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FRENCH EDUCATION POLICY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR

**Study of Manpower Needs,
Educational Capabilities,
and Overseas Study**

A.I.D.
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EDUCATION AND WORLD AFFAIRS

STUDY OF MANPOWER NEEDS, SCHOLARSHIPS

AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITIES

FRENCH EDUCATION POLICY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR

Frame of Reference

This report on French education policy, in Africa was prepared by Eugene W. Burgess for Education and World Affairs in May 1965. It is submitted to AID by Education and World Affairs in partial fulfillment of USAID contract AID/afr-198 dated June 2, 1964.

Preface

The title of this monograph would suggest an area of treatment of some magnitude. One noticeable omission is any analysis of France's capital investments or grants in overseas education. Such investments, whether made directly or indirectly, are very substantial and play a large part in France's cultural and technical assistance programs in French-speaking Africa and Madagascar. As in the case of most capital investments, their efficacy is largely dependent on the human resources devoted thereto. It is this aspect of French policy that concerns us for the moment.

All that can be attempted here is an overview of the teaching and other technical assistance personnel controlled and/or directed by the Ministry of Cooperation in furtherance and support of France's education policies in Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar. An exploration in depth of the education research activities of the Division of Cultural and Technical Assistance in the Ministry of Cooperation would no doubt clarify many of the broadly stated policy determinants of France in the education field.

Fact and opinion are often intertwined and particularly so when both are obtained from interviews and summarized written thoughts of the several officers responsible for policy formulation in the ministry. To them the author extends his appreciation for the time and other assistance they so generously extended.

Foreword

France's educational efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa began some one hundred and fifty years ago in the Colony of Senegal. For our purposes, however, it is the period 1944 to date that holds particular interest. For those interested in the intervening period 1815-1944, they will find Jerry Bolibaugh's study, "French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa; Their Interest, Derivation, and Development",¹ very adequate.

Even before the close of World War II, General De Gaulle, as leader of the Free French Forces, opened a conference in 1944 at Brazzaville designed to program a new colonial policy for Sub-Saharan Africa. Basically, the adopted recommendations provided for the colonies to remain within and as a part of the French Empire, and the metropolitan government of France (Fourth Republic) implemented this policy until its ending in 1958 and the return of De Gaulle to power under the Fifth French Republic. The constitution adopted September 28, 1958 provided for a French Community and ultimate independence of the Sub-Saharan colonies in 1960. (Only Guinea opted for independence in 1958.)

The French Union of the Fourth Republic continued the assimilative tradition of the Third Republic, espoused greater centralization of authority in Paris, and structured the administrative, social, and cultural institutions in the territories along identical lines of metropolitan France.

French attitudes toward education in its colonies or territories were deeply rooted in the concept of assimilation; that the French system of education was a basic means to this end; and, that "African needs" were better served by a two-track system, vocational and agricultural training in the village schools and the classical French lycée in the urban centers--at least in the interwar period. Elliott Berg suggests that the French conception of their educational mission did not consider that preparation of Africans for positions of responsibility had any priority. "The African was to be trained only as an auxiliary to the European--an

¹ Phase 2 of "Education as an Instrument of National Policy in Selected Newly Developing Nations"--Cooperative Research Project #1032, published by the Comparative Education Center, Stanford University, under the direction of Professor Paul Hanna; 112 pp., 1964

artisan, a clerk, a medical or agricultural technician; the higher-level technical and administrative jobs, it was implicitly assumed, would be performed by Europeans, presumably for decades to come."¹

Entrance of the new African elite into French political life was another important facet of the Fourth Republic's assimilation concept. According to Bolibaugh: "African deputies were elected to the French Chamber and Senate, and were often able to obtain concessions, despite a lack of numerical strength, by occupying a crucial position in the balance between the Right and the Left. As they gained political experience through participation in the French Parliament and the Assembly of the French Union in France, and the territorial and grand Councils in Africa, their influence increased. Even though the Councils held only advisory power with the French governors remaining the local supreme authority with legislation enacted, as before, in France, the very existence of these elected Councils led to the organization of indigenous political parties in Sub-Saharan Africa with the Rassemblement Democratique African (RDA) emerging as the dominant one. Not only did these developments provide needed political and legislative experience, but they enabled the Africans to break away from membership in the metropolitan political parties. By the 1950's, the Sub-Saharan Africans were wielding considerable influence in the metropolitan government in the roles of assistant ministers and secretaries of state."²

Thus postwar emphasis on education in Sub-Saharan Africa became increasingly important as a necessary means of upward political and social mobility. Small wonder that the Sub-Saharan African elite tended to support an education system identical to that in metropolitan France. The term "equality" in the education domain, meant access to French citizenship. Hence, pressures were exerted not alone for mass primary and adult education, but also for expansion of secondary education as well.

The development of education, however, could not go forward under the old colonial policy of placing the bulk of costs on the territorial budgets. Thus, in 1946 the Ministry of Overseas France (MOF) was instructed to establish plans for overseas

¹ Manpower and Education, by Harbison and Myers, Chapter 8, pages 238-39; McGraw-Hill Series in International Development. New York, 343 pages, 1965.

² Op. citation, pp. 46-47.

economic and social development to cover the next ten years and designed to transform the territories into modern countries. To provide the needed funds, a special agency was created--
Fonds d'Investissements pour le Developpement Economique et Social des Territoires d'Outre-Mer (FIDES).

While the actual outlays were not equal to the task, substantial progress was made in extending the secondary schools. However, the costs were high due to the necessity of staffing with French instructors and the almost total tendency to create the full boarding type of school. Coupled with a greatly expanded primary system, the cost to the territories for education rose rapidly from 2.8 per cent of their budgets in 1930 to 17 per cent in 1953. In 1953, metropolitan France was carrying only one-seventh of the total educational budgets in the territories.¹

Meanwhile, there was considerable pressure on the French to alter their approach to basic education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Over half of the secondary school places were unfilled (1955) due to the inability of the Africans to pass the entrance examinations. The African elite were in a peculiar situation as they wanted their educational systems to be equivalent with the French--and so did the French--and yet they recognized that African students on the whole could not scale the stiff examination barriers within the age limits applied in France. Of course, the charge was made that the French used this device to limit educational opportunities for the natives.

On the other hand, it could not be maintained that the quality of the African schools was on a par with those in France. This fact led to a rising demand for scholarships for study in France and in time brought further financial and political problems for both the territories and France.

One aspect of France's response was to press ahead with the creation of a University at Dakar that hopefully was to serve all of French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa. Student enrollments went from 140 in 1950 to over 1,600 in 1960. However, the students were mostly French and Senegalese from the West African Federation, and only a very few were from the French Equatorial Federation. Though the University continues under the jurisdiction of the French Ministry of National Education, the split-up of the French Sub-Saharan Federations from 1960 on frustrated French hopes to have it serve as a

¹ Op. citation, p. 49.

University serving most of French Sub-Saharan Africa.

With the adoption of the constitution of the Fifth Republic in 1958, a drastic change in French policies in economic and social development of the former Territories was inevitable. The concept of the French Union was replaced by the concept of the French Community; the French Union continued the centralization and assimilation tradition of French colonial policy while the community affirmed the right of self-government and even secession. Further amendments in 1960 provided for complete independence for the Sub-Saharan African states, and in turn called for virtually a whole set of new political and legal institutions to manage the relationship of France with her former territories.

The Ministry of Cooperation

Unquestionably the translation from the French Union concept to that of the French Community created a myriad of difficulties in the realm of education and technical assistance. The Ministry of Overseas France was concerned with all of France's overseas territories, dependencies, and mandates. Its successor, the Ministry of Cooperation, was not created until June 1961 and fell heir to only the new states of Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar. All other French-speaking overseas states appear to be linked to France mainly through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and are not encompassed in this report. On this basis, discussion of French education policy with regard to Morocco, Algeria, or Tunisia is necessarily omitted.

The decolonization of Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar brought into being a whole series of new or realigned agencies in Metropole France to manage the transition. If the accession of independence brought difficult and unusual problems to the former French territories, the effect in Paris was no less attended with severe aches and pains. To go from a relationship of close internal ties to one of independence and cooperation posed questions of deep import and urgency to a France determined to maintain its primacy with these new nations through continued financial, cultural, and technical assistance. In fact, France is often accused of having continued its "imperialistic" aspirations in its former territories by the assiduousness with which it continues to encourage the use of the French language and maintenance of French cultural values and insti-

tutions regardless of the differences in environments.¹

Notwithstanding, France could not, and did not, stand aside at the juncture of independence (leaving aside the case of Guinea) and began the task of supporting these new nations through a new loaning agency, Le Fonds d'Aide et de Cooperation (FAC), created in March 1959 as a successor to the Fonds d'Investissement pour le Developement Economique et Social (FIDES). This latter agency was based on regionalism as conceived under the Fourth Republic, whereas the new relationship was based on a nation-to-nation basis, necessitating rethinking and reshaping development institutions created for a political entity that no longer existed. The problems of an infrastructure or educational system based on regional development needed drastic revision and even interim support until economic and social development plans for each independent state could be adopted as a guide to the kind and amount of assistance the French government could or would undertake.

Anyone familiar with the autonomous nature of the various (and numerous) ministerial administrative departments and agencies of Metropole France can understand the great difficulties facing the new Ministry of Cooperation in assuming responsibility for and in carrying out France's commitments in the cultural and technical assistance areas. Mon. Jean-Pierre Dannaud, Directeur de la Cooperation Culturelle et Technique (Ministry of Cooperation) had no illusions about the real needs of these new states. "French Africa of tomorrow will not be that of yesterday with its subsistence economic and tribal structures, nor will it be aided in this transition by continuing to function under 'western' structures of law, education, isolated agricultural services, and civil services. Failure to adapt brings on a temporary paroxysm in governmental administration. An example can be found in the substitution of a governor who has had twenty years of administration in the 'bush' with a government of young politicians who have spent most if not all of their formative years in French schools. To continue to send out teachers, engineers, and accountants without helping these states to plan their development needs would not solve their problems. Our task is complicated by having to create a new

¹ See "L'Education en Afrique", by Abdou Moumouni, Librairie Francois Maspero-Paris, 1964, 399 pages. Mon. Moumouni blends fact, fiction, and dialogue to support his thesis that Sub-Saharan Africa will not be fully decolonized until African education is solidly based on African cultural values and institutions.

organization that not only must plan but also implement."¹

Mon. Dannaud goes on to explain that the Ministry of Cooperation was initially conceived as simply an agency to stimulate action, to coordinate and to control the overseas activities of the various ministries. On this basis, more than 80 per cent of the personnel and budget of the predecessor Ministry of Overseas France was transferred to the various ministries and not to the Ministry of Cooperation.

Thus the new Ministry was faced with a heavy responsibility but deprived of all historical archives, very few trained personnel, and very inadequate housing for its manifold activities.

In addition, its work was further complicated by the fact that all administrative and financial operations overseas were highly centralized in Paris; that all French personnel had to be transferred to a contractual basis with the new states; and that the strong personal attachments built up over the years between civil servants in Paris and those in the former territories continued to interfere on a "political" basis.

Mon. Dannaud notes that some few years later the Ministry did get "off the ground" and did eventually overcome most of the barriers to its functioning. On the other hand, Mr. Bolibaugh notes that critics of French overseas educational strategy point out the persistency of the centralizing habit, a reluctance to share authority with those at lower levels and with other services--and I quote: ".....some of these former colonial education administrators, presently serving as advisors in Sub-Saharan Africa, are resisting attempts by the Ministry of Cooperation to develop special educational strategies which deviate from the traditional French pattern, these traditionalists, supporters of high standards and the classical curriculum, apparently are unaware of, or unconcerned about, the

1 Rapport d'Activite - 1961-1963, Direction de la Cooperation Culturelle et Technique du Ministere de la Cooperation, p. 45. This report of 120 pages, published in the fall of 1964, is of particular interest to this study.

Coupled with the Rapport sur la Cooperation Franco-Africaine: Cinq Ans de Fonds d'Aide et le Cooperation, presented by M. Raymond Triboulet, Minister of Cooperation, published by La Ministere de la Cooperation, Paris, April 1964, pp. 5-6 they provide all of the quotations not otherwise indicated and most of the factual data included in this report.

need to relate human resource development to manpower requirements and cultural realities. In certain Black African countries, their presence at the level of implementation has tended to abort the emerging metropolitan concern to develop a financially feasible system of mass elementary education related to national economic development."¹

In an equally competent companion study to the one developed by Mr. Bolibaugh, Gordon Lucas confirms the difficulties that beset the education strategists of the Ministry of Cooperation when attempting to implement recognized and necessary changes in the educational system of its overseas partners in cooperation:

"French educational policy during the decade preceding Congolese autonomy and independence still included the aim to adapt French educational institutions to the needs of the Congo. But the presence of a larger number of French Nationals required the transfer to the Congo of institutions identical to those of the Metropole. Once established in the Congo, the French lycées could not deny admission to increasing numbers of Congolese in face of political pressures.

"By the time Congolese leaders assumed full control over the country's schools, the educational system had become basically identical to that of the Metropole, and the leaders were committed to the ideal of universal primary education geared to the production of qualified candidates for academic secondary schools. Although only a very small percentage of the primary school population could hope to enter the secondary schools--and a still smaller percentage could go on to the University--the whole Congolese school system operates to serve the needs of this small minority."²

Without minimizing the importance of capital investments in France's educational obligations to the French-speaking Sub-Saharan states--and these investments are large in terms of France's gross national product--our concern in this report is centered around the quantitative and qualitative human

¹ Op. citation, pp. 87-88.

² Cooperative Research Project #1032, Phase 3: "Formal Education in the Congo-Brazzaville: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice". Comparative Education Center, Stanford University, 287 pages, 1964, p. 254.

resources available in France or in the African States for economic and social development.

The extent and use of French personnel in the administrative, education, and production institutions of these developing nations plays an overriding part in fashioning France's overseas educational policies. For the most part, this personnel is supplied by the Ministry of Cooperation, or by other Metropolitan France instrumentalities, but under its direction and control. Furthermore, the "management" of this personnel in terms of studied withdrawal from overseas assignments looms large to French policy-makers. A brief analysis of the dimensions of this personnel situation should be helpful at this juncture.

Overview of French Cultural and Technical Assistance Personnel

The Jeanneney Commission Report, in Annex #12, reproduced here as Table I, sets out in tabular form the distribution of all technical assistance personnel outside of France.

Table I
Aid Personnel Distribution--by Activity--May 1963

<u>Countries</u>	<u>Adminis- tration</u>	<u>Production</u>	<u>Public Works</u>	<u>Commerce Travel</u>	<u>Social Welfare</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Posts & Tel.</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Distri- bution</u>
Morocco	801	490	344	308	528	8,196	450	35	10,863	24%
Tunisia	17	99	68	5	117	2,293	--	2	2,601	5%
Cambodia	14	18	28	13	40	898	--	4	1,015	2%
Laos										
Vietnam										
Near East	16	45	20	16	41	306	--	8	452	
Oceanic Asia	--	10	17	1	15	152	--	5	200	3%
Latin America	6	36	56	39	7	418	--	1	563	
Other Countries	16	36	7	2	16	216	--	9	302	
Algeria	1,741	453	850	17	388	14,872	1,133	--	19,454	42%
Black Africa States and Madagascar	1,859	636	1,727	230	1,030	4,385	549	--	10,416	23%
Totals	4,470	1,813	3,116	364	2,182	31,736	2,132	64	45,866	100%
	10%	4%	7%	1%	5%	69%	4%	--	100%	

Annex #12, The Jeanneney Commission Report

One perceives that French aid personnel is heavily concentrated in Africa and that almost 70 per cent of the total is in education. While Algeria and Morocco dominate the education sector, one should not overlook the relatively high proportion of all personnel in administration (Justice, Finance, Interior), public works, and social welfare in Sub-Saharan Africa. As we will see later on, this latter situation is a positive factor in the shaping of French educational policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. The relatively high level of education personnel in the Arab North African states is partly due to the absence of mission schools.

Our interest, however, is concentrated in French Sub-Saharan Africa and it will be helpful to take a much closer look at the technical aid personnel distribution in this area. As of November 1964, the Division of Cultural and Technical Cooperation¹ of the Ministry of Cooperation reported total personnel as numbering 8,442.

Table II highlights the fact that about half of all such personnel is in Madagascar, Ivory Coast, and Senegal, and that the education sector accounts for about 50 per cent, a steep increase from the 24 per cent registered in 1960. Actually, education personnel has increased over 57 per cent in the year-and-a-half period, while the total of other sectors decreased by 26 per cent.

The military contingent, shown as numbering 938, is a relatively new departure for France. It is patterned after our "Peace Corps" but linked to their universal military service situation. However, the total of all French personnel under direct control of the Ministry of Cooperation has shown a remarkable stability since 1961, averaging about 8,500 over the period. (See Table A, Appendix B)

¹ It is this Division that controls and directs all "aid" personnel in teaching and training posts in French Sub-Saharan Africa. The structure of this division and the scope of its activities are outlined in Appendix A. See Table III for control of university level personnel.

Table II

Number and Distribution of Technical Assistants as at November 1, 1964

	Senegal	Mali	Mauritania	Ivory Coast	Upper Volta	Niger	Dahomey	Gabon	Congo	Central African Republic	Chad	Madagascar	Togo	Cameroon	Regional Organizations	Totals	Military Contingent*	Grand Total
General Administration	44	7	17	80	16	37	10	30	29	38	28	86	11	48	--	481	49	530
Judiciary	41	1	8	43	15	17	16	12	13	24	23	48	9	29	--	299	--	299
Customs, Finance, Police	84	9	19	94	28	21	8	36	21	18	31	143	9	55	37	613	--	613
Health	80	20	25	89	59	34	26	62	74	64	71	79	3	89	26	801	14	815
Military-not on military assignment	4	--	5	2	2	5	--	--	8	2	15	1	--	--	--	44	--	44
Production-95% in agric.	49	18	20	67	25	26	13	30	13	62	50	123	2	43	4	545	83	628
Roads, Water, Power	102	30	32	88	39	34	11	35	40	52	56	134	19	49	21	742	94	836
Postal & Telegraph	48	10	18	72	18	30	15	--	--	22	--	67	4	22	105	431	--	431
Education	862	200	61	831	161	117	106	136	269	176	152	980	58	377	--	4486	698	5184
Totals	1314	295	205	1366	363	321	205	341	467	458	426	1661	115	712	193	8442	938	9380
Military Contingent*	110	52	19	184	48	48	29	58	41	63	69	123	21	70	1	938	///	////
Grand Total	1424	347	224	1550	411	369	234	399	508	521	495	1784	136	782	194	9380	///	////

Source: Rapport d'activite 1961-63
 Direction de la Cooperation Culturelle et Technique
 Ministere de la Cooperation - Paris
 Page 16 - Revised to update from March 1, 1964

* Akin to our "Peace Corps"

Table III

Cultural and Technical Assistance Personnel
in Service in Africa - December 31, 1963

Personnel Supplied by:	Teachers	Experts		Totals
		Permanent	Temporary	
Ministry of Cooperation:				
Division of Cultural and Technical Co-operation	4420	4330	----	8750
Division of Economic and Financial Affairs	----	----	169	169
Ministry of War:				
Loaned to Ministry of Cooperation and not on military assignment	302	70	----	372
Ministry of Public Works	----	1128	----	1128
Ministry of National Education *	287	----	----	287
<hr/>				
Total Assistance Personnel From French Ministries	5009	5571	169	10749
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Personnel Supplied by Agencies Supported by Cultural Aid Funds	----	2182	168	2350
<hr/>				
GRAND TOTALS	5009	7753	337	13099

Source: Rapport d'activite 1961-63
Direction de la Cooperation Culturelle
et Technique
Ministere de la Cooperation - Paris
Page 18.

* All personnel teaching
at university level

Table III presents a somewhat different and enlarged picture of aid personnel overseas in Sub-Saharan Africa. Out of a total of 13,100 technical assistance personnel, about 9,000 are directly supplied by the Ministry of Cooperation, 1,100 by the Ministry of Public Works, and over 1,300 by quasi-public agencies subventioned by Cultural Aid Funds. The 287 teachers supplied by the Ministry of National Education are all engaged in teaching at the university level.

From another point of view, the structure of the technical assistance personnel overseas may be highlighted through an examination of the distribution of personnel in accordance with their level of competence; categories "A", "B", and "C" (corresponding to cadres supérieurs, cadres moyens, and cadres qualifiés).

Table B, C and D--Appendix B indicate that in the teaching sector almost 62 per cent are in the "B" category, reflecting the large number of teachers at the secondary school level. In all other sectors, however, the "A" category is predominant--and especially so in Administration (96 per cent), Production (85.4 per cent), and Judiciary (80.9 per cent). On the overall the "A" category comprises 74.5 per cent of all such non-teaching sector personnel. In all sectors, the number in the "C" category is relatively insignificant. The distribution of the categories among the various states does not appear to be of any great importance except perhaps to support the comments of French officials that there does not appear to be any relation between economic development and the "quality" of technical assistance furnished by France to these African states.

The French appear to be particularly concerned about the functions that are performed by their overseas technical personnel. In terms of identifying longer range goals in this regard, they have three main functional categories:

- 1) conceptual functions--technical advisers, research project leaders, heads of staff activities, etc.
- 2) education and training functions--teachers in the formal system and training directors in trade and professional training centers.
- 3) action functions--engineers, doctors, specialized experts in finance, treasury, justice, and high-level administrators.

French policy is to try and achieve a heavy balance in favor of the first--conceptual--and generally referred to by the French as the "international" type of technical assistance personnel. (See Table E--Appendix.)

At the present time, the education function holds about 50 per cent of total, while the "action" function registers 40 per cent (over three-quarters of these are engineers and doctors in regular civil service). The big weakness as the French view it is the conceptual function where less than 4 per cent of all technical assistance personnel overseas are in positions of advisors to ministries in the African states. The French feel they are thus pushed to increase the output of high-level personnel in order to replace French personnel particularly in the "action" functions. Africanization is a perfectly good cause for the French to support, providing it is first applied to the categories "B" and "C", and secondly to the action function as a preference.

The French appear to be concerned about stepping up the reduction in the number of their nationals that occupy administrative posts in the African states. The "sensitivity" of these positions is obvious, and their replacement as soon as possible by qualified nationals has high French priority. Actually, the reduction in numbers appears to be proceeding according to pace from a total of 785 in 1962 to a planned total of 467 in 1965, or a drop of 40 per cent in the three-year period. However, the drop in "A" category--527 down to 341--is only 35 per cent, while in categories "B" and "C" it has been 52 per cent and 48 per cent respectively.

However, many of the positions in category "A" (for example, magistrates or budget officers) require a high degree of specialization and this entails a long period of training after entering the service with a university level education. Thus, Africanization will likely be slow in such areas.

It is the category "B" posts, however, that is giving these states the greatest concern. Only too often the civil service statutes are modeled after those in metropolitan France--which require a candidate to have a secondary school certificate. However, in Africa there are as yet too few secondary school graduates and most all seek category "A" posts or enter the university. Considering the fast expansion of secondary education and slowness of expansion in job openings, the level of posts that will be open to such graduates will be much below their aspirations and lead to a sharp

increase in the number of intellectually unemployed. Already the pursuit of non-technical studies offers little chance of employment at the present time. This phenomena is, of course, endemic throughout Africa, and one is referred to the author's Tunisia Report for further elaboration on this serious problem.

The so-called "production" sector is almost all in agriculture--less than 5 per cent having to do with manufacturing. As a matter of policy, most of the technical assistance in support of industry is in the infrastructure area. Part of this tendency is due to very little governmental activity in the enterprise sector and a preoccupation to expand agricultural activities that had been started before independence. Here again the French would like to abate the continuing use of their technical personnel in "action" posts. In addition the failure of the French Metropole Ministries working in the agricultural areas to coordinate and cooperate with the Ministry of Cooperation in avoiding duplication of effort at local levels and in producing similar tendencies among the collateral ministries of the African states is a constant irritant.

Nonetheless, some headway has been made in the agricultural sectors, but here again the big change is in category "B" personnel in relation to the category "A" technicians (see Table F--Appendix B). The French are mindful of the time factor required to prepare sufficient Africans to take over the majority of cadres "A" posts and all of the cadres "B" situations, a situation that leads the French to giving greater and greater attention to the establishment of agricultural training centers and to the reform of the rural primary system.

There would appear to be no question but that French technical assistance personnel is altogether too involved in actual administration and action responsibilities in their overseas posts. So much for this review of the distribution and structure of French technical assistance in French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa. We should now turn our attention to a more detailed examination of the educational sector of French technical aid assistance.

French Technical Assistance Personnel in Education

However much the French may be engaged across the board in supplying technical assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa, the heaviest emphasis is placed on education. This is the key, in their thinking, for extricating themselves from having "operating" personnel in these countries. The formation of cadres and the eradication of illiteracy thus become the ultimate foci of their efforts. Of equal concern is to avoid implanting educational institutions "fabricated" in France or of engaging in cultural activities that smack of sheer propaganda. While admitting that training in France and in these countries could be complimentary, they opt strongly for the building of local training centers in "worker need" areas and to carry on continuing research to assure that appropriate adaptation take place.

While the formal education system in these nations brought no real problems at the time of independence, France has had to increase the number of teachers to fill in the gaps produced when African teachers became the base on which to build local governmental structures and to man the quickened expansion of secondary education.

Table IV that follows indicates the distribution of French teachers throughout the public educational systems of the French-speaking Sub-Saharan States and Madagascar. All but ten per cent of the French teachers are at the secondary level and higher. For all practical purposes, the public primary school systems have been Africanized, while at the post-primary levels the teaching corps is still heavily weighted with French nationals.

Table IV

Distribution of Teaching Corps Sponsored by the Ministry of Cooperation
(By country and by level of education - school year 1963-64. Public education only.)

Educational Level Column Numbers	Primary					Junior High(Colleges)				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Cameroon	57	3757*	1.5%	210*	56*	78	142	55%	2.35	17
Central African Republic	15	N.A.	N.A.	75*	N.A.	43	47	91%	1.25	27
Congo	28	1104*	2.6%	67*	61*	92	129	71%	3.4	26
Ivory Coast	43	4872	0.9%	235.9	48	274	346	79%	9.3	27
Dahomey	5	1652	0.3%	64.4	39	12	55	22%	1.8	33
Gabon	10	789	1.2%	31.1	39	43	54	79%	0.95	18
Upper Volta	16	1013	1.6%	49.5	49	46	51	90%	1.40	27
Madagascar	129	4479*	2.9%	400*	89*	233	301	77%	5.20*	17*
Mali	19	1834*	1.0%	118*	64*	77	N.A.	N.A.	1.80	N.A.
Mauritania	14	608	2.3%	21	35	7	15	47%	0.50	33
Niger	12	1108	1.0%	46.5*	42*	71	93	76%	1.50	16
Senegal	106	4026	2.5%	157	39	113	171	66%	3.00	18
Chad	11	1395	1.2%	108.1	78	60	67	89%	1.55	23
Togo	5	1125	0.4%	76.8	68	--	47	0	2.15	46
Totals	470	27,762	1.7%			1149	1518	75%		
Per cent of French Teachers	10%					26%				

*Estimated

- Column Legend: 1 - Number of French Teachers
 2 - Total Teaching Staff
 3 - Ratio of French Teachers to Total
 4 - Enrolled Students in Thousands
 5 - Students Per Teacher

Source: See Footnote to Table II

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Table IV (con't)

Distribution of Teaching Corps Sponsored by the Ministry of Cooperation
(By country and by level of education - school year 1963-64. Public education only.)

Educational Level Column Numbers	Senior High (Lycees)					Technical and Higher Schools				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Cameroon	154	176	88%	3.8	22	70	N.A.	N.A.	3	N.A.
Central African Republic	92	112	82%	1.65	15	30	36*	83%	0.25	7
Congo	110	119	92%	2.5	21	65	71*	92%*	1.0	14*
Ivory Coast	302	355	85%	7.1	20	229	256	89%	2.2	8
Dahomey	50	83	60%	1.6	19	44	51	86%	0.8	16
Gabon	60	60	100%	1.55	26	42	58	72%	0.85	15
Upper Volta	69	82	84%	1.50	18	24	26	92%	0.2	8
Madagascar	412	507	81%	9.70*	19*	170	234	73%	3.80*	16*
Mali	53	67	79%	1.40	21	47	52	90%	0.60	12
Mauritania	33	35	94%	0.70	20	7	10	50%	0.10	10
Niger	44	56	78%	0.70	13	7	7	100%	0.09	13
Senegal	375	408	92%	7.20	18	280	305	92%	5.00	16
Chad	70	77	91%	1.70	22	21	21	100%	0.35	17
Togo	39	53	74%	1.30	25	8	19	42%	0.40	21
Totals	1863	2188	85%			1042	1146	91%		
Per cent of French teachers	41%					23%				

* Estimated

Column Legend 1 - Number of French Teachers
2 - Total Teaching Staff
3 - Ratio of French Teachers to Total
4 - Enrolled Students in Thousands
5 - Students Per Teacher

Source: See Footnote Table II

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Student-teacher ratios suggest that the "quality" of primary education is questionable if one assumes that a 40:1 relationship is on the plus side. Only five nations are in this range. On the other hand, the high cost of the higher levels of education are evidence by relatively low student-teacher ratios. Coupled with the high cost of French nationals, secondary and post-secondary public schools present a heavy charge on both the French and African nation budgets.

In January 1960, the total technical assistance personnel numbered 10,500, of which 2,500 were in teaching posts or 24 per cent of the total. More than three-fifths were concentrated in the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Madagascar. By March 1964, the total number of French technical personnel had receded to 9,100, but the percentage of the total engaged in teaching had risen from 24 per cent over the four-year period to 51.5 per cent. (See Table G--Appendix.)

Technical Assistance at the Post-Secondary Levels

In the matter of high-level education assistance, certain characteristics begin to take positive form. In 1959, there were only two post-secondary schools in French Sub-Saharan Africa--the University of Dakar and the Institute for Higher Studies at Tananarive (now at university level). Most Africans from other nations wanting to pursue higher studies came to France. The French have moved quite fast to increase the number of such institutions on a so-called regional basis (see Table H--Appendix B) through establishments at Yaoundé in the Cameroons and, through the Fondation d'Enseignement Supérieur de L'Afrique Centrale, four specialized higher schools, one each in the Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, and Congo (Brazzaville).

As of 1963-64, there were approximately 6,700 students enrolled in the five higher school centers. Partly reflecting very high costs for science, engineering, and medical education, enrollments are heavily concentrated in the humanities, law and social sciences, areas having long traditions of preference in the French education system at home and abroad.

Part of France's concentrated drive in establishing higher level schools in Sub-Saharan Africa is directed to reducing the number of African students coming to France. This program is favored by the African countries in order to ensure that the higher educated nationals stay on to help their own country in the development cycle. A case in point is that concerning

the establishment of a medical school in the University of Tananarive.

The Malgache Republic requested French aid in establishing a medical school at Tananarive. The Ministry of Cooperation, with full approval of the Malgache government, has set up a six-year program that provides for the first year to be taken at Tananarive, the next four in France, and the last one at Tananarive with a Malgache diploma and not a "state" one from France. This accomplishes what the Malgache want--to have their trained medical people serve in their country after completing their studies. For the French, it cuts off one whole year in the medical degree cycle (usually 7 years), cuts residence in France by two years, and, more important, does not create another "state" diploma enabling the holder to practice in France.

One might point out that the above example is generally at variance with the usual formal agreements that specifically provide for higher level schools that will turn out graduates having the same level of competence as they would achieve at similar schools in France. The Malgache take a more pragmatic position than most of the Sub-Saharan Africans do in this regard.

France, bearing the brunt of the costs of higher-level education in Sub-Saharan Africa, is taking particular care not to be deterred from the "regional" approach instead of being bogged down in trying to establish such schools on "national" lines.

Furthermore, France is determined not to reproduce the expensive higher education of France, with its complicated specialized schools having autonomous rule outside the university and ministry of National Education. Departure from the French system should make these new African higher institutions much more flexible in meeting the manpower needs of their countries by incorporating all such higher schools under one administration as in Tunisia or Madagascar.

Another hardship on France is the strain in providing teachers at university levels in these regional universities in Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar--doubly so at a time when French citizens are publicly alarmed over the insufficiency of higher level school places in Metropolitan France.

Increasing the total number of teachers in relation to total "aid" personnel is the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the French. In interviews, and in memoranda, officials of the Ministry of Cooperation indicate a great concern about reducing as fast as possible the number of Frenchmen occupying administrative posts in the various enumerated states. They are concerned about the French image being tarnished and the fact that until all the government posts are held by nationals these nations will not have achieved independence. Part, then, of France's stepped up cooperation in education is the logical answer in reducing Frenchmen in administrative posts. Until Africans in numbers are educated and trained, the withdrawal of overseas personnel cannot be achieved without injuring the functioning of these states.

French Scholarship and Training Assistance Programs

Part of France's efforts in building higher-level schools in Sub-Saharan Africa were inspired by the hopes of reducing the number of African and Malgache students seeking to continue their schooling in France. The three-year period 1962-64 (see Table V) would suggest that there has been very little change, either in number or in the distribution by disciplines. The statistical data furnished does not permit any analysis as to the extent either France or the African nations are being successful in directing students into "needed" skill training due to the high number (about one-third of the total students in France) that are not on scholarships derived from any public source. Also, one does not get any impression that either the French or local authorities have been able to encourage a larger number to pursue an engineering career, study areas that are high on the "needed" manpower lists of all developing countries.

Table V

African and Malgache Students in French Higher Schools
Distribution by Disciplines

	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1963-64</u>
Medicine	398	357	345
Pharmacy	87	95	93
Dental	32	40	38
Sciences	447	465	482
Letters	286	293	312
Law and Social Sciences	291	325	315
University Institutes and Theology	97	127	112
<hr/>			
Total Students at University Levels	1638	1702	1697
<hr/>			
Engineering Schools	284	289	305
Other Specialized Higher Schools	244	237	248
Preparatory for Higher Schools	244	242	248
<hr/>			
Total: Higher Technical	772	768	801
Total: All Higher Schools	2410	2470	2498
<hr/>			
Technical & Professional Studies	837	739	666
Paramedical & Social Studies	269	216	204
Teaching and Allied Studies	58	46	66
Secondary Schools	132	110	91
Primary Schools	28	16	17
<hr/>			
GRAND TOTAL	3734	3597	3542
<hr/>			
Of Which: Boys	3007	2896	2862
Girls	727	701	680
<hr/>			

Source: See Footnote to Table II

Distribution by Country of Origin

School Year 1963-64 ¹	Total Students in Higher Schools ²	Total Students on Scholarships	Students on Gov't. Scholar- ships	Student Scholarships Provided by Ministry of Cooperation
Cameroon	640	456	298	158
Central Afri- can Rep.	50	46	38	8
Congo	120	114	106	8
Ivory Coast	610	390	332	58
Dahomey	300	208	107	101
Gabon	120	80	68	12
Upper Volta	190	138	78	60
Madagascar	380	344	200	144
Mali	630	225	108	117
Mauritania	130	33	1	32
Niger	60	43	24	19
Senegal	250	237	191	46
Chad	110	28	10	18
Togo	170	156	64	92
Totals	3760	2498	1625	873

(1) All types of Higher Schools including Preparatory.

(2) Estimated

Reduction in the number of such students in French schools has been further complicated by the rapid rise in secondary school graduates, a pace far out-stripping the rate of growth of African higher schools. In addition, France has been concerned over the number of African students going to other countries on scholarships--and particularly the rapid rise in the number going to other free world countries, particularly the United States. Another dampener has been the rise of "nationalism" following independence, and a disinclination of many African nations to patronize regional educational institutions. The author's Guinea study reports the aborted efforts between Mali and Guinea in this regard.

In the matter of trainees, France has always encouraged African personnel, mostly civil servants, to come to France for specialized training lasting from three to nine months (only rarely for a year or more) and about one-half of whom came under the auspices of the Ministry of Cooperation. The total number in a year has steadily increased from 2,110 in 1961 to almost 3,900 in 1963. Tables I and K in Appendix B describe in detail the structure of this program by country, area of specialization, and extent of French support to individual trainees.

Both the student and trainee programs are under constant review. The need to adapt education to African needs means that continued attendance at French schools does not assist in this endeavor. As for trainees, the results of special surveys suggest that the Africans feel the short courses are too short to be of any lasting use and the long ones tend to alienate the trainee from his environment.¹

The foregoing description and nature of French cultural and technical assistance over the four short years of existence suggests that France has faced up to very difficult problems with vigor and even with imagination. Mon. Dannaud reviews this period as follows:

"Independence in a framework of cooperation gave the assurance of continuity in development, accorded to those governments reasonable delays in successfully meeting the serious problems with which they were faced, and maintained

¹ See detailed two-volume report of Special Mission to the Central African Republic charged with studying "training". For internal distribution, Ministry of Cooperation, April 1964, 306 pages.

over the short run exceptional procedures to protect these nations from new attacks from outside and agitations within.

"One may now declare that this transition period is over. At the beginning of this year, 1964, these states have assumed their full responsibilities and that the relations of France with these nations are now fully covered by international treaties freely arrived at. Decolonization is part of the contribution that France brings to the major problems of the XXth Century, that of the relations between economically developed countries and those in the course of development."¹

Mon. Dannaud, however, has other criticisms of past practices in cooperation techniques--"if France has a world mission, if its language knows no boundaries, if its experts are competent, then we should admit that our efforts in cultural cooperation, like our efforts in the colonial wars is given in altogether too little doses and thus returns little or no results.

"There is no doubt that our aid to Black Africa can be made to pay off better than it is even if we make some savings in investments, research, and personnel. However, one must not forget that a homogeneous and adequate dosage of aid is necessary if these underdeveloped nations are to reach the 'take-off' stage. The volume of investment in capital and in human resources must be equal to the task. It is imperative that there be a concerted authority in the necessary planning that cannot be supplied by foreign or international aid, regardless of its size.

"In the matter of aid, the developed nations, as in the case of individuals, have the duty to assist their fellow man. By the fate of history, Africa has become our obligation. It is on this continent that must be judged the efficacy of our efforts. In so doing, France does not seek: (1) assumption of world responsibility, (2) to protect a particular political clientele, (3) the opening of new markets, (4) the glorification of our language or of our culture, or (5) the triumphant export of our techniques and technicians. Our aim is to demonstrate for the first time since industrially developed countries have been concerned with the underdeveloped world, that a country--and particularly France--can succeed in helping these nations to develop themselves, according to an exhortation

¹ See footnote 1, page 7, for the source of these and subsequent quotations.

dating back to 400 B.C. 'You who have attained the other side of the river aid others to reach it as well. Oh deliver us, oh deliver us!'"¹

One should probably forgive Mon. Dannaud for this oblique eulogy of the great and pervasive mission of France to "civilize" the third world. Lip service to this ideal seems automatic in the De Gaullist France today--so, too, the need to deny any ulterior motives in its aid mission. Nonetheless, the Paris functionaries formulating educational aid policies for Sub-Saharan Africa are only too well aware of the shortcomings of the traditional French-type education system that has taken hold in these nations.

The evidence appears conclusive that educational assistance is the essential element for France to disengage itself from "internal" support of these new nations. In addition, the continued expansion of secondary schools and selective regional universities will ensure the implantation of the French language and much of French culture. It might be well, however, to test the winds of change that are forcing French education and development experts to reassess the real role of education in economic and social development.

1

Regardless of Mon. Dannaud's assertion, France does take every occasion to expand the usage of the French language and implant French culture in these independent nations, as witness phrases, such as the following, that are prominently featured in the cultural accords:

"The French language, official language of the Republic of _____, coupled with an education system having French characteristics, has become for the people of _____ the instrument for its cultural, political, economic, and social development, and underlines the particular ties that unite the Republic of _____ and the Republic of France in a moral and spiritual solidarity with all French-speaking nations."

Current Trends in French Policy for Educational Assistance
in French Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar

For longer than one cares to remember, nations throughout the world have accepted the thesis that underdeveloped nations should give undivided attention and adequate funds to provide compulsory mass primary education and for the eradication of illiteracy. The assumption was that such campaigns, if assiduously pursued, would by 1980 be the panacea for economic and social development.

Of course, there is a considerable element of truth in this approach. Once a nation has embarked on modernizing its economic and social environment, modern culture introduces widespread disequilibrium, and the surest remedy is to broaden the impact throughout the society through educational opportunity. This having been said, however, it does not follow that mass education at the primary level should have the highest priority in the allocation of scarce resources to education.

The first priority of a newly independent state is to take political and physical possession of the essential functions of the State by its own nationals. No one should assume, however, that the essential services of the State--administrative, cultural, and economic--are thereby assured. In fact, there does not appear to be a direct relationship between development and the quantitative level of primary school enrollments and of adult education efforts.¹

In any event, the French suggest that the experts had to re-study the situation in face of growing evidence that massive sums spent on achieving high primary and illiteracy campaign enrollments in these underdeveloped states were not producing the anticipated results. The natural step was to suggest that the educational priority should shift to the secondary level, for here was the place that qualified workers, supervisors, and teachers would be formed. The conviction that a general education

¹Recent studies by Harbison and Myers (see "Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth", McGraw-Hill Series in International Development, New York, 1964, 224 pages) suggest there is a strong relationship between economic growth and human resource development although they place primary emphasis on the qualitative rather than quantitative dimensions of the educational system.

exposure through the baccalaureat was in itself productive of qualified personnel likely came about for historical reasons, although in these newly emerging states the answers seem more closely at hand.

Historically the secondary school level was reserved to the socially elite that already was disposed to leadership, provided the human resources to guide the nation to independence, and set the course for transforming the State from a traditional to a modern society. Another reason seems even more persuasive; the earlier graduates from the lycees were destined for political leadership and for the teaching profession--two roles for which an academic secondary education was a natural training center, as well.

The French system of secondary and university level education has been under fire in metropolitan France for some time, and many steps have been taken to make it more responsive to the needs of a modern society. French industry has joined with a host of others in urging reform:

"French business leaders are calling for a hard look at the nation's general education system. Despite its world-reputed high scholastic standards and the rigorous demands it makes on students, they suggest that curriculum and organizational changes may well be in order if Frenchmen are to hold their own and excel in this nuclear-space era of automated production, rising living standards, and more complex international economic and political communities. Their emphasis is on modernization and flexibility in the curriculum, on the introduction of practical science teaching early in the educational cycle. They favor a less theoretical education than has been traditional in France and would place greater stress on the practical application of knowledge to the realities of today." ¹

¹A quotation from "For the New Era French Industry Urges Education Changes", as cited in Education in France, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1963, page 120.

The French Manpower Commission, under the Chairmanship of Professor Jean Fourastie', in 1956 stated that the secondary and higher educational schools turn out students who require a long adaption to real life after leaving school. See the author's chapter on "Management in France", in Management in the Industrial World, by Harbison and Myers, McGraw-Hill, 1959, 441 pages.

In France, this imbalance has been partially offset by the creation of separate vocational and cours complémentaire at the secondary level (and having a distinctly lower status than the lycees) and at the university level, a whole host of Grandes Ecoles, developed and controlled by various government agencies to train personnel for their operations. The system is so tightly controlled that university graduates claim great difficulty in obtaining top government jobs. Even though these Grande Ecoles offer a higher education oriented specifically toward work, their graduates have tended to dominate intellectual life in France and to provide the large majority of top-level administrators in government and business.¹

To officials of the Ministry of Cooperation, drastic reform of the traditional French educational systems implanted in French Sub-Saharan Africa is imperative. They clearly see that the "academic" system is devoid of training for the world of work, whether in government or industry. These countries cannot afford the cost nor the time to "train" its manpower resources by imitating the very expensive and drawnout system in France.

Secondly, on-the-job training that older well-developed nations resort to is not available in these newer countries as the modern sector is not yet developed to any extent. Nor can the newly installed Africans in government posts offer an environment for such training. Reliance must be had on developing training centers attached to, and operated by, the government's education ministry.

At this point, the need to draw up a detailed manpower program becomes the key to programming an educational system that responds to the demonstrated needs of a nation. So far as the French are concerned, there is a high priority to be placed on training Africans to take over the non-teaching governmental posts presently held by agents of the Ministry of Cooperation. In fact, the French would place a higher priority on administrative posts than those requiring a technical background. As stated earlier,

¹ Education in France, op. cit., page 160. Most noted of these Ecoles are: the Ecole Polytechnique for engineering and army training; Ecole Normale Supérieure, offering courses in the humanities and sciences leading to teaching posts; Ecole Nationale d'Administration, leading to high-level posts in the government; Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales; the Ecole Nationale des Arts et Metiers; and sixteen Ecoles Supérieures de Commerce, which lead to positions in middle management in both industry and government. Enrollments, however, in these and other Grandes Ecoles are not large (16,500 in 1956-57) in comparison to 165,200 enrolled in the public universities.

the French want to get their personnel out of "sensitive" posts and leave only "advisors" at the higher levels. The next priority would be to train Africans for positions for which it is not possible to hire expatriates.

At this juncture, the French do not foresee any reason to make any distinction between the human resources required in the public sector and those in the private sector. This attitude is based on the belief that economic development in these States is somewhat uncertain and that the education and training for government and industry has a certain common track. This would be particularly true if the appropriate teaching force was polyvalent and thus could respond to the shifting needs of commerce and industry.

Of particular concern, however, is the task of orienting students to pursue courses of instruction that roughly correspond to the manpower needs of the nation. Even in France, where freedom of choice as to vocation is well ingrained, the public universities are concerned over establishing curricula designed to meet the needs of industry. In the developing nations trained manpower is their greatest natural resource and it should not be wasted. These countries, imbued with the liberal trends in French culture, should use the granting of scholarships as a means to nudge students along educational paths of high priority for the building of their nations.

Exhortations are of little use where the citizenry cannot tie specific education goals to those of economic and social development. On the other hand, some headway is being made in offering specialized training programs to presently employed public personnel. In other words, the French are persuaded that the training of the future middle- and high-level manpower of these countries cannot be left to chance, and steps must be taken to "force" necessary choices on the students entering secondary or higher level schools through control of scholarships. Having come this far, it is necessary to structure pertinent governmental agencies to carry out manpower planning and implementation.

This would suggest that the manpower planning function be an integral part of the over-all planning function that stands apart and at the top of governmental hierarchy. This implies that the Ministry of National Education should not-- repeat, should not-- be in any way identified with manpower planning policy determination. It should have, however, complete control over the means that are necessary or available to carry out the manpower planned goals. (See Tunisia Draft Report--dated January 28, 1965--pages 30-31-32 in regard to machinery designed to control the granting of scholarships.)

The French are being hard-put to justify the reasons why the education system in these countries should be adaptive and not imitative of the French metropolitan education structure. In a country where highly specialized skills are not of high, or even low, priority, it would appear to be a waste of manpower to permit a graduate of the university to immediately take up the pursuit of postgraduate studies. Specialization should be reserved only for those who have practiced their profession for a minimum number of years. Using the medical field as an example, a country might well have no general medical practitioners but plenty of cardiologists or psychiatrists. Thus much discussion is under way as to the "level of education" that should be encouraged.

No one argues that it is difficult to adapt the primary cycle to the social context. At the higher levels, however, the problem becomes much more complex. The terminal levels of education should be adapted to the needs of a particular country. The implantation of an educational cycle adapted for the needs of an advanced society such as France, England, or the U.S.A. in 1965 is not by any means the one that should be structured in these developing countries.

Mon. Dannaud relates the conversation he had with a Minister of Public Health from an African country (likely Madagascar):

"The Minister had come to us to help establish a medical technicians' school in his country. I responded by suggesting that this type of school had been attempted some years ago at Dakar and elsewhere, and did not bear fruit principally because we French were accused of trying to offer a 'cheaper' education than we gave in France. His reply was instructive: 'Oh, yes, but now we are independent and can no longer indulge in demagoguery. We must be realists as to our manpower needs, and it is the duty of the Party to see that these needs become a national obligation. We note that the doctors of medicine that we send to France do not come back to us, and those that ultimately do will not undertake to serve in the bush. It follows that we must attack the problem head on by fixing a level of medical education and training provisionally less advanced than a full university cycle.'"¹

¹Much of the material in this section has been distilled from interviews with several officials in the Ministry of Cooperation; and more particularly having access to a summary of the proceedings of La Conference Economique African et Malgache held under the auspices of the Marseille Chamber of Commerce, April 13-19, 1964. Mon. Dannaud, Director of the Cultural and Technical Division of the Ministry of Cooperation, took this occasion to expound on "Instruction, Formation, and Education" in the developing countries of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The French are much more concerned about training than education as such. In fact, education in itself, no matter how technically structured, will not produce the professionalized worker, the man who can take his learning and apply it to any number of different situations, similar in nature, but not a part of his educational exercises. There is nothing wrong with the African mentality. The difficulty is that in modern societies we must be concerned with ideas cast in a framework of several dimensions--time, space, and number. In the traditional society, no such dimensions exist. The restructuring of the African mentality is a basic condition in achieving full professionalization of the manpower needs of the country; and a graduate of a technical high school without a full cycle of training is no better than one with an academic education.

The word cadre for the French carries a much larger connotation than our word "supervisor"; when one thinks of a cadre, one thinks of a man who has the basic education and has acquired the aptitude of a leader, values that inspire action, a sense of responsibility, and the notion of team work. This is a far cry from the "student" that in the African environment is too often confused as an adequate substitute. The typical Sub-Saharan student, when he enters the lycee, is cut off from his normal surroundings and finds nothing that helps him to adjust to his unfamiliar environment. Not so with the high school student in a developed country where his education goes on outside of the school room as part of his normal environment at home, at part-time work, the church, etc. The African is uprooted before he has been weaned. In fact, this problem is becoming apparent to many African governments. One, the Republic of Central Africa, has recently decided to impose religious instruction in the schools to give some stability to the socio-cultural upheaval that the student must face.

To develop a national conscienciousness takes much more than processing students through the educational cycle. The individual has to learn how to live in a society undergoing radical change. The educated man cannot fulfill his mission of a leader and an entrepreneur if he is cut off from the environment. Only by "topping" off the education experience with an adequate training cycle to develop the whole man can these nations transform themselves into modern societies.

The Ministry of Cooperation clearly sees the weaknesses in the present state of education in these developing countries:

1) A complete and traditional primary schooling has reached only a very few, and illiteracy, unless alleviated through other means, will continue to cripple the country, if not alienate the masses from the elite.

2) The secondary cycle is far too heavily weighted in favor of the classical type as opposed to the technical lycee. The former continue to multiply and thus send out increasing numbers of students having had no training to fit them for public or private employment.

3) Professional training centers are mostly in the project stage.

4) A very few get a fine education, while the masses get relatively none-- a situation that could cause serious tensions in the country. An urban environment grows, while the countryside stays steeped in traditional agriculture. The young students, educated in the capital, no longer wish to return to the village and press for a place in the swelling ranks of government personnel, while industries decline due to a lack of qualified employees.

French officials inquire whether it serves any good purpose to continue to send out and even increase the number of teachers who go overseas to practice their profession the same way they have been doing it in France. Would it not be better to send out, and even replace those already there, by personnel especially trained for the specific task of training: cadres; training of trainers; vocational teachers; and popularizers of these new techniques?

The answer would seem to be that major effort in technical assistance will continue along the above lines. It is not an easy task, for such an effort depends for its success not only on complete acceptance in Paris, but intense application at every local level in these developing countries.

France's redoubled efforts to build higher schools and expand training centers in Africa are being more and more supported by African leaders despite the doubts of the latter as to the "equal level" of education or training whether received in France or Africa. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Cooperation estimates that African students receiving scholarships from the French government for university level schooling will reach a high of about 1,500 in 1968 as against 996 in 1963-64. On the other hand, such students

were less than 20 per cent of the total in 1961-62; they will represent more than 60 per cent in 1968. This would suggest that soon most all African students graduating from African secondary schools can pursue normal university level studies in Africa and only the specialists or post-graduates would be eligible to come to France.

Neither have the French been unaware of the tremendous help many of these nations have had in their educational effort through the various Catholic and Protestant mission schools. The present estimate is that over 800,000 students are in such primary schools and over 59,000 in secondary schools. The French are extending selective help to these schools and encouraging the African states to do likewise. The high enrollments found in many of these African states generally reflect the presence of mission schools. (See Table "L"--in Appendix B) Obviously countries with a substantial Muslim population did not encourage establishment of such schools and in some states they have been entirely banned--Guinea, for example.

As for a timetable, the French do not expect that the education burden in these countries can be lessened until sufficiently well-trained cadres are available in number and quality. At least 5 to 8 more years is envisioned. Neither are the French unaware that the pressure for Africanization will continue and that they should not reap a harvest of abuse by any failure in this regard. It is on this motivational basis that the French seek to develop two manpower plans--one for the immediate or short run, and one for the longer term pull.

France has attempted to force choices on the African states by the rationing of funds for the operations of National Education Ministries and in approving outlays to build educational structures. Increasingly they give precedence to schools for professional and technical training, for adult agricultural training schools and primary schools adapted for rural areas. Further, France is encouraging these associated states to draw more heavily on "Funds for European Development" to construct and extend educational facilities.

As the more immediate problems in education following independence begin to find solutions, the French are placing more and more emphasis on research to lead the way in adapting African education to their manpower needs. Cooperative efforts have led to ways and means of joining the rural citizenry in building primary schools, in experimenting with mass communications in

attacking illiteracy, in pilot projects in the use of closed TV to upgrade workers on the job, and broadscale rewrite of texts and manuals that will reflect more of the African milieu than of European or other alien environments.

To this reviewer, French educational and manpower policy seems to be headed in an appropriate direction that should have important implications for U.S./AID efforts in developing nations of French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar.

U.S./AID Education Assistance Policy for French-Speaking
Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar

Granted that French educational policy in Sub-Saharan Africa is not always implemented at the donee level, nevertheless the foregoing analysis does suggest that the educational policy makers in the Ministry of Cooperation have come to grips with the essential needs of these developing nations and are trying to adapt their aid efforts to meet them.

If education assistance, regardless of source, should be complimentary and additive, but not competitive and wasteful, then U.S./AID policy in this area might consider incorporating the following suggestions:

a) No aid, in any form, should be given, extended, or granted to any such country unless and until it has constructed an overall integrated economic, social, and manpower plan. The "plan" must meet our (U.S.) concepts of reasonable attainability and be supplemented by detailed sector programs for implementing. The French should be urged to take the lead in developing the plan; we to assist in tangible ways that are supportive.

b) Generally give priority to any aid that will expand agricultural and mineral resources and enhance the values of rural life.

c) In the broad area of education:

1) No aid except in accordance with "plan" programs and then only when an integral part of a total foreign and internal aid program. Here again the French should be given leadership support in order to ensure cohesiveness in all outside effort.

2) Preference for aid in agriculture, professional and trade training centers, technical and vocational high schools, mass communication schemes to abate illiteracy, and the use of tested techniques in upgrading the existing work force.

3) Granting no U.S. or other foreign country scholastic help except at graduate level and then only to Africans that have been practicing their vocation for at least two years.

4) Granting no scholastic help at university level except for studies at African regional universities.

- 5) No scholarships accorded except in areas that are clearly defined as "needs" in the plan and then only by working within a free world framework to ensure that the plan's manpower needs are being rationally assisted through these scholarship grants.
- 6) Urge that international agencies work with the French in developing cooperative approaches rather than bilateral type.
- 7) That any U.S./AID personnel assigned to carry out any approved programs be capable of high performance.
- 8) That U.S./AID may be used to furnish qualified personnel from other approved countries if unable to meet the needs under (7) above.
- 9) That U.S./AID exercise all possible control and/or coordination over U.S. private industries or foundations to the end that the above policies are not aborted through independent action.

This is a big order and will not be easy to have implemented at the local level even if approved at Washington. However, there are already signs that U.S./AID in several French-speaking African countries has been centralized in Washington and AID personnel in such country missions completely withdrawn. Adoption of much of the above general policies would permit extending this centralization move to considerably more of such countries.

Of course, there may well be over-riding political reasons for going ahead on AID in any particular country without consultation with any other country or the giving of education or other assistance regardless of any "plan" that may be operative. The point is that such aid should be clearly labeled as such and periodically reviewed in order to reduce or eliminate when no longer supportive of political aims.

Persons will no doubt argue that we should not "give these countries back to the French"--that the U.S. has cultural values to offer and that, after all, trade does follow or precede aid. Under some very limited circumstances, one could well agree. On the other hand how can one escape the conclusion that the environment of these countries is essentially conditioned by, or is acutely identified with, French culture; and to offer bits and pieces of another culture is not going to do these donee countries very much good. To train an undergraduate African in an American

business administration-type school will not be very helpful. On the other hand, to take a university graduate who has had some years of practical experience in a business situation could well prove to be of inestimable value.

Attempting to implant in these countries educational institutions that have proved to be very effective here is no more likely to be suitable for their needs than the transplanting of similar institutions from France, England, or Russia. Our education efforts must be in accordance with the manpower needs of the particular countries, and educational efforts that work well in a developed nation are not guaranteed successes in an underdeveloped one. In fact, our studies indicate that adaptive specialized approaches are needed and these observations have certainly been buttressed by French experience.

Every indication is that Western world educational patterns and philosophy that dominate the educational systems of these underdeveloped countries are tending to produce chaos in a human resources need sense. If the United States decides to offer educational assistance to these countries, we should be willing to join in research projects designed to shape up in clear outline the educational institutions and practices that should be created or adapted to respond to each country's real manpower needs.

The French have strongly indicated that they feel responsible for the development of these countries. Regardless of our growing irritation of DeGaulist policies, the fact remains that in these French-speaking Sub-Saharan African countries French leadership is the best guarantee that these countries will have a reasonable chance to move along attainable development lines. Likewise, in Sub-Saharan African countries "fathered" by the British, one would be inclined to suggested a similar attitude on our part. On the other hand, in many underdeveloped countries, where the cultural values are not exclusively British or European, we might well insist that we play a more dominant role in shaping the development patterns. Countries such as Ethiopia, Thailand, and most of Central and Latin America might well come under this heading.

Apparently, U.S./AID is going in this direction. The January 1965 bulletin of the European Economic Community (page 58) cites our participation in the building of a trans-Cameroonian highway, a joint effort under French leadership exercised through the EEC. The French acknowledge similar cooperative effort on our part in the development and operation of an automotive training center, created by the Berliet Motor Company, under the control of the Central African Republic's Ministry of Education.

The economic and technical assistance that developing nations need around this world is way beyond the combined disposable resources of all developed nations, whether behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains or not. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the needs are unlimited and will be so for 15-20 years. If foreign aid, whether our's or another country's, is to be additive for a developing country, it must be used in the best possible way. Continuing piece-meal inadequate aid on an independent basis will not help us make friends over the long, or even the short run.

APPENDIX A

Ministry of Cooperation
Direction of Cultural and Technical Cooperation
Paris Headquarters--as of June 15, 1964

Directors Office

Research Bureau

1. Service of Technical Cooperation

Orientation and Coordination
Rules and Legal Matters
Military Contingents (akin to our Peace Corps)

- A. Division for cooperation in general and specialized administrative services, including customs and judiciary.
- B. Division for cooperation in production, infrastructure, transportation, and communications.
- C. Division for cooperation in medical care and social hygiene.

2. Service of Instruction and Training

Pedagogical research and surveys

- A. Division of Instruction responsible for the recruitment of personnel and capital investment studies in Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar.
- B. Division of Training responsible for facilities and activities both in Africa and Madagascar and in France, including students on scholarships of personnel in training programs.
- C. Division of Administration responsible for the supervision of French personnel teaching at the primary and secondary levels in Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar.

3. Service of Cultural Cooperation

- A. Division for Cultural Exchanges

- B. Division for Radio, Motion Pictures, and Television.
 - C. Division for public relations activities including fairs and expositions, publications, and information services to public media.
4. Service for Social and Youth cooperation including sports, physical education, civic functions, and volunteer efforts in social welfare.

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APPENDIX B

List of Tables

- A. Total number of Technical Assistance Personnel 1959--
March 1, 1964 with projections through 1965
- B. Distribution of "Experts" by sector as at March 1, 1964
- C. Distribution of teachers by categories in comparison
to all other sectors--March 1, 1964
- D. Distribution of all Technical Assistance Personnel,
except teaching by categories and by countries--
March 1, 1964
- E. Present and Prospective Distribution of Technical
Assistance Personnel, 1962 through 1965, in per cent
- F. Distribution of Agricultural Technical Assistance
Personnel by categories, 1960-1963
- G. Distribution of Teaching Personnel by countries,
1959-1963
- H. Student enrollments in Higher Education Schools,
1963-1964
- I. African and Malgache Trainees in France, 1961 and 1963
- J. African and Malgache Trainees in France, by country,
and by area of interest as of March 1, 1964
- K. Student Enrollments--all levels of education, 1951
and in 1963 by number and per cent.

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TABLE A **Number of Technical Assistance Personnel - 1959-1965**

Time Period	Teachers	Other	Total
1959 - Dec.	2,416	7,666	10,882
1960 - Dec.	2,794	5,890	8,684
1961 - Dec.	3,233	5,091	8,324
1962 - Dec.	4,040	4,659	8,699
1964 - March	4,442	4,318	8,720
1964 - Dec.	4,750	4,240	8,990
1965 - Dec. (Estimate)	4,750	3,600	8,350

TABLE B **Distribution of Experts by Sector-3/1/64-in Per Cent**

Sector	Category A	Category B	Category C
General Administration	96.3%	1.0%	2.7%
Production (Mainly Agriculture)	85.4	14.1	0.5
Judiciary	80.9	19.1	
Health	69.2	30.8	
Posts and Telegraph	67.5	21.8	10.7
Infrastructure	66.9	27.5	5.6
Specialized Admin.	64.6	29.5	5.9

TABLE C **Distribution of Teachers by Categories in Comparison to All Other Sectors as at 3/1/64**

	Category A		Category B		Category C	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Teachers	1563	35.5	2724	61.9	115	2.6
All Others	3156	74.5	956	22.5	125	3.0

Source: See Footnote to Table II.

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Table D

Distribution of Technical Assistance Personnel (Except Teachers)
by Category and by Country - as at March 1, 1964

Country	Total	Category A		Category B		Category C	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Senegal	494	363	73.5	118	23.9	13	2.6
Mali	84	62	73.8	19	22.6	3	3.6
Mauritania	167	130	77.9	33	19.8	4	2.3
Ivory Coast	547	437	79.9	91	16.6	19	3.5
Upper Volta	208	153	69.8	60	29.3	5	1.9
Niger	223	167	74.9	47	21.1	9	4.0
Dahomey	115	89	77.4	20	17.4	6	5.2
Gabon	212	162	76.4	49	23.1	1	0.5
Congo	247	161	65.2	82	33.2	4	1.6
Central African Republic	261	160	60.8	88	33.7	14	5.5
Chad	295	183	62.1	105	35.6	7	2.3
Madagascar	760	641	84.4	105	13.8	14	1.8
Togo	53	37	69.8	14	26.4	2	3.8
Cameroon	341	259	70.0	63	18.5	9	2.3
Regional Organs.	230	152	6.6	63	27.4	15	6.5
Total in Service	4237	3156	74.5	956	22.5	125	3.0

Source: See footnote to Table II.

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Table E.

**Sector Distribution of Technical Assistance Personnel
1962 - 1965 in Per Cent**

Sector	1962	1963	1964	Estimate 1965
Gen. Administration	18.92%	16.36%	13.83%	11.67
Economy:	15.6	16.02	15.14	14.21
Production	6.87	7.42	7.23	6.91
Infrastructure	7.39	7.21	6.70	6.40
Misc.	1.40	1.37	1.21	0.89
Social Welfare	11.66	11.82	11.87	11.73
Teaching	47.32	50.25	54.06	57.06
Posts and Telegraph	6.40	5.51	5.07	4.80

Table F.

**Distribution of Personnel by Category
in Agriculture Sector - 1960 and 1963**

Agriculture Sub-Sectors	1 9 6 0			1 9 6 3		
	Cat.A	Cat.B	Total	Cat.A	Cat.B	Total
Agriculture	433	147	580	250	44	294
Animal Husbandry	197	41	238	114	23	137
Water and Forests	233	25	258	99	6	105
Rural Engineering	24	1	25	32	9	41
Totals	878	214	1091	495	82	577

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Table G.

Distribution of Teaching Personnel
by Countries - 1959 - 1963.

Country	January 1960	July 1961	May 1962	December 1962	March 1964
Cameroon	132	183	256	320	405
Central African Republic	91	110	121	151	185
Congo	89	169	220	262	289
Ivory Coast	507	529	668	772	859
Dahomey	65	96	83	100	114
Gabon	62	82	90	124	158
Upper Volta	69	97	89	123	164
Madagascar	702	721	737	852	968
Mali	116	151	148	168	221
Mauritania	35	38	36	58	67
Niger	39	76	77	112	135
Senegal	556	626	717	813	909
Chad	57	87	119	147	177
Togo	24	30	43	43	53
Total Teachers	2543	2995	3454	4045	4704
Total All Personnel	10500	8825	8701	8820	9127*
% Teachers	24.2	33.9	39.0	45.9	51.6

*Includes Military Contingent

Source: See Footnote to Table II.

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Student Enrollments - Higher Schools
Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar

Table H 1963 - 64 (academic year)

Higher Schools	Law and Economics		Letters and Life Sciences	Sciences	Medical Pharmacy Dental	Total
	Cap.	Lic.				
Dakar	475	461	531	511	312	2290
Abidjan	710	210	171	148	61	1300
Yaounde	470	72	30	47	-	619
Tananarive	520	331	343	298	258	1750
Foundation d'Afrique Central*	609	51	15	42	15	732
Totals	2,784	1,125	1,090	1,046	646	6691

*One each in: Central Africa Republic, Chad, Gabon, and Congo
(Brazzaville)

Table I.

African and Malgache Trainees
in France - 1961 - 1963

12 Months	Total	On Scholarships From F.A.C.	Sources
1961	2110	1169	See Footnote to Table II
1962	3425	1149	
1963	3866	2577	
At Year End	Totals	On Scholarships From F.A.C.	
1961	1956	432	
1962	2562	829	
1963	2913	1393	

Note: The duration of trainee cycle rarely goes beyond a year -
which explains the difference in numbers in the above
tables.

Table J. APPENDIX B.

Trainee Distribution by Country and by Field of Training - March 1, 1964

African trainees in France March 1, 1964	General Adminis.	Agricul. & Coops.	Finance	Economics & Statistics	Information	Medical & Health	Technical	Aerial Nav. & Meteoro- logy	Posts & Telegraph	Education	Misc.	Totals
Cameroon	78	25	8	16	27	39	37	7	2	87	80	406
Central African Republic	18	3	21	6		1	3	2		18	17	89
Congo	26	4	19	3	15	7	27	1	1	50	29	182
Ivory Coast	1	24	23	10	34	36	17	6	8	63	70	292
Dahomey	17	17	13	11	5	13	14	3	3	30	50	176
Gabon	38	10	9	2	9	25	8	2	12	21	9	145
Upper Volta	16	17	15	1	7	6	6	6	13	17	23	127
Madagascar	136	23	49	21	11	27	30	31	8	77	87	500
Mali	28	12	14	7	2	15	13	9	23	24	47	194
Mauritania	19	5	10	4	2	5	2		7	1	8	63
Niger	10	9	16	3	5	18	5		11	12	14	103
Senegal	2	24	19	14	18	32	25	13		39	86	272
Chad	27	3	8	4	3	3	5	2	5	19	10	89
Togo	29	8	8	4	9	9	9	3	10	15	27	131
Total	445	184	232	106	147	236	201	85	103	475	557	2769 *

*Of which 1393 are being aided by F.A.C.

Source: See footnote to Table II.

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Table K.

**Total Student Enrollments - All Education Levels
1951 and 1963 - Number and Percent of School Age Pop.**

Country	1 9 5 1		1 9 6 3	
	%		%	
Senegal	41,700	11.0	198,000	38.0
Mauritania	2,500	2.5	19,000	10.0
Guinea	19,100	6.0	131,000	30.0
Mali	26,700	5.0	103,000	12.0
Ivory Coast	33,900	3.0	320,700	42.0
Togo	42,200	6.0	152,400	55.0
Upper Volta	14,000	3.0	75,100	11.0
Dahomey	35,800	14.0	111,200	28.0
Niger	6,200	2.0	45,600	8.0
Chad	7,800	2.0	107,000	20.0
Cameroon	159,400	35.0	514,900	67.0
Central African Republic	20,200	13.5	101,000	42.0
Gabon	22,200	40.0	65,800	78.0
Congo (Brazzaville)	43,300	41.0	143,200	83.0
Madagascar	251,600	30.0	601,300	51.0

Source: See Footnote to Table II.