . . . agricultural and practical education in manual skills and forestry" at the secondary level.¹⁰¹

With the 1938 reform, the écoles moyennes were to correspond quite closely to those in Belgium and form "the Black elite in the Congo."¹⁰² The educational content was criticized by many colonials as being too theoretical and not practical enough. It was, however, still oriented toward developing the "seconde zone" non-European level Congolese for government and industry, especially in keeping with the policy Franck had outlined in 1930.

The reform objectives promised an extension in secondary school studies; attempted to make education for girls more suited to their needs; and reaffirmed that, according to the region, one of the four major Congolese

¹⁰⁰J. Van Hove, L'oeuvre d'éducation au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi (Brussels: Editions Bieleveld, 1953), p. 754. The Institute Astrida was created by a convention between the government and the Brothers of Charity in 1929 which became effective in January 1932.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²F. Melage, Les écoles du Congo Belge, (Mange, 1937), quoted in Mols, op. cit., p. 5.

languages should be used as the language of instruction in the schools. French, however, was to be used at the upper primary grades and beyond. World War II interfered with the implementation of these revisions. What actually happened was that some of the subsidized schools had, by the end of the war, followed the official school pattern by establishing a sixth year in primary schools ("sixth preparatory") and some additional four year vocational secondary schools.

Thus the inter-war period was one of steady upgrading of the urban schools, first by the government in the official schools, and then increasingly by the national missions in the subsidized schools. Rural schools remained agricultural in orientation, even at the secondary special school level, except for a few industrial schools and, of course, for religious vocational preparation programs located at a mission station.¹⁰³ As Table 7.3 indicates, even though the subsidized schools were given the options of operating about the same kinds of vocational schools as the government, they did, during the first ten years, not increase their écoles moyennes or professionnelles

¹⁰³L. Franck, "Quelques aspects de notre politique indigène au Congo," Bibliothèque-Congo (Brussels: Goemaere, Imprimeur du Roi, Vol. I, No. 12,) p. 120. A combination of lack of access to sufficient industrial training courses and a desire to go to the urbanizing areas meant that: "Many artisans are going to the large centers, often before having finished their technical instruction."

TABLE 7.3

Achievements in Education Prior to January 1, 1948
in the Belgian Congo

	1-1-30	1-1-40	1-1-45	1-1-48
ECOLES OFFICIELLES. (Official Schools)				
1. Number of Schools:				
Primary	9	7	6	5
Middle (<i>Moyennes</i>)	4	4	3	4
Professional	5	4	3	3
TOTAL:	18	15	12	12
2. Number of Students:				
Primary	2,968	3,624	3,624	3,464
Middle (<i>Moyennes</i>)	72	282	257	313
Professional	576	282	278	355
TOTAL:	3,616	4,188	4,159	4,132
3. Diplomas from Secondary Programs	143	102	96	89
ECOLES SUBSIDIEES. (Subsidized Schools)				
1. Number of Schools:				
Primary 1st degree	2,532	4,446	5,020	6,966
Primary 2nd degree	163	650	839	983
Primary 6th year	--	--	44	52
Normal	16	34	37	39
Middle (<i>Moyennes</i>)	2	6	11	12
Professional	5	3	8	8
Home Economics	4	17	26	28
TOTAL:	2,722	5,156	5,985	8,088
2. Number of Students:				
Primary 1st degree	119,563	195,401	243,918	320,591
Primary 2nd degree	8,162	47,980	65,840	84,311
Primary 6th year	--	--	1,630	1,750
Normal	891	2,038	2,154	2,471
Middle (<i>Moyennes</i>)	49	331	624	959
Professional	133	181	366	504
Home Economics	183	473	728	824
TOTAL:	128,981	246,404	315,260	411,410
3. Diplomas from the normal, middle, and professional	175	503	549	726
Diplomas from secondary programs, official & subsidized	318	605	645	815
TOTAL:	493	1,108	1,194	1,541
ECOLES LIBRES. (Free Schools)				
1. Number of Schools:				
Primary	--	17,910	19,193	19,072
Secondary	--	87	66	58
TOTAL:	--	17,997	19,259	19,130
2. Number of Students:				
Primary	--	463,950	483,253	513,049
Secondary	--	2,192	1,805	1,925
TOTAL:	--	466,142	485,058	514,974
TOTAUX GENERAUX. (Grand Total)				
1. Number of Schools:				
Primary	--	23,013	25,302	27,078
Secondary	--	155	154	152
TOTAL:	--	23,168	25,456	27,230
2. Number of Students:				
Primary	--	710,955	798,265	925,165
Secondary	--	5,779	6,212	7,351
TOTAL:	--	716,734	804,477	930,516
Number of Teaching Personnel:				
	Europeans		Natives	
	1-1-39	1-1-48	1-1-39	1-1-48
<i>Ecoles officielles</i> (Official Schools)	43	48	87	89
<i>Enseignement subsidie</i> (Subsidized Schools)	961	968	5,977	13,369
<i>Enseignement libre</i> (Free Schools)	546	650	20,825	23,326
TOTAL:	1,550	1,666	26,889	36,784

as rapidly as might have been expected. Both of these secondary school programs did increase more rapidly during the Second World War, but the professional schools did so only after they had experienced an earlier decrease in numbers.

In the establishment of rural agricultural and industrial schools the Protestants tended to concentrate more on industrial types of training¹⁰⁴ while the Catholics engaged heavily in agriculture.¹⁰⁵ The Protestant rationale for an industrial orientation in education was that there would be an increasing demand for it:

To meet this need, or rather the desire of the Europeans, the natives need a still higher industrial training. Clerks, foremen, masons, carpenters, mechanics, engineers, etc., are needed. These will get good positions, good salaries, and have great influence among their own people. Their day is coming. The only question is whether we should be

¹⁰⁴ Franck, "Enseignement," Congo, Vol. I, op. cit., Franck pointed out that "technical and vocational education" dominated in the Protestant secondary schools (p. 337), and Governor Engels announced to a Protestant Conference "Great are the services rendered to the State, in commerce and industry, by your missions; it is with just cause that you deserve the title of having formed good artisans and good clerks" Quoted by Rev. Henri Anet, "Les missions protestantes au ongo," Congo, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 222.

¹⁰⁵ L. Franck, "Les missions chrétiennes," in Congo, Vol I, op. cit., pp. 315-316, summed this up: "Agriculture is the honored speciality with the Catholics. Medicine, on the contrary, enjoys the preference of the Protestants. Schools for technical education occupy a large place in the activities of missions of both confessions . . . it is said that the Catholics prefer to keep theirs (who are trained in industrial skills) to serve as catechists or instructors."

satisfied in seeing all these places occupied by Catholics, Mohammedans and heathens. That will be the result if we give our people an industrial training only fitted to meet the need of the native community. Our men will be found in the big centres as second and third class craftsmen and simple workers only, with low salary and with a very limited influence in the native community . . . And to carry on Christian work among those higher classes of natives will not in that case be easy.¹⁰⁶

The Protestant missionaries, coming from the most advanced industrial countries, were also in a position to get support from their sponsors for such training.

The Catholic missionaries were convinced that the key to the development of African human resources, to making it possible for them to afford civilized-Christian life styles, was agriculture. This conviction had been expressed by the Jesuits in the 1890's, and they concentrated a large part of their initial conversion strategy on the concept of the ferme-chapelle, farm-chapel, combining evangelism with agricultural development.¹⁰⁷

The agreements negotiated with the CIS and the Belgian Government provided the Church with all the land required to develop extensive agricultural missions which, as noted earlier, contributed financially to the propagation of the faith while providing a training facility for the Congolese.

¹⁰⁶ Rev. John Petersson, "Message of the Leopoldville Conference," op. cit., p. 42.

¹⁰⁷ Ivan de Pierpont, "Kwango" Au Congo et aux Indes, les jésuites belge aux missions (Bruxelles, Imprimerie scientifique, 1906), pp. 99-124.

At these stations increasingly advanced agricultural schools evolved which were to provide teachers for the primary school system and for the first Congolese agricultural extension workers. Many of those graduating from the special secondary level agricultural schools went into teaching and were then classified as teachers rather than agriculturalists.

F. The Second Generation Elite

During the period of the growth and development of the second generation elite, the term which came to be increasingly applied to them as a group, but never officially defined, was évolué. The question posed regarding this group was "evolution toward what?"¹⁰⁸ The colonial government never really tried to answer that question until the concept of the Belgo-Congolese Community, which will be discussed later, was developed in the 1950's. For the emerging second generation elite the only answer to the question was in fact evolution toward the schools and perhaps the cities.

¹⁰⁸ Wolter, "Petite contribution aux problèmes de l'évolution indigène," Revue coloniale belge, (Brussels: No. 50, November, 1947), p. 643. Wolter added, "If the European colonial should constitute the prototype toward which the native in evolution will be led, the success of our efforts appears problematical."

1. Clerks

The preparation of the most powerful of the non-religious elite, the clerical personnel, had actually started, as previously mentioned, when the government school in Boma was founded to satisfy a critical need for clerks. Subsequently war-time requirements and the difficulty in recruiting sufficient Europeans to satisfy the administration's needs during the 1920's led to the colonial government's willingness to assume responsibility for these schools.

While the new écoles moyennes provided other training as well, the training for clerks was initially their key function in the official school system. By 1930 the government had established four schools for clerks with a total enrollment of 72 pupils which grew to 282 in 1940.¹⁰⁹ Slowly the Catholic missionaries expanded their écoles moyennes from two in 1930 to six in 1940 with enrollments respectively at 49 and 331. However, as late as 1933, it was reported that they had not yet established a complete (full four year) clerical training program. Certainly the equipment for such courses was expensive, and teachers were more difficult to find. De Jonghe, however, claimed that the real reason why the mission schools were reluctant to develop these courses in spite of student demand was that: "Where there exists a section for clerical candidates,

¹⁰⁹ Vanhove, op. cit., pp. 753-766.

the teaching (normal) section and the other vocational sections risk being deserted. By instinct, the Blacks are attracted to the clerical candidate section which puts them in a better position to learn French and to give themselves all the appearances of being civilized (parvenu) at the level of the White."¹¹⁰

This portion of the second generation elite, which has been referred to as an "administrative bourgeoisie,"¹¹¹ was deliberately trained for service in the bureaucratic portion of the colonial society and was thus necessarily dependent upon the government and the large corporations, mostly parastatal, for employment. An examination of the employment of those who constituted the first cabinet in the independent Congo illustrates the importance acquired by this occupational category. (See Table 7.4).

The first children to receive clerical training, it will be recalled, were those enfants recueillis, identified as orphans or slaves, who were gathered by the State and placed under the supervision of Catholic teaching orders. The children of these first clerks were raised

¹¹⁰De Jonghe quoted in Mazé, op. cit., p. 112. This desire for the clerical option was often judged to result from inherent vanity in the Blacks. Mazé made the point, "Black vanity it may be, if one wishes to call it so, but the Whites are Blacks on this point and also prefer the leather cushioned chair of the employees to the plow and the plane."

¹¹¹George Balandier, Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1955), p. 123.

TABLE 7.4

Occupations of the First Congolese Government

Name	Employed By and As			Portfolio
	State	Company	Other	
Lumumba	clerk	salesman		Prime Minister & National Defense
Gizenga			teacher	Vice-Prime Minister
Bomboko ^a	clerk		research asst. Institut Solvay	Foreign Affairs
Bisukiro	clerk			Foreign Commerce
Delvaux		clerk		Resident in Belgium
Th. Kanza ^a			teacher; intern- ship, Common Market	Delegate to U. N.
Mwamba	clerk			Justice
Gbenye	clerk			Interior
Nkayi	clerk			Finances
Yav	clerk			Economic Affairs
Ilunga		clerk		Public Works
Songolo	clerk			Communications
Lutula	clerk			Agriculture
Masena	med.asst.			Labor
Mbuyi	clerk			Middle Class
Kamanga	med.asst.			Public Health
Rudahindwa	clerk		teacher	Mines
Mahamba	judge/clerk		planter	Land
Ngwenze		clerk		Social Affairs
Mulele	clerk			Educ. & Fine Arts
Kashamura		clerk	journalist	Info. & Cultural Affrs.
Mpolo	clerk			Youth & Sports
Kabangi	clerk			Economic Coordination & Planning

^aUniversity graduates.

Note: Only the major occupation has been listed in most cases, although several individuals have moved back and forth between the private and public sectors. It should be noted that the term "clerk" is used in a rather extended sense; duties of "clerks," like "secretaries" in the United States, range from routine functions to exercise of considerable responsibility. Nevertheless, in colonial society, all shared the status and formal hierarchial position of "clerks."

SOURCE: Crawford Young, *op. cit.*, p. 198. Source of data is

in the developing cities, were exposed to extended European influence, and were true detribalisés because they no longer had any attachment to their native customs and in many cases, had no knowledge about what those customs were.¹¹² Being in the cities, where clerical education was available, and associating with the Europeans, "the next generation then had sufficient education to find clerical places with the administration or the companies and became permanently settled in the rapidly expanding urban areas."¹¹³

Even for those raised in an urban environment, the conviction persisted, as it did in the rural areas, that the best education was in boarding schools. This opinion was propagated by the State, as well as by the missionaries, as being the only alternative, given the social and familial environments of the students, to permit them to develop regular intellectual work habits and moral behavior patterns. It would have been a gamble to establish a superior school for students living away from the schools (externes) in the large centers. "The opportunities for

primarily Pierre Artigue, Qui sont les leaders congolais? (Brussels: Editions Europe-Afrique, Edition 1961).

¹¹²J. Mernier, "L'évolution de la société noire au Congo Belge, Zaire" (Vol. 2, No. 8, October, 1948), pp. 835-868.

¹¹³Crawford Young, op. cit., p. 196.

debauching there are quasi-inevitable for young people who had not yet received sufficient moral training . . . strict discipline over the boarding school students will be for them the only means of combatting native nonchalance, indolence, and carefreeness. It permits a constant and serious application to study and to the acquisition of regular orderly habits totally foreign to the Black."¹¹⁴ Thus many of those who became clerks grew up in cities, i.e., a non-traditional foreign-dominated environment, had parents who had already left their native areas of origin, and spent years in a boarding school educational system designed to counteract native influences and proclivities. By the time of graduation and employment, the Congolese clerk undoubtedly had a clear idea of what was expected of him in his work and social interactions with Europeans. However, his understanding of his own culture must have been shallow and, if not distorted, at least hazy. Yet these people were the most powerful among the second generation elite and within the colonial system.

2. Teachers

The training of teachers had been the responsibility of the missionary educational system during the emergence

¹¹⁴Van Wing, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

of the first generation elite, and so it remained throughout the second generation period. In the official system, as indicated in Table 7.3, no normal schools per se were established by the State, while the number of normal schools in the Catholic system increased from 16 in 1930 to 39 in 1948, enrollment jumped from 891 to 2,471 with the greatest increase occurring prior to the outbreak of the war in 1939.

With the clerical schools located mostly in the large cities, it was difficult for rural students to make their way through the rural to the urban systems to get into those programs. For the rural students who did manage to complete the first level primary, there was the possibility of continuing toward normal or vocational training at a mission central boarding school. For the Protestants as well as for the Catholics, this second level primary school at the mission stations was usually " . . . the first main point of contact between the missionary teachers and the native pupils."¹¹⁵ The goal, therefore, was that it be, " . . . not simply a larger village school taught by native teachers, but a first-class elementary school actually taught and supervised by

¹¹⁵Congo Missionary Conference, A Report of the Eighth Congo General Conference of Protestant Missionaries (Bolobo, Upper Congo: Baptist Mission Press, 1921), p. 81. Quote taken from a paper presented by Rev. Moon, Director of Kimpese. The first level schools and village schools were most often taught by Congolese rather than missionary teachers.

by White teachers. . . . pupils trained here could go out to the village schools as under-grade teachers or on into the secondary school for future and vocational guidance.¹¹⁶

Recruiting qualified Congolese personnel for rural agriculturally based enterprises, less of a problem than for the industrial-mining sector, was still difficult.¹¹⁷ It was decided that for the rural school to promote rural recruitment more effectively and to maintain a "rural mentality" among " . . . the native évolué population, (the government should urge) that the curriculum concentrate on agriculture in the village schools, other primary schools, and the normal schools which form the instituteurs (teachers) charged with the diffusion of that responsibility."¹¹⁸ An effort was made to try to recruit and assign teachers by areas of origin with the expectation that after a careful rurally oriented education at a mission station they could be sent back to their home regions as an elite who could oversee the moral and intellectual development of the

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Recruitment for the agricultural sector usually meant that the workers either lived at home or so near to home that there was not the serious disruption of home and village life which almost invariably occurred in industrial type recruitment.

¹¹⁸Congrès Colonial National Belge, Rapport et Comptes-rendus, 1935 (4th Session, Commission Agriculture), p. 49.

rural population.¹¹⁹ The importance of the teachers, and the impact they were making, was indicated by the Protestants' assessment some seven years later that more and more native teachers were " . . . becoming the unique medium for spreading knowledge among the population."¹²⁰ The missionary approach was to have these teachers assisted by Congolese religious auxiliaries who had less academic training and who would devote themselves to the proselytizing work. "If certain catechists are sometimes inferior to their task (and the reason . . . will often be . . . that it would have been necessary to call individuals not sufficiently prepared), great numbers (of them) demonstrate perfect ability at their high and delicate mission."¹²¹ Such auxiliaries were "infinitely precious" to the mission work, but they were not members of the second generation elite.

Thus, the former preacher-teacher functions of the first generation elite were separated. Nevertheless, there remained many thousands of evangelists who also served as

¹¹⁹ Comité Permanent du Congrès Colonial National, Participation des colons à l'administration de la colonie et politique indigène (Bruxelles: Goemaere, Imprimeur de Roi, 1923), pp. 34-35.

¹²⁰ Congo Protestant Council, Message of the Leopoldville Conference, op. cit., p. 35.

¹²¹ de Meeus & R. Steenberghen, op. cit., p. 72.

the village teachers in the smaller schools. The preacher-teacher was, in effect, an anachronism who remained indispensable though scheduled for replacement when sufficient trained teachers and funds could be mobilized.

Whether the first level primary system was staffed by trained teachers or by the preacher-teachers, that portion of the education system had become Congolized. The new normal school graduates were urged to set a European-style example for their students: "Much depends on the teacher and his family, for he must not only be able to teach, but must be a model and example both in his personal and home life, and in public. . . . (E)ducation is not a process of learning facts or even truths. There must be expression in living in order that there may be real education."¹²² In addition, the colonial administration was asking that the Congolese teachers promote, in conjunction with mission policies, the development of the rural population without displacing or threatening the power of the local chiefs.¹²³ These demands upon the rural teachers made their roles not only critical but extremely difficult.

A key element for the teachers was the training which they received insofar as it was related to the kind of program they were expected to teach after completing

¹²²Ibid., p. 11.

¹²³Comité permanent du Congrès Colonial National, 1923, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

their training. If those in teacher-training programs were to teach in "rural schools they would specialize in agriculture . . . if in urban schools, in non-agricultural trades."¹²⁴ The latter would learn more French, commercial arithmetic and practical geometry. Consequently it was not easy for a rural teacher to transfer later to an urban school. In the colonial period this served to discourage rural teachers from migrating to the urban areas. However, it also meant that a number of them worked independently to improve their French and then, after independence, transferred to the cities where they often assumed clerical positions which became available as a result of the promotions achieved by Congolese formerly holding such positions. This abandonment of teaching thus occurred at the very time the supply of teachers became critically short, and the first years of independence were devoted to replacement rather than augmentation of teachers.

3. Vocationally Trained

The labor shortage experienced during the First World War years had been acute and had been further aggravated by constant desertions from the job back to the village or to the cities. The government complained in

¹²⁴ Betty George, Educational Developments in the Congo (Leopoldville) (Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1966), p. 7.

1915: "The Blacks are big children, it is not permissible that the prosperity of the (colonial) exploitations depend upon their caprice. The immediate repression of (their) desertions is a necessity."¹²⁵ Desertions were running between 25 and 50 per cent in the mines of Oriental Province. Labor shortages continued into the post war period and didn't peak until 1927 when the colony's economy boomed and the government reconstructed the Matadi-Leopoldville railroad line and built the Port-Francqui-Elisabethville line. The mines in Oriental and Kasai expanded rapidly as did those on the Copperbelt. Lever led in the development of palm plantations and recruited increasing numbers of laborers. The question of the possible depletion of the supply of Congolese labor was a priority consideration as the number of wage earners (125,000) in 1920 doubled by 1925, and by 1927 stood at 426,957, constituting an estimated 18.91% of the total adult male population.¹²⁶ To address the problem, a Commission for the Study of the Problem of Labor in the Belgian Congo was established to make recommendations. It had been seriously suggested that only by slowing down exploitation to match labor availability could Congolese

¹²⁵ Congo Belge, Rapport d'ensemble annuel, 1915 (Harve: 20th Century), p. 88.

¹²⁶ Ministère des Colonies, Bulletin de l'office colonial (25th Year, No. 4, April, 1936), p. 214. By the next year this number had dropped slightly to 414,467.

manpower be employed without endangering traditional society by drawing too many young Congolese men from the villages.¹²⁷ Trying to find a compromise solution while also trying to ascertain with somewhat greater precision what the manpower capabilities of the Congo were, the Commission recommended among other things that labor intensive practices be substantially reduced, that there be greater mechanization, and that care be taken to attempt to obtain greater productivity from Congolese laborers. The upgrading of Congolese labor was seen as one of the means for achieving these goals, and the educational reform of 1924-26 reflected this concern over the development of a vocational elite.

For those who went into the vocational schools, the initial options were specializations in agriculture, carpentry, general mechanics, and training as blacksmiths and zinc workers. Other sections were added as required until there were over 15 of them. While the need for such skills was acute in 1926, the growth of these schools in the official and subsidized sectors was unimpressive. As will be noted in Table 7.3, there were nine schools in 1930 with 709 pupils. By 1948 this number had increased to only 11 schools with 859 students, having recovered from a drop to 7 schools with 463 students in 1940 which

¹²⁷J. de Hemptinne, "La Politique économique et social du Congo Belge," Congo (Vol. II, No. 4, November, 1928), pp. 579-587.

reflected the impact of the depression. The development of more advanced vocational education, with a three to four year secondary level practically-oriented program, had not yet begun to relieve the manpower situation when the depression, which was to reduce the employed labor force by over one-third by 1932,¹²⁸ severely eroded the demand for the vocational schools' graduates. Therefore, although the Congo's economic development moved ahead impressively before and after the depression and the numbers of qualified "natives to whom more and more complex tasks were assigned in industry increased rapidly, . . . the majority of enterprises managed to get through the difficulty thanks to their European foremen who selected the most intelligent and apt from among their workers, then undertook to train them themselves."¹²⁹ This was essentially limited to on-the-job training, with little in the way of academic or theoretical orientation involved. When labor was no longer in short supply, training for the mechanization program slowed down. Thereafter, until about 1939, on-the-job training could satisfy many of the needs of industry. This was feasible as long as the

¹²⁸ Ministère des Colonies, Bulletin de l'office colonial, op. cit., p. 214. At that point it represented 11.88% of the available adult labor force.

¹²⁹ A. Vanhee, "Enseignement technique et professionnel au Congo Belge," Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale (II, 1957), p. 133.

percentage of qualified manpower remained small compared to the total number of semi and unskilled workers employed and as long as the low cost of native labor permitted the enterprises to pay little attention to per capita output.

This situation, which explains the slump in vocational school preparation until 1940, changed during and after the Second World War, when the demand for skilled manpower greatly increased. Given this situation, the companies, many of them parastatal, became interested in being relieved of the burden of providing the expensive vocational training their labor forces would require. Until this time, the wages paid to the graduates of the specialized vocational schools never matched those of office employees, and vocational education was considered by the "native students as a second zone education toward which the best students would only rarely be attracted."¹³⁰ Nevertheless, because of the skilled labor demand by 1947 when the post-war economy was booming, there was active Congolese interest in the government's increasing the number of training opportunities in vocational schools. A Congolese from Kabinda wrote in 1947:

We would be particularly happy if, in each district of the Province of Lusambo, a vocational school could be built (boarding school type). More and more young

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 134.

people finish their 5th or 6th year of primary school without having had the possibility of following courses in écoles moyennes or in others and (their) wandering from one village to another makes the creation of vocational schools where they can learn a trade a necessity. Many of these youths made a mistake about manual work at a time when the only lucrative position was that of clerk. At present the situation of qualified workers has improved substantially, and many of these youths prefer to become tradesmen. I would even dare to state that presently many clerks regret not having been able, or not having wished, to follow courses in the vocational schools so as to be able at present to practice a skill more remunerative than their jobs as clerks.¹³¹

In spite of the limitations on the development of this portion of the second generation elite, especially from 1931, there developed:

. . . a category of inhabitants who were more stable, more peaceful, harder working, products from a point of view of stabilisation and refinement.

. . . (T)he birth of a 'native bourgeoisie' could be witnessed in these groups composed of artisans, skilled workers, small traders. At Leopoldville, for example, from 1935, there was recorded over 200 tailors, 30 shoemakers, 13 photographers, 16 bicycle repairmen, etc., and this group increased rapidly from year to year.

It is this communal elite which ought to constitute the nucleus of resistance against anarchic tendencies in these urban agglomerations. The group will be the seed-bed of native administrators¹³²

While the original proposal was to establish technical vocational schools which would give sufficient

¹³¹Pierre Kangudie, "De la création d'une élite et de son heureuse influence sur la masse," La Voix du Congolais (3rd Year, No. 18, September, 1947), p. 760. Shortly after this letter was written, the reorganization of the schools accomplished during 1948 added new dimensions to the educational system.

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Guy Baumer, op. cit., p. 17.

"literary training to prepare an elite in those schools,"¹³³ it was the practical aspect which was given increasingly greater emphasis. The restriction of French to the clerical and a few normal schools further detracted from the prestige of vocational school graduates.¹³⁴ Even though the skilled workers trained in the vocational schools earned good salaries they were not, until the end of the second generation elite period, competitive with clerical salaries. Although respected by the European population and required by the industrial sector, the depression of the 1930's checked the need for and growth of this specialized school program. Missionaries and colonial government officials alike were very careful to make certain that an excess of skilled labor would not be trained for unemployment.¹³⁵ They did, therefore, remain a limited group without the influence exerted by those trained in the écoles normales and moyennes.

¹³³de Jonghe & Cooreman, "L'enseignement au Congo," Congo (Vol. II, No. 2, July, 1922), p. 189.

¹³⁴Vanhee, op. cit.

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 188-189. At the Leopoldville Conference in 1929, Dr. Lerrigo warned that there was always a danger of producing "natives who will not find occupation in keeping with their abilities," CPC, Message of the Leopoldville Conference, op. cit., p. 42.

4. The Religious Elite

Evangelists or catechists (the former designation usually used for Protestants while the latter was used for Catholics), although still widely used, represented a residue from what had been part of the first generation religious elite, and in fact they continued to perform many of the same occupational tasks. The churches, while needing these catechists and evangelists (no longer classified as preacher-teachers because teaching, like preaching, was becoming an increasingly skilled and, thus, different profession), felt an obligation to have better qualified people performing such functions as soon as possible. The missions were therefore often apologetic about the training and education of the evangelists, but not about their mission and dedication.

The catechist finds himself placed in the most humble echelon of the missionary army; a modest auxiliary but whose role is capital. Chosen from among the devout Christians or trained in special (religious) schools, the catechists are placed in villages in order to give classes, instruct youth, preside over daily prayers and give to the catechumens training preliminary to baptism. It is also the catechist who assists Christians in danger of death and who, in extremis, administers baptism to small children or adults who would so desire.

Each mission post depends often on a hundred or more of these catechists. Often, from a Christian point of view, the village will be only as good as is the catechist. According to his assiduity, good conduct, good examples of Christian life, will occasionally depend the religious orientation of a whole region.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ de. Meeus & Steenberghen, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

a. Protestant Second Generation Religious Elite

Educational standards rose steadily in Protestant religious training institutions after the founding of the Ecole de Pasteurs et d'Instituteurs at Kimpese which was followed by the Institut Chrétien Congolais at Bolenge¹³⁷ and the Institut Springer at Mulungwishi.¹³⁸ These secondary level schools were at the peak of an educational pyramid based on the village school. Growing numbers of teachers graduating from these institutions entered the Protestant school system where they taught with and supervised the teacher-evangelists who still remained in the educational system.¹³⁹

By 1947, the Protestant missions had established a total of 24 schools for the training of pastors with an

¹³⁷As early as 1929, when the Institute opened at Bolenge, it was strongly recommended that "The Conference (of the Congo Protestant Council) considered the ultimate establishment of a still higher institute of learning under union auspices of the Protestant Missionary Societies working in the Congo. The Institute, it was suggested, could form the embryo of the Protestant University in the Congo. However, older missionaries cautioned that it was difficult for them to compete with the Government in the domain of higher education." They were, in fact, referring to the Official secondary schools then being established. CPC, Message of the Leopoldville Conference, op. cit., p. 31.

¹³⁸Carpenter, op. cit., p. 395.

¹³⁹R. Slade, English-speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (Gembloux: Imprimerie J. Duculot, 1959), pp. 395-96.

enrollment of 1,056.¹⁴⁰ In 1956, the Protestant missions claimed 452 ordained and another 1,066 non-ordained Congolese pastors.¹⁴¹ The increase achieved in ordained pastors was impressive--from 8 in 1936 to 645 in 1959--and demonstrated the concern to develop qualified native leadership for the missions.¹⁴² While the ordination standards required by the various Protestant sects were not identical, they were, because of union theological schools and constant coordination through the Congo Protestant Council (CPC), usually equivalent to at least a secondary degree. Qualifications for non-ordained pastors were more flexible and particularistic.

While ordained Protestant pastors did not receive the full theological training equal to that of either Congolese Catholic priests or of European or American missionary pastors, they did, nevertheless, begin to occupy positions of extensive responsibility in the Congo church.¹⁴³ Moving at different paces, early experiments in Congo church self government began to shift responsibility

¹⁴⁰ de Meeus & Steenberghen, op. cit. Only a few of these schools, however, were qualified to prepare ordained ministers.

¹⁴¹ E. M. Braekman, Histoire du protestantisme au Congo, (Brussels: Librairie des Eclaireurs Unionistes, 1961), pp. 342-43.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Carpenter, op. cit., p. 79.

for the operation and maintenance of native churches to the Congolese. In 1931, the Christian and Missionary Alliance granted full autonomy to its African churches.¹⁴⁴ Methodists in the southern Congo began to lose missionaries in 1923 and the shortage was to remain acute until after the end of the Second World War. Africans took over more and more of the work " . . . (L)ittle by little they (Africans) learned by experience and did amazingly well. Everywhere Congolese pastors and teachers did what missionaries were still doing in other missions. As early as 1943, Africans were principals of the primary schools of all stations except Jadotville. . . . when more missionaries came out after the end of the war in 1945, many Africans could do much of the work. New work could (then) be done by the missionaries, work of which people had been dreaming for years and years."¹⁴⁵ Because of Belgian colonial regulations, the missionaries had to reassume direction of the primary schools in 1951 after they had begun to receive a government subsidy. However, by 1955 control was again returned to Congolese with the first Congolese to be appointed principal of a subsidized primary school, Ezechiel Sana, having actually been named

¹⁴⁴ Stonelake, op. cit., 83.

¹⁴⁵ Eva Coates Hartzler, op. cit., p. 37.

as early as 1953.¹⁴⁶

Within the C.P.C. itself, Congolese only became full voting members in 1956 although they had participated in meetings for several years prior to that time.¹⁴⁷ While the gradual transfer of responsibility to Congolese church members, i.e., the pastors but also those who served as the deacons, elders, etc., in the local church governance, progressed, the Protestant missions developed and launched in 1934 the Church of Christ in the Congo. This was to be the common name applied to Protestant Churches in the Congo and was to express the colony-wide fellowship of Congolese Protestants.¹⁴⁸ After this commitment to the Congolization of the Church, the transfer of increasing amounts of power to Congolese Christians progressed slowly but steadily. By 1953, "very large segments of (the Congo Church) were . . . completely self-supporting as regards the maintenance of pastors, evangelists and other church officers, and the erection of buildings for worship, not to mention the provision of buildings, equipment and teachers' salaries for a vast number of unsubsidized village and regional schools."¹⁴⁹ While self-

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 39

¹⁴⁷ Carpenter, op. cit., p. 42.

¹⁴⁸ Slade, op. cit., pp. 400-401.

¹⁴⁹ Carpenter, op. cit., p. 80.

government of the mission activities meant increasing responsibility and authority for the pastors and the teachers in the Protestant education system, many of the missionaries were particularly slow to turn over responsibility for that portion of financing and personnel matters which related to the foreign (missionary) component as distinct from the indigenous component. The emphasis on church activities being self-supporting also meant that the Congolese salaries were quite low, which in turn encouraged a rural rather than an urban orientation in the Congolization process because salaries and the costs of living were so much higher in the cities.¹⁵⁰

While broad areas of control of the Protestant missionary work in the Congo remained in the hands of the missionaries, by 1948 there were also broad areas in which the Congolese Protestant leaders, the educated pastoral elite assisted by the teachers, were effectively in control. Experience in Congolese self-government and responsibility were making headway in the Protestant churches.

b. Catholic Second Generation Elite

Unquestionably the apex of the second generation elite was made up of those Congolese trained for the priesthood. In discussing the development of the Catholic religious elite, it is necessary to speak of two levels--those

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 81.

who graduated from the junior seminaries (petits séminaires), roughly the level of complete secondary education, and those who graduated from the senior seminaries (grands séminaires) and became the Congolese priests, the "elite of the elite."¹⁵¹

(1) Senior Seminarians

The first senior seminary was established by the White Fathers at Baudouinville in 1905 and was installed in its own building complex in 1927. The requirements were severe and the courses demanding. The post-primary educational and training requirements for priests were as follows: three years of philosophy followed by a year of probation in a mission station (until 1943); five years of theology with one additional year devoted to preparation to enter the priesthood. By 1947 the number of years of total educational training was 15 to 16. The languages of the senior seminaries were Latin and French, and even during recreation periods the seminarians were required to speak only in French.¹⁵² Out of the first 200 seminarians of the White Fathers only ten became priests, and of the first 241 who entered Jesuit seminaries only 12 entered the

¹⁵¹de Meeus & Steenberghen, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁵²L. Denis, "Les séminaires régionaux du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi," Revue Clerge Africain (No. 2, 1947), p. 42.

priesthood. The completion rate was estimated at 5% for the total Congo.¹⁵³ The second senior seminary was started by the Scheuts in 1930 with the only major difference in preparation being that Flemish in addition to French was taught, and while French was usually spoken, Flemish could be spoken during recreation.¹⁵⁴ By 1947 there were 4 senior seminaries with an enrollment of 283. By 1939 there were 78 Congolese priests and by 1946 this figure had reached 200.¹⁵⁵

Whereas the Protestants had developed at Kimpese, and subsequently elsewhere, training centers designed to provide programs not only for those preparing to become ordained pastors, but for their families as well,¹⁵⁶ the

¹⁵³de Meeus & Steenberghen, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁵⁴Denis, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁵⁵There is often a difference in the numbers of priests reported since those from Ruanda-Urundi are occasionally included in the Congo figure. There was one senior seminary founded in Ruanda-Urundi near Astrida which accepted candidates for the priesthood from the Kivu region of the Congo as well as from the trust territories. This caused considerable confusion in separating the Congolese from the remainder. Figures most quoted were reported by the Apostolic Delegate in Leopoldville who was responsible for Ruanda-Urundi as well as the Congo. Delegatio Apostolica au Congo Belgico et Ruanda-Urundi, Statistique Annuelles des Missions Catholique du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi (1947), pp. 6-13.

¹⁵⁶Rev. S.E. Moon, "Mission Educational Policy," Congo General Conference Report, op. cit., p. 84. "We have seen the idea of training the whole family grow into one of the most popular features. Whereas in the beginning women with great difficulty were persuaded to accompany their husbands, while relatives refused to allow the children to go with them, now it is comparatively easy to get the women to come with their husbands and every child with them."

Catholic seminarians' life and program basically divorced them from Congolese life.

If we wish our priests to be able to complete their task, it is important to demand of them conditions of life infinitely superior, the expression is not exaggerated, to the habitual atmosphere of the indigenous milieu.

Moreover, they should attain an uncontested level in order to play the role of conductors of men to which they have been called. It is necessary for them at least to equal in their general culture the European colonials, civil servants, company agents, and simple settlers with whom they will be in frequent contact.¹⁵⁷

Thus, in a very real sense, the priests had to be acceptable to the colonial society in a way the Protestants did not, for Congolese Protestant pastors had little occasion for a religious clientele relationship existing with Whites who were not missionaries, since the non-missionary colonial population were almost wholly Catholic. Acceptance of a Congolese as a priest with full respect due his position was a major obstacle for the Catholic Church.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷de Meeus & Steenberghen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 96. "Without prestige from the Whites, the Black priest will not receive from his own flock the consideration to which he has a right. On the other hand, in spite of his superiority morally and intellectually, the Black priest must remain simple, without pretensions, without misunderstanding of the other natives, in brief he must avoid losing the confidence of his racial brothers and remain an African priest at the service of Africans."

In fact, it appears that the colonial population did accept and respect the Congolese priests. There also appears, however, to have been some feeling that the White priests discriminated against Black priests through their paternalistic efforts to protect the "native" priests. Thus, while adamantly affirming that the Black priests were fully equal, the following indicate some of the recurring instances which created resentment among the Congolese priests:

- (a) White priests could drop the habit while traveling, Black priests could not;
- (b) Efforts were taken to protect native priests from dealing directly with colonial officials;
- (c) Black priests were especially useful in dealing with native authorities, and they were encouraged to try to handle these negotiations;
- (d) In spite of efforts, trying to get government subsidy payments for Black priests equal to those for White priests was a constant problem. The Church requested it and the government resisted it.¹⁵⁹

Similar kinds of discrimination, and a general feeling on the part of some of the Congolese priests that they were

¹⁵⁹Mgr. Huys, Deuxième conférence plénière des ordinaires des missions du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi (Leopoldville: June 16-28, 1936), pp. 36, 37, 63, 64, and 67. In 1936 the Black priest received about one-third of the salary of a White priest.

being shielded and protected in fact to avoid a situation which would reflect upon the stature and dignity of the priesthood rather than upon them as individuals, continued until independence. Considerable resentment appears to have been felt, though rarely expressed, by Black and White priests.¹⁶⁰ The Congolese priests were repeatedly instructed to avoid tribalism and to leave colonial politics to the Europeans.¹⁶¹ Therefore, while they taught and ministered to "their flocks," Black priests were effectively absorbed within the church and had little non-religious practical experience by independence. The fact that their schooling in the junior and senior seminaries was almost wholly in rural areas and their assignments following their entry into the priesthood were essentially outside of the major urban areas, further limited their contact with and knowledge about the politically active urban areas.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰Interviews with Fr. Victor Ndagano, March and April, 1968, Freiberg, West Germany; and with Hyacinth Buya, former priest in Leopoldville, October 1960 - February, 1961.

¹⁶¹Huys, op. cit., pp. 63 and 55.

¹⁶²Cardinal J. E. van Roey, Visions du Congo (Malines, Belgium: H. Dessain, 1948), p. 22. Cardinal Roey pointed this out in 1948--of 122 Congolese priests only 3 were located in Leopoldville while 22 were located in the Catholic center of Kisantu.

With the orders per se, however, the regulations related to quarters, food, and clothing make it clear that the Congolese priests had exactly what the European priests had. When immatriculation of Congolese was being discussed Mgr. de Hemptinne of Elisabethville took the position that the only Africans really qualified to receive the certification of being civilized were the priests, for only they were truly the elite.¹⁶³ Although the Church was slow to appoint Congolese bishops prior to independence, only one had been designated by 1959, ten had been named by 1962.

(2). Junior Seminaries

Connected to a normal school already started, Mgr. Roelens of the White Fathers founded the first junior seminary near Baudouinville in 1905. By 1947 there were 20 of these with 1,273 students enrolled and the number increased to 22 with a total enrollment of about 1,500 at Independence. These were the vital link in the identification and selection of those admitted to the senior seminaries. As an example of the selection process at the junior seminary level, out of 3,000 student applicants at the Jesuit mission central schools about 100 were chosen each year as candidates for the junior seminary, but of

¹⁶³Young, op. cit., p. 199.

that number only 20 to 30 were actually admitted. Since, as was mentioned earlier, only about 5% of those actually were admitted to the senior seminaries, there was through the years a significant number of Congolese students trained at the secondary school level who became available for employment in the Colony because they failed or dropped out of the seminaries along the way. Also a large number of students entering seminaries did so just to receive the best education available to Congolese within the colonial system. When they had finished the junior seminaries they decided that they "did not have the calling" to continue training for the priesthood in the senior seminaries. Especially during the pre-World War II period, the bulk of those who terminated their training for the priesthood at the end of their junior seminary training were deliberately recruited by the Church into Church employment.¹⁶⁴ Those the Church did not employ, especially as teachers, often became clerks, occasionally journalists, etc. In view of their academic and French language training, the necessary additional practical training seminarians required to become clerks could be acquired by on-the-job training or by attending night school courses in the cities. Thus, former junior and senior seminarians were highly employable. Among the more

¹⁶⁴This information was obtained from a series of interviews with former Belgian teachers and inspectors in Belgium, April-May, 1968.

famous Congolese politicians who were senior seminarians by training but clerks by profession were former President Joseph Kasavubu and former Vice-Prime Minister Antoine Gizenga.

G. Concluding Comments and Summary

Early missionary work in the Congo had to be rural-- cities were essentially a European innovation. Some mission stations did, of course, become important transportation and administrative centers, in effect small ~~entre~~ entrepots, and in some cases they, with government stations, became the cores of what would be cities. The missionaries, however, found cities distasteful on two major counts. First, many of the Europeans living in the cities and working for the government, companies, and themselves led lives which were bad Christian examples for the Congolese and which the missionaries disapproved of strongly. Second, Congolese who settled in the cities were reported by colonial officials as well as by missionaries to have become immoral, corrupted, cynical, etc. In any case it was obvious to the missionaries that urbanizing Congolese became much more difficult to work with and were a great deal more difficult to convert. To proselytize and teach in the cities was less agreeable to, and less rewarding for, the missionaries. This resulted in a missionary avoidance of the cities so evident that the Phelps-Stokes com-

mission felt obliged in their report to urge the missionaries to neither ignore nor abandon the growing urban Congolese population.

The traditional society in general and the elite in particular appear to have had almost as little regard as the missionaries for the urban impact on Congolese. Being free of traditional norms and obligations, yet not subject to European laws, the urban Congolese showed little interest in Christianity and the values and norms which it would impose on them. Another consideration was that the missionaries appear to have been somewhat suspicious of even those urban Congolese who did show interest in becoming Christians. There was some apprehension that it was the material, rather than the spiritual, rewards which might be derived from conversion that were of primary importance to the Congolese.

The missionaries were far happier in their rural missions where traditional Congolese patterns had not yet been exposed to the undesirable practices, or the European models, of the urbanizing areas. In the villages missionaries, in their lives and through their teachings, sought to create the kind of Christian models and environment they hoped the Congolese would seek to imitate. The missionaries found it far easier to deal with the Congolese and to influence and convert them where the traditional culture,

values, and interlocking social system were still functioning. Although devoted to changing Congolese society through Christianity and civilization, the missionaries were adamantly opposed to the changes induced by urban environments. In their opinion, such changes only destroyed traditional culture and left nothing of value in its place. Through Christianity, however, a new culture could be taught, and the Congolese could acquire true civilization rather than just a meaningless veneer of European sophistication. Thus on the one hand the missionaries condemned government and businesses for activities and practices (generally in the urbanizing areas) which were destroying the "noble savage" characteristics of traditional society. On the other hand the missionaries fought wholeheartedly any attempt to curb changes which were missionary induced and which would serve to carry the blessings of Christianity and civilization to suffering, superstitious, ignorant natives.

The colonial administration basically supported the missionaries' contentions that urbanization was detribalizing the natives, destroying their culture, and complicating their conversion to Christianity. However, as the colonial sector's need for manpower increased, grossly stimulated by the First World War, the rural sector had to be further milked for recruits, and the cities expanded more rapidly.

The State meanwhile became concerned that it was not getting its share of the most qualified Congolese and that the missionaries, through their control of the formal education system, were syphoning off the top quality Congolese for missionary work. The colonial government gradually began to feel the need to establish schools much more directly under its control which would provide the kinds of specialized training the government needed and would permit better access to the most promising Congolese recruits as well. Such schools were, understandably, located in the urbanizing areas where many of the graduates would be employed by the government and where they would, in their training, be closer to governmental supervision. Thus the official system developed a strong urban bias as the missionary systems held to the rural emphasis. Nevertheless the colonial administration retained some Catholic religious instruction in the curricula of the official schools. This was partly because it agreed with the Churches' thesis that Christianity was the way to civilization and was the proper substitute for the traditional culture which the detribalized Congolese were losing, partly because Catholicism was a component of being Belgian and would, it was believed, form Congolese closer to the Belgian model, and partly because religious orders taught in official schools and insisted upon the right to give religious instruction.

For the missionaries, their unending shortage of European personnel and the magnitude of the task they set for themselves in the Congo made the preparation of Congolese to serve in proselytization work a pressing consideration. In addition to providing the missions with essential personnel, Congolese in such positions would help make Blacks feel that Christianity was not just a White religion.¹⁶⁵ Obviously recruiting evangelists from among their "boys" was both an inefficient and insufficient method. There appeared to be only one way to prepare adequately the Congolese needed--in a formal education system sufficiently advanced to provide the required skills and competencies.

For those students in the formal school system, the first critical test was promotion from rural first level to second level primary schools. At that point, and even more so at the special school level, the separation from village of origin and traditional life style generally occurred. The rural first level primary schools, being widely distributed, generally permitted the student to remain in his home environment. Students who succeeded and went on to the second level primary schools usually moved into boarding schools located either at the mission

¹⁶⁵Crawford, op. cit., p. 215.

stations or in the cities. In the official system in 1917, for example, there was only one primary school which was not a boarding school.

Whereas the village schools were "to train for home life and not away from it," the objectives changed at the next level.¹⁶⁶ As a result of boarding school education, the young Christian on his return to his familial milieu, ". . . above all if he has been a boarding student at the Mission, (found) himself exposed, almost without defense, to all the difficulties resulting from traditional customs and institutions. Often there (was) a great deal of pain combining his Christian duties with those which, in his milieu are considered as rights if not social obligations."¹⁶⁷

The divorce from the traditional environment was deliberate in order to afford a greater assurance of success by the educators in the accomplishment of a more advanced education measured in terms of learning new skills and of practicing Christian precepts emphasizing morals, discipline, and work. Understandably there were practical and humanitarian reasons for establishing boarding schools--they provided housing in areas where alternate housing for students was extremely difficult to find. The missionaries, including those in the official

¹⁶⁶de Meeus & Steenberghen, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 75.

school system, were concerned increasingly about students' health and wanted to ascertain that they had proper diets and medical care. Boarding schools were, and are, defended on those bases--the assertion has been that simply no other practical way has been found to be sure that a student can study, keep books and papers, have lights, and in short to live in a manner conducive to learning.

Once this system of boarding schools was established and gained the reputation of being the best way to more advanced educational training, it was, and has been until the present, a prevailing educational belief. Certainly there have been exceptions to the boarding school pattern in the large cities where students might continue to live either at home or with relatives while attending school. Continuing to live as Congolese while attending schools in the cities would, it has been assumed, help students to maintain stronger linkages with Congolese society and avoid the shocks of reintegration into that society following graduation. Boarding school or not, however, there has been little chance of getting an urban educated Congolese to work in the countryside. Furthermore, regardless of the type of urban school, the movement of the more advanced students toward the urban areas, which especially the official schools gradually began to induce, has appeared to be irreversible. It has been extremely

difficult even to get students originally from rural areas to return to their home regions after finishing their studies in the largest cities, and particularly in Kinshasa.

As was already noted for the rural and urban schools, the curriculum and the language training in each influenced the subsequent occupational opportunities. On the other hand, those who had opted for a religious career could with relative ease (and often with financial gain) move into the clerical or teaching occupations because their training in the religious schools was advanced and their French language abilities relatively strong. The general lay educational guideline for language during this period was that basic education was to be given in the maternal language, and if that were not one of the four major vehicular languages, then one of the four should be used at the next level of instruction.¹⁶⁸ Under the 1926 reform French was to be taught only to those who were selected to become clerks, although it appears that this was stretched somewhat to include those few other natives who were " . . . destined to live in contact with Europeans."¹⁶⁹ In the revision of 1929 it was declared that French would be required in the second level primary schools for those candidates preparing for the special vocational secondary

¹⁶⁸Van Der Kerken, op. cit., pp. 192-194.

¹⁶⁹Mols, op. cit., p. 3.

schools. As for the official primary schools, the program was similar to that of the subsidized schools except that French was not required throughout the six years and arithmetic was stressed while agriculture was omitted. The importance of French in securing more advanced education and higher paid jobs made it a major factor governing success in the colonial sector. Furthermore, if a Congolese were really qualified in French he had some flexibility in occupational choice in spite of other curriculum content and training. To the Congolese, therefore, French became an extremely important consideration academically, occupationally, and consequently socially. The extent of this became patently evident in the post-independence period when French was declared the language of instruction in all Congolese schools beginning with the first year of primary school.

The period extending roughly from 1908 to 1948 was one in which Church and State increased their cooperation, and in which each continued to achieve its own ends vis-a-vis the Congolese. Education continued to have a "civilizing" mission, i.e., an evangelical objective aimed at propagating the faith and an humanitarian objective expressed in terms of mass literacy with basic indoctrination and instruction during the first two years of schools on topics which would today be included in community development programs --preventative medicine, crop improvement, construction of

improved homes, etc. The Catholic missionary school system continued to constitute approximately 80% of the total education system by 1948, with the Protestants maintaining roughly 15%. The State continued to play a minor role insofar as the size of the official school system was concerned. However, the State became increasingly active in the preparation of a small elite designed to serve governmental manpower needs and in so doing influenced considerably the programs of the missionary schools.

While on the one hand the colonial administrators were concerned that urbanization was serving as a major element in the detribalization of the natives, on the other hand the government promoted urbanization and rewarded those Congolese who entered this sector. With the decision to recognize and stabilize the labor population in the colonial sector and to increase official educational opportunities for them, the stage was set for a rapid and relatively regulated growth of the Congo's new cities. The growing urban population began to provide the colonial sector with an expanding source of available manpower which was steadily upgraded to prepare these Congolese for the elite government clerical positions.

Meanwhile, the rural areas continued to have a special orientation toward religion, agriculture and teaching which gave rise to the new preacher and teacher elites. The steady growth of especially the Congolese

Catholic religious elite proved, to the satisfaction of almost all officials concerned, that the Congolese could master advanced European educational materials and were quite capable of performing well the same duties as their White counterparts once they had had the educational and experiential opportunities to acquire equal knowledge and skills. Nevertheless, the Congolese had to continually and repeatedly prove themselves to the Europeans, and especially to the White settlers and employees working in the Congo.

Although provisions has been made for the training of other vocationally skilled craftsmen, and some schools had been founded, economic circumstances thwarted any significant formation or expansion of this category.


At the same time the traditional elite remained relatively uneducated and locked into a low-level administrative role which made them responsible to the lower levels of the colonial administrative officers as well as to the missionaries on an unofficial basis.¹⁷⁰

The formation of the second generation of formally educated Congolese elite had for the most part been

¹⁷⁰ P. Rapaport, interviewed in New York City on April 18, 1970, reported that when he served as an administrative officer in the Maniema Region of the Congo prior to and during World War II, the chieftains had on occasion let him know that if his advice ran counter to that of the missionaries they would follow the latter's council because they would be there for decades while the colonial administrators were generally only assigned for short terms.

accomplished in accordance with the revised educational reform of 1926. The education which these Congolese received was called elite, the jobs which they held were open to Congolese only with the required elite training, and the Europeans referred to them as elites. In relation to the remainder of the Congolese, those who had been trained in the formal education system, who were qualified in French, and who had, generally in boarding schools, acquired the kinds of skills and insights to enable them to interact comfortably with the Europeans were indeed elite insofar as the colonial sector was concerned.

Furthermore, the jobs they occupied as a result of their elite educational formation provided the Congolese with the pay and prestige they needed to more nearly imitate their respective European colonial models.



CHAPTER VIII

THE INTERMEDIATE AND THIRD GENERATION ELITES

The Second World War had a profound impact on the Congo. Once again the colony made a very significant contribution to the Allied Powers in men and raw materials while Belgium was occupied for nearly five years. As during the First World War, the Congo's economic development generally exceeded expectations. The Congo of 1945 was still very much a colony, but its people were becoming increasingly interested in taking an active rather than a passive part in its direction. Factors influencing the development of active Congolese concern with the government of the country were related (1) to the war: the return home of soldiers of the Force Publique who had been stationed in foreign countries as far away as Burma and who had seen anti-colonial movements in other colonies;¹ war-time development in the Congo which stimulated a rural exodus to the large industrial, commercial and administrative

¹Ruth Slade, The Belgian Congo, Some Recent Changes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 8, points out that the Congolese often fought against White enemy soldiers. They also had been assigned guard duty over ragged and defeated Europeans with orders to shoot any who tried to escape. As was true with the Asians, the Congolese began to doubt their inferiority to the Europeans.

cities and the creation of a large working-class population;² and the development of an increasingly sophisticated and pervasive mass media network;³ (2) to international considerations: animosity toward the growing apartheid movement in South Africa; the influence of continuing Afro-Asian, Arab, and other similar type conferences; the growing awareness of political activities in neighboring colonies, foreign countries outside of Africa, and the United Nations; and (3) to domestic changes: formation of an embryonic Congolese middle class; growth of the native clergy which affirmed the capability of the Congolese to perform "European" tasks; appearance of Congolese political leaders in the centres extra-coutumiers and the native quarters in the cities; the growth of political parties, especially tribally oriented Abako;⁴ the establishment of

²The Belgians began to refer to this growing but stabilized urban population as a proletariat.

³The most powerful radio in Central Africa was Radio Brazzaville which rather effectively covered the Congo. Belgian officials became increasingly worried about Radio Brazzaville's content after the French Community program was initiated by General De Gaulle in 1958. It was not until after independence that the Congolese government managed to have Radio Leopoldville increased in size to the point where it could compete with Radio Brazzaville.

⁴Fernand van Langenhove, Consciences tribales et nationales en Afrique noire (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff for the Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, 1960), pp. 409-418. Abako is the abbreviation for Association des Bakongo pour l'unification, la conservation et l'expansion de la langue Kikongo, which had as one of its founders and leaders Joseph Kasa-Vubu, a clerk trained in a seminary who was to become President of Abako in 1955 and of the Congo in 1960.

labor unions; and the willingness of the colonial government until 1948 to accelerate the social and political advance of the natives.

The immediate post-war period was a time of general questioning of pre-war colonial systems and of advancing colonial territories toward greater freedom. Nationalist movements erupted across Asia, and, while less dramatic, the aura of independence was still pervasive in Africa. The Belgian Government, after deliberating on " . . . the evolution of native society and of the customs of the detribalized, (and after) taking into account the new considerations (expressed in) . . . international acts such as . . . the San Francisco Charter,"⁵ was motivated by the new ideas and attitudes to " . . . legislate in order to consecrate in legal form this new spirit and to give satisfaction, with prudence, to the demands of the day."⁶

One of the major ways in which this policy was expressed was in educational reforms: in 1946 with the revision of the convention for subsidizing education, in 1948 with a key reform of the secondary educational system, and in 1952 and 1954 with the expansion and integration of the official school system.

⁵van Hove, L'Oeuvre d'éducation, op. cit., p. 754.

⁶-----, "La politique d'administration indirecte et ses conséquences sur l'autorité indigène," Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale (No. 43, 1^{er} Trim., 1959), p. 29.

A. Factors Influencing Education During the Twilight
Period of Colonialism

Of special significance to the educational developments of the last decade and a half of colonial rule was the rapid expansion of the European population (see Figure 8.1), the continuing urbanization (see Table 8.2 and Figure 8.2), the problems related to the attempt to establish a Belgo-Congolese Community, the economic boom linked to the international demand for Congolese exports up to the mid-1950's (see Figure 8.1) and the Ten Year Development Plan approved by the Belgian Parliament in 1948 which, as revised, was scheduled to invest a total of nearly 51 billion Belgian Francs (\$10.2 billion) by the end of 1959. Because of their impact on the educational system these factors will receive some elaboration in the following two sections.

In addition, a new consideration influenced colonial administrators--the growing determination, already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, of the Congolese to have a voice in the design of reforms which were related to their future roles and positions in the colony. This was directly linked to the educational system in that jobs occupied overwhelmingly by Europeans required educational preparation not available to Congolese. Thus access to occupational grades reserved for Europeans depended upon the ability of the Congolese to secure reforms in their educational system which would provide them with the

academic qualifications required to challenge their exclusion from employment reserved for Europeans. Section A 3 will indicate Congolese efforts directed toward securing greater equality with the Europeans through educational reforms.

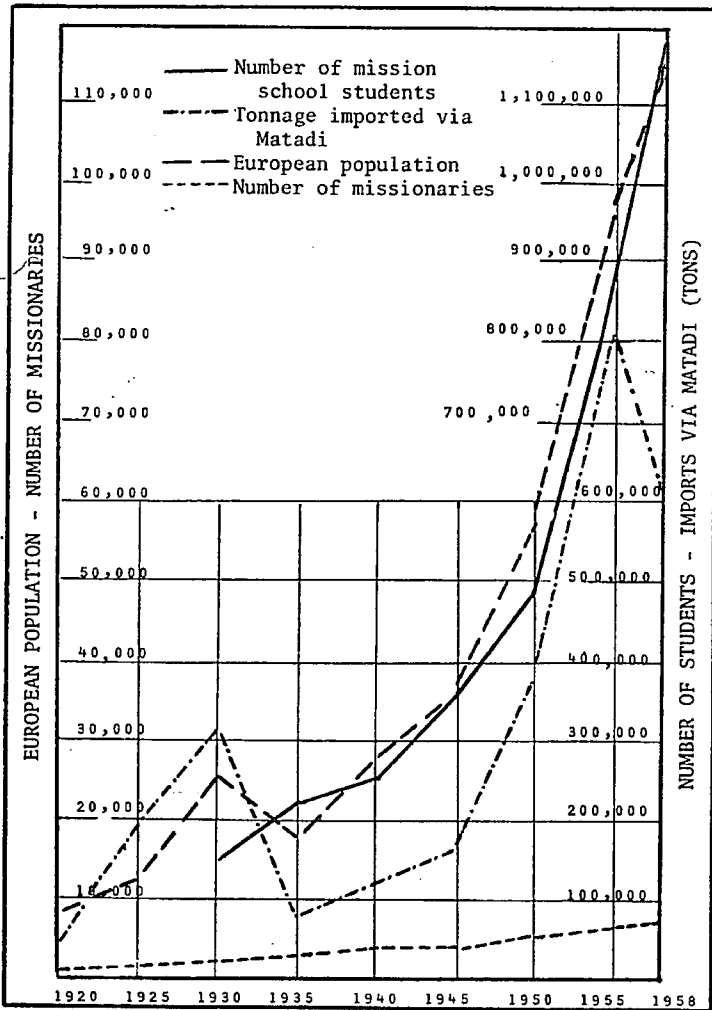
1. The Growth of Population and the Cities

The rate of growth of the European population in the Congo, traced in Figure 8.1, was especially impressive in the years between 1945 and 1960. In 1935 the total European population in the Congo was approximately 17,000 while the European population of just the city of Leopoldville in 1957 was 20,982. By the beginning of 1959 the European population of the Congo stood at 114,341 of whom 71,954 lived in 24 cities with a population of over 10,000. In these same major cities the Congolese population in 1957 totalled 1,143,209.⁷

The European population was increasingly composed of families which led to rapidly rising standards of living in the European community and to the growing European school population shown in Table 8.1. Excellent educational plants were established for these students by the Catholic missions (with 10,018 students in 1958) and

⁷Office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, Le Congo Belge (Brussels: Imprimeries Dewarichet, Vol. II, 1958), p. 21. This will be referred to by author as OIRP.

FIGURE 8.1--Number of Europeans, Missionaries, Students and Imports, 1920-58



Sources: Statistics extracted from the Annual Reports presented to the Legislative Chambers at Brussels from B. E. C. Où en est l'enseignement au Congo? 1960 (Leopoldville: B.E.C., n.d.), p. 9.

Table 8.1

Number of European Students
in Primary and Secondary Schools

	Y e a r s				
	1929	1938	1948	1951	1958
Students	569	1,617	6,166	9,889	20,941

Source: J. Van Hove, L'oeuvre d'education au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi (Brussels: Editions Bieleveld, 1953), pp. 768, 769, and Office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, Le Congo Belge (Brussels: Imprimeries Dewarichet, Vol. I, pp. 152-156.

Note: The figures for 1929, 1938, and 1948 include Ruanda-Urundi which would change the totals only slightly. In 1951 for example the number of European students in Ruanda-Urundi was only 207. The figure for 1958 does not include the non-subsidized schools which would probably increase the total by approximately 250.

by the official system both Congregationist (2,432 students) and lay (8,491 students). These large boarding school complexes, which accommodated students from pre-primary through secondary, were located in major cities throughout the country and, as will be noted later, became the model, physically and academically, which the Congolese sought for their children.⁸

⁸ As Pierre Kalumba of Albertville wrote shortly after the Second World War in La Voix du Congolais, "At the present time, it is certainly immature to demand for each one of us a professional and moral value equivalent to that of the White. The reason for that difference resides in the fact that our schools can not be compared to those which the White children attend." Quoted in Makanda, op. cit., p.153.

Each of the cities in the Congo in fact had two parts--a European section and a native section. Because of the large European population increase rather late in the colonial period, and because there were no real native cities upon which the new cities grew, it was possible for the colonial administration to engage in city planning to an unusual extent. Therefore, not only were the Europeans segregated from the Congolese, but generally the two districts were separated by a barrier such as the green zone in Leopoldville. As a result, a rather strange thing occurred--as more Europeans arrived in the Congo, they became more isolated from the Congolese. Europeans sought out European company, built European clubs, and shopped in European sectors into which the Congolese were permitted after dark only with the explicit permission of a European. During the post-World War Two period, with the government's emphasis on improvement of transportation, colonial administrators drove on increasingly better roads but stopped in the villages only briefly. Prior to this road development, visits to villages, though infrequent, were of longer duration and afforded a better opportunity for communication and understanding between Congolese and European administrators.⁹ In general, instead of the increasing

⁹Rapaport, *op. cit.*, felt that this alteration in the habits of the administrative officials created a very significant decline in understanding and communication between the government and the Congolese.

European population and expanding transportation system tending to promote the bonds between Congolese and Europeans, they were actually doing the reverse. Furthermore, European consumption became less dependent upon Congolese products and more import oriented. This created a special financial strain on the Congolese seeking immatriculation status, for they felt that they too had to acquire such imported goods in order to be considered "civilized."¹⁰

As the European portions of the cities were developing, so at a similar pace were those of the Congolese. By 1957, there were over 3,000,000 Congolese who had moved from areas of customary rule to the non-customary areas located overwhelmingly near or in the cities. Table 8.2 below indicates the extent of this movement away from traditional areas by province. While men still outnumber women, the imbalance was no longer critical, and the number of children was, from the colonial point of view, proof that the policy of stabilizing the urban population had been a wise one. That policy had, by 1958, altered the demographic pattern of the Congo impressively. Figure 8.2 indicates the move-

¹⁰ Lumumba, Congo, terre d'avenir, est-il menance? (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1961). Lumumba went through the matriculation process and describes it very well. His application for matriculation was first rejected but on appeal was approved.

TABLE 8.2

Native Population Having Quit the Customary Milieu by 1957

	P r o v i n c e s					Congo
	Leopold-ville	Equateur	Orientale	Kivu	Katanga	
Adults						
Men	269,167	130,961	207,337	133,607	172,636	76,309
Women	194,943	98,732	147,345	98,875	139,704	63,570
Sub-Total	464,110	229,693	354,682	232,482	312,340	139,879
Children						
Boys	201,478	75,440	101,876	93,929	141,192	59,225
Girls	192,254	72,433	94,494	90,767	136,190	55,270
Sub Total	393,732	147,873	196,370	184,696	277,382	114,495
Grand Total	857,842	377,565	551,052	417,178	589,722	254,374
% of the total population	27.65	21.62	23.02	19.03	36.17	12.05

Source: Office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, Le Congo Belge (Brussels: Imprimeries Dewarichet, Vol. II, 1958), p. 20.

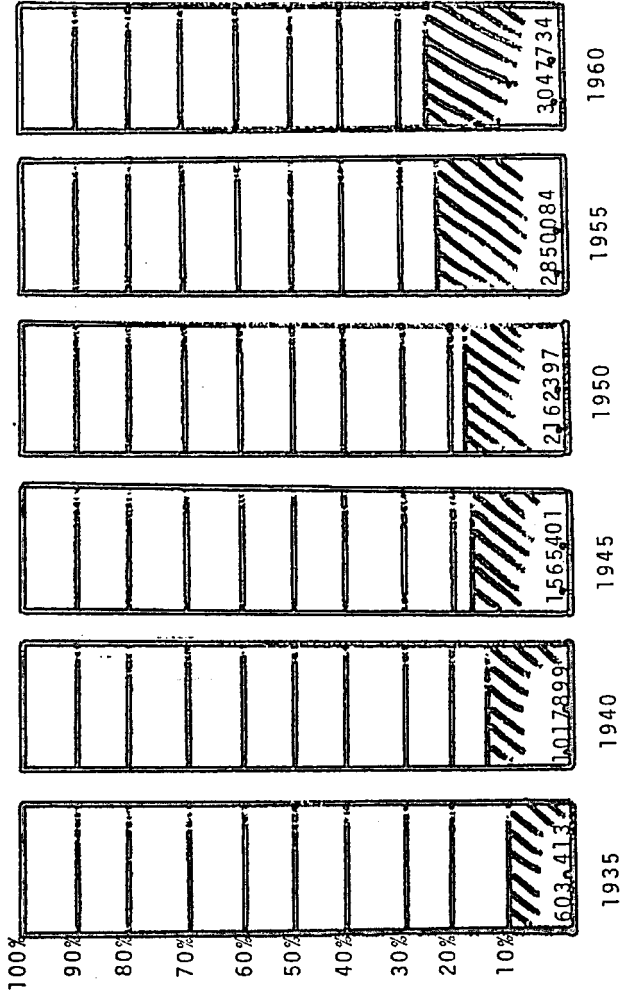


FIGURE 8.2--Exodus Toward the Non-Customary Milieux

Source: OIRP, Le Congo Belge, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 20.

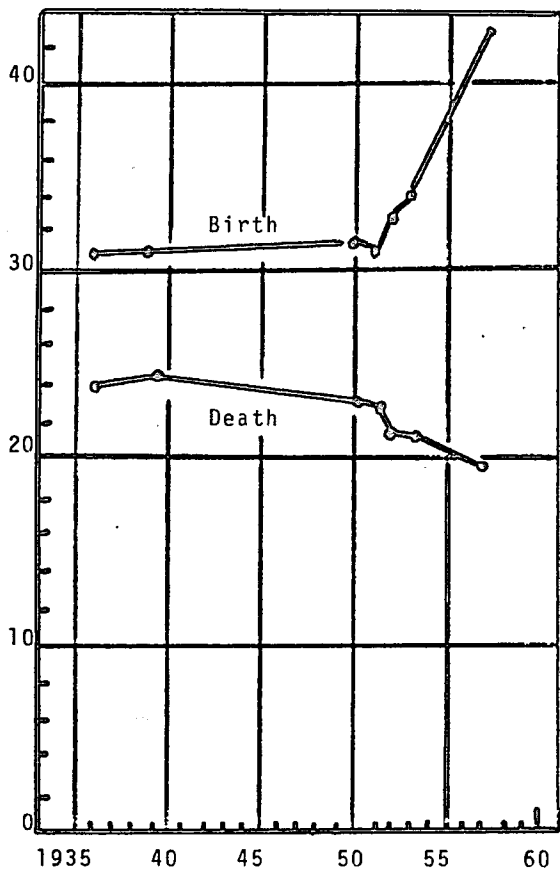


FIGURE 8.3--Belgian Congo--Birth and Death Rates

Source: Federation of Congolese Enterprises, The Congolese Economy on the Eve of Independence (Brussels: 34 rue de Stassart, 1960), p. 40.

ment of the native population to the non-traditional areas.

The total population of the Congo was also growing vigorously. Between 1935 and 1957 the natural rate of increase rose from 6.5 to 23 per thousand. This phenomenon is explained by the decrease in the death rate, particularly infant mortality, and the increase in the birth rate. It appeared at last that the population shortage was being remedied in spite of the continuing shortage of available manpower, at least until 1957. The economic slowdown which became apparent during that year and continued until independence reduced manpower requirements.

2. Manpower Requirements

The growth of the Congo's manpower requirements is shown in Table 8.3. The population living on paid work, i.e., the paid workers and their families, totaled 3,246,000 people in 1957, or over one quarter of the country's inhabitants. The distribution of wage earners by province appears in Table 8.4.

As indicated in Table 8.5, agriculture was concentrated and growing in the northern and eastern provinces (Equateur, Orientale, and Kivu), while it was low and

TABLE 8.3

Paid Congolese Masculine Manpower

Years	Number of workers	Percentage in relation to employable adult men	Percent of increase in relation to the preceding year
1940	536,000	20.6	--
1945	701,101	25.5	+ 30.8
1946	730,569	26.5	+ 4.2
1947	755,109	27.3	+ 3.4
1948	847,012	30.2	+ 12.2
1949	892,515	31.5	+ 5.4
1950	962,009	33.3	+ 7.8
1951	1,030,925	35.5	+ 7.2
1952	1,077,693	36.5	+ 4.5
1953	1,109,601	37.5	+ 3.0
1954	1,146,284	38.4	+ 3.3
1955	1,182,871	38.9	+ 3.2
1956	1,197,896	38.9	+ 1.3
1957	1,147,712	37.1	- 4.2
1958	1,102,270	35.0	- 4.0

Source: Federation of Congolese Enterprises, The Congolese Economy on the Eve of Independence, p. 23.

TABLE 8.4

Percentage of Congolese Wage Earners
Distributed by Province

Province	1947	1951	1956
Leopoldville	26.4	28.7	27.0
Equateur	10.1	10.6	11.4
Orientale	22.3	18.9	17.8
Kivu	16.0	17.5	18.8
Katanga	14.6	14.8	15.8
Kasai	10.6	9.5	9.2
Total	100.1	100.1	100.1

Source: A. Doucy and P. Feldheim, Travailleurs indigenes et productivite du travail au Congo Belge, p. 72.

decreasing in the southern provinces (Leopoldville, Katanga, and Kasai). The concentration of wage earners, and especially the clerical component thereof, indicates, as Lemarchand has suggested, one of the reasons why Leopoldville Province experienced such a speedy "political awakening" while the heavy proportion of agricultural workers in provinces like Equateur helps to explain its "quiescence in political life."¹¹ Of special importance to this study is the fact that in 1957 there were 11,588 Congolese with post-primary education in Leopoldville Province while the remaining 13,956 were scattered throughout the remainder of the country.¹² This dominating position of Leopoldville Province was further confirmed by the enrollment in Congolese secondary schools in 1961-62 when approximately 20,000 out of the national total of 47,500 were in Leopoldville Province.¹³ Thus the schools,

¹¹René Lemarchand, Political Awakening in the Belgian Congo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 106 and 109.

¹²République du Congo, Tableau général de la démographie congolaise (Leopoldville: Institut de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (IRES), 1961), p. 93.

¹³République Démocratique du Congo, Statistiques scolaires, 1961-62 (Leopoldville: Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, 4th Direction, Services pédagogiques, 1962), p. 28. Katanga Province was not included in these figures, therefore its included scholastic statistics are estimates rather than comparably reported figures.

as well as most of those trained in vocational secondary schools, were concentrated in this province.

Figure 8.4 shows a fall in the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing and in mines and base metallurgy industries, but this happened basically because of the rise in manpower productivity in these sectors. However, employment in all other major industries increased substantially. The occupation which showed by far the greatest employment increase was that of office workers (or clerical staff). While the total number employed in the clerical profession remained small, it retained its dynamism and attraction as a profession right up until independence.

An important factor in maintaining the interest of Congolese in clerical work was the salary. In Leopoldville a clerk could earn up to 10,000 francs per month, although elsewhere in Leopoldville Province this might be as low as 600 francs per month. Even a low clerical wage compared very favorably with the government prescribed daily wage of between 9.20 to 21.90 francs in Leopoldville Province. This in turn, while not much, appeared impressive to those in Kivu where a comparable wage was between 5.80 and 9.30.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ministry of Colonies, La situation économique du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi en 1954 (Bruxelles: Ministère des Colonies, 1955), pp. 230, 284. It should be pointed out that these minimum cash wages were accompanied by ration, housing allowances, and other allowances required by government regulation. 10,000 francs was about \$200.

TABLE 8.5

Changing Patterns of Employment in the Congo Provinces Between 1951 and 1956

Province	Year	Agri-culture		Mining		Industry		Commerce		Trans- portation		Con- struction		Clerical		Others		Total	
		Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Leopoldville	1951	41,455	14.0	1,456	0.6	51,714	17.5	21,862	7.4	29,159	9.9	31,016	10.5	7,632	2.6	111,387	37.7	295,681	100
	1956	36,718	11.4	685	0.2	46,095	14.3	23,785	7.4	32,181	10.0	33,092	10.3	14,421	4.5	135,598	42.0	322,375	100
Equateur	1951	48,996	44.9	--	--	14,369	13.2	10,166	9.3	4,866	4.5	10,230	9.4	2,010	1.8	18,433	16.9	109,090	100
	1956	67,101	49.0	--	--	12,410	9.1	8,151	6.0	7,605	5.6	14,005	10.2	2,813	2.1	24,774	18.1	156,859	100
Orientale	1951	61,809	31.8	30,281	15.6	18,709	9.6	14,571	7.5	8,923	4.6	14,701	7.6	3,238	1.7	42,166	21.7	194,598	100
	1956	81,070	37.9	17,083	8.0	22,757	10.6	14,009	6.6	11,981	5.6	18,964	8.9	4,713	2.2	43,110	20.2	215,687	100
Kivu	1951	60,092	33.2	42,222	23.3	18,458	10.2	7,168	6.0	6,705	3.7	15,618	8.6	2,644	1.5	27,876	15.4	180,873	100
	1956	85,193	37.8	35,523	15.8	16,014	7.1	9,704	4.3	9,367	4.2	21,147	9.4	5,432	2.4	42,932	19.1	225,312	100
Katanga	1951	15,613	10.2	22,273	14.6	35,535	23.2	10,170	6.7	14,213	9.3	18,064	11.8	3,504	2.3	33,504	21.9	152,876	100
	1956	16,091	8.5	31,253	16.3	31,948	16.9	15,811	8.3	21,025	11.1	24,510	12.9	7,650	4.0	41,484	21.9	189,772	100
Kasai	1951	15,749	16.1	16,036	16.4	11,531	11.8	8,718	8.9	5,262	5.4	10,480	10.7	1,954	2.0	20,982	21.4	90,712	100
	1956	14,618	13.3	20,959	19.1	4,318	3.9	10,088	9.2	9,630	8.8	12,601	11.5	4,670	4.2	35,007	31.9	111,891	100
Total	1951	243,714	23.8	112,268	11.0	150,316	14.7	72,655	7.1	69,128	6.8	100,109	9.8	20,982	2.0	254,368	24.8	1,023,630	100
	1956	300,791	25.0	105,503	8.9	133,452	11.1	81,548	6.8	91,789	7.6	124,319	10.4	39,699	3.3	322,705	26.9	1,199,896	100

Source: A. Doucy and P. Feldheim, *Travailleurs indigènes et productivité du travail au Congo Belge* (Bruxelles: Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1958), p. 77.

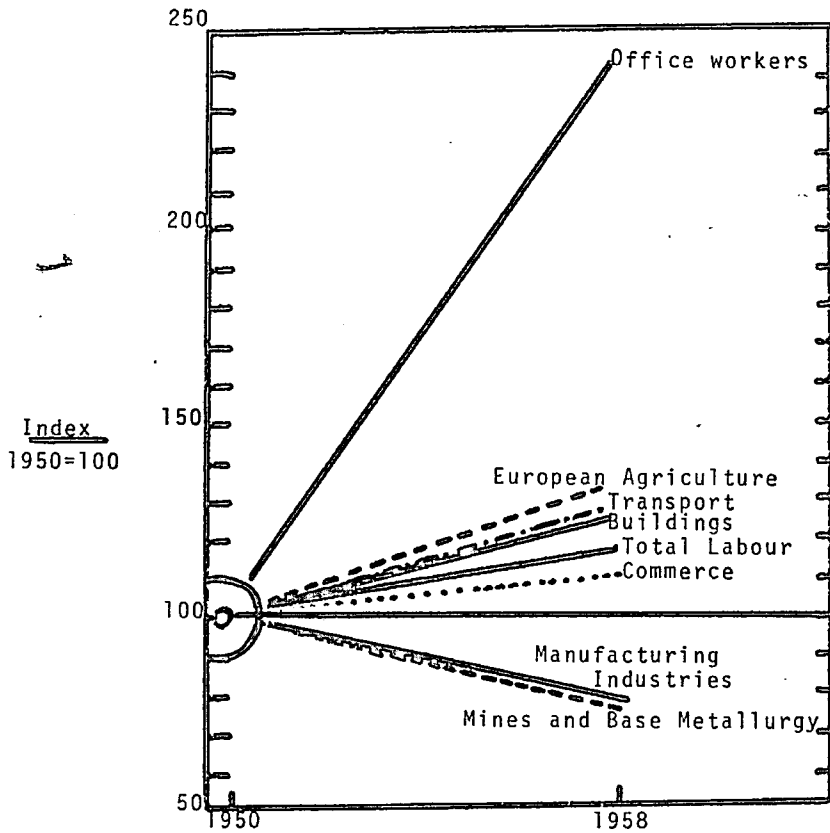


FIGURE 8.4--Evolution of Manpower by Branch of Activity

Source: Federation of Congolese Enterprises, The Congolese Economy on the Eve of Independence, p. 25.

The wage rewards in general were in the major cities, and the population boom which these centers experienced indicated that the Congolese were aware of this, for even an unskilled worker in Leopoldville could earn between 680 and 875 francs per month.

The prosperity of 1945-57 depended upon functional cooperation between European and African, but particularly in the urbanizing areas there was little interchange between them which was not related to their occupational bonds. Each had his own sphere. The newly arriving European had little knowledge of Africa or the Congo and rarely spoke one of the native languages. Therefore, communication with the Congolese was difficult since many of them spoke little French. Now it seemed the process of working together led to the development of antagonisms between Black and White. As Lumumba indicated, the Congolese were growing steadily more resentful of the disdainful "tutoiement" (French familiar form of address of "tu" which is used for the family, children, servants or animals) used exclusively in speaking to the Congolese, and of European coldness, refusal to shake hands with Congolese, etc. "Each time a boss left the office or workshop the employees got together to discuss his conduct and comportment, his eventual injustices, his partiality when a difference arose between a European and a Black employee."¹⁵ Furthermore,

¹⁵Lumumba, op. cit., p. 200.

the European's style of living isolated him to, " . . . the white garden cities where, only hazarding servants and (laboring) prisoners, . . . the Belgians rapidly adopted racist ideas passed on by the old colonials Racism was based on the extraordinary economic superiority of the White " ¹⁶ As a result of these considerations there was little inclination to develop either friendly or social interchange between the races. In short, they shared the same country but lived in very separate worlds.

3. Congolese Requests for Educational Reforms

It was with the dawning of the post World War II period especially that the Belgians in general, and the colonials in particular, became increasingly concerned over the Congolese évolués. These were generally considered to be those Congolese who had "evolved" from a purely tribal way of living, had achieved adequate literacy in French, had embraced Christianity, had renounced polygamy, and who lived in a Western way as reflected by their housing, education of their children, treatment of their wives, etc. ¹⁷ While there was never complete agreement on how évolué was

¹⁶ Michel Merlier, Le Congo de la colonisation Belge a l'indépendance (Paris: Francois Maspero, 1962), p. 197.

¹⁷ Patrice Lumumba, Congo, My Country (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962). This definition is basically that of Colin Legum which appears in his introduction to Lumumba's book on page 2.

to be defined, and thus who was actually entitled to the designation, the Belgians basically included within this group the civil servants, teachers, white-collar workers, and sometimes successful artisans and traders, as well as the priests and pastors, medical assistants, veterinary assistants, and agricultural assistants.¹⁸ As is obvious from the criteria for and the occupations of the évolués, formal education was a pervasive factor in determining évolué status. Although these Congolese never had the opportunity for acquiring sufficient education to challenge seriously the colonials either on academic and/or professional grounds, they were increasingly acknowledged as a special category by the Belgians, and consequently their educational achievements were, insofar as possible, emulated by their countrymen.¹⁹

While it was perhaps convenient for the colonial administration to be able to relegate this spectrum of non-traditional Congolese to one category, this practice also served to camouflage very important differences. In this study, for instance, all the second and intermediate generations of elite would have been évolués in spite of

¹⁸G. E. J. B. Brausch, "The Problem of Elites in the Belgian Congo," International Social Science Bulletin (Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1956), pp. 452-458. Also Young, op. cit., pp. 195-199.

¹⁹Lumumba, op. cit., repeatedly makes this point in his book.

their different educational and occupational achievements. While the colonials began to include the few pre-independence members of the third generation elite in the évolué category as well, the third generation elite, as will be noted, resisted that designation.

During the post World War II period the évolués (basically the second generation elite) worked together in an effort to secure better treatment, i. e., greater equality with the Europeans. This effort came to express itself forcefully in terms of educational and occupational parity with the colonials, and this bid by the Congolese began to secure international and considerable metropolitan support as well. The Congolese évolués' initial post war plea for greater European recognition and acceptance found expression and commanded attention after the Force Publique mutiny in Luluabourg in 1944 when the évolués submitted a resolution²⁰ asking " . . . if not a special statute at least special protection (exemption) from the government to shield them from certain acts and measures which might be applied to a retarded and ignorant mass."²¹ One of the

²⁰Crawford Young, op. cit., p. 77 (F.N.): "This important statement was the first public group petition for better treatment; the case for reform rested in part upon the claims that the évolués had played a key intermediary role in limiting the impact of the mutiny."

²¹-----"La solution de l'intégration des élites" Dettes de Guerre (Elisabethville: Editions de "l'Essor du Congo," 1945), p. 128-29. This article originally appeared in l'Essor du Congo dated May 3, 1945.

major results was the founding of La Voix du Congolais, which the government supported, to make available to Congolese a means for expressing and educating themselves on issues of concern to them.²² These évolués represented themselves as an "indigenous bourgeoisie" and as members of an "intellectual indigenous elite."²³ Subsequently they expressed themselves apparently quite openly in the Voix du Congolais making it an important channel of communication.

A substantial proportion of the articles submitted by évolués were centered on education. From a European point of view this was entirely understandable since évolués' accomplishments in non-traditional society were dependent upon education:

The évolués of the present generation are the pitifully spoiled children on whom the experiments of European pedagogy unadapted to the Blacks have been made. These young people who have seen their elders, scarcely initiated to the rudiments of the alphabet and "petit nègre" (pidgin French), carve themselves suprising careers in the European organization, (and willingly believe themselves the grand initiates to the mysteries of Bwanga de l'instruction (magic of instruction) which makes the White powerful and wealthy.²⁴

²²La Croix du Congo and Afrique Nouvelle were significant similar types of Catholic mission publications.

²³Dettes de Guerre, op. cit., p. 129.

²⁴A. Rubbens, "Le problème des évolués," L'Essor du Congo (Elisabethville: November 18, 1944), in Dettes de Guerre, op. cit., p. 113.

Among the Congolese authors there appeared to be roughly two major positions represented by contributors to the Voix du Congolais, one which was assimilationist in tone and the other synthesist.²⁵ The assimilationist position is represented by the following quotation:

. . . we have deplored the absence of ways to train ourselves to develop our faculties. We see, we hear, we observe, we read the local and foreign newspapers, we follow opinions distributed to us from near and far, we feel but never have had the luxury of expressing ourselves freely. That mental restriction has always been a veritable moral torture which troubles us more each day.²⁶

The évolués pleaded to be accepted by the total European community. In the 1945 Luluabourg petition one of their requests was that there be an end to "public insults like 'macaque' (baboon or dog-faced monkey)" and added that, ". . . it is painful to be received as savages when one is full of good will."²⁷ Those among the évolués who were seeking assimilation were asking for some form of separation from the level of the "ignorant masses."

On the other hand the synthesists were reminding their fellow évolués that:

²⁵ Anaclet Makanda, Cadres sociaux de l'évolution de l'enseignement au Congo de la colonisation à l'indépendance (1878-1960) (University of Louvain: Mémoire de licencié, Institute of Political and Social Sciences, 1964), pp. 151-52.

²⁶ Tshibanda from Lomami, "Quel sera notre plan dans le monde de demain," La Voix du Congolais, No. 2, 1945, p. 47.

²⁷ Dettes de Guerre, op. cit., p. 129.

. . . you are at this time a participant in the ancestral Congo and in the Congo invaded by modern civilization. You are the friend of civilization, but you will not only serve the foreign customs, nor will you accept all that they bring to you. You will nourish the good and reject the bad.²⁸

Regardless of the approach, there was no doubt about the importance of formal education. While certain that many of the colonials would object to their requests the évolués felt it their " . . . duty to insist . . . on superior courses, because we, the present generation, understand that instruction is for us the only chance of success. How can we progress if we do not have strong study programs available?"²⁹

Although the Belgians had been accused of making the Congo as entitled to the designation of being a "hermit kingdom" as Tibet, the évolués were becoming increasingly aware of the outside world and began to use this knowledge to induce change. Thus the colonials were chided: "Up to the present, we have always admired the style of Belgian civilization, but we regret it when we consider that the Belgian Empire--which has had the same number of years of colonization as has French Dahomey for example--has not yet, like Dahomey, a system of advanced studies . . . advanced instruction could enhance still more the value of Belgian

²⁸Pastor A. E. Disengomoka, "La civilisation au Congo," Voix du Congolais, No. 10, 1946, p. 402.

²⁹Joseph d'Oliveirs, "Vers l'avenir" La Voix du Congolais, No. 1, 1945, p. 7.

colonization."³⁰

Educational improvements were recommended by the évolués on two fronts: First they " . . . would love to see Belgium try the experiment of sending a dozen young people, from different schools in the Congo, to Belgium to continue their studies."³¹ Second, they wanted to see broad reforms in the existing education system:

In matters of education, we are big beggars and we have much to solicit from our civilizers. The instruction we receive makes of us in general simple auxiliaries. It does not permit us to progress and to complete our evolution. When they (the Belgians) claim they wish to increase our knowledge, we really meet with a very great deception, and we find ourselves before an insurmountable barrier. In order to leap over it, we look everywhere for help without discrimination; we ask for help and we do not get it, and we end up by permitting ourselves to drift. There is the accounting of the life an évolué.³²

On the one hand évolués were seeking new educational opportunities for themselves as soon as possible. On the other hand they also wanted available to their children schooling equal to that of the Europeans. "We take the liberty of insisting of the Belgian State that our children receive an instruction and an education which are sufficient

³⁰ Ibid., Dahomey apparently was referred to because it was feeding substantial numbers of students into French institutions for advanced training.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Leon Ilunga, "L'enseignement dans le Congo de demain," La Voix du Congolais (Leopoldville: No. 5, October, 1945), p. 175.

to permit them to live as civilized men worthy of their destinies."³³ In order to do this, the schools should be, ". . . reorganized so as to prepare students for the humanities. . . . We would also like the Belgian State seriously to reform the teaching programs and (make) the French language generalized (in the schools)."³⁴ The educational reforms which followed and culminated in the establishment of official lay schools for Congolese seriously challenged for the first time the Catholic control of the higher levels of the educational system.

B. Educational Reforms

By 1946 new regulations covering aid to missionary education were enacted, and two years later a major organizational reform was in effect: an official secondary school program which was academically oriented.

1. Revision of the Church-State Educational Convention

As the twenty year convention of 1926 with the Catholic (national) mission was expiring, new support developed for including the Protestant schools within the purview of the government educational subsidy program. Following the war a Liberal-Socialist government had been voted into power in Belgium, and while the coalition's

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid. The humanities was the pre-university program.

policies were generally anti-clerical, they were not anti-religious.³⁵ Addressing Parliament, Liberal Colonial Minister Robert Godding pointed out that 783,000 pupils were enrolled in Congo schools in 1945, and that of these 280,000 were in Protestant operated schools. Nevertheless Protestant citizens were taxed to support schools of another confession while being denied the same subsidies from the government in support of their schools. In effect, this made Protestants second-class citizens and constituted an unfair burden for a large part of the population.³⁶

Godding's efforts, combined with the post-war political climate, secured Parliamentary approval in 1945 for the principle of extending educational subsidies to the Protestants. Mr. Wigny, Godding's successor, began to implement the new program in 1947. For the Protestant missionaries one of the most significant provisions was that all members of the teaching staffs of subsidized schools were required to know French and had to complete a teacher-training program in Belgium. Those Protestant missionary societies seeking government subsidies began

³⁵Loren E. Moore, The Origin and Development of Education in the Congo Belge (Louisville: Unpublished thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1956), pp. 63-64.

³⁶Jackson Davis, Thomas M. Campbell, and Margaret Wrong, Africa Advancing (New York: The Friendship Press, 1945), p. 427.

routing their Congo missionaries through Belgium where they studied until they could meet the government qualifications. These and other standards in fact had a stabilizing effect on the Protestant program. In order to qualify for the government subsidy, schools were required to be in session a definite number of days per annum, and a set time was established for the opening and closing of schools. Government regulations also broadened and strengthened the curriculum.³⁷ "Previously the schools had been open for irregular times, and the curriculum had been inadequate."³⁸ Some missions decided to continue their independent systems, preferring not to be subject to government regulations and inspectors. Participation did not remove the financial burden of the missionaries, but it did provide relief at a time when educational costs were significantly increasing, in part as a result of the combined interest of the Congolese and the government to expand secondary level education.

Briefly the subsidy operated as follows: The amount paid by the government was dependent upon the reports submitted from the previous academic year. Thus the missions had to provide operating funds, plus any capital expenses for expansion, one year prior to receipt of

³⁷Crowder, op. cit., p. 31.

³⁸Davis, op. cit., p. 422.

reimbursement. Subsidies never covered the full costs; it was always intended that the missionary societies would make a substantial contribution. The State would pay between 50-70% of the construction costs of approved school buildings. From \$400 to \$800 was allowed for each European teacher and 90% of the salary of a Congolese teacher. One-half of the expenses of boarding student costs was also paid. It is estimated that if the government had hired European teachers directly, the cost would have been up to six times greater than the amount paid per year to the missions by the government.³⁹ "Those missions electing not to join the program stood in a less favorable light in the opinion of the Congolese, who saw no educational returns for their taxes."⁴⁰

2. The Educational Reform of 1948

In 1948, the year after the new school subsidy program was put into effect, a major educational reform was promulgated. The distinctions were maintained among the same three categories of the educational system, but the designations changed slightly to official, free subsidized (Protestant, or foreign, and Catholic, or national, schools receiving government subsidies), and free (schools which did not meet the subsidization standards, prepared religious personnel, or did not solicit government support). For the

³⁹Ibid., pp. 426-428.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 32.

first time the government made a complete non-religious oriented secondary school program available to Congolese. However, the reform also sought to expand technical education to meet the anticipated manpower needs the Congo's Ten Year Development Plan would generate. Adhering to the previous policy of matching education with environment, one technical program was rural and the other urban. The only portion of the educational structure common to both the academic and non-academic students was the first two years of primary school (the first level primary). Thereafter, there were two tracks: one for mass or ordinary education and the other for selective or elite oriented education.

The reform was described as follows:

It aims to improve primary education, tends to promote the development of secondary education and foresees the creation of superior education. The distinction between the education of the masses and the teaching of the selected is accentuated . . . In short, the instruction . . . has as an objective on the one hand to prepare the Black masses to play a useful role in their own milieu, traditional or extra-coutumier, and on the other hand to assure to various degrees, the training of a native elite.⁴¹

The colonial administration was responding to the previously mentioned requests from the Congolese for greater educational parity with the Europeans, to manpower requirements of the colony, and to international influences.

In spite of the fact that the 1948 reform established

⁴¹Van Hove, op. cit., pp. 754-756.

a full Congolese secondary school program within the Régime Congolais, the document defining the reform made it clear that the emphasis was to continue to be on basic primary education with a practical orientation.⁴² The lower primary (école primaire du premier degré) and the ordinary upper primary (école primaire du second degré ordinaire) were the basic practical components in the system to orient students toward agriculture and crafts. A regional bias was built into the programs with the expectation that the students oriented toward post-primary vocational training would develop skills especially valuable to their own areas and thus be more likely to find useful employment and to remain there. The selective upper primary (école primaire du second degré sélectionné), as shown in Figure 8.5, was to lead the students directly into academically oriented secondary education. Included in achieving a higher

⁴² Congo Belge, Service de l'Enseignement, Organisation de l'enseignement libre subsidié pour indigènes avec le concours des sociétés de missions chrétiennes (Brussels: 1948). The English translation of pages 7 to 31 of the document appears in: David G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 160-184; and Gray Cowan, James O'Connell and David G. Scanlon (eds.), Education and Nation-Building in Africa (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 59-78. From the time the first school for Europeans had been established in the Congo in 1912, there had existed two school systems--one for Belgians (Régime Métropolitain) and the other for Congolese (Régime Congolais). The Régime Métropolitain was identical to the academic program in Belgium except that it lacked some of the diversity in courses. The differences between the two regimes became increasingly distasteful to the Congolese, for the distinction was, often not without malice, stressed by colonials.

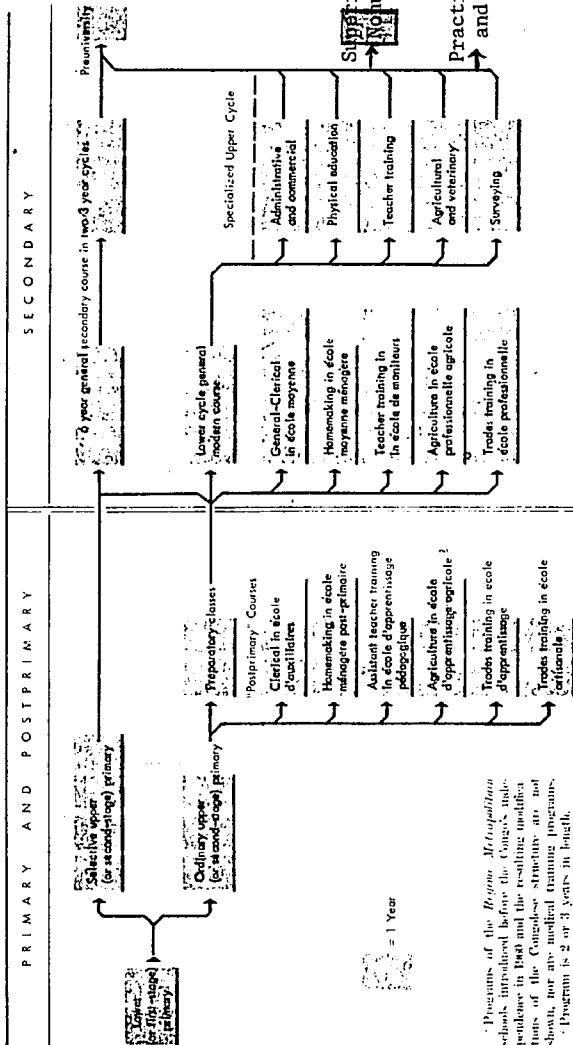


Figure 8.5--Basic Educational Structure of the Régime Congolais: 1948-60.

scholastic level was sufficient French language training to ascertain that they could handle the language with facility, since all courses at the secondary level were to be in French.⁴³

In preparing the curriculum for the new Congolese general (academic) secondary program, the government confirmed that it was in fact pointing toward university training:

Organization in the Congo of university education per se is subordinated to the existence of general and special conditions which are now being elaborated, i.e., a firmly established intermediate education; the presence of an intellectual elite of scholars from whom may be selected elements truly qualified intellectually and morally to pursue higher education courses successfully; suitable development of the social status of the native elite; opportunities for university students who have acquired diplomas.⁴⁴

Yet in spite of this university option, the Congolese secondary school diploma was not equal to the Belgian secondary school diploma, and the former required a pre-university year prior to admission to the first year of university studies. Pierre Wigny, Minister of the Colonies in 1948, stated, nevertheless, that by promulgating the reform the Belgian Government wanted to prove to the

⁴³Van Hove, op. cit., p. 757. Of the programs open to women, that for teacher training provided the maximum academic education available to them along with the prospect of ready employment in a vocation with some promise and prestige.

⁴⁴Congo Belge, 1948, op. cit., translation from Cowan, op. cit., p. 70. Hereafter it will be referred to by Cowan.

Congolese that Belgian children were not being given a monopoly of the " . . . high intellectual training and, as a consequence, of the professions to which it gives entree."⁴⁵ Still the Congolese programs were slower, less intensive, and less advanced than those in the Belgian secondary schools.

The university oriented Congolese program had two tracks--general and special. The latter, called the modern program, consisted of three years of general secondary education followed by three years in specialized vocational programs which were terminal for the majority of the students but which offered the option of superior (university or non-university) education for a select minority. The other track, the general or direct academic program, originally had one stream, Latin Humanities (or secondary Latin), but later added another, Scientific Humanities (secondary scientific). The secondary Latin stream was roughly modeled on the Belgian humanities, but excluded Greek. These two Congolese humanities programs were the direct academically-oriented pre-university training courses for the scholastically select. However, even here the " . . . volume of subject matter (was reduced) to a minimum compatible with the aims sought. Also there was to

⁴⁵Pierre Wigny, A Ten-Year Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Belgian Congo (New York: Belgian Government Information Center, 1950).

be an emphasis on the Congo in the teaching of history and geography and included in the curriculum was a course in indigenous language and another one on indigenous culture. The curriculum was also to include an extensive manual work course to instill respect for work and a deontology course to teach manners and promote understanding between the Congolese and the Belgians."⁴⁶ Courses were provided on European civilization to promote Congolese understanding and appreciation for it, as well as to make certain that Congolese university students would be conversant with their European counterparts on European culture. This part of the curriculum, however, was much below that followed by Belgian students.

As the Congolese educational options advanced, European teachers moved to the upper grades and Congolese teachers filled in at the lower ones in the Régime Congolais. While the first level primary and the upper level ordinary primary had very few European teachers, the secondary school programs were just the reverse--very few Congolese (and then only in the first few grades) and an impressive number of Europeans as is indicated in Table 8.6.

Only the most qualified Congolese teachers were permitted to work with the European teachers in the lower secondary and in the upper level primary selective. Fully qualified Congolese primary school teachers were always in

TABLE 8.6

Number of African Pupils and Teachers in 1959

School level	No. of pupils	No. of African teachers
Primary	1,502,588	43,251
Secondary and Higher	13,583	84
Technical and Agricultural	17,142	734

Source: Albert Pevee, Place aux noirs (Brussels: Editions Europe-Afrique, 1960), p. 39.

short supply. Even as late as 1959-60 only 10,000 out of the 35,800 Congolese primary school teachers had completed successfully the four year lower secondary level teacher-training program and had earned the requisite monitor's diploma (diplôme du moniteur).⁴⁷

As had happened before, the Europeans, and even the missionaries, had less time to give to those Congolese who were not able to make their way into an elite-oriented program. For the other Congolese, who were the vast bulk of those in the educational system, an occasional glimpse of a school inspector was their only contact with a European in the schools. Otherwise courses were taught by Congolese teachers, presumably in one of the four vehicular languages,

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 28-29.

but in fact often in the local vernacular. Fortunate were the students whose vernacular and vehicular languages were one and the same, for in such cases the educational experience was apt to be academically richer since there was a greater advantage to being literate in a language commonly used, both governmentally and non-governmentally, and widely printed. Furthermore, if the student continued his schooling beyond the primary level, he would not have an intervening Congolese vehicular language to master in addition to French.

3. Educational Reforms Between 1948 and 1959

By 1951 the Régime Congolais had ten official lay and congregational secondary schools operating with a total of 571 students and 5 subsidized Catholic secondary schools with 221. The Catholic subsidized schools (often called colleges) were located in rural areas while those sponsored by the State were in cities. In 1952 there was a further modification in the secondary system for the Congolese. That year a general disposition added the modern scientific humanities previously mentioned to the general academic secondary program of Latin humanities. It also stated that, after the third year of the secondary special (vocational) track, the upper secondary specializations were to be administration and commerce, surveyor training,

teacher training and physical education.⁴⁸ Later agricultural and veterinary training were added. Furthermore, from 1952 on, highly selected Congolese students who could meet severe social as well as academic standards were permitted to enter schools for Belgian students, and thus for the first time Congolese students were taking the Régime Métropolitain.

Following the Belgian election in 1954 and the establishment of the Socialist-Liberal coalition with Buisseret as Colonial Minister, there was created in 1955 an official Congolese secondary lay school system in which the schools were designated as Athenées.⁴⁹ "They adopted from the first, and without modification, the curricula utilized in the Belgian secondary education system. The subsidized secondary schools followed suit."⁵⁰ By the

⁴⁸ Congo Belge, Organisation de l'enseignement libre subsidie pour indigènes avec le concours des sociétés de missions chrétiennes (Dispositions générales, 1952), p. 21.

⁴⁹ By designating the official Congolese secondary schools as Athenées they were readily distinguished from the official Belgian secondary schools designated as Athenées Royaux.

⁵⁰ Pol Georis & Baudouin Agbiano, Evolution de l'enseignement en République Démocratique du Congo depuis l'indépendance (Brussels: Edition CEMUBAC, LXXVII, 1965), p. 68. CEMUBAC is the Centre scientifique et médical de l'université libre de Bruxelles en Afrique centrale.

academic year 1958-59 there were eleven of these Athenées, only three of which were located in centers of less than 10,000.

Meanwhile the post-war period had witnessed an impressive growth of European education in the Congo, and model schools were established by the government which augmented those already founded by the national (Catholic) mission in the major centers. By 1958-59 there were seven Athenées Royaux located throughout the Congo. These complexes, with qualified European teachers at all grade levels from nursery through the sixth grade of secondary and with excellent equipment, tended to make the Congolese feel that, in spite of improvements in their formal education, it was still inferior and that only integration into the Régime Métropolitain would assure them of equality.

Comparison of the program the Congolese were getting with that of the European students was difficult, but there was general agreement it was not on a par. Certainly the Congolese had more manual training in all programs.⁵¹ The government required that the curriculum for the first three years was to have extensive courses with the " . . . double purpose of training pupils in useful occupations and instilling in the future elite a respect for work in every form. The manual work schedule for the last three years,"

⁵¹Van Hove, op. cit., p. 759.

was to be, " . . . limited to gardening activities."⁵²

The Catholic Office of Education stated that the Congolese program covered two years of the Belgian program in a three year period.⁵³ The government assessed the program as follows:

. . . the curricula, which have been established by the regulations of 1948 . . . fall a good way short of those imposed in Belgian secondary schools. The lessons in modern languages, e.g., only aim at giving a practical knowledge of the spoken language. The study of mathematics is not pushed as far as in Belgian secondary schools. The study of French, Latin, and Greek (where applicable) authors is far less thorough in the Congolese curricula.⁵⁴

The continuing feeling of frustration on the part of the Congolese over the status of their secondary schools was obviously justified.

C. The Evolution of the Intermediate Elite

The intermediate category of elite were those Congolese bridging the second and third generations of elite. In

⁵²Cowan, op. cit., p. 72. Statements almost identical to this one have already been noted in discussions on the objectives of education for the first and second generation elites.

⁵³Bureau de l'Enseignement Catholique, Où en est l'enseignement, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵⁴Belgium, Ministry of Colonies, Teaching and Education in Belgian Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi (Brussels: 1958), p. 13. Also quoted by Betty George, op. cit., p. 43. Note: French and Latin were included in the Congolese secondary Latin track, but Greek was not. Greek was, however, usually given in seminaries.

occupational terms they represented a level of vocational, which more accurately would have been termed sub-professional, preparation distinctly above that of the second generation elite. In formal education terms the intermediate elite were specialized well beyond the second generation elite, while at the same time lacking the foundational, theoretical and, in some cases, humanistic preparation which would have qualified them for a university level degree. While the formal programs they followed were carefully prepared, reviewed, and inspected, and subsequently were well taught and directed by thoroughly qualified personnel, the intermediate elite had little hope of advancing beyond their terminal professional programs because their secondary school, like their professional, preparation was not in recognized academic programs. Thus, throughout their formal school programs the intermediate elite were denied the opportunity to supplement their courses so that they could convert, in terms of Belgian or international academic currency, their extensive training and preparation into recognized and appropriately rewarded degrees related to their professions. Obviously these considerations were not as important to the priests, the ordination which attested to their occupational qualifications was the critical factor. For the priests there was the added very important consideration that their program was practically identical to that of Belgian priests.

However, as will be noted later, the intermediate elite did begin to phase into the third generation university elite in the following ways: Those programs of the intermediate elite which were located at Kisantu were later incorporated into Louvanium University, taking with them some of those enrolled in the programs at the time of transfer. Also, after independence, some of those who had been trained in the intermediate elite were able, through special fellowships and academic waivers, to complete full university programs in Europe in their specializations which permitted them to advance from the intermediate elite into the third generation elite. There were, in addition, the priests and pastors who, with constant upgrading in the formal education system, always were able to retain their membership in the most advanced non-traditional elite category.

The intermediate elite for the most part, however, were distinct and, prior to independence, remained occupationally and educationally between the second and third generations of elite. This was true even though there was a time overlap first as the intermediate elite grew out of the second generation elite and second as part of the intermediate elite was absorbed in the formation of the third generation of university elite. During the last decade of colonial rule the education system was continuing to prepare members for each of these elite categories. The

second and intermediate generations of elites continued to fill the same occupational positions during this time while the first members of the third generation elite formed prior to independence began to challenge the colonials for equal occupational treatment within the colonial sector. As the educational and occupational qualifications of the non-traditional elite advanced, the second, and subsequently the intermediate elite, recognized that their claims to previous elite status were becoming increasingly tenuous. Certainly those who had been members of the second generation elite were supportive of the colonial proclivity simply to classify these three elite categories into one non-traditional composite--the évolués. This single categorization offered the numerous second generation elite especially some protection for continuing to claim and be considered as elite when in fact little justification remained to support this assertion.

1. The Priests and Pastors

As in the case of the first two generations of elite, the priests and the pastors continued to receive sufficient advanced training to keep them among the most educated Congolese. The program for priests apparently did not change significantly in content, but the number of senior seminaries grew to four and by 1959 had a total enrollment of 369. By that time the junior seminaries had been revised to follow the new secondary school programs, and

there were 1,937 students enrolled in the Latin Humanities program and 129 in Modern Humanities. As such, the junior seminaries were in a position to feed students into the universities as well as into the senior seminaries.

The Protestants had approximately 70 students engaged in superior or university level training programs for ordained pastors. At the secondary school level, the Protestants were sponsoring no schools which were restricted only to the preparation of pastors but drew their religious candidates from the 536 they had enrolled in Modern Humanities secondary school programs.⁵⁵

Congolese priests and pastors remained essentially subordinate to missionaries in their associations. Although by 1957 there were 322 Congolese priests, only one had been raised to auxiliary Bishop in the Bas Congo in 1956. The Protestants by 1958 had just over 500 ordained pastors, and from 1956 Africans were full voting members in the Congo Protestant Council alongside of Whites. By independence, the churches were acknowledging, as expressed by the Secretary of the Protestant Bureau in Brussels early in 1959, that paternalism was dead.

To me it has been clear for many years that the Congo missions and missionaries must get away from the paternal ways in which we have led most of our activities in the Congo. We have often worked under the

⁵⁵BEC, Où en est l'enseignement, op. cit., pp. 26-27. The figures for Catholic and Protestant education for 1959 are from this source.

misconception that the Africans are grown-ups with a child's mind. Nothing is more false. They are adults, think as adults, and want responsibility as adults.⁵⁶

The fact that this statement was not made prior to 1959 indicates the extent to which Protestant missionaries too were influenced by the paternalistic policy.

2. Medical Assistants

A second major category of people bridging the second and third generation elites were those in the increasingly upgraded medical profession. The preparation of the Congolese medical assistants, assistants médicaux indigènes (A.M.I.), began with the foundation in 1925 at Louvain of the Association Universitaire Catholique pour l'Aide aux Missions (AUCAM). AUCAM was the response to a proposal to build a hospital-school in the Congo under the auspices of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Louvain. Under the guise of this organization, there was established in 1926 the Fondation Médicale de l'Université de Louvain au Congo (Fomulac)⁵⁷ which actually was responsible for the implementation of the project. Among Fomulac's first objectives were the training of nurses and nurse-midwives. Although the teaching hospital did not open until October, 1928, the school for male nurses was

⁵⁶Quoted in Ruth Slade, op.cit., p. 36.

⁵⁷F. Malengreau, Une fondation médicale au Congo Belge, la FOMULAC (1926-1940) (Louvain: J. Duculot, Gembloux, Bel., AUCAM, #19, 1941).

started with five pupils in 1927. The training program was designed to be three years of post école moyenne preparation followed by two years of practical training. In September, 1930, the first three nurses were graduated with diplomas. Fomulac opened additional medical centers at Katana, Kivu, in 1930, and at Kalenda, Kasai, in 1946, but neither of these approached the stature of the complex at Kisantu. A major problem for the Kisantu training program was finding sufficiently qualified Congolese to enroll. Lack of qualified applicants actually closed the nursing-midwife program. Fortunately the normal schools established by Jesuits and the Brothers of Christian Schools of Tumba provided the level of excellence among their graduates that met the admission requirements for the nursing program.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the Fomulac output was small, only 24 had been granted diplomas by 1938. However the establishment and successful operation of this program at Kisantu, to be followed by other increasingly advanced programs, was to make this capital of the Jesuit education in the Congo the cradle of what was to become the Congo's first university--Lovanium.

⁵⁸ Interview with Professor G. Malengreau in March, 1968. Normal schools were not designed to provide the level of academic training which the écoles moyennes did, and therefore, the fact that these normal school candidates could satisfy the requirements for admission to the nursing program speaks very highly of them. It was unusual that école moyenne standards could be met by normal schools.

By 1934 Fomulac announced it was prepared to open a school for the training of medical assistants (AMI). Applicants with three or four years of secondary schooling could gain admission by passing a severe test. The program for those who succeeded lasted for seven years--four years of classroom studies and three years of practical training. The first class of four qualified students started in 1936.⁵⁹

Meanwhile the State opened its first training center for medical assistants at Leopoldville in 1935 patterned after a French program established at Dakar. By 1957 there were three schools graduating medical assistants (one State and two Catholic), and the total AMI enrollment was 129.⁶⁰

The Protestants were among the most actively engaged in medical work in the Congo; there had been doctors even among their first missionary groups. While these medical missionaries began to train Congolese assistants, they were not a part of any state-approved program and therefore did not receive the recognition they deserved. The first Protestant hospitals were built in 1912, and two special schools were established shortly thereafter to train certified nurses at Yakusu and at Kimpese. As early as 1932

⁵⁹F. Malengreau, *op. cit.*, 1941. Also: Dr. C. Ronse, "La formation des assistants médicaux indigènes," Lovania (No. 9, 1946), p. 27.

⁶⁰OIRP, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 151. The Congolese medical assistants were of a grade equivalent to that of the "Native Doctors" (Médecins indigènes) in the French colonies, but the Belgians, in part because the colonials did not want the Congolese to become "big headed" over being called a "doctor," resisted this title in the Congo.

the number of Protestant hospitals had grown to 21. While the Protestants did establish an official nursing school recognized by the State, they never managed to establish a program for medical assistants.⁶¹

By independence, there were 136 graduate medical assistants practicing in the country. Of that group at least 56 were Bakongolese, and the second largest component was made up of 20 Balubas. The remainder were rather equally distributed geographically and tribally. At independence 70 were assigned to Leopoldville Province, 23 to Kásai, 14 to Kivu, 11 to Equateur, 10 to Oriental and 8 to Katanga.⁶²

3. Agricultural Assistants

A third component of early post-secondary level non-religious elite was the agricultural assistants (Assistants Agricoles Indigènes--A.A.I.). As AUCAM had formed a special body (Fomulac) to implement medical training, so in 1931 did it create Cadulac (Centres Agronomiques de l'Université de Louvain au Congo) to train agricultural assistants.

⁶¹F. Malengreau, L'Enseignement médical aux indigènes du Congo Belge (Louvain: J. Dulucot: Gembloux, Belgium, AUCAM, No. 21, 1944), p. 12. By 1935 the Protestants had graduated 19 nurses from their school at Yakusu.

⁶²Willy de Craemer & Renee C. Fox, The Emerging Physician (Stanford: The Hoover Institution, No. 19, 1968), pp. 3, 18-19 and 28. The information on the assignment of medical assistants is quoted from: Congo Belge, Rapport annuel 1959, Direction Générale des Services Médicaux (Leopoldville: 1959).

Cadulac, like Fomulac, was engaged in more than the education-training function, and although centered at Kisantu, it too had stations elsewhere in the Congo concerned with the improvement of native agricultural methods. The founding of Cadulac was decided upon by AUCAM in 1931, and in September, 1933, it opened a middle school of agriculture (Ecole Moyenne d'Agriculture). Its program was composed of four years of study followed by one year of practical training. It granted its first degrees to eleven students in 1937. In 1940 Cadulac reorganized the program to permit graduates from the Ecole Moyenne d'Agriculture to become agricultural assistants. The new school program consisted of an additional four years of study beyond the Ecole Moyenne d'Agriculture plus two more years of training. The number of years of training for the agricultural assistants thus became comparable with the medical assistants program.⁶³ By the end of 1957 there were five schools for agricultural assistants enrolling 233 students.⁶⁴ In addition to the programs for medical assistants and agricultural assistants, there also developed one for veterinary assistants which had 27 students in 1957. It has been estimated that by independence there were a total of 250 agricultural assistants

⁶³Guy Malengreau, La naissance et le développement de l'Université Louvanium (Unpublished manuscript, Louvain, 1968), pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴OIRP, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 103.

and 15 veterinary assistants.⁶⁵

4. Other Professional Programs

In 1945 the fourth advanced professional training program at Kisantu was formulated by Professor Guy Malengreau, son of Professor F. Malengreau, the secretary-treasurer of Fomulac. Opened in October, 1947, with six students, the new program of administrative and commercial science was to prepare Congolese administrators for governmental and commercial careers. Because it most directly confronted the colonials with the specter of Congolese in direct competition with Europeans for positions which the latter had reserved for themselves, it met with strong resistance from the colonials.⁶⁶ Although the administrative and commercial program at Kisantu later was transferred to Leopoldville as a faculty of Lovanium, two other similar programs were established elsewhere and continued to function until independence. One was operated by the official system and the other by the Catholic subsidized system. The total enrollment in these last two programs was 27 in 1959 and an estimated 30 Congolese had graduated at a level comparable to that of the medical and

⁶⁵Young, op. cit., p. 200.

⁶⁶Interview with Professor G. Malengreau at Louvain, Belgium, March, 1968.

agricultural assistants.⁶⁷

The colonial government, as well as the missionaries, also began to show an increasing concern over the improvement of health and sanitation in Congolese homes and undertook to establish a professional program to address this problem. Homemaking centers to improve the training for Congolese wives (Foyers Sociaux), started in Leopoldville in 1933, numbered 40 by 1953, and 73 by the end of 1957 when they required a staff of 272 Europeans and 1,241 Congolese to operate them for the 71,796 Congolese women enrolled in their programs.⁶⁸ The growing activities of these community centers concentrating on home economics type training programs led to the establishment by 1959-60 of three advanced schools with three year courses. Classified in 1960 as being at the superior and university education level, there were 133 students enrolled and an estimated 20 had graduated from these institutions under the advanced program.⁶⁹

Clearly those from Louvain University who had been working with the Jesuits at Kisantu were directing their

⁶⁷BEC, Où en est l'enseignement, op. cit., pp. 26-27, and Young, op. cit., p. 200.

⁶⁸OIRP, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 169.

⁶⁹Two of the institutes were located in Leopoldville, Institut Congolais d'Enseignement social à Limeté-Leopoldville and Institut d'Etudes Sociales de l'Etat à Binza-Leopoldville, and one in Elisabethville, Institut d'Etudes Sociales à Elisabethville.

efforts toward the creation of a university in the Congo. With the establishment at Kisantu of the three professional training programs in medicine, agriculture, and administration, and adding the pedagogical capability which had been developed earlier, there existed the cadre of four university faculties. In 1947 the University of Louvain decided to create the Lovanium Congolese University Center, an organization which coordinated the different schools of Kisantu with a view toward raising them gradually to the level of an institute of higher education. Lovanium, whose name was intended to remind one of the more than 500 year old university that sponsored it, was recognized by Royal decree on February 21, 1949, as a public institution.⁷⁰

D. The Founding of the University System and the Third Generation Elite

The establishment of the Lovanium University Center at Kisantu in 1949 constituted colonial recognition that the Congolese had again proven themselves capable of superior education. However, the actual founding of the university per se was directly tied to the availability of a steady flow of secondary school graduates qualified for university admission. Professor F. Malengreau had stated in 1941 that the insufficiencies in and the gap between

⁷⁰ ----, Universities of Belgian Congo and of Ruanda Urundi (Bruxelles: Imprimerie Hélio gravure C. Van Cortenberg, 1958), p. 28.

middle and superior education was the greatest obstacle to the latter.⁷¹ What made 1954 a target date for the opening of Lovanium University was that by 1947 there were three Catholic secondary schools which had started programs in humanities for Congolese. The Jesuits had established one in the Bakongo (Mbanzu-Mboma) and a second in the Kwango (Kiniati), and the Scheutists founded a third in Upper Kasai (Kamponde). Therefore it was anticipated that within six years there would be a number of qualified Congolese prepared to enter Lovanium who could be added to those already being prepared for university training within the embryonic faculties at Kisantu.

In order to begin to gain support for the new university, a promotional type brochure was printed in August, 1947, signed by Mgr. Van Waeyenbergh, the Rector Magnificus of Louvain, Mr. Ryckmans, former governor of the Congo, Professor F. Malengreau, and other prominent supporters. However fear of provoking powerful adverse reactions prevented it from being distributed: colonial opinion by a very large majority was " . . . very strongly opposed to anything which it considered as being capable of hastening dangerously the promotion of the natives."⁷² Certainly the undistributed brochure indicated that the founders accepted

⁷¹F. Malengreau, 1941, op. cit., p. 37.

⁷²G. Malengreau, unpublished text, op. cit., p. 9.

the challenges and responsibilities which went with the establishment of a university designed to serve the Congolese:

Of the problems which arise concerning native policy, those which touch directly upon the evolution of the Blacks are the most urgent. The transformation of the native masses continues at a rapid rate and it would be futile to slow it down. From these fermenting masses will evolve tomorrow a class of leaders which will shape their destinies. If we wish to prevent that leadership class from foundering in disarray and anarchy, we must prepare the cadres through the formation of an elite; it is a necessity admitted by all forward-looking minds, in the Congo as in neighboring French and English territories. It is necessary at present to give to the Blacks the superior education they are claiming, but supported by a solid moral, profoundly Christian outlook.⁷³

The superior type of Congolese they were trying to recruit and train should subsequently be pushed just as far as was possible. Although worried about colonial reaction, the efforts persisted at Kisantu.

The number of students enrolled at the Centre Universitaire Congolais Lovanium at Kisantu grew slowly but steadily, as shown in Table 8.7, from its founding in 1947 until the opening of the university in 1953-54. By 1953 fifteen had graduated from these programs, excluding those in nursing. In view of the university's opening that year in Leopoldville, no additional students were accepted at the former University Center at Kisantu in either agriculture or administration and commerce. By 1958 there were

⁷³Ibid.

TABLE 8.7

Lovanium University
Annual Enrollment by Program, 1948/49 to 1952/53

Program	1948/49	1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Preparatory	46	32	34	55	56
Nursing School	6	6	6	5	6
Medical Assistants	38	30	33	32	28
Agricultural Assistants	33	40	37	22	23
Administrative and Commercial School	10	21	30	37	39
Total	133	129	140	151	152

Source: G. Malengreau, La Naissance et le développement de l'université Lovanium (Louvain University: Unpublished manuscript), pp. 19 and 25.

Note: The annual test results are not available for all years, but for 1948/49, 118 took the finals and 90 passed in all programs, while in 1949/50, 119 took the exams and 94 passed.

no longer any Lovanium University representatives in Kisantu.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Professor G. Malengreau's unpublished text presents the fascinating story of the struggles involved in establishment of the University at Kimuenza near Leopoldville. These included problems related to financing the construction of the new campus, the battle for control of the institution with the Jesuits and the Vatican delegate in the Congo on the one hand and Louvain and the Bishops of Belgium on the other, the in-fighting between Brussels and the colonial government in Leopoldville, and the dedication of those men who devoted themselves to the accomplishment of this task of Catholic, but above all, Christian university education for the Congo's elite. Since not only Professor G. Malengreau gave many years of effort to this cause, but his father Professor F. Malengreau before him, the story is one which the former is uniquely qualified to write.

The first academic year began in January, 1954, with 34 students accepted into the pre-university year: 6 from Kiniati (Kwango), 6 from Mbansa Mbona (Bas Congo), 6 from Kamponde (Kasai), 15 graduates from the general preparatory at Kisantu, and 1 from a senior seminary. During the year 14 students were eliminated, and of the 17 remaining 14 took the exams at the end of the year and 11 passed. Of those 11 there were 7 who had come from Kisantu.⁷⁵ The precedent of a high university dropout rate, in keeping with Belgian practice, was established with the first university class.

Previously the State had decided to subsidize under the 1948 education reform act the three previously unsubsidized Catholic secondary schools which provided half of the first students for Lovanium. Subsequently two additional Catholic secondary schools with the same programs were opened--one in Dunga (Uélé), Oriental Province in 1949, and the other in 1950 at Mugeru, Kivu Province. These five schools had a total enrollment of approximately 148 students in 1950. The Church, being initially true to its rural orientation, drew its university candidates from the rural areas and processed them through small rural secondary schools specializing in Latin humanities. While these beginning university students from the rural Catholic

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 72. The Kwango and the Bas Congo were both located in Leopoldville Province.

secondary schools and from the professional training programs at the University Center at Kisantu filled the university positions, they were soon to be completely overshadowed by the much larger student component which began to flow out of the large secondary schools located in the major cities. The previously mentioned colonial pattern of concentrating secondary school complexes in the urban areas was soon being followed by the Catholic Church as well.

Although Lovanium had managed to open its doors during the 1953-54 academic year, its first full academic year was 1954-55.⁷⁶ By independence, Lovanium had graduated 20 Congolese in three faculties, as indicated in Table 8.8. Its growth since then, and the overwhelming majority of Congolese students in the university's enrollment, are attested to by Table 8.9.

Interestingly, not one of the twenty graduates from Lovanium was included in the country's first cabinet formed by Lumumba.⁷⁷ However, two ministers had graduated from

⁷⁶ Although it would have been easier for Lovanium to delay its opening until academic year 1954-55, its founders felt strongly that the university should be in operation before the elections of 1954 occurred. As previously indicated, the Catholics (PSC) lost control of the government to a Socialist (PSB)-Liberal coalition and, by April, Auguste Buissert had become the new Colonial Minister and, shortly thereafter, the "schools war" (see footnote 81) was underway. Interview with G. Malengreau, March, 1968.

⁷⁷ The nearest Lovanium came to having a representative in the first government was Gregoire Kamanga, a medical assistant working at Lovanium, who was named as Minister of Public Health.

TABLE 8.8

Congolesse Graduates from Lovanium
Prior to Independence

Faculties	1958	1959	1960
Faculty of Psychology and Pedagogy	2	5	1
Faculty of Political and Social Sciences and Economics	2 1	- 1	5 2
Faculty of Agriculture	-	1	-
Total	5	7	8

Source: Université Lovanium de Kinshasa, Annuaire des diplômés de l'université 1958-1968, pp. 1-2.

Belgian universities as had one of the Secretaries of State. They were: Minister of Foreign Affairs Justin Bomboko, University of Brussels; Minister delegated to the United Nations, Thomas Kanza, University of Louvain; and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Andre Mandi, University of Brussels. As was noted in Table 7.4, the majority of members of the Cabinet had been trained as clerks and had received the usual three to four years of secondary education.

TABLE 8.9

Enrollment at Lovanium During Its First Decade

Academic Year	Total	Africans		Non-African
		Congolese	Non-Congolese	
1954-55	33	26	4	3
1955-56	87	70	7	10
1956-57	160	99	23	47
1957-58	249	142	35	72
1958-59	365	191	57	117
1959-60	485	264	81	140
1960-61	413	342	42	29
1961-62	746	531	143	72
1962-63	941	644	183	114
1963-64	1087	743	211	133

Source: Betty George, Educational Developments in the Congo (Leopoldville) (Washington, D.C.: GOP, 1966), p. 127.

Note: It should be noted that there is no difference in total figures for the first four years among sources searched. Thereafter, slight differences occur between the totals which are listed above and figures appearing in: ----, Université Lovanium, 1967-68 (Lovanium: Imprimerie Université Lovanium, 1968), the annual brochure of the university; and Albert Pevée, Place aux Noirs (Bruxelles, Editions Europe-Afrique, 1960), p. 32. It should also be noted that figures obtained from the Belgian Technical Assistance mission show the total enrollment of Lovanium for 1963-64 at 1,021. The differences between the totals above and the Lovanium brochure figures are that the latter lists: 1958/59--16 more; 1959/60--125 more; 1960/61--27 more; 1961/62--37 more; 1962/63--47 more; 1963/64--21 less. It is believed that for the first four years, during which Lovanium's figures are larger than those in the table above, the difference is a result of late enrollments. The reason for the difference in 1963-64 is not known.

The Congo's second university was to a considerable extent a political reaction to the first, as it was also, to a much lesser degree, a response to international criticism. For a time in the early 1950's there even began to be some indication that the United Nations might insist on building institutions of higher learning in the trust territories of Ruanda and Urundi.⁷⁸ The U.N. pressure on Belgium was also helpful to Lovanium in finally getting the Belgian government to agree to and to sign the convention with Lovanium on March 11, 1950, which actually created the institution. This convention was, however, criticised by the Socialists as the government's acquiescence to the establishment of a Catholic university education system. Liberal Senator A. Buisseret appealed to the government not to make it a monopoly of "one party, of one Church, of one ideology" but rather to establish the Congolese system out of the total Belgian university system: all of the relevant Belgian superior institutions should participate, and

⁷⁸ A resolution adopted by the 160th Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly of November 18, 1948, which had been put forth by the Trusteeship Council, indicated clearly that there was a "possibility of creating in 1952 and operating a university, with the goal of providing the superior education needs of the populations under trusteeship in African territories." See: Nations Unis, Territoires non-autonomes, Résumés et Analyses des renseignements transmis au secrétaire général au cours de l'année, 1948, p. 42. The Russians had attacked Belgium for having ruled the mandated territories for thirty-two years without having provided one native with higher education. A recommendation for more scholarships for natives was also included in the UN report.

not just Louvain.⁷⁹ Minister of Colonies Dequae responded that the level of education would be high and that the faculty would be a good one. He added, however, there was still considerable reluctance being evidenced against the establishment of a university on the grounds of " . . . pushing an elite too rapidly . . . " toward a superior education, for this would tend to separate them from the masses and make of them a class of intellectuals--of detribalized Congolese.⁸⁰ The old but still respected colonial argument against higher education was being expressed as it had been before whenever there was an advance in the level of education opened to the Congolese.

Given the international pressure and the anti-clerical orientation of the new government in 1954,⁸¹ a new State university was founded by decree on October 26, 1955.

⁷⁹Sénat de Belgique, Annales Parlementaires (December 19, 1950), p. 280.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 290.

⁸¹This erupted into the "schools war" when the Coulon, Deheyn, Renson Mission was sent by the new government to examine education in the Congo and reported that the national missionary educational system, especially the Catholic system, was giving the Congolese what was essentially a second rate education. La réforme de l'enseignement: Mission Pédagogique Coulon-Deheyn-Renson (Brussels: 1954). After receipt of this report, Buisseret decided to establish an official school system (largely secondary) for the Congolese in 1954, as Godding had done for the Europeans in 1946. In addition Buisseret also decided to make a drastic cut in the educational subsidy provided to the Church. This, as well as the severe criticism of the government report, resulted in a Catholic counter-attack when the Church, from October to December, 1954, threatened to close the schools unless the government restored their cuts. The Church won financially, but it was a bitter victory since their educational system was now questioned by the Congolese as it never before had been.

This institution was to be run, as Buisseret had requested four years earlier for Lovanium, by the four great Belgian universities; Liège, Brussels, Louvain, and Ghent were jointly responsible for it.⁸² In addition to the four universities, there was also representation from the Agricultural Institutes of Ghent and Gembloux, from the Polytechnique Faculty of Mons, and from the Schools of Veterinary Medicine of Ghent and Cureghem.⁸³

The State university actually started at Elisabethville in 1956. On November 11 of that year Buisseret went there to attend the opening ceremony and deliver the inaugural address as a demonstration of, ". . . the importance which Belgium attaches to university education in its overseas territories."⁸⁴ After initially trying to delay the establishment of institutions of higher education in the Congo, the Socialists were willing to support a university expansion policy whose rationale was basically that, "Africa needs universities even more than university

⁸² Louvain, because of its commitment to Lovanium, played a relatively minor role in the affairs of the State university. That was, in a sense, reflected by the origins of the first faculty members recruited for the new university: Liège sent 18, Brussels 15, Ghent 12, and Louvain 3.

⁸³ Universities of Belgian Congo and of Ruanda Urundi, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

graduates."⁸⁵ This was defined as meaning that: "Universities have an educational and scientific mission to fulfill, and, at the same time, by the formation of an intellectual elite, they are to become centers of culture. They cannot fail to have a stimulating effect on the cultural development of the country."⁸⁶

For the State University the problem was to secure sufficient Congolese students qualified for admission. The new official school system would not be graduating qualified students for several years after 1961 in sufficient numbers to satisfy the university's projected needs so that those who were qualified before 1961 were essentially products of the Catholic system. Understandably Lovanium had initiated procedures for recruiting these students, although at the time of the opening of the State University, it had only 99 Congolese and 23 non-Congolese Africans enrolled. To meet inevitable recruitment conflicts, the University at Elisabethville and Lovanium signed a convention on April 15, 1956, which regulated their competition for students. The agreement worked well, and, while relations between the two institutions were never very warm, they were "always perfectly correct."⁸⁷

The State University determined to take advantage of

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 4.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Interview with G. Malengreau, at Louvain University, March, 1968.

the large European population located in Katanga, especially on the copperbelt, and admitted a considerable number of White students. From the University's enrollment figures in Table 8.10, it will be noted that not until after independence did the substantial majority of European students disappear. The significant increase in Congolese enrollment in 1960/61 resulted from a substantial enlargement of the pre-university section. Until 1961/62 there were considerably more Non-Africans at Elisabethville than at Lovanium, and it is notable that as soon as Katangan secession ended in January, 1963, the European enrollment again increased rapidly.

The State University graduated its first class of two Europeans in 1958/59. In 1959/60 there were 4 Congolese in a graduating class of 20, and all four were from the faculty of political and social science and economics.⁸⁸ No more students were graduated during 1960/61 and 1961/62, and only 2 students graduated in 1962/63. The disruption was related to the Katanga secession during this period. By 1967/68 the total number graduated had increased to 144

⁸⁸The faculties at UOC as at Lovanium have been enlarged and new ones added. Thus, students who graduated earlier were often from combined faculties which have since been divided into two or three different components. Faculties originally listed often do not now appear in their original forms in diploma listings. The original title of the faculty is the one which is retained in such instances.

TABLE 8.10

Enrollment at the State University
During Its First Decade

Year	Congolese	Rwandans	Non-Africans	Others	Total
1956/57	7	2	95	-	104
1957/58	15	-	128	-	143
1958/59	38	3	193	-	234
1959/60	39	1	224	-	264
1960/61	77	-	50	-	127
1961/62	95	-	46	-	141
1962/63	151	12	82	1 ^a	246
1963/64	327	26	73	5 ^b	481
1964/65	421	23	106	4 ^c	554
1965/66	441 ^d	33	162	5 ^e	641

Figures are taken from annual tabulations prepared by the University, Tableau Statistique des Inscriptions. (a) A Zambian; (b) 2 Angolans, 3 Rhodesians; (c) 2 Angolans, 2 Zambians; (d) First Congolese woman enrolled; (e) 3 Angolans, 2 Zambians.

----, Information sur l'Université Officielle du Congo à Lubumbashi (Lubumbashi: Les Presses de l'Université Officielle du Congo, 1969), p. 7. Some of the figures above appear in this booklet. An error in addition occurs in 1965/66 and shows 640 total. Note: The University changed its name at independence from the Université Officielle du Congo Belge et du Rwanda-Urundi to the Université Officielle du Congo. It is often referred to as UOC which should not be confused with ULC, the Université Libre du Congo, which was founded after independence at Stanleyville (Kisangani).

of whom 66 were Congolese (38 having graduated in that year).⁸⁹

The investment which Church and State were putting into the establishment of universities in the Congo tended to reinforce the policy against educating Congolese at Belgian universities. This decision had been stressed by J. Vanhove in 1951 when he stated in an address to the Royal Belgian Colonial Institute (IRCB), "It seems clearly inadvisable, for moral and political reasons, to send colored students to our universities."⁹⁰ This would inevitably, he felt, lead to the "unfortunate experiences" encountered by The Netherlands, France and Great Britain. However, in 1953 the first African student was admitted to Louvain, five were enrolled there by the academic year 1954/55, two more entered during 1955/56, and by 1958 there were a total of ten. At the Free University of Brussels the first Congolese student, later Foreign Minister Bomboko, was admitted in 1955, and there were three Congolese enrolled there by 1958. The University of Liège admitted its first African student in 1958, and the fourth major Belgian university, Ghent, was not considered because it had become

⁸⁹ Figures obtained from the Belgian Technical Assistance Mission in the Congo, and from the booklet, Information sur l'Université Officielle du Congo à Lubumbashi, op. cit.

⁹⁰ J. Vanhove, "Un problème difficile de politique africaine: l'éducation des Africains," Bulletin des Séances, IRCB, Vol. XXII, 1951), p. 306.

a Flemish language institution.⁹¹

Although there were half as many Congolese who had graduated from Belgian universities as had graduated from Congolese, i.e., Lovanium, by independence, it is noteworthy that the only university graduates in the Lumumba Government were all three from Belgian universities--2 from ULB and 1 from Louvain. In the (first) Ileo Government formed under the Ordinance of September 12, 1960, Bomboko was the only university graduate in the cabinet.⁹² It was only under the government established by Col. Mobutu by proclamation on September 19, 1960, that the university students were placed in power. Announced as the Collège des Commissaires, the cabinet soon became known as the Conseil des Commissaires Généraux and was made up of two levels, the Commissaires Généraux (Ministers) and the Commissaires (Secretaries of State). Until it was replaced by the second Ileo Government on February 9, 1961, the Council of the General Commissioners was, as indicated in Table 8.11, the most academic cabinet the Congo has had to date.

⁹¹Lemarchand, op. cit., quoted these figures which he obtained from the respective universities. Young, op. cit., p. 147, recounts that it took a "categorical order" from Buisseret to obtain permission for Bomboko to leave the Congo to attend the ULB. Permission for a visa had already been denied in Leopoldville, "because he intended to enroll in the anti-clerical stronghold" of ULB. Buisseret was not opposed to Congolese students going to either ULB or Louvain.

⁹²Ordonnance du 12 septembre 1960, art. 2, Moniteur Congolais, 1960, No. 40, Oct. 3, 1960, p. 2,530.

TABLE 8.11

Distribution by University Training of the
Council of General Commissioners

Institution	General Commissioners	Commissioners
Lovanium	5	3
Louvain	6	8
Univ. Libre de Bruxelles	2	-
Liège	1	-
Kisantu (Adm. Sci.)	1	-
Medical Assistant	-	1
Institut des Science Sociale Héverlée	-	1
No University Training	-	3
Unknown	-	2
Total	15	18

Source: Pierre Artigue, Qui sort les leaders congolais? (Brussels: Editions Europe Afrique, 1961) and W. J. Ganshof Vandermeersch, Fin de la souveraineté belge au Congo, (Brussels: Martinus Nijkoff, Institute Royale des Relations Internationales, 1963).

Thus all 15 of the General Commissioners and 13 of the 18 Commissioners had university level training. No cabinet since that time has had such a heavy concentration of university educated officials, although an increasing share of top level appointments have been given to university graduates since General Mobutu assumed power for the second time. Initially Mobutu sought to establish a government of qualified officials ("technocrats") rather than politicians.

The problem was that those with the most education, with few exceptions, lacked the experience. Since assuming power the second time, General/President Mobutu has constructed his governments of both those with political experience and those with academic qualifications. There is a very real desire to build a technocracy within the Congolese Government, and, while the experienced politicians are also involved, new political rules are imposed by the President.

The few members of the third generation of university elite who participated in the first independence government were there not because of their special skills or training. They were included in the government because they had become politically active. The control of the independence movement remained firmly, however, in the hands of the second generation elite.

F. Summary and Conclusions

The number of Europeans entering the Congo following the Second World War had a profound impact on European-Congolese relationships. Because many of the "old" colonials had served in the Congo throughout the war many of them were leaving at the very time the new immigration started. Thus as the European population was tripling, many of those Europeans who knew the Congo and the Congolese were not available to serve as a cushion

absorbing the inevitable shock and reaction on the part of both races. The new Europeans did not speak native languages and had only minimal knowledge of the culture. Therefore, the new colonials could communicate with any facility or ease with only those Congolese able to deal with the Europeans on their terms. There was a great deal going on in the Congo about which the new Europeans knew very little.

Whereas a substantial proportion of Europeans had gone into the rural areas of the country before, the new wave of immigrants were generally urban oriented. They built the urbanizing colonial towns into attractive cities and added luxuries to their life-style which were previously unknown in the Congo. Since they were moving into the colony in family units, the large number of wives and children staying permanently put an end to much of the previous "pioneering" style of life. Housing comparable to that in middle and upper-middle class American suburbs sprang up, and excellent schools, missionary and then lay, were established in major cities. The differences between Congolese and European life-styles became increasingly poignant, and the differences in the schools, in terms of facilities, laboratories, curricula, and teachers, were blatantly apparent. The Congolese were convinced that if their children had schooling equal to that of the Europeans there would be no reason why Congolese could not occupy

similar positions in the colonial economy and live like the Europeans did. The differences between the life styles of the colonials in the cities and the missionaries in the interior also impressed the Congolese with the advantages of urban life with government or business incomes. The urbanization of the Congolese continued unabated as did the number of Congolese wage earners in the colonial sector.

As the economy began to boom in conjunction with peace and the reconstruction of Europe, and especially Belgium, manpower requirements also increased. However, Europeans were generally available for the growing numbers of managerial positions and, if anything, they appear to have begun to replace Congolese who had been promoted into such positions during the war. Perhaps for the first time, the Congolese began to realize that they were in competition with Europeans as well as with each other for desirable jobs.

Demands for reforms in the occupational and social positions of the non-traditional elite tended to center on educational reforms, perhaps in part because there were many missionaries willing to listen to and support the Congolese in this effort. Full secondary education for Congolese led to full secondary education with a European curriculum and finally to Congolese integration into

former European secondary schools. The goal of the Congolese elites was full equality with Europeans for their children, and it was only after Congolese political successes, largely in obtaining educational equality, that they decided that in terms of politics and independence it might be possible to achieve equality for themselves rather than wait for their children to do so through education.

While new Belgians were satisfying most of the expanding administrative, commercial and business needs, they were not able to meet the sub-professional or professional demands, especially in medicine and agriculture, in the colony. In a sense these were more missionary rather than government areas of concern, and the missionaries, especially the Catholics, expanded upon training programs they had begun during the 1930's. By adding increasingly advanced technical and specific courses and practical to the second generation vocational foundation, they built a sub-professional program of from 14 to 16 years which offered to the selected laymen a professionalism competitive with that the missionaries provided for their religious elite. From the success of the medical assistants grew comparable programs for veterinary assistants, agricultural assistants, social assistants, and administrative and commercial assistants. As the priests and pastors had

"proven" that the Congolese could fill these positions competently, the medical and other assistants established the same "proof" for the technical and scientific professions. The core of the "experimental station" which nurtured these programs at Kisantu was subsequently transferred to Leopoldville where it formed the first embryonic faculties of Lovanium--Louvain's offspring in the Congo. Whereas equality in education with the Europeans was the accomplishment of the Congolese, the founding of Lovanium was not. However, building the institution depended upon the academic success of the Congolese in demonstrating that they were indeed ready for a full university program. Building Lovanium was the realization of a dream, especially for those from Louvain who had for decades been working in the Congo, and to a lesser degree for the Jesuits in the Congo. After Lovanium was opened, the State itself established a university at Elisabethville to counteract Lovanium's influence and to obviate Catholic domination of university education in the Congo. This action was again a transfer of Belgian educational politics, of the historical conflict between Catholic Louvain and the Free Masonic-oriented Free University of Brussels, to the Congo. The transfer of educational politics continued until the end of the colonial era.

As the secondary schools were being opened to Congolese and as the universities were being founded, programs producing teachers and clerks at the second generation elite level and medical and other assistants for the intermediate elite expanded and continued to attract qualified Congolese. In spite of the differences between these elites, the Europeans continued to refer to all of them as évolués. Essentially these were the Africans, " . . . who had received more education than their fellows and could speak French with fair ease, had renounced polygamy, and were comparatively well-off--the 'middle class' . . . " ⁹³ In some instances, there was an effort to redefine the term and the most educationally advanced, the third generation elite, began to call themselves intellectuals. The failure to identify these categories of elite made it extremely difficult for the colonial government to address elite grievances effectively, for corrective efforts were usually couched in terminology which invariably offended as many évolués as it placated. The colonial administration intermittently attempted to define évolués for a decade and never really succeeded.

⁹³Ruth Slade, The Belgian Congo, op. cit., p. 11.

CHAPTER IX

THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THE SECOND, THIRD AND INTERMEDIATE GENERATIONS OF ELITE

The period between the end of the Second World War and Independence is for analytical purposes divisible into two periods. The first, extending from 1945 to approximately 1956, was a period of intensive effort by the second generation elite, the bulk of the évolués, to gain social equality. The period after 1956 was one of recognition that equality was not to be gained within a period of time acceptable to the Congolese, and attention was increasingly turned to political activity. Indicators of this turn toward politics and independence in 1956 were the issuance first of the Conscience Africaine manifesto, followed by the Abako Manifesto. The two documents carried the seeds of a debate which continued during most of the first decade of independence. The Conscience Africaine called for a single centralized national union with no political parties. The Abako Manifesto, with its tribal base, asserted that a single Congolese opinion was "utopic" and recommended a plural approach which meant, to at least some of the rank and file in the party, a federal arrangement for the

Bas Congo.¹ Those drafting the former were a multi-tribal group of évolués; those drafting the latter were Bakongolese, both évolués and non-évolués. In general, however, it was the Congolese schooled in the formal education system and largely employed as clerical staff in the urban colonial sector who were initiators of these pre-independence movements.

A. The Struggle for Social Equality

As has been indicated earlier in reference to the demands for reforms in the native educational system, the Congolese were seeking ways of achieving social equality with the Europeans. Their approach up to 1956 was essentially moderate and self-effacing:

Let us look reality in the face and without belittling ourselves let us recognize frankly that our mental maturity and our moral training do not yet permit us to dream of any assimilation with the Europeans. That is not meant to say that we do not have the right to certain considerations in compensation for the duties which we have assumed in the uplifting of our race.²

However, as is indicated, the subordinate role of the Congolese was becoming increasingly difficult to tolerate:

Considered as 'big children' and treated as such, the maturity of our minds has always been misjudged. We have never, as a consequence, been permitted to make our voices heard.³

¹CRISP, Congo, 1959 (Brussels: 1960), and CRISP, ABAKO 1950-1960 (Brussels: 1963).

²R. Bolamba, "Le probleme des évolués," La Voix du Congolais (Leopoldville: No. 16, July, 1947).

³Tshibanda, op. cit., 1945.

There was a fervent desire for social and economic changes which would place the Congolese in a relationship to the Europeans steadily approaching that of a partnership:

We dream of a Congo where the évolués will participate in an efficient way in the administration of his country, where he will be a true collaborator of the European, able to assume certain responsibilities and to take certain initiatives.⁴

While having gained limited access to the national press and made some progress in achieving educational reforms, the évolués pushed earnestly for greater social acceptance. This was for the most part limited to urban areas where the impact of the inequalities was most evident, where the évolués and Europeans were most concentrated, and where the traditional elite played little part. The frustrations which the Congolese experienced in trying to communicate with the colonial structure to achieve a change in their status became almost immediately apparent:

The European judges the Black as he believes the Black to be or as he wishes the Black were; to his (the Black's) aspirations, he (the European) gives the interpretation he wishes; it is in this way that the grievances and aspirations of the évolués are badly interpreted and that those of the Congolese masses are cunningly perverted by certain Europeans.⁵

⁴E. Ngandu, "Le rôle de l'élite congolaise," La Voix du Congolais (Leopoldville: No. 33, December, 1948).

⁵E. Ngandu, "Ce que dit le noir chez lui," La Voix du Congolais (Leopoldville: No. 8, 1946).

B. Immatriculation and Its Failure

Leopold's regime had initiated the immatriculation⁶ scheme as a means of rewarding (and protecting) Congolese in European service who no longer wished to be under traditional jurisdiction. Those who were within the first generation elite were generally automatically considered as being immatriculated under the provisions of this decree enacted in May 1895. While the provisions of immatriculation were included in the Colonial Charter at the time of the CIS's annexation, it did, in fact, fall into disuse.⁷ Immatriculation became linked with the policy of assimilation (or direct rule) and fell out of favor as the policy of association (or indirect rule) was sanctioned.

⁶Hailey, op. cit., pp. 148, 224-225. This was a procedure for giving formal recognition to those African immatriculés who were to have a status approaching that of Belgians. As indicated earlier for the CIS period, registration (immatriculation) of Africans occurred when they were prepared to be regulated by the Belgian civil code. However, no conditions were promulgated governing that registration. The immatriculation did not separate Europeanized Africans from those living according to indigenous customs, nor were those registered exempted from traditional laws applicable to Africans. However, on May 17, 1952, a revised decree of immatriculation was enacted which was rather similar to naturalization. Those requesting registration were examined by a magistrate with four assessors, one of whom was to be an African already registered. The applicant then " . . . had to satisfy them of his capacity to profit by the rights and to fulfill the obligations provided by statutory law. Immatriculation (did) not give exemption from all regulations applicable to Africans; the immatriculés (were), however, subject to European Courts, (had) all rights under the Civil code, and (had) similar treatment with Europeans on public transport vehicles."

⁷F. Grévisse, "Evolués et formation des élites," Livre Blanc (Vol. I, 1962), pp. 154-155.

During the debates of the early 1930's on native policy, the question of instituting an assimilationist policy for the extra-coutumier Congolese which would function simultaneously with the indirect rule policy for the remainder of the Congolese was again raised. The Commission for the Protection of Natives proposed in 1931 that a "petite immatriculation" for clerks be established for these "intermediate category persons, distinguished from the African population as a whole, yet also kept at a safe distance from European society."⁸ The discussion continued until the outbreak of the war and was then suspended. After the war, however, the subject was reopened with renewed vigor.

Belgium was sensitive to charges of racial prejudice, and officials repeatedly pointed out that the only distinction made by the government between peoples in the Congo was that the classification "native" and "non-native" was used. By 1949 it was becoming readily apparent that "the qualification of native or non-native (was) no longer a valid criteria for distinguishing, from a legislative and regulative point of view, two categories of the population."⁹ The évolués, as already indicated by the Luluabourg petition,

⁸Young, op. cit., p. 76.

⁹A. Sohler, "Réflexions sur la politique coloniale," I.R.C.B. (Institut Royal Colonial Belge) (XX, No. 2, 1949), pp. 484-494.

were attempting to secure treatment, if not at first fully equal to that of Europeans, at least better than that of the average Congolese. The Belgian Senate felt that something should be done to respond to these demands by providing évolués special accommodations on boats and railroads, exemption from whipping, better than average treatment in prisons, provision for their own rooms in hospitals, etc.¹⁰ Finally a "Carte du Mérite Civique" (Card of Civic Merit) was approved by the Ordonnance of July 12, 1948. In order to qualify to receive a card, the applicant had to have " . . . a record free of 'uncivilized' practices, such as polygamy and sorcery, and crimes such as theft or fraud, indicating a lack of integrity. Literacy was required except for individuals with twenty-five years of 'good and faithful service' in the administration or twenty years as a chief."¹¹ The carte had been under consideration far too long; it was, as finally enacted, much more limited than had been proposed and " . . . it no longer satisfied the best of the évolués."¹² That this was true was fully borne out by the response which the Congolese gave it: by

¹⁰Sénat de Belgique, Rapport, 1947, pp. 18-19.

¹¹Young, op. cit., p. 78.

¹²Jean-Pierre Ryckmans, La barrière de couleur au Congo Belge (Louvain University: Memoire presented to the Séminaire de Politique Colonial, January, 1950, unpublished thesis), p. 29.

1952 only 452 Cartes had been issued and by 1958 this had increased to only 1,557.¹³ During the early 1950's the limited issue of cards appears to have been more related to the inability of the Congolese to meet Belgian requirements. Later it was because the Congolese didn't bother to make application. The problem was that the Cartes were practically useless to the cardholders, and the end result was that those who had bothered to get them were disappointed and bitter.

There followed a move on the part of the liberal colonially oriented Belgians to support a much more meaningful statute of assimilation.¹⁴ Not only was there a feeling that the évolués needed it, but that it would provide them with a real and tangible reward for the work they had put into securing the distinction. Furthermore, expectations had been generated which required satisfaction.¹⁵ A special commission was established in Brussels under Sohier to make policy recommendations to the government on

¹³Hailey, op. cit., p. 226, and Chambre des Représentants, Rapport sur l'Administration . . . 1958, p. 104, quoted in Young, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁴This included Liberals, University faculty members (especially at Louvain and personnel from Louvain working in the Congo), some Socialists, most of those who served as governors of the Congo and many of the missionaries.

¹⁵Guy Malengreau, "La situation actuelle des indigènes du Congo Belge," URCB, XVIII, No. 2 1947), p. 228.

how to respond to the demands of the "civilized Congolese" and how to recognize and reward them. The Commission's recommendations provided for two categories of évolués: Those Congolese who had achieved European civilization, who had in fact already assimilated themselves, would be placed by immatriculation under the non-native regime. This would be a small select component composed mostly of that portion of the évolués which has in this study been identified as the intermediate elite and subsequently would include the third generation elite as well. The remainder, and the vast majority of the évolués, would receive, from various legal and social points of view, special transitional treatment adapted to their development, to their capacity, and to their particular interests.¹⁶ After two years of battle, from 1950 to 1952, what was left of these recommendations was promulgated. Malengreau pointed out that the colonial groups had robbed the reform of its significance and that what was left made relatively little difference.¹⁷

Two years after this reform had been enacted, Cepsi (Centre d'Etudes des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes) held a

¹⁶A. Sohier, "Le statut des congolais civilisés," Zaire (Vol. IV, No. 8, October, 1950), pp. 815-16. Sohier was a Professor at ULB (Université Libre de Bruxelles).

¹⁷G. Malengreau, "Chronique de politique indigène," Zaire (Vol. VI, No. 9, November, 1952), pp. 957-60.

special conference to review the problems and progress of native integration. Father Van Wing stated that the immatriculation decree of May 17, 1952, was "a poor little initiative whose results had been disappointing. In sum it had perhaps done more harm than good."¹⁸ Furthermore, "the Black elite had been wounded by it (the decree), and it would be a shame for (Belgium) to envenom that wound."¹⁹ After two years under the new immatriculation system, its results were "rare and seemed of very unequal value."²⁰ Although the "future of the Congo depend(ed) largely on benevolent and informed European opinion," relations between the races did not indicate that the level of mutual understanding required had yet been reached.²¹

In summing up the failure of immatriculation, Lumumba included in his book the following quote from a Leopoldville newspaper in 1956, carried under a headline, "Crisis of Confidence": "We need no other example of trickery than this less than glorious subject of immatriculation where, once again, the government has lost face in promising a great

¹⁸Bureau permanent du CEPESI-Bruxelles, "Proces-verbal --Assemblée plénière du 16-5-1955," Bulletin CEPESI (No. 29, 1955), p. 142.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰F. Grévisse, "A propos d'intégration," Bulletin CEPESI (No. 29, 1955), p. 117.

²¹Ibid., p. 118.

deal, but setting up nothing except a smoke screen."²²

C. The Color Bar

Whereas immatriculation as a means of recognizing and rewarding the educated Africans had essentially failed by 1956, the problem of the color bar remained in active contention until independence. The Belgians for the most part refused to recognize that there was a color bar. It was expostulated that there was no difference between the treatment of Europeans and natives, that when Europeans and natives were at comparable levels of civilization and of ability, the Black was treated like the White.²³ Therefore, what existed in the Congo was a "culture bar" rather than a "color bar."²⁴ The argument was also made that even if a color bar did exist it had not limited the evolution of the native elite: "The distance between Black and White society (was) such that in fact any barrier was superfluous."²⁵ While colonial officials may have rejected racist

²²Quote from the L'Avenir, August 25, 1956, contained in Lumumba, Congo, terre d'avenir, op. cit., p. 66.

²³J. P. Ryckmans, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

²⁴G. Malengreau in Grove Haines, Africa Today (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 349.

²⁵A. Rubbens, "Le colour-bar au Congo Belge," Zaire, (Vol. III, No. 5, May, 1949), p. 503.

dogma, colonial legislation was filled with discriminatory laws.²⁶ Very often such laws derived from paternalistic policies which had outlived their usefulness. Thus instead of being protective they had become restrictive and offensive to the Congolese. Regardless of the merits of some of the legislative origins of such laws, ". . . the most ferocious Anglo-Saxon color-bar had never produced so many discriminatory laws, had never enacted so many measures of so rigid a segregation as our Belgian tutelage."²⁷ In an effort to change colonial society, "to make it acceptable to the African elite," the colonial administration attempted reforms in the following basic areas: property ownership; residential segregation; judicial treatment; job discrimination; education; and the more intangible field of social relations. The first three, not of central concern to this study, will be discussed only briefly, while the last three will be reviewed in more detail. Although considered separately, many, if not all, were linked and overlapped and had a

²⁶J. P. Ryckmans, op. cit., pp. 10-26. Ryckmans listed discriminatory legislation still in effect which stretched from 1906 to 1950 to provide examples of their extensiveness. They extend from provision of separate toilets for native employees, to prohibiting the natives from drinking hard liquor, to recommending the mulatto children should be recognized so that they can be buried in cemeteries reserved for Whites. He pointed out that even in the 1950's a native official invited to an official reception committed an infraction by drinking an aperitif or cocktail offered to him.

²⁷Rubbens, op. cit., p. 503.

cumulative effect on the Congolese

1. Property Ownership

Individual Congolese land ownership, except for a few exceptions, did not exist in the colonial era. In an attempt to modify this, and to promote the creation of an African bourgeoisie or middle class, a decree was issued in February 1953 giving the Congolese "all property rights organized by written legislation."²⁸ In the urban areas, the decree's application was left up to the provincial governments, and their general failure to act only frustrated Congolese trying to establish the kind of European style households which might have permitted them a chance to qualify for immatriculation during the early 1950's when they were still interested in the prospect.²⁹ In the rural areas, the Ten Year Plan attempted to revive the native "Paysannats" country settlements (from paysan meaning countryman or peasant) which had been first considered in 1933. The paysannat were "above all an

²⁸Piron & Devos, Codes et Lois (Brussels: Imprimerie F. van Buggenhoudt, Vol. I, 1960), p. 209.

²⁹Lumumba, op. cit., pp. 112-113, describes his own bitter experience in attempting to acquire title to his plot of land. The complication was that loans for home construction could only be acquired with proof that the Congolese applicant had title to the property. Lumumba pointed out that Congolese had been held up on the application of the decree for four years and that they would be for several years to come.

infrastructure on which would be established, thanks to modernized agriculture, a new class of population called to play an essential role in the equilibrium of the Congo of tomorrow."³⁰ This was the nucleus of a policy to establish an agricultural évolué in the countryside by giving those settled there permanent title of up to 100 hectares, provided scientific or modern agricultural practices were followed. The Plan called for 500,000 peasants to be located in these settlements and by 1957 the Government had distributed just over 175,000 parcels of land.³¹ Distribution of the parcels did not, however, equate with established settlements, and the Congolese settlers were often extremely uneasy over having been given title to land by the government when it was known by the settlers that traditional tribal claims to that land still existed.³² In effect, the paysannats were costly and meant little after the colonial regime ended. Few Congolese actually derived much benefit from the effort to establish independent landowners, but increasing numbers of Belgian settlers did acquire land for agricultural settlements

³⁰OIRP, Vol. I, p. 268-69.

³¹Ibid.

³²Lemarchand, op. cit., pp. 117-121. Young, op. cit., p. 92.

prior to independence.³³

2. Residential Segregation

From 1898 the law required the separation of European and African quarters. By the end of the colonial period this had reached a point where the division was institutionalized in carefully designed urban planning schemes with green zones of parks and recreation areas separating racial residential districts. In this way, future segregation was carefully built into the country's expanding urban centers. Lumumba observed:

Before they (Whites) come to Africa, they are told that they must always live a long way away from the Blacks. This is proved by the sharp line of demarcation between the European and African quarters. The so-called green belts which separate the European and African quarters are barricades but, in order to fool us, they plant trees and flowers there to look like nursery gardens. If what they tell us is true (about no racial discrimination), it should be put into practice by the high-ups and by the lower ranking officials.³⁴

The only exception to urban segregation was that in some cities and suburbs servants were permitted to live on the compounds of European employers. Not until 1959 was residential segregation abolished legally. However, this legal step did not alter the practice. It was only after

³³An excellent evaluation of the paysannat program was prepared by G. Malengreau in Vers un paysannat indigène (Brussels: ARSOM [Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer] Sci. Mor. et Pol. Vol. XIX, fasc. 2, 1949).

³⁴Lumumba, Congo My Country, op. cit., p. 163.

independence that the European quarters really began to be integrated because many of the houses were left empty after the flight of the Europeans.

3. Judicial Treatment

The legal system for the Congolese consisted of courts held by territorial administrators and of native courts. Congolese, and especially the non-traditional elite, resented that the territorial administrators had several key decrees which made it relatively simple for them to administer punishment of up to a week or so of hard labor plus fines of up to 200 francs. The Congolese complained of the arbitrariness with which this authority was imposed. Again it was the elite who especially resented being judged by native courts because those courts were usually composed of tribally oriented elders who attempted, with colonial guidance, to give traditional practice as adjudicated in these courts a Code Napoléon non-traditional inflexibility.³⁵ What was especially disconcerting to many Congolese was that these native courts did not understand non-traditional laws, legal systems, or practices, yet they were being used to judge matters which were of a non-traditional nature. The elite wanted to avoid this by being judged under Belgian rather than Congolese statutes.

³⁵F. Grévisse, La grande pitié des juridictions indigènes (Brussels: ARSOM, Sci Mor. et Pol., Vol. XIX, Fasc.3, 1949), pp. 47-55.

In 1955 a special commission was appointed to study the judicial system which resulted in the revision of 1958. The problem of administration then faced was that of implementing the reforms which required substantial numbers of trained personnel. Consequently, little was actually accomplished by independence, and the elite especially felt that it was another example of the determination of the administration not to give them equal treatment before the law.

Furthermore, the Congolese were not guaranteed by the Colonial Charter equality before the law, freedom of the press, or freedom of assembly or association.³⁶

4. Job Discrimination

With good reason, the Belgian Congo always prided itself on the number of jobs filled by natives. Congolese held many of the skilled positions in the copperbelt which were reserved for Europeans on the Northern Rhodesian (Zambian) side of the frontier. It was also true that trains driven by Congolese took on white drivers when crossing into Northern Rhodesia. Furthermore, the Congolese were well aware that employment prospects, salaries, and occupational training in the Congo were significantly superior to those to be found in either the neighboring French or Portuguese territories. The large numbers of

³⁶Paulus, op. cit., pp. 385-390.

non-Congolese Africans in the Congo's cities clearly reminded the Congolese of their economic advantages.³⁷

The colonial administration, until the 1950's, managed to avoid serious competition between Europeans and Congolese by defining jobs in terms of educational pre-requisites needed to be considered for such positions. These educational qualifications were impossible for the Congolese to obtain. Thus, even though some of the drop-outs from the senior seminaries and those who became medical assistants could have qualified for a university degree with relatively slight modifications in their programs, they had no opportunity to take those courses which might have made them eligible for academic degrees. Without such degrees they could not qualify for the top four government employment categories, the responsible executive types of jobs held by Europeans.

By the 1950's, the Congolese were not only aware that they were capable of filling positions occupied by Europeans elsewhere, but that they were performing work, in some cases unofficially, more skillfully than many of

³⁷ At independence it was officially estimated that there were 20,000 Angolan natives living in the Leopoldville area. The number of Congo/Brazzaville inhabitants was more difficult to judge because many, especially the Bakongolese, were related to tribes found in both Congos. However, when relations became strained between the two countries in 1965 and it was determined by the Congo/Kinshasa to expell natives of the Congo/Brazzaville, several hundred were evacuated across the river. Very few from Kinshasa had to be repatriated from the Brazzaville/Congo.

the Whites in the Congo.³⁸ Mr. Diomi, later Minister of Health, wrote:

The question is often asked, where one should rank medical assistants in the context of our little Congolese society. Many discussions on this subject have arisen. Can medical assistants be considered comparable to country doctors in Belgium, and thus, can their training be recognized as the equivalent of a higher education, or should they be considered advanced nurses whose knowledge is no greater than that of secondary-school level?³⁹

The Congolese were up against a legislative barrier which they were unable to breach until the end of 1957-- the statutes which had originally worked to the advantage of the Congolese in an effort to see that they got what the government deemed fair treatment from the large employers, now worked effectively to keep them "in their places" insofar as employment classification and pay were concerned.

The colonial administration had a major division known as Administration d'Afrique which was divided into two groups: agents de l'Administration d'Afrique restricted

³⁸ Missionaries often had Congolese serving in capacities which were of equal responsibility to those held by Europeans. De Craemer and Fox also make this point very clearly in their study when discussing the organization of the medical system in the Congo prior to independence. While medical assistants were usually treated as colleagues by European doctors, (p. 30), they were often "disregarded or challenged" by Europeans whose professional competence was significantly inferior to their own (p. 31). The Europeans, "evidently felt threatened and antagonized by the not-to-be-tolerated phenomenon of Congolese men--'des Noirs'--who had higher professional qualifications, rights, and responsibilities than their own." (p. 31)

³⁹ Gaston Diomi, "Connaissez-vous les assistants médicaux?" La Voix du Congolais, 10th Year, No. 94 (January, 1954), p. 602.

to citizens of Belgium and Luxembourg (Congolese were automatically excluded because they were not Belgian citizens but Belgian subjects), and agents auxiliaires de l'Administration reserved for Congolese. These civil service regulations were extremely important since they established the grades, functions, salaries, immoluments, conditions of promotion and separation, etc., of all employees of the state and parastatal organizations. Since these organizations were by far the largest employers in the Congo, they were looked upon as models for employment policies by private firms. Only the religious and philanthropic organizations were not bound by these personnel policies and practices, and they generally were not really competitive in a remunerative sense for Congolese employees because missionary salaries were not competitive with either government or business.

Those in the agents de l'Administration d'Afrique were divided into four categories. Employment in the top three required university degrees, but the fourth category of employees needed only a secondary school diploma. Salaries and rank were progressively higher for the top three categories, with the fourth category having a salary range of 12,00 to 18,00 Belgian francs per month.⁴⁰ As late as

⁴⁰ George Brausch, Belgian Administration in the Congo (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 29, points out that a "European who had not completed his secondary studies could only be employed in the government service on a temporary contract."

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 30.

1957, no Congolese had been appointed to the fourth category reserved for Europeans. While it was claimed that the number of Africans qualified to be appointed to the lowest European category "was only two or three in 1953, it grew rapidly to about 40 in 1956 and about 400 in 1958."⁴¹ What was ignored was the large number of Belgians who had no more than a certificate or diploma of completion of 3 or 4 years of secondary school who were being given temporary contract appointments at this level.⁴²

Furthermore, what constituted a secondary education for regular ^{sub}fourth category appointments was being strictly interpreted as meaning a Belgian secondary school program which disqualified even those who completed the secondary education program available to the Congolese at that time. The rationalization was that "diplomas granted by Congolese schools were inferior to those awarded by Belgian schools," because their primary and secondary education was not of equal quality.⁴³ Such regulations, however, were not keeping up with the educational advancements in the Congo or with the educational achievements of graduates from programs like those at Kisantu. As a result the medical assistants, for example, were not on the same level in the

⁴²de Craemer and Fox, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴³Ibid., p. 35.

administrative hierarchy as a European who was an adjunct sanitary agent, a sanitary agent, or a nurse. In terms of base pay, not to mention prestige, this resulted in the following:

(Congolesse)	Medical assistant	44,750	Belgian francs	a year	
(European)	Adjunct sanitary agent	80,000	"	"	" "
"	Sanitary agent	125,000	"	"	" "
"	Nurse	156,000	"	"	" " 44

Understandably the medical assistants, the most advanced and prestigious non-religious Congolesse, bridled at this treatment and by 1957 were demanding that the government integrate them into the fourth European category. They pointed out that their salaries were about 100,000 BF per year less than that of a Belgian medical assistant.

Basically writing on behalf of the Congolesse clerks, Lumumba in his book asked the government for "equal pay for equal work." He pointed out that not only was the cost of living rising faster than wages, but that those évolués who were attempting to send their children to European schools, who were trying to participate actively in the establishment of the Belgo-Congolesse community, had to provide their children with European-style clothing and food or the children would face hardships and ridicule. At the same time, the Congolesse family had to do this on a salary much smaller than that enjoyed by a European family. While there was no desire to deny what Belgium had accomplished

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 35.

in the Congo, the request for equal pay for equal work was based on the fact that the "Congolese elite . . . only wish(ed) to be 'Belgians' and to be entitled to the same well-being and the same rights, given equal merits, of course. This desire (was) praiseworthy and in accordance with human justice."⁴⁵

Although it was obvious in 1956 that few Congolese clerks could benefit from admission of Congolese to the fourth category of the European division, the general assembly of APIC (the union of Congolese auxiliaries) in its meeting of August 19, 1956, surprised the government. When the 1200^{to} 1500 members present "applauded with all their hearts the extremist position taken by the leaders in favor of demands" which would be applicable to only about twenty of their members who occupied special clerical positions.⁴⁶ It indicated not only that Congolese unions were beginning to work, but that Congolese professional employees (évolués) were willing, even in what appeared to be a rather insignificant matter affecting very few of their members, to oppose the colonial government's position.

As qualifications increased as a result of the educational reforms which made full secondary and then actual university education increasingly available to Congolese,

⁴⁵Lumumba, Congo, My Country, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴⁶R. Poupart, Première esquisse de l'évolution de syndicalisme au Congo (Brussels: Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1960), p. 89. APIC was the Congolese civil service union. "Professional Associations" for Africans were permitted in 1946, but the right to strike was illegal until January, 1957.

the government began to acknowledge that the statutes regulating government employment had to be changed. Again, however, there were the inevitable and seemingly interminable delays in accomplishing the reforms. These delays were blamed on Belgian concerns over the budget, as well as over the way in which the reform should be accomplished. A decision was finally made to establish one scale for both Europeans and Africans--a statut unique. In order to reduce the cost to the government the salaries of the top administrative (European) grades were to be reduced.⁴⁷ This proposal led to strong protest demonstrations by Europeans against Minister Buisseret when he visited Elisabethville in February, 1958, and subsequently there was a change in the government's position. It was then proposed that, while salaries would be reduced, expatriate civil servants would be able to secure special bonuses for overseas service which would in effect compensate for the proposed cuts in top level salaries.

At this point the advanced guard of the university component of the third generation elite moved to support the positions for equal pay being taken by the Congolese

⁴⁷Brausch, op. cit., p. 30. The European civil service union (AFAC Association des Fonctionnaires et Agents de la Colonie) was at first opposed to a unified statute, but reversed itself while fighting to maintain the existing salary levels. The union of Congolese auxiliaries (APIC Association du Personnel Indigène de la Colonie) was the counterpart of AFAC.

clerks. Already dismayed to find that the first Congolese graduates from a metropolitan university were in fact earning 30% less than a European employee with similar qualifications,⁴⁸ the Lovanium students reacted strongly to the new government subterfuge to avoid employment equality for educated Congolese. In February (1958) they sent a memorandum to Buisseret on the subject. When they got no response, they sent an open letter to him in April to remind him of an earlier promise he had made them that ". . . all discrimination between black and white in the Congo was to cease."⁴⁹ Why then were bonuses to be provided to those whose parents were Belgians? This in fact meant that any Belgian, whether he was from the Congo or from Belgium, would receive the expatriate allowances which no Congolese could receive. To the students it was blatant racial discrimination. They mocked an arrangement which permitted Europeans to be Congolese when it came to exploiting the country and its wealth and to be metropolitans when it came to larger salaries. They then threatened that if Europeans and Africans were not given the same treatment they were ". . . ready to turn the Congo into a second Algeria."⁵⁰

⁴⁸Le Courrier d'Afrique, Feb. 13, 1958, quoted in Lemarchand, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁹Slade, The Belgian Congo, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

⁵⁰Ibid.

TABLE 9.1

Statut Unique

Administrative Grades	Annual Pay Range	Minimum Education Required	Type of Position	Source of Appointment
1	Over 440,000	University	Provincial commissioner	Named by the King
2	325,000-440,000	University	District commissioner Territorial administrator Chief police commissioner Bureau chief	Named by the King
3	225,000-325,000	University	Assistant territorial administrator Police commissioner Assistant bureau chief	Named by the King
4	90,000-225,000	Upper half: two years university Lower half: complete secondary	Territorial officer Police sub-commissioner Office supervisor	Named by the Minister or Governor-General
5	73,250-90,000	Secondary	Chief clerk	Named by the Governor-General or his delegate
6	45,000-73,250	Secondary	Clerk	Named by the Governor-General or his delegate
7	Less than 45,000	Four years primary	Office boy	Named by the Governor-General or his delegate

Source: Piron and Devos, *Codes et Lois* (Bruxelles: Imprime F. Van Buggenhoudt, Vol. II, 1960), pp. 430-463. Grade 1 was designated "top functionary;" grade 2, "superior functionary;" and grade 3, "functionary."

This threat, however, they withdrew within a week.⁵¹

After having managed to offend all parties concerned, the government promulgated the new statut unique in January 1959. Whatever Congolese good will the government might have derived from their decision finally to make conditions of employment and remuneration equally applicable to Black and White was probably lost by timing. Since the decree was announced only after the riots that January which led to the policy of immediate independence for the country, the Congolese tended to conclude that it was the violence which had finally accomplished what had been under consideration for nearly ten years. The provisions of the Statut Unique appear in Table 9.1.

By the end of August 1959, 742 Africans had been appointed to posts which had previously been reserved for Europeans. The bulk of this integration was in former Leopoldville Province, and especially in the capital. In the interior provinces the number of Africans appointed remained low. In Katanga for example there were only 33 Africans appointed to former European positions: 17 agricultural officers, 7 health officers, 5 clerks, and 4 territorial officers.⁵² The composition of the Congo's

⁵¹Crawford Young visited the campus of Lovanium in July of 1958, and noted that the issue of inequality under the statut unique was still the leading issue among the students, ". . . it seemed of far more immediate importance than that of the political structures of the Congolese state." Young, op. cit., p. 97, F.N.

⁵²Brausch, Belgian Administration, op. cit., p. 30.

civil service before independence appears in Table 9.2.

TABLE 9.2
Composition of Civil Service, 1960

Administrative Grades	European	African
1	106	0
2	1,004	1
3	3,532	2
4	5,159	800
5-7	0	11,000
TOTAL	9,701	11,803

Source: INCIDI, Staff Problems in Tropical and Subtropical Countries (Brussels: 1961), p. 174.

Once the government had begun to apply the statut unique, private firms began to adopt comparable wage scale systems. Prior to independence, however, few Congolese received wages comparable to Europeans.

While the civil service had been integrated, its structure had in fact changed very little. The Congolese had broken the legal barrier, and they had also broken into the 4th category. However, educational qualifications, with three exceptions, still barred them from the most

powerful administrative positions.⁵³ By independence only a handful of Congolese had had any administrative experience at authoritative levels of the colonial civil service.

5. Discrimination in Education

To be equally qualified for employment, the Congolese had to be equally educated and trained. The steps taken in this direction after World War II have already been reviewed. As indicated, Congolese schools were steadily upgraded to provide them with programs, especially at the secondary level, which approached equality with those in the expanding European schools. However, the actual mixing of the races in the European schools went forward hesitantly. In 1948 schools reserved for European children were opened to Asian children and to children of mixed race who were adopted by Europeans or whose European fathers accepted legal responsibility for them. Two years later this was expanded to include other Euro-african children as well as Congolese children who were living in a European type environment. The African children who applied for admission to European schools under the latter category had to appear before special commissions which inquired into the " . . . moral,

⁵³Auguste Kalanda-Mabika (also listed in Artigue as Kalandra-Mabita), who graduated from Lovanium in the first class of 1958 (carried on the Lovanium list of graduates as Auguste Kalanda), was the only Congolese who entered the service at a top grade following the Belgian pattern of having a University degree and passing the examination administered in Brussels.

cultural and intellectual standards of the parents, and their financial means, which had to be sufficient to allow the child to finish his secondary studies."⁵⁴ At the primary level the number of Africans enrolled in European schools throughout the Congo increased steadily from 1953 (see Table 9.3).

TABLE 9.3
Number of African Children Enrolled
in European Primary Schools--1950's

Year	Number
1953	21
1954	75
1956	203
1957	446
1958	850
1959	1493

Source: G. Brausch, Belgian Administration in the Congo (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 27 and on p. 88, Table 1, Comparative Statistics of Non-European Students in Metropolitan Primary Schools.

By independence Congolese constituted about 8% of the primary school enrollment in the European schools, but only about 5% of the secondary school enrollment.⁵⁵ The fact that the

⁵⁴Brausch, Belgian Administration, op. cit., p. 27.

⁵⁵George, op. cit., p. 24.

school designations changed in 1956-57 from "European" and "native" to "de régime métropolitain" and "de régime congolais" and again in 1959 to "écoles de programme métropolitain" and "écoles de programme congolais" did not significantly change the enrollment picture--Congolese were not over 15% of the student enrollment of the former European system, but were 100% of the native system. In part this was compensated for, as previously noted, by the increasing number of Congolese schools which adopted the metropolitan program.

The procedure which the évolués parents had to go through to enroll their children in European schools became increasingly difficult for them to tolerate. It also represented a form of racial discrimination easily open to abuse. "It was not surprising that a parent objected if the commission deemed his child to be unsuitable for a European school on grounds of health, while at the same time he was told that the child's condition was not serious enough to warrant medical attention. This happened in a large number of cases in Elisabethville in the autumn of 1958."⁵⁶

6. Social Integration

In a sense the effort to promote social integration between Black and White was the objective of the Belgo-

⁵⁶Slade, The Belgian Congo, op. cit., p. 30.

Congolese Community. Ryckmans, in his appeal for rededication to the colonial task "to rule in order to serve," urged Belgium to greater paternalistic social welfare. By 1952 Governor General Jungers warned his fellow-countrymen that "The hand held out too late may be refused" and that, therefore, Congolese seeking association with the Europeans should be granted it. Petillon, as Governor General of the Congo, warned the government council in 1953 that the future of the Congo would be decided by human relations established with the Congolese by the Belgians. In 1956 he took pains to try to define what the Belgo-Congolese Community was--and was not--and he started by pointing out the difference between the Belgo-Congolese Union and the Belgo-Congolese Community:

The Belgo-Congolese Union is concerned with the constitutional relationships that will some day be established between Belgium and the Congo. Today's major problem is a different one. It is related to the implementation of an internal Belgo-Congolese Community through a policy of association, taking into account the whole and the parts, principles and contingencies, convergences and divergences.⁵⁷

In effect the community idea reflected an uneasy balance between the demands of the évolué for equality and the refusal of the colonials to relinquish privileges.

Petillon admitted that the policy tried at the same time

⁵⁷Discours de Gouverneur-Général (Leopoldville: 1956), p. 20. See also: Andre Durieux, Souveraineté et communauté belgo-congolaise (Bruxelles: Académie Royal des Sciences Coloniales, 1959).

to be, " . . . idealist and realist, clear and nuancée, cautious and bold,"⁵⁸ and added:

We have rejected (1) the policy of juxtaposition because it is incompatible with the creation of organic ties and the promotion of a new society; and (2) the policy of assimilation because it would end up in a simplistic substitution of Western civilization for Bantu customs . . . A policy of association, on the other hand, need not take numbers into account; it tends toward a community of interests, aspirations, and good human relations between . . . the natives and the Belgians established in the Congo.⁵⁹

As Lumumba had pointed out, the Belgo-Congolese Community had to be based on "mutual respect" and "adminis-
tered and directed jointly by the Belgians and the Congolese. Neither of the two sections of the Belgo-Congolese Community must dominate or persecute the other."⁶⁰ Furthermore, the
" . . . achievement of the Belgo-Congolese Community (was) inextricably linked with the advancement of the Congolese elite, without which the Community (would be) only a sham."⁶¹ However, the treatment which the Congolese elite received from the European was invariably two-sided: On the one hand, the Europeans were proud of their creation, and they pointed out to the Belgians at home that they "would tip their hats" especially to those Congolese évolués

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 23.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁰Lumumba, Congo My Country, op. cit., pp. 181-82.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 158.

who had proven themselves "worthy" of immatriculation.⁶²

On the other hand, it was admitted:

The évolués live in the European style, striving to achieve the same life style, copying all our attitudes down to the smallest detail . . . He is not always without a certain gaucherie in gesture and language which certain Europeans react to with irony or anger. The response of the Europeans is often uncivil and the expression 'espèce d'évolué' hurts the African.⁶³

The évolués were, in short, caught in between; they were both praised and ridiculed by Europeans for attempting to imitate the European model. At the same time, the Congolese were becoming increasingly frustrated by governmental policies which they felt demonstrated official equivocation, immobilism, or connivance to inhibit their integration. Lumumba warned that the Congolese were coming to the conclusion, perhaps illogical, that:

The Government is scheming and intriguing with its officials to hoodwink us. The Government promises us this or that, enacts its laws and regulations and makes spectacular speeches, but the Government officials go in the other direction; perhaps they have received secret instructions. Even at school in Europe, they are taught to be cunning in dealing with the Blacks.⁶⁴

There were a number of groups established during the 1950's which attempted to promote social integration between

⁶²Marie-Louise Comeliau, Au Congo face aux réalités (Bruxelles: Editions L. Cuyppers, 1955), p. 147.

⁶³Ibid., p. 146. "Espèce d'évolué" is derived from the more common "espèce de macaque" but a close translation of it would probably be "fool of an évolué" while the latter, already discussed, is "species of monkey."

⁶⁴Lumumba, op. cit., p. 163.

Black and White on a person-to-person basis. Belgo-Congolese groups were established, as were religious and discussion groups. "Some of these . . . tended to foster somewhat artificial contacts with no relevance to the ordinary relationships between black and white in daily life, and Africans became embittered by the fact that Europeans who would warmly shake hands with them in the context of a Belgo-Congolese group would pass them by in the street without a sign of recognition."⁶⁵ A personal level of interracial social interaction took time, and there was little left.

When Petillon sought to regain the political initiative which he felt the colonial administration was losing, he appealed to the peoples of the Congo to work with him toward constructive "decolonization." He hoped that this objective would generate a dynamism which would serve to link the concepts of the Belgo-Congolese Community, the Abako Manifesto of 1956, the Van Bilson 30 year plan, and finally the proposals of the Conscience Africaine.⁶⁶ Unfortunately for Minister Petillon's effort, the word "independence" had already generated a reaction which condemned lesser proposals to oblivion.

⁶⁵Slade, op. cit., p. 38.

⁶⁶In the July-August 1956 issue of the Leopoldville newspaper, Conscience Africaine, a group of Congolese stated that they wanted the Congo to "become a great nation in the center of the African continent." The paper had a strong Catholic flavor. Its editor at the time was Joseph Ileo, later Prime Minister of the Congo.

D. The Crisis of Confidence in Education

As a member of a Senate commission in 1947 sent to investigate the situation in the overseas territories and to make recommendations for future policy, Mr. Buisseret prepared a detailed report on the education system in the Congo. The report as a whole has been heralded as the event which initiated the discovery of the Congo by Belgian politicians.⁶⁷ It also indicated the kinds of reforms which Buisseret wanted to see accomplished in education and prepared him to launch a major educational reform soon after he had become Minister of the Colonies in 1954. The basis of the reforms was the report submitted by a mission Buisseret appointed. There were two major steps which the government was proposing: (1) opening to African children a laic educational network similar to the one started for European children in 1946; and (2) sharply reducing the subsidies to the Catholic schools. The members of the commission went further, however, by severely criticizing the Catholic school system.⁶⁸ The Church reacted by threatening to go on strike and to close Catholic schools if the State reduced subsidies as had been proposed.

The battle (the "schools war") was joined. The

⁶⁷Brausch, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Sénat de Belgique, Rapport de la mission sénatorial au Congo et dans les territoires sous tutelle belge (Bruxelles: Graphica, 1947).

⁶⁸La réforme de l'enseignement: Mission pédagogique Coulon-Deheyn-Renson (Brussels: 1954).

companies were generally opposed to the new government policy for fear that it would destroy the alliance which had traditionally prevailed between State, Church, and business. As the Church began to hit back and condemn the lack of objectivity in the report, based in part on the obvious anti-clerical bias of the commission's members, the Governor General stepped in to warn of the dangers involved in introducing Belgian party politics into the colony. "In the Congo we should not start to scorn and hate each other. We ought not to allow the inhabitants of the country--I am thinking especially of the natives--to be led into false conflicts, nor enlisted in factions" ⁶⁹ However, the Congolese press took up the question with enthusiasm--the accusation that the Catholic schools for Congolese were basically inferior and the prospect that 80% of the colony's schools might be closed were matters of prevailing and fundamental concern. The Congolese, and especially the évolués of both the second and third generations, found for the first time they could attack the Church without being considered barbarian or anti-Christian. Many Europeans were doing the same thing and were in fact encouraging the Congolese to participate in anti-clericalism. Certainly Congolese had been aware that there were significant differences between and within the governing European

⁶⁹ Governor General Petillon to the Conseil de Gouvernement, 18 August 1955, quoted in Ruth Slade, The Belgian Congo, op. cit., p. 40.

groups, however, they had never been drawn into a colonial political question so deliberately by both sides concerned. Furthermore, these were Belgians versus Belgians rather than Belgian Catholics versus foreign (non-Belgian European) Protestants. Education was the point of controversy, but it opened up basic policy disagreements between Church and State. Although subsequently there were only a few lay schools built for Congolese, they were excellent and extremely well equipped. " . . . The Congolese were given the impression that the missionaries could have provided them with such schools long before, if only they had not wanted to retard African progress."⁷⁰

The Catholic missionaries put out detailed budgetary statements showing how much the Church contributed financially to the schools, how many more Congolese were educated in Catholic schools, subsidized and unsubsidized, than in the State system, and how expensive and limited were the educational opportunities provided by the State. However, this type of justification meant little to Congolese who had become increasingly skeptical of either government or Church pronouncements. They knew that the Europeans had the power to provide the Congolese with equal education if the Europeans wished. Rationalizations to the contrary were

⁷⁰Ruth Slade, The Belgian Congo, op. cit., p. 41.

simply unacceptable.⁷¹

The outcome of the dispute was that the Church essentially retained its subsidization support and began to prepare itself for the eventuality of Congolese independence. In June, 1956, the Bishops of the Congo issued the following as part of a declaration:

All the inhabitants of a country have the duty to collaborate actively for the common good. They have therefore the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs.

The trustee nation is obligated to respect this right and to favor its exercise by progressive political education.

It is not for the Church to pronounce on the precise form in which a people's emancipation may come. She considers this legitimate so long as it is accomplished in charity and the respect of mutual rights.⁷²

Certainly the establishment of new schools in the Congo under State control was an excellent idea, and it provided the Congolese for the first time with the option of education in non-religious institutions. It also provided them with the kind of educational option which had been available to the Europeans since 1946. At the same time it extended metropolitan politics into the Congo, but instead of the Belgian parties being able to use the Congolese to promote their own political objectives, it was the Congolese who were able to play on the European divisions

⁷¹Ibid., Ruth Slade points out, "The évolués were anti-clerical rather than anti-Christian; above all, they were anti-colonial, and the unpopularity of the missionaries (on this issue) was but one expression of growing nationalism."

⁷²Ibid., p. 33.

to acquire a meaningful role in Congolese educational policy-making.

The extent to which the Congolese were able to capitalize on this new power was well demonstrated in the debates which occurred in 1957 in the Conseil du Gouvernement and in the provincial councils over language policy in secondary schools. The question of the position of Flemish in the Congo had been raised again, and because of the political dangers which the subject could arouse in Belgium, some steps had been taken to placate Flemish sensitivities on the subject. At the University at Elisabethville, for example, a special Flemish section had been created. Beyond this, Congolese politicians saw no advantage whatsoever for having their educational system warped because of linguistic arguments in Belgium. Transplanting that argument to the Congo was confronted head-on by Congolese with a new found confidence. Gaston Diomi, for example, expressed the widely held Congolese reaction to equality for Flemish in Congolese schools with a directness and force which only a short time earlier probably would have been unconscionable to the Europeans:

We see no valid reason for the study of a second (foreign) language; to impose a knowledge of Flemish, while it is not in the interest of the Congolese, would be pure colonialism . . . I feel . . . that imposing knowledge of Flemish on the natives is equivalent to seeking one day to exclude from the administration those Congolese who do not speak Flemish. If . . . we are obliged to study Flemish . . . we will demand that all the

functionaries speak our four native languages, that all administrative documents be translated in the four languages, and that we are addressed in our own language in offices.⁷³

Congolese could and were influencing the shape and content of their educational system through direct and active pressure on the colonial political structure. They had been invited into the politics of the "schools war" between the Church and the Liberal-Socialist coalition government, and they were able from that time on to maintain the precedent that had been established. This entree into the politics of education not only provided political experience for Congolese, but it was an opening wedge into general participation in Congo colonial politics.

E. The Political Dominance of the Second Generation Elite

As was previously indicated in Table 7.4, the first cabinet of the Lumumba government, those with the most education by 1960, the third generation of elite, were quite meagerly represented in that government. The second generation, and especially those who had worked for government or the parastatal organizations, essentially the clerks, were the ones in control of the new government. This was not only true of the first cabinet, but it was also true of the membership of the legislature and of the non-traditional

⁷³Quoted in La Voix du Congolais, No. 143 (February, 1958), p. 103, and taken from the Conseil du Gouvernement session of December 21, 1957.

members of the Congolese delegation to the pre-independence Round Table Conference.

TABLE 9.4
Occupations of Non-traditional Congolese
Delegates to the Round Table

Clerical Employees		25
Government or Parastatal	(15)	
Private Sector	(8)	
Retired	(2)	
Self-employed		5
Traditional Chiefs		2
Teachers		1
Unknown		2
Total		35

Sources: CRISP, Congo, 1959 Documents belge et africains, (Brussels: 1960), pp. 281-302; W. J. Ganshof van der Meersch, Congo, mai-juin 1960, Rapport du ministre chargé des affaires générales en Afrique (Brussels: 1960); P. Artigue, Qui sont les leaders congolais? (Brussels: Editions Europe-Afrique, 1961); and Paule Bouvier, L'accession du Congo-Belge à l'indépendance. Essais d'analyse sociologique (Brussels: Institut de Sociologie, 1965), p. 58.

Note: Of the alternate delegates to this conference of January-February, 1960 at Brussels, which determined the independence schedule of the Congo, the occupations of 27 have been identified as follows: Clerical Employees--18 (of whom 15 were government and 3 private); Journalists--3; Self-employed--3; Traditional Chiefs--2; and Union Member--1. Excluded from the above figures are those who were named in the "traditional delegation."

While questions were raised at the time about, " . . . the absence of the superior level (Congolese) elite,⁷⁴ the

⁷⁴Bouvier, op. cit., p. 50.

conference was designed to be attended by representatives of different political groups in the Congo, and the third generation elite basically were not included within that leadership. However, "the young Congolese university students (in Belgium) played an important role at the conference."⁷⁵ Their activity and that of the students at Lovanium in 1958 constituted the major participation in pre-independence events by the third generation elite. The exceptions, as already mentioned, were those three students who had already returned from Belgium with their university degrees and had entered politics.

1. Age and Occupation of the First Legislators (See Table 9.5)

The election of Congolese officials was accomplished and the subsequent framework for the independent Congo was established pursuant to the loi fondamentale. It was drafted by the Belgians, and according to their agreement with Congolese political leaders, it was to be based on the resolutions of the Brussels Round Table Conference of January, 1960. The resulting document also happened to be patently similar to the Belgian Constitution, and Raymond Scheyver, at that time Minister in Charge of Economic Affairs for the Congo, noted prior to independence, "We have presented the Congolese with a political system similar

⁷⁵W. J. Ganshof van der Meersch, Fin de la souveraineté belge au Congo, op. cit., p. 164.

TABLE 9.5

Ages and Occupations of Congolese National Legislators

Age & Occupation	House of Representatives	Senate	Totals
AGE	(137)	(84)	(221)
25-29	24	--	24
30-39	68	50	118
40-49	36	22	58
50-59	5	7	12
60 and over	0	1	1
Unknown	4	4	8
OCCUPATION			
<u>Public Sector</u>	(66)	(31)	(97)
Civil Servants ^a	20	11	31
Civil Servants in Professions ^b	17	6	23
Clerks ("Commis") ^c	19	9	28
Teachers	10	5	15
<u>Private Sector</u>	(34)	(16)	(50)
Lawyers ^d	0	1	1
Traders or Small Shopkeepers	14	3	17
Accountants	4	6	10
Farmers	5	0	5
Clerks	7	2	9
Other ^e	4	4	8

TABLE 9.5 Continued

Age & Occupation	House of Representatives	Senate	Totals
<u>Native Authorities and Local Government</u>	(22)	(30)	(52)
Customary Chiefs	3	14	17
"Chefs de Secteur"	12	13	25
"Bourgmestres"	5	0	5
Other ^f	2	3	5
<u>Unknown</u>	(15)	(7)	(22)

^aIncludes the gradations of clerical jobs above the basic clerical position: commis chefs, commis principaux, rédacteurs, and agents de la quatrième catégorie.

^bIncludes male nurses (infirmiers), agricultural technicians, and medical assistants. Six medical assistants achieved national prominence in politics prior to independence (De Craemer and Fox, op. cit., p. 41.)

^c"Commis": Basic clerical grade.

^dThe one Congolese lawyer was Senator Promontorio.

^eOther: Includes Journalists, Artisans, and Technicians with educational level of 2 to 3 years usually at the post-primary level.

^fOther: Includes territorial and provincial level Congolese councilors.

Source: René Lemarchand, Political Awakening in the Belgian Congo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 227-228; E. Bustin, "The Congo" in Gwendolen M. Carter, Five African States Responses to Diversity (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 108; and Pierre Artigue, Qui sont les leaders congolais? (Brussels: Editions Europe-Afrique, 1961).

to ours . . . It features communes, provincial assemblies, a bicameral system, and a political system with a titular head of state."⁷⁶

a. Age

On the matter of minimum age limits for parliamentarians, the Belgian constitution required that Senators be forty years old and Deputies twenty-five, as compared to thirty and twenty-five respectively provided for in the fundamental law for the Congo. These age requirements were acceptable to the Congolese delegates to the Round Table, most of whom were from the second generation or traditional elites, who were generally not bothered by the minimums. There appears to have been some feeling among the Congolese that men of forty were already old, and therefore while the Senate minimum should be lowered, the House minimum was to remain the same as it was in Belgium.⁷⁷ Although the age requirements were modified, the general pattern was that, unless there was a good reason to deviate from the Belgian

⁷⁶CRISP, Congo, 1960 (Brussels: 1961), p. 107.

⁷⁷Bustin, op. cit., p. 107. Mr. H. De Schryver, son of A. De Schryver, Minister of the Belgian Congo and of Ruanda-Urundi in 1959 and 1960 (who " . . . took the moral and political obligation to translate into law in Parliament the resolutions of the Round Table as they pertained to the independence of the Congo"), (Van der Meersch, op. cit., p. 163), confirmed on June 19, 1970, that questions of eligibility were not a problem in the preparation of the fundamental law.

Constitution, the fundamental law would be the same.⁷⁸ Thus the average age in the Senate was approximately ten years older than in the House. Even so, both houses of the legislature were young with the 30-39 year old age group in each easily outnumbering other age groups.

Even though the majority of the third generation elite were about three years older than their European counterparts at university graduation, few were eligible candidates for the House and, with one exception, none for the Senate because of their ages.⁷⁹ Of the thirty Congolese university graduates at independence, twelve had just completed their degrees in the Congo. Given the demands of their academic programs they probably would not have been able to enter politics at this time even if they had been eligible or had had the inclination to do so. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the fundamental law could, on the basis of age, have inhibited entry of the most educated Congolese into the

⁷⁸F. Perin, Les Institutions politiques du Congo indépendant (Léopoldville: Institut Politique Congolais, 1960), p. 29, explains, "It is strange to notice that the attempt to adopt the form of the metropolitan government is a constant phenomenon of young decolonized nations. The experience is often disappointing, the historical, economical, and sociological conditions of the new nations being profoundly different."

⁷⁹Note: Senator Promontorio, whose father was Italian, had graduated much earlier in Belgium and had been admitted to practice law in Brussels for several years prior to returning to the Congo. He was not a member of those Congolese who began to enter universities in Belgium and the Congo in the 1950's.

legislature not only at independence but, in principle at least, for a number of years thereafter as well.

The university educated were a new entity in a colonial society which had never yet had to deal with Congolese carrying the same academic credentials as Europeans. As Bouvier has stated in his sociological study of Congolese independence, ". . . the European recognizes relatively more easily the political competence of a Senghor, an N'Krumah, an Awolowo, A Nyerere . . . because they have been formed within the complex of their own (European) culture, where they have acquired uncontested academic grades and where to refuse to recognize their intellectual standing would be in a way to disown their own (European) culture."⁸⁰ Two Congolese university graduates with Belgian academic qualifications, Justin Bomboko and Thomas Kanza, were assigned to posts in which these credentials were felt to be most advantageous in dealing with foreigners as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister to the United Nations respectively.

b. Occupation

With regard to occupation, it is interesting to note that nearly half of the members of the House of Representatives were civil servants, while in the Senate just over one-third

⁸⁰Paule Bouvier, L'accession du Congo-Belge a l'indépendance. Essais d'analyse sociologique (Brussels: Institut de Sociologie, 1965), p. 58.

were. The composition of the legislature and of the Lumumba cabinet support the point made by Balandier regarding the Congo/Brazzaville elite and subsequently adapted by Young in reference to the Congo/Leopoldville: the modern elite was an "administrative bourgeoisie."⁸¹ "As a highly bureaucratized society, the potential employers for the new elite were invariably either a state or parastatal organization or a large enterprise."⁸² Furthermore, within the Lumumba cabinet nearly three-fourths of the ministers had worked as clerks, while in the House of Representatives and in the Senate the percentage, combining both public and private sectors, was about two-fifths for each.⁸³

To assure that the traditional elite would be represented, the fundamental law required that three "customary chiefs" or "notables" had to be among the fourteen senators sent by each province. Thus, out of the twenty-seven customary chiefs and chiefs of sectors, eighteen were elected on an obligatory basis, and only nine additional members of

⁸¹Georges Balandier, Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1955), p. 123.

⁸²Young, op. cit., p. 197.

⁸³Those trained as clerks could advance to commis chefs, commis principaux, rédacteurs or even to agents de la quatrième catégorie. Except for the last grade, promotion to the others was determined largely by seniority. Among those Congolese placed in the quatrième catégorie following the promulgation of the "statut unique" only one, Justin Bomboko, had had a university education.

the traditional elite won seats in the Senate. In the House of Representatives the traditional elite held fifteen seats of which only three were held by customary chiefs while twelve were held by chiefs of sectors who were colonial administrative appointees and whose claims to the rights and privileges of customary chiefs was often tenuous and occasionally non-existent. The failure of Belgian educational policy to prepare the traditional elite to participate effectively in the non-traditional environment was emphasized by the fact that most of the seventeen customary chiefs elected to the legislature were illiterate.⁸⁴

2. The Intermediate Elite

The most educated and eligible of the Congolese, the intermediate elite, including priests and pastors who had historically been at the top of every generation of Congolese educated elite, were, respectively, slightly represented and not represented at all in the independence government. The age limits imposed by the fundamental law did not inhibit them as those limitations did the third generation elite. The major factors identified as explaining their non-participation in the independence movement are the following.

a. Elite status under colonial rule

Certainly the intermediate elite were not receiving

⁸⁴Lemarchand, op. cit., pp. 227-228.

adequate pay for the training received and the jobs performed. Nevertheless, this professionally qualified group, medical and technical assistants, agricultural technicians, and a few administrative specialists and social workers, were the best paid and most occupationally skilled of the Congolese. The colonial ranking reflected itself not only in salary but also in concomitant fringe benefits which included better housing and larger allowances, all of which made it easier for them to get their children into the best schools. Through their efforts they had made it to the top in the educated Congolese colonial society, and, even though there were "seemingly immovable barriers before them," they continued to work within the system to try to achieve their goals.⁸⁵ There also appears to have been the conviction among the intermediate elite that when the system allowed Congolese to advance further, they would be promoted.

As for the Congolese priests, they were, as has already been indicated, discouraged from participating in politics. In the interior of the country they represented the Church in contacts with the traditional elite, but relations with colonial officials were left to the missionaries. Although the Abbé Joseph Malula organized a small

⁸⁵De Craemer and Fox, op. cit., pp. 38-39. While this was written of the medical assistants, it appears to apply also to those who were trained as agricultural technicians. Interview with Father Vanneste, Director, and Father Ulyndant of the Ecole Technique Agricole de Tshibashi, at the School, July 6, 1969.

cultural group in 1953 which became associated with the editorial committee of Conscience Africaine, there is little to indicate that Congolese priests participated directly in the independence movement.⁸⁶ When it came to making major Church policy, such as the Bishop's declaration of 1956, European rather than Congolese priests were involved. The Church's fight with the colonial and metropolitan governments over education policy, the "schools war" during the Buisseret period, was between the Church and the government and was therefore left up to the Europeans. Matters related to independence were similarly considered to be basically European. In short, Church hierarchy, structure and discipline appear to have been major factors in discouraging Congolese priests from engaging in political activities related to the independence movement.⁸⁷

For the pastors it was somewhat different. The Protestants were always the foreign mission, and they were extremely careful to reassure constantly the Belgian administration of their loyalty. At major Protestant conferences

⁸⁶ Lemarchand, op. cit., pp. 156-157. Lemarchand makes the point that in the case of the Conscience Africaine: The Church was probably blamed for inspiring the Manifesto of 1956, but the publication was more accurately being used by the évolués, such as the editor Joseph Ileo, to express themselves.

⁸⁷ Interviews with Victor Ndagano and H. Buya, who has since left the priesthood, confirm this. Buya stated that the degree of Church control was a major reason why he, and friends of his in the priesthood, had left their religious profession.

there were declarations of support and loyalty addressed to the Governor General and to the King. The Protestants were willing to confront the State on questions related to treatment of the Congolese, but they tried to avoid strictly political matters, and they urged their pastors to do so as well. The large number of British and American missionaries among the Protestants had their own ethnocentric ideas which reinforced policies of divisions of responsibilities and obligations between church and state. These were passed on to Protestant pastors.⁸⁸

For both priests and pastors there was the additional factor that the majority of them were in rural areas where they were not as able to become directly involved in political activities. The major schools for training priests and pastors were in relatively rural settings, and the vast majority of the Congolese clergy were assigned to up-country churches and schools. They were not as exposed to racial discrimination and usually had a close working, and often affective, relationship with missionaries and even with colonial officials. With the rural masses only involved vicariously, if at all, in the urban riots and agitations, there was not an atmosphere conducive to political activities.

⁸⁸ Interviews with Ben Hobgood, ULC; Reverend Peter Brashler, African Inland Mission, Bunia; Ronald Meyers, Director, Evangelic Mission of the Ubangi, Gemena; and Dr. William Rule, Christian Medical Institute of Kasai, Tshikaji.

b. Professional Considerations

Professional ethics also exercised a strong influence on both the intermediate and religious elite. Medical assistants, for example, in spite of their frustrations from "government, educational, and, to some extent, Catholic mission policy in the colonial era, were not inclined to take part in the kind of politics which brought independence to their country in 1960."⁸⁹ Politics and medicine were considered incompatible by many medical assistants:

Politics are brutal . . . and they divide. It is the job of medicine and those who practice it to heal, unify and construct . . . Unlike politics, medicine is a work of clarity, a work in which the line of conduct is honest and straight . . . The man of medicine must receive and assist whoever comes to him . . . I feel and I have always felt that I can do more for this country in a medical capacity than as a politician"⁹⁰

Organizations to which medical assistants belonged prior to independence were overwhelmingly confined to affairs relevant to the status of the profession and to social, cultural or recreational activities.

The agricultural assistants were actively engaged in research and agricultural extension work. As a result they were in close association with colonial administrators and with projects involved with the increase and diversification of crops, as well as assisting the lagging agricultural sector of the Ten Year Plan and the development of cooperatives.

⁸⁹De Craemer and Fox, op. cit., p. 41.

⁹⁰Ibid.

They were a bridge between the Congolese and colonial rural societies and, as such, were well received by both.⁹¹ Certainly they, like the medical assistants, were experiencing frustrations with the regulations of the colonial administration, but also like the medical assistants, they too were fully engaged in their occupations and were dedicated to the improvement of agriculture in the Congo and consequently to the well-being of the Congolese farmers.

Congolese priests and pastors, administered by their European missionary colleagues, and usually rurally based, had very heavy ~~and~~ religious and educational duties and responsibilities. These considerations and the effort on the part of the missionaries to protect their Congolese religious personnel from engaging in confrontations with the colonial administration, kept the Congolese priests and pastors on the sidelines of the independence movement. The churches had to be in a position to be able to work with whatever political entity evolved in the Congo, and mass participation by their Congolese religious leaders would have jeopardized this. The religious educational systems were heavily dependent upon State subsidies for support--on the colonial government as long as it existed and then on whatever independent government might succeed it. This reliance, emphasized by the State's threat to cut the

⁹¹Interview with Father Ulynandt, Ecole Technique Agricole de Tshibashi, Kasai.

subsidies in 1956, was one of the considerations from which religious personnel could not escape.

As mentioned above, there was also the effort by the missionaries to stress the moral, ethical, and duty orientation of Congolese religious personnel and to de-emphasize the material and the political. It was on these bases that the churches retained their educated personnel at wages considerably lower than other Congolese of a similar level of training were making. The separation of church and state was practiced by the Congolese priests and pastors because whatever political activities the churches engaged in were essentially by the missionaries.

c. The Role of the Intermediate Elite

It was difficult for the intermediate elite to play a role advocating either revolution or immediate independence. Father Van Wing, in writing about the top 10% of évolués, the group which would include the intermediate elite in this study, noted, "Undoubtedly . . . many are outstanding in the conduct of their personal lives and in their professional obligations. But they are too few to influence the whole (of the évolués group)."⁹² Furthermore, the intermediate lay elite tended to be isolated from the second generation elite and in a sense were " . . . often caught in mid-stream . . . detached from the mass of their people

⁹²Van Wing, "La formation d'une élite noire au Congo Belge," op. cit., p. 157.

among whom they ought to (have been) a stabilizing influence"93 At the same time, the lay component of the intermediate elite, though better received among the Europeans than any other Congolese short of the religious elite, were still, as far as the Europeans were concerned, " . . . an elite not formed in an academic environment which caused them to be mistrusted."94

Even though the intermediate lay elite were generally the most professionally prominent and best paid Congolese civil servants, the failure of the colonial government to make immatriculation meaningful and to promulgate the statut unique early enough to have influenced them, tended to assure that they would not depart from their apolitical stance--that they would not become a source of support for the colonial administration. At the same time, they also remained too divorced from the political milieu of the second generation elite to become actively involved in the independence movement.

The views held by the priests on immatriculation were as unfavorable as those held by intermediate lay elite:

. . . the policy of immatriculation has not given favorable results. The Blacks consider that that

93J. Van Hove, "L'éducation et l'évolution de la société indigène en Afrique Belge," L'enseignement à dispenser aux indigènes dans les territoires non autonomes (Bruxelles: Librairie Encyclopedique, 1951), p. 142.

94Bouvier, op. cit., p. 58.

formality tends to create an isolated and privileged caste on the one hand detached from the Congolese mass and misunderstanding them, and on the other not integrated by the Europeans. The Blacks hold this conviction so firmly that the Black priests refuse to have themselves immatriculated in order to remain near their 'people.'⁹⁵

The priests therefore refused to accept the State's willingness to recognize them as being civilized, even though it was made clear that the priests only needed to ask.

Those who constituted the intermediate elite, both lay and religious, expressed a conviction that they had been used and by-passed by the colonial administration. As one medical assistant remarked after being shown the site of Lovanium University during a visit to Leopoldville in 1952:

I can remember looking up at that hill and thinking: 'This is as close as I'll ever get to the University.' We considered ourselves the sacrificed ones of the century.⁹⁶

Almost the same terminology was used by Congolese priests, "We are the sacrificed generation," following independence.⁹⁷

⁹⁵J. P. Paulus, Droit public du Congo Belge (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1959), p. 337.

⁹⁶De Craemer and Fox, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

⁹⁷Interview with Victor Ndagano, March, 1968. Father Ndagano indicated that this was a commonly expressed opinion among Congolese priests during the post-independence period. A part of the disenchantment which resulted led to the defection of considerable numbers of priests from the Church.

There is no doubt that the intermediate elite felt that they had worked the hardest and achieved the most within the colonial society for the benefit not only of themselves but of their fellow Congolese as well as of the Belgian administration. However, when independence was given to the colony they, the most professionally trained available among the Congolese, were bypassed, and power and control of the country were placed in the hands of those the intermediate elite felt were less qualified, the second generation elite. A part of the disenchantment which resulted led to the defection of considerable numbers of priests from the Church.⁹⁸ Although the number involved and the permanence of the disaffection are not known, it appears that not until about 1968 did the Church feel that it had overcome the "shock of independence" and was once again holding its own in the attraction to and maintenance of the Congolese priesthood.⁹⁹

However, the intermediate elite, both lay and religious, and Protestant as well as Catholic, were in many instances deliberately recruited to complete their university

⁹⁸ From the author's own experience at least 6 defrocked Congolese priests made application to study in the United States in the period 1960-61-62.

⁹⁹ Interview with Father Joseph Van Keerberghen, Diocesan Inspector, Luluabourg, Kasai, July, 1969. This coincides with an increase in enrollment in theological studies at Lovanium in 1966/67 (17), and 1967/68 (20).

training programs in foreign universities after 1960.

Medical assistants, 115 of them by August, 1966, had become doctors of medicine through university medical school training programs in France, Switzerland, and Belgium.¹⁰⁰

While the numbers are not available, there are still Congolese priests studying in universities in these same countries, as well as in Italy, who would have been among those in the intermediate elite generation.

Protestant pastors eligible for admission to university level studies have for the most part been sponsored by their denominations for university theological studies in the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and, in a few instances, in Scandinavia.¹⁰¹ Certainly the Protestant denominations also suffered from the loss of pastors into better paying positions which were during the post-independence disruptions physically safer for themselves and their families, but again numbers are not available.¹⁰² At the Protestant University at Kisangani (ULC), a theological school has been established and attendance appears to be satisfactory.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ De Craemer and Fox, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Interviews with members of the Congo Protestant Council in Kisangani, March, 1968.

¹⁰² Interview with Rev. Shaumba, former Secretary General of the Congo Protestant Council.

¹⁰³ Interview with Rev. Ben Hobgood, Acting Rector of ULC, June, 1970.

F. Summary

From the end of World War II until independence the Congolese elite were seeking to achieve the "rights of Belgians." They were striving to move from an assistant to a partnership relationship. When this failed the goal became independence.

To achieve partnership status, first considered by the Belgians as assimilation and then as association, the Congolese sought to meet European standards of education and social behavior. Thus equal educational opportunities became a primary objective for children and, to a considerable degree, for adults as well. Lumumba's own secondary education was largely acquired through night school and to a lesser extent correspondence courses. Equal educational opportunities were acquired gradually, and non-religious oriented secondary and even university programs became available. However, in 1954, just after the opening of Lovanium University, the "schools war" erupted, and the vituperative exchanges which ensued between Church and State not only made the Congolese doubt the quality of education which they were receiving, but also led many to believe that the Europeans were behaving irresponsibly when it came to matters concerning Congolese education and that Congolese interests were in danger of being sacrificed for Belgian political considerations. The achievements in education were not, therefore, as satisfying to the Congolese

as they might otherwise have been.

However, increased education and social improvements-- the ability to live in a "civilized" manner so as to achieve social acceptability by the Europeans--were expensive. The Congolese elite added to their request for equal educational opportunities the request for equal pay for equal work. Both objectives could be enthusiastically supported by the growing number of Congolese in the urban areas. In response there were a series of apparently well-intentioned commissions investigating and turning out voluminous reports and many constructive recommendations on how to meet the social demands of the Congolese elite, but the government seemed incapable of taking action. The reform commissions took considerable time, but the legislative review and approval process seemed interminable. By the time the government promulgated the recommended measures they were so changed and so long in preparation that it was impossible for the Congolese not to be disappointed and alienated by almost every reform effort attempted. In general the Congolese did not object to the standards set by the Belgians. What they resented far more was the growing evidence which indicated to them that they were deliberately being prevented from achieving those standards and that racial discrimination and the color bar, rather than objectivity, formed the

bases for reform recommendations and implementation procedures.

Part of the colonial response to Congolese demands was the promotion of greater economic prosperity. In 1950 the Ten Year Plan was launched, and the government confirmed, "it was indispensable to integrate the Congolese in the general economic improvements by giving them the possibilities of playing in that activity a dynamic role."¹⁰⁴ The Belgian policy continued to be economic development and prosperity first, followed by social then political developments when the colony could afford them. The kind of "dynamic role" which the Belgians had in mind for the Congolese fell increasingly short of the kind of dynamic role which the Congolese wanted to play. By 1958 the colonial administration was willing to change its priorities. Prime Minister Eyskens promised,

. . . the government intends to develop greatly education of all kinds and at all levels. It will strive to harmonize all efforts in this domain. Graduates will obtain employment corresponding to their qualifications. The second ten year plan will provide for the methodic utilization of qualified elites.¹⁰⁵

This was followed by the adoption in 1959 of the statut unique, uniform employment and pay provisions for Blacks and Whites in the government administration. By this time,

¹⁰⁴ OIRP, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 360.

¹⁰⁵ CRISP, Sommaire, déclarations gouvernementales 1958-1966 (Bruxelles: CRISP, S.D. No. 5, 1966), p. 11.

however, the Congo's educated elites were already alienated-- from 1956 they increasingly accepted independence as the means for achieving their goals.

The urban clerks were in a sense their own men--they were not even especially beholden to the Europeans. As colonial administrative employees their advancement for the most part depended upon seniority, and job security was not a major consideration since government regulations protected them from arbitrary dismissal. There was relatively little they could lose by trying to gain more through political action. Furthermore, while their experience in the bureaucracies was low level, it was still indispensable to the Europeans, and unmatched by other Congolese. Even the traditional elite sought the clerks as allies because they knew how to work in and through the bureaucracy.

Located in the large European populations areas, the clerks were constantly aware of the inequalities of their positions relative to the Whites. This industrializing urban environment contributed to " . . . the formation of a new Congo, in which the Africans suddenly found themselves in the presence of Europeans, no longer as the representatives of two different civilizations, but as individuals face to face with other individuals, spurred on by identical interests and preoccupations."¹⁰⁶ As the Congolese education system

¹⁰⁶ Brausch, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

gradually approached parity with the European, the Congolese increased their pressures for equality of employment and social position. While resentment of Belgians who took employment opportunities away from Congolese had begun to make itself felt after World War II,¹⁰⁷ with the onset of the economic slowdown in 1957, the competition and resentment became steadily more acute.

The Congo's educated elites, the second and third generations and the intermediate, behaved quite differently in the independence movement. Those most educated among the Congolese played little part in the growing political activities and subsequently had little representation in the independence government. For the third generation of elite this was in part because they were too few, too new, and too detached from political activities. For the intermediate elite, both lay and religious, other factors influenced their decision to remain apolitical in the independence activities. Their feeling that their professions mitigated against involvement in politics, their position as the most recognized elite of the colonial Congo, their closer and often affective relationships with Europeans, and their generally rural orientation through training and

¹⁰⁷P. Tempels (ed.) "Lettres de Noirs évolués," La Revue Nouvelle (Vol. 9, No. 4, April 1949), quotes an évolué writing in 1949 on this point as follows: ". . . one does the same work as a European but the salary and fringe benefits do not constitute 2/10ths of the starting salary of that European. The only reason for this: the European expatriate." p. 415.

assignment resulted in a lack of affinity with the urban and more cohesive second generation elite in politics.

The independence movement was basically led by the second generation elite clerks. Concentrated in the colonial and provincial capitals, and working in public and private administration, they were at the vortex of colonial power. Their concentration in these positions made communication and organization relatively simple, and the availability of a large Congolese urban population not responsible to any traditional structure provided them with citizenry which, if mobilized, could exercise pressure on the European population where they would feel it the most--on their doorsteps and in their offices.

The second major component of the second generation elite, the teachers, contributed very little to independence leadership. The reasons for this are very similar to those of the intermediate elite: occupational commitment and a feeling that the schools should not be used for political purposes,¹⁰⁸ close personal associations with the missionaries operating the schools, treatment by school supervisors more as professional colleagues than as lower ranked employees in an impersonal colonial bureaucracy, and the rural orientation of teacher-training facilities and

¹⁰⁸This degree of commitment was amply demonstrated after independence when, because of the administrative breakdown, teachers went for many months without pay yet continued to conduct their classes.

teaching assignments.¹⁰⁹ Certainly another factor was the relationship between teachers and their communities where teachers were perceived as models of the educated Congolese elite. Teachers tended to resent the political activities of, for example, the M.N.C. youth wing, "Which gave it (the M.N.C.) much of its dynamism and did much of the work (and) consisted of young men who were literate, yes--but not very much more."¹¹⁰ These men spread to the extent possible throughout the rural areas during the eighteen months of politicking available between the announcement of independence in January, 1959, and its occurrence in June, 1960. While the politics of independence was a product of the second generation elite, the teachers had a relatively low opinion of and were alienated by these young emissaries, their tactics, and their poor educational qualifications.

Another major factor explaining the lack of teacher participation was that independence came so quickly that political parties did not have the time, money or skill to organize proper political networks in the rural areas. Had they done so, then the teachers might have been recruited,

¹⁰⁹ Interviews with Pastor Disengomoka, September, 1960; Father Michel, BEC, June, 1969; Mr. George Faul, BEP, June, 1969; and Mr. Gabriel Famazani, Primary School Inspector in Bunia, June, 1969.

¹¹⁰ Anstey, op. cit., p. 253.

especially once it appeared that independence was a certainty, and might have played the significant role they played in some other African countries. This, however, did not happen, and the most effective means of securing support from the rural areas was through the tribal connections. This, of course, served to further strengthen the tribal characteristics of Congolese politics already evident in the successes of ABAKO.

It should be noted that a number of those who were clerks at the time of independence had been teachers at some time earlier in their working careers. However, clerical pay was generally better, the possibilities of promotion were better, and the chances of working in one of the Congo's major cities were much improved. Thus there may also have been a self-selectioning process going on whereby teachers with political proclivities were attracted to the clerical careers where at least a more immediate vicarious connection with political power might be experienced.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The largest state in independent Black Africa, the Congo was the creation of King Leopold's diplomacy in Europe and Stanley's work in the Congo. With consummate skill, Leopold took advantage of the disagreements between the major powers over the partition of Africa. Thus, while ruling as the King of a buffer state in Europe, he also managed to have himself established as a Sovereign-King in Africa over one of the last major portions of territory not then controlled by a European power. In a sense Leopold presented himself as the lesser of the potential evils which might have derived from conflicts between France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Portugal over the division of the heart of Africa.

Leopold, with no official national base of support, assumed sovereign responsibility over the Congo Independent State. The Belgian Parliament, in approving Leopold's designation as Sovereign-King of the Congo in addition to his position as King of Belgium, attempted to make it clear that these two functions were to be separate and that the Congo was not the responsibility of Belgium and not a

claim on its resources. The tender Belgian purse was sensitive from the outset to this association. Without ready access to a national base upon which to draw and with a limited private fortune, Leopold had to make the Congo pay for its own colonization.

Since the ultimate test of Leopold's authority would be, according to the Act of Berlin of 1885, effective occupation of the territory, time was another major consideration. Control over the region had to be effective to prevent foreign incursions or annexations of the Congo's territory.

While trying to induce Belgian participation in the Congo, Leopold, pressed for time and money, launched the initial colonizing efforts with international, including philanthropic, support. Those recruited to serve in the CIS in a sense represented the first of the Congo mercenaries. Leopold turned to the United Kingdom for personnel with tropical colonial training and experience and to Scandinavia and Italy for technicians and a number of military personnel. He also turned to the established West African colonies to provide the semi-skilled African manual laborers the Congo enterprise would require. Europeans and Africans willing to serve the CIS were welcomed, and foreign missionaries were authorized to be there by treaty provisions.

At the same time, Leopold worked to tap non-governmental resources available in Belgium to effect eventually a Belgianization of the Congo effort. In addition to having the CIS administrative headquarters in Brussels, he wanted its religious and financial activities centered there as well. The two major non-governmental sources of financing and personnel in Belgium were business and the Church, and this coalition of capital and faith had also been key factors in molding and holding a heterogeneous Belgium together. Given Leopold's personal influence, why couldn't this same combination be made to work in the Congo? While slowly attracting Belgian capital, he directed personal appeals to Catholic orders in Belgium and to the Vatican to secure their commitment for Belgian orders to undertake missionary work in the Congo. By 1888 Belgian Catholic missionaries had begun to arrive in the CIS.

By that time, however, the foreign Protestant missionaries had completed nearly ten years of mission work there and were operating steamers on the upper Congo River system. The early Protestant missionaries drove to forge a chain of Christian missions across the heart of Africa, but the problems of living in the Congo, traversing great distances, and establishing contact with a sparse, scattered, and multilingual native population, dictated the careful

establishment of comprehensive bases of supply. This led to a disproportionate number of missions, and subsequently schools, in the Bas Congo--an imbalance which has not been rectified.

As a country without cities, Congo missions were of necessity rurally oriented. Access to population clusters, the friendliness of the local tribesmen, sources of food, water, and building materials, determined where along the major transportation routes, first river and later rail and road, missions would be established. Mission work came to be first a matter of building mission stations and learning how to communicate with and relate to the Congolese before proselytizing could begin. The missionaries did well in the rural setting, and they developed an early bias against urban environments which continued until near the end of the colonial regime.

Like the State, the early missionaries brought some skilled Africans from mission stations founded earlier and elsewhere in West Africa, but such imported skilled labor could only be afforded on a limited and short term basis. The missionaries, therefore, set out early to recruit the Congolese as laborers and to provide them with the necessary training to build and maintain mission supply bases. This was the beginning of the training of Congolese, and the missionary operation of an occupationally oriented

formal education system was to continue to the present.

When the Catholic orders began to enter the Congo some, especially the Scheutists, were induced, largely because of Protestant educational competition, to put more stress on literacy education than they felt worthwhile. Others, like the White Fathers, engaged quickly in providing practical and basic literacy training like the Protestants. The State, for its part, soon found, as the missionaries had, that the importation of non-Congolese Africans could only be a temporary expedient for satisfying manpower requirements. They quickly turned to Catholic teaching orders to set up schools and to provide the personnel needed to train, for the State, Congolese to perform tasks which required literacy.

In these early schools the missionaries worked to learn the indigenous languages and to codify them and also to identify those Congolese most eager and able to learn. While teaching their students, the missionaries were also learning from them. For Protestant sects in particular it was essential for converts to be able to read the Bible in order to fully embrace Christianity and to remain strong in their faith and able to assist the missionaries with the task of converting the Congo to Christ. The training of Congolese auxiliaries soon became a priority activity for almost all missionaries as they realized shortly after their

arrival that there would never be enough of them to convert the Congo. Thus education for Congolese was designed to provide literacy and occupational skills. The outstanding students were designated missionary auxiliaries, the preacher-teachers, and their literacy and religious preparation was extended and intensified. The emphasis on education came naturally to many of the early Protestant orders in the Congo and especially to the British Baptist Mission Society. It was an orientation they had already developed in West Africa.

During these first years of the effort to establish the CIS and to convert its people to Christianity, the following patterns were set:

1. Education, both literary and manual, was, with minor exceptions, provided by the missionaries.
2. Education was occupationally oriented: Congolese were taught those skills required by the missionaries, the State and later business. Some manual skill was incorporated into all educational programs, including those for the training of missionary auxiliaries.
3. Proselytizing and civilizing were incorporated into education. Churches were also schools, and the content of education was religious and moral.
4. As the education system expanded, Congolese were trained to teach at the village primary schools.

With growing school enrollments, missionaries concentrated on giving the more advanced classes and those related to religion. Thus, the teaching time of the missionaries was centered on those who were most advanced and demonstrated the most intelligence, and as a result of this concentration, the missionaries became the first non-traditional models for this evolving new Congolese elite.

A. The Traditional Elite

Belgian colonial policy evolved into a form of indirect rule which applied to the bulk of the native population. For very little in terms of pay or prestige the chieftains were used to secure Congolese compliance with the colonial administration. Many of the demands which the government made of the Congolese were onerous, and the continuing burden of obtaining their acquiescence fell on the chieftains and understandably weakened their positions. The traditional elite, however, offered little effective resistance to their being manipulated--they were in fact effectively controlled by the Europeans. The benefits received by the traditional sector from the colonial administration were basically in terms of maintenance of peace and order, limited subsidization (often because they were below standards) of the rural basic primary schools, and expanding programs of preventive medicine. Of

dubious benefit from the Congolese point of view were agricultural instruction and support mechanisms designed to promote the production of cash and export crops for the colonial economy.

State and missionaries alike needed and used the traditional elite for purposes of recruiting labor, *corvées*, supplying food, gathering rubber and ivory, and supplying children for schools. However, the traditional elite were difficult to convert to Christianity, in part because they had the most to lose. Wealth in the Congo had historically been measured in terms of domestic slaves and wives which the traditional elite generally possessed. Both the missionaries and the State opposed slavery and polygamy, and the missionaries, running the schools which were to train Christians as well as skilled and semi-skilled laborers for the colonial society, were reluctant to enroll the sons of chieftains. The chances against their remaining practicing Christians after returning to their traditional environment were so great that missionaries became reluctant to bother trying to work with them. Those traditional chieftains with power and/or influence could usually get their sons placed in schools if they tried. Their general lack of interest in attempting to assist their sons to get more advanced education at the mission stations was related to the recognition that such schooling was basically dysfunctional for potential

traditional-style chieftains. Unfortunately the traditional elite were never induced to consider how their roles might evolve in relation to the rapid growth and change in the non-traditional sector. They fully realized that the missionaries basically condemned many of the traditional practices and knew that if their sons attempted to abide by much of what the mission schools taught them the sons would be unacceptable as the kinds of chieftains they were expected and permitted to be. Therefore, the traditional elite often felt it wiser to avoid the problem by not sending their sons ^{at} least to those schools which would take them away from the village environment. This generally meant that they were restricted to one or two years of primary school only.

In spite of the fact that the chieftains lacked adequate income to maintain their prestige in traditional fashion, did not wield real power, eroded and misused their authority in support of colonial policies, and stagnated in relation to the colonial sector, they still played a very important role in the colony. At a minimal cost they maintained the traditional sector, which even at the end of colonial rule still constituted three-fourths of the total population, without challenging the colonial administration, and without inhibiting the growth of the colonial sector.

Furthermore, and of crucial importance to the colony's needs, the traditional sector served as a human reservoir from which the colonial sector could draw manpower. Through the quiescent and relatively cooperative traditional elite, government and business could recruit the labor required for the economic development of the colony. It was only with the growth of concern over Congolese depopulation that the laissez-faire position toward recruitment of native labor came under question. Faced with a need to restrict its recruitment from the traditional sector and recognizing the potential importance of the under-utilized Congolese accumulating in the urbanizing centers, the colonial administration turned increasing attention and effort to these enclaves to make them a major source for satisfying government manpower needs. This very effort, while it may have alleviated somewhat the drain on the traditional sector, undercut that sector by accepting and promoting the permanent removal of Congolese from the nominal rule of the traditional elite.

B. The Formation of the Educated Elite

1. The First Generation of Educated Elite

From the establishment of the CIS to approximately the enactment of the education reform of 1924-26, the missionary education system trained its own elite and

participated in training that of the State.

a. Preacher-Teachers

The most educationally advanced Congolese were those trained as missionary auxiliaries--the preacher-teachers. Basically educated through the complete primary school level and given special religious training, they accepted assignments from the churches and for the most part returned to rural areas to teach basic literacy and to carry the word of God. In the villages they established a church-school model of the central mission station and generally taught the first and second grade levels. At the same time as they were preaching and teaching they identified those students who were capable and deserving of being promoted into the more advanced grades at the central mission station schools. Insofar as their new religion permitted, preacher-teachers abided by the rule of the traditional elite, while providing the village with a model of the new educated Christian Congolese elite. Their connections to the new rulers and their association with the missionaries enhanced the attraction of this new elite model.

b. Force Publique

Those of most immediate importance to the State during this period of the establishment and pacification of the colony were the members of the Force Publique. The Congolese

NCO's, first appearing during the Arab Wars, served with distinction then as well as during the First World War. There were mutinies, but there were always sufficient loyal Congolese troops to put them down. The missionaries' role in the education of these NCO's was to teach them literacy and Christian morals and ethics. The essence of Belgian civilization was to be transmitted to them by Belgian priests, while their models were to be Belgian officers. Not only at the command of the State during their service and training in the Force Publique, they became an important source of State support following their tours of duty.¹

2. The Second Generation Elite

As a part of the educational reform of 1924-26 the State contracted with the Church to proceed with the training of the second generation educated elite--the teachers and clerks. Based on recommendations contained in both the Franck and Phelps Stokes Commission Reports of 1922, the Catholic education system actually began to implement the recommendations in 1924 while a new twenty

¹Paulus, op. cit., p. 239, pointed out in discussing the evolution of Congolese elite that the first generation ". . . is constituted by the former soldiers of the Force Publique who have acquired in the army the sense of discipline and organization. They speak Lingala, the general vehicular language of the army throughout the Congo, are capable of organized and methodic work. They can become good agricultural or piscicultural entrepreneurs, following the technical directives of White agents."

year program of State subsidy to Catholic schools was worked out to help finance the new and expanded formal educational program. The reform identified those to be trained as clerks and teachers as the new lay elite, and a four year secondary school "elite" training program was prescribed. An increased emphasis was placed on academic subjects and French: For clerks, it was essential for colonial administrative work; for teachers, who would become qualified to give the second level of primary school, it was a necessity because the reform required that students in ~~second~~ second level primary grades be taught French. Under the reform, the first two years of primary schools, referred to as the "rural schools" because that is where most of them were located, were to be in the vernacular or vehicular language; but the secondary level of primary school (3 years), the pre-secondary school program where the new "elite" teachers would be assigned, was called "urban."

To prepare the teachers and clerks, new schools or new sections were established. Teachers were trained almost exclusively at Catholic schools located in the rural areas and, with few exceptions, were subsequently assigned to rural schools to teach. Clerks were trained for the most part in official schools which were staffed by Catholic teaching orders and were located in the growing

urban areas. Although there was some erosion of teachers into the clerical ranks, it was held to a minimum by the differences in curriculum and training for the two programs. However, the government enhanced its ability to recruit the kind of personnel it wanted for clerical careers by providing allowances to cover the higher living expenses in urban areas and by establishing additional ranks and grades so that a clerk could, through the seniority system, acquire both a higher salary and a more prestigious title during his career. Added to the attraction of living in the growing cities, this further occupational inducement made the clerks' occupation the most desirable one open to Congolese who did not want a religious career. It also placed them within the bureaucracy, in the public or private sector, which ruled the country.

On the religious elite side, pastors and priests were almost completely separated from the formerly combined preacher-teacher functions. The Church strove to make the Congolese priests fully accepted and fully equal with the European priests. Equal dedication, devotion, and education, as well as Church discipline and the pride of many in the Church at having ordained Congolese priests, served to make the Congolese priests nearly equals with the White priests within the Church. It did not, however, assure their acceptance by the Catholic colonials. The

Church felt that this would be achieved in time, and in the interim worked to keep Catholic priests separated from situations in which confrontations with Europeans might occur and result in embarrassment for them and the Church.

Although accepted as an elite within their circles, Protestant pastors did not have an educational preparation comparable to the priests. Pastors' training was, however, at a par with that of the clerks and teachers. In one sense, Protestant pastors had an advantage over Catholic priests; there was no colonial Protestant society with which the pastor had to establish himself. The pastor's acceptance depended upon his Congolese colleagues and congregations and upon the European missionaries.

A high degree of assimilation into both the Catholic and Protestant missionary churches was achieved by Congolese priests and pastors. The major impediment was the over-protection which went with the permeating colonial paternalism. Both pastors and priests could have been given heavier administrative and directive responsibilities much earlier than they were. In spite of this they were more completely accepted by their European colleagues than any other members of the Congolese elite.

The second generation elite, lay and religious, increasingly came to be called évolués. While the term was never defined by the colonial administration, the

évolués were generally accepted as those who had considerable secondary education, were able to express themselves well in French (both written and oral), had incomes which permitted them to live in European style houses (preferably with complete plumbing), dressed themselves and their families well, were monogamous, sent their children to school, occupationally rarely did manual labor, sought to promote the educational level of their wives and were able to conduct themselves with credit in social relations with Europeans. Without a secondary level education, preferably in a boarding school, it would have been extremely difficult for any Congolese to meet these standards or to qualify for the necessary occupational and income requirements. The four year secondary school program did not assure one of acceptance as an évolué, but it was difficult to achieve without that education. While this categorization also included priests and pastors, they were, relatively, so few until the late 1940's and 1950's that they were often specified by name.

3. The Intermediate Elite

The évolué category was a useful classification for those products of the ten year educational program. However, by the end of World War II when the term was being used increasingly by the Belgian colonial administration in debating policies of assimilation versus association

for the educated Congolese, this term had lost much of its previous precision. The development of the intermediate elite, who were also included in the évolué classification by the administration, tended to obscure rather than clarify discussions related to "what to do with the évolués." Between 1929 and 1945 the intermediate elite formed a category educationally and occupationally a component almost as different from the évolués as the évolués had been from the first generation elite. Born during the depression when European professionals were becoming more difficult to afford and nurtured during the Second World War when European replacements were almost unobtainable, this intermediate elite was a sub-professional elite. They had received training which was, if measured by years, about the equivalent of that of the Congolese priests.²

The intermediate elite were to be the skilled middle level professional (or sub-professional) manpower component reporting directly to the European experts. Their (intermediate elites') academic preparation was, in terms of content and training as well as years, a good deal more than the secondary level, although not the equivalent of a university degree. On the other hand, because the emphasis

²It will be recalled that for the priests it was 15 years of schooling plus at least one year of probationary training. For the medical and agricultural assistants, it was 14 years of schooling plus two or three years of supervised training.

on specialization in their professional training programs began during secondary school, they did not have the humanities required to make them qualified for a secondary school diploma. Thus, a Belgian with a secondary school diploma was automatically classified and paid at a rank above the intermediate elite. Although following independence some were accepted because of their demonstrated ability and rich experience into French universities and became doctors of medicine within three years, in the Congo there appears to have been no chance for them to take additional courses ~~to~~ to round out their education so as to qualify for either a secondary or university degree without being fully "recycled" educationally. Furthermore, this situation did not change with the opening of universities in the Congo. In fact, after former medical assistants had returned from France as qualified doctors, members of the faculty and administration at Lovanium objected to their being recognized full doctors of medicine in the Congo in part because they had not completed the humanities and had not had quite as much basic sciences as was "ideal for a graduate physician."³ Still their practical experience was extensive and was recognized and rewarded during their medical school training in Europe.

Without diplomas recognized by the administrative

³DeCraemer and Fox, op. cit., pp. 56-60.

salary and appointment regulations, the intermediate elite, the most educated of the Congolese lay elite, were in an administrative or bureaucratic limbo. These Congolese were grossly underpaid and unrecognized, even though they were highly regarded by those who had trained them and treated with consideration by Europeans in the same professions, e.g., doctors and agricultural engineers serving in the Congo. Their extensive training programs, their intensive relationships with Europeans in these programs, and the deliberate and frequent follow-up connections maintained with them by their former schools, made it difficult for the intermediate elite to become alienated enough to revolt in spite of unfair bureaucratic treatment. Their relationships with their professions and their European advisors were in the nature of the expert power (French and Raven) and internalization (Kelman) mentioned in Chapter VI.

Priests and pastors were also included in this generation of elite. The priests, having had the most advanced program among the second generation elite, continued to have this during the intermediate elite period with the number of senior seminaries increased considerably. Although still not equal to the training for priests, the preparation of pastors was upgraded with the establishment of an ordained pastors program, and those

with this training would have also been in the intermediate elite.

A number of those who were medical assistants were appointed to political offices after independence within their fields of health and related activities. However, very few of the intermediate elite actually participated as politicians in the independence movement.


4. The Third Generation Elite

The third generation elite, the university graduates, did not make their presence felt in pre-independence Congolese politics although they were (with few exceptions) the first Congolese to achieve academic parity with their European rulers. Whether or not those who had returned from Belgium with their degrees were incorporated into political activities depended upon their individual political capabilities. The second generation elite was not willing to reward them with positions of leadership based upon education alone when the basis of the second generation elite's growing claims of being qualified to run the country rested upon a combination of education, occupation, and bureaucratic experience. Basing their qualifications on education alone would have relegated the second generation elite to a position behind the intermediate and the third generations of elite. Finally, the second generation was willing to work for independence against a

colonial regime which had promised them acceptance to European status but which then alienated them, either by renegeing on their promises or by qualifying them to the point where they were no longer meaningful.

The third generation elite in the Congo were, in fact, just graduating from a formal educational experience which had kept them in a boarding school environment for approximately fourteen years. Even if they had had the political proclivity there was insufficient time for re-establishing themselves in Congolese society and then for participating in politics with second generation elite politicians with whom they had relatively little in common. The one significant protest which the third generation elite in Congolese universities had launched, a demand for equal pay for Congolese graduates, had been resolved to their satisfaction with the adoption of the statut unique. This provision had legally acknowledged colonial acceptance of the third generation elite to equal occupational status with Europeans.

In summary, Belgian policy was to use the educational system to provide the colonial economy with its growing and diversifying manpower needs. As a result formal education was occupationally oriented, but because it was run by the missionaries and because Leopold had promised to Christianize and civilize the Congo, it was also



religiously oriented. Schools were expected to meet the requirements of State, missions, and business, and educational programs which were not useful to them were not given or were terminated. The range and variety of formal school programs established to satisfy occupational specializations is evidence of this general policy and approach. Furthermore, since Congolese education outside of the colony was not permitted, there was no opportunity for the Congolese to follow a divergent educational and occupational orientation or to acquire educational capabilities which would make them competitive with the Europeans. With concentration on vocational education, the system had an "essentially utilitarian view of the educational process and it should be conceded that it was successful in preventing the emergence of a large group of unemployed technicians and school products while, at the same time, it provided sufficient numbers of trained recruits to meet the needs of the commercial, industrial, and mining enterprises of the Congo."⁴

C. Factors Related to the Formation of the Education System and the New Elite

As has been noted, three of the basic influences on the development of the formal education system and the new occupationally prepared elites were depopulation, urbanization,

⁴Poster, op. cit., p. 152.

and the government's evolving native policy. The latter was, like formal education, strongly effected^{ed} by the phenomena of urbanization and depopulation which directly influenced the development of the colony. Native policy was the cause of recurring contention between the missionaries and the government. The ultimate ability of these two major colonial components to coexist and cooperate until the 1950's was based both upon their interdependence and upon the fact that the policy was generally so flexible that it could be interpreted according to those perceptions and objectives most amenable to each.

1. Depopulation

With the exception of the depression in the 1930's, the colonial administration was always concerned about the shortage of Congolese manpower. For most of the CIS period the manpower required was largely unskilled or semi-skilled, and the basic problem was one of recruitment rather than extensive vocational training. By the time of Belgian annexation, serious concerns began to develop about the depopulation of the Congo. Not only was recruitment becoming difficult, but there was a growing conviction that there might not be enough Congolese to provide the manpower needed for the colony to sustain either the level of development being achieved or that being projected. The government urged an increase in manpower efficiency and

greater mechanization as ways to reduce manpower requirements. This then increased the importance of the role of formal vocational education.

The government adopted a program which promoted the development of a second generation elite prepared in four-year vocationally-oriented secondary schools. In terms of curriculum and training experiences, the school programs were structured toward either rural or urban occupations. With this kind of channelling in the schools and with the establishment of a pass system to curb internal migration by specifying that Africans could settle in towns only if employment were available and they had proper training, the Belgians were willing to exercise a degree of control over the lives of Africans which would have been unthinkable in British or French territories.⁵ Colonial justification for such levels of intervention in the lives of the Congolese was partly in terms of securing maximum returns in terms of productivity so that recruitment would not need to be so excessive that it contributed to depopulation.

Concerns over depopulation also tended to add support for the promulgation of the indirect rule policy following World War I. Part of the rationale behind the adoption of this new policy was that since the birth rate among Congolese settled in urban areas was insufficient to sustain and eventually to increase the population, the Congolese should

⁵Foster, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

be encouraged to live in traditional environments. Subsequently apprehensions over depopulation were also used to justify the development of a separate policy for Congolese in the urban conglomerates.

2. Urbanization

The first Congolese in the formal education system had been deliberately recruited away from their villages--bought, coerced and employed--to work at mission and State stations. However, as cities began to develop (Boma, Leopoldville, Stanleyville, etc.), the State became increasingly uneasy about the urban natives because they were at the colonial ganglia and they were, in fact, ungoverned--they fell outside of the traditionally ruled regions, and they were also excluded from the only other system of rule which had been established--that for the Europeans. While condemning the unorganized native urban sprawls, the colony needed the cheap and readily available labor they afforded. Nevertheless the government worried about the lack of law and order, the lack of wives (and rampant prostitution), the the nearly total absence of children. Unless the urban population could reproduce itself, the recruitment problems would continue, and the villages would be repeatedly tapped and drained of their able-bodied young men. Furthermore, without children and a built-in occupational succession there would be a serious

loss in continuity--the knowledge acquired by the children from their urban environment, codes of conduct, relationships with Europeans, and the development of a more individualistic rather than a collective-tribal point of view. Also the high mortality rate which the Congolese suffered in the "acclimatization" process--the movement from the traditional rural to the non-traditional urban sectors with changes in climate, living conditions, eating patterns, etc.,-- would continue. Reluctantly, because it was recognized as a threat to the policy of indirect rule, the government began to deal with the reality of its growing urban population by adopting new forms of government for the non-traditional Congolese sector and by providing for urban occupational options in the schools.

As was indicated earlier under depopulation, the schools began to reflect, in accordance with the 1924-26 reforms, "rural" and "urban" orientations plus a steady concentration of more advanced non-religious educational programs in the cities. The schools were, in fact, relegated " . . . to the role of feeder institutions to the European dominated sector of that economy."⁶ Europeans had had their own missionary operated schools since 1912, but it was not until 1946 that the colony provided alternative lay secondary schools in the Congo's major cities.

⁶Ibid., pp. 152-153.

These schools became models of the standards of educational excellence which the intermediate and secondary elites then sought to get for their children.

As the Congolese slowly obtained access to full secondary education after 1948, the urbanization of their official schools was further dictated by the fact that these schools were staffed by lay European secondary school teachers. Unlike the missionaries, they usually were not willing to serve in the rural areas. In response to the State's advanced urban schools, the Church increased its urban presence. First represented by teaching orders in the official school system, its urban secondary school orientation expanded to address European and then Congolese needs so as to assure the Church's representation in the increasingly large and powerful urban constituencies. Ultimately this led to the establishment of Lovanium University at Leopoldville instead of Kisantu. This decision was further strengthened by the frustration many from Louvain felt over the fact that it had been located some thirty miles from the centers of power and influence in Brussels. Lovanium should not be allowed to make the same kind of mistake.

Thus, prior to independence education had developed a distinct rural-urban orientation with advanced religious training, both Protestant and Catholic, outside of the urban centers; with training of the intermediate elite

mostly outside of the urban areas except for those government-sponsored schools which were invariably in the cities, such as the medical assistants' program in Leopoldville; with the secondary generation elite clerical training in the cities but teaching and most other vocational specializations in the rural areas; and, finally, with the universities--Catholic and State--situated in the two major cities for the third generation elite. The distinct disadvantage to the rural-urban dichotomy which developed was that, except for religious education, the superior education--the education which was patterned after the European model and was at last available to the Congolese--was to be found in the cities. University preparatory education was, with few exceptions, not available to the rural students unless they moved to urban areas.

The position of the missionaries toward urbanization and depopulation was guided by the influence which these factors exerted upon proselytization. The missionaries favored non-traditional Christian villages and generally encouraged settlements adjoining mission stations. On the other hand, they strongly opposed the growth of urban non-traditional conglomerates which were amoral from a traditional as well as from a Christian point of view. The missionaries preferred traditional moral values to none at all. Furthermore, proselytization among urbanizing

Congolese was a great deal more difficult to accomplish than it was among those who continued to live in a traditional environment. Therefore, the missionaries wanted the traditional sector maintained so that Congolese could be converted prior to entering the non-traditional sector and so that ultimately the entire colony might more easily be converted to Christianity. Thus while the missionaries opposed the mass recruitment from the traditional sector by government and business which fed the urbanizing non-traditional centers, they also resisted any effort to restrict their own religious-oriented recruitment. The missionaries justified their position on grounds that their recruitment promoted colonial and missionary commitments to Christianize and civilize the Congo and was strongly oriented toward the rural rather than the urban sector. Missionary recruitment was not guilty of deliberately contributing to the creation of urban detribalized Congolese of "ersatz" Europeans. That the missionaries were contributing to the ~~destruction~~ ~~of~~ the rural non-traditional sector was not considered by them as a matter of concern for the colony.

3. Native Policy

The CIS period had provided the first generation elite with automatic assimilation. They could live either in their own communities or in close association with the

Europeans. Following annexation, the policy of assimilation lapsed. However, since there was little change in the relationship between the Congolese living outside of the traditional sector and the Europeans, the Congolese first generation elite paid little attention to the fact that the policy had fallen into disuse.

With the changes in education and occupation which led to the formation of the second generation elite and the concomitant efforts to install indirect rule in the Congo, the situation changed. The Congolese at that point were no longer being offered the prospect of assimilation; the policy instead was one of association. Indirect rule did little to enhance the prestige of the traditional elite since it was used to convert those duly recognized by the colonial government into low level civil servants, albeit they profited somewhat by being put on the government payroll. It also ran counter to the missionaries who were following an assimilationist policy in the training of their own Congolese religious elite. Finally the new policy failed to solve the problem of how to administer Congolese, educated and uneducated, in the urban areas.

As this urban population became settled and stable colonial administrators hoped that at least the problem of the depaysés, the large numbers of Congolese leaving their traditional areas (often as a result of having

previously been recruited for contract employment by Europeans), would be solved. However, the government was still perplexed over the number of Congolese who were becoming detribalized--were becoming essentially Europeans and ignoring their own cultural heritage. This component, largest and most obvious in the cities, gave no indication that they would ever return to the traditional sector, and there were no other administrative options available to them since the colonials would not permit them to assimilate. Some missionaries and government officials did attempt to have a limited assimilation policy introduced in the 1930's, but it failed.

While trying to support the traditional elite, the State formally recognized in 1931 that non-traditional areas should be permitted to have their own governments, and the Centres Extra-Coutumiers came into being. After having admitted that non-traditional and especially urban native centers existed and that they were necessary, the State, as discussed earlier, worked to have them improved so that they became sources of manpower for the cities--government and business--and so that they became self-sustaining in terms of population. By the mid-1930's this had in fact happened--the rate of population increase in the urban and other non-traditional areas reached and then by-passed that of the traditional areas.

By the end of the Second World War, the problem had grown significantly. The second generation elite was basically detribalized, considerably enlarged, and more persistent in their demands for some recognized European status. The government began to respond in 1945 with administrative modifications which empowered provincial governors to transform African urban settlements into African townships (cités indigènes) to be directly administered by European officials instead of by Congolese appointed under the Centres Extra-Coutumiers model. This move to direct European administration of Congolese was followed in 1948 by the colonial government's willingness to consider a program of selective assimilation. The detribalized were confirmed in urban environments, and the new forms of native rule verified this.

For those Congolese eligible and desiring European status--equality with the Whites--the prospects of immatriculation into European roles was tremendously important. However, by 1955 the immatriculation schemes had essentially failed both in formulation and implementation. Those who were supporting a policy of assimilation or integration were becoming increasingly concerned over the attitude or the reaction of the educated elite.⁷

⁷A combination of missionaries, Liberals, Socialists, and academicians from Belgium (especially Louvain) were strongly supporting the new policy.

This really raised the whole question, put well by Pierre Wigny, Minister of Colonies from March 3, 1947, to August 15, 1950, of:

What are we going to make of them (the évolués)? Where should they place their hopes? . . . A decision of principle leads to immediate practical consequences. One does not govern in the same way a territory which one is preparing for separation as one governs a territory whose inhabitants he wishes to transform into compatriots.⁸

The situation was changing rapidly, for " . . . in quantity and quality the elite (were entering) into a particularly active phase with the opening of the first university in the Congo and the elaboration of plans leading to the creation of a second."⁹ Already the old évolués were, in view of the coming generation of university educated elite, being referred to as "semi-évolués." There was speculation that the old évolués would " . . . find in the university graduates of tomorrow guides . . . to whom they (would) turn (T)he advent of a university elite made clear the urgency for (the government's) taking a position . . . "¹⁰ on the integration of the Congolese elite. However, the second generation elite did not turn to the new university elite for guidance, but rather, in organizing politically, they retained their elite position, and the intermediate and the third generation elites had

⁸Quote of Mr. Wigny taken from F. Grévisse, "A propos d'intégration," Bulletin CEPSI (No. 29, 1955), p. 113.

⁹Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁰Ibid.

relatively minor roles in the post-independence government.

While the Belgian administration was, by the end of the 1950's, willing to admit to a policy of assimilation, to equal treatment for Blacks and Whites, the unwillingness of the rapidly growing White population in the Congo to cooperate made the new policy impossible to apply. By the time the statut unique was put into force the Congolese elite were no longer interested in assimilation. The most offended of the elite, the second generation and especially the clerks, would no longer have to be inhibited, if the country became independent, by the lack of more academically advanced educational requirements to qualify for ranking bureaucratic positions--experience, and the fact that they were operating within the colonial administrative system, would become determining factors. The bureaucratic experience gained in association with the Belgian administration was of value in colonial politics as well as in office management. The problem was that this experience was not totally relevant after 1960. Politics after independence were no longer colonial politics, and the bureaucratic experience was not at the planning, programming, and directing levels, but at the standard operating procedure level. Because the second generation elite had mobilized and led the drive to independence, they determined the complexion of the independent government. As pointed out, the most educated of the Congolese were not in that

government.

D. Concluding Remarks

Belgium took pride in what it called its paternalistic colonial policy, in its colonial achievements, and in its conviction of the "rightness of its intentions." However, as pointed out by Minister Wigny, Belgians were reluctant to be specific in defining their colonial policy,¹¹ and it has perhaps best been described as being one of "cautious empiricism."¹² While lack of precision in colonial policy may have promoted flexibility and been convenient, the ambivalence in attitude and direction concomitant with such a policy approach became dysfunctional after the Second World War when Congolese began demanding specific changes in relation to their roles and positions in the colony.

Following World War I the Belgian administration made a decision to adopt a modified version of the British colonial policy of indirect rule. However this policy in fact had limited application. Pragmatic considerations led to the implementation of a Belgian style of indirect rule in the traditional rural sector while different forms

¹¹Pierre Wigny, "Methods of Government for the Belgian Congo," African Affairs (Vol. I, October, 1951), pp. 310-17.

¹²Guy Malengreau, "Recent Developments in Belgian Africa," in C. Grove Haines, Africa Today (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 337 ff.

of rule were established in the urban and other non-traditional sectors. Furthermore, while a switch from the earlier policy of assimilation to one of association was inherent in indirect rule, the missionaries continued their own assimilationist practices. In spite of the indirect rule designation, the chieftains themselves had little power and were recognized or appointed from above by the Europeans rather than from below by the Congolese. In other words, paternalism rather than indirect rule is what mattered even for the chieftains, for they, with few exceptions, served not on the basis of recognized inalienable traditional rights, but at the pleasure of the colony. Their prestige and privileges were patently inferior to those of the Belgian civil servants to whom the chieftains reported. However, indirect rule served as an effective administrative tool for cheaply and effectively maintaining a stable, relatively stagnant, traditional rural sector available to serve the non-traditional colonial sector with manpower, agricultural produce (both cash and subsistence), and taxes.

Since the Europeans were extremely limited in number until the last decade or so of colonial rule, it was imperative in order to control such a vast and potentially prosperous country that the colonials apply technology and organization to compensate for their shortage of personnel.

The colonial government's institutionalized systems were fundamentally the colonial bureaucracy, which worked through the chieftains at its lower levels, and the Force Publique. In both organizations small numbers of Europeans directed large numbers of Congolese recruited into and prepared for the tasks they were assigned. The institutionalized churches and schools were used by missionaries to penetrate Congolese traditional society. In mission schools, which constituted about 95% of the total, they were able to identify, guide, and prepare the most promising Congolese for work with the missions and to channel others into government and business oriented programs. The only problem which the Church appears to have had with this strategy was that the program for the preparation of clerks, when instituted, was so popular that it drew students from other programs, and as a result the Church initially limited its level of participation in offering that occupational specialization.

Missionary influence was pervasive throughout the rural areas. Thus more and more the government looked to the cities, which they more directly controlled, as their recruiting areas for government employees. However, the government did not accept or undertake a broader educational mandate for the colony. It limited its expansion of the official school system to the preparation of a part of the Congolese employees it required. It only went beyond

this limited level of direct responsibility for education in the 1950's. The missionaries complained that Congolese in urban areas were often more Europeanized than Christianized as a result of their experiences, and official schooling aggravated this imbalance in their formation. This consideration, and the fact that the growing urban component of Congolese society eventually became so extensive and potentially important, caused the missionaries, in spite of their rural preferences and orientations, to begin to direct their efforts toward the cities as well.

Thus both the missionaries and the government officials had come to look upon formal education as the major way to recruit and train the Congolese auxiliaries, assistants, sub-professionals and finally the associates they required. Therefore, because the Europeans wanted the Congolese able to perform certain jobs within the country, schooling, beyond basic literacy, lower primary classes which the missionaries ran for recruitment and proselytization purposes, was designed to provide Congolese with occupational skills. The curriculum was formulated in terms of competencies required, and the formal program, with practical experiences included, was designed so that in content and duration the schooling would provide the level of skill required. Formal education programs defined in occupational terms became longer and

more sophisticated as the colony in general and the economy in particular required increasingly skilled and professional Congolese manpower. Among the non-religious oriented elite, the auxiliaries (first generation elite) were rarely in school beyond the primary level; the assistants (the second generation elite) usually terminated at the 10th grade level; the sub-professionals (the intermediate elite) continued up to the 14th to 16th grade levels; and the associates (the third generation elite), those few who gained the right to be accepted as equals to the Belgians, were university graduates. Because there was vocational and professional training for all but the third generation elite, there were a wide variety of job-specific programs offered in the schools which obviously limited the possibilities for subsequently changing occupations. However, by controlling preparation and placement, the colonial government avoided the educational unemployed problems which plagued especially British Africa both before and after independence.

While access to new elite status had been possible without the achievement of the maximum education possible in the formal system, with each generation of elite it became more difficult to accomplish outside of the schools. For entree into the first generation of the new elite some formal education would have been helpful, but training, experience, occupation, and living in a

"civilized" manner (i.e., a clean, industrious, monogamous, Christian life) were the more critical considerations. For the second generation of elite these factors were equally important, but additional considerations had been added as well. These new requirements were, even at this point, increasingly in terms of formal education. It was harder for Congolese to qualify for those desirable occupations which had been opened to them without some formal education because the country's economic growth demanded more highly educated and trained Europeans as well as Congolese. At the same time it was becoming easier for the colonial elite to obtain basic conveniences so that the need to compromise their European life-style was diminishing--even in the jungle. Thus in material as well as in behavioral and occupational terms, imitating the colonial elite was an increasingly demanding and expensive effort for the aspiring new Congolese elite.

Even though formal education grew in importance as a variable determining access to new elite status at the second generation elite level, achievement-oriented Congolese unable to qualify in formal education could compensate for it in other ways. Acceptance and recognition could be acquired through continuing educational programs, correspondence courses and night schools, as well as through individual efforts, experience and success

generally in agriculture, trade or business. This was indicated by Pierre Bolamba, one of the Congo's most outstanding pre-independence writers, who proposed to the colonial government in 1945 that they specify by legislation the requirements Congolese should meet to be eligible for new elite status. He recommended that the determinations be based upon the levels of education, employment, and conduct. If, however, a Congolese applicant did not have sufficient education (advanced secondary school level was suggested), he might still be admitted if he had a sufficiently impressive income. Proper conduct could not, on the other hand, be waived: the candidate had to practice monogamy and provide his family with a home and educational and social opportunities which would be fitting for Congolese families living in close association with Europeans.¹³

The broadest, most academic types of training available to the Congolese prior to the 1950's were those which were preparatory for a religious career (priests especially, but also pastors), clerical training for the bureaucracy, and teacher training. Congolese studying in religion, because they were generally the most academically advanced, did acquire some occupational

¹³ Antoine-Roger Bolamba, "Opportunité de créer un statut spécial pour les évolués" La Voix du Congolais (No. 3, May-June, 1945), pp. 76-79.

flexibility in the event they decided against such a career. The Catholic missionaries especially sought to recruit those students from the junior and senior seminaries as teachers in the mission school system. Some post-seminarians worked to acquire the office skills needed and then entered the clerical profession. Their command of French also helped to make them especially attractive potential employees in spite of other deficiencies.

Occupational channelling by the colonial régime, perhaps because it was assisted by the fact that no other training was available to Congolese at home or abroad and because migration internally was controlled by whether or not the Congolese migrants already had jobs to which to go, basically worked. The success of this channelling encouraged its continuation at more advanced levels. Thus when training was provided to the intermediate elite, it was highly specialized, and when the universities opened the colonial administration at first tried to insist upon the establishment of faculties in the universities which would feed graduates directly into non-political professional specialities (e.g., there should be education and agriculture, but not political science). In effect, until the 1950's when colonial controls began to change, the direction of Congolese

into occupations at specified levels was effectively accomplished through the formal education system.

As the Congo's economy developed and became increasingly complex and diversified, so did the jobs opened to Congolese and, as noted above, so did the educational system which was to prepare the Congolese to occupy these positions. Requirements for employment were increasingly specified in terms of educational preparation. Whether intentionally or not, job descriptions specifying educational credentials served to preserve major positions in the colonial structure for Europeans since only they could have such credentials. However once the Congolese could fully qualify and meet European standards, and then were refused equal consideration, their exclusion was, in their eyes, based upon race rather than upon the non-racial educational criteria as the Europeans had historically maintained. The time it took the Belgians actually to legislate the practice of equality in government (the statut unique) was the time during which the most professionally and academically qualified Congolese became discouraged and disillusioned with colonial promises and good faith.

Nevertheless, it was not basically the intermediate or the third generation elites which were prepared to push the Belgians for immediate independence. These two

generations of elites were, in the last decade of colonial rule, closest to achieving equality with the Europeans, and they were increasingly in a position to profit from this social, academic, and professional proximity. While it had taken far too long for the Belgians to recognize Congolese academic equals as occupational or professional equals, this recognition had been accomplished, and a major obstacle to equality for Congolese university graduates had been overcome. The third generation elite did not support the colonial administration but were neutralized by the assurance of their eventual acceptance.

Even though the colonial administration was well aware that there were distinct differences among the non-traditional elite--the administration had been responsible for shaping the educational and occupational structures through which these Congolese had been recruited, trained and employed--the administration continued to consider them all as simply évolués. Objecting to being included among the évolués by the colonials, the university elite began to refer to themselves as intellectuals. This was interpreted by the Belgians as little more than a demonstration of the students' vanity. Certainly the bulk of the évolués, the second generation elite, had supported the university elite in the effort to have their equality with the Belgians recognized through promulgation of the

statut unique. While it was a victory for all in terms of self-respect and ability to win through common political endeavour, in practical terms it meant little to the second generation elite, for they would never qualify for the grades which the third generation would. While Belgians could take satisfaction from correcting an injustice, it was a mistake to consider that the new law would generate much satisfaction or gratification from the large and now politically active second generation elite.

There was no cohesive unit of non-traditional elite. It was instead a very differentiated composite of generations of elites with particularistic educational and occupational interests. Among the second generation elite itself, there was a distinct difference between its components with regard to political activities in general and views on independence in particular. Thus the teachers, unlike those in some countries in West Africa, played practically no part in the politics of the 1950's and certainly little in the independence movement. Their isolation in the interior, their close working relationships with missionaries in an atmosphere of mutual respect, their professionalism which inhibited political activities, their indignation at the behavior of some of the political hucksters who would sweep briefly through the rural areas

seeking support, and the shortage of time between the promise and the achievement of independence, all mitigated against the politicalization of teachers. In effect, it was part of the syndrome--independence leadership was basically in the cities not in the rural areas, and those members of the non-traditional elite who were rural in orientation generally had relatively little to do with it.

This included the priests and pastors as well as the teachers, for the religious members of the non-traditional elite in general were politically inactive also. The reasons for this are similar to those of the teachers. Other considerations included the following: The religious elite were in fact already assimilated into their religious organizations, and while they certainly had grievances on many factors related to equality with Europeans, these were, generally speaking, not as acute as they were in other elite occupations. Priests and pastors were also men of peace, men of God, and as men of the various churches, they had heavy religious and educational responsibilities to consider and to keep them extremely busy. There obviously was a reaction among the religious elite following independence when some priests and pastors left their work, but this occurred during the post rather than the pre independence period.

Those in the urban areas, and especially in Leopoldville, who were the bureaucratically experienced, second generation clerks became political leaders and organizers and were the group who basically inherited the Congo from the Belgian colonial bureaucracy. Unfortunately, they had had neither the academic training nor executive levels of experience required to assist them in the creation and implementation of national policies. Their major responsibility before independence had been related to maintaining the flow of paperwork, and the Congo was plagued after independence with punctilious attention to form and detail covering what amounted to very little in terms of content.

However, this portion of the second generation elite, the component for which the government itself had assumed the greatest responsibility for educating and training, was the group which could succeed its colonial model only through independence. The Belgians had made every effort to keep the Congolese out of politics, and they had managed well except for those who worked with the Belgians every day in the conduct of government affairs. These they could not isolate from politics, and these Congolese in turn used politics for their own purposes. This group, having been told they were an elite for over two decades, had essentially been rejected in their major efforts to

imitate their European models--to live like them, to be governed like them, to send their children to comparable schools. When it appeared that they would not succeed in achieving the level of social acceptance and material affluence they aspired to and expected and that their children, competing against the children of the new university elite, were not assured of entry into and success in the schools which would provide them with the educational qualifications leading to desirable occupations and social acceptance--to status--then independence became increasingly attractive.

The policy of having oriented education toward the practical for so long while rewarding highly skilled and academic education among the Europeans, created an unrequited demand for academic education which an independent Congolese government could not resist. College oriented secondary schools were in demand by Congolese students and their parents. The attractiveness of vocational programs was directly related to whether or not they might provide university options. From imbalance toward the vocational side, the Congolese educational system swung to imbalance in the direction of academic education. Education has remained a critical factor in determining status, in providing a means for upward mobility, and in securing membership in the national non-traditional elite. As such it has also continued to be a

critical political consideration for the national governments as it was for colonial governments. And the institutions providing the most desirable educational options have been increasingly urbanized with an overwhelming concentration in the capital. The new elites too have become increasingly detached from the rural Congo where seventy-five per cent of the population continue to live.

Given these circumstances, it is extremely difficult for the formal education system to maintain a national rather than an urban orientation. The former distribution of non-traditional elites between rural and urban sectors is in jeopardy of collapsing--of being excessively skewed toward the urban areas in which the university elite have for the most part been prepared. The colonial education system formed a functional elite to serve a colonial Congo with a vocational-sub-professional elite but without an executive-administrative component. The independent education system is forming an executive-administrative component but still faces the task of forming an elite which will satisfy the broader requirements of the entire independent Congo. Meanwhile, the Congo is in danger of losing the significant vocational and sub-professional manpower pool with which it was endowed at independence--the skills afforded prior to independence by the inter-

mediate and second generations of non-traditional elite.
The Congo is faced with balancing a deliberately
imbalanced colonial education system.

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