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9. ABSTRACT

In Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo), the primary and secondary schools are promoted and supported by both the government and three Christian religious organizations: Catholics, Protestants, and the Kimanguists. Catholics sponsor schools that enroll about 85 percent of the students; Protestant schools enroll about 10 percent; and Kimbanguist schools enroll about 5 percent. The Kimbanguist religion is a Protestant sect founded by Simon Kimbangu (1889-1951), who was educated by the Baptist Mission Society. In 1921 he experienced visions, and thenceforth conducted faith healing and Bible preaching. His basic precepts were condemnation of fetishism, lascivious dancing, polygamy, smoking, and drinking. The Kimbanguists; thirst for literacy has stemmed from Kimbangu's command that they read the Bible. This paper traces the development of the religious sect before and after Zairian independence, and describes the present accommodations between the government and religious organizations with respect to education and the schools.

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"A SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR AN INDIGENOUS RELIGIOUS MINORITY:
THE KIMBANGUISTS IN ZAIRE"

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"A School System for An Indigenous Religious Minority:
The Kimbanguists in Zaire"

In much of Africa, certainly in Zaire, churches and schools have been key institutions for the creation of new, and the reinforcement of old, minorities. The symbiotic relationship between these two institutions was designed and nurtured by the foreign missionaries who directed both. The successes thus achieved in Zaire during a period of some 80 years prior to independence in 1960 is indicated by the following figures: with a population of 13,174,883, Christians numbered 5,033,047 (4,220,439 Catholics and 812,608 Protestants) and there were 21,400 educational establishments with 1,533,314 students (of whom some 10,000 were foreigners) enrolled in Catholic (1,025,598), Protestant (446,646), and secular schools.¹ While the declared literacy rate of 65% at independence was perhaps inflated, it is generally agreed that in Sub-saharan Africa only the Republic of South Africa and Ghana had literacy rates higher than Zaire. Through schools and churches, missionaries exerted a profound impact on the people of Zaire and they undoubtedly had more and deeper contacts with the Zairians than any other group of foreigners.²

Furthermore, the missionaries had power and prestige. The colonial structure in the Belgian Congo has often been characterized in terms of a trinity consisting of the administration, the Catholic Church, and large enterprises.³ It is not surprising

that Zairians should have attempted to achieve recognition and equality within the religious sector of the colonial structure. As soon as the missionaries arrived in Zaire they had begun to train the people not only to provide the service functions needed to establish and maintain the missions per se, but to educate the people as evangelists to work among their own tribesmen. Often the African evangelists were more successful in proselytizing than were the foreign missionaries. Consequently, Zairians had knowledge and experience about missionary activities and quite naturally they considered the missionaries and their institutions as models which they, brothers in the faith, might successfully emulate through the establishment of their own religious sects. Understandably the history of Zaire is punctuated with instances of Christian-based African religious movements evolving and attempting to gain recognition from and equality with the foreign-dominated missions.

Most of these indigenous religious movements failed after experiencing an initial period of acclaim and expansion. Kimbanguism, however, serves as an especially unique instance where maturation brought continued development and renewed dynamism rather than decay and dissolution. After nearly thirty years of colonial persecution and fourteen years of independence, Kimbanguism has achieved recognition from the Government of Zaire, and full membership in the World Council of Churches, as a Protestant sect.

The Kimbanguists have eschewed the potential minority options of secession or seclusion, have sought to assert and protect their minority status, and have actively moved to make themselves into a national majority. The church represents a movement on the part of the people to discover their religious selves much as Zairians have, and are continuing to try to discover their "political selves."⁴ The dynamism of Kimbanguism derives substantially from their ability to Africanize the missionary model and especially the missionary school. While this study will briefly review the evolution of the Kimbanguist movement, it is the growth and development of this indigenous religious school system which will be our major focus.

Historical Background

No region of Zaire has been as extensively exposed to European political and religious influence as Bas Zaire, that portion located between the Atlantic Ocean and Kinshasa. Since their first contact with the Portuguese in 1482 the Bakongo people of this region, including parts of northern Angola and Congo/Brazzaville, have voluntarily, or under duress, been periodically evangelized. The first Portuguese Catholic missionary contingent arrived in 1490 followed by intermittent waves of secular priests, Jesuits, Franciscans, Augustinians and Capuchins. The early missionaries met with tremendous success. The Manikongo, the King of the Bakongos, was an early convert, along with most of his family, and took the name of King Affonso.

Subsequently other important Bakongo rulers were baptized and one of King Affonso's sons was trained in Portugal and returned home as a bishop in 1521.⁵

In view of the experiences of the second missionary wave in the 19th and 20th Centuries, it is fascinating to note that in this first missionary effort it was recognized early by King Affonso (sometimes referred to by the Portuguese as the "black Constantine") and the missionaries that there were not, and probably would not, be enough missionaries to provide the religious instruction required, that it would be impossible to send adequate Bakongos to Portugal for training. It would, therefore, be necessary to train the people in place. In 1509 a boarding school was established to provide religious instruction for 400 princes and sons of chiefs; a few years later this school was expanded to 1,000 pupils. At the same time a local system was established to provide for Christian education in the provinces with "native catechists as schoolmasters. Schools for girls were also inaugurated. The King went so far as to declare ... that 'everyone in his kingdom was to be educated'."⁶ At least in the central region of the kingdom Christianity was established as the state religion.

In spite of these accomplishments, by 1717 the last missionaries had withdrawn from the Bas Zaire region. By the last half of the 19th Century when the new missionaries penetrated these areas, they found ruins, some vestiges of mission influence in the local culture, and many crucifixes and crosses. Corruption, political intrigue, and the slave trade combined to destroy the power of the Bakongo Kingdom and their linkages with Portugal.⁷

As the new wave of missionaries and explorers sought to penetrate the African heartland by ascending the Congo River, it became apparent that a reliable line of communications had to be built across Bas Zaire in order to by-pass the 300 miles of rapids on the lower river and connect the coast with Kinshasa, the port-of-entry to the great navigable stretches of the Congo River and its drainage basin. The combination of easy access from the sea and the need for chains of missionary stations to process supplies to new stations being established inland meant that Bas Zaire and the Bakongo people immediately received the impact of the missionary revival. The highest concentration of missions was developed and has been maintained in Bas Zaire. This also meant that the bulk of the schools, and certainly the most advanced secular-oriented education available to Africans, was first available in this region.

The culture clash which the Bakongos experienced, therefore, has been profound and lengthy and prophetic movements had developed even during the first missionary incursion. By the time of Simon Kimbangu's prophecy, the second missionary movement had confronted the Bakongos with the full impact of four impinging cultures, the traditional, the colonial, the "national" or Catholic mission, and the "foreign" non-Belgian Protestant mission. As G. C. Oosthuizen has pointed out, "Where the culture clash has been strongest...independency is strongest; where a tribe has been studiously protected from the shock of culture clash...independency is absent."⁸ It should not be assumed, however, that the foreign

cultures were being imposed upon a totally resisting population. Salandier claims that the Bakongo people were one of the best prepared societies in Central Africa for European contact, and adds, "it must be noted how much this ethnic group sought at an early date to multiply its contacts with colonial society."⁹

In spite of the cultural confrontations and the suffering which accompanied European domination, the Bakongo's adaptation to the modernization process was an obvious success.

The Passion of Simon Kimbangu

Simon Kimbangu, a Mukongo, was probably born in 1889 at Nkamba, a small village north of Thysville (now Mbanza Nugungu), a commercial and administrative center on the Matadi-Kinshasa railroad. Kimbangu was educated by Baptist teachers and became a catechist for the Baptist Mission Society (BMS). His other jobs as a domestic in European homes in Kinshasa and near Nkamba and as a factory worker exposed him to prevailing urban as well as rural conditions in Zaire at that time in both indigenous and European milieux.

In 1921, after having had visions in Kinshasa, he sought to escape them by returning to Nkamba. However, he not only continued to have visions but experienced miracles as well. Finally, after having refused to obey the instructions he was receiving during these visions, he was warned in a dream that if he did not do as he was told and begin to heal the sick his own soul would be reclaimed. Propelled by this imperative Kimbangu began his faith healing and preaching from the Bible.¹⁰

The news of his religious activities spread rapidly throughout the Bas Zaire region, and people began to flock to Nkamba at the rate of some 4,000 to 5,000 per day. First Protestant converts began to follow him and then Catholics also joined the movement. The roads and pathways to Nkamba were crowded with the sick hoping to be cured, and churches as far away as Kinshasa were emptied as people sought to see and hear the new prophet.¹¹

Kimbangu's message was straight-forward and strict; his basic precepts were the condemnation of fetishism, lascivious dancing, polygamy, smoking, and drinking. "Dancing drums were destroyed, women of polygamous families were sent home, fetishes were burned or thrown away. This couldn't have been done by missionaries or the administration without a major uprising."¹² There were elements of ancestor worship in Kimbangu's teachings, but his message was clearly one of Christianity as preached by the Protestants and taught in their schools although adapted to the local environment. From March until October when Kimbangu gave himself up to colonial authorities, the movement continued to spread until the pilgrimages and conversions led to extensive job absenteeism, to Catholic converts destroying rosaries and attacking even a statue of the Virgin Mary as part of Kimbangu's interdiction against fetishes, and to soldiers from the Force Publique asking for leaves in order to visit Nkamba. Even excommunication or the threat thereof seemed to have no appreciable

effect. It was at that point, claimed Chomé, in writing about the movement, that businessmen, industrialists and Catholic missionaries demanded that the colonial administration intervene.¹³ Kimbangu was arrested, tried by a military court and sentenced to death. King Albert of Belgium intervened and commuted the sentence to one of life imprisonment. Simon Kimbangu was imprisoned in Lubumbashi and in 1951, thirty years later, died there. Followers of Kimbangu, according to some estimates numbering 37,000 heads of families, were dispersed throughout the country and were permitted to return to Bas Zaire only after independence in 1960, ending what the Kimbanguists refer to as their diaspora. The last governmental condemnations of Kimbanguists occurred in 1957 and by 1959 the governmental interdiction against them was lifted.¹⁴

The Period of Persecution

Kimbanguism's sweep through the rural areas made suppression of the movement by the administration practically impossible. Attempts to identify Kimbanguists were further complicated by the fact that the faithful generally returned to their former Protestant or Catholic missions and their continuing loyalty to Kimbanguism was kept secret. The movement did not die because the factors leading to its development and dramatic expansion remained unaltered. As Crawford Young has explained, "...the motor force in these movements was an apocalyptic reaction to a colonial situation which seemed beyond any secular remedy. The

millennial vision provided the means for transcending a temporal situation which was intolerable yet beyond the power of the African to alter."¹⁵

While there is no question that the movement also developed or revived ethnic consciousness, the colonial administration's decision to disperse Kimbangu's adherents gave rise to its multi-ethnic orientation. Kimbanguists were deported not only to nearby areas which had not been "infected," but pockets of them were relocated in every other province of the country. The deportees not only continued to practice their faith but began to proselytize and give witness among the tribes located in regions where they were being resettled.¹⁶ Meanwhile the number of followers among the Bakongos also increased and expanded geographically into Congo/Brazzaville where French officials opposed them but with much less vigor than the Belgians.

During this thirty-eight year period they were banned, the membership was often torn and shaken by the rise of other African-led syncretic or messianic movements which grew up in Zaire and often called themselves Kimbanguist or tried to draw strength from the movement by associating themselves with it. One of the strangest incidents was the initial affiliation between Kimbanguists and the Salvation Army missionaries who began to evangelize in Zaire in 1935. The Kimbanguists at first believed that the red letter "S" on the collar lapel of Salvation Army uniforms stood for "Simon" and that the movement represented a Kimbanguist reincarnated in European form. Once the Salvation

Army understood what was happening and renounced Kimbangu, the association between the two groups began to collapse.

"By the 1950's, the religious channel for the venting of frustration tended to be supplanted by the modern, secular nationalism of the Abako," the Bakongo tribal organization which evolved from a linguistic and cultural movement into a political one.¹⁷ The problem facing the disorganized Kimbanguists was increasingly focused on their political role in the growing nationalist movement in Bas Zaire. The leadership of the Kimbanguists began to be taken over by Kimbangu's sons while his wife, who, until her death in 1959, remained a source of inspiration and spiritual authority.

Joseph Diangienda, the youngest son of Kimbangu, was permitted to visit his father in prison just prior to his death and returned to Bas Zaire with the word that he had been selected by his father to lead the movement. Diangienda had accepted the position and began to negotiate with colonial officials in an effort to have the ban against the Kimbanguists lifted. In 1954, he returned to Kinshasa from exile in Tshela to direct the movement more actively. Special attention was given to making Kimbanguism known in Belgium and elsewhere overseas. In September 1957, "Information on Kimbanguism," and "Prophetic Christianity--Kimbanguism--Statute," were published and in August of 1959 the government officially lifted the ban on Kimbanguism.¹⁸ At this point there were some 40 different Kimbanguist groups without common structure or linkages who were united only by a common

bond to Kimbangu. Pulling the movement together, Diangienda, as Spiritual Chief of the Kimbanguist Church, officially founded the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth according to Simon Kimbangu (E.J.C.S.K., l'Eglise de Jésus Christ sur la terre, par Simon Kimbangu) in 1959. Adhering to a traditional type of organizational pattern, the EJCSK had a strong hierarchy well organized according to the two principles of division of work, and hierarchy and discipline.¹⁹

On the political side, the ABAKO party had consolidated its position as the party of the Bakongo, with its leader, Kasavubu, subsequently the first president of Zaire. Bakongo politicians obviously appreciated the influence of Kimbanguism and their efforts to capitalize on its political potential were illustrated by such things as the pictures which were circulated in 1959 in Bas Zaire showing St. Peter giving the keys of the kingdom to Kasavubu, on the instructions of Kimbangu.²⁰ (In fact two prominent Kimbanguists held significant political positions in early national governments. Emmanuel Bamba was Minister of Finance, from May, 1962, until June, 1964, while Charles Kisilokele, eldest son of Kimbangu, served as Minister of Labor in 1961-62.)

Thus it was profoundly important to the movement when Diangienda through a basic declaration of the EJCSK in 1960 pronounced that the church would not be associated with any political party. The EJCSK would promote peace, reconciliation and non-violence in a country menaced by politics. Good citizenship, which included political participation, would be encouraged,

but the choice of political parties within which members served would not be specified or influenced by the church.²¹ The point was also strongly made that the church was open to all who wished to join regardless of race, in keeping with Kimbangu's teachings which were historically supported by the fact that no white was killed or wounded in the founding and suppression of Kimbanguism and there had been no revolt under Kimbangu's leadership.²²

Diangienda added that the church was not seeking material gains, that followers would not be advised against seeing doctors, but the church would seek to spread the good news of Christ as the Protestants and Catholics did. EJCSK faith and doctrine would be centered on reading and explaining the Bible.²³ Furthermore, they would support the ecumenical movement and would engage in a range of social action activities (hospitals, dispensaries, child care centers, agricultural training centers, etc.) heretofore almost exclusively the domain of the foreign missions which received partial support from the government for these purposes.²⁴ Aside from the revivalist type atmosphere of their worship services, the church had basically a puritanical orientation.

Kimbanguists' Educational Commitment

Since reading the Bible and preaching was the model portrayed by Kimbangu, literacy has been of major importance to the Kimbanguists. As long as Kimbanguist children could attend the existing schools, there was little need for Kimbanguists to establish schools of their own. However, as the movement to grant

clemency to the Kimbanguists began to make headway in the mid-1950's, known Kimbanguist children were expelled from schools. Thus the Kimbanguist opened their own school in 1956 and by 1960 priority consideration was being given by the movement to the building and operating of schools.²⁵ Then as now schools were generally constructed by volunteer laborers with students themselves participating actively. With perseverance and steady pressure the Kimbanguists succeeded in getting the government to subsidize their schools on the same bases applied to the Catholic and Protestant school systems. Following the pattern of the missionaries, the Kimbanguists also established a Bureau de l'Enseignement Kimbanguist (BEK) which serves as the general headquarters for their educational system as the Bureau de l'Enseignement Catholique (BEC) and the Bureau de l'Enseignement Protestant (BEP) do for the Catholics and Protestants.

While Kimbanguism has spread to the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Congo/Brazzaville, Zambia and Angola, the Kimbanguists had not, as of 1972, established schools outside of Zaire. However, the rationale for the establishment of schools has expanded from simply providing schools for Kimbanguist children who might otherwise be deprived of education to being a key factor in proselytization and to meeting the increasing demands for education in order to live in the 20th Century.²⁶ The importance of and the potential for proselytization among the youth is indicated by the fact that in Zaire over 50% of the population is estimated to

be under 15 years of age. Indicative of the Kimbanguists' successes in educating its people are the results of a survey research study which found that only 30% of the total Kimbanguist population in Bas Zaire had not been to school.²⁷

Kimbanguist children are not required to go to Kimbanguist schools nor are children attending Kimbanguist schools required to be Kimbanguists. Religious discrimination of this nature would, of course, jeopardize the government's subsidization of Kimbanguist schools, for although all religiously run schools are permitted to teach some religion, children are not required to participate if they don't wish to and cannot be excluded for religious reasons. Therefore, while the Kimbanguists are not actively encouraged to proselytize and convert as the national Catholic mission had been under the colonial administration, the Kimbanguists have fully realized how important a tool education is in the propagation of their sect and following the model the European missionaries created some 80 years earlier, the Kimbanguists have employed it with at least equal vigor and success.²⁸ It is in a sense acculturation of a system--new wine in old bottles.

The question invariably arises as to whether or not Kimbanguism was a nationalist movement. The answer usually is rather predetermined by the definition one uses for nationalism. If one defines it as "a consciousness, on the part of individuals or groups, of membership in a nation, or of a desire to forward the strength, liberty or prosperity of a nation..."²⁹ then one might well

find the movement was nationalistic. Such a phenomena might be manifested in political, cultural, religious, etc., areas with "Political nationalism being a movement reclaiming for the nationals, the natives, a larger and larger part of the direction of their own affairs, a movement which finally ends in independence for the people concerned."³⁰ In this light Kimbanguism certainly could be considered as one of the initial manifestations or generators of national consciousness. Certainly it was important in the sense that it was a black movement, requiring no white direction or supervision, and Kimbanguism, its members add, "is 'our religion' because it was founded by one of our race."³¹ In this instance the "religious self" would have preceded and prepared the way for the development of the "political self."

The Kimbanguist school system which was first developed to train Kimbanguism's human resources when colonially dominated schools refused to do so, has also shown other Zairians that this could be accomplished by Africans. This effect would undoubtedly qualify as "forwarding the strength, liberty or prosperity of the nation." Today this is further demonstrated by the fact that the leaders of the church are equally concerned with identifying their best secondary school students and helping them to get university educations.³² However, today Kimbanguism is also undertaking this task on a national basis rather than in a tribal and regional one.

There are some very interesting aspects with regard to the Kimbanguist school system in Zaire. First of all they have moved with

astonishing speed from a system too insignificant to report in 1960 to a system which at the primary level enrolled 161,433 students or 5.7% of the national total and at the secondary level 13,640 students, or 5.9% of the total enrollment.³³ The numerical emphasis on the primary school level is related to the lower cost per pupil and to the lower qualifications needed for teachers and thus their greater availability. It is also significant that over 90% of the children aged 8 to 12 are attending primary school, and therefore, can be reached (and proselytized) through the school. This emphasis is also related to the Kimbanguist effort at the secondary school level for there only 4,236 of those enrolled are in the upper four grades (cycle long), and of those over half (2,578) are in the normal school stream which means they will be qualified to teach at the elementary level, or if necessary, in the first two grades of secondary school. Students from the normal school stream in secondary school, can of course, continue on in pedagogy at the post-secondary level (as can those 1,208 enrolled in a general secondary stream.)³⁴ Training teachers is a key consideration.

Another striking element about the Kimbanguist system is that it adds to the existing imbalance of educational opportunity in the nation; Kimbanguist schools are concentrated in those parts of the nation which already have substantially more schools than their percentage of the total national population would warrant (see Table I). This, in a nation where education is a major determinant in the achievement of upward social mobility, inherently

has serious political considerations. President Mobutu, well aware of this, stated in 1970, "The harmonious development of the Republic demands that there be an equal geographical distribution of schools of all types. That policy is inscribed in the fundamental orientation of our economic organization..."³⁵ (See Tables II and III.)

Kimbanguist schools were first eligible for government subsidization in the provinces approximately during the following years: Kinshasa, 1962; Bas Zaire, 1963; Shaba and Bandundu, 1966; Kasai Oriental and Kasai Occidental, 1968; Haut Zaire, 1969; and Equateur and Kivu, 1970. The speed with which the system grew in Kasai is not as surprising as it might have been had the Balubas not been voracious in their efforts to acquire education almost from the beginning of colonial rule. An added consideration of interest is that a disproportionate percentage of the educated elite in Zaire are either Balubas or Bakongos. This causes resentment by other tribesmen and it puts Balubas and Bakongos in competition with each other for the desirable positions time after time. Yet in spite of this the Kimbanguists today have an educational system which is probably serving more Baluba primary school children than it is Bakongo children. This would seem to indicate the extent to which Kimbanguism has detribalized itself. There is some indication that while initial expansion was opportunistic, efforts are now being made to assist in the national effort to upgrade the educationally deprived provinces, especially since the President announced that policy in 1970.³⁶

There is no question that this religious minority is seeking to become a majority by becoming a church for all the citizens of the country and by being a church which will assist the nation to achieve its social and cultural objectives. There is also no question that the dynamic development of its educational system has been a (if not the) major factor in Kimbanguism's success. Finally, there is no question that the original missionary model may still be a relevant one providing that it is racially detribalized, i.e., Black as well as White, and de-Europeanized in its direction and management. For the Kimbanguists independence has not suggested the separation of education and religion, rather it has offered a new opportunity to acculturate and nationalize the missionary church/school model and infuse it with a new indigenous dynamism. This pattern is an interesting alternative to the more prevailing one of completely nationalizing the school systems and separating them from religion.

TABLE I

Percentage Figures on Student Enrollment
Compared to Population, by Province, 1968/69

Province	Percentage of Students	Percentage of National Population
Kinshasa	20.50	6.10
Bandundu	11.00	12.00
Bas Zaire	14.50	6.95
Equateur	5.20	11.25
Haut Zaire (Orientale)	7.90	15.50
Kasai-Occidental	8.40	11.25
Kasai-Oriental	14.60	8.65
Kivu	7.60	15.55
Shaba (Katanga)	10.30	12.75
	100.00	100.00

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Annuaire Statistique de l'éducation, 1968/69. (Kinshasa: Imprimerie St. Paul, September, 1971.)

TABLE II

Kimbanguist Primary School System
by Province, 1970-71

Province	Male	Students Female	Total	Number of Classes	Number of Teachers	Number of Schools
Kinshasa	7,950	7,553	15,503	339	471	24
Bandundu	10,537	5,072	15,609	495	499	20
Bas Zaire	14,569	8,309	22,878	650	568	40
Equateur	5,823	2,078	7,901	163	169	12
Haut Zaire (Orientale)	5,860	3,255	9,115	190	204	16
Kasai-Occidental	10,331	4,517	14,848	488	464	29
Kasai-Oriental	15,505	8,842	24,347	612	?	44
Kivu	2,449	852	3,301	84	53	8
Shaba (Katanga)	5,493	2,258	7,751	204	208	12
Totals	78,517	42,736	121,253	3,225	2,636	205

Source: Bureau de l'Enseignement Kimbanguist (BEK)

TABLE III

Kimbanguist Secondary School System
by Province, 1970-71

Province	Male	Students Female	Total	Number of Classes	Number of Teachers	Number of Schools
Kinshasa	2,045	730	2,775	84	102	5
Bandundu	1,044	167	1,211	29	44	8
Bas Zaire	3,323	724	4,047	101	166	16
Equateur	349	22	371	10	13	2
Haut Zaire (Orientale)	282	33	315	9	12	1
Kasai-Occidental	1,377	52	1,429	33	45	5
Kasai-Oriental	2,032	239	2,271	69	128	11
Kivu	---	---	---	--	--	--
Shaba (Katanga)	644	48	692	14	24	3
Totals	11,096	2,015	13,111	349	534	51

Source: Bureau de l'Enseignement Kimbanguist (BEK)

FOOTNOTES

1. L'Office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, Le Congo Belge (Bruxelles: Imprimeries Dewarichet, Vol. II, 1959), pp. 152-153.
2. William M. Rideout, Jr., Education and Elites: The Making of the New Elites and the Formal Education System in the Congo (K) (Stanford: Unpublished dissertation, 1971), pp. 167-193.
3. Crawford Young, Politics in the Congo, Decolonization and Independence (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 10. Professor Young has added "...that not only was this triple alliance a virtually seamless web but each component, in its area of activity, was without peer in tropical Africa in the magnitude of its impact."
4. Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, An Analytical Study of Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 17. The "political self" was used by the authors to cover, "an individual's package of orientations regarding politics...Through his relationships with the social world an individual develops "political self." This concept was adapted from: George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), who conceptualized the term "social self."
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6. Efraim Anderson, Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell's Bortryckeri, 1958), p. 33.
7. Axelson, op. cit. has detailed the history of this period from 1482 to 1900.
8. G. C. Oosthuizen, Post-Christianity in Africa, A Theological and Anthropological Study (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1968), p. 30.
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13. Ibid., pp. 27-29.
14. Willy Beguin, "L'Eglise de Jésus-Christ sur la terre par le prophète Simon Kimbangu," Monde Non-Chrétien (Paris), Vol. 22, Nos. 89-90, 1969, p. 23.
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16. Beguin, op.cit. pp. 19 and 20.
17. Young, op.cit. p. 286.
18. Etienne Bazola, "Le Kimbanguisme," Cahiers des Religions Africaines (Kinshasa), II, No. 3, Jan. 1968, p. 130.
19. J. Lasserre, "L'Eglise Kimbanguiste du Congo," Le Monde Non-Chrétien, (Paris), Nos. 79-80, 1966, p. 47.
20. Young, op.cit. p. 391.
21. Bazola, op. cit. pp. 130-131.
22. Chomé, p. 24.
23. Lasserre, op. cit. pp. 48-49.
24. Marie-Louise Martin, "Actualité du Kimbanguisme," Monde Non-Chrétien, (Paris), Vol. 22, Nos. 89-90, 1969, p. 13.
25. Lasserre, op. cit. p. 51.
26. Interview with Daniel Diki, Secretary-General of BEK, Kinshasa, June, 1972.
27. Bazola, op. cit. p. 143.
28. Ibid., p. 145.
29. T. Hodgkin, Nationalism in Central Africa (London: Frederick Muller, 1960), p. 20.
30. Gérard Buakasa, "Notes sur le kindoki chez les Kongo," Cahiers des Religions Africaines (Kinshasa), II, No. 4, July, 1968, p. 320.
31. Ibid., pp. 324-325.
32. Martin, op. cit. p. 35.

33. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Annuaire statistique de l'éducation, 1969-70 (Kinshasa: Direction Générale de la Planification, Mimeo), pp. 1-11.
34. Ibid.
35. Bureau du Président de la République du Zaïre, Zaïre (Kinshasa: 1972?), p. 406.
36. Interview with Diki, op. cit.