

THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980: THE CONVERGENCE OF  
COLONIALISM, RELIGION, AND DECREE

by

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B.A., Universidade Agostinho Neto, Angola, 1985  
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AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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Manhattan, Kansas

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## **Abstract**

Angola began as a Portuguese colony in 1655. All of its social structures and associated sectors, including education, were influenced drastically by this initial Portuguese colonization. This research concerns Angolan education from the years 1930-1980. Two distinct periods are addressed: the colonial period from 1930 to 1975 and the post-colonial period from 1975 to 1980. In both periods, education was provided by the state and by different religious denominations. However, the main argument for this research is that a general comprehensive history of education in Angola has not yet been written, in part due to the character of its colonization and decades of social instability related to its War of Independence, 1961-1975, and the Civil War, 1975-2002. In Angola under the Salazar and Caetano regime, provision for education was made according to the Colonial Act of 1930, the new state, and the rule of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions. Despite the concourse of these institutions staging events that influenced education and the whole culture, few Angolans were allowed to attend school and participate as citizens in society. The post-colonial period from 1975 to 1980 is characterized by the foundation of a socialist educational system. Most of the existing documents concerning Angolan education were written by the colonizers or by those who regard history from a colonial perspective. Therefore the history of education in Angola, as the convergence of colonialism, religion, and decree, needs to be rewritten.



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Approved by:

Major Professor  
Dr. Kay Ann Taylor

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## **Dedication**

To  
Maria Panzo, my mother,  
my sisters and brothers,  
and  
Pedro Miguel Bondo, my father (posthumously)

## Introduction

“Education is the most powerful weapon you can use to change the world.”

*Nelson Mandela*

The history of education in Angola from 1930-1980 begs to be understood because it represents an important period of Angolan life. This history as an account of what a generation of Portuguese and exploited Angolans have done in education is largely fragmented. Two distinct periods must be addressed: the colonial period from 1930 to 1975 and the post-colonial period from, 1975 to 1980. A comprehensive and general history of education in Angola has not yet been written, in part due to the character of its colonization and the decades of social instability that followed. An overview of this period in Angola is an excellent starting point for understanding Angolan education today. Angola is located in southwestern Africa (Figure 1.1). It is bordered by the Democratic Republic of Congo to the Northeast, Namibia to the South, Zambia to the East, and the South Atlantic Coast to the West. It includes the enclave of Cabinda Province,<sup>1</sup> separated from the rest of Angola by the Democratic Republic of Congo. Its population is comprised of a Bantu majority ethnic group. As a nation, Angola was born as a consequence of the European scramble for Africa<sup>2</sup> that occurred between 1881 and 1914, which

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<sup>1</sup> Cabinda Province is always an enclave between the Republic of Congo and the Republic Democratic of Congo as a territory under the Portuguese protectorate. This arrangement resulted from the well-known Treaty of Simulambuco signed on February 1, 1885, before the Congress of Berlin, between the Portuguese government represented by Guilherme Augusto de Brito Capello, as the commander of the corvette “Queen of Portugal” and the princes, chiefs of the Kingdom of N’Goyo. Phyllis M. Martin wrote in her article entitled, “Family Strategies in Nineteenth Century” published in *Journal of Africa History*, 28, no. 1 (1987), 65-86, that Cabinda status changed when it became an integral part of the Portuguese colony of Angola, with the territorial administrative division of 1956. Also, the recognition of the Angolan border in the Alvor Agreement of 1974 signed by the People’s Movement of Liberation of Angola, the National Liberation Front of Angola, the National Union of Total Independence of Angola and the Portuguese government, as well as the inviolability of colonial borders incorporated in the treaties of the United Nations and the African Union, allowed the Angolan authorities to consider Cabinda as an inalienable part of Angola territory despite demands by descendants of the Kingdom of N’Goyo for the auto determination of the Cabinda territory.

<sup>2</sup> The expression of Scramble for Africa was usually used to report the race among Europeans to claim as much African territory as they could at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Historians

represented a process of colonization and annexation of African territory by European powers.<sup>3</sup> The Berlin Conference of 1884 (Figure 1.2) regulated the European colonization and control of natural resources for domestic industry as argued by Daniel De Leon.<sup>4</sup> According to Ieuan Griffiths, boundaries collectively divided the continent into its many countries and individually divided peoples.<sup>5</sup> The frontiers were based on astronomical, artificial lines and physical features and rarely coincided with tribal areas or their particular interests. A good example of an African boundary problem complicated by colonial geopolitics is seen in the Kingdom of Congo,<sup>6</sup> which was divided among Belgium, France, and Portugal disregarding the cultural and linguistic boundaries (Figure 1.3) already established by the indigenous African populations. When the Portuguese arrived in Africa in 1483, the Bantu were an established kingdom with the sizeable Kongo, Loango, and Mbundo kingdoms, and other smaller kingdoms such as the Lunda, Ovimbundo, and Benguela with common characteristics.<sup>7</sup>

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continue to be in disagreement about the exact date when the Scramble began, sometime between the 1880s and 1900s; see also M. E. Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, Routledge, New York (2009).

<sup>3</sup> See Jeremy Ball, "The Three Crosses' of Mission Work: Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission in Angola, 1880-1930" in the *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol.40, no. 3 (2010), 331-357; Ieuan Griffiths, "The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries" in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 150, no. 2 (1986), 204-216; I agree with Ian Phimister that the "version of Africa's colonial subjugation have been substantially modified in the course of the last decades" in *Africa Partitioned*. Review (Fernand Brandel Center), Vol. 18, no. 2 (Spring, 1995), 358.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel De Leon, "The Conference at Berlin on the West-African Question" in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, no.1 (1886), 103-139.

<sup>5</sup> Ieuan Griffiths, "The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries" in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 150, no. 2 (1986), 206-207.

<sup>6</sup> The occidental countries divided the African Continent demarking the Belgian, British, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish "possessions." The occidental powers, as well as Portugal, after occupation, used the acculturation process to change the whole African culture, for example the alphabet; Vatomene Kukanda, in *The Lexicography in Portuguese on the Bantu Language: Results and prospects*, 344, recognized that orthographic discrepancies need to be resolved due to the fact that, particularly in Kikongo the letters C, Q, R, J, H and X do not exist. See Léon Dereau. *Cours de Kikongo*. Maison d'Addition Ad. Wesmall-Charlier, (S. A. Mamur, 1955), 11. As a result, the Portuguese commonly substituted the letter C for the letter K or Q and the letter X for S: Kongo became Congo, Kiese became Quiesse, Nkosi became Coxi, etc.

<sup>7</sup> J. Vansina, "Comparison of African Kingdoms." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 32, no.4 (Oct, 1962), 324.

The first part of my dissertation is related to the theoretical and methodological framework supporting the introductory chapter. The second chapter contains a review of literature, and the third chapter offers an analysis of the historical methodology used.

The second part focuses on the development of the history of education in Angola from 1930 to 1975, including the fourth chapter, which explores the provisions for education in both the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The fifth chapter addresses education under the Salazar regime and the philosophy of education in the colonial period. The sixth chapter analyzes education under religious institutions essentially related to the Catholic and Protestant churches.

The third part describes the foundations of the educational system between 1975 and 1980. It covers the seventh chapter, reserved for the analysis of the transition from colonial to postcolonial education, stressing the philosophy of education in Angola. The eighth chapter characterizes the post-independence identity of the Angolan educational system, focusing on the path of the decolonization of education in Angola.

The fourth part presents the conclusion of my dissertation which is based on the legacy of colonialism and the prospect for educational change, reviewing the main arguments of the dissertation and explaining future research tendencies and recommendations.



# Part I: Theoretical and Methodological Framework

## Chapter 1—Overview

### An Historical Background

To establish an Angola colony, the first Portuguese came in 1575 with 100 settler families and 400 soldiers that founded Luanda as the starting point of the daring invasion of the territory now called Angola. This Portuguese adventure transformed forever the lives of everyone in these kingdoms for the next 400 years. Not until 1951 were some “changes” initiated. About this Peter Shapiro wrote:<sup>8</sup>

In 1951 the Portuguese began to play an international word game, changing the names of everything associated with their African possessions. The lands that were formerly called Colonies became Overseas Provinces. The Ministry of Colonies was renamed the Overseas Ministry. The Colonial Governor became the Provincial Governor General. Just this summer, the name Overseas Province was discontinued, yielding now to the term State. Despite these changes of names, the power structures have remained virtually the same. Any important decision is made by the totalitarian government in Lisbon.<sup>9</sup>

From that time on, the colony became an overseas province of Portugal with relative economic stability, even though W.G. Clarence-Smith argues that “Uneconomic Imperialism is a myth.”<sup>10</sup> But ten years later in 1961, an insurgency exploded in Northern Angola and the beginning of the fight for independence from Portugal became manifest through the idea and Clarence-Smith’s prognosis that “the problem now is not whether Angola will become independent. It is the manner in which this independence and the required political machinery are established. If there is a real effort to uphold the rule of agreed-upon laws, and the value of the ballot box, the

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<sup>8</sup> Peter Shapiro, “Report from Angola” in *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1972), 37-40.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>10</sup> W. G. Clarence-Smith, “The Myth of Uneconomic Imperialism: The Portuguese in Angola, 1836-1926” in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (1979), 165.

interests of the Angolan peoples will be well served.”<sup>11</sup> Even so, from 1955-1975, the continued arrival of Portuguese to Angola totaled 340,000. It is important to note that during these four hundred years of Portuguese occupation, millions of Angolans were lost to slavery<sup>12</sup> as the example described by Jeanne S.M. Willette in one of her articles<sup>13</sup> (Figure 1.4).

Patrick Manning described African slavery as an institution of marginality that developed in three regions:

The western coast (from Senegal through Angola), the northern savanna and the Horn (from Senegal through Somalia), and the eastern coast (from Kenya through Mozambique and Madagascar). In age and sex composition, the populations of slave exports heavily favored young adults, those who were most valuable and best able to survive the ordeal of enslavement.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout his writing, Patrick Manning highlights how the African model of slavery divested the continent clarifying that,

Projections of the model’s results suggest that the slave trade caused losses that, if not devastating to the continent, were certainly severe. For the western coast, a region with an estimated population of twenty-five million in 1700, some six million slaves left in the course of the eighteenth century. The total number enslaved is projected at some twelve million, with four million retained in domestic slavery and over two million lost to death in the course of enslavement.<sup>15</sup>

Certainly and particularly this situation had affected the Angolan economy and demographic structure as John Thornton states that “Angola one of the principal slave-exporting regions in the

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<sup>11</sup> Douglas L. Wheeler, “Angola” in *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1975), 22.

<sup>12</sup> Up to 50,000 Angolans were enslaved and shipped to the Americas. See W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalism in Southern Angola 1840-1926*. 2008. Reviewed by Douglas L. Wheeler, in *African Economic History*, no. 10 (1981), 223-225.

<sup>13</sup> Jeanne S. M. Willette, “Black Skin, White Masks and the Wretched of the Earth” in *Heath World Press*, 2013. <http://www.heathwoodpress.com/tag/colonialism>.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Manning, “Contours of Slavery and Social Change in Africa” in *The American History Review*, Vol. 88, no. 4 (1983), 839.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 850.

area was particularly under Portuguese control.”<sup>16</sup> Until slavery was abolished in 1878, it was the predominant form of labor in the coastal areas and implied a specific mode of production.<sup>17</sup>

Despite their relatively small numbers, the Portuguese colonizers had a tremendous negative effect on native Angolans who belonged to many ethnic groups with respective languages, as depicted in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Ethnic groups by alphabetic order and languages of Angola in 1961.

Ethnic group	Language	Variants	Number	Percentage
Ambundu	Kinbundo	20 Variants	1,053,959	21.37
Bakongo	Kikongo	25 Variants	621,787	12.61
Bushman (Sann)	Khoisan	5 Variants*		
Cockwe	Cokwe	12 Variants	396,264	8.03
Nkumbi	Humbe	6 Variants	114,832	2.33
Mbukushi	Oxindongo	3 Variants	13, 664	0.28
Ovambo	Ovakuanyama	6 Variants	15,442	0.31
Ovahellelo	Oshihelelo	6 Variants	18,719	0.38
Ovayaneka	Oluyaneka	5 Variants	621,787	4.5
Ovimbundu	Umbundo	15 Variants	1,746,109	35.4
Vangangela	Ngangela	27 Variants	329,259	6.68

Source: Created based on information from Cristine Messiant, Vatomene Kukanda and Yvonne Treis.<sup>18</sup>

Angolan history has been largely tragic: centuries of slave trade, wars, forced labor, and severe repression through a process of deculturalization. As we know, a cultural system as Edward H. Spicer called ‘the persistent system’ [...] best described as a system of beliefs and

<sup>16</sup> John Thornton, “The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Angola: Effects on Demographic Structures” in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (1980), 417.

<sup>17</sup> Despite this consideration explained by W.G. Clarence-Smith in his article, “The Myth of Uneconomic Imperialism: The Portuguese in Angola, 1836-1926” in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (1979), 165-180, one of the causes of Portuguese weakness in Africa was the effect of three centuries of slave trading. Based on the Atlantic “triangular trade,” Portugal found no incitement to be engaged in any other type of economic activity. Angola’s economy was entirely devoted to the export of slaves who were used on island plantations to grow sugar for export.

<sup>18</sup> Cristine Messiant *1961 l’Angola Colonial, Histoire et Societé: Les Premisses du Mouvement Nationaliste* (Carte ethnographique simplifiée), 2006: 34; Vatomene Kukanda, *Diversidade Linguistica em Africa* (Angola), 112-115 \* See Yvonne Treis, “Names of Khoisan Languages and their Variants” in *Cologne Kopper* (Germany, 1998), 463-503.

sentiments concerning historical events”<sup>19</sup> represents more than that which is apparent, such as language, arts and crafts, eating habits, and other forms of expression, including music and dance. It also implies values, attitudes, knowledge, beliefs and ways of thinking, ways people see the world, and ways of behaving. So, Edward H. Spicer emphasizes that such peoples are able to maintain continuity in their experience and their conception of themselves in a wide variety of sociocultural environments.<sup>20</sup> These elements of the cultural system are important to define and characterize the purpose of education in both the colonial and post-colonial periods.

Most of the Angolan ethnic groups described above speak Bantu languages and constitute a specific culture.<sup>21</sup> Pe Raul Ruiz de Asúa Altuna, exposed in his book entitled, “Cultura Tradicional Bantu,” extensive information on symbolic textures, imagination, and social structure that characterize the Bantu people with languages, modes of behaviors, institutions, costume, moral virtues, and their religious and philosophical ideas,<sup>22</sup> which make up the cultures inserted in the trajectory of African Education.<sup>23</sup> Bantu culture and Bantu education gained an especially pejorative reputation when South Africa became involved in the process of apartheid.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Edward H. Spicer, “Persistence Culture Systems” in *Science*, Vol. 174, no. 4011 (Nov., 1971), 795.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> The definition of Bantu is much diversified, but most historians agree that the term implies combinations of about 500 ethnolinguistic groups with a common similarity of civilization and cultures. The term comes from the native root “ntu” – the man, “people,” which is common to most Bantu languages. The prefix “ba” forms the plural “muntu” (person, humankind).

<sup>22</sup> Okot P’Bitek, “Fr. Tempel’s Bantu Philosophy” in *Transition*, no. 50 (Oct., 1975; Mar., 1976), 68.

<sup>23</sup> Pe Raul Ruiz de Asúa Altuna, “Cultura Tradicional Bantu” in *Prior Velho* (Paulinas, 2006), 601-631; See also Jan Vansina, “Bantu Education: A Critical Survey With Illustrations Theory” in *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, Vol. 38 (1979), 1-44; Victor N. Low, “Education for the Bantu: A South African Dilemma” in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (1958), 21-27; And Diane Caracciolo and Anne M. Mungai (Eds.), *In the Spirit of Ubuntu: Stories of Teaching and Research*. (Rotterdam, The Netherland: Sense Publishers, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Pam Christie, Colin Collins, “Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology or Labour Reproduction?” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (1982), 59-75. See also W. G. McConkey, “Bantu Education: A Critical Survey with Illustrations” in *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, Vol. 38 (1972), 1-43.

According to Rebusoajoang<sup>25</sup> Bantu education, synonymous with native education, caused terror in South Africa as it represented a threat to one of the most dangerous of any of the oppressive laws teaching the people how to accept apartheid. The principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, aptitudes, and needs should serve to prepare them more effectively for their future occupation, represented a symbol of freedom. Bantu education became centralized under the national apartheid government “based on the principle of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man’s way of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee.”<sup>26</sup> Education in South Africa under apartheid domination developed simultaneously with the major political and economic forces that shaped the society’s social structure, The *Bantu Education Act of 1953* explained the socialization role of Bantu education in the apartheid scheme.<sup>27</sup>

Bantu education — native education, in contrast to white education was of an extremely poor quality: schools were overcrowded and usually had inadequately prepared teachers.<sup>28</sup> As a result, although whites constitute 16 percent of the population, they were producing 75 percent of all pupils obtaining a senior certificate and 82 percent of those who qualified for university admission. The relative lack of skills and formal training helped lock Africans into a subordinate stratum of the society.<sup>29</sup> The law was created to justify the separation of education among Sothos, Zulus, Xhosas, Indians, African indigenous, and whites under apartheid ideology.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Rebusoajoang, “Education and Social Control in South Africa” in *African Affairs*, Vol.78, no. 311 (London: 1979), 228-239.

<sup>26</sup> Walton R. Johnson, “Education: Keystone of Apartheid” in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 13, no. 3, African Education and Social Stratification (Autumn, 1982), 218.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 219.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 221.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 222.

<sup>30</sup> Walton R. Johnson, described the reality of the education system under apartheid control arguing that “the role of education in South Africa was to maintain a society stratified on the basis of ethnicity. Schooling in this

On the other hand, to this day, native education can be viewed as an important aspect of African consciousness to rebuild African Indigenous Knowledge.<sup>31</sup> Particularly in Angola, indigenous education, even though not yet well examined, is a reality that includes specific characteristics, goals, and modes of application. First, let us define what indigenous education is. Most cultural historians refer to it as the insertion of native knowledge, skills, and habits, including languages and culture, as transferred from one generation to the next through teaching guided by the elders.<sup>32</sup>

Indigenous education can be characterized by the following aspects: it is part of an indigenous knowledge expressed in stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, myths, cultural values, rituals, local languages and other practices such as planting, harvest, and fishing methods. An additional unique characteristic found in certain educational traditions is that learning is not expected to end at the grave. According to one Yoruba belief, learning continues after death.<sup>33</sup> The goal of indigenous education is to develop the individual; to produce a permanent learner who is cultured, integrated, and responsible to the needs of the family, neighbors, and the whole society. According to Michael Owolewa, indigenous education contains various modes of teaching and learning.<sup>34</sup> Language is the mean mode, which uses the mother tongue and makes possible a system of manipulating figures involving counting, addition, and multiplication. Music and dance are another mode used to teach home and community education, while oral

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country is divided into four component systems, each serving members of a separate “racial” category: African, Colored, Indian, and White. Moreover, within the “racial” categories, the various “ethnic” groups are also segregated. Thus, among the Africans, Zulu, Tswana, Xhosa, and so on, attend separate schools, as do the Afrikaners and English among the whites. Each system consists of primary, secondary, university, technical, and teacher training institutions. For purpose of highlighting the role of education in social stratification, however, only white and African primary and secondary education are contrasted.” 214.

<sup>31</sup> Abebe Zegeye and Maurice Vambe, “African Indigenous Knowledge Systems” in *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 29, no. 4 (2006), 329-358.

<sup>32</sup> G. C. Turner, “Education in Africa” in *African Affairs*, Vol. 48, no. 192 (1949), 213-222.

<sup>33</sup> When I visited Nigeria, in 2009, I observed this in practice.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Owolewa, “Transitional African Modes of Education: Their Relevance in the Modern World” in *International Review of Education*, Vol. 53, no. 5/6 (2007), 594-612.

tradition teaches clan origins, norms and survival techniques, wisdom, sex roles, and philosophy. Religion as a mode of indigenous education encourages learning about African spirituality, ancestor veneration, and moral codes. It teaches that “a person has to live in harmony with the universe, obeying the laws of a natural, moral and mystical order.”<sup>35</sup>

Colonial education differs completely from African indigenous education.<sup>36</sup> Colonial education is part of Western culture. The relationship between colonialism and education in the context of colonies in general is complex. In the context of Angola, most of the colonialists were considered part of the lower middle class: peasants and servants. This had a direct influence on the oppressive policies in education that the Portuguese implemented. Portuguese colonial power provided a type of education that was employed accommodation, the process of modifying an elite group of *assimilados* and *mestiços* trained to impose metropolitan values on Angolans.<sup>37</sup>

The relationship of education to the system of Portuguese colonization determined the manner in which education was manipulated to maintain a system of social control and stratification based on race, ethnic background, and language. The Portuguese used religion as an instrument of implementation for both accommodations and assimilationist processes (Figure 1.5, Figure 1.6). That is why, according to Clayton G. MacKenzie, Christian missionaries played one of the principle roles regarding the relationships among colonialists, indigenous people, and

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<sup>35</sup> John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*. African Writers Series. (Heinemann Publisher, 1990), 44. See also Ladislaus M. Semali and Joel L. Kincheloe, *What is Indigenous Knowledge: Voices From the Academy?* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>36</sup> Bradley Nystrom and Stafford Kay, “Education and Colonialism in Africa: An Annotated Bibliography” in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.15, no, 2 (1971), 240-259.

<sup>37</sup> Douglas L. Wheeler, “‘Angola Is Whose House?’ Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910” in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (1969), 1-22; See also Sabine Fandrych, “From Liberation Struggle to Proxy War and From Warlordism to a Victor’s Peace: The Resources of Angolan Policies” in Mathias Basedau and Andreas Mehler (eds.), *Resources Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. Institute of African Affairs, Homburg African Studies*, Vol. 14 (2005), 72-78.

the church.<sup>38</sup> The missionaries were responsible for introducing the new formal education based on Western culture. As was emphasized by Malidoma Patrice Somé, the purpose of a colonial educational system was clear:

to continue the work of European colonization on the African continent by converting natives to Christianity and the ways of the West while they were still young, susceptible, and easy to persuade. This was not a localized program in West Africa but a widespread practice spanning the entire African continent. School [...] was a place where we learned to reject whatever native culture we had acquired as children and to fill its place with Western ideas and practices.<sup>39</sup>

On the pretext that all which was related to indigenous life, including education was evil, undeveloped, primitive, godless, superstitious, stagnant, and unprogressive, a missionary education contributed to the disruption of the traditional system. It raised the level of education within the formal school system, offering not only primary but also secondary education including European languages, membership in Portuguese youth groups, Christian life training, literature, philosophy, mathematics, and science for the first time. It was a good idea, but Portuguese educational policy-makers were not able to apply the necessary alternative theoretical model, “a balanced-sheet model,” that allowed a combination of native and Western education. Instead, the Portuguese projected an image of “Lusotropicalism”<sup>40</sup> as a “pluri-continental” ideology that supposedly unified the country of Angola culturally and other colonies in the

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<sup>38</sup> Clayton G. MacKenzie, “Demythologizing the Missionaries: A Reassessment of the Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education Under Colonialism” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 29, no.1 (1993), 45-66.

<sup>39</sup> Some Malidoma Patrice. *The Healing Wisdom of Africa: Finding Life Purpose Through Nature, Ritual and Community* (Thorsons Editions: 1999), 4.

<sup>40</sup> Lusotropicalism is the ideology that aimed to present the Portuguese empire as a multiracial and multi-continental nation. Joseph C. Miller in his article *Angola before 1900: A Review of Recent Research*. *African Studies Review*, Vol. 20, no.1 (2004), 103-116, explained that Gerald J. Bender analyzes the falsehood of the Salazarist ideology of lusotropical racial harmony in Angola and develops historical studies of Portuguese colonization in Angola to show the harsher reality of race relations in the tropics in his book *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*. University of California Press (1977), 110. The term has been classified, first, as a new old myth by Margarida C. Ribeiro in her work entitled, *Empire, Colonial Wars and Post-Colonialism in the Portuguese Contemporary Imagination*, published in 2002, *Portuguese Studies*, 18, 132-314 and second as controversial concept by Ana Maria M. de F. Martinho, in her article entitled, “Utopian Eyes and Dystopian Writings in Angolan literature” in *Research in African Literature*, Vol. 38, no. 1 (2007), 46-53.



Portuguese colonial empire (Figure 1.7).<sup>41</sup> Actually, Portugal imposed a chaotic social and educational structure that has affected negatively the state of education in Angola to this day.

According to the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa:

Education and culture are interrelated among other things by demographics, and socio-economic development. Most economic and social demographic characteristics such as fertility, mortality, nuptial patterns, migration, labor markets, health, etc., are influenced by education. The demography for its part plays a crucial role in education, since the demographic dynamics and its composition by age determine the demand and performance of the educational system. Educational indicators are also indicators of the wealth of the state, the independence between education and economy. Education and economy reveal that an increase in levels of education is often reflected in increased levels of development; and conversely a high level of development may result in increased levels of education.<sup>42</sup>

The Angolan present can best be viewed by looking at statistical data.<sup>43</sup> In most cases, it is hard to find reliable information<sup>44</sup> in spite of the effort that has been made by the Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Recently, this institution has published the preliminary results of the 2014 census with demographic structure of the actual Angolan population of 22.4 million inhabitants, of which 9.4 million are male (48 percent of the total population), and 12.9 million women (52 percent of the total population).

The census also shows the Angolan population in terms of ethnic groups.<sup>45</sup> It is constituted of Ovimbundu 37 percent, Kimbundu 25 percent, Bakongo 13 percent, mestiços

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<sup>41</sup> The Portuguese Empire and its colonial rulers are explained in detail from a global perspective by Russell-Wood in his book entitled, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move in Paperback* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

<sup>42</sup> Community of Portuguese Language Countries was created in 1996 as a multilateral forum to develop mutual friendship and cooperation among nine countries: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and São Tome and Príncipe. It also brings other associations such as the Association of Portuguese Language Universities, and Association of National Olympic Committees of Portuguese Speakers, 93.

<sup>43</sup> The question of collecting data on Angola is still problematic due to the statistical uncertainties.

<sup>44</sup> It was always necessary to collect data when working in the case of Angola. See Gerald J. Bender and P. Stanley Yoder, "Whites in Angola on the Eve of Independence: The Politics of Numbers" in *Africa Today*, Vol. 21, no. 4 (1974), 23-37.

<sup>45</sup> But each of these main groups is constituted of different subgroups as follow: The Bacongo (Kikongo) ethnic group is composed of several major subgroups, including Cacongo, Coje, Congo, Guenze, Iaca, Iombe, Muchicongo, Oio, Paca, Pombo, Sorongo, Sosso, Suco, Vili, and Zombo. The Mbundu (Kimbundu) ethnic group includes Ambundo, Bambeiro, Bangala, Bondo, Cari, Chinje, Dembo, Haco, Holo, Hungo, Libolo, Luango,

(mixed European and Angolan natives) 2 percent, European 1 percent, and other 22 percent.<sup>46</sup> In general, the population of Angola before colonization was composed of Bantu with different subgroups and languages and of non-bantu tribes.

Table 1.2. Population distribution in terms of age and sex in 2014.

Years	(%)	Famale	Male	Total
0-14	43.2%	4,206,929	4,043,618	8.24
15-24	20.5%	1,992,955	1,923,932	3.92
25-54	29.3%	2,822,164	2,777,147	5.60
55-64	4%	370,181	...389,885	1.60
65 and over	2%	... 259,637	...301,658	1.30

Source: Data from Angola Demographics Profile 2004.  
[http://www.indexmundi.com/angola/demographics\\_profile.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/angola/demographics_profile.html).

However, the Angolan population had an intense process of mobility due to the consequence of both wars, the War for National Liberation against Portuguese domination (1961-1975) and the Civil War (1975-2002). Many Angolan citizens have migrated to the Belgian Congo, Zambia, Namibia, and South Africa since the 1940s and 1950s. For example, according to René Pélissier and Douglas Wheeler, in 1961 at least 100,000 Angolan refugees were in the Belgian Congo alone and this number grew to surpass half a million people by 1972.<sup>47</sup> According to the Human Rights Watch, there are historical causes for population displacement in Angola.<sup>48</sup> The Civil War<sup>49</sup> was one of the longest conflicts in modern history in

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Minungo, Ngola, Ntemo, Puna, Quibala, Quissama, Sende, and Songo. The Ovimbundu (Umbundu) include Bailundo, Bieno, Caconda, Chicuma, Dombe, Ganda, Hanha, Lumbo, Mbui, Quissanje, Sambo, Sele, Sumbe, and Uambo; There are other large groups such as the Cokwe, Ovambo, Herero, Handa, Humbe, Muila, Ngangela, Huila, Vatua, and Khoisan. The basic distinctions between all these groups lies in the clothes, the hairstyles, the tattoos, certain rituals, and language. See more details João V. Martins, *Crenças, Advinhação e Medicina Tradicionais dos Tchokwe, do Nordeste de Angola*, Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical (1993), 32; José Redinha, *Distribuição Étnica da Província de Angola 1961-1974*, Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, Luanda, 1965: 7; Vatomene Kukanda, “Diversidade Linguística Africana” in *Africana Studia*, no. 3, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, (Porto, 2000), 112-115.

<sup>46</sup> Angola Demographics Profile 2014, [http://www.indexmundi.com/angola/demographics\\_profile.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/angola/demographics_profile.html)

<sup>47</sup> See Wheeler Douglas and René Pélissier. *Angola*. Greenwood, 1978.

<sup>48</sup> Human Rights Watch, “Angola: Struggle in Peacetime, Return and Resettlement in Angola” in *HRW*, Vol. 15, no.16 (Angola, 2003).

which “the main armed groups committed numerous abuses against civilians. Among the violations were physical and sexual assaults, such as rape, mutilation, and forced recruitment, abduction of women and girls, looting and extra-judicial executions.”<sup>50</sup> As a result, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs now estimates that, “during this period some 3.1 million people had been forced to abandon their homes, increasing the number of internal displaced persons (IDPs) in Angola to 4.1 million.”<sup>51</sup>

The displacement of the population due to the war accentuated the process of a rural exodus provoking a rapid and disorganized urbanization in major cities of the country. According to the National Institution of Statistics,<sup>52</sup> it is estimated that 43 percent of the population was living in urban areas in 1994 in comparison with 11 percent in 1960 and 14 percent in 1970, and, for example, the population growth from 1950 to 2010 is evident as depicted in Table 1.3. According to the 2010 revision of the World Population prospects, the total population was 19,082,000 in 2010, compared to only 4,148,000 in 1950. The percentage of children below the age of 15 in 2010 was 46.6%, while only 2.5% live beyond 65 years.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> The Angolan Civil War (1975-2002) had internal and external causes. Among the internal causes we had the political intolerance between Angolan officials and politicians and the failure of the coalition government. The external causes are related to economic interests of the industrialized countries (EUA, Russia, France, United Kingdom, Portugal, Brazil, and South Africa) in the control of oil and diamonds in Angola, which interests were exacerbated by the cold war. To this purpose, in 1987 Gerald L. Bender wrote in one of his articles, “The Eagle and the Bear in Angola.” *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 489, 123-132, that the United States and the Soviet Union have supported opposing sides in Angola for more than a quarter of century. Another critical aspect of U.S. and Soviet activity in Angola has been their unreliability as patrons for their respective Angolan clients. According to the report, “Angola: Struggle in peacetime, return and resettlement in Angola,” *Vol. 15*, no. 16 (A), published in 2003 by *Human Rights Watch*, during this period approximately one million people died, 4.1 million (over one-third of the population) were displaced, more than 8 million landmines were placed in its soil (among thousands of other unexplored ordinances), approximately 50,000 war orphans, and 100,000 disabled civilians were estimated and economic disintegration was rampant.

<sup>50</sup> Human Rights Watch, “Angola: Struggle in Peacetime, Return and Resettlement in Angola” in *HRW*, *Vol. 15*, no.16 (Angola, 2003), 6.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística). *Perfil de Pobreza em Angola*, Luanda, 1996.

<sup>53</sup> See United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs /Population Division: *World Population Prospects, The 2010 Revision*, Vol. 1 Comprehensive tables; see also, *Angola Demographics Profile 2014* [http://www.indexmundi.com/angola/demographics\\_profile.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/angola/demographics_profile.html)

Table 1.3. Population distribution in terms of age between 1950 and 2010.

Years	Total Population (x 1000)	Population aged 0-14 (%)	Population aged 15-65 (%)	Population aged 65+ (%)
1950	4,148	41.2	55.7	3.1
1955	4,542	42.4	54.9	2.7
1960	4,963	43.7	53.6	2.7
1965	5,431	45.3	52.0	2.7
1970	5,926	46.0	51.1	2.7
1975	6,637	46.2	51.1	2.7
1980	7,638	46.5	50.8	2.7
1990	10,335	47.5	49.0	2.6
1995	12,105	47.6	49.8	2.5
2000	13,926	47.7	49.9	2.5
2005	16,489	47.6	49.9	2.5
2010	19,082	47.6	59.9	2.5

Source: Adapted from the World Population Prospect: The 2009, 2010, 2011 Revision

Portuguese as the official language became a way of communication among certain groups of Angolans. The Angolan ethnolinguistic structure is composed of 26 percent Portuguese, compared to 70.2 percent Bantu languages and 8.5 percent other African languages.<sup>54</sup> The process of the development of languages is a cultural project that includes strategic objectives for promoting the free flow of ideas, universal access to information, pluralism, and cultural diversity. This implied that each country must have a language policy to attain such objectives. After independence, Agostinho Neto<sup>55</sup> (Figure 1.8) oriented the need of a new strategy when he explained that,

The exclusive uses of the Portuguese language as an official language, in the vernacular and in our literature, do not solve our problems. And in both primary and secondary education it will be necessary to use our languages. And given the diversity in the country, sooner or later we should endeavor a combination of some dialects to facilitate communication.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> INE, Angola, 1998. See also Vatomene Kukanda, "Diversidade Linguística Africana" in *Africana Studia*, no. 3, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, (Porto, 2000), 112-115.

<sup>55</sup> Antonio Agostinho Neto served as first President of Angola from November 11, 1975 to September 10, 1979 after having led the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola in the war for independence.

<sup>56</sup> Antonio Agostinho Neto, *Ainda o Meu Sonho: Discurso Sobre a Cultura Nacional*. (Luanda: Edições 70, 1980), 17.

This project intended by the first president did not survive. As a result, native languages continue to struggle to be recognized as languages that can promote sustainable development. Additionally, the rapid urbanization as explained earlier, and social changes that anticipated the end of the period of colonization, and especially since independence, has prompted people from different ethnic backgrounds to come together more, whether physically or culturally through, for example, the marriage of interethnic groups.<sup>57</sup> The last ethnolinguistic count in the census of 1970 provided a categorization among autochthonous totaling 93 percent (as speakers of national languages), with Portuguese at 5 percent and the mestiços at 2 percent (most of them bilinguals). Logically the sudden exodus of settlers in 1975, whose population in 1974 had grown to about 350,000, had serious socio-economic repercussions due to the quasi-deadlock of the public and economic activities, in which Portuguese dominated the public administration.<sup>58</sup> The most important sectors of Angolan society were using the Portuguese language and in the administration everything was written in the Portuguese language with the prohibition of using natives' names and native's languages in official places.

Education has an interrelationship with demographics and socio-economic development and it was influenced by those aspects explained above. According to the United Nations, "Schooling was restricted until the mid-70s with the result that only 15% of the adult population could read or write."<sup>59</sup> As a result of this and because of discrimination, only few Angolans have managed to acquire the official status of assimilado. The Portuguese held almost all positions in most of the routine public administration including within the educational system. Additionally,

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<sup>57</sup> Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, *Angola: Ethnicity of the Children of Bakongo (Bacongo) mother and a non-Bakongo father*, 25 January, AGO38450.E. 2002, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4be021c.html>

<sup>58</sup> Gerald J Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (California, 1978), 236.

<sup>59</sup> United Nations, *Economic and Social Council: Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. Distr. General, E/C.12/AGO/3, 2008: 4.

according to Silva Telles,<sup>60</sup> most of the Portuguese arriving in Angola before 1900 were not settlers but exiled criminals (degredados).<sup>61</sup> So, even after 1950, few possessed the educational, professional, or technical skills required for the future growth and stability of Angola (Figure 1.9).

Almost half of the population had no education at all while less than 17 percent of all resident Portuguese attended school for five or more years. Bender and P. Stanley Yoder<sup>62</sup> explained that the educational level of whites in Angola by the middle of 1964 was that one in fifty had received some post-secondary education. As a result, tens of thousands of uneducated or undereducated Portuguese<sup>63</sup> were in direct competition with Angolans for the marginal positions in the economy. In 1968, even the Portuguese University of General Studies of Angola established in 1962 had no single Angolan in attendance. The first Secretary of Education of the Provincial Government was named in 1969.<sup>64</sup> When Angola became an independent country in 1975, the overall literacy rate of Angolans was 85 percent. Colonial education was clearly discriminatory for Angolans. Statistical data was inconsistent and confusing.<sup>65,66,67</sup> Angolans

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<sup>60</sup> Silva Telles, “Transportação Penal e a Colonização.” *Livraria Ferin*, (Lisboa, 1903) 1-99.

<sup>61</sup> Degredados included men and entire families banished from Portugal. This explains why most of the population was undereducated. This sad truth is reported by some scholars: Michael A. Samuels, “The ‘New look’ in Angola Education,” in *Africa Report*, Vol. 12, no. 8 (November, 1967), 63-66. Another report about this issue was published by Elisete Marques da Silva, “Social Conditions of School Attendance and Achievement of Minors in Suburban Luanda,” in *Social Changes in Angola*, by F. Heimer (Ed.), (Munich: Weltforum Veriag, 1973), 111-143.

<sup>62</sup> Bender and P. Stanley Yoder, “Whites in Angola on the Eve of Independence: The Politics of Numbers” in *Africa Today*, Vol. 21, no. 4 (1974), 23-37.

<sup>63</sup> More than half of the White population was constituted by “Degredados” – convicted criminals – released from prison in exchange for accepting what amounted to exile in Africa. That is why, according to Jim Jones, in one of his lectures, “The Portuguese in Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” (2015) Angola in particular, gained a reputation as a Portuguese penal colony. See in <http://courses.wcupa.edu/jones/his312/lectures/portugal.htm>.

<sup>64</sup> From 1969 to 1974 due to the international political and national liberation movements’ pressure, Portuguese colonialism began investing in education, building infrastructures and preparing teachers, including Angolans. But the educational system was revealing a negative quality with limited access for the majority of Angolans, as Elisete M. da Silva referenced in her work entitled “Social Conditions of School Attendance and Achievement of Minors in Suburban Luanda,” in F. Heimer (Ed.) *Social Changes in Angola* (Munich: Weltforum Veriag, 1973), 111-143.

<sup>65</sup> Anuário Estatístico, *Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística* (Luanda, 1966), 1-79.

<sup>66</sup> Anuário Estatístico, *Instituto Nacional de Estatística*, Vol. 11 (Lisboa, 1972), 21-13.

<sup>67</sup> Boletim Mensal de Estatística de Angola, (Luanda, 1966), 20-23.

were not represented in the data; data existed only for Whites. The lack of reliable data about education in Angola is, unfortunately, a colonial heritage. In Angola for the 1980s and 1990s, no reliable statistics exist. The publication of “Statistics CPLP-2012”<sup>68</sup> provides an opportunity to visualize the statistical data referring to the community member countries based on their official statistics for the period 2003-2010. The gaps are due to the existence of inefficient statistical and organizational services in the area of education.<sup>69</sup> The Angolan Minister of Planning and Territorial Development published in 2012 the National Plan of Development 2013-2017, which established priorities, specific objectives and indicators as a projection until 2017. This project is based on the gross domestic product (GDP) estimating the health of the country’s economy, which has a direct connection with education.<sup>70</sup>

### **Statement of the Research Problem**

The historiography of Angolan education is vast and complex. About that, scholars, such as Christine Messiant, Gerald J. Bender, Michael A. Samuels, W. Martin James, and other authors are unanimous.<sup>71</sup> In most of Angola’s rural areas and even in urban areas, historians of

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<sup>68</sup> Community of Portuguese Language Countries created in 1996 combined Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tome, and East Timor.

<sup>69</sup> The Office of Studies, Planning and Statistics in the Ministry of Education functions with many personnel without enough skills to collect and analyze statistical information regarding outcomes. As a result, the office faces difficulties supporting regular, ongoing, internal and external reviews.

<sup>70</sup> One of the goals in this plan, República de Angola, “Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento 2013-2017,” in *Ministério do Planeamento e do Desenvolvimento Territorial*, (Dezembro, 2012):67 is to develop and implement the National Strategy for Resource of Human Development covering and integrating all levels of base training and qualification from literacy, early education to advanced training. In the context of Angola, it is important to know the relationship between education and economy to measure the public expenditure on education. Public expenditure on education includes the amount of money spent by the government on educational institutions public and private, education administration.

<sup>71</sup> The following authors have compiled exhaustive information about education in Angola: Christine Messiant, *L’Angola Colonial, Histoire et Societé: Les Premisses du Mouvement Nationaliste*, (Les Auteurs, 2006); Gerald J. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: The myth and the reality* (University of California Press, 1978); Michael. A. Samuels, “The ‘new look’ in Angola Education” in *Africa Report*, Vol. 12, no. 8 (1967), 63-66; M. A. Samuels, “Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A history of culture transfer and administration” in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1970), 386-388; W. Martin James. *Historical Dictionary of Angola* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), (Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2011); Martins James as Professor of political science at Henderson State University in Arkadelphia, Arkansas at Fayetteville, was an electoral observer for the 1992 Angolan elections, serving Luanda, Huambo, and Lubango. He has been writing articles about Angola, including a book about the Civil War in Angola. He deserves

education are lacking. The anachronistic description of the non-existence of roots of “public” education systematized in Angola’s colonial era and its post-colonial era has become an important aspect to consider. That the Angolan history of education has been eclipsed by the general history of Angola was exposed by several scholars, among them, Basil Davidson, Gerald J. Bender, John A. Marcum, and C. J. Rooney.<sup>72</sup> The main reason is that Angolan history is still notably fragmented and suffering from a lack of systematization and the extensive themes that need to be undertaken at every historical level as David Birmingham argued, “most of Angolan history still suffers from a dearth of scholarly interest [...] Research already done clearly illuminates the growth points for future investigation.”<sup>73</sup> Since the history of education in Angola is not yet as well structured and systematized, as noted by Ian Henderson and Willie Henderson,<sup>74</sup> and considering that there are many historical fragments related to education in Angola from the period of colonization to the post-independence period, there is an imperative need for studying the different influences and stages of Angolan development. I believe an historical contrast between the colonial and post-colonial periods with an analytical and reconstructionist approach through historical research of “failures and opportunities,”<sup>75</sup> will inform the present challenges that education in Angola is facing. As referenced above, during

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particular emphasis because of his *Historical Dictionary*, which is one of the most complete bibliographic compilations on Angola. See also Adriano Vasco Rodrigues, *Contribuição para a História do Ensino em Angola: A Grande Batalha da Educação na Década de 60*, Universidade Portucalense, (Porto, 1989); Jorge Manuel Rodrigues de Jesus, *Educação: Pilar da Soberania, Caminho do Desenvolvimento em Angola* (Grafica de Coimbra, 2007); Teresa da Silva Neto, *Historia da Educação e Cultura de Angola: Grupos Nativos e a Independencia* (Zaina Editores, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> Basil Davidson, *In the Eyes of the Storm: Angola’s People* (The University of Michigan, 1973); Gerald J. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: The myth and the reality* (University of California Press, 1978); John. A. Marcum, (1980). Angola in conflict: 1845 through independence. *Africa Today*, Vol. 27, no. 1, 47-49; C. J. Rooney, (1912). Catholic Portuguese Missions of Angola. *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1912), 282-308.

<sup>73</sup> David Birmingham, “Themes and Resources of Angolan History” in *African Affairs*, Vol. 73, no. 291 (1974), 188.

<sup>74</sup> Ian Henderson and Willie Henderson, “Notes and News” in *African Affairs*, Vol. 87, no. 349 (1988), 607-612.

<sup>75</sup> Michael A. Samuels, “A failure of Hope: Education and Challenging Opportunities in Angola Under the Portuguese Republic,” in *R. H. Chicote* (1972), 53-65; see also the same author, “Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration” in *African Historical Studies*, Vol.4, no. 2 (1970), 386-388.



the colonization of Angola, access to educational opportunities was limited significantly for most Angolans. In their articles, Franz-Wilhelm Heimer and Albino da Silva Rêgo explain such conditions of colonial education and they point to new prospects for the Angolan societal project, building a society based on social justice in terms of the distribution of wealth, opportunities, and privileges within Angolan society.<sup>76</sup> Angolans did not have opportunities to build their own education until 1975 when the country became independent. In spite of these substantial limitations and difficulties, it is imperative to seek an historical view and analysis of education in Angola.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Rethinking the history of Angolan public education is the objective of this study.<sup>77</sup> I discussed the period between 1930 and 1980 during which the Portuguese primed to build a public education which, among other objectives, had the goal of supporting commercial and government interests through using the Angolan population as a source of cheap labor. Additionally, this study focuses on historical background, in particular the transition from indigenous education to colonial education, and characterize the educational system and its philosophy in both the colonial and the post-colonial period. This study advances the relevance of historical research in education in Angola. The history of education, in every context, constitutes a main component of social development and it is important for teachers to understand education as a social phenomenon taking into account all limitations related to the

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<sup>76</sup> Franz-Wilhelm Heimer, “Estrutura Social e Descolonização em Angola” in *Análise Social*, Vol. 10, no. 40 (1973), 621-655; Franz-W. Heimer, Sobre a Articulação dos Modos de Produção em Angola. Uma Nota Metodológica. *Análise Social*, Vol. 19, no. 77-79, (1983), 1091-1100. See also Albino da Silva Rêgo, *Overseas Portugal in Civilization*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 79-84;

<sup>77</sup> This study is aligned in terms of historical perspective with those conducted, for example by Aoron Benavot, “Education, Gender, and Economic Development: A Cross-National Study” in *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 62, no. 1, Special Issue on Gender and Education (Jan., 1989), 14-32 and Thomas Kellaghan and Vincent Greaney, “Using Examination to Improve Education: A Study in Four African Countries” in *World Bank Technical*, no. 165 (Washington, 1992).

research in education.<sup>78</sup> This study helps to explain how past events across generations have shaped the present educational system in Angola. The study of the history of education is an excellent way to examine critically the fundamental role that education has played in the transformation of society in Angola. The study of the history of education is a critical way for improving the knowledge of teachers in preparation, where facts must be examined along with the perceptions and assumptions related to the experiences driving the categorizations and generalizations that influence priorities.

### **Research Questions**

The central research question for this study is, “What is the historical development of the educational system in Angola from 1930 to 1980?” The study addresses the following research sub-questions:

1. What were the historical elements that influenced the educational system in Angola?
2. What were the purpose and philosophy of education in both the colonial and the post-colonial periods?
3. How did Angolans build a new educational system?
4. What are the main Angolan educational issues in the post-colonial period?

### **Methodology**

This study uses historical educational research methodology to explore the different elements that characterized the educational systems in both colonial and post-colonial periods. The objective of the research was to conduct an explanatory and descriptive history of

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<sup>78</sup> See Thomas H. Briggs, “Limitations and Proposal: Research in Education” in *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 46, no. 3 (Nov., 1964), 99-103.

education<sup>79</sup> in Angola, to inquire critically and interpret past and present events that have influenced the Angolan educational system.

Explanation and description in historical research allow for studying the past through an analysis of documents and the reconstruction of what happened. The study describes and examines the past events to understand the present. For both explanation and description, “interpretation is central to the process.”<sup>80</sup> They allow understanding the present and getting ahead of potential future effects in the educational system. The study uses the following methods: formulating ideas, developing research questions, developing an inventory of primary and secondary sources (archives, libraries, papers, etc.), and classifying validity and reliability of data, as well as analysis and synthesis of data collected. The interpretation of primary and secondary sources confirms their genuineness and authenticity.<sup>81</sup>

The study leads to a holistic understanding of colonialism and contemporary educational issues in Angola. Through a review of the literature, archival research, and by infusing a

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<sup>79</sup>This methodology has been used by many scholars: Bernard Mehl, “History of Education” in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 31, no. 1 (1961), 7-19; Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education History and the Social Science* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004); James Mahoney, “Comparative-Historical Methodology” in *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30 (2004), 81-101; Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-2004* (6<sup>th</sup> ed.), (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005); H. G. Good, “Historical Research in Education” in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1930), 39-47; Linda S. Levstik, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method, and Context*, (Routledge, 2008); Morris R. Buckingham, “The Challenge of Historical Materials” in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1941), 91-116; Peter Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006); William C. Burges, ‘History of Education’ in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 37, no. 1 (1967), 21-33; William Richardson and Gary McCulloch, *Historical Research in Education Setting* (Open University Press, 2000).

<sup>80</sup> M. Mark, “Qualitative Aspects of Historical Research” in *Bulletin of Council for Research in Musical Education*, Vol. 130 (1996), 39.

<sup>81</sup> Genuineness means the document is not forged. This process involves internal criticism, in the other words, it is the evaluation of the worth of the evidence, while authenticity means the document provides a truthful recording of the study, which involves external criticism. See, Leo Bartlett, “The Dialectic between Theory and Method in Critical Interpretive Research” in *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 17, no. 1 (1991), 19-33 and Leo S. Shulman, “Reconstruction of Educational Research” in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 40, no. 3 (Jun., 1970), 371-396.

postcolonial perspective,<sup>82</sup> the study identifies what kind of historical elements and philosophies drove the educational system in Angola. Furthermore, the study analyzes and evaluates critically how these elements have influenced the path of education.<sup>83</sup>

### Definition of Terms

**Angola:** Is located on the Western coast of Southern Africa. It has an area of 1,246,700 square kilometers. Angola's official language is Portuguese and the populations speak other national languages such as *Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Cockwe, Mbundu* and *Oxikwanyama*. Most of the population is predominantly Christian, Catholic, and Protestant. It was a Portuguese colony until independence, November 11, 1975; also the year the civil war began.<sup>84</sup> Three nationalist movements,<sup>85</sup> including the former Soviet Union, Cuba, the United States of America, and apartheid South Africa were involved. Angola was admitted to the United Nations on December 1, 1976. The civil war ended in 2002 with the death of the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbe. Angola's natural resources including oil, diamonds, iron ore, phosphate, copper, gold and uranium make it one of the richest countries in Africa.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Lyn Carter, "Thinking Differently About Cultural Diversity: Using Postcolonial Theory to (Re) read Science Education" in *Science Education*, Vol. 88, no. 6 (2004), 819-836; Ilan Kapoor, "Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency Versus Postcolonial Theory" in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (2002), 647-664.

<sup>83</sup> See Thomas Collelo (ed.), "Conditions Before Independence" in *A country Study Angola*, by Rachel Warner (Library of Congress Federal Research Division, 1989); Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angola" in *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1975), 21-23.

<sup>84</sup> Christine Hatzky, "Latin-Africa Solidarity: The Cuban Civilian Mission in Angola, 1975-1991" in *Iberoamericana*, Vol. 5, no. 20 (2001), 159-1991; John A. Marcum, "Angola in Conflict: 1845 Through Independence" in *Africa Today*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (1980), 47-49.

<sup>85</sup> The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the National Liberation Front of Angola, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

<sup>86</sup> See, Tony Hodges, "The Angolan Economy: Prospects for Growth in a Postwar Environment" by Shawn H. McCormick. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, no. 4 (1995), 684.

**Archival research:** Is a type of research that seeks evidences and direct proof related to events and artifacts. It includes location, evaluation, interpretation, and analysis of sources found in original archives and internet collections.<sup>87</sup>

**Assimilado:** According to the “civilizing mission” promoted by Portuguese Lusotropicalism, an Assimilado as a colonized person, had reached a level of civilization, which implied they were fluent in speaking Portuguese. Lourenço O. Cá, defined Assimilado as generally known as “civilizado” who had absorbed and integrate the Portuguese habits and customs, but also was of good character, had sufficient income to support his family, performed military service, and was at least eighteen years of age.<sup>88</sup>

**Colonial education:** Is a part of post-colonial studies that includes a range of societies and cultures. It represents a process by which a defined colonizing power assimilates either a subaltern native elite or a large population to its ways of thinking and seeing the world.<sup>89</sup>

**Educational system:** Is a social institution based on a set of assumptions, concepts, values and practices related to public schooling that involves institutionalized teaching and learning in a specific environment according to a predetermined purpose. By its nature, an educational system is complex and commonly goes from kindergarten through high school programs.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Laura Schmidt, *Using Archives: A Guide of Effective Research*, Society of American Archives, 2011; and Glen H. Elder, Jr, Eliza K. Pavalko and Elizabeth C. Clipp, *Working With Archival Data*, (SAGE, 2013).

<sup>88</sup> Cá, Lourenço Ocuni, “Pertraining to School Culture and the Colonial People: The Question of the Assimilated Once in the African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (PALOP),” *ETD, Campinas, Vol. 3*, no. 1 (2011), 214.

<sup>89</sup> John Williamson, and W. Bryant Mumford, “Comparative Colonial Education” in *Review of Educational Research, Vol. 9*, no. 4 (1939), 395-400.

<sup>90</sup> Richard J. Shavelson and Lisa Towne (eds.), *Scientific Research in Education* (The National Academies Press, 2002).

**History of education:** Is a study of the past that focuses on educational issues including educational systems, institutions, theories, and other themes related to teaching education in particular and to professional educational studies in general.<sup>91</sup>

**Historical research:** Is the process of systematically examining past events or combinations of events to arrive at an account of what happened in the past;<sup>92</sup> it comprises the guidelines by which researchers use sources and evidence to write histories from past events.

**Indigenous:** Referred to black individuals and their descendants. The term implied illiteracy and non-assimilation due to not having the individual and social habits necessary for integration. People who did not qualify for public and private rights of Portuguese citizenship, were labeled Indigenous.<sup>93</sup>

**Liceu:** Designates the establishment of secondary education and high schools with accompanying curriculum, following the Decree-Law No. 260-B/75 of May 26. This benefitted primarily the elite, White population.

**Mestiço:** The term mestizo can have different meaning according to the context. In the Angolan colonial context, a “Mestiço” was an individual with both European and African blood. Under Salazar’s regime, interracial mixing was encouraged in the context of the ideology of miscegenation.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> B. J. Elliott, “Researching the History of Education” in *Research Intelligence*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (1977), 16-19.

<sup>92</sup> Burke Johnson and Larry B. Christensen, *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches* (4<sup>th</sup> ed), Sage Publications, (2012), 411.

<sup>93</sup> Cá, Lourenço Ocuni, “Pertraining to School Culture and the Colonial People: The Question of the Assimilated Once in the African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (PALOP),” *ETD, Campinas*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (2011), 215.

<sup>94</sup> Jacopo Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Protonationalism 1870-1920*, Cambria Press, 2008.

**Native:** Is a notion with different meanings. In the context of this study, a Native was an individual who belonged and connected to a specific place or country by virtue of birth or origin. Employing this perspective, the Natives were the Angolan indigenous and Autochthonous.<sup>95</sup>

**Normative educational philosophies:** Are theories of philosophy of education that address pedagogical, curricular, and learning questions related to the purpose of education. Normative educational philosophies also are understood as educational thoughts informed by several disciplines such as history, philosophy, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and ecology.<sup>96</sup>

**Postcolonial education:** Is an academic inter-disciplinary field including theories and methods of intellectual discourse that analyze non-material dimensions of colonial rule. It describes and explains the modes of representation in colonial contexts as well as assumes deconstruction of colonial discourse and thought patterns that continue influencing the present.<sup>97</sup>

**Postcolonial theory:** Is a body of writing that attempts to shift the dominant ways in which the relations between Western and non-Western people and their worlds are viewed.<sup>98</sup> The term was coined in 1985 by the Australian cultural theorist Simon During when he wrote the article, “Postmodernism or Postcolonialism Today?” discussing the discourse on postmodernism and its relationship with that of postcolonialism.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> See Jacopo Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Protonationalism 1870-1920*, Cambria Press, 2008.

<sup>96</sup> Richard D. Mosier, “The Educational Philosophy” in *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 25, no. 2 (1951), 86-96.

<sup>97</sup> Lyn Carter, “Thinking differently About Cultural Diversity: Using Postcolonial Theory to (Re) read Science Education” in *Science Education*, Vol. 88, no. 6 (2004), 819-836; G. J. S. Dei, “The Challenge of Inclusive Schooling in Africa: A Ghanaian case study” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 41, no. 3 (2005), 267-289.

<sup>98</sup> Vanessa Andreotti, *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education*. Postcolonial Studies, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>99</sup> Simon During, “Postmodernism or Post-colonialism Today,” Vol. 1, no. 1 (1987), 32-47. More discussion in this sense can be found: Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, in “What is Postcolonialism? *New Literary History*, Vol. 36, no. 3, Critical and Historical Essay (Summer, 2005), 375-402; Eleanor Byrne, asked an excellent question: “After Postcolonialism: What Next?” in “Postcolonial Aporias” in *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (Fall, 2001), 55-68;

**Purpose of education:** Is aimed at helping students get to the point where they can learn to know (mastering the tools of knowledge and understanding), to do (developing competences and skills), to live together (collaborating among family, community, and society), and to be (developing individual potential), on their own. Further, the purpose of education is to prepare individuals to act positively in a global environment.<sup>100</sup>

**Reforma Pombalina:** Is the Marques Pombal's cultural, political, and economic reform in Portugal (1759-1822), which includes the historiography of education and overseas territories. It symbolized the great rivalry between the enlightenment ideas of Pombal and the faith-based Jesuit education.<sup>101</sup>

**Revisionist history:** A historiographical point of view where someone conducts a reinterpretation of orthodox views based on evidences in order to challenge the status quo of an historical event. Revisionist history intends to force a re-evaluation of archives seeking to present new evidence that undermines the current established historical explanation from a completely different perspective. According to James M. McPherson, “revisionism” is what makes history different and meaningful because it is known that “revision is the lifeblood of historical scholarship. History is a continuing dialogue between the present and the past. Interpretations of the past are subject to change in response to new evidence, new questions asked of the evidence, new perspectives gained by the passage of time.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Delors et al., *Learning. The Treasure Within*. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for Twenty-First Century (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), (Paris: UNESCO, 2010).

<sup>101</sup> Maria Eduarda Cruzeiro, “A Reforma Pombalina na História da Universidade,” *Análise Social, Terceira Série, Vol. 24*, no. 100 (1988), 165-210.

<sup>102</sup> James M. McPherson wrote this responding to President Bush and Condoleezza Rice who classified “revisionism” as a consciously falsified interpretation of the past to serve partisan or ideological purposes in the past attempting to discredit critics of the American Iraq adventure. See also excellent summaries advocating the importance of revision in history: Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Revisionism in Retrospect: A Personal View” in *Slavic Review, Vol. 67*, no. 3 (Fall, 2008), 682-704; Thomas N. Headland, “Revisionism in Ecological Anthropology,” *Current Anthropology, Vol. 38*, no. 4 (August/October, 1997), 605-630, and Manuel Vargas, “Revisionism about Free Will: A Statement and Defense” in *Philosophical Studies* (May, 2009), 45-62.



## Statement of the Significance of the Study

In general, African historical research is considered lacking for different reasons,<sup>103</sup> not the least of which is that most African countries have histories of colonization. After many years of independence, most African countries have been unable to establish themselves independently as major players in world politics and the global economy. According to Chinua Achebe,<sup>104</sup> native Africans should create their own national histories forming and establishing a national identity. There is in Africa a movement toward breaking down the dependency chain from Western mainstream culture in order to rewrite the history of the continent.<sup>105</sup> This study is designed to contribute to this new approach in order to analyze the past events of Angolan education beyond a colonial perspective. Therefore, the study challenges and reconceptualizes the dialogue between past and present events and initiates a paradigm shift following Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida, M. Omolewa, and Ngügi Wa Thiong’O’s traditions.<sup>106</sup>

The results of this study serve as elements to integrate into the curriculum for professional development of educators and teachers, helping them to examine present trends and

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<sup>103</sup> Barbara A. Yates, “Educational Policy and Practices in Tropical Africa: A General Bibliography” in *Comparative Educational Review*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (1964), 215-228.

<sup>104</sup> Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (Anchor Publisher, Sept., 1994).

<sup>105</sup> The undertaken initiative by UNESCO in 1964 resulted in the organization of a General Conference on the History of Africa. Due to the strong need felt by the newly independent African countries to reclaim their cultural identity and remedy the widespread ignorance of Africa and finally break free from colonial readings of history, some scholars such as Joseph Ki-Zerbo, G Mokhtar, M. El. Fasi and I. Hrbek, Djibril Tamsir Niane, Bethwell A. Ogot, Ali Al’ami Mazrui and Christophe Wondji were called to write in 1991 from new perspectives, the eight chapters of the *General History of Africa*. Joseph Ki-Zerbo is one of the first historians to rewrite the history of Africa. See *History of Black Africans* (Paris: Hatier, 1972). UNESCO has been active as an international organization of the United Nations, coordinating serious studies related to African history and education and advocating the desire to “decolonize” the history of the continent to end persistent prejudices and establish the truth about the African past. See also, Sabine Wilke, “Romantic Images of Africa: Paradigms of German Colonial Paintings,” *German Studies Review*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (May, 2006), 285-298 and Timothy M. Shaw, “Reformism, Revisionism, and Radicalism in Africa Political Economy during the 1990s” in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (June, 1991), 191-212.

<sup>106</sup> Jacques Derrida, *L’écriture et la Différence* (Editions du Seuil, 1978); M. Owolewa, “Transitional African Modes of Education: Their Relevance in the Modern World. *International Review of Education*, Vol. 53, no. 5/6 (2007), 594-612; Ngügi wa Thiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind* (Heinemann, 1986); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital*, J. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

to have a deeper understanding of how past events have shaped the present educational system in Angola.<sup>107</sup> New perspectives of the history of education written by natives afford an opportunity for teachers to know about past mistakes and predict future problems with a view to making the necessary changes for an improved educational system.<sup>108</sup> For future research, because this study is one of few based on a postcolonial perspective; it will benefit and guide related projects. Teachers will be better able to assimilate and disseminate postcolonial theory unencumbered by the obscure theories of neocolonialism<sup>109</sup> that affect our educational system today.

### Limitations

This study examines the history of the educational system in Angola limited to the period from 1930 to 1980. This research represents a pioneering study due to the lack of other works in this field. The two wars, first the war for independence against the Portuguese and the second, the civil war, which lasted more than two decades, have affected all segments of life in Angola. Scientific research has been one area affected dramatically.<sup>110</sup> It is still not a priority and, in most cases, it is still incipient. During these two wars, several historical archives were destroyed and collections were dispersed, which has made archival research difficult. The political transition from a colonized country to an independent nation did not help to maintain most of the surviving

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<sup>107</sup> One of the articles that had influenced African historians of education is entitled “Revisionism and Study of the History of Education” in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 4, no. 4 (Dec. 1964), 209-223, written by William W. Brickman. From him, we learn that the study of educational systems through history of education as a branch of history represents a challenge to deal with the development of practices, materials, and administration issues in the schools.

<sup>108</sup> I have found that the main inspiration for challenging the improvement of the educational system is the speech delivered by the famous historian, Joseph Ki-Zerbo: “The Africa which the world needs is a continent able to stand up, to walk on its own feet [...] it is an African conscious of its own past and able to keep on reinvesting this past into its present and future” in A. Barry, “Joseph Ki-Zerbo 1922-2006 a scholar of political freedom-loving (2006, Dec. 5). See also, Bethwell A. Ogot, “Rereading the History and Historiography of Epistemic Domination and Resistance in Africa”. *African Studies Review*, Vol. 52, no. 1 (Apr., 2009), 1-22.

<sup>109</sup> Most of Postcolonial and Postimperial literature is written in English. See Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’O, *Writing Against Neocolonialism* (Wembley. UK: Vita Books, 1986); and Patrick Chabal, *The End of Conceit: Western Rationality After Postcolonialism* (London: Zed Press, 2007).

<sup>110</sup> Lawrence W. Henderson, *Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979).

historical archives, including school archives. Many private historical archives are held by missionaries and some material stored in religious archives may not be available to the public.

In general, historical educational research has certain limitations.<sup>111</sup> Research does not assure representation of a sample and it gives us a fractured view of the past; there are gaps in primary sources, and the difficulty of evaluation in terms of authenticity and validity, such as the transition from internal to external criticism cannot be distinguished clearly as argued G. H. Good.<sup>112</sup> This history depends on valuable materials that are difficult to preserve, which can affect the significance of the study.

### **Researcher Perspectives and Assumptions**

Researcher perspectives in education present another issue. Like Bill J. Elliott and Charles Webster, Festus Obiakor had a vision that was related directly to the educational history he advocates in his article entitled *Building Patriotism Leadership Through African-Centered Education*.<sup>113</sup> Educational research in Angola is still neglected. In this study, perspectives on the history of the educational system will challenge the research in three aspects. First, from a methodological perspective, a revision of past events and their meaning will better contribute to understand the Angolan historiography of education. It also will allow analyzing the enclosed historical time period from 1930-1974 and open the historical time period from 1975-80 as well

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<sup>111</sup> Thomas H. Briggs, "Limitations and Proposals: Research in Education" in *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 46, no. 3 (1964), 99-103. See also Eileen Abels and Xan Lin, "Digital Library Education Lab" in *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science*, Vol. 51, no. 2 (2010), 120-124.

<sup>112</sup> H. G. Good, "Historical Research in Education" in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1930), 39-47.

<sup>113</sup> Bill J. Elliott, in his article, "Researching the History of Education" in *Research Intelligence*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (1977), 16-19 advocated that "the study of Educational History has, for a long time, been widely regarded as being of minor importance and of little relevance to the needs of beginning teachers faced with shortages of resources, rebellions pupils and a cynical public,"<sup>15</sup>; Charles Webster argued in his article, "Changing Perspectives in the History of Education" in *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1979), 201-213, that formulating and constructing a new theoretical framework for the study and teaching of the History of Education are an urgency in our days and Festus E. Obiakor in his article, "Building Patriotism Leadership Through African-Centered Education" in *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 34, no. 3 (2004), 402-420, argued for this need in Africa.

as main happenings within said time period. Enclosed historical times correspond to the colonial period, where Angolans had no rights, while the open historical time is referred to as the period of Angola independence. This historical research is important for revealing the function of “how we got where we are.”<sup>114</sup> The study of the history of family, census records, private diaries, public documents, educational discourses, and court decisions, are precious elements included in this historical research for both periods.<sup>115</sup> Second, the study of the nature of educational programs of both colonial and postcolonial periods can perform that function offering an historical perspective on the present and suggest models for the future. Also, to research the nature of educational reforms represents an opportunity to characterize and internalize educational policies in both colonial and postcolonial periods. Third, practices, successes, and failures are identified as lessons from early Angolan education to modern Angolan society. Analyzing practices related to policies and pedagogical discourses represent a way to seek how the roles of religious institutions, diversified international parties, and government authorities have impacted the Angolan educational system.

The identification of these three research perspectives and assumptions represent two advantages: (a) they strengthen the prospect for educational research, political and economic power in the future and (b) ways for facing the dominant and current trend of globalization.<sup>116</sup> Additionally, these research aspects allowed me to question hidden assumptions about the role of

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<sup>114</sup> Tamara Kern Hareven, “Family Time and Historical Time” in *Daedalus*, Vol. 160, no. 2 (1977), 57.

<sup>115</sup> Jeffreery Haydu in his article, “Making Use of the Past: Time Periods as Case to Compare and as Sequences of Problem Solving,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 104, no. 2 (September 1998), 339-371, examines methodological issues that arise when using information from one historical period to illuminate another. Tamara K. Hareven, “Family Time and Historical Time,” in *Daedalus*, Vol. 106, no. 2, The Family (Spring, 1977), 57-70, evokes the role and connection between family time and historical time, which needs to be understood to serve positively in historical research.

<sup>116</sup> Akhil Gupta and Aradhana Sharma, “Globalization and Postcolonial States” in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 47, no. 2 (2006), 277-307; Leon Tikly, “Globalization and Education in the Postcolonial Word: Towards a Conceptual Framework” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (2001), 151-171.

education in both colonial and postcolonial periods as well as the meritocratic myth<sup>117</sup> that characterizes the context of the educational system in Angola. Complexities due to pluralism in languages, cultures, and values are likely to assign unique social problems to different educational venues. Additionally, the Angolan educational system has not yet adopted a positive attitude toward technology. According to Rhoda Christensen,<sup>118</sup> technology integrated into education strongly influenced teachers and students' attitudes toward computers. The use of the computer as a tool constitutes a main component for meaningful learning.<sup>119</sup>

During the African colonization, there is evidence in the literature indicating that Western culture, as well as colonial education was not used to promote African culture. In the postcolonial period, the need to design science education that meets the needs of Africans adequately became an imperative that needed to be addressed through an endogenous action.<sup>120</sup> The GDP of many African countries has been growing at a rate of 6-8 percent each year<sup>121</sup> but the absence of domestic funding for science and technology to support concrete research

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<sup>117</sup> E. J. Power, "Persistent Myths in the History of Education" in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1962), 140-151.

<sup>118</sup> Rhoda Christensen, "Effects of Technology Integration Education on the Attitudes of Teachers and Students" in *Journal of Research on Technology in Education*, Vol. 34, no. 4 (2002), 411-433.

<sup>119</sup> Cindy Grabe and Mark Grabe, *Integrating Technology for Meaningful Learning* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001).

<sup>120</sup> The good will show by the international community at the Gleneagles G8 Summit in July 2005, which included the Network of African Science, is not yet producing the expected results. Urgent goals were defined to demonstrate that African countries need to have appropriate mechanisms and infrastructures for training and the exploration of knowledge to address local needs in science and technology in place. The G8 nations also recognized that without adapting science, technology, and innovation in development, ambitions for Africa would fail. The Network of African Science Academies (NASAC), includes the Cameroon Academy of Science, Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, Kenya National Academy of Science, Academia Nationale Malgache, Nigerian Academy of Sciences, Académie des Sciences et Techniques du Senegal, Uganda Academy of Sciences and Academy of Science of South Africa. The G8 nations are Royal Society of Canada, Académie des Science (France), Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldine (Germany), Accademia dei Lincei (Italy), Science Council of Japan (Japan), Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia), Royal Society (United Kingdom), and National Academies of Science (United States of America). African countries depend on developed countries and do not have strategies to develop their own science education. The few scientists and engineers who do excel are absorbed automatically and recruited to serve the scientific development of advanced countries. Another organization that addresses critical challenges facing the continent such as poverty and development is the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). But the lack of funding is the main constraint for responding to the different African needs in science and technology.

<sup>121</sup> World Development Indicators database (2013).  
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/WDI-2013-ebook.pdf>

networks provokes the marginalization and the inadequacy of science programs. According to the World Bank, in 2013 Angola ranked as the 63<sup>rd</sup> country in the world regarding its GDP of 166,108 million of US dollars.<sup>122</sup> Angola is dependent currently on the scientific and technological skills of foreigners. The Angolan government created two important institutions: the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Telecommunications and Information Technology to foster the development of scientific information and technologies. Computers, training, technology integration, and distance education are serious educational system issues on all levels. As the director of the Institute of Education Science in Lubango Province of Huila, between 1997 and 2002, I provided access to computers and internet for teachers and students as well as the computerization of the library, modernization of equipment, acquisition bibliography, and institutional auto-evaluation. As pró-rector at the University Agostinho Neto, I coordinated the curricular reform process from 2003 to 2009 and the creation of two pedagogical colleges in the provinces of Lunda Norte and Kwanza Norte. During this period (1997-2002), the main issues were related to the lack of qualified personnel and teachers in most parts of academic institutions and schools, which made hard work on reform unsustainable. Additionally, the genesis of problems in educational institutions is of a structural order whose deficiencies are inherited from colonization.

My concern is focused on the educational concept of quality of education from early childhood care, primary, secondary, and higher education. These levels are not integrated as a system, and, therefore, disarticulated. For example, working in the process of program assessment, I had difficulties to create teams integrating four similar institutions: Institutes of

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

Education Science,<sup>123</sup> devoted to teacher preparation; National Institute of Research and Development of Education,<sup>124</sup> devoted to developing programs, textbooks, teaching materials as well as performing educational research, and assessing the development of the educational system; Escolas do Magistério Primário,<sup>125</sup> aimed at preparing teachers for primary education; and Ajuda de Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo/ADPP, known as “School Teachers of the Future.”<sup>126</sup> The lack of interrelationships among these institutions is one of many signs that the Angolan educational system requires analysis from its past to the present to correct certain trends in Angola’s educational development.<sup>127</sup> There are different actors responsible for professional teacher preparation: (a) The Ministry of Education through different schools such as Institute of Education Science, Normal Institutes, National Institute of Formation of Cadres, and local formation centers; (b) religious denominations, Catholic, Protestant and others; (c) nongovernmental organizations. Educational reform as it has been conducted is not accomplishing the goals of “Education for All by 2015.”<sup>128</sup> Educational systems should address the children’s needs.<sup>129</sup> This research will have a strong impact on the educational system since it will contribute to a better understanding of the different transitions from colonial system to an

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<sup>123</sup> Institutes of Education Science is devoted to teacher preparation for high schools functioning in four provinces (Uige, Luanda, Huambo, and Huila).

<sup>124</sup> National Institute of Research and Development of Education is one of the organs of Ministry of Education for Research and Educational Development.

<sup>125</sup> Primary Teaching Schools have as vocation preparing teachers for primary education. These are three schools and schooling is based educational reform.

<sup>126</sup> ADPP is an Angolan NGO (a non-governmental association) and Future Teacher Schools are schools for initial education of teachers to prepare them for rural areas.

<sup>127</sup> In most cases, Angola does not meet the standards required internationally. For instance, if we look at World Bank’s reliance on nine indicators of quality in primary education, we find significant failures in the system related to (1) libraries; (2) instructional time; (3) homework; (4) textbooks; (5) teacher subject knowledge; (6) teacher experience; (7) laboratories; (8) teacher salaries; and (9) class size.

<sup>128</sup> Education for All is a commitment to afford quality basic education for all children, youth, and adults in the World. The movement was launched in 1990 by United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organization, The United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children’s Fund, and the World Bank at the World Education Forum (Dakar, 2000) in which 164 governments engaged to achieve Education for All (EFA) and identified six internationally agreed educational goals to be met by 2015.

<sup>129</sup> Lucia Navarro Gómez and Gerald Lassibille, “Organization and Efficiency of Education Systems: Some Empirical Findings” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 36, no.1 (2000), 7-19.

educational socialist system and from an educational system to a global process of real democratization of education in the future characterized by a post-colonial and a post-socialist society. I believe strongly that as Christopher Colclough explained, “changes in praxis will be required in order to achieve [...] stated aims.”<sup>130</sup> Lack of cohesive thinking affects the entire system. The quality of middle level education and university education also are often contested.<sup>131</sup> The lack of an effective evaluation system as a major gap is overlooked. This historical study of Angola’s educational system will improve understanding regarding the dimension of influence of different foreign educational systems such as the Cuban educational system.<sup>132</sup>

### Summary

This chapter is an introduction to and an overview of the topic of this research, including statements regarding the purpose of the study, along with the chosen methodology, definition of terms, and limitations. The significance of the study and its perspectives and assumptions were presented. In chapters two and three, the literature is reviewed and the methodology explored further. Specifically, in chapter two, detailed literature of the topic and the literature related to postcolonial theory in education is discussed, while the third chapter explores the main research method more thoroughly as well as primary sources from archives and secondary resources.

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<sup>130</sup> Christopher Colclough, “Formal Education Systems and Poverty-Focused Planning” in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 15, no. 4 (1977), 570.

<sup>131</sup> William S. Saint, *Les Universités en Afrique: Pour une Stratégie de Stabilisation et de Revitalization* Banque Mondial, Washington, DC, 1993.

<sup>132</sup> See M. R. Bhagvan, “Angola: Survival Strategies for a Socialist State” in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 23, no. 32 (August, 1988), 1639-1636. This article explains the Cuban influence in education in Angolan education from literacy to higher education; Christine Hatzky, “Latin-Africa Solidarity: The Cuban Civilian Mission in Angola 1975-1991” in *Iberoamerican-Nueva Epoca*, Vol. 5, no. 20 (2001), 159-164; and Laninia Gasperini, “The Cuban Education System: Lessons and Dilemma” in *Country Studies-Education Reform and Management Publication Series*, Vol. 1, no. 5 (July, 2000); Ministry of Education of Cuba, Cuba Organization of Education, 1994-96, Report of Republic of Cuba to the 45<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Public Education, (Habana, 1999); and The World Bank, *Cuban Education Study Mission*. Full Report, Washington, February, 1979.



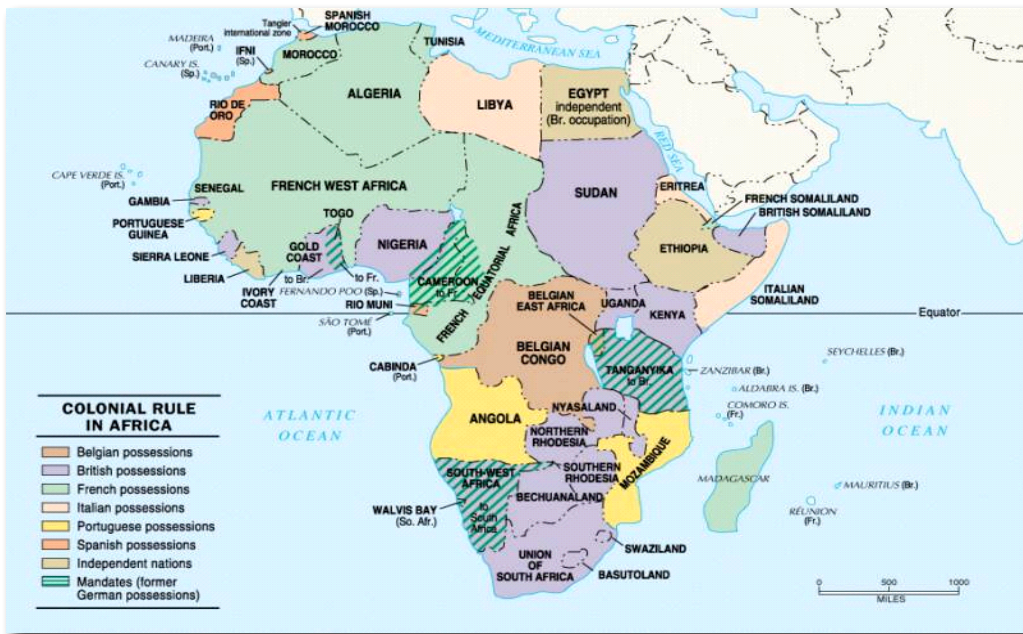


Figure 1.1. Angola in Africa.  
 (Source: <http://www.africason.com/2014/10/berlin-conference-of-1884-to.htm>).

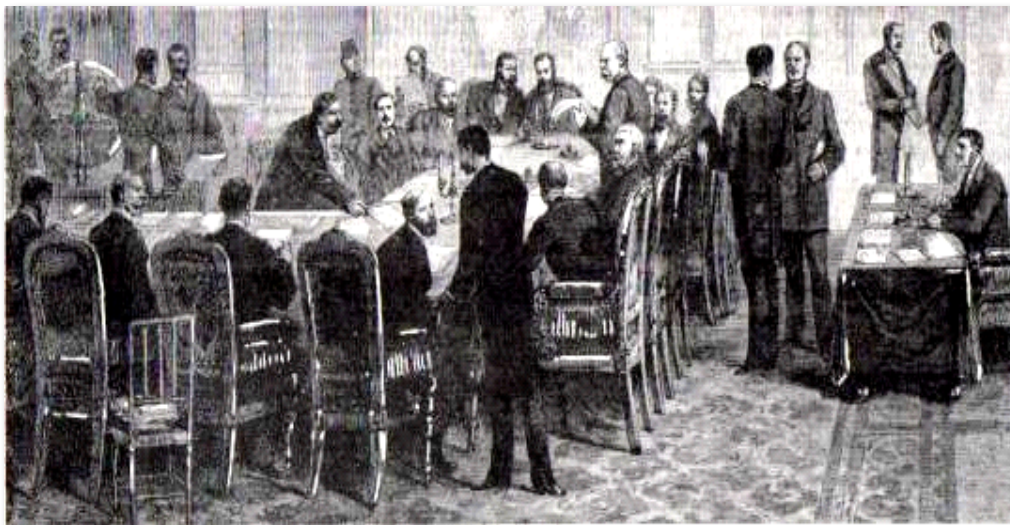


Figure 1.2. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 to Divide Africa.  
 (Source: <http://www.africason.com/2014/10/berlin-conference-of-1884-to.htm>).



Figure 1.3. Linguistic Boundaries: Language Map Showing Kikongo (dark yellow) and Kituba (light yellow) astride the two Congo, Gabon and Angola.  
 (Source: <http://www.kongoking.org/linguistics.html>).



Figure 1.4. The Wretched of the Earth Described by Jeannes S. M. Willette.  
 (Source: <http://www.heathwoodpress.com/category/racism-racist-ideologies-and-capitalism/post-colonial-theory/colonialism/>).





Figure 1.5. Assimilation Process through the Religion: Female Education: Course of craftsmen Industrial School. (Source: Almeida Santos, Foto Imperio C.I.T.A. no. 31252/63; Biblioteca Municipal do Governo Provincial de Luanda).



Figure 1.6. Assimilation Process through religion: Seminarists Choir. (Source: Almeida Santos, Foto Imperio C.I.T.A. no. 31252/63; Biblioteca Municipal do Governo Provincial de Luanda).

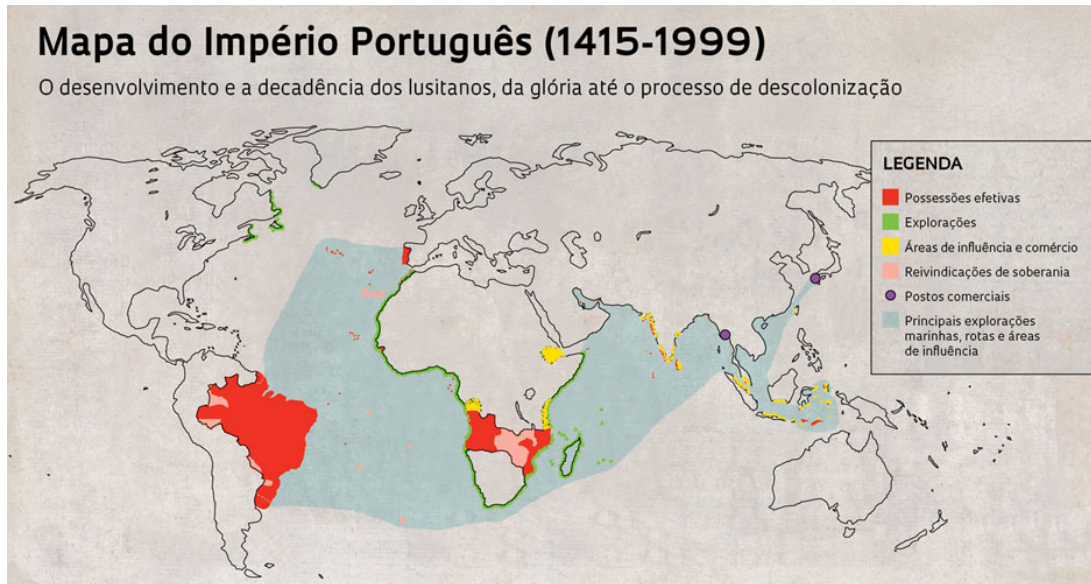


Figure 1.7. Map of Portuguese Colonial Empire: Development and decay of the Lusitanians, from the glory to the decolonization process.  
 (Source: [https://www.google.com/?gws\\_rd=ssl#q=images+imperio+colonial+portugues](https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=images+imperio+colonial+portugues))



Figure 1.8. Agostinho Neto with his wife and when he arrived in Luanda in 1974.  
 (Source: Photographic Exhibition on Neto. “Trajectory of a Leader Agostinho Neto in his time: 1922-1979, Agostinho Neto University: Central Library and Scientific Information Office and Documentation. Luanda, Angola)





Figure 1.9 Colonial Teaching of Technical Skills.  
(Source: Photo gallery: National Historical Archive; School activity Locks 3114, Luanda, Angola).



Figure 1.10. In the Primary School “Francisco Finge, Gangula (Sede) Sumbe.  
(Source: Images taken by the author, December 2014).

## Chapter 2—Review of the Literature

This study intends to advance the relevance of and literature for historical research in education in Angola by identifying the historical contexts and the philosophies that drove the educational system from 1930-1980. The Angolan history of education lacks systematization and is largely undocumented. A chronological history is needed to allow teachers and students to acquire a deeper knowledge of the main issues from the past to the present that constituted the Angolan educational system. This study analyzes both colonial and postcolonial periods through historical research methodology and a postcolonial perspective. In Angola there are few studies in the field of history of education and most educational reform is not based on an historical background. It is therefore urgent to change this situation by undertaking and conducting historical educational research, interpreting correctly past events to guide future developments. In professional teacher preparation, the history of education that is taught is 100 percent based on a Western history of education because the history of Angolan education is unknown and has not yet been written. Additionally, there are few researchers in the history of education in Angola.

This review of literature consists first, of a background, which reviews the past works<sup>133</sup> and the state of the research literature for exploring primary, secondary and tertiary sources; and second, an overview of literature specific to (a) postcolonial theory, which includes the historical background, the emergent representation in education, and a contextualization in

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<sup>133</sup> Martins dos Santos, “Cultura, Educação e Ensino em Angola.”  
<http://reocities.com/Athens/troy/4285/ensino.html>

See also Teresa da Silva Neto, in her book entitled *História da Educação e Cultura de Angola: Grupos Nativos, Colonização e a Independência*, published by Zaina Editora, 2010, describes the history of Kingdoms of Angola, the contributions of the major ethno-linguistic groups, the role played by Catholic Church, particularly the Society of Jesuits, as well as the history of education in the post-independence period.

Africa; (b) the research topic; (c) historical elements that influenced the educational system in Angola; (d) the purpose and philosophy of education in colonial and postcolonial periods; (e) new educational systems.

### **Background of the Literature**

Educational research has been changing in the field of history of education since the late nineteenth century. An historical overview of the basic transformations of educational research reveals that educational historical research has its roots in the works of the pioneers of history of education in the United States of America such as Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Ernest Carroll Moore, H. G. Good, Paul Monroe, and Thomas Davidson.<sup>134</sup> Their works represent the foundation of educational historical research that inaugurated the current and emerging epistemological debate. The role of the history of education began to be emphasized by Ellwood P. Cubberley,<sup>135</sup> when he introduced a record of world events and forces “as having contributed materially to the shaping and directing of intellectual and educational progress.”<sup>136</sup> After reading his book, I considered that, the history of education properly conceived and presented, should

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<sup>134</sup> Thomas Davidson, *History of Education* (New York, 1900); Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, *The History of Education: Educational Practice and Progress Considered as a Phase of the Development and Speed of Western Civilization*. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920); H. G. Good, “Historical Research in Education” in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1930), 39-47; Ernest Carroll Moore, *Fifty Years of American Education* (New York: Ginn And Company, 1917); Paul Monroe, *Text Book in the History of Education* (New York: 1905).

<sup>135</sup> Ellwood P. Cubberley’s book is one of the most powerful books in the field. The book contains an excellent general bibliography, encyclopedias, and magazines. Besides the different world events, personalities, and Greek School Education and Medieval System of Education, the author summarizes particularly well certain educational systems: “The Prussian State School System,” 577; The French State School, 598 in which, Ellwood P. Cubberley points out the role of François Pierre Guillaume Guizot creating the French Primary School System; The Italian State School System, 610 emphasizing “the influence of French ideas in Italian education organization,” 610 and the Monitorial Instruction System created by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. The English Educational System, 649 consisting of different societies within education: The American Educational Ladder, 708 and the Pennsylvania legislation for promotion of Public Schools as well as the Colonial Colleges created by religious organizations and in this context, the education became a national tool; The School System of Argentina, 718 with the creation of an American-type ladder after the election of Dr. Sarmiento in 1868; The Japanese Two-Class School System, 720 and the promotion of the first educational code by the Mikado centralizing the State control; The Chinese Educational System, 721 in which the Confucian Educational System as well the examination system had a strong influence on the nation; and the Philippine School System, 740 stressing teacher preparation programs.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, iii-iv.

occupy an important place in the preparation of an educational leader. One of his best ideas stresses that the history of education is the main source of our civilization: “I have also tried to give a proper setting to the great historic forces which have shaped and molded human progress, and have made the evolution of modern state school systems and the world-wide spread of Western civilization both possible and inevitable.”<sup>137</sup> This idea has driven the debate and continues as a lighthouse for the contemporary debate in continents such as in Africa, as described by Abdou Moumouni: “l’éducation africaine “traditionnelle” est une source féconde d’enseignement et un sujet de réflexion qui s’imposent à quiconque veut envisager avec tant soit peu de sérieux les problèmes de l’éducation et de l’enseignement dans l’Afrique Noire.”<sup>138</sup> Paul Monroe’s comprehensive text presents a complete summary of the history of education in Africa, from Greek antiquity to the modern age and constitutes an incalculable wealth for this project.<sup>139</sup> Additionally, Philip W. Perdue’s article became an essential element to understanding historical research because he listed some essential criteria of investigation in educational history.<sup>140</sup> Further, he led a discussion concerning the criteria for research in the history of education. According to E. J. Power, a question that has persisted about the nature and purpose of education since the sixteenth century is: “Why study the history of education?” and he replied that, “myths have achieved an almost unassailable status in the history of education [...] have

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., viii.

<sup>138</sup> See Abdou Moumouni, *L’éducation en Afrique* (François Maspero, 1964), 11. [“Traditional” African education provides a fertile source of lessons to be learned and is a subject for reflection obliging anyone willing enough to take seriously the education and teaching in black Africa.]

<sup>139</sup> Paul Monroe, *Text Book in the History of Education*. (New York, 1905).

<sup>140</sup> Philip W. Perdue, Analysis of Research in Education. *The Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 44, no. 3, 217-223; in this article the author indicates five criteria of “investigation concerning (1) the nature and scope of history, (2) the nature and scope of educational history, (3) definition of research, (4) definition of research in educational history, and (5) suggested criteria of research,” 134.



unreal expectations for or invalid interpretations of, the role of the meaning of the history of education.”<sup>141</sup>

In terms of education, Africa is unique. When Europeans colonized Africa, indigenous education was changed and colonial educational systems were imposed lasting many centuries. Africa, in spite of desired reforms described by Abdou Moumouni, has made little progress when it comes to world competition. For Samuel O. Atteh like Abdou Moumouni, the rate of educational involvement in many African countries is significantly low, because “Africa is experiencing an educational crisis of unprecedented proportions.”<sup>142</sup> Most African qualified personnel have been attracted to Western countries because they are offered higher salaries and better conditions. This also is true for Angola.<sup>143</sup>

### **Brief Historical Background of Postcolonial Theory**

According to Emilienne Baneth Nouailhetas,<sup>144</sup> Postcolonial Theory can be applied to an array of subject areas: literature, politics, history, culture, science, economy, psychology, sociology, anthropology as well as educational analysis. Postcolonial Theory is one of the more popular methods used to open up new and constructive modes of understanding social reality provided that it is critically applied and contextualized as explained by several scholars.<sup>145</sup> There is as yet no unanimity among scholars even about the written form the term should take. Some

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<sup>141</sup> E. J. Power, “Persistent Myths in the History of Education” in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1962), 140.

<sup>142</sup> Samuel O. Atteh, “The Crisis in Higher Education in Africa” in *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 24, no. 1 (Winter-Spring, 1996), 36.

<sup>143</sup> See Joseph C. Miller, “Angola Before 1900: A Review of Recent Research” in *African Studies Review*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (1977), 103-116; and Douglas L. Wheeler, “Angola is Whose House? Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910” in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (1969), 1-22.

<sup>144</sup> Emilienne Baneth Nouailhetas, “Enigmes Postcoloniales: Des Disciplines aux Institutions” in *Littérature*, no. 154, (2009), 24-45.

<sup>145</sup> Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Syed Farid Alatas, “The Post-Colonial State: Dual Functions in the Public Sphere,” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, Vol. 23, no. 1/2 (1997), 285-307; and Vijav Mishra and Bod Hodge, “What is Post (-) colonialism? Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory;” A Read. ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, *Columbia UP*, (New York, 1994), 276-290.

use the hyphenated “post-colonial” suggesting a more a historical perspective;<sup>146</sup> and others write it as a simple compound word “postcolonial,” which seems to imply a more ideological perspective.<sup>147</sup>

Given the existence of multiple purposes for Postcolonial Theory and multiple arguments, it is reasonable to expect there is no single definition either. For example Johnathan Spencer wrote:

One part of my argument concerns the way in which the political structure of colonial rule shape the social imagination of both colonizer and colonized, leaving behind a vocabulary of social types and political possibilities which continues to haunt us thirty, forty or fifty years later. I want to deal with this later by asking what anthropologists can learn from new empirical studies of post-colonial politics in South Asia, but first I want to look at some of the reasons why anthropologists have recently paid less attention than they might to post-colonial politics. In this case, I want to follow the implications of the clear line between genuine Africa and the processes of change. This strikes me as an exemplary case of a way of talking about social and cultural differences, which is steeped in the history and politics of late colonial rule, but which has continued to loiter like an unwanted intellectual guest years after the political circumstances which gave rise to it in the first place have disappeared.<sup>148</sup>

However, I am in agreement with those who define Postcolonial Theory as providing a practical framework for understanding, rethinking, and representing contemporary global issues.<sup>149</sup> Additionally, I consider Postcolonial Theory to serve as a disciplined theoretical procedure for reading and critically interpreting the cultural practices of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods and the historical relationship between the colonized and the

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<sup>146</sup> See J. David Singer and Errol A. Anderson, “Civil War in the Post-Colonial World 1946-1992” in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, no. 3 (2000), 275-299; Patrick Chabal, “The Post-Colonial State in Portuguese Speaking Africa” in *Portuguese Studies*, no. 8, (1992), 189-202; and Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

<sup>147</sup> Caroline Allen, “Who Put the “Post”- in Postcolonial?” in *A Forum on Fiction*, Vol. 32, no. 1 (1998), 144-146; and Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

<sup>148</sup> Jonathan Spencer, “Post-Colonialism and the Political Imagination,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (Mar. 1997), 2.

<sup>149</sup> See Ella Shohat, “Notes on the Post-Colonial” in *Social Text*, 31/32 (1992), 99-113; and D. Staler, “Post-Colonial Questions for Global Times” in *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (1998), 647-678.

colonizers. My thoughts align with those ideas challenged by Fazal Rizvi, Bob Lingard, and Jennifer Lavia in their article when they considered that “Postcolonial insights can help overcome the historicity of much globalization theorizing and also its reification.”<sup>150</sup> Within this perspective, I examine the key concepts and issues of Postcolonial Theory focusing on a review of the literature and the basic assumption that Postcolonial Theory can provide the analysis of educational systems in Angola.<sup>151</sup> Robert J. C. Young believes that the history of Postcolonial Theory is complex,<sup>152</sup> but in their attempts to put the pieces together, most scholars agree that postcolonial studies have occupied significant space among researchers between the 1950s and the 1970s. According to Silvia Nagy-Zekmi,

The publication of the three major texts about the colonized and colonizer in the 1950s, namely Octave Mannoni’s *Propér et Caliban. Psychologies de la colonization, Peau noire, masques blancs* by Frantz Fanon, and Albert Memmi’s *Portrait du Colonisé precede de portrait du Colonisateur* put forth the first thorough analysis of the psychology of colonization and its effects on both the colonized and the colonizer emphasizing the antagonistic relationship between them.<sup>153</sup>

The emergence of postcolonial theory was circa the year 1952. In fact, Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire are considered to be the pre-eminent thinkers of the last century on issues of decolonization after World War II (Figure 2.1.). They have published influential works: Frantz

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<sup>150</sup> Jennifer Lavia, Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard, “Postcolonialism and Education: Negotiating a Contested Terrain” in *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, Vol. 14*, no. 3 (October 2006), 249.

<sup>151</sup> There is no registered research using postcolonial theory in educational research in Angola. The most known books and articles were written by Martins dos Santos (*História do Ensino em Angola. Edições dos Serviços de Educação, 1970*), Adriano Vasco Rodrigues (*Contribuições para a História do Ensino em Angola: A grande Batalha do Ensino na Decada de 60. Africa No 15, Set. 1989, 247/297*) and Avila de Azevedo (*Novos Subsídios para a História do Ensino em Angola, Sec. XIX. Boletim do Instituto de Angola, No 19, Maio-Agosto, 1964, 33-39*) do not use postcolonial theory as framework. Vanessa Andreotti’s book entitled, *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education*, edited by Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, served as excellent support of my ideas about this issue given that she explored deeply in three parts the main practices and contexts of using Postcolonial Theory in education. Without ignoring the other aspects of the book, the reference of the following items: Contextualizing Postcolonialism and Postcolonial Theories, 13; Contextualizing the Research process, 85; and Contextualizing Pedagogical processes, 177 makes the book more interesting and provides an excellent contribution helping to understand postcolonial theory implications in education, even most literature is written in English.

<sup>152</sup> Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

<sup>153</sup> Silvia Nagy-Zekmi, “Frantz Fanon in New Light: Recycling in Postcolonial Theory” in *Journal of Caribbean Literatures, Vol. 4*, no. 3 (2007), 129.

Fanon published two works: *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth* and Aimé Césaire also published two important works: *Discours on Colonialism* and *Toussaint Louverture: La Révolution Française et le Problème Colonial*.<sup>154</sup>

The encounter with racism in French culture shaped Fanon's general psychological theory about culture and politics. Early on, he understood that being colonized by those who speak a different language has implications for one's consciousness. His frame of work has been especially influential for fields such as philosophy, psychiatry, literature, cultural studies, and gender studies. These two works have inspired anti-colonial liberation movements and provided an analysis of how cultural systems are historically different but equally legitimate. By painting a realistic portrait of the oppression of black women under domination, Fanon inspired, particularly, the post-feminist movement, as well as the development of the psychology of colonial domination.<sup>155</sup> According to David Caute, Fanon's work stands as an important

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<sup>154</sup> See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. (London: Pluto Press, 1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth: A Negro Psychoanalyst's Study of the Problems of Racism & Colonialism in the World Today*. (New York: Grove Press, 1961); Besides Fanon, in 1950 Aimé Fernand David Césaire poet, author, and politician, Martinique published an influential pamphlet entitled, *Discourse on Colonialism*, translated by Joan Pinkhan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972) and *Toussaint Louverture: La Révolution Française et le Problème Colonial*, Paris, Club Français du Livre, 1960, attacking the violence and brutality of the colonial enterprise.

<sup>155</sup> Fanon's works are interpreted differently by different scholars. He is welcomed by African and African American nationalists as a primary anti-colonial revolutionary theorist, while European and White American feminists and Marxists vilified him. However, a balanced evaluation of Fanon's works shows that he had a substantial influence among all of them through his book, *Pour la Révolution Africain*. Paris: François Maspero, 1964; Published in English as *Toward the African Revolution*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1967). For instance, a feminist theorist bell hooks, who finds the absence of a real attention to gender issues in Fanon's work, after all recognizes how powerful his vision is. See bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. (Boston MA: South End Press, 1992). Fanon wants the European colonizer and the European elite to recognize and see his complicity in the systematic violence inflicted upon the colonizers. Additionally, he wants the colonized people awakening and imposing a resistance against the oppressor. In fact, I agree with this statement considering colonialism as state of mind in the colonizers and colonized. Most scholars give more weight to the political economic process of colonization, but the rawness of colonialism is often expressed in the sphere of psychology, which sources lie deep in the minds of the rulers and the ruled, which are combined with aggression, oppression, control, power relations, resistance, and struggle. See also, Franz Fanon, "The Negro and Psychology," in *Black Skin, White Masks* (France: Editions du Seuil, 1952).

influence on current postcolonial theorists.<sup>156</sup> Bart Moore-Gilbert argued, in his book entitled, *Postcolonial Theory*, that these theorists, known as the “holy trinity” of Postcolonial Theory, are notably Edward W. Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Homi K. Bhabha.<sup>157</sup>

The “Holy Trinity” constitutes the backbone of Postcolonial Theory.<sup>158</sup> First, Edward W. Said’s works remain the foundation for correlations among literature, culture, and domination.<sup>159</sup> According to Ilan Kapoor with Said’s work, Postcolonial Theory emerges out of the study of literature.<sup>160</sup> He “built on an analysis of Western novels [...] travel and anthropological writing [...] opera (Verdi) and media (mainly in the USA) to link Western imperialism with Western culture. This linkage produces what Said calls ‘orientation.’”<sup>161</sup> Edward W. Said’s description of the binary relationship between the Orient and the Occident is the skeleton of his book entitled “Orientalism” that has been so influential in postcolonial studies.<sup>162</sup> He describes how the West

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<sup>156</sup> David Caute, *Frantz Fanon* (New York: The Viking Press, 1970). See also Silvia Nagy-Zekmi, “Frantz Fanon in New Light: Recycling in Postcolonial Theory” in *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (2007), 129-139.

<sup>157</sup> Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory*. (New York: Verso, 1997).

<sup>158</sup> The most important books and articles were written by the “Holy Trinity”: (a) Edward W. Said, wrote many works such as *Orientalism*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), “Orientalism Reconsidered.” *Cultural Critique*, No. 1. (University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 89-107, “Intellectual in the Post-colonial World.” *Salmagundi*, Vol. 70/71, (1986), *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto, 1993) and “Intellectual in the Post-Colonial World” in *Salmagundi*, Vol. 70/71 (1996); (b) Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, has written important works in the field: “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography” in D. Landry & G. MacLean (eds.), *The Spivak Reader: The Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York: Routledge, 1996), *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1999) and (c) Homi K. Bhabhi, who wrote other important books: *The Location of Culture* (London, Routledge, 1994) and *Cultures in Between: Questions of Cultural Identity* (S. Hall and P. Du Gay. London, Sage Publications, 1996).

<sup>159</sup> Edward Said was born in Jerusalem in 1935. He is known as America’s spokesman for the Palestinian cause. His most famous books are: *Orientalism* (1978) in which he explored the way the West perceives the Islamic world; in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) he examined the relationships between East and West, colonizer and colonized, White and Black, and metropolitan and colonial societies (their representation of India and Africa). He graduated from Harvard University.

<sup>160</sup> Ilan Kapoor, Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency vs. Postcolonial Theory. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (2002), 647-664.

<sup>161</sup> Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory* (New York: Verso, 1997), 650.

<sup>162</sup> The term “orientalism,” as a dimension of modern political-intellectual culture expressed as an entire system of thought and scholarship, coined by Edward Said is fraught with issues and controversies. However, it is full of positive key concepts as a discourse and political dominance that can be applied to social studies: society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth. Culture, imperialism, racism, ethnocentrism, hegemony, alterity, subaltern, other, and essentialism are common concepts in the study of orientalism. As a framework, orientalism helps us studying structures that promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, West, “us”) and

looked at the Orient and focuses his view on the role of orientalism in colonialism.<sup>163</sup> He was influenced by the French philosopher Foucault's "notion of discourse" and by prominent books like *Journey of Orient*<sup>164</sup> by Gerald de Nerval and *Manners & Customs of Modern Egyptians*<sup>165</sup> written by Edward William Lane, an English scholar of the Arab world. From these books, Said constructed the idea of the "Other" and argued that concepts such as the Orient, Islam, the Arabs, and Indians are too vast and that they should not, therefore, be represented as a whole. To defend his positions about Orientalism, Edward W. Said explored the main issues addressed in Orientalism when he wrote that: "The most important are: the representation of other cultures, societies, histories, the relationship between power and knowledge, the role of the intellectual; the methodological questions that have to do with the relationships between different kinds of texts, between text and context, between text and history."<sup>166</sup>

Another influential figure is Antonio Gramsci.<sup>167</sup> From him, Edward W. Said learned the need for a compilation of inventories of the traces and representations that history has left in us. His book leans toward an anti-essentialist and anti-colonialist perspective. Edward W. Said and

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the strange (the Orient, the East, Africa, "them"). I agree with those who consider "orientalism," first, as a term used to represent Eastern cultures and practices as found in academic and literature Western discourses, and second, as a construction. Orientalism's main characteristics are the following: textual construct of Orient, function of helping the West define itself by constructing an "Other," describing the system of thought that ontologically and epistemologically distinguishes the orient from the occident, and creates a discourse that would be at the service of imperial and colonial power.

<sup>163</sup> Distinguishing Occidentalism from Orientalism, and power relations. Edward W. Said explained the general issues addressed in Orientalism in his article entitled, "Orientalism Reconsidered." *Cultural Critique*, no 1 (Autumn, 1985), pp. 89-107, published by University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>164</sup> Gerald Naval's book was published by Peter Owen Publisher in 1972.

<sup>165</sup> Edward William Lane's book was published in 1836 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

<sup>166</sup> Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered" in *Cultural Critique*, No. 1. (University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 89.

<sup>167</sup> Antonio Gramsci's work has been instrumental for rethinking and understanding the political and cultural struggle resulting from colonialism emphasizing the concept of "subaltern" and the term "hegemony" to explain the predominance of one class over others and the distinctions between the civil and political society. These concepts are problematic because they serve as an Eurocentric bridge providing a method to misinterpreting the history of African and other non-Western peoples. However, it is important to recognize that Gayatri Spivak went beyond this stage in her essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" which became one of the major texts of postcolonial theory. See also David Forgacs (ed). *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*. New York University Press, 2000.

Frantz Fanon both were interested in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.<sup>168</sup> however, unlike Fanon, Said was more focused on the colonizer and the main aspects of Western culture, and not on the colonized and the dominated cultures. Said studied the way empires such as the British and the French fundamentally managed to justify their imperialism and the way they treated the colonized based on facts they had collected about those people.<sup>169</sup>

Second in the trinity or “the postcolonial trio,”<sup>170</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is one of the most influential figures in contemporary critical theory and a central figure for understanding of Postcolonial Theory. Her ideas were influenced by the work of several scholars, including the German philosopher Theodor Adorno’s classical and critical theory of art and literature, and Karl Marx’s monumental work, *Das Kapital*, about dialectic materialism to analyze economic and social history. Deconstruction as a strategy of critical analysis of the proper/improper dichotomy in Western philosophical discourse developed by Jacques Derrida has had a significant influence on Spivak’s critical thoughts as well. Stephen Morton summarizes the main ideas of Gayatri C. Spivak as representing the most complete range of theoretical discourse on Postcolonial Theory that includes Marxism, feminism, deconstruction, and globalization.<sup>171</sup> According to him, Gayatri C. Spivak is perhaps best known for developing a critical theory that challenges the heritage of colonialism in the ways we read and think about literature and culture. That is why anyone interested in contemporary culture should read Gayatri C. Spivak.<sup>172</sup> For example,

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<sup>168</sup> Said was not only influenced by Fanon but he adopted a deconstructive strategy from Michel Foucault, Martin Heidegger, and Gramsci to deconstruct the old and complex relationships between the colonizer and the colonized as Albert Memmi describes through studies of colonial oppression in his book, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, published in New York: Orion, 1965.

<sup>169</sup> Edward W. Said, “Intellectual in the Post-colonial World” in *Salmagundi*, Vol. 70/71, (1986).

<sup>170</sup> David Slater, “Post-colonial Questions For Global Time” in *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (Winter, 1998), 655.

<sup>171</sup> Stephen Morton, *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. (London & New York: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>172</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is one of the most important theorists on postcolonial studies. Her critique based on questioning, for example “Are the culture wars over?” and “What is their relationship to gender struggle and the dynamics of class?” from the essence of postcolonial theory, placed her in a position of an authority in the

through her work we can learn how she has examined the way in which the real world consists of a network of texts produced by the dominant mainstream culture from Europe and the United States of America and are imposed on the Third World. When she published the article, “*Can the Subaltern Speak?*” in 1988, this text became one of the essential fundamental texts of Postcolonial Theory. “Learning from the subaltern” became a watch-phrase that encouraged several political and cultural movements around the world, mainly those for the struggle for women’s equality.

One of the works edited by Gayatri C. Spivak questioned the ‘lie’ of a global sisterhood between ‘First World’ and “Third World” women, pointing instead to the complicity of Western feminism and imperialism and the need to dismantle the Western construct. Therein we can realize that Gayatri C. Spivak’s writings show the actual experience of social and political oppression in postcolonial societies such as India. In its narrative reinscription, Spivak makes clear through cross categorization, differences in class, region, language, ethnicity, religion, generation, gender, and citizenship. Through a critique of essentialism, she offers a new notion of a strategy to break the dogmatic thoughts that make these categories vulnerable.<sup>173</sup> Literally she is looking for crisis and for entities to be deconstructed. Spivak is not only important in the field of literature but also in philosophy, history, and education. Particularly, according to Willian F. Pinar, William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter M. Taubman, Gayatri C. Spivak’s “strategic essentialism,”<sup>174</sup> as a “possibility deployed as a deconstructive device”<sup>175</sup>

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field. See Spivak in *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1999).

<sup>173</sup> Critique of essentialism appears in Gayatri C. Spivak’s *Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1999), in which she coined the term “strategic essentialism” is a key concept in postcolonial theory referring to a sort of temporary solidarity for the purpose of social action

<sup>174</sup> William F. Pinar et al., *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Contemporary Curriculum Discourse* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 477-478.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 505.



impacts the understanding of curriculum as phenomenological, gender, and racial text, which according to John Willinsky,<sup>176</sup> quoted by William F. Pinar, represent a stage toward a postcolonial curriculum<sup>177</sup> “for thinking about the implications of [...] a global imperialism.”<sup>178</sup>

The third theorist is Homi Bhabha who, like the other two theorists, was influenced by the different approaches that rejected reductionism and absolutism, such as we see in Marxism, postmodernism, and deconstructionism. According to David Slater,<sup>179</sup> Bhabha appears to be the least Marxist of the three and he argues against binary geopolitical polarities that set, for example, Islamic fundamentalists against Western literature modernists. He studied the relationships between hybridity and modes of power, neo-imperial or neo-colonial, in both his works, *The Location of Culture* published in 1994<sup>180</sup> and *Cultures in Between. Questions of Cultural Identity* published in 1996.<sup>181</sup> His critiques against elitism and euro-centrism are evidence of how the modes of discursive dominance over the colonized Third World should be contested to provide for more equitable societies. He also was certainly influenced by the German philosopher Martin Heidegger’s ideas about the origins of the work of art<sup>182</sup> and by

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<sup>176</sup> John Willinsky, “Of Literary and the Curriculum in Canada” in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 3 (May-June, 1992).

<sup>177</sup> William F. Pinar, et al. *Understanding Curriculum*, Edited by Peter Lang, (2008), 839 use the concept “Postcolonial curriculum” as international text, with a question mark. That means that is not yet a concept whereby we can formulate definite conclusions. Curriculum constituted one of the issues integrated in the discussion of a postcolonial approach in comparative education. One of the interests in studying postcolonial curriculum is related to the implication of its textbooks within global structures of thought. As Anne Hickling-Hudson argues in her article, *Curriculum in Postcolonial Context*, edited by International Encyclopedia of Education in 2010, that in terms of comparative analysis of educational policy, postcolonial curriculum helps to understand the issues of indigenous schooling, teacher education, and intercultural curriculum. According to João Paraskeva in *Fundamentos dos Conflitos Ideológicos e Culturais na Fundamentação do Currículo* (Edições ASA, 2000), curriculum is an option, selection, and cultural construction, and it represents a set of interests and forces – cultural, social, and political that gravitate on educational systems.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, 839.

<sup>179</sup> David Slater, “Post-colonial Questions for Global Times” in *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (1998), 647-678.

<sup>180</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, Routledge, 1994).

<sup>181</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, “Culture’s In-Between” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Edited by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gy. (London, Sage Publications, 1996), 54

<sup>182</sup> Martin Heidegger, *Off the Beaten Track*, trans, Julian Young and Kenneth Haynes (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.

Friedrich Nietzsche's "The will to power" manuscripts.<sup>183</sup> Like Gayatri C. Spivak, Homi Bhabha has been influenced by the Frankfurt school as well as by Derridian deconstructionism.<sup>184</sup> There is a strong reason, why Homi Bhabha was influenced particularly by Jacques Derrida.

The main motivation lies in what Philip Higgs wrote about the impact of Derrida's conception of deconstruction.<sup>185</sup> I agree with Higgs in terms of his interpretation of Derrida's deconstruction to educational discourse when he argued:

I explore Derrida's programme of deconstruction, in an attempt to reveal the possibilities that it might hold as a philosophical framework for educational discourse. Such possibilities are set out, not directly by way of a set applications or methodologies to be followed, but rather by an exposition and interpretation of the Derridian text with the intention of relating deconstruction to education discourse. I set about this, by examining Derrida's commentary on the nature of deconstruction in relation to some of the central concepts in Derrida's writing, such as, difference, justice, the other, and responsibility.<sup>186</sup>

Homi Bhabha has encouraged a rigorous form of thinking regarding nationalism to allow us to construct cultures and national identities as well as to dismantle the false opposition of theory and political practice.<sup>187</sup> As a consequence, hybridity, the discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism, showed us how cultures come to be represented by processes

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<sup>183</sup> Term used by Friedrich Nietzsche in his notebooks, which is been interpreted differently by contemporary authors.

<sup>184</sup> Jacques Derrida's deconstructionism is defined as a literary theory and philosophy of language explored in his work of *Grammatology* in which he identify its conceptual binary oppositions such as perception vs. reason, speech vs. writing, mind vs. body, interior vs. exterior, marginal vs. central, sensible vs. intelligible, institution vs. signification, nature vs. culture, poetry vs. philosophy, reason vs. revelation, structure vs. creativity, episteme vs. techne, etc.

<sup>185</sup> Philip Higgs in his article, "Deconstruction and Re-thinking Education" in *South African Journal of Education*, Vol. 32, no. 2 (2002), 170-176, explored different ways to define deconstruction: "is an effort to crack open the nut, to go beyond the boundary, to disrupt the presence and allow the other as different to come about" 170; Deconstruction as movement of thought, is primarily concerned to draw our attention to the fact of linguistic "instability" 171; "Deconstruction as justice, is therefore, primary concern with the question of alterity [... ] deconstruction can be seen as a *response to a call*" 172; "Deconstruction is not a skeptical or relativistic position, but rather, it has a distinct ethic-political motivation" 172.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>187</sup> Homi K. Bhabha uses deconstruction to dismantle this false opposition and to dramatize the interspace between theory and practice or "politics" and "theory" to find where they overlap and produces hybridity. See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, Routledge, 1994).

of repetition and translation as addressed through an “Other.” According to Benjamin Orlove<sup>188</sup> and Anthony Easthope,<sup>189</sup> the interpretation of hybridity incorporated into postcolonial discourse allows for creating an indeterminate space for disrupting hegemonic colonial narrative. In terms of cultural practice, Bhabha created the conditions for a nuanced understanding of the reciprocal relationships between domination and resistance. A review of these three theorists is a basic starting point to understand certain aspects of the history of Postcolonial Theory. Propitiously, Fanon’s influence of double consciousness, Said’s approach on Orientalism, Spivak’s subaltern speech, and Bhabha’s conception of hybridity<sup>190</sup> also have all been found to be applicable in the analysis of education.

### **Emergent Representation of Postcolonial Theory in Education**

The emergent representation of Postcolonial Theory in education is in the works of Vanessa Andreotti, Lyn Carter, and Leon Tikly.<sup>191</sup> As explained in the Introduction, postcolonialism as theory can be applied as seen through several prisms reflecting literary, political, historical, cultural, scientific, economical, psychological, sociological, and ecological and all the way to international relationships. This quality explains the existence of active criticism both inside and outside of the theory and applies to a range of key concepts of Postcolonial Theory well-structured by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin and applied in a correct definition of national culture: “A national culture is not a folklore, nor an

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<sup>188</sup> Benjamin Orlove, “Current Approaches to Hybridity” in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 48, no. 5 (2007), 631-632.

<sup>189</sup> Antony Easthope, “Homi Bhabha, Hybridity and Identity, or Derrida vs. Lacan” in *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 1/2 (2007), 145-151.

<sup>190</sup> Homi R. Bhabha in his book entitled *The Location of Culture* (Psychology Press, Routledge, 1994) explores the concept of hybridity to address the accounts of cultural imperialism.

<sup>191</sup> Vanessa Andreotti, *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education* (New York, Studies in Education. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Lyn Carter, “Thinking differently about cultural diversity: Using postcolonial theory to (Re) read science education” in *Science Education*, 88, no. 6 (2004), 819-836; Leon Tikly, “Globalisation and education in the postcolonial word: Towards a conceptual framework” in *Comparative Education*, 37, no. 2 (2001), 151-171.

abstract populism that believes it can discover the people's true nature. It is not made up of the inert dregs of gratuitous actions, that is to say actions, that is to say actions which are less and less attached to the ever-present reality of the people."<sup>192</sup>

Postcolonial Theory offers critiques of the notions of development, progress, humanism, culture, representation, identity, and education. Most assumptions are related to different interpretations (political, historical, biblical, etc.) of these notions and the main concepts used to read and to discuss Postcolonial Theory, which are based on a political and historical view, according to Chadwick Allen, "including forms of postcolonial nationalism and postcolonial quest for authenticity."<sup>193</sup> However, for Malreddy Pavan Kumar citing Lazarus's introductory passages to *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, "the study of "postcolonialism" might be said to implicate most of the humanities and social sciences – from anthropology and political science to philosophy, museology, economics, and geography."<sup>194</sup> Another example is related to a biblical interpretation argued by Musa W. Dube referring to a biblical scramble for Africa using a postcolonial perspective.<sup>195</sup>

More and more scholars claim to be rethinking Postcolonial Theory. In the case of Africa, for example, Makau Wa Mutua said "the two phenomena are inextricably linked. I believe the crisis in Africa can only be addressed through a dual but simultaneous process of norm re-examination – to reconnect the Continent to many of the pre-colonial ideals of

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<sup>192</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*. (Psychology Press, 1998), 100.

<sup>193</sup> Chadwick Allen (Rev.) Who Put the "Post" in Postcolonial? Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction by Leela Gandhi, *A Forum on Fiction, Vol. 32*, no. 1. Reading Gender after Feminism (Autumn, 1998), 144.

<sup>194</sup> Malreddy P. Kumar, "Postcolonialism: Interdisciplinary or Interdiscursive?" in *Third World Quarterly*, 32 (Routledge, 4, 2011), 654.

<sup>195</sup> Musa W. Dube, "The Scramble for Africa as the Biblical Scramble for Africa: Postcolonial Perspective" in *African Biblical Interpretations*. Edited by Musa W. Dube, Andrew M. Mbuvi, and Dora Mbuwayesange (The Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 1.

community and social organization as well as democratization – and new map-making.”<sup>196</sup>

Therefore, due to the variety of key concepts, it is difficult to methodically discuss how each of them presents important concepts relevant to the purpose of this research. The central issues here are to know and understand how Postcolonial Theory can inform education and why it is important to use it at all, for there is no unanimity among scholars about even the importance of using Postcolonial Theory in education. For example, Lawrence D. Berg and Mary Gilmartin argued with this comment: “For us postcolonialism offers a radical and productive critique of how we think about and do geography.”<sup>197</sup> I see in their comment that they have examined these issues and provided a critical analysis, exploring ambiguities related to the connection between Postcolonial Theory and educational geography and engaged “with the challenges posed by postcolonialism to the ways in which we construct knowledge.”<sup>198</sup> In terms of understanding of the geographical imagination, I support their ideas to “consider colonialism and the colonial inheritance not as purely and solely intellectual alarms but as matters of everyday practice.”<sup>199</sup> On the other hand, there are voices that support the struggle for the use of Postcolonial Theory in education. For instance, David Theo Goldberg and Ato Quayson in their book, *Relocating Postcolonialism*, claim the limitless connectivity of postcolonialism as critical thinking.<sup>200</sup> However, examining the culture and indigenous knowledge, there are authors that show the

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<sup>196</sup> Makua Wa Mutua, “Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights: Rethinking the Post-Colonial State” in *American Society of International Law*, 89, (Structures of World Order, April 5-8, 1995), 490.

<sup>197</sup> Lawrence D. Berg and Mary Gilmartin. “Locating Postcolonialism,” in *Area*, No 39, no. 1 (2007), 120-124.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>200</sup> David Theo Golberg and Ato Quayson (Editors) *Relocating Postcolonialism* (Wiley-Blackwell, February 2002).

positive and negative side of postcolonial theory. “Cultural translation is therefore a double move that renders difference at once both accessible, but also inferior, to the mainstream.”<sup>201</sup>

It is helpful to be attentive to this dichotomy in order to avoid “continuing into the neocolonial present where the West translates and speaks for others while speaking only to itself.”<sup>202</sup> There are difficulties, for example, a postcolonial critique on multicultural science “identifies a number of difficulties, despite the apparent invitation to openness and inclusivity.”<sup>203</sup> I agree with Lyn Carter in his conclusion that “the paucity of this type of inquiry in science education (in terms of new discourses and methodologies) must be addressed so that science education can engage in dialogues about key issues that are practically and intellectually urgent, and that will advance it as a discipline.”<sup>204</sup>

Another reflection comes from Donaldo Macedo arguing that the “Global comprehension of indigenous knowledge cannot be achieved through the reductionist binarism of Western versus indigenous knowledge. The essence of indigenous knowledge is found in the experience of the colonized which is never restricted to Third World and other “tribal” context.”<sup>205</sup> I think the same as Macedo, that “If our colonial legacy remains unexamined, our ability to fully understand and appreciate indigenous knowledge will evoke us to the extent that our minds, if not our hearts, will remain colonized.”<sup>206</sup> Excited to create positive opinion among scholars of Postcolonial criticism, Bart Moore-Gilbert examines the objections against postcolonial theory and considers that there are simplifications and exaggerations on both sides of the argument.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Lyn Carter, “Thinking Differently about Cultural Diversity: Using Postcolonial Theory to (Re) read Science Education” in *Science Education*, Vol. 88, no. 2 (Wiley Periodicals, Inc., 2004), 827.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 832.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 833.

<sup>205</sup> Donaldo Macedo, “Decolonizing Indigenous Knowledge” in *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from Academy*, Edited by Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe (Routledge, 1999), xi

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., xv.

<sup>207</sup> Bart Moore-Gilbert. *Postcolonial Theory: Context, Practices, Politics*. (Verso, 1997).

Given all these considerations, the best way to have an accurate understanding of these issues is to analyze how the predecessors of Postcolonial Theory dealt with educational issues. This approach is important to see what the principle challenges of postcolonial education theory have been to date and to examine how Postcolonial Theory is contextualized in Africa today.

First, most of the three precursors of Postcolonial Theory recognize that exclusion, domination, and resistance have defined a relationship of power and knowledge in education. They have seen postcolonial analysis as concerned with Western domination and influences on of colonized society's values through education. This influence and domination occur in a complex combination of different ways: religious, political, economic and cultural.<sup>208</sup> Homi K. Bhabha used the term “partial cultural” to explain the complexity of domination and its boundaries:

This ‘part’ culture, this partial culture, is the contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures – at once the impossibility of culture’s containedness and the boundary between. It is indeed something like culture’s ‘in-between,’ bafflingly both alike and different. To enlist in the defense of this ‘unhomely,’ migratory, partial nature of culture we must revive that archaic meaning of ‘limit’ as ‘limit’ or ‘boundary.’ Having done so, we introduce into the polarizations of liberals and liberationists the sense that the translation of cultures, whether assimilative or agonistic, is a complex act that generates borderline affects identifications, ‘peculiar types of culture-sympathy and culture-clash.’<sup>209</sup>

In this context, due to the difference in cultural terms between the colonizer and the colonized, the colonizer uses the power – economical, religious, and military – to impose the domination and the influence of unequal relationships and development. Therefore, the consequence is the existence of “sly civility,”<sup>210</sup> traumatic events in global history such as, “slavery, war, migration,

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<sup>208</sup> See also Randall Styers, “Postcolonial Theory and the Study of Christian History” in *Church History*, Vol. 78, no. 4 (2009): 849-854.

<sup>209</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, “Culture’s In-Between” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Edited by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gy. (London, Sage Publications, 1996), 54.

<sup>210</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 132.

diaspora, peasant rebellion, revolution,”<sup>211</sup> and the colonized revolted. According to Ranajit Guha and Gayatri C. Spivak, a postcolonial view of education can offer a rich arena for analyzing how individuals, due to the past and the present social, historical, and cultural context, can raise their marginalized voices. Also, recognizing “the problem of subaltern consciousness,”<sup>212</sup> postcolonial analysis of an imperial metropolis whose discourse imposes the existence of the center (colonizer) and the periphery (colonized) can be deconstructed through an indigenous resistance. Robert Young believes all white mythologies that are based in this binary can be destroyed if the colonized have opportunity to have their educational principles grounded in their own cultures. That is the reason why “in the colonial system which is crucial to its exercise of power, colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible,”<sup>213</sup> causing misunderstandings and fallacies about the legacies of all that struggled against the inequality and dreamed for freedom. As said Henry L. Gates, “Fanon’s current fascination for us has something to do with the convergence of the problem of colonialism with that of subject-formation.”<sup>214</sup> One of the legacies of Fanonism is the dream of decolonization: “Rehistoricizing Fanon, we can hear a lament concerning the limits of liberation, concerning the very intelligibility of his dream of decolonization.”<sup>215</sup>

This dream, which includes education and the formation of a free society through an authentic culture, is present in “Fanon’s critical thought to radical political practice.”<sup>216</sup>

Effectively, Postcolonial Theory as it has been reclaimed from the first theorists is related to the

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., xix

<sup>212</sup> Ranajit Guha and Gayatri C. Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 10.

<sup>213</sup> Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and West* (Psychology Press, 2004), 183.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 458

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 469.

<sup>216</sup> Reiland Rabaka, “Revolutionary Fanonism: On Frantz Fanon’s modification of Marxism and Democratization of Democratic Socialism” in *Socialism and Democracy*, Vol.25, no. 1 (2001), 126.



mission of decolonizing knowledge and constructing a new transformative knowledge.<sup>217</sup> As Edward W. Said argued, his feeling in turn led to re-thinking of the whole process of decolonization<sup>218</sup> through a literature review. To emphasize this point, I return to Edward W. Said's quotation:

I want first to consider the actualities of the intellectual terrain both common and discrepant in post-imperial public discourse, especially concentrating on what in this discourse gives rise to and encourages the rhetoric and politics of blame. Then, using the perspectives and methods of what might be called a comparative literature of imperialism, I shall consider the ways in which a reconsidered or revised notion of how a post-imperial intellectual attitude might expand the overlapping community between metropolitan and formerly colonized societies.<sup>219</sup>

Second, the major challenges of postcolonial education for the 21<sup>st</sup> century are diverse. They are related to empowerment through education for a changing world with global citizenship. According to Rolando Sintos Coloma,<sup>220</sup> postcolonial challenges in education are those that the scholars engage as categories of analysis in studies of education such as the new imperialism and globalization, decolonization and education, cultural studies, etc.<sup>221</sup> The author stated that a debate is needed for reconfiguring the current local-global order. In this debate, understanding global awareness,<sup>222</sup> local history, local cultural traditions, and education for

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<sup>217</sup> Knowledge exists in different forms (a set of facts, concepts, descriptions, experiences, theories, information, education, and generalization) and also in different types (a priori knowledge, a posterior knowledge, descriptive knowledge, free knowledge, meta knowledge, self-knowledge, tacit knowledge); as a result, it is required to guide and to support the process of human/social transformation knowledge of all kinds of people, even those subject to multiple levels of oppression and racism. Transformative knowledge can allow the oppressed to learn to say "No" and "Never" to oppression, and help everyone recognize the importance of studying local mindsets. See Marie Battiste, *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First National Education: A literature Review with Recommendation* (Ottawa, ON, Oct, 2001), 1-69.

<sup>218</sup> Edward W. Said, "Intellectuals in the Post-Colonial World" in *Salmagundi*, no. 70/71 (Intellectual, Spring-Summer, 1986), 47.

<sup>219</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 18.

<sup>220</sup> Rolando S. Coloma, Alexandre Means, and Anna Kim, *Postcolonial Challenges in Education* (New York, 2009), 10.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-139.

<sup>222</sup> Klaus Schleicher, "Education for World Unity" in *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol. 8, no. 4 (December, 1991), 23-27.

global awareness,<sup>223</sup> as well as having a perspective in terms of postcolonial comparative education and global cultural traditions,<sup>224</sup> could represent an incentive for integrating families, schools and communities to be participating in the process of consolidation necessary for the struggle against oppression, marginalization, and discrimination. The question is the following: what kind of accounts of globalization and education should serve as points of reference for research in a postcolonial context?<sup>225</sup> Edward W. Said argued in his book, *Culture and Imperialism*, where to find these perspectives. For instance, it is known that most of the colonizers, for example the British,

It was both logical and easy to identify themselves in one way or another with this power having through various means already identified themselves with Britain domestically. To speak of culture, ideas, taste, morality, the family, history, art, and education as they did, to represent these subjects, try to influence them or intellectually and rhetorically mold them was perforce to recognize them on a world scale. The British international identity, the scope of British mercantile and trade policy, the efficacy and mobility of British arms provided irresistible models to emulate, maps to follow, actions to live up to.<sup>226</sup>

Arguing in the same manner, Robert J. C. Young, in his book, *Post Colonialism: An Historical Introduction*,<sup>227</sup> also provided an analysis of concepts and issues to explain the main key term that can serve as the reference point. Essentially, he considers Postcolonial Theory as an intellectual, political, and historical project that has three essential tasks. One of the tasks is to investigate the extent to which history, culture, and knowledge have been instruments of colonization. The identification of the means and causes of continuing deprivation and discrimination and the analysis of their psychological effects is the second task. The third task is

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>224</sup> Leon Tikly, Globalisation and Education in the Postcolonial Word: Towards a Conceptual Framework. *Comparative Education*, 37, no. 2 (2001), 151.

<sup>225</sup> Ella Shohat, argues for a more limited, historically and theoretically specific, usage of the term “post-colonial,” one which situates it in a relational context vi-a-vis, other (equally problematic) categories, in her “Notes on the Postcolonial” in *Social Text* no. 31/32, Third World and Postcolonial Issues (Nov, 1992), 100.

<sup>226</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 105-106.

<sup>227</sup> Robert. J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

to transform knowledge production into a definitive strength for complete emancipation from colonial subjugation, which considers that “what is non-white, non-Western, and non-Judeo-Christian is herded together under the rubric of terrorism/ evil.”<sup>228</sup> In his book, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Albert Memmi, argued that “the most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from the history.”<sup>229</sup> Due to the fact that dominance and power go hand in hand, Postcolonial Theory has a hard last task: How to remove Western stereotyped epistemology and rehabilitate historically the colonized. Colonizers used dominance and power, industrial, technological, military, and ideological, to construct a line separating them from the colonized, in terms that a native could never hope to attain the benefits of the colonizer. It is clear that the experiences of ruler and ruled continue to result in an entangled experience. However, it is not impossible for education to play the role to create a more inclusive society. In many countries, research on the role of education in colonization is limited even though education is perhaps one of the most insidious survivors of colonialism. Postcolonial studies provide useful guidance in how to share the responsibility of preparing new generations for living and learning in a global culture in which the power of images and words still denigrates the “Third World.”<sup>230</sup> The Third World as one in which, “the relationship between the First World islands and the mass of the people it governs via feudal/elitist structures, which generate an attitude of either pity or arrogance toward the majority still exist.”<sup>231</sup> S. D. Muni and Kausar S. Khan examine in a realistic manner the need to balance the roles of Third World and First

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<sup>228</sup> Edward W. Said, “Intellectual in the Post-Colonial World” in *Salmagundi*, Vol. 70/71 (Spring-Summer, 1986), 52.

<sup>229</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Orion Press, 1965), 19.

<sup>230</sup> “Third World” is a controversial concept that S. D. Muni argues neither denotes an inferior value structure, nor a descending numerical order. It represents a set of specific characteristics that are unique in more than one way to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. See, S. D. Muni, “The Third World: Concept and Controversy” in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Jul. 1979), 128.

<sup>231</sup> Kausar S. Khan, “Epidemiology and Ethics: The Perspective of the Third World” in *Journal of Public Health Policy*, Vol. 15, no. 2, (Summer, 1994), 218.

World institutions. “The three ethical principles of autonomy, beneficence, and justice”<sup>232</sup> well-structured by Kausar S. Khan, when used in the intended spirit regarding the knowledge of Postcolonial Theory, can empower one of the most important institutions on earth, education. This understanding is corroborated by Proshantan K. Nandi,<sup>233</sup> in the condition that the “Third World nations must abandon ready-made educational systems handed down to them by the pacesetters of colonialism and neocolonialism”<sup>234</sup> and construct an educational system that not only educates but also liberates.<sup>235</sup> Finally, these principles also play an important role in motivating the abolition of the “Third World” label. Most third world countries are in Africa; that is why they are struggling to deconstruct this label.

### **Postcolonial Theory Contextualized in Africa**

Africa is one of the locations where Postcolonial Theory is most applicable. Both the practice and the theory of pre- and post-colonial resistance, according to Albert Memmi,<sup>236</sup> have their roots in the origins of colonialism itself, one of the reasons of the “so-called dependency complex of colonized people.”<sup>237</sup> Aimé Césaire’s argument that as Africans “we must study how colonization works to *decivilize* the colonizer, to *brutalize him* in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism,”<sup>238</sup> inspired and initiated modern anti-colonial movements around the world.

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 224

<sup>233</sup> Proshantan K. Nandi, “Educational Culture in the Third World: The Lingering Colonial Connection” in *International Review of Modern Society*, Vol. 24, no. 2, (Autumn, 1994), 17-30.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 28

<sup>235</sup> See, Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Berman Ramos (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

<sup>236</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Orion, 1965).

<sup>237</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1952), 61.

<sup>238</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discours on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkhan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972),

Another African writer that influenced these movements is Leopold Sédar Senghor through his work titled *Collected Poetry*.<sup>239</sup> In effect, as co-founder of Negritude Literary Movement, he is concerned that ways be provided for African and European cultures to enrich each other while preserving their own cultural identities. Yet he recognized that “between colonizer and colonized there is room only for forced labor, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses.”<sup>240</sup> That is why there is no place for delusions and it is a serious problem for African people. Moreover Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak have found in African writings these same basic elements influencing their thoughts. From Western culture, Africans learned that modernism is defined as a European movement. In reality it has been argued that the encounter with African cultures in the known “scramble for Africa”<sup>241</sup> period of the 1880s and 1890s also was one of the key ingredients for the development of a “modern aesthetic and European empowerment,” themes developed by Jędrzej G. Frynas and Manuel Paulo as well by Ian Phimister.<sup>242</sup> Africa experienced all of the different types of colonialisms in which the greater European Empires (Britain, France, and Portugal) were implicated. That explains why it is precisely in Africa that the different types of postcolonialism, postcolonial criticism, postcolonial readings, a postcolonial state and its representations were taking place simultaneously with India and the Middle East. These different types and representations of postcolonialism are probably more the result of the problematic “Scramble.”

The first example of some early problems, i.e., the size of some countries: “Many African states

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<sup>239</sup> Leopold Sédar Senghor, *The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (University of Virginia Press, 1992).

<sup>240</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discours on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkhan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 6.

<sup>241</sup> The “Scramble for Africa” is known as the invasion and occupation and colonization of the Africa territory by European powers between 1881 and 1914. This term is applied by several scholars.

<sup>242</sup> Jędrzej George Frynas and Manuel Paulo in their article “Historical, Political, and Business Perspectives” in *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, no. 423 (Apr., 2007), 229-251; Ian Phimister, “Africa Partitioned,” *Review Fernand Braudel Center*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (Spring, 1995), 355-381.

are too small to make viable economic markets and below the threshold for any possible industrialization. Others are so large and diverse that effective government becomes difficult. There are 14 landlocked states in Africa, more than in the rest of the world put together.”<sup>243</sup> The second example, the borders and ethnicity: “On the continental scale the widespread use of physical features and astronomical lines largely dehumanized the boundaries of Africa.”<sup>244</sup> The third example, a specific case of the boundaries of Namibia: “Unless good sense prevails before independence, Namibia will inherit colonial boundaries more problematic than any others in Africa.”<sup>245</sup> The application or the study of postcolonial theory in the context of Africa deserves also a special review as several authors<sup>246</sup> have written discussing the theme of (a) “border crossings;”<sup>247</sup> (b) “domestic contradictions and the colonial impact;”<sup>248</sup> and (c) “family and gender traditionally left out of the accounts of colonial intervention.”<sup>249</sup>

To more exactly emphasize the case of African colonization, the African theorists of Postcolonial Theory have written critically and deeply about the subject. For example, Valentin Y. Mubimbe<sup>250</sup> published *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, which is considered a canon of postcolonial theory. In many ways V.Y. Mubimbe

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<sup>243</sup> Ieuan Griffiths, “The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries” in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 150, no. 2, (Jul.1986), 204.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>246</sup> Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory*. (London and New York: Verso, 1997); Bill Ashcroft, “Africa and Australia: The Post Connection” in *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 25, no. 3. (Women as Oral Artists: Autumn, 1994), 161-170. Sarah Harasym, (Ed). *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. The Post-colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. (New York: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>247</sup> Mrinalini Sinha (Review), “Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies,” *Dialogues* by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak; Sarah Harasym; “The Rhys Woman” by Paula Le Gallez; Jean Rhys at “World’s End”: *Novels of Colonial and Sexual Exile* by Mary Lou Emery; “Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact” by Margaret Jolly; Martha Macintyre, *Signs*, Vol. 17, no. 2 (Winter, 1992), 473.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 476.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Valentin Y. Mubimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Indiana University Press, 1988).

has done for Africa what Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*<sup>251</sup> did for the Middle East, and what Bhabha's *Cultures in Between: Questions of Cultural Identity*<sup>252</sup> (hybridity and identity), and Gayatri C. Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?*<sup>253</sup> did for India. Without a doubt, Africa is one of the appropriate places for applying Postcolonial Theory. Several authors such as Birit Broch-Utne and Peter Hitchcock provide excellent indications of "Postcolonial Africa."<sup>254</sup> While in advocating Postcolonial Africa, . He states,

The problems of the post-colonial state that the juridical statehood attained with the decolonization of the colonial state has in the past four decades proven inadequate. It is becoming increasingly apparent that sovereignty and statehood [the status of being a recognized independent nation] are concepts that have trapped Africa in a detrimental time capsule; they now seem to be strait jackets with time bombs ready to explode.<sup>255</sup>

Similarly, Makua Wa Mutua argued that sovereignty without basic morality and legitimacy that include all different ethnic groups could result in an explosive postcolonial state. He explains how some countries experienced some difficulties implementing this new state proclaiming the status of "autonomy." "The post-colonial state has collapsed in Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia. Others, such as Zaire, Nigeria, Sudan, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and Kenya maintain a precarious balance on the political precipice. The post-colonial state, the uncritical successor of the colonial state, is doomed because it lacks basic morality and legitimacy."<sup>256</sup>

Reflecting the reality that former colonies continue to be dependent on their colonizers, Mutua states that "in re-examination of the Continent, Africa would do well to abandon the principle of

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<sup>251</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

<sup>252</sup> Homi. K. Bhabha, "Culture's In Between" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by S. Hall and P. Du Gay. (London, Sage Publications, 1996).

<sup>253</sup> Gayatri C. Spivak's, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossber (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

<sup>254</sup> Birit Broch-Utne, "Peace Education in Postcolonial Africa" in *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 71, no. 3 (Peace Education in a Postmodern World, 1996), 170-190; Peter Hitchcock, "Postcolonial Africa? Problems of Theory," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 25, no. 3/4, Teaching African Literatures in Global Literary Economy (Fall-Winter, 1997), 233-244.

<sup>255</sup> Makua Wa Mutua, "Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights: Rethinking the Post-Colonial State" in *American Society of International Law*, 89, Structures of World Order (April 5-8, 1995), 487.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

*uti possidetis juris*, [you have a right to use], the device that falsely linked the decolonization of the colonial state to the liberation of African peoples.”<sup>257</sup>

An analysis of postcolonial theory in Africa implies also an examination of African texts and discourses written by Africans. Mubimbe’s works present an excellent way to understand what is going on in Africa, with Africans. Discerning the meaning of Africa and the meaning of being African represents an additional responsibility for everyone who is studying the realm of Africa’s southern region. Mubimbe’s *The Invention of Africa*,<sup>258</sup> is a search in the philosophical countryside of the African continent through centuries of colonization. His in-depth studies of hundreds of African religious leaders, political thinkers, and philosophers who have moved Africa closer to self-understanding have made possible the decolonization of some of the academic knowledge of the continent.

There are also other important works that explore essential concepts of Postcolonial Theory such as dependency, miscegenation, going native, subaltern, globalization, ambivalence, alterity, essentialism, dependency etc. such as the article related to *Capitalism, Culture, and Agency: Dependency Versus Postcolonial Theory* written by Ilan Kapoor in 2002.<sup>259</sup> For example, showing the irreconcilable difference between dependency and post-colonial theory, he argues that:

Dependency and postcolonial theory cover some similar territory and share important common concerns – a suspicion of Western liberal modernity, a historical-global analysis, and a critical politics. [...] Dependency chooses a structuralism and socioeconomic perspective, seeing imperialism as tied to the unfolding of capitalism, whereas postcolonial theory framed a post-structuralism and cultural perspective, linking imperialism and agency to discourse and the politics of representation.<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 488.

<sup>258</sup> Valentin Y. Mubimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. (Indiana University Press, 1988).

<sup>259</sup> Ilan Kapoor, “Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency vs. Postcolonial Theory” in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (Aug, 2002), 647-664.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 647-648.



Kappor summarized both concepts based on their sources considering that “in contrast to dependency, which relies on social science methodology and ‘field’ research, postcolonial theory emerges out of literary studies, disclosing its arguments based primarily (although not exclusively) on literary sources.”<sup>261</sup>

Examining the key theorists’ significance and motivations, their key ideas and sources, I have come to the preliminary conclusion that the model of Postcolonial Theory in Africa is divided between oppositional forces that appear to represent the struggle between post independent societies and the complicit forms within colonialism itself, always present on the underside of postcolonialism.

These two forms can be viewed among African leaders today. Some want complete independence while other wants to preserve an umbilical connection with the metropolis. The good news is that postcolonial theories, before they can become practical in application, need to be viewed critically. Africa has entered the 21st century with tremendous unsolved issues. How to resolve these issues continues to be a matter of hot debate. Poverty, disease, gender inequality, illiteracy, food insecurity, political fragmentation, religious conflict, war, and the resulting subaltern positions in the global community are major handicaps that many Africans inherited from colonization and as A. G. Hopkins, A. P. Thornton, Rita Abrahamsen, and Valentin Y. Mubimbe, have described in their works.<sup>262</sup> Other handicaps are due to internal issues such as

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 650

<sup>262</sup> A. G. Hospkins, “The New Economic History of Africa” in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 50, no. 2 (2009), 155-177; A. P. Thornton, “Colonialism” in *International Journal*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (Autumn, 1962), 204-216; Rita Abrahamsen, “African Studies and the Postcolonial Challenge African Affairs,” 120 (2003); and V.Y. Mubimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Indiana University Press, 1988).

kleptocracy and corruption<sup>263</sup> that Syed Farid Alatas described in his articles, arguing that this problem applies specifically to the kleptocrat-capitalist relationship and has to do with the incentives facing potential monopolists in the economy. Monopolists make profits over and above the normal returns to capital. “These profits represent a real net loss to society.”<sup>264</sup> In addition, he defines corruption as a serious and severe evil nefarious of society: “corruption is defined as the “subordination of public interests to private aims involving a violation of the norms of duty and welfare, accompanied by secrecy, betrayal, deception and a callous disregard for any consequence suffered by the public.”<sup>265</sup>

Once again, Makua Wa Mutua showed how Africa is completely immersed in a crisis whose base is the corruption and other social evils. He discusses that,

There is little doubt today that Africa’s survival is seriously threatened by corrupt and inept political elites, unbridled militaries, ethnic rivalries and economic misery. The protracted problems of the post-colonial African state have raised anew the meaning of state legitimacy and brought forward disturbing questions about the concepts of sovereignty and statehood. The problem of the post-colonial state has in the past four decades proven inadequate. It is becoming increasingly apparent that sovereignty and statehood are concepts that may have trapped Africa in a detrimental time capsule; they now seem to be straightjackets with time bombs ready to explode.<sup>266</sup>

When countries are colonized religiously, ideologically, economically, or especially politically, the more acceptable way to resolve problems has been to invest in education. I believe universal education is one of the better ways to neutralize the negative influence of Western media, while creating a strong domestic leadership, developing science and applied engineering, and creating nationally and internationally competitive intelligence networks. These

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<sup>263</sup> One of the best descriptions of both concepts can be found in the book written by Christian Harm and Joshua Charap, entitled “Institutionalized Corruption and the Kleptocrate State” in *International Monetary Fund* (Jul., 1999), 13-19.

<sup>264</sup> Syed Farid Alatas, “The Postcolonial State: Dual Functions in the Public Sphere” in *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, Vol. 23, no. 1/2, (ASIA, 1997), 298.

<sup>265</sup> Syed F. Alatas, *The Problem of Corruption* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1986), 9-10.

<sup>266</sup> Makua Wa Mutua, “Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights: Rethinking the Post-Colonial State” in *American Society of International Law*, 89, Structures of World Order, (April 5-8, 1995), 487.

aspects should be integrated into two essential directions of historical research in Postcolonial Theory: (a) into the educational systems from the pre- to the post- independence periods of Africa and (b) into the postcolonial educational strategy for the success of Africa as have been legitimized through the works, for instance, of some scholars such as Horace Mann Bond and Lyn Carter.<sup>267</sup>

### **Postcolonial Theory Used for Analysis in Educational Systems**

The use of postcolonial theory as a method of analyzing education systems is still problematic. Traditional Postcolonial Theory is part of historiographical studies and all postcolonial theories according to Emilienne B. Nouailhetas<sup>268</sup> are against all forms of colonization and motivated by aspirations for change and for defending related practices that strive to inspire harmonious growth. He argues that “*c’est principalement par le biais de l’Histoire, de l’Anthropologie, des Sciences Politiques, et même de la Géopolitique que les theories postcoloniales sont interrogées.*” [It is mainly through history, anthropology, political science and even geopolitics that the theories of postcolonialism are brought into question.]<sup>269</sup>

For different reasons, Postcolonial Theory makes a case for criticizing colonial educational systems. First, given that postcolonial critique, as inaugurated by Gayatri C. Spivak when she asked, “Can the subaltern speak?”<sup>270</sup> has been gaining wide application in literature and other fields, it appears ever more reasonable to use it to study educational systems. A second

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<sup>267</sup> See Horace Mann Bond, in his article “Some Major Educational Problems in Africa South of the Sahara” in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 30, no. 192 (1961), 358-364 and Lyn Carter in this book, *Thinking Trescowthick School of Education*. Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia, 2004.

<sup>268</sup> Emilienne Baneth Nouailheta, “Enigmes Postcoloniales: des Disciplines aux Institutions” in *Littérature*, 2, no.154 (New York University-CNRS, 2009), 24-45.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 2. I translated the quotation: “It is mainly through history, anthropology, political science, and even geopolitics that postcolonial theory questioned” from Emilienne B. Nouailhetas.

<sup>270</sup> Gayatri C. Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossbers (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988), from which the best quotation is: “In the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history, and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow.” 2.

reason is more directly related to my research; Postcolonial Theory can help in the search for primary sources and important documents related to the colonial period. In practice, authentic postcolonial materials that are considered genuine sources in historical methods<sup>271</sup> can contribute to identifying the type of teaching and learning provided within the system and the usefulness or not of the statement of educational objectives drawn up by educational policymakers.<sup>272</sup>

But who are these educational policymakers in Africa since education in Africa, according to the needs and circumstances, is in a permanent crisis?<sup>273</sup> The World Bank estimates that education in Africa is perhaps the most sensitive area in which the World Bank operates,<sup>274</sup> even though, according to Tomas Owen Eisemon, “Africa’s educational research capacity has increased enormously in recent years, despite the crisis in higher education in many African countries.”<sup>275</sup> Material associated with the educational subsystems of Angola can be used to understand them historically and to identify needs as describes Lyn Carter in her article “Thinking Differently About Cultural Diversity: Using Postcolonial Theory to (Re)read

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<sup>271</sup> H. G. Good, “Historical Research in Education” in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (Jan. 8, 1930), 39-47.

<sup>272</sup> Mun C. Tsang explained in general terms what is needed to do, in his article, “Cost Analysis for Educational Policymaking: A Review of Cost Studies in Education in Developing Countries,” in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 58, no. 2 (Summer, 1988), 181-230.

<sup>273</sup> World Bank, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1988), v.

<sup>274</sup> Tomas Owen Eisemon, “Educational Reconstruction in Africa” in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 33, no. 1 (Feb. 1989), 116.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 111; See also other sources: Anne Hickling-Hudson, “Cultural Complexity, Post-colonialism and Educational Change: Challenges for Comparative Educators” in *International Review of Education*, Vol. 52, no. 1/2 Education and Social Justice (Mar., 2006), 201-218; Anthony Simpson, “The Labors of Learning: Education in the postcolony, Social Analysis” in *The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, Vol. 43, no. 1 (March, 1999), 4-13; Henry A. Giroux, “Paulo Freire and the Politics of Postcolonialism” in *Journal of Advanced Compositions* Vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter, 1992), 15-26; Leon Tikly, “Globalisation and Education in the Postcolonial Word: Towards a Conceptual Framework” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (May, 2001), 151-171; Leon Tikly, “Education and the New Imperialism” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 40, no. 2, Special Issue (28): Postcolonialism and Comparative Education (May, 2004), 137-198; Letty M. Russell, “Cultural Hermeneutics: A Postcolonial Look at Mission” in *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring, 2004), 23-40; Lynn Fendler, “Others and the Problem of Community” in *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 36, no. 3 (Autumn), 303-326; Rajeswari Mohan, “Dodging the Crossfire: Questions for Postcolonial Pedagogy” in *College Literature*, Vol. 19, no. 3/1 (Oct, 1992-Feb, 1993), 28-44.

Science.”<sup>276</sup> Further, Patrick Chabal, is more specific when he argues that the decolonization of the Portuguese territories went hand in hand with the nationalists apparently unanimous commitment to post-colonial ‘socialism’<sup>277</sup> and the development of people’s wars proclaiming a ‘socialist’ ideology in the former Portuguese colonies and the construction of a ‘socialist’ post-colonial order.<sup>278</sup> Postcolonial Theory can be used to compare and contrast information and data for identifying specific events that influenced the Angolan history of education. For example, Frederich W. Affolter and Henrique F. Cabula explore other important features and sources of the history of education in Angola. They discuss the need of a strong ‘Civil Education Project’ to serve as an “element for the facilitation of the development of critical consciousness,”<sup>279</sup> which represents a “cornerstone for advancing participation and deepening democracy.”<sup>280</sup> They also strongly believe that “civil society organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups”<sup>281</sup> can play positive roles in the process of overcoming the iniquities of the colonial era. Also, it is a good idea to look at exogenous aspects, the contextual forces that eventually have influenced or continue to influence the Angolan system of education. This is the case of the Portuguese educational system as colonial power and the educational system of the ex-socialist countries. This research based on an historical and Postcolonial Theory analysis permits identification of binary opposites: Western versus indigenous, artificial versus natural, and central versus peripheral. These binaries permit us to better understand Postcolonial Theory, which shares my

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<sup>276</sup> Lyn Carter, Thinking Differently about Cultural Diversity: Using Postcolonial Theory to (Re) read Science Education “in *Science Education*, Vol. 88 (Wiley Periodicals, Inc., 2004, 2), 819-836.

<sup>277</sup> Patrick Chabal, “The Post-colonial State in Portuguese Speaking Africa” in *Portuguese Studies*, 8 (1992), 193.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid, 194.

<sup>279</sup> Frederich W. Affolter and Henrique F. Cabula, “Strengthening ‘Reflective Practice’ Within Angolan Civil Society Organizations,” in *Voluntary: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (June, 2010), 271-292.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid, 273.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

visions clearly with my contemporaries. Particularly, the goal for this research is not to find perfect solutions to the problems the Angolan educational system is confronting.<sup>282</sup> Rather, the goal driving this research is to collect and analyze data critically that is useful for educational reform.<sup>283</sup>

### Research Literature Specific to the Topic

Angola in its colonial stage as explained by Perry Anderson<sup>284</sup> and in its postcolonial stage by David Birmingham,<sup>285</sup> is characterized by facing difficulties in most social and economic domains. These difficulties have roots in the past due to at least one known cause, the civil war described differently by several researchers such as Kenneth L Adelman, James Garrett, and C. J. Parsons.<sup>286</sup> Reviewing such literature guides a response to the main question this study addresses: What were the historical elements that influenced the educational system in Angola from 1930-1980? It informs positions concerning the purpose and philosophy of

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<sup>282</sup> See Avila de Azevedo, "A História do Ensino Português em Africa" in *Política do Ensino em Africa* (Lisboa, 1958); Barry Munslow, "Angola: The Politics of Unsustainable Development" in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, no. 3 (Jun., 1999), 551-568, "Changing patterns of Corruption," 553; David Sogge, "Angola: Reinventing past and Future" in *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 38, no. 127 (March, 2011), 85-92; Emanuel Gomes and Markus Weimer, "Education in Angola" in Partnership Opportunities for the UK, 2011; Patrick Wolfe, "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 120, no. 2 (Apr.1997), 388-420.

For a deep study of contrasting changes between postcolonialism and postsocialism, see Sharad Chari and Katherine Verdery, "Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonialism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 51, no. 1 (Jan., 2009), 6-34; Jennifer Suchland, "Is Postsocialism Transitional?" in *Signs*, Vol. 36, no. 4 (Summer 2011), 837-862.

<sup>283</sup> Also see Ana Isabel Madeira, "Popular Education and Republican Ideas: The Portuguese Lay Mission in Colonial Africa, 1917-1927" in *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 47, no. 1-2, 123-138; Charles K. Wilber and Kenneth P. Jameson (Eds.), "Socialist Models of Development" in *Pergamum Press Ltd* (Oxford, 1982), 851; José Pinheiro da Silva, *Toda a Educação Aposta para a Integração* (Luanda, 1969); Linda Marinda Heywood, *Contested Power in Angola 1849 to the Present* (University of Rochester Press, 2000), 63-182; Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola* (Luanda, 1970); Manuel Fernandes Costa, *As Missões Católicas Portuguesas e o Ensino no Ultramar* (Lisboa, 1965).

<sup>284</sup> Perry Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism" in *New Left Review*, Vol.1, no. 5 (1962). <http://newleftreview.org/1/15/perry-anderson-portugal-and-the-end-of-ultra-colonialism-part-i>.

<sup>285</sup> David Birmingham, "Themes and Resources of Angolan History" in *African Affairs*, Vol. 73, no. 291 (1974), 188-203.

<sup>286</sup> See Kenneth L. Adelman, "Report from Angola" in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1975), 558-574; James Garrett, "The Lessons of Angola: An Eyewitness Report. *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 7, no. 9 (1976), 2-15; and C. J. Parsons, "Background to the Angola Crisis" in *The World Today*, Vol. 17, no. 7 (1961), 278-288.

education in both colonial<sup>287</sup> and post-colonial periods and guides the issues and how Angolans could build a new educational system.

### **Historical Elements that Influenced the Educational System in Angola**

Given the scarcity of organized primary sources about education in Angola, a search was necessary of Portuguese archives well referenced by historians such as David Birmingham, José C. Curto, and Antonio da Silva Rego.<sup>288</sup> There are many historical fragments related to education in Angola from the period of colonization to the post-independence period. To study the different influences and stages of development, a historical contrast between colonial and postcolonial periods<sup>289</sup> with an analytical approach informed the present challenges that education in Angola is facing. During the colonization of Angola, access to educational opportunities was limited significantly for most Africans until the 1950s.<sup>290</sup> This study analyzes these limitations, knowledge of which is important for scholars and teachers participating in the current educational system in Angola.<sup>291</sup> The study also analyzes relationships developed between knowledge and power, between colonizers and colonized within educational systems to outline the nuances, personalities, ideas, thoughts, and philosophies that influenced them. The study of these historical elements has several purposes: The first is to understand and gain an accurate perception regarding the present state of education in Angola. Joseph C. Miller, Nuno

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<sup>287</sup> Catarina Madeira Santos, "Administrative Knowledge in a Colonial Context: Angola in the Eighteenth Century" in *The British Journal for History of Science*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (2010), 539-556.

<sup>288</sup> See José C. Curto, "The Angolan Manuscript Collection of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino: Toward a Working Guide" in *History in Africa*, Vol. 15 (Lisbon, 1988), 163-189; Antonio da Silva Rego, "Overseas Portugal" in *Civilization*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 79-84.

<sup>289</sup> See Michael Anthony Samuels, "Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration" in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1971), 386-388; Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angola" in *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1975), 21-23.

<sup>290</sup> Franz-Wilhen Heimer, "Estrutura Social e Descolonização em Angola" in *Análise Social*, Vol. 10, no. 40 (1973), 621-655; António da Silva Rego, "Syncretic Movements in Angola" in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (1970), 25-43.

<sup>291</sup> James Duffy, "Portuguese African (Angola and Mozambique): Some Crucial Problems and the Role of Education" in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 30, no. 3 (1961), 294-301; Christine Messiant, *L'Angola Post-colonial*. Vol. 1-2 (Paris: Karthala, 2006); Michael Anthony Samuels, "Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration" in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1971), 386-388.

Porto, Douglas L. Wheeler, Immanuel Wallerstein and James R. Scarrit, and Catarina Madeira Santos all refer to the Angolan context in colonial time.<sup>292</sup> For instance, Joseph C. Miller explored the published research of conditions in Angola and explained the state of Angolan historiography:<sup>293</sup> “Angolan historiography therefore remained relatively narrowly focused on Europeans and on the regions of Angola in closest contact with the Portuguese in the early 1960s, at a time when historical studies on other parts of Africa turned decisively away from the history of Europeans in Africa.”<sup>294</sup>

The Miller statement is compelling and gives us a motivation to conduct this research principally when he asked: “What about the present and future state of Angolan studies in Angola?”<sup>295</sup> Nuno Porto also explained one of the typical examples of an encounter where native cultural representation and colonial exploitation meet. These articles have a crucial importance in my research because they contain excellent references. For example, about the 1930s Portuguese ‘Colonial Act,’ which coincidentally matches my plan to start my research on this date. According to Nuno Santos, The 1930s Portuguese Colonial Act clearly reclaimed as national the obligation of morally, socially, and economically ‘elevating’ the different peoples that destiny had placed under Portuguese protection.<sup>296</sup> Catarina M. Santos identified at least three levels of administrative knowledge: (a) systematized information, (b) cartography, and (c) archives,

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<sup>292</sup> Catarina Madeira Santos, “Administrative Knowledge in a Colonial Context: Angola in the Eighteenth Century” in *The British Journal for History of Science*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (2010), 539-556; Douglas L. Wheeler, Immanuel Wallerstein and James R. Scarrit, “Understanding Angolan’s Past and Present: An Exchange of Correspondence” in *Africa Today*, Vol. 28, no. 8 (1981), 5-10; Joseph C. Miller, “The Archives of Luanda” in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, no. 4 (1974), 551-590; Nuno Porto, “Manageable Past: Time and Native Culture at the Dundo Museum in Colonial Angola” in *Cahier d’Etudes*, Vol. 39, no. 155/156 (1999), 767-787.

<sup>293</sup> Joseph, C. Muller, in his article, “Angola Before 1900: A Review of Recent Research” in *African Studies Review*, Vol. 20, no.1 (1977), 130-116, explores the situation of research in Angola and particularly pre-colonial Angolan studies.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>296</sup> Alan K. Smith, “Antonio Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy” in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 15, no. 4 (1974), 653-667; Eduardo Moreira, “Portuguese Colonial Policy” in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 17, no. 3 (Jul., 1947), 181-191.



related to both colonial and post-colonial contexts; that is why her work opens a valuable avenue for research.<sup>297</sup> Catarina M. Santos also published one of the works that constitutes an obligatory book for the study of the history of education in Angola. The content covers the Kongo occupation by the Portuguese to the independence of Angola. However, this work needs to be reviewed because it is not documented and was constructed from a luso-tropicalistic point of view.

### **The Purpose and Philosophy of Education in Colonial and Postcolonial Periods**

These works featured above are important to the collection of materials related to the beginning of the transition from the indigenous system of education<sup>298</sup> to the colonial educational system, which must be examined and understood within the greater historical context. In the indigenous or native autochthon system of Angola, oral tradition has been the main source of knowledge: concepts, propositions, explanations, cultural, and historical identities were passed from generation to generation. Some scholars such as Jan Vansina have explained how these sources were manipulated, obscuring native autochthon manners and habits.<sup>299</sup> Jan Vansina's research shows that education was guaranteed by aged men and women and it was transmitted

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<sup>297</sup> Catarina Madeira Santos in her article, "Administrative Knowledge in a Colonial Context: Angola in the Eighteenth Century" published in *The British Journal for History of Science*, Vol. 43 (2010), explained and distinguished three levels of the administrative knowledge: the quantification and systematization of information, cartography, and archives; and how this knowledge was transformed by colonial and African societies.

<sup>298</sup> There is a controversy among three concepts: native education, indigenous education, and autochthon education. What is the concept more appropriate in this analysis? Applying these concepts according to the need to emphasize circumstantially any historical event related to the process of instruction in both precolonial and postcolonial period according to their purposes and aims is necessary. The starting point is that, in general, the immediate purpose of any educational system, in any period should be to develop the character, initiative and ability for youth to be courageous and engaged positively in the growing of their society. Critically, how does this statement correspond to each period. There are very few Angolan articles about this discussion, however in terms of Native education in Africa there are some timid voices such as Alexander G. Fraser, in "Native Education in Africa" in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 81, no. 4208, 813-831; Africanus, in "Native Education in Central Africa" in *Journal of Royal Society African Society*, Vol. 20, no. 78 (1924), 95-100.

<sup>299</sup> Jan Vansina is considered a specialist of Angola. In this work, for example he explores important themes related to oral culture, the role of "word" in African speech, in "Once Upon a Time: Oral Traditions as History in Africa" in *Daedalus*, Vol. 100, no. 2. *The Historian and the World of the Twentieth Century* (Spring, 1971), 442-468.

within families teaching the first lessons of life, through experiences, legends, fables, and maxims. Cultural proverbs were the missives that ancestors used to articulate a system of teaching.<sup>300</sup> Authors such as Estermann edited by Gordon D. Gibson<sup>301</sup> reported also how African communities educated their children through oral narratives and rites of passage. According to Anne M. Spencer, practical use of rituals and ceremonies of initiation for both sexes were common in most countries in Africa and the most common African initiation rites are the rite of birth, the rite of adulthood, the rite of marriage, the rite of eldership, and the rite of ancestorship.<sup>302</sup>

The purpose of native education was that these systems be allowed to promote the total development: physical, mental, and spiritual, of all children, making them ready to perpetuate time-honored clan traditions. Researchers have a common idea that within native education exists an indigenous philosophy.<sup>303</sup> In contemporary debate, Western culture has been recognizing the existence of indigenous philosophy. As a result, there are pro-indigenous philosophical movements in Australia, Latin America, and the United States of America, as well as in Africa, which have been fighting for indigenous philosophy rehabilitation and for advancing goals that involve distinctive visions of an indigenous future.<sup>304</sup> In Angola, the studies concerning philosophy need to be improved through courses related to social science and

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<sup>300</sup> Victor N. Low, "Education for the Bantu: A South African Dilemma" in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (1958), 21-27; William G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: A Critical Survey with Illustrations" in *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 38 (1972), 1-91.

<sup>301</sup> Gordon G. Gibson (Ed.), "The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola" in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 18, no. 3 (1976), 475-476.

<sup>302</sup> Anne M. Spencer, "Ritual and Ceremony in African Life" in *African Arts*, Vol. 18, no. 4 (1985), 84.

<sup>303</sup> Indigenous philosophy in extremely general terms can be understood as a way of life and architecture of thoughts. It is studied by several authors: Aracy Lopes de Silva, "Encontro de Educação Indígena" in *Revista de Antropologia*, Vol. 22 (1979), 157-159; Henry Odera Oruk, *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy* (The Netherlands: E. J. Brill Academic, 1990); Philip Higgs, "Towards and Indigenous African Educational Discourse: A Philosophy Reflection" in *International Review of Education*, Vol. 54, no. 3/4 (2008), 445-458.

<sup>304</sup> It is the case of Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson's book about *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation and the State in Latino America*, published by University of Texas Press in 2010.

humanities that have been created recently. Bantu Philosophy is now commonly found in courses of philosophy. But discussion about indigenous philosophy is quite unknown in university debate. Henry Odera Oruk wrote: “The tendency in academic circles in the West has been to draw a dichotomy between reason, or rationality and intuition, and to claim that intuition is a primitive or mystical means of understanding and judging. And hence that a rational person is incompatible with one governed by intuition. This I believe is wrong.”<sup>305</sup>

I strongly agree with Henry Odera Oruk. As a result, I will explore within Bantu philosophy some aspects related to indigenous philosophy in Angola. According to Dismas A. Masolo,<sup>306</sup> it is possible using a correct method for collecting data, namely working and combining traditional and modern approaches.<sup>307</sup> Traditional and modern are two entities always in conflict. Therefore, the relationship between tradition and modernity has been a central theme of postcolonial African philosophy.<sup>308</sup> Genuine African philosophy needs to be a critical activity starting by reviewing what was written by Hegel about “underdeveloped spirit,”<sup>309</sup> and strongly combatting ideas such as those popularized by the racist Levy-Bruhl.<sup>310</sup> By critically analyzing

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<sup>305</sup> Henry Odera Oruk, *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy* (The Netherlands: E. J. Brill Academic, 1990), xxvii.

<sup>306</sup> Dismas A. Masolo, “Philosophy and Indigenous Knowledge: An African Perspective” in *African Today*, Vol. 50, no. 2 (2003), 32-38.

<sup>307</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her article entitled, “Building a Research Agenda for Indigenous Epistemologies and Education” explores well this combination between traditional and modern approaches, in *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 36, no. 1 (Mar., 2005), 93-95. Another research work that presents an excellent dialogue between traditional and modern comes from Philip Higgs in his article, “Towards an Indigenous African Educational Dialogue” published in *Revue Internationale de l’Education*, Vol. 54, no. 3/4, (May-Jun., 2008), 445-458. Finally, A. D. Masolo in “Philosophy and Indigenous Knowledge: An African Perspective” in *African Today*, Vol. 50, no. 2, Oral Heritage and Indigenous Knowledge (2003), 32-38, defends that among correct analysis of disciplines that compose philosophy there are many possibilities to viewing the power of African wisdom by the theoretical structure of their content.

<sup>308</sup> Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (Ed.), *Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader* (1<sup>st</sup> Ed). Wiley Blackwell, (January, 1997).

<sup>309</sup> In spite of the importance of Hegel’s method of “philosophic history,” his discussion of Spirit on the union of the subjective particular and the objective universal focusing on the idea of underdeveloped spirit that can be referred to the African history need to be deconstructed. See George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York, 1944), 44-94.

<sup>310</sup> Lucien Levy-Bruhl thinks that a civilized mentality is regulated by reason and interacts with the world through carefully organized conceptual schemes, while a primitive mentality is “hardly capable of abstract thought”

the culture in Angolan post-independence, traditional modes of thought and behavior constitute resources to the project of development and modernization in Africa. I believe that traditional models, when they are revitalized correctly and integrated into national values, can play an extraordinary role developing national identity.

The revitalization of the indigenous traditions in Angola is an urgent task because colonial culture heritage continues to be strong and the introduction by the media of a variety of values from abroad obfuscates the real and positive traditional and indigenous values. The combination of the revitalization of a culture incorporating positive indigenous values through a critical analysis will encourage traditional education, the massive use of technology now relevant to an educational system, as well a meaningful community life. I also strongly believe, along with Queeneth Mkabela,<sup>311</sup> that indigenous philosophy well-structured and integrated into the process of teaching and learning in schools could be influential in developing models for appropriate problem-solving skills and promoting life-long education through Afrocentric methods.<sup>312</sup> According to Queeneth Mkabela, “the Afrocentric method is derived from the Afrocentric paradigm which deals with the question of African identity from the perspective of African people as centered, located, oriented, and grounded.”<sup>313</sup> Portuguese colonialism violently disrupted Angolan culture, genuine Angolan thoughts, and imposed with varying degrees of success language, European habits, forms of thought, and other social forms of organization upon Angolan populations. Certainly having achieved political independence, postcolonial

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and is regulated by the forces of myth and superstition. See Lucien Levy-Bruhl, “How Natives Think” in *African Philosophy*; Selected Readings. Edited by Albert Mosley, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1995).

<sup>311</sup> Queeneth Mkabela, “Using the Afrocentric Method in Researching Indigenous African Culture” in *The Qualitative Report*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (2005), 178-189.

<sup>312</sup> Queeneth Mkabela, in his article appeals to African researchers to discuss how to use African indigenous culture as a foundation for the Afrocentric method, its definition, mechanism, and purpose. Some scholars such as Modefe K. Asante, named the Afrocentric method as “Afrocentricity,” in *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*. (Trenton, 1990). NJ: Africa World Press.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

Angolans should think more seriously about decisions for decolonizing Angolan culture, as well as Angolan education. The transition from the native system of education to a colonial educational system needs to be studied carefully, analyzing what role the two pillars, Lusotropicalism and religion, have played.

The first pillar, Lusotropicalism, is explained thoroughly by Ana Maria Mão-de-Ferro Martinho<sup>314</sup> and coined by the Brazilian sociologist Gilbert Freyre in his book, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, published in 1933. Lusotropicalism, the ideology that described the particularity of Portuguese colonization, became a movement and theory of propaganda during the Antonio de Oliveira Salazar government in Portugal (Figure 2.2.) and Marcelo Caetano's New State (1933-1974).<sup>315</sup> According to Gerald J. Bender, the term Lusotropical represents "a theory which envisaged the assimilation process in terms of reciprocal borrowing and adaptation of the cultures,"<sup>316</sup> and the capture of African audiences for their lusotropicalism and ideology (Figure 2.3.). In fact, both arguments, one from Gerald J. Bender and other from Joaquim Pires Valentim,<sup>317</sup> served as a lens through which to conduct a more thorough examination of Lusotropicalism.<sup>318</sup> Jürgen Habermas's<sup>319</sup> ideas about critical theory leads to better

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<sup>314</sup> Ana Maria Mão-de-Ferro Martinho in her article, "Utopian Eyes and Dystopian Writing in Angolan Literature," *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 38, no. 1, Lusophone African and Afro-Brazilian Literatures (Spring, 2007), 46-53, explores the concept of Lusotropicalism as a colonial and postcolonial utopian construction idealized, meaningfully projected, and based on Portuguese colonial interests.

<sup>315</sup> See Douglas L. Wheeler, "The Third Pig: From Theory to Grubby Fact in the Reassessing the Estado Novo" in *Mediterranean Studies*, Vol. 1, Iberia & The Mediterranean (1989), 145, 147-168; Paul H. Lewis, "Salazar's Ministerial Elite, 1932-1968" in *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 40, no. 3 (Aug., 1978), 196-1981; Stephen R. Stoer and Roger Dale, "Education, State, and Society in Portugal, 1926-1981," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 31, no. 3 (Aug., 1987), 400-418.

<sup>316</sup> Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*. (California: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>317</sup> Joaquim Pires Valentim, *Identidade e Lusofonia nas Representações Sociais de Portugueses e de Africanos* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2003).

<sup>318</sup> Anthony Allan Shelton explained the concept of Luso-Tropicalism, as the Portuguese ideology behind its colonial adventurism, which imaged Angola as a variant of America's "golden state," see in "Angola a Preto e Branco. Totografia e Ciência no Museu do Dundo 1940-1970" in *Jornal do Museu Etnográfico*, no. 12. The Human Museum, London (May, 2000), 161-164.

<sup>319</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, trans, J. J. Shapiro (Beacon Press, 1972)

understanding the effects of both ideologies: Lusotropicalism and Lusofonia<sup>320</sup> in Angolan culture and its educational system. One of the best studies of Lusotropicalism and new lusophone words was written by Malcolm K. McNee.<sup>321</sup> In his essay, he attempts to explain the relationship between the lusotropicalist speech and the speech of the Portuguese language.<sup>322</sup>

The second pillar is religion whose impact in Africa and particularly in Angolan society was already described by several scholars, to name a few: António da Silva Rego, David Birmingham, Didier Péclard, John Samuel Mbidi, John T. Tucker and Kate Burlinghan, Lawrence W. Henderson.<sup>323</sup> Christianity under Portuguese colonial rule was used to divide Angolans into two categories: Indigenas or autochthons with special identification (Figure 2.4.) not yet Christianized who were forced to work on the coffee, cotton, wheat, and ground nut plantations, and assimilados, who learned to speak Portuguese and were baptized in Christian churches. According to Gerald Bender, the assimilados were those who “took jobs in commerce and industry or who obtained skills such as locksmiths, cooks, masons, tailors, barbers, carpenters

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<sup>320</sup> Diego Barbosa da Silva, “Política Lingüística en África: Del Pasado Colonial al Futuro Global” in *Estudios de Asia y Africa*, Vol. 46, no. 1/144 (2011), 65-95; and Igor Cusack, “From Revolution to Reflection: The National Anthems of the New Lusophone Worlds” in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 45, no. 2 (2008), 45-67;

<sup>321</sup> Malcolm K. McNee, “José Eduardo Agualusa and Others Possible ‘Lusofonias’” in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 49, no. 1 (2012), 1-26.

<sup>322</sup> Lusophony is about positions and controversies related to the use and role of the Portuguese language in the postcolonial period. In his essay, entitled “José Eduardo Agualusa, and Other Possible ‘Lusofonias’” in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 49, no. 1, (2012), 1-26, Malcolm K. McNee explores the contemporary articulation of Lusophone and develops a broad reading of the work of the Angolan writer, José Eduardo Agualusa, one of the main protagonists in the lusophonic literary setting. Malcolm K. McNee also explains the relationship between Lusotropicalism and Lusophony, how their post-colonial ambivalence can be understood, and how it needs to be re-written according to African contemporary issues. Here are today several associations that work promoting a large discussion around the subject “Lusophone and Africa” such as the H-Luso-Africa, an H-Network, Discussing Lusophone African Studies.

<sup>323</sup> António da Silva Rego, “Syncretic Movements in Angola” in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (1970), 25-43; David Birmingham, “Merchants and Missionaries in Angola” in *Lusotopie* (1998), 345-355; Didier Péclard, “Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961” in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 160-186; John Samuel Mbidi, *Introduction to African Religion* (African Writers Series. Heinemann Publisher, 1990); John T. Tucker, “Protestant Missionaries in Angola” in *Africa Today*, Vol. 15, no. 3 (1968), 4; Kate Burlinghan, *“In the Image of God”: A Global History of the North American Congregational Mission Movement in Angola, 1879-1975* (The State University of New Jersey, 2011); and Lawrence W. Henderson, *A Igreja em Angola. Um Rio Com Varias Correntes*, (Lisbon: Editorial Além-Mar, 2013).

and cabinetmakers, shoemakers, goldsmiths, painters and watchmakers.”<sup>324</sup> In assuming and accepting the rights of Portuguese citizenship, *assimilados* took on the same tax obligations as the Portuguese citizens and were prohibited from participating in indigenous ceremonies celebrating births, marriages, funerals, and harvests as well as from speaking their native languages. The relationships among missionaries, colonists, and indigenous people were complex and problematic.<sup>325</sup> For instance, several scholars such as Nathan Nunn<sup>326</sup> argue that there is now a concern and polemic about the impact of religions (Islam, Christianity, Indigenous religions, Hinduism, and Judaism) in colonial African societies in general and particularly in African education as described by António da Silva Rego. Each religion has a specific educational foundation. Often, these educational foundations are incompatible with each other and within economic difficulties create a setting favorable to confrontation.<sup>327</sup> The Portuguese economy was archaic and bankrupt, a hollow and rotten shell. In Angola, the Portuguese used religion as a way of covering domestic economic weaknesses and the colonization process. As a result, religion had a direct influence on the society and particularly on education by Christianizing the society through religious missions (Figure 2.5.) as described by Frank Kürschner and by Amy Stambach,<sup>328</sup> which consisted mostly of Roman Catholic and Protestant

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<sup>324</sup> Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (University of California Press, 1978), 66.

<sup>325</sup> In fact, the relationships among Catholic Church, Portuguese, and Angolans were problematic. Portugal, formally the third largest imperial in the world, is itself an undeveloped country: a largely pre-industrial infrastructure, feudal ownership patterns, military paramount, and a torpid fascism. This is the metropolitan complex that determines the specific system of Portuguese overseas domination: ultra-colonialism – that is, at once the most primitive and the most extreme modality of colonialism.

<sup>326</sup> Nathan Nunn, “Religious Conversion in Colonial Africa” in *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, no. 2 (2010), 147-152.

<sup>327</sup> Maria Green, in her article, entitled “Confronting Categorical Assumptions about the Power of Religion in Africa,” *Review of Africa Political Economy*, Vol. 33, no. 110 (2006), 635-650, examines the place and the power of religion in Africa through an example of case study related to Tanzania. This article examines the place of religion in social science accounts of Africa, particularly (case of Tanzania).

<sup>328</sup> Frank Kürschner, “Angola,” in *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, edited by Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey William Bromiley, no. 1 (1999), 59-62; and Amy Stambach, “Education, Religion, and Anthropology” in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, no. 38 (1999), 361-379.

Evangelic Christians.<sup>329</sup> Most of them were functioning as preparatory schools. These schools clashed with Angolan culture and other non-Catholic and animistic religious forms, i.e., belief systems of indigenous clans and tribal Angolan people that non-humans such as plants and inanimate objects have a spiritual essence. Amy Stambach and Coe Cati admit that it is not easy to research about the relationships among the different religious tendencies due to several myths that surround these relationships.<sup>330</sup> About these dilemmas in African culture, Amy Stambach identified three frames that capture the development of research from the 1930s on: (a) a focus on Christian-inflected adaptive education; (b) applied and socio historical emphases on education as an engine driving secular change to shape new ritualized practices and religious beliefs; (c) concentration on youth education as a key for analyzing religious identity and youths' radicalization.<sup>331</sup> Coe Cati, through a Ghana example, explains the tensions created by the vision of modernity between nationalism and Christianity, Christian and national elites and teachers and students. This kind of conflict is common in Africa especially in Angola, where the colonizers tried to impose the Portuguese culture. Eventually following the, "National Revolution of 1928," the Portuguese authorities with a "Missionary Agreement"<sup>332</sup> known as Concordat signed

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<sup>329</sup> It is estimated that the number of Roman Catholics in Angola varied between 55 percent and 68 percent. In contemporary Angola, the Bakongo are the heavier Christian group followed by Muila, Ngangela, Mungambwe and others. In the southern and eastern districts, the proportion of Roman Catholics dropped considerably. The most important Protestant denominations recognized by the Angolan government are: the Assembly of God, the Baptist Convention of Angola, the Baptist Evangelical Church of South-West Angola, the Our Lord Jesus Christ Church in the World – known as Kimbanguist Church, the Evangelical Reformed Church in Angola, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, the Union of Evangelical Churches of Angola, and the United Methodist Church.

<sup>330</sup> See Amy Stambach, "Education, Religion, and Anthropology" in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 39 (2010), 361-379; and Coe Cati, *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Youth, Nationalism, and the Transformation of Knowledge* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>331</sup> Religious identity and youths' radicalization constitute subjects that Amy Stambach (2010) in her article "Education, Religion, and Anthropology in Africa," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39, 361-379 explores how religion as global institution affects educational planning in Africa, in addition see Coe Cati : *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Youth, Nationalism, and the Transformation of Knowledge*. (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>332</sup> The "Concordat" was signed by the representatives of Pope XII and the Portuguese President of Republic, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar in the Vatican City; the Portuguese version text was published in "Diário do Governo, I<sup>a</sup>- Série, N<sup>o</sup> 58, on July, 16, 1940.



between Portugal and the Apostolic See on May 7, 1940, began financially supporting recognized Catholic missionary congregations and their overseas schools. Manuel Braga da Cruz<sup>333</sup> evaluated this Concordat as follows: “The Concordat, signed in 1940, overcame the occasional difficult relationship, proving indeed the vitality of a framework that still governs the relationships between the Church and the State.”<sup>334</sup>

The Concordat and the Missionary Agreement contained two different modern underlying principles: First, the Concordat and Agreement established the separation of the secular power from the Church, allowing the principle of non-interference of one sphere on the other. Second, it established the principle of religious freedom. These two principles are the basis of the Portuguese State’s relationship with the congregations and religious institutions, mainly with the Catholic Church. Along with the Concordat, three things happened: (a) a missionary agreement was signed by which the conversion of the indigenous to the Catholic religion was intended, but also to “Portugueseness,” to make Portuguese Christians; (b) the recognition of certain religious corporations, and (c) the institutionalization of freedom of education in private schools known as “ensino rudimentar ou de adaptação,” with the approval of the Catholic and Protestant Missions.<sup>335</sup>

### **The Angolans Building a New Educational System**

The actions of teaching and writing native languages within the Catholic and Protestant missions, and the promotion of a few Angolan *assimilados*, had three collateral effects. First, it constituted a way to introduce reforms seeking an Africanized church. According to Didier Péclard, one of the main shifts, as a result, was that “as late as 1970 the first native Angolan

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<sup>333</sup> Manuel Braga da Cruz, “As Negociações da Concordata e do Acordo Missionário de 1940” in *Análise Social*, XXXII, no. 143/144 (1997), 815-845. See also AHU\_ACL\_MU\_DGEDU\_RCM\_P54, Cx 417.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid., 485.

<sup>335</sup> See Lawrence W. Henderson, *A Igreja em Angola. Um Rio Com Varias Correntes*, (Lisbon: Editorial Além-Mar, 2013).

bishop was nominated,<sup>336</sup> following which, the churches opened their doors even to Angolans not yet baptized. Héli Chatelain recognized more practices (such as funerals, judicial ruling, traditional marriages, drinking native beer, performing rites and ceremonies, and traditional festivities) began to be tolerated.<sup>337</sup> Some sectors of Catholic and Evangelical schools became spaces of cultural resistance, spaces for nationalist activism, and spaces where anti-Portuguese activism and anti-colonial resistance were promoted clandestinely. Second, it constituted a way to allow *assimilados* and *mestiços*, persons of mixed descent, to express their ideas using the press. Importantly, Douglas L. Wheeler started his paper with a quotation from *assimilado* /*mestiço* lawyer José Fontes Pereira (1883-1891): “How has Angola benefited under Portuguese rule?”<sup>338</sup> Douglas L. Wheeler’s article is essential to understanding the background of the role played by Angolan literature written in Portuguese, mainly in the period recently well explored by Luis Kandjimbo in his article entitled “Angolan Literature in the Presence of an Incipient Canon of Literatures Written in Portuguese.”<sup>339</sup> Didier Péclard argues that “the history of Angolan nationalism [...] is closely tied to the history of Christian churches and missions.”<sup>340</sup> Particularly in the Protestant mission, activities related to political emancipation were becoming frequent. These missionary schools were frequented primarily by Angolans, while the official colonial system served the white children and a small number of *assimilados* and *mestiços*’

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<sup>336</sup> Didier Péclard, “Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961” in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 170.

<sup>337</sup> Héli Chatelain, “Angolan Customs” in *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 9, no. 32 (1896), 13-18.

<sup>338</sup> Douglas L. Wheeler, “Angola is Whose House? Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910” in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (1969), 1.

<sup>339</sup> Luis Kandjimbo, “Angolan Literature in the Presence of an Incipient Canon of Literatures Written in Portuguese.” *Research in African Literature*, Vol. 38, no. 1 (2007), 9-34.

<sup>340</sup> Didier Péclard, “Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961” in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 160.

children (Figure 2.6. ). However, most missionary corporations received regular funding from the Portuguese government.<sup>341</sup>

### **Main Educational Issues in the Post-colonial Period**

Angola inherited a fragile educational system from the colonial period.<sup>342</sup> According to Patrick Chabal, it was based on racial segregation. The metropolitan power shaped and guided the educational policy as well as institutions. These institutions served the needs of the Portuguese colonizers. As a result, the curriculum was based on Portuguese history and geography.

Following independence, due to the Cold War and limited options, Angola was compelled to join the bloc of socialist countries such as Cuba, Vietnam, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Soviet Union. According to Robert Chrisman, these countries offered a diversified “assistance” for the development of the country that began immediately after independence in 1975.<sup>343</sup> Therefore, in the 1980s most teachers were from these countries and their presence represented the beginning of a marathon of diverse influences in the Angolan education system. Because of this diversity of influence in concert with most of the researchers of Angolan education ascribed to a Western point of view, it is important to use Postcolonial Theory as argued by Peter Hitchcock and Barry Munslow and clarify the methodology.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> See Clayton G. Mackenze, “Demythologizing the Missionaries: A Reassessment of the Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education Under Colonialism” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 29, no. 1 (1993), 45-66.

<sup>342</sup> Patrick Chabal, “The Post-Colonial State in Portuguese Speaking Africa” in *Portuguese Studies*, Vol. 8 (1992), 189-202.

<sup>343</sup> Robert Chrisman, “Angola News Report” in *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 7, no. 6 (1976), 43.

<sup>344</sup> Peter Hitchcock, “Postcolonial Africa? Problems of Theory” in *Women’s Studies Quarter*, Vol. 25, no. 3/4 (1997), 233-244; and Barry Munslow, “Angola: The Politics of Unsustainable Development.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, no. 3 (1999), 551-568. The version of Postcolonialism, interpreted by the writings of Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha incorporate and perpetuate the binary oppositions of “self” vs. “other,” “us” vs. “them,” “colonizer” vs. “colonized,” “silent” vs. “silenced,” which characterize colonialism, will also be important. See the discussion about the subject in the Peggy Ochoa’s article, “Historical Moments of Postcolonial Writing: Beyond Colonialism’s Binary,” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, Vol. 15, no. 2 (Autumn, 1996), 221-

## Contribution of the Study

This study provides historical research that contributes to the understanding of the history of education in Angola in the period between 1930 and 1980, the convergence of colonial domination, religion, and decree. It evaluates in more detail converging events that directly or indirectly have affected the system of education. This study contributes to the limited research and general interest in the field of history of education, and particularly in the Angolan history of education, which has (a) negatively impacted the performance of educational systems acting as essential pillars for a sustainable development of our country and (b) prevented a better understanding of contemporary educational issues. The study also provides a critical and historical reflection on the colonial and postcolonial periods to reveal the philosophy that drove educational systems in both periods. The content of this study, therefore, is useful to educators, teachers, students, and educational institutions from secondary education to tertiary providing essential fundamental curricular material in the field of teacher professional studies.

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229; David Staler, "Post-Colonial Questions for Global Times," in *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (1998), 647-678, and Jennifer Lavia, Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard, "Postcolonialism and Education: Negotiating a Contested Terrain" in *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (October, 2006), 24.



Figure 2.1. The two pre-eminent thinkers of Postcolonial Theory: Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) and Aimé Césaire (1913-2008).

Source: <http://wanderingeyes.weebly.com/culture/nine-essential-quotes-from-frantz-fanon/>; and [https://www.google.com/?gws\\_rd=ssl#q=Images+Aim%C3%A9+Césaire+](https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=Images+Aim%C3%A9+Césaire+)



Figure 2.2. Movement and theory of propaganda.

(Source: Almeida Santos, Foto Imperio, C.I.T.A., Archives Album, 31252. Biblioteca Municipal de Luanda)

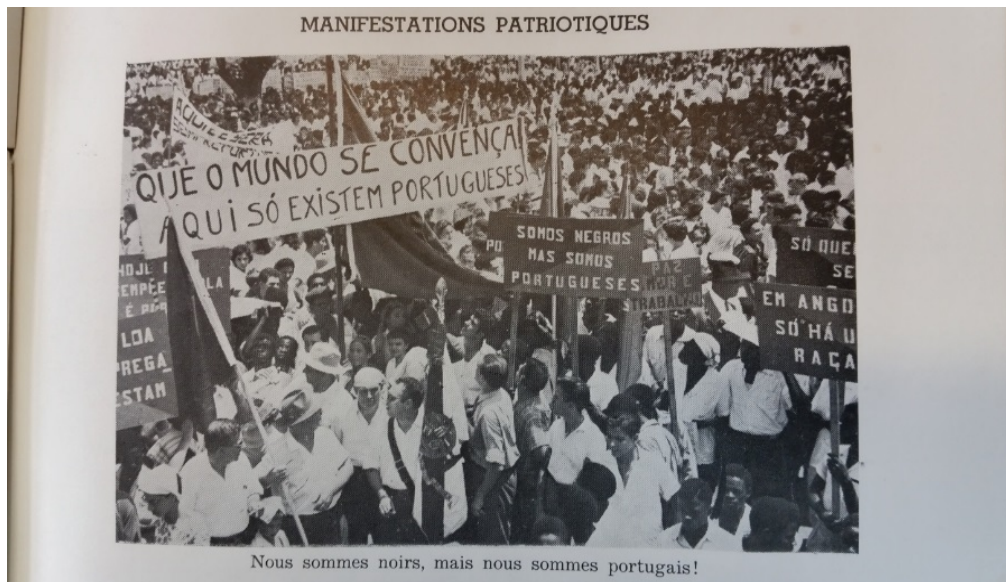


Figure 2.3. Lusotropicalism propaganda.

(Source: Almeida Santos, Foto Imperio, C.I.T.A., Archives Álbum, 31252, Biblioteca municipal de Luanda).



Figure 2.4. Indigenous identification.

(Source: Image courtesy of João Antonio (Luanda, January 2015)).





Figure 2.5. The Religious Missions: Mission Catholic of Mussuco.

(Source: Photos of Veloso de Castro/Album aspects life and customs, interior of Portuguese West Africa, Angola/ no. 0018-6/1958, Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola).



Figure 2.6. Children in school/ elementary school.

Source: Almeida Santos, Foto Imperio, C.I.T.A., Archives Album, 31252. Biblioteca Municipal de Luanda.

## Chapter 3— Methodology

Historical research in education has been defined by several scholars using a systematic historical dimension, objective location, evaluation, and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions related to past events.<sup>345</sup> Historical research is a process of critical inquiry into past events, which produces a description, interpretation, and reconstructionist representation of the past events. Historical research includes an analysis of events that happened in the distant or recent past. According to Peter Seixas and St  phane Levesque, conducting an historical research, as historians, gives us the opportunity to rethink the nuances, personalities, ideas, thoughts, and philosophies that influenced these events.<sup>346</sup> This research, focusing on a general historical educational research methodology, will help us to understand and gain an accurate perception regarding the present situation of education in my country, Angola, as well as to understand how to analyze past events in order to recognize previous patterns. This historical research, following Harry G. Good and Joseph Watras’s perspective,<sup>347</sup> also analyzes how the historical perspective offers a better understanding of current educational practices in the process of educational reform in my country. In the end, this study yields awareness into some educational problems as yet inadequately understood; it reveals how our present educational system evolved; and it establishes a rigorous plan for promoting progress through an inclusive educational system.

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<sup>345</sup> Among several scholars see Anthony Sweeting, “The Historical Dimension: A Contribution to Conversation About Theory and Methodology in Comparative Education” in *Comparative Education*, Vol. 41, no. 1 (2005), 25-44; Harry G. Good, “Historical Research in Education” in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1930), 39-47; Nancy Arsenault and Gary Anderson, *Fundamental of Educational Research* (Routledge Falmer, 2002), and William Richardson and Gary McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Open University Press, 2000).

<sup>346</sup> Peter Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (University of Toronto Press, 2006) and St  phane Levesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty Century*. (University of Toronto Press, 2009).

<sup>347</sup> Joseph Watras, “Historical Perspectives Toward Qualitative Research” in *Journal of Ethnography and Qualitative Research*, Vol. 4, no.1 (2009), 1-8.



Given that there are several purposes for which we do historical research, I would like, particularly, to clarify that the purpose of this chapter is to find through a literature review, answers to the following two questions: How do we characterize historical research and why do we do historical research in the context of Angola? This study depicts where to find primary, secondary, archival, and digital/online resources. According to the research questions, I characterize the historical educational research methodology and how it was used particularly in the case of Angola, noting the primary and secondary resources. Finally, the type of archives and digital/online resources are specified.

### **Suitability of the Historical Educational Research Design**

This research design, in focusing on historical background and characterizing the Angolan educational system, intends to advance the relevance of historical research in education in Angola. The history of education constitutes a main factor of social development, and it is important for educators, teachers, and educational institutions to clearly recognize education in its social phenomenon context.<sup>348</sup> Knowing how to explain which past events through generations have molded the present educational system in Angola must enter into the design of this study and increase awareness of past failures and the potential for future achievements. Historical design represents an outstanding way to examine critically the fundamental role that education has played and can play in the transformation of society in Angola. The study of history of education is a critical way for improving the knowledge of teachers in preparation, where facts must be examined along with the perceptions and assumptions related to the experiences driving the categorizations and generalizations that influence educational practices and priorities. Given that Angola urgently requires fundamental development in education, this

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<sup>348</sup> See Thomas H. Briggs, "Limitations and Proposal: Research in Education" in *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 46, no. 3 (Nov., 1964), 99-103.

historical educational research design has been selected to most effectively accelerate change in the present educational practices and policies.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Rethinking the history of Angolan public education is the objective of this study.<sup>349</sup> I discuss the period between 1930 and 1980. During this time, it is common knowledge to Angolans that the Portuguese primed to build a public education. Among their objectives was the goal of supporting commercial and government interests through using the Angolan population as a source of cheap labor. Additionally, this study focuses on historical background, in particular the transition from indigenous education to colonial education, and characterizes the educational system and its philosophy in both the colonial and the post-colonial period. This study intends to advance the relevance of historical research in education in Angola. The history of education, in every context, constitutes a main component of social development and it is important for teachers to understand education as a social phenomenon taking into account all limitations related to the research in education.<sup>350</sup> This study explains how past events across generations have shaped the present educational system in Angola. The study of the history of education is an excellent way to examine critically the fundamental role that education has played in the transformation of society in Angola.

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<sup>349</sup> This study is aligned in terms of historical perspective with those conducted, for example by Aoron Benavot, "Education, Gender, and Economic Development: A Cross-National Study" in *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 62, no. 1, Special Issue on Gender and Education (Jan., 1989), 14-32 and Thomas Kellaghan and Vincent Greaney, "Using Examination to Improve Education: A Study in Four African Countries" in *World Bank Technical*, no. 165 (Washington, 1992).

<sup>350</sup> See Thomas H. Briggs, "Limitations and Proposal: Research in Education" in *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 46, no. 3 (Nov., 1964), 99-103.

## Research Questions

The central research question that the study aims to answer is, “What is the historical development of the educational system in Angola from 1930 to 1980?” The study addresses the following research sub-questions:

1. What were the historical elements that influenced the educational system in Angola?
2. What were the purpose and philosophy of education in both the colonial and the post-colonial periods?
3. How did Angolans build a new educational system?
4. What are the main Angolan educational issues in the postcolonial period?

### Characterization and Rationale of Historical Educational Research Methodology

Historical research methodology as a systematic process of searching for the facts and then using that information to describe, analyze, and interpret the past is conducted using a logical induction approach. Historical research methodology is part of educational research.<sup>351</sup> The process of doing historical research in education is complex and personal. As it is known, historical research in general is not empirical in that it does not include direct observation of events or persons. Therefore, the interpretation of past events and the use of evidence of past acts and thoughts from several sources of historical data are essential elements of historical research. Generally, historical research is conducted by steps after having identified the research problem. The collection and evaluation of the data, noting the historical information according to whether the sources are primary or secondary, are essential aspects of the methodology. Then

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<sup>351</sup>See Larry B. Christensen and Burke Johnson, *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches* (4<sup>th</sup> Ed), (Sage Publications, 2012); Richard J. Shavelson, Machael J. Feuer, and Lisa Towne, “Scientific Culture and Educational Research’ in *Educational Researchers*, Vol. 31, no. 8 (2002), 4-14.

the research needs to synthesize all information in order to validate and interpret it to draw logical conclusions.

Historical research in education explores the essential elements of any given educational system, not only in terms of conducting an explanatory and descriptive comparative history of education but also essentially to understand internal conflicting and contradictory aspects within the system itself. Once immersed into educational systems, historical research of education helps to gain a holistic understanding of their predominant features and educational identities.<sup>352</sup> Each educational system is driven by specific problems and endogenous and exogenous events that, when connected, can provide us an historical perspective.

This perspective can be viewed interdisciplinarily and analyzed from the literature and the general history, philosophy, anthropology, and psychology.<sup>353</sup> At this point, historical research can be interpreted either from a positivist paradigm or post-positivist paradigm.<sup>354</sup> As we know, research in education is a disciplined challenge to address questions and solve problems through the collection and analysis of primary information for the purpose of description, explanation, generalization, and prediction. Here we are in the sphere of descriptive contemporary research, concerning what has happened and what is happening in the Angolan educational system. Documents, photographs, videos, artifacts, and other materials can be used to describe educational settings. This kind of description also can bring to life research

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<sup>352</sup> See a good example of analysis in “The State and Public Education in Latin America” in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 39, no. 1 (Special Issue on Education in Latin America, Feb., 1995), 1-27, written by Carlos Alberto Torres and Adriana Puiggrós.

<sup>353</sup> Peter Baskerville and Chad Gaffield, “The Automated Archivist: Interdisciplinary and the Process of Historical Research” in *Social Science History*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1985), 167-184; See also Theodore K. Rabb, “The Development of Quantification in Historical Research” in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 13, no. 4 (1983), 591-601.

<sup>354</sup> James H. McMillan and Sally Schumacher, *Research in Education*. (6th ed.), (Boston: Pearson Education, 2006); John J. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (2nd ed.) (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003); Peter Charles Sinclair Taylor, “Multi-paradigmatic Research Design Spaces for Cultural Studies Researchers Embodying Postcolonial Theorizing” in *Cultural Studies in Science Education*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (2008), 881-889; and William Wiersma, *Research Methods in Education: An Introduction*. (7th ed.) (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000).

instruments using texts, quotations, and stories. As we know, education is a broad field that has borrowed methods from traditional academic disciplines such as those found in the physical and social sciences. Today, the historical methods of research can be applied in most fields, each of which dictates a distinct definition.

There is no one single definition of an historical method of research. It depends on through which lens it is viewed. An epistemological analysis can give us the idea of just how diverse these definitions of historical methods of research can be as Edmund Griffith Williamson explained in his article, “The Role of Guidance in Education Methodology.”<sup>355</sup> Researchers from science, economics, psychology, and others areas define historical methods of research according to their objectives. In general, epistemologically, these historical methods arise from the philosophy of history and we can find systematic analysis to be a common denominator across time through an “historical bases of Science Teaching.”<sup>356</sup> In this sense, the historical method of research is the process of systematically examining accounts of what has happened in the past. The goal is to communicate past events and help to understand the different historical stages of development of the same or different phenomena related with past or contemporaneous events.

Historical methods include techniques as well as strategies by which historians use not only primary and secondary sources but also tertiary sources to research and then write history. In short, the main characteristics of historical educational research methodology consist of evaluating documents, providing the possibility to compare informational sources, including analyzing critically the source of documents, and noting the chronological and geographical context of events. That is why historical methods are employed by researchers who are

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<sup>355</sup> Edmund Griffith Williamson, “The Role of Guidance in Education Methodology” in *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 7, no. 4 (1936), 184-190.

<sup>356</sup> James T. Robinson, “Philosophical and Historical Bases of Science Teaching” in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 39, no. 4 (Oct., 1969), 459-471.

interested in reporting events. How does the use of historical methods in research serve education?

### **Using Historical Methods of Research in Education**

Historical methods are important in the field of education because they attempt to solve real problems.<sup>357</sup> According to Stéphane Lévesque, historical methods play an important role in the process of teaching and learning.<sup>358</sup> Educating our students in the 21<sup>st</sup> century implies teaching them to think historically. This belief points to one of the issues in contemporary education. Critical thinking about the past allows the researchers an open field in the history of education for the deeper development of their research. Stéphane Lévesque's work in this sense is an excellent guideline regarding the need of descriptive collections of personal, local, national, and international studies in the history of education. Also, historical methods of research in education can provide an opportunity not only for students but also for teachers to research new methods, creating a specific pedagogy of the history of education and its principles, and to adopt a "general attitude about educational research."<sup>359</sup> It is interesting to reflect "how to make research results more appropriate for educational practice important for educational research"<sup>360</sup> and particularly for teacher research and professional knowledge practitioners.<sup>361</sup>

This institutionalization and the accompanying increase in the number of graduate and doctoral students in the area, presents a pathway along which synergies can be allocated to promote, rethink, and find solutions for educational problems. Historical methods, when well

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<sup>357</sup> Helen M. Walker, "Methods of Research" in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 26, no. 3 (1956), 323-343.

<sup>358</sup> Stéphane Lévesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty Century*. (University of Toronto Press, 2009).

<sup>359</sup> Helen M. Walker, "Methods of Research" in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 26, no. 3 (1956), 324.

<sup>360</sup> Joke H. Velzen, "Educational Researchers and Practicality" in *American Educational Research Journal*, 50, no. 4 (2013), 789.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, 792.

explored, can help to find relevant answers for contemporary issues<sup>362</sup> in revealing the ongoing ideological orientation, globalization, and interpretation of the significant changes that have taken place in the policies and practices of public education around the world.<sup>363</sup> The historical methods approach can establish a bridge to understand better the relationship between education and economy as well as to implement curriculum research in the context of schooling in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. According to Heta Kauppinen, the world has already entered into an era defined by a major turning point in the development of historical research.<sup>364</sup> Studying historically the context of schooling, synthesizing the data collected, and reporting historical events are more important every day for historical research in education. The relationships between the past and the present that interpolate individuals, agencies, and institutions also are essential. It is exactly this relationship among past and present, individuals and agencies or institutions within society that permits an applied approach in which researchers trying to find solutions to existing educational problems prevail.<sup>365</sup>

### **Data Collection: Essence of Primary and Secondary Resources**

The sources in the process of research are important because they constitute the basis for the reliability of the research. Most of the data collected through primary and secondary sources

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<sup>362</sup> See Katherine M. Dunlap, "A History of Research in Social Work Education: 1915-1991" in *Journal of Social Work Education*, Vol. 29, no. 3 (1993), 293-301; Tichard Leo Enos, "The Archaeology of Women in Rhetoric: Rhetorical Sequencing as a Research Method for Historical Scholarship" in *Rhetorical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 32, no. 1 (2001), 65-79; William C. Reavis, "Methods of Research in School Organization" in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (1934), 21-28.

<sup>363</sup> Michael B. Katz, "The Origins of Public Education" in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 16, no. 4 (1976), 381-407; and Edgar L. Morphet, "The Support of Public Education" in *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 32, no. 3 (1950), 99-101.

<sup>364</sup> Heta Kauppinen, "Historical Analysis in Art Education: A Plea for Contemporary Methods" in *Visual Arts Research*, Vol. 13, no. 1 (1987), 63-72.

<sup>365</sup> See Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (London, England: Routledge, 1999); and Walter Prevenier and Martha C. Howell, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Ithaca, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001).

needs to be studied carefully.<sup>366</sup> One of the challenges in this study is to identify and explain the meaning of primary and secondary sources. First, primary sources are original materials in a physical state, in print or electronic format located in public or private archives that are needed for explanations regarding the specific historical events related to the given subject. To find primary sources in historical research is not always easy, depending on the type and nature of the subject. For example in the case of Angola, because the country experienced more than three decades of civil war, important and valuable documents and archives were destroyed. Other information became rare and difficult to retrieve: old documents, images, diaries, artifacts, and even eyewitness verbal interpretations most of which is acquired abroad. In Portugal I visited the *Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo*, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* and *Tropical Research Institute* where I secured primary documents for example, manuscripts, letters, memos, documents about colonial educational system, national and political movements in Portugal and in Angola, draft reform of popular education, correspondence from the Salazar archive (AOS/CO/ED — 6, 7: pt 18, fls no. 20-311; Proc-1<sup>0</sup>- Sec, Book 1-k, no. 1875; SR:H011, AHU\_ACL\_MU\_DGEDU\_RM; SR: C65: P51; SR: A061 in several boxes), and other documents, whose details are listed in the Bibliography and Appendices.

With some difficulties and certain limitations, I located important documents in Angola in the: *Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola*, *Centros de Documentação*, *Biblioteca Nacional*, *Centro de Investigação Científica de Angola*, *Arquivo do Ministério da Educação*, *Arquivos das Direcções Provinciais da Educação*, and *Governo Provincial de Luanda/Biblioteca Municipal Central*. Most limitations were due to the lack of organization and failure to update the archives, lack of catalogs and databases of depository documents, insufficient guidelines in archival

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<sup>366</sup> James A. Huston, "Classifying 'Sources' for Clarity in Teaching" in *The History Teacher*, Vol. 22, no. 2 (1989), 139-144; See also Jean-Pierre Richard, "John Edgar Wideman: A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources." *Callaloo*, Vol. 22, no. 3 (1990), 750-758.



repositories, the limited schedule allowed for research, which goes from 9:00AM to 2:45PM Monday through Friday, and the almost non-existence of experts in the field. Even with these limitations, I found important documents such as Official Diaries and Bulletins (1930-1980), photographs (Remington Rand Inc, Album no. 029, Cat, no. 507-A, and Veloso e Castro Archive, ANA no. 1165, 0018-6/58, 1166), and several boxes. Other documents are listed in the Bibliography and Appendices.

In the United States of America, where there is an abundance of primary sources related to the history of education available, as well as a wealth of collections and indexes through which research is facilitated, these sources can be found commonly on internet archives at universities, in public libraries, research centers, historical societies, or private institutions. In addition, it also is possible to explore manuscripts, diaries, charters, laws, memoranda, catalogues, official minutes or records, historical photographs, official publications, government resolutions, transcripts, letters, pictures, historical newspapers, creative works, periodicals, and artifacts such as furniture and buildings, plus unpublished materials, which exist as fragments.

Depending on the type of research topic, there are advantages to collecting primary sources.<sup>367</sup> Primary sources may be more accurate than secondary sources, stimulating personal involvement, and representing firsthand accounts that allow us to understand the details of an event. On the other hand, primary sources present some disadvantages because they often are difficult to find and interpret, and can be biased.

Secondary sources are those sources that interpret and analyze primary sources and do not have a physical connection with the event being studied. To use, evaluate, and interpret secondary sources, I used David W. Stewart and Michael A. Kamins' framework structured in

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<sup>367</sup> Robert E. Keohane, "Using Primary Sources in Teaching History" in *The Journal of General Education*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (1950), 213-220.

their book, *Secondary Research: Information Sources and Methods*.<sup>368</sup> I found some secondary sources such as books, and online books from library catalogs, written by professional historians, social analysts, and philosophers. I found journal articles from online databases, i. e., JSTOR, MLA International Bibliography, and Historical Abstracts, written by experts in the field. These are sources that suggest summaries of events or synthesize information from different sources.<sup>369</sup> In terms of articles, I observed that some reviews were done typically whose content also included reviews of books and articles. Although some of these articles appeared to be primary sources, I recognized when the authors of review articles discuss, analyze, and evaluate others' research, these review articles are not primary sources. Beyond the books, online sources, and articles, all of which are listed in the Bibliography, I used government reports, archive data sets from the Angolan Ministry of Education and statistical information from the Angolan National Institute of Statistics.<sup>370</sup>

The distinction between primary and secondary sources is not always easy to decipher. Sometimes a secondary source may also be a primary source and vice versa. One must be careful regarding the strengths and weaknesses of both primary and secondary sources. Effectively, there is no rule about which type of source is better. One can conclude from what I said above that secondary sources have the advantage of usually being written by experts. Yet, they have the disadvantage of being less accurate in terms of a conclusion from what is pretended fact and also being the person's interpretation.

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<sup>368</sup> David W. Stewart and Michael A. Kamins, *Secondary Research: Information Sources and Methods*, Sage Publications, London (1993), 17.

<sup>369</sup> Historians usually use popular magazines as well as newspapers as primary sources and secondary sources are commonly books or scholars' journals. Secondary sources usually can be found in libraries, schools, or homes. See also J. R. Jeffrey, "The Survey, Again" in *OAH Magazine of History*, Vol. 17, no. 3 (2003), 52-54.

<sup>370</sup> MED, Ministério da Educação. *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, Luanda, 1978 and Instituto Nacional de Estatística. *Perfil de Pobreza em Angola*. Luanda, 1996

To review, I selected a research methodology that required gathering rich and relevant data to arrive at a more complete understanding and historical reconstruction of the Angolan educational system analyzing the consequences of the Portuguese empire, the impact of Postcolonial theory, and the decolonizing process. Literature on general historiography (monographs and dissertations) in philosophy and history of education were identified and included as well as other tertiary collections along with primary and secondary sources. For instance, I used a database collection in the Overseas Historical Archive and Will Richardson's textbook, *Blogs, Wikis, Podcasts, and Other Powerful Web Tools for Classrooms* to understand how education historical information can be used in social networks and technologies.<sup>371</sup>

The identification and selection of primary sources is one of the most important steps in defining the methodology for any historical analysis.<sup>372</sup> Additional steps were part of the study, including an external evaluation of the resources to ensure the authenticity of the data and an internal evaluation for certifying the credibility of the documents. For example, to evaluate primary and secondary sources, I analyzed carefully the purpose and the values of each primary source, book and article, the author's background and the audience, checking who were responsible for the information, their intention in writing the subject related to my study. I also looked at the potential impact of the source in my study as well as possible bias and prejudices reflected in the book or article content. I privileged the books and articles written by experts in the field of history and philosophy of education, evaluating the truth of their content. More details are discussed in the Data Collection section.

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<sup>371</sup> Will Richardson, *Blogs, Wikis, Podcasts, and Other Powerful Web Tools for Classrooms*, Corwin, A Sage Company, 2010.

<sup>372</sup> See the article written by John W. Mohr and Robert Franzosi, "New directions in Formalization and Historical Analysis" in *Theory and Society*, Vol. 26, no. 2/3 (1997), 133-160.

Analysis, synthesis, and interpretation of data comprise an important step. Researchers need to study carefully each source to understand the meaning of the events, the key elements and their roles, and the status of each one in the research. In this study, for example, I was concerned about the source reliability by examining the consistency of the author's narrative, the truth and the report or description of the events. The goal was to understand the ways the diaries, photographs, or government decrees and records were constructed. As a result, I conducted a critical analysis about what specific source provided the best evidence to answer my research questions. I also synthesized the sources allowing definitions, discussion, as well as explanations of meeting colonialism, religion, and decree in the history of education. Finally the sources were interpreted to answer to the research questions. The final step was devoted to writing the research report in such a way as to present the historical facts.

#### **Data Collection: Archives and Digital/Online Resources**

Archives and digital documents constitute an irreplaceable support in historical research educational methodology. The standards of evidence in historical research are a serious issue to address. That certitude and truth about past events is so important explains why archives and digital documents in the process of historical research are paramount. As reported by Peter Novick,<sup>373</sup> the idea of objectivity has influenced most professional historians. Archives and digital documents contain historical materials that can cover and challenge the idea of objectivity of data. Knowing what archives are, the different types of archives, how to use them, how to access, and how to conduct research using an archive represent steps that a researcher in history needs to follow. Archives preserve historical materials, manuscripts, and books, which is why

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<sup>373</sup> Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession (Ideas in Context)*, (Cambridge University Press, 1988).

many authors emphasize the importance of historical archives.<sup>374</sup> According to Edward Weldon, archives need to be supported adequately because most of them record material normally unpublished and almost always unique.<sup>375</sup> In general, archives are diverse: college and university archives, government archives, museum archives, religious archives, historical societies, and special collections. Archives also are distinct from libraries in terms of their functions and organization, even though archival collections also can be found within library buildings. For example, we can find archives in colleges, universities, and in other educational facilities wherein libraries are housed. This modality, to have in the same building libraries and archives, helps researchers but sometimes separating which material is most relevant can be confusing to the researcher as emphasized R. J. Cox.<sup>376</sup>

According to Anne S. K. Turkos and Richard J. Cox,<sup>377</sup> an archive may have library as part of its name or the archives may be a department within a library. Yet Richard B. Morris, defended that historians should understand the challenge of finding historical materials because it is not easy to know exactly what a researcher is looking for.<sup>378</sup> Additionally, the diversity of archives and because exploring archives is time consuming can complicate the research. Given the reality of Angola, obstacles presented themselves in the archives research process because of the limited access to government archives and due to the lack of guidelines in archival

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<sup>374</sup> Most institutions, schools, museums, libraries, associations, government ministries store their most valuable records or archival research. See how R. W. Shoaf explores well this issue in one of his articles, "Archives" in *Notes Second Series*, Vol. 56, no. 3 (2000), 648-654.

<sup>375</sup> Edward Weldon, "Archives and Practice of Public History" in *The Public History*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (1982), 49-58.

<sup>376</sup> Richard J. Cox, "Library History and Library Archives in the United States" in *Libraries & Culture*, Vol. 26, no. 4 (1991), 569-593.

<sup>377</sup> Anne S. K. Turkos and Richard J. Cox, "Establishing Public Library Archives" in *The Journal of Library History (1974-1987)*, Vol. 21, no. 3 (1986), 574-584.

<sup>378</sup> Richard B. Morris, "The Challenge of Historical Materials" in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1941), 91-116.

repositories. I visited six archives located in Portugal and in Angola with different characteristics in organizational terms and with incredible material of interest:

First, the *National Archive Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon is a dependent service of the General Directorate of the Book, constituted by Archives and Library. It is integrated into the Ministry of Culture. It custodies a universe and diversified archival heritage, including original documents from the nineteenth century to the present day. The archive contains excellent funds and collections, general guides, treasures of Torre do Tombo, the national archive catalogue of Torre do Tombo. There I found reports, educational programs and development plans, activities of religious congregations, correspondences, circular, and scanned documents on CD were furnished.

Second, the *Overseas Historical Archive* in Lisbon is one of the most important and international repositories and of the most interest for the Community of Portuguese Language Countries. It contains textual and image documentation concerning the Portuguese and the colonies between the eighteenth century and 1974-1975. It is integrated into the Institute of Tropical Research supervised by the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There, I examined the repository website, catalogs, finding aids (inventory, collection listing, register), and databases. I found documents of interest to the study and knowledge of political history, administrative, missionary, economic, financial aspects of Portuguese colonization, and specific materials, such as photographs, meeting minutes, reports and letters.

Third, the *Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola*, in Luanda is an institution dependent on the Ministry of Culture. It has a collection consisting of 13,000 manuscripts, referring to the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, and 5,000 boxes of documents relating to the nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. "There are also visual documents such as photographs,

microfilms, and mapping maps, which the expert relates be a large amount in a high state of degradation due to the lack of conservation conditions.”<sup>379</sup> I found twelve boxes related to educational services containing among other documents, maps of teachers and students, reports, statistics, student enrollment, Portuguese youth activity, and an album of pictures and photographs. Specifically, there are organizational difficulties in this archive. There was construction adjacent to the archive and as a result flooding hindered access to research.

Fourth, the *Archives of the Ministry of Education*, in Luanda is an administrative archive, which is not a conventional archive for scientific research. For example, there are no catalogs, finding aids, or digital collections. The documents are classified by years, however they are not ordered for analysis or available for use. Work remains to be done there to conduct effective research. However, I found there brochures with interesting data on the evolution of education, especially reports from the province delegations and from the Advisory Councils of the Ministry of Education.

Fifth, the *Archives of the Archives of Central Municipal Library of Provincial Govern of Luanda*, is an archive that functions inside of the library. It is well organized and contains a diverse collection of documents. I found there the largest number of Legal Diaries from 1930 to 1980 described and analyzed in this research.

Sixth is the *Archives of Province Delegation of the Ministry of Education* in Sumbe/ Kwanza Sul Province. The Province of Kwanza Sul was where I conducted most of my research in Angola. The capital of Angola, Luanda is extremely difficult to conduct research due to the horrible traffic, lack of parking spaces in the city, and commonly most of the state institutions are not, ready to host researchers. Although the Delegation was in the rehabilitation process, I was

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<sup>379</sup> Notícias, *Arquivo Nacional de Angola quer Cooperação Portuguesa*, No. 39 (Outubro, 2007). <http://www.tvciencia.pt/tvcnot/pagnet/tvcnot03.asp?codpub=15&codnot=12>

allowed to conduct archival research. I found there documents such as reports, minutes, and despatches from the Ministry of Education. Also, many of Decrees, Diploma legislatives, Legal Diaries, and Ordinances were found in this archive, which are described in Appendix E related to the Legislation.

Referring to these archives visited, I encountered obstacles and also I enjoyed the help and openness from the archives' personnel, which contributed to the achievement of positive results in terms of quality of data collected. The main obstacles were more present in Luanda. Some of the government institutions do not have a process established regarding scientific research, due in part to bureaucracy.

In Luanda, after 3:00 PM, no public institution is open to the public and most of them usually begin working at 10:00AM or later. The lack of professional archivists is an enormous problem in the country. However, the few archivists in service are helpful, whom I consider authentic heroes. In terms of findings, more details are listed in the Bibliography and presented in Appendices A, B, C and D. Among the Appendices, is included also Appendix F with permissions. The permission request for using the pictures and images was allowed by the agencies who copyrighted them in the websites where the pictures were found: For example, Appendix F. 1. refers to the permission for Figure 1. 1. *Angola in Africa*, and Figure 1.2. *The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 to Divide Africa*; Appendix F. 4 is related to the permission for using the image Appendix B. 5. *Chokwe Chief's Chair*, 19<sup>th</sup> century; Appendix F. 5 reports the permission for using the figures related to Appendix B 11, 22. *Priest celebrating mass in a village in Damba in the presence of the authorities, capuchin missionaries and colonial authorities in Damba, and missionary Camilo Maria de Tarassa with Baptist Protestant community members in Damba/1962*. Appendix F. 2 and 3 state the permissions for using



documents and images from the National Archives of Angola/Ministry of Culture and documents scanned and payment of collected figures on the Torre do Tombo/Tropical Research Institute/Lisbon. The remaining figures and images were safeguarded editorial rights by using “Fair Use” and giving the authors credit in conjunction with assistance from the Hale Library College of Education resource person. Primary sources such as photographs and figures provided evidence for supporting this educational and historical research.

There are regions and countries that are demanding more archival services and a higher quality of documents, as well as more openness towards national and international archives (United National Archives) to support historical research. According to Emma Rothschild, “The archives also could serve the repository for the far more extensive records as ‘clothier with an international interest.’”<sup>380</sup> The national governments of all countries should create a mechanism to allow researchers to conduct their research because the “archives are the source of stories that are true, for those who use them ‘with an open spirit, capable at the same time of objectivity and imagination, to represent the past as it really was.’”<sup>381</sup>

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Data analysis is a crucial step involved in historical research. Historical researchers use several methods to make sense out of large amounts of data from theoretical models of analysis to coding systems. However, they use the same approaches in terms of analysis of sources of historical data broadly classified into tree types; primary sources, secondary sources, and tertiary sources. This historical research is based on documentary research. The documents I found, in general, were classified into multiple forms (i. e., archives, diaries, records, technical documents, memories, stories newspaper articles, books and articles, reports and statistics, correspondence,

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<sup>380</sup> Emma Rothschild, “The Archives of Universal History” in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 19, no. 3 (2008), 375.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, 401

field notes, public records, reports and directories). The study emphasizes primary documents, secondary documents, tertiary documents, and archives, digital and online resources. Primary documents are original documents, events, and results empirical research. Secondary documents are reviews or summaries of primary sources or other secondary sources. And tertiary sources are constituted of summaries of materials with references to the primary and secondary sources such as the handbook I used in this study. In terms of education, I found several sources of historical information such as documents (diaries, memories, laws, committee reports, logbooks, etc.), relics (school buildings, school furniture, textbooks, instructional aids, digital texts) and quantitative records (school budgets, student attendance, and school results).

Data analysis implies conducting criticism (external evaluation, internal evaluation) and interpretation of the historical sources. External evaluation regards the issue of authenticity of the data in order to identify forgeries and frauds to avoid plagiarism or other involuntary omissions. I was alert about the consistency and truthfulness of the documents. Whereas internal evaluation is related to the accuracy of the historical sources and the meaning of the material. I used these approaches as ways to establish the credibility of the authors of the document, as well as identifying the source of bias and evaluating them carefully to reduce potential bias. For example, when reviewing personal correspondence of Salazar political personality, I reviewed critically and historically the content of the diaries, memories, laws, and committee reports to understand their effect on the educational system. In this analysis I explored and confronted the available information and both the context and the perspective of the study. Finally, I used

Voyant Tools for content analysis<sup>382</sup> (a free, online text-analysis program), which allowed generating the key concepts, important and meaningful words related to the topic.

Interpretation of historical data is a step that requires caution and imagination; plus the researcher needs to be vigilant regarding possible bias, prejudice, and personal interests that could influence the interpretation of the data. Interpretation and researcher perception are two elements of influence in finding and evaluating archives. In their article, Wendly M. Duff and Catherine A. Johnson showed how historians locate primary sources and carry out their research and use archival material. They identified four steps: (1) orienting one to archives finding aids, sources or a collection, (2) seeking known materials, (3) building contextual knowledge, and (4) identifying relevant material.<sup>383</sup> To secure the quality and appropriateness of materials, one can find in archives other aspects that should be taken into account. For example, contacting experts, checking archives, visiting websites including archive Wiki, catalogues and databases; all are important modalities that can help the researcher locate materials appropriate to his research.<sup>384</sup>

Digital collections, according to Elizabeth Yakel and Magia Ghetu Krause, are another complementary service for more research historians, which allows accessibility to archival materials adopting “Encoded Archival Description to generate the finding aids.”<sup>385</sup> The accessibility through interaction in virtual archives grants other important aspects such as,

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<sup>382</sup> Voyant Tools is a digital historical method of analysis that allows historians to work with texts or text collections to examine the meaning of concepts into a text, document, or digital text. The researcher can use different tools, such as summary, word trends, key words in context, and corpus reader; see <http://voyant-tools.org/>.

<sup>383</sup> Wendly M. Duff and Catherine A. Johnson, “Accidentally Found on Purpose: Information-Seeking Behavior of Historians in Archives”. *The Library Quarterly*, Vol.72, no. 4 (2002), 472-496.

<sup>384</sup> Scholars such as Patricia A. Andrews, P. A. (1986). “Writings on Archives, Historical Manuscripts, and Current Records: 1983” in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 49, no. 3 (1986), 277-303; and Laurence W. Smith, “Writings on Archives, Current Records, and Historical Manuscripts” in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 15, no. 4 (Jun., 1952), 337-366.

<sup>385</sup> Elizabeth Yakel, E., & Magia Ghetu Krause, “Interaction in Virtual Archives: The Polar Expedition Digital Collections Next Generation Finding Aid” in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 70, no. 2 (2007), 282-314.

“common ground, awareness, and interactivity.”<sup>386</sup> Considering accessibility as the main aspect in the archive research process, they argued the following: used archives open pathways for further visitation. In conclusion, we are encouraged by this experiment and will continue to push the boundaries of current descriptive representations and reconceptualize how the interactions among archivist, researchers, and records can enhance the archive record.<sup>387</sup> This type of source allows printing, pictorial and audio-visual collections, and other digital services.<sup>388</sup> For example, often museums are distinguished by having collections of unique objects that form the core of their activities and exhibitions, education, and research. Many libraries have information stored in digital formats and are accessible over a network. Found within digital collections are meeting minutes, reports, letters, audiovisual recordings, photographs etc.

A certain level of skill is needed to access some digital collections and to visit a repository of collections. For example, I requested the visits and I defined precisely the type of material I was looking for. I informed my plan to archival personnel and I reviewed the reproduction policies for access to digital image collections of cultural heritage materials.<sup>389</sup> Aurel Stein explored one of the biggest digital collections, with more than 400 multidisciplinary websites, demonstrating how strongly digital collections can serve researchers.<sup>390</sup> From him I learned that there is another challenge related to digitized image collections, which involves

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<sup>386</sup> Ibid., 287.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid., 312.

<sup>388</sup> See Danny P. Wallace and Connie Van Fleet, *Knowledge into Action: Research and Evaluation in Library and Information Science*. Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited (ABC-CLIO, 2012); and Toby P. Graham and Andre Watson, “CSS Alabama “Digital Collection”: A Special Collections Digitization Project” in *The American Archivist*, 61, no. 1 (1998), 124-134.

<sup>389</sup> See Johana Woll, J. (2005). “User Access to Digital Image Collections of Cultural Heritage Materials: The Thesaurus as Pass-key. Art Documentation” in *Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America*, Vol. 24, no. 2, 19-28.

<sup>390</sup> Aurel Stein, “Links to History” in *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 39, no. 3 (2002), 166.

restrictions including property and copyright.<sup>391</sup> As I observed, archives contain valuable material that allows me to conduct this historical research in education.<sup>392</sup>

Interpreting the sources of historical data is another step related to the analysis of evidence, which allowed me to connect both internal and external evaluation as complementary processes. Specifically, I used the following techniques: (1) historical criticism of original documents to capture the meaning, to establish ways for the reconstruction of the historical situation, and to disprove the historical truth balancing it with my historical situation; (2) close reading, the careful, sustained interpretation of a passage of texts capturing essential ideas from the text; (3) detailed observation to uncover complex events, which are difficult to record and often when the source about paradigms and myths are missing or incomplete; (4) questioning in each statement, argument, event, document, picture or photograph; I asked basic questions (What? Where? When? Who? Why?) to understand the source and approached the source with caution. These four aspects were the foundation to guarantee representativeness. Given that the nature of this study uses primary documents to reconstruct what happened, establishing the truth of documents was essential. For secondary sources, I analyzed the context to find the clues and the author's interpretation.

Archival research is a type of primary research. It is related to location, evaluation, systematic interpretation and analysis of sources found. Archives are connected to websites,

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<sup>391</sup> See Kathleen Fear, "User Understanding of Metadata in Digital Image Collections: Or, What Exactly do you Mean by "Coverage" in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 73, no. 1 (2010), 20-60.

<sup>392</sup> Andrew Justice, "Working Group on the Creation of a Digital Collections Database." *Fontes Artist Musicale*, Vol. 59, no. 4 (2012), 339; Dianna B. Marcum, "Defining 'Common Good' in the Digital World" in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 145, no. 1 (2001), 73-80; Eileen Abels, and Xia Lin, "Digital Library Education Lab" in *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science*, Vol. 51, no. 2 (2010), 120-124; Jack Fellows, "An Optimistic Read on Digital Libraries. Science" in *New Series*, 232 (5918), 1168-1169; Lori A. Goetsch, "Frame of References: Special Collections" in *Changes : The Magazine of Higher Learning*, Vol. 42, no. 1 (2010), 49. In reality, new ways to describe and define what they have traditionally called special collections : incunabula, manuscripts, rare books, cultural artifacts, and more. They are valuable, historically important, and often one-of-a-kind artifacts, which can be a treasure trove for scholars and students.

catalogs, and databases, digital collections, and finding aides. For better results, I used inference, my experience, and my background knowledge bringing them to primary and secondary sources.

### **Summary**

The characterization and importance of historical research in the field of education, as well as the meaning of primary and secondary sources, and the impact of archives and digital collections in conducting historical research were presented. The scope of historical research in education is defined broadly. Through a review of the literature, I identified that an historical educational research methodology involves collecting, reading, and evaluating material related to a specific topic. These aspects involve locating primary and secondary resources, including other documents on record, and relics that can be found in archives and digital collections. The value of historical educational research assists us in understanding how our present Angolan educational system has come about and which dynamic forces have fostered educational change. The results and findings related to this research are described in the second and third parts of this dissertation, which describe the development of the history of education in Angola from 1930 to 1975 and from 1975 to 1980 respectively.

## **Part II Development of the History of Angolan Education 1930-1975**

### **Chapter 4—Historical Background of Education in the Precolonial and Postcolonial Periods**

The period before 1930 in Angola is marked by a crossroads of a diversity of factors that influenced the lives of Angolans. Some factors, described earlier are related to the imminent Portuguese colonial domination and the growth of an Angolan identity composed of the different tribal nations, most of which have Bantu roots.<sup>393</sup> These two tendencies had a tremendous influence on the social and economic process of Angolan development, resulting in two models of education. Another important aspect is that the reencounter of these two models of education, the Angolan/ indigenous education and European/Portuguese education, was not compatible. Using an ideology of "faith by force" and the slavery rooted in a religious and economic dimension, the colonizers arrived to impose their power, putting the entire population on their knees and pulling from them all human dignity. Missionaries and colonizers shoulder to shoulder played this role of rescuer and cultural dominator of the Angolan people. The only solution for Angolans, in this situation, was to resist this culture of domination.<sup>394</sup> Some scholars and missionaries had contributed to the study of autochthone languages and described the lifestyle of natives. Most of the time missionaries and colonizers did not arrive in Angola with the social skills needed to see its people positively, but they described the scenery in unique terms by emphasizing its curious nature, extolling their supposed cultural superiority under the

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<sup>393</sup> Bleek classified Bantu speakers, calling "certain people as primitive and inferior." He is known by coining the term "bantu" in 1856 referring to the "great family" of languages that used the same root "ntu" that means people, which is "muntu," singular and "bantu," plural. See Raymond O. Silverstein, "A Note on the Term 'Bantu' as First Used by W.H. I. Bkeek" in *African Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4 (1968), 211-212.

<sup>394</sup> I developed this concept in my pilot study of this dissertation, entitled "Some Elements of Angolan History of Education: Colonialism and Culture Domination," presented at the Annual Conference Organization of Educational Historians (OEH), (Chicago, 2014). See also, Gillette Hall and Harry Anthony Patrinos, "Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Human Development in Latin America: 1994-2004." Review by Laura Rival, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 17, no. 6 (2007), 820-823, 821.

flag of civilization. As a result, Angolan indigenous<sup>395</sup> education was considered inappropriate, prohibited, and condemned to die. It is, with this perspective in mind that I describe as follows, the characteristics of precolonial education, indigenous education, and the transition from indigenous to colonial education.

### **Characteristics of Angolan Precolonial Education**

Describing Angolan education before contact with Western culture implies a need to be attentive to epistemological assumptions. Expressions using indigenous knowledge, power relations, culture, progress, languages, and explanations that come from the laws of nature need to be analyzed and reconceptualized in order to be understood as part of precolonial education. For this purpose, according to Linda T. Smith, it is important to decolonize the methodologies that drive Western knowledge relative to these expressions.<sup>396</sup> With colonization, the form of the development of native/indigenous education was interrupted and marginalized. As a result, indigenous education studies are rare among Angolan researchers. Despite a few differences, among the main ethnic groups<sup>397</sup> which now inhabit Angolan territories, a common education based on traditions was developed. This kind of education included in native studies, according to Jeff Lambe, is connected with culture, languages, and knowledgeable elders who held opinions, and practiced customs that informed their perceptions and philosophies.<sup>398</sup> The perceptions and philosophies included rituals, folklore, myths, values, proverbs, and songs as

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<sup>395</sup> The concept of indigenous is considered a taboo subject in most of the Portuguese ex-colonies. It is usually understood as a pejorative term and unfortunately, Angolan researchers “turned a blind eye” to discuss the concept. I am applying the concept of “indigenous” as a social construct that varies according to the historical epoch, cultural context and location, which represents thousands of Angolans that recognize being part of indigenous people, mostly in rural areas.

<sup>396</sup> See, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (New York, 2012), 199-216.

<sup>397</sup> See Table 1.1 Angolan Ethnic Groups by Alphabetic Order.

<sup>398</sup> Jeff Lambe, “Indigenous Education, Mainstream Education, and Native Studies: Some Considerations When Incorporating Indigenous Pedagogy into Native Studies” in *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 27, no. 1/2 (2003), 308-324, 308.



part of native knowledge transferred by the teaching of the elders from one generation to the next.<sup>399</sup> The teaching and learning were based on the initiation rites or rites of passage. My starting point before a serious analysis of the initiation rites is to agree with P. Masila Mutisya<sup>400</sup> that it is important to demythologize and demystify the sense of initiation rites due to the distortion of the real sense of these rites conducted by the missionaries, colonizers, and neocolonialists. His reflection constitutes one of the first criticisms of the real role of rites of passage as a focal point for native education. In reality as he argued,

Rites of passage offered a continuity that linked youth with adults and linked both with the larger community. This manifest function instilled responsibilities, a value system, and the internalization of the culture at an early age. This enabled youth to make better judgments about life and to avoid many of the problems facing them in their daily lives: Adolescent pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, homicide, crime, identity crises, homelessness, and single parenting.<sup>401</sup>

In most traditional African societies, as in the Angolan society, different institutions responsible for driving education from birth to death existed assuring a traditional and mainstream culture. Researchers show that education as a “process of learning itself” and “necessity of life”<sup>402</sup> existed for as long as human beings started living in a society<sup>403</sup> with its own strengths and weaknesses. Angola is no exception to this universal rule. That is why education represents a process in which the older generation imparts skills, values, and knowledge to the younger generation defining their own patterns for survival. So, what were the aims of an Angolan education in the precolonial period? A deeper look at the customary education among Angolan ethnic groups demonstrates its main aim was to teach the young

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<sup>399</sup> This teaching is general in Africa as argued by Michael Owolewa, in “Transitional African Modes of Education: Their Relevance in the Modern World” in *International Review of Education*, Vol. 53, no. 5/6 (2007), 594-612.

<sup>400</sup> P. Masila Mutisya, “Demythologization and Demystification of African Initiation Rites: A Positive and Meaningful Educational Aspects Heading for Extinction” in *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (1996), 94-103

<sup>401</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>402</sup> J. J. Chambliss, “John Dewey’s philosophy of Education before Democracy and Education,” *Education and Culture Spring*, Vol. xix, no. 1 (2003), 2.

<sup>403</sup> M. J. Kelly, *Origin and Development of Schools in Zambia*, Lusaka: Image Publishers Limited (1998).

several important aspects of society. For example, how to perpetuate the cultural heritage of the extended family was one of the objectives. Other objectives were: how to control and understand the physical environment; how to preserve institutions, laws, languages and values inherited from the elders; how to know and understand the genealogical positions related to the different clansmen within a family; the importance of the survival of lineage groups as well as secret societies, which provided the regulations that governed the peoples' lives.<sup>404</sup>

Early works directly related to Angolan ethnic groups customs were José Redinha's *Museu do Dundo, Subsídios para a História Arqueológica e Etnografia dos Povos da Lunda* and *Distribuição Étnica da Província de Angola 1961-1974*.<sup>405</sup> In these books and other essays, he collected texts of the people of Lunda, referring to their origins, customs, and traditions. José Redinha does not present an educational structure but explains specifically the practices and circumcision rites among the Cockwe of Lunda, known as *mukanda* initiation, which I consider to be an excellent key for explaining and understanding some characteristics of precolonial education.

Having personally lived with the Bakongo group from which I originated as well as with the Ambundu group, the Cockwe group, the Ovimbundo group, and the Ovayaneka group, I came to identify common distinctive traits that characterize native education in the precolonial period where the power was limited to tribal social divisions among family, lineage, village, clan, and chiefdom. The main content included laws, moral principles and values, along with

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<sup>404</sup> Secret societies played an important role in the governing of Angolan societies. These societies are referred to being "secret" since their membership was not always known within the larger societies and the process through aspects of survival which they made decisions was not open to the public.

<sup>405</sup> José Redinha, whose real name José Pedro Duarte Domingues, was the conservative at Dundo Museum as Ethnographer and Anthropologist. He brought together the photographic estate of Diamang and among other essays, wrote "Ethnosociology of Angola Northeast" in 1958 and "Practices and Circumcision Rites Among Cockwe of Lunda" in 1973, both published by the Overseas General Agency. See José Redinha. *Museu do Dundo, Subsídios para a História Arqueológica e Etnografia dos Povos da Lunda*, Campanhia dos Diamantes de Angola, 1957, and *Distribuição Étnica da Província de Angola 1961-1974*, Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, Luanda 1965.

obligations to ancestral spirits and relatives. Also, the content stressed the communal and social practice aspects related, for example, to planting, harvesting, hunting, and fishing. The method of teaching was action-oriented based on holistic principles, which created strong human bonds. The vehicle of communication was oral tradition. Narrations were composed with care and repetition based on a tribal mythology and a complex linguistic system that included riddles and proverbs,<sup>406</sup> folk stories, songs, myths, and dance. All of these elements, in certain ways, "call attention to a welding of thought, language, nature lore, and ideas that regulate conduct."<sup>407</sup>

Through oral tradition young people learned how to accomplish social, economic, religious, and ethical obligations in the community. In Carlos Estermann's research, an extensive description of the customs of the Angolan native population is presented.<sup>408</sup> However, his research is without a particular emphasis on the system of education as an institution related to Angolans in his Eurocentrist view. Furthermore, the majority of European researchers mistakenly considered that native education in the colonies of Africa began with the Christian missionaries.<sup>409</sup>

By using postcolonial theory it is known now that this kind of statement corresponds to the mindset of Western historians, whose historical consciousness was as a late-blooming flower belonging solely to Western civilization.<sup>410</sup> In reality, the facts contradicted this argument from the beginning: there was education in Angola long before colonization.

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<sup>406</sup> Riddles and proverbs may express a philosophical train of thought (Bantu philosophy) to regulate human conduct.

<sup>407</sup> Wilfrid D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola, Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. 21, no 2 (1934), 339.*

<sup>408</sup> Carlos Estermann was a French man who arrived in Angola in 1924 as a Spiritan missionary. Among a diversity of works such as the *Fifty Bantu Tales of Southwestern Angola*, his most known work is "Etnografia de Angola (Sudoeste e Centro) Vol 1/2, published by Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical Lisboa in 1960.

<sup>409</sup> Jean van der Poel, "Native Education" in *Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol. 34, no. 136, (1935), 313-331.*

<sup>410</sup> Gerhard Masur. "Distinctive Traits of Western Civilization: Through the Eyes of Western Historians," *American Historical Review, Vol. 67, no. 7, (1962), 591-608.*

## Angolan Indigenous Education

Indigenous education existed among the peoples that inhabited the territory known as Angola. According to Gladwyn M. Childs, the territory was constituted by numerous kingdoms.<sup>411</sup> The most important Angolan ethnic groups are descendents of these Bantu kingdoms. To emphasize, I experienced in my early age a Bakongo indigenous education, in my youth a Mbundu's indigenous education, and as an adult an Ovayaneka and Ovimbundu indigenous education watching traditional ceremonies that persisted from the precolonial period. I learned that the five main rites which constituted indigenous education were key components that linked individuals, families, and villages in the Angolan tradition. A number of ceremonies and rites continued to rise in these communities to cater to the demands for indigenous education even though it was discouraged by the authorities.

The first rite was related to *birth*, which initiated the infant into the world through the belief that the infant has come from the spirit world as a gift to the community. The second rite is known as the *Adulthood* rite of passage<sup>412</sup> for boys and girls. Usually it is performed at the onset puberty around thirteen years of age.<sup>413</sup> This rite ensures the shaping of productive community-oriented and responsible adults. For instance, regarding the boys, Wilfrid D. Hambly argued that, "despite local differences of procedure at Angolan centers, the essentials of the rites are the same everywhere. We have to note the basic distinction between the circumcised and the

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<sup>411</sup> The main kingdoms were: The kingdom of Kongo, Ngola, Matamba, Dembo, Benguela, Lunda, Bié, and Huila. See Gladwyn Murray Childs, "The Peoples of Angola in the Seventeenth Century According to Cadornega," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (1960), 271-279.

<sup>412</sup> Rites of passage serve a double purpose: preserving the ongoing community as symbol of collective immortality and permanence as well as providing a clear and guided means for transition from one life stage and sphere of responsibility to another. The males are prepared for their responsibilities in the community as men, and the women prepared for their responsibilities in the nation as women. And in terms of aesthetic scarification, tattooing and body piercing represented aspects of culture, identification of a group, and body adornment.

<sup>413</sup> In Western culture adulthood is seen as a status achieved at the age of 18 or 21, or simply when the person graduates from high school.

uncircumcised, seclusion, harsh treatment, instruction in dancing and tribal customs, fabrication of masks and costumes, also rigorous exclusion of women and the uninitiated."<sup>414</sup>

This proverbial system at the time in which the initiated young learn the rules of life involves "the elders revealing to the youth the secrets of the tribe."<sup>415</sup> The third rite, related to *marriage*,<sup>416</sup> helps both the husband and the wife to best fulfill their mission and objectives in a united life and to build families and communities.<sup>417</sup> The fourth rite known as *eldership* clarifies the distinction between an "older" and an "elder" person, usually, the elders being those who represent tradition and the wisdom of the past.<sup>418</sup> This initiation assures that age is a "badge" and that the young should respect those who have lived longer. An elder is given the highest status along with newborn infants. These two senior groups represent the closest links to the wisdom of the spirit world and are responsible for preserving the tales, legends, and proverbs.<sup>419</sup> The last rite is related to *ancestorship*. It concerns passing over into the spirit world, while the spirit of the deceased is still with the living community. Just as there are distinctions made in the status of the living, there are distinctions made among the status of the various spirits.<sup>420</sup> So, ancestors are respected elders who have passed away and who continue to serve as an extension of the

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<sup>414</sup> Wilfrid D. Hambly, "Tribal Initiation of Boys in Angola," in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 37, no. 1, (1935), 36-40.

<sup>415</sup> Kalle Kananoja, "Healers, Idolaters, and Good Christians: A Case Study of Creolization and Popular Religion in Mid-Eighteenth Century Angola," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (2010), 387.

<sup>416</sup> Emil Torday, "The Principles of Bantu Marriage," in *African Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1929), 255-290.

<sup>417</sup> Specifically to girls, the women teachers initiate the girls cooking, washing and domestic affairs, as well as myths, ethics, herbal medicine, health and hygiene, preparation of cosmetics, spinning, dancing, singing and storytelling.

<sup>418</sup> The elders have the knowledge of the traditions, history, values, beliefs and culture laws that are inviolate; they have wisdom to assume the task of understanding the material and spiritual requisites of life. So, the female becomes mature, confident, full of joy, and conscious; See also Moisés M'Bambi, "O Otchingandji e o Rei da Selva: Contos de Angola," *Boletim Circulo de Estudos Ultramarinos*, no. 13 (1967), 21-22.

<sup>419</sup> Various Angolan tales, legends, and proverbs were translated in Portuguese language. See Fernando Paías Chabi, "Contos, Lendas e Proverbios (Kikongo –Cuilo-Futa)," *Mensário Administrativo/Direcção dos Serviços de Administração*, no. 5 (1948), 29-32 and J. Fernandes dos Santos, "Contos, Lendas e Provérbios dos Indígenas Quiocos," *Mensário Administrativo/ Direcção dos Serviços de Administração*, no. 3 (1947), 21-24.

<sup>420</sup> Death is thought as a journey to the ancestral world and most of the time weapons, tools, food, and drink have to be presented as a gift to the ancestral spirits.

family and the community. Education is an entire responsibility of the elders and mentors that assure the success of the ceremonies and the lifelong learning process.

In the adulthood rite of passage, at the end of the two and four week training period, the candidates are prepared for an examination. Boys and girls learn to share and expose society's treasured secrets, including historical landmarks, myths and useful symbols for their community. The grandfathers or grandmothers of the candidates assemble in the locations appropriated for the ceremonies to instruct the initiates on the norms of acceptable behavior. Sacred traditional authority figures are considered as the vicar of the ancestors among the living, while the public shrines are specific locales for religious worship. The sacred groves, the diviners, and masqueraders are public performing troupes that evoke a wide range of significant ideas and values within the society transmitted to younger generations. How can they be described?

For a precise and accurate description let us look at the Ovimbundu, Cockwe, and Ngangela groups. For any Bantu group, the initiation rites, past and present, among people of Umbundu culture are important with the young assimilating the values in conformity with tribal standards of conduct. For example "the chief activities of adult males are warfare, hunting, and carrying, all of which used to play a very important part in communal life."<sup>421</sup> The aim of the rites was in securing ideas for unity, however, the women were sometimes left out: they were not supposed to know, for instance, that the operation of circumcision is taking place and they were taught that *ovingaji* are supernatural beings who have sprung up from the earth. The girls during isolation in the bush received sexual and domestic instructions. The methods used to achieve these aims were seclusion, circumcision, physical suffering, music, and dancing.<sup>422</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Wilfrid D. Hambly, "The Ovimbundu of Angola," *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. 21*, no 2 (1934), 89-91, 93-362

<sup>422</sup> Ibid, 226-230.

Family life constituted an important institution that worked to make the village community and tribal organization strong. Home training (what we call today homeschooling) given by parents allows the young to know folklore and fables which show the desirable courage, honesty, and foresight at replacing deprecating cowardice, stupidity, and low cunning.<sup>423</sup>

Among other rites, circumcision and puberty rites are the most potent direct influence in the formation of character and tribal solidarity because through formal instruction the young boys and girls start becoming professional in hunting, iron-works, the practice of magic, and other particular occupations, such as musical instrument players, pottery and basketry makers, and medicine-men or women. The young to be initiated into these professions need specific training from an early age. The profession of forming and firing pottery, which is in general a female activity, is one that demands high skill and one with which I am quite familiar. My great grandmother and some of her siblings were excellent potters. They used several techniques to make pottery for different purposes.<sup>424</sup> In Angola, it is not a surprise to see skilled potters due to the fact that, according to Odebayo Oyebade, "pottery and basketry are among the most popular forms of Bantu handicrafts."<sup>425</sup> So, in the country, ceramic production was an identifiable feature of the culture.

The training of medicine-men and medicine women was not for everybody. And any boy or girl chosen to be a magician, known as an Ocimbanda, should have "spirit in his/her head"<sup>426</sup> as the first pre-requisite. The knowledge of medicinal plants, for example, demands an

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<sup>423</sup> Ibid, 233.

<sup>424</sup> Studies today recognize that most of African women makers of pottery used sophisticated techniques such as concave and convex mold, ceiling, direct pull, hammer, and anvil techniques. They used different shapes, sizes, textile pattern. They used high quality of decoration symbolizing several things such as fertility, medicine, etc., and the pots could serve different purposes: religious celebration, storing water or grain, cooking, holding palm wine, serving food, etc. See Diana Lyn Roberts, *The Centrality of Ceramics in Africa Culture*, (2013). <http://ceramics.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/03/africanceramics.pdf>.

<sup>425</sup> Odebayo O. Oyebade, *Culture and Customs of Angola*, British Library Cataloguing (2007), 81.

<sup>426</sup> Wilfrid D. Hambly, "The Ovimbundu of Angola," *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. 21*, no 2 (1934), 273.

encyclopedic memory of the traditions including the spirituality related to the ancestral beliefs.<sup>427</sup>

The first step was to master the local and regional biodiversity, which provided a range of plants and a wealth of traditional knowledge about the use of the plants, their names, locations and habitats, the parts used, methods of preparation, and types of ailments and diseases treated. More and more studies are confirming how important traditional medicine is in our societies.<sup>428</sup> One of the intrinsic parts of medical education is the divination. Manuel Jordan argued that,

Divination is viewed as a process through which individuals with extraordinary experience and knowledge attempt to find solutions to the problems of others. (1) A diviner (called *tahi* or *nganga*) aims at creating order out of disorder, trying to mend what clients may perceive as their torn situational realities. With the aid of a divination instrument (ngombo) and a protective/tutelary human experience to expose that which is hidden; to recommend actions towards the resolution of conflicts, and to redress the afflictions of individuals of society in general. (2) Cases commonly mediated by diviners include illness, death, misfortune or bad luck, impotence or infertility, and theft.<sup>429</sup>

The diviner receives the distinguishing title of *Ocimbanda*, one who believes in the activities of spirits. He has the ability to dictate the realization of ceremonial fire; for example, a new fire is made during epidemic sickness. He also can determine the prohibitions and omens, regarding an event as a portent of good or evil. The point of identity in spiritual belief is related to religion as the recognition of a supreme being called Suku, Nzambi, or Kalunga, which apotheosis is grounded in Angolan culture and consequently in Angolan education.

Of course many things have been written about African culture, some encouraging local knowledge, some are completely unaware, and some are completely against the native knowledge. However, news which is coming from studies related to archaeology, physical

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<sup>427</sup> Jordán explained the duality nature of the ancestors: if they are honored they bring blessings to their living kin (white), but if neglected they inflict misfortune; See Manuel Jordán, "Chockwe: Art and Initiation among Chokwe and Related People," *African Arts*, Vol. 32, no. 2 (1999), 18-35+90.

<sup>428</sup> G.H. Schmelzer and A. Gurib-Fakim, *Plant Resources of Tropical Africa*, Foundation, Wageningen, Netherlands, (2013)

<sup>429</sup> See Manuel Jordán, "Tupele: Basket Divination Symbols of the Cockwe." *Tribal: The Magazine of Tribal Arts*, Vol. VIII-I, no. 30 (2003), 96-106 and Manuel L. Rodrigues de Areia, *Les Symboles Divinatoires: Analyse Socio-Culturelle d'une Technique de Divination des Cockwe de l'Angola*. Coímbra: Centro de Estudos Africanos, (1985).



anthropology, ethnology, linguistics, history of culture and consequently from archival studies and visiting museums is encouraging.<sup>430</sup> Many of these studies are contributing to the identification of African historical and cultural traits.<sup>431</sup> They also help us understand how these ceremonies and rites have encouraged Angolan young people to build lives enriched with meaning and purpose grounded in a local knowledge system unique to Angolan culture and society. Unfortunately, the path of Angolan local knowledge and the development and role of initiation rites<sup>432</sup> in education were greatly affected by the arrival of the Portuguese in the territory in 1575.

### **Transition from Precolonial to Colonial Education**

The concept of transition is used here as a tenet of the demarcation between the precolonial period and the colonial period. In reality, transitional and decisive actions were taken by the Portuguese to make traditional education practiced by the autochthones unfeasible. It is important to remember that the purpose of indigenous education is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society and prepare the young with the necessary skills for an active life among the family, the clan, the tribe, the community, and the society as a whole. In this period several events happened. For instance, the humiliating defeat of Portugal from the British government in 1890 resulted in the Portuguese

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<sup>430</sup> Also, my several visits to the National Museum of Anthropology in Luanda and to the Regional Museum of Huila who conserve important ethnographic collections allow me to understand the history of the people of Angola focusing on their past traditions and customs.

<sup>431</sup> See, Gladwyn Murray Childs, "The Peoples of Angola in the Seventeenth Century According to Cadornega," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (1960), 271-279, Abebe Zegeye and Maurice Vambe, "African Indigenous Knowledge Systems," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 29, no. 4 (2006), 329-358, Odebayo O. Oyebade, *Culture and Customs of Angola*, British Library Cataloguing (2007), Wilfrid D. Hambly, "The Ovimbundu of Angola," *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (1934).

<sup>432</sup> The essential role of initiation rites can be found in one of Anne Spencer's articles: "Rites and Ceremony in African Life" in *African Arts*, Vol. 18, no. 4 (1985).

loss of the land between Angola and Mozambique.<sup>433</sup> Essentially, following this event the Portuguese concentrated all effort on the effective occupation of Angola. But Portugal had serious embarrassing limitations as they attempted to accomplish this task, mainly economic backwardness and inadequate numbers of both civilian and military personnel. To remedy this situation, the Portuguese colonizers opted for implementing a brutal system of taxation on the indigenous population, the extensive use of forced labor, and the compulsory rendition of unwanted Portuguese citizens including criminals and undesirables to Angola. Additionally, the Portuguese government had difficulty convincing ordinary Portuguese citizens to settle in Angola. Even though slavery was abolished in 1879, the system of colonial labor imposed by the Portuguese in the Portuguese Imperial Colony represented another form of slavery. Jeremy Ball argued that,

Estimates are that approximately forty percent of all slaves shipped across the Atlantic came from Angolan ports. In the twentieth century, Portugal received widespread condemnation for the continuation of illicit slavery and forced labor in Angola. The condemnation came primarily from European critics who saw in colonialism a means to stamp out slavery and deliver European civilization to Africans. For critics, the rapacity of Portuguese rules in Angola mocked colonialism's so called civilizing mission. Portuguese officials responded to the charges with a combination of reform and nationalist outrage.<sup>434</sup>

Along with other colonies such as Cape Verde, São Tome, Guinea, and Mozambique, Angola was the most reputed colony known as a penitential colony.<sup>435</sup> According to Hermenegildo Junior, most Portuguese citizens sent to Angola to settle were criminals or held

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<sup>433</sup> The 1890 British Ultimatum was delivered by the British government to Portugal on January 11, 1890 forcing the Portuguese military retreat from the territory between Angola and Mozambique, putting end to the known Rose-colored map, and consequently the end also of Portugal's claim of sovereignty of the territory. See Charles E. Nowell, *The Rose-Colored Map: Portugal's Attempt to Build An African Empire From the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean*, Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, Lisboa (1982) and Teresa Pinto Coelho, *Lord Salisbury's 1890 Ultimatum to Portugal and Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, St. John's College, Oxford, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, (2006).

<sup>434</sup> Jeremy Ball, "Colonial Labor in Twentieth-Century Angola," Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, *History Compass*, Vol. 3, AF 168 (2005), 1.

<sup>435</sup> Angola penal prison in Africa was so known during the slavery times that is probably the reason for the existence of the Louisiana State Penitentiary (LSP), also known as Angola.

for serving a sentence and were known as *degradados*.<sup>436</sup> The Decree of 1675 stipulated that all individuals convicted of but not eligible for the death penalty could receive forgiveness if they accepted to go to Angola.<sup>437</sup> There, in addition to performing military duties, the convicts were engaged in the slave trade, public services, and other types of commerce, and hard agricultural labor such as picking cotton by hand on plantations.<sup>438</sup> In this time period, most of the other European countries with colonies in Africa also settled criminals in their colonies; however, the Portuguese colonization in Angola was very particular. According to Gerald Bender, Douglas Wheels, and René Pélissier,<sup>439</sup> most of those sent to Angola were violent criminals among them murderers, thieves, rapists, vagrants, prostitutes who were delegated to civilize the Angolan natives in coordination with the missionaries.

This also happened in the U.S.A. during this period between the fifteenth and seventeenth century, when attacks and military occupation of Angolan kingdoms were prevalent, although some *Secular's* resistance existed.<sup>440</sup> With the introduction of Christianity, most aspects of and practices related to native education were considered inappropriate, primitive, and even evil in

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<sup>436</sup> See Hermenegildo Augusto de Faria Blanc Junior, *The Banished Deposit, Report of Captain of Infantry of Hermenegildo Augusto de Faria Blanc Junior, Its First Year of Command of the Penal Settlement*, Imprensa Nacional de Angola, Loanda, 1916.

<sup>437</sup> Most of the punishments were related to bigamy, perjury, blasphemy, sorcery, sodomy which sentence was determined by the court of the Inquisition. While murder, robbery, attempted escape from jail, obstinacy, abduction was determined by the Judiciary.

<sup>438</sup> However, many of *degradados* had made a fortune so the dream of making a fortune was essentially one of the reasons that dissuaded *degradados* to leave Angola. As a result, many of them became famous, as did the methods used in Angola to sentence the prisoners. For example, this method was used in the colonies in the United States of America. Historically, it is more probable, that of the slaves brought to the United States of America, the first twenty Angolan slaves, according to Henry Gates, Jr. “are the progenitors of the 40 million African American people in the United States today,” as well the Angola Louisiana State Penitentiary, a plantation with its slaves, transformed in 1880 into a house for prisoners and became the largest maximum security prison in the United States, which is still using Angolan methods to sentence the prisoners with hard labor. See also Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Life Upon These Shores: Looking at African American History 1513-2008*, New York (2011), 4; 178. See also Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonization in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*, Hardcover, 2002.

<sup>439</sup> See Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*, University of California Press (1978) and Douglas Wheeler and René Pélissier. *Angola*. Greenwood Press (1978).

<sup>440</sup> “Seculo” is the Angolan village headman.

the eyes of the mainstream European culture.<sup>441</sup> Ronald Chilcote argued that in this period of transition, indigenous resistance to alien influence happened in different forms. Spontaneous rebellions and resistance to Portuguese cultural domination and religious conversion, reaction to foreign penetration and domination of indigenous economies, and the emergence of secret societies and nativist or messianic mass movement best represented the forms of indigenous resistance against Portuguese conquest and occupation.<sup>442</sup> This resistance also was against the banishment and prohibition of all essential elements of native education, such as storytelling, folksongs, proverbs, myths, ceremonial and religious rites, local languages, and other practices including playing games and traditional musical instruments. With Portuguese colonization, Angolan culture was purposefully purged from Angolan life and religious conversion attempted to destroy Angolan traditional ways of educating and living.

According to Richard Morrock, to maintain control of their forced empire, the Portuguese colonial powers developed several strategies: (1) colonization via the settlement of large numbers of Portuguese among the Angolan majority; (2) the co-option of the native elites (assimilados) through assimilation or bribery; and (3) the "divide and rule" strategy, a policy that has played a crucial part in insuring the stability, indeed the viability, of nearly every major colonial system."<sup>443</sup> In reality, this strategy for the colonized represented dealing with divided kingdoms without authority and implied their working against each other with a high level of ethnic fragmentation, linguistic dispersion and prohibition of indigenous languages, which

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<sup>441</sup> Ronald H. Chilcote, *Portuguese Africa*, New York, Jersey: Prentice-Hall (1967), 68 and Ronald H. Chilcote, *Protest and Resistance in Angola & Brazil: Comparative Studies*. The Regents of the University of California (1972), 281-289.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

<sup>443</sup> Richard Morrock, "Heritage of Strife: The Effects of Colonialist "Divide and Rule" Strategy upon the Colonized Peoples," *Science & Society*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (1973), 129-151.

handicapped indigenous language teaching and learning. Also, religious proselytism<sup>444</sup> used by colonizers played an influential role in the augmentation of differences within the subjected population.<sup>445</sup> As a result, education had a shift in its nature and purpose stressing biblical doctrine and evangelization, which started in 1491 in the Kingdom of Kongo,<sup>446</sup> agriculture, blacksmithing, carpentry, and other skills that could be essential for the colonizers, and for perpetrating Christianity. Two signs of Portugal's Christian civilization, the cross and the sword,<sup>447</sup> grounded the foundation of the deculturalization of the Angolan native peoples in the principle of the culture domination and by employing colonial education.

### **Characteristics and the Role of Angolan Colonial Education**

In the end of nineteenth century, the Portuguese gradually assumed control of the Angolan territory. The results of this control manifested into two main aspects: the disintegration of Angolan Bantu tribal life and the beginning of the process of cultural loss and its plunge in the darkness. It also was the period of the consolidation of colonial society. The majority of Angolan natives did not have access, by law, to education because they were considered indigenous, so one of the main characteristics of colonial education is that the education was discriminatory.<sup>448</sup> Taking Morrock's statement, colonial education was included in the connection of social strategies:

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<sup>444</sup> Nathan Nunn, "Religions Conversion in Colonial Africa," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, no. 2 (2010), 147-152.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid, 131.

<sup>446</sup> There is an excellent historical description related to the history of Christianity in Angola in the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial period. See Eduardo André Muaca, *Historia da Evangelização de Angola, 1491-1991*, Secretariado Nacional da Comissão Séculos de Evangelização e Encontros de Cultura, Lisboa, 1991; See also, Cécile Fromont, "Dance, Image, Myth and Conversion in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1500-1800." in *African Arts*, Vol. 44, no. 4 (2011), 52-63

<sup>447</sup> Cross and the sword were used as colonial instruments to dismantle the fundamental nature of Angolan native system of relationship, as well as to dismantle the Angolan native polygynous system.

<sup>448</sup> Now I know how criminal was the mainstream colonial European culture of supremacy in different places in the world reading the news published by Travis Long/*Raleigh News & Observer*/TNS about Pearl Thompson. What happened with native Angolans happened also in many places where discrimination was the rule of society. In this example, Pearl Thompson was a student at Shaw University in 1942 when was told she could not

The four basic tactics of "divide and rule" practiced by Western colonies are: 1) the creation of differences within the conquered population; 2) the augmentation of existing differences; 3) the channeling or exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonial power; and 4) the politicization of these differences so that they carry over into the post-colonial period. While these tactics tend to overlap, and several or all of them are often used simultaneously, it is nonetheless possible to distinguish among them.<sup>449</sup>

These four aspects are evidence of the social functions of colonial education, which was used to maintain the two most important institutions, the authority of colonial government and religion. These institutions had, on one hand, the task to use education as a way, first, to teach people to read and write and consequently to obey the laws of Christianity and the state; second, to assimilate new values helping to maintain social distinctions among White colonizers, *mestiços*, *assimilados* and indigenous. Another major task was to prepare the indigenous to provide cheap labor and prepare them to deny their own culture by skewing mainly their religious representations. In fact, both, colonial government and religious authorities emphasized education with the goal of creating "the good Angolan society." Good society for whom? This question should be at the center of the debate whether or not education helped to create a good Angolan society. This question opens a large avenue to different historical interpretations of the development of Angolan colonial education.<sup>450</sup> Analysis supports that

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check out a book from Raleigh's public library because she was black. But seventy-three years later when she went back in the same library, at Cameron Village Regional Library in Raleigh, North Carolina on July 2, 2015, 73 years after being denied her library card to get it. See <http://www.msn.com/en-us/news/us/73-years-after-being-denied-library-card-pearl-thompson-is-honored/ar-AAcw9Qd?ocid=SKY2DHP>.

<sup>449</sup> Richard Morrock, "Heritage of Strife: The Effects of Colonialist "Divide and Rule" Strategy Upon the Colonized Peoples," *Science & Society*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (1973), 130

<sup>450</sup> The following works are some interesting articles and books related to colonial education in Angola. See Manuel Ferreira Rosa, "The Rudimentary Education for Indigenous People in Angola and Portuguese Guinea," *Boletim Cultural*, Vol. 6, no. 4 (1951); Gastão Sousa Dias, "Education in Angola," *Revista do Ensino*, Vol. 4, no. 10 (1955), 125-130; Manuel Fernandes Costa, "Teaching in Angolan Province," *Revista Ultramar*, Vol. 1, no. 15 (1964); Manuel Fernandes Costa, *The Portuguese Catholic Missions and Teaching Overseas*, Lisboa (1965); Jorge M. Rodrigues de Jesus, *All Education Aimed for Integration*, Luanda (1969); Martins dos Santos, *History of Teaching in Angola*, Luanda (1970); Michael Anthony Sammuels, "Education in Angola 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration," in *Africa Historical Studies*, Vol. 4 (1971), 386-388; Adriano Vasco Rodrigues, Contribution to the History of Education in Angola: "The Great Battle of Education in the late 60s," *USP*, (1989), 247-296; Elisete Marques da Silva, "The Societal Role of the Education System in Angola (1926-1974)," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, no. 16-17 (1992-1994), 103-130; Manuel Brito Neto, *History and*

education in this period was meant to perpetuate colonial power, to enable the native to be used in the government of the colonial state to inculcate a sound knowledge of Portuguese customs and "patriotism."

Two systems were involved in the process of education: the government/official system and the mission schools system, which included Protestants and Catholics. The government and its official schools used education to support their own power, and the mission schools used education to train indigenous in special skills and evangelization as a bridge to the position of *assimilados* and to serve as government personnel. It would be unfair to deny that mission schools played a leading role in the provision of education. The first missionaries were part of different religious congregations such as the Order of St. Dominic, the Company of Priests of Jesus, the Third Order of Penance, the Capuchin Fathers, and the Bare Carmelites.<sup>451</sup> All of them, in one way or another, considered indigenous education their first priority; even the churches were utilized as instruments of domination of natives. However, in terms of scientific research about Africa and particularly Angola, many of the priests were active in writing about indigenous people, inclusive of studying and writing in native languages.<sup>452</sup>

Among different Christian denominations that were involved in Angola, the Company of Priests of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, were the most active.<sup>453</sup> The Jesuits adopted a specific strategy known as "evangelization from top to bottom" in defense of the rigorous Roman

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*Education in Angola From Colonial Occupation to MPLA*, Universidade Estadual de Campinas-Faculdade de Educação, (2005).

<sup>451</sup> In the Official Status Report of Church in Angola, addressed on September 1779 to the Bishop of Angola, D. Luis Brito Homem by Manuel Dantas Lima in the quality of General Vicar we can find more details about the activities and difficulties that the Church was dealing within this time.

<sup>452</sup> Old documents, for example, are referenced in the need for priests learning native languages to get better results in the process of indigenous evangelization. See Paulo Maria Baumgarten, "The Vatican Palace, as a Scientific Institute," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 15*, New York: Robert Appleton Company (1912).

<sup>453</sup> The Jesuit Corporation was founded by Inácio de Loyola in 1534. Jesuits are well known by their contribution to the history of the global dynamics of the Catholic missions worldwide. They were dynamic until the implementation of Marques Pombal reform in 1771 in Portugal, which had repercussions in Angola and affected negatively the Jesuit project of education.

Catholic theology in the plan period known as "Tridentine period."<sup>454</sup> They developed a strong educational system for indigenous, a combination of education and Tridentine catechism based on discipline, vocation, and patronage. James Duffy explained that they administered schools for Africans and some of whom attended these schools went on to study in Lisbon, Goa, or Rome.<sup>455</sup> In Angola the Jesuits also gave instruction in crafts as well as in the native languages. For example, in 1624, the College of Jesuits founded in Luanda in 1618, published a bilingual booklet Portuguese/Kikongo of Christian doctrine, under the priest Jesuit Manuel Mateus.<sup>456</sup> In general, the dynamic of Jesuits in Angola was a response to calls for reform and the ascension of Protestant missionaries represented in three main denominations such as Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist.

The activities of the Jesuits and Protestants, which action of missionaries flourished in the late nineteenth century, were entangled by the Marques Pombal's cultural, political, and economic reform in Portugal. This reform had repercussions in the Portuguese colonies around the world, and particularly affected negatively the Jesuit project of education. The Jesuits were accused as responsible for cultural and educational decadence. As a result, by Pombal's Decree

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<sup>454</sup> The Council of Trent, one of the Roman Catholic Church's most important economical councils is described by Kathleen M. Comerford, "Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries: A Historiographical Study," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 29, no. 4 (1998), 999-1022

<sup>455</sup> James Duffy, "Portuguese Africa (Angola and Mozambique): Some Crucial Problems and the Role of Education in Their Resolution," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 30, no. 3 (1961), 296. See also, Manuel Fernandes Costa, *The Portuguese Catholic Missions and Teaching Overseas*, Lisboa (1965)

<sup>456</sup> Beyond this publication, other works were published: In 1642 was printed the first bilingual *Catechism Portugues/Kimbundo*; António Tomas da Silva Leitao e Catro, *Easier Rules to Connect to the difficult Language of Congo*, 1659; P. Pedro Dias, *First Grammar of Kimbundo: Arts of Angola Language*, 1697; Joris Van Gheel & Manuel Roboredo, *Dictionary Kikongo/Latin/Spanish*, 1651; Manuel Alves de Castro Francina, *Grammatical Elements of Language N'Bundu*, 1864; Joaquim Dias Cordeiro da Mata & Héli Chatelain, *Dictionay Essay Portuguese/Kimbundo*, 1893; P. José de Gouveia de Almeida, *Catechism in Portuguese and Kimbundo*, 1715; Victor Wendling, *Catechism Kimbundo/Portuguese*, 1903; Guy Atkins, *Dictionary, Ngangela/Portuguese*, 1939; P. Benedito Bonnefoux, *Dictionary Olunyaneka/Portuguese*, 1940; António Assis Junior, *Dictionary Kimbundu/Portuguese*, 1942; J. Matias de Morais, *Proverbs in Umbundu and its Translation*, Mensuario Administrativo, no.18 Luanda, 1949; Léon Dereau, *Cours de Kikongo*, Maison d'Édition Ad. Wesmael-Charlier, S.A. Namur, 1955; António da Silva Maria, *Full Dictionary Kimbundo/Kikongo*, 1964; P. Gregoire Le Guennee & José Francisco Valente, *Dictionary Portuguese/Umbundu*, Scientific Research Institute of Angola, 1972; See also, Vatome Kukanda, *A Lexicografia em Português Sobre as Línguas Bantu*  
<http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/7124.pdf>



of September 3, 1759, they were expelled from Angola. Thus, education in Angola from this time enters in its first reform to support the development of the colony.

In the Charter of April 5, 1771 enacted by Marquês de Pombal,<sup>457</sup> implementation of secular and public education took place between 1750 and 1777. One of the first impacts of Pombal's reform was the banishment of all literature in Angolan native languages and the prohibition of the use of these languages in education and consequently in the catechism. The priests "should use only the Portuguese language in the work of evangelization."<sup>458</sup> According to Thomas Jones, in this time reports revealed a disturbing absence of schools, teachers, and students in almost every part of Portuguese Africa.<sup>459</sup>

The period between eighteenth and twentieth century colonial education is marked by ups and downs. The quality of education offered to White Portuguese children was by far uneven to that available for native children in the missions. Inequality based on religion, racial, and gender inequalities and unequal access to education were the main characteristics of colonial education in Angola. The colonial education system promoted deliberately tribalism in order to facilitate the control of natives and the Angolan children were prepared to quit their culture and obey absolutely the authority of Portuguese government. The denial of traditional education was a constant and reaffirmed by many historians such as Martins dos Santos and Gastão Sousa Dias whom probably believed that "Angola had no traditional educational structure, as happened in European countries or even in Brazil, then already an independent country."<sup>460</sup> In the mid-

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<sup>457</sup> See, Laerte Ramos de Carvalho, *As Reformas Pombalinas da Instrução Pública*, São Paulo, EDUSP, Saraiva (1978).

<sup>458</sup> Another big consequence was the lack of missionaries that followed the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 and the extinction of other religious orders in 1834. To supply the lack of Portuguese missionary priests, Colonial government was obliged to open the colony for foreign missionaries that should sign a commitment working under the Portuguese laws. See Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 92, 143.

<sup>459</sup> Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa*, New York (1922), 224-227.

<sup>460</sup> Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 110; see also Gastão Sousa Dias, *O Ensino em Angola: Conferência*, Delegação do Governo de Angola, Luanda, 1934.

nineteenth century, the extension of primary and secondary education was limited existing only in two centers, Luanda and Benguela, constituted the famous class of Latin and Grammar.<sup>461</sup>

Martins found also that,

In March 1847, has appeared alongside Luanda and Benguela, the school map referring to St. Joseph of Encoje; the school was attended by twenty students. His teacher was Manuel Nunes Dias indicated in notes that have worked in January; with fourteen students (...) In May 29, 1847 the General Governor of Angola thanked the retired Major Joseph Fortunato da Costa and his brochure entitled *Elementary system of arithmetic and multiplication table*, for use of schools in Angola.<sup>462</sup>

The colonial College of Overseas Mission created by the Decree of August 12, 1856 was an impulse in the colonial educational system. Michael Samuels, in *Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration*, discussed how Catholic and Protestant missions grew from 1878 to 1896.<sup>463</sup> The basis of this period started with the foundation of the Seminar-School of Luanda founded under the Decree of July 23, 1853, which had "three distinct periods. The first corresponds to the beginning of his shaky activity in the Angolan capital; the second covers a period of twenty-five years from 1882 to 1907, when he was transferred to the mission of Huila, known as Seminary of the Holy Ghost Fathers, the third covers the subsequent times, again based in Luanda."<sup>464</sup> In 1870, the second educational reform "postpombeline period" started.<sup>465</sup> It was established by the Decree of November 30, 1869 organizing the educational system including a specific program by grades and disciplines.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>461</sup> Ibid, 112; For example, Martins dos Santos argued that around 1846, in the Latin Class, also known as Class of Latin Grammar, the total of students in both centers was one hundred seventy-four. However, he did not notice how many natives in both genders attended these schools.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>463</sup> Michael Anthony Samuels, in *Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration*, Teachers College Press (1970), 58-61.

<sup>464</sup> Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola [History of Angolan Education]*, Luanda (1970), 160.

<sup>465</sup> Postpombeline period, is the period after Sebastião José de Carvalho, Marques de Pombal reform viewed as a necessary strategy for the gap left by the Jesuits and for strengthening its absolutist regime and power in Portugal.

<sup>466</sup> Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola [History of Angolan Education]*, Luanda (1970), 176-180 (an excellent review of programs is presented by the author).

According to Martins dos Santos, in 1881, the General Governor José Maria da Ponte e Horta wrote an essay entitled, "Treaty and Critical in Our Official Education," published in the *Anthology of Texts Pedagogical Nineteenth Century Portuguese*, The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.<sup>467</sup> The public appearance of this analyzes how the political system was opened to colonial philanthropic and public organizations, private institutions, and families to participate in the process of education. So, private education, missionary education, professional schools of art, basic organization and reform of primary education, and organization of public instruction became essential issues in the colonial education in Angola. In the same time, Catholic and Protestant missions and schools enlarged their presence in the territory from the North to the South. For example, 1879 is the date of the founding of the first Baptist mission in northern Angola, while the number of Congregational missionaries constituted by Americans, British, and Canadians arrived in Angola in 1879 in southern Angola. But their mission is marked by several difficulties in terms of relationship with colonial government.<sup>468</sup>

Another important fact is that, in this period the indigenous system was completely dismantled, whose survival was sent underground. However, museums, archives, and associations are founded highlighting the Ethnographic Museum of Congo and ecclesiastic associations from 1901.<sup>469</sup> The period between 1910 and 1926 coincided with the beginning of modern colonial education. This period is also known as the period of the first Portugal Republic with radical changes embodied in the reform of 1918, known as "Azevedo Neves

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<sup>467</sup> Ibid, 169.

<sup>468</sup> Theodore Tucker, "Protestant Missionaries in Angola," in *Christianity and Revolution in Southern Africa*, Vol. 15, no. 3 (1968), 4.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid, 305; The Royal Patronage Missions encouraged the emerging of many ecclesial institutions such as Portuguese Missionary Association, Association of the Missionary Sisters of Mary, Association of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, Association of Secular Priests of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, Missionary Association of the Holy Spirit and Association of the Sisters of the Patronage Overseas Mission.

Reform"<sup>470</sup> and the rise of Protestant Church influence.<sup>471</sup> It is exactly in this time when in 1914 it was decided by colonial authorities to divide the Angolan population into different social sectors between "non-native" and "native" with fairly separate political, legal, and educational systems, which was institutionalized in terms of law in 1926. The combination between colonial government and the consolidation of social status resulted in the Angolan colonial school for natives transforming from an instrument of religion to a servant colonial state tool. However, differently from the Catholic Church, more engaged with Portuguese colonial government, eventually due to the subsidies received,<sup>472</sup> the Protestants were more open to the native eyes through a post independent scenario. Protestant authorities were teaching natives' children how to raise their voices, while Catholic ecclesiastical authorities were teaching them how to obey and serve colonial authorities. This is a controversial issue<sup>473</sup> but what is important to highlight is that, even though the existence of different interpretations about the role of Angolan colonial education, as well as the role of Catholic Church and Protestant Church in the context of Angolan colonization, it is also difficult to deny the importance and role of religion and authorities in every society. In the world, as well as in Angola during the colonial time, religions played a role in the moral foundation of society. According to Scott Schieman, the religions provided mental peace, promoted social virtues, solidarity, socialization, and influenced

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<sup>470</sup> Azevedo Neve was the Ministry of Education in this time.

<sup>471</sup> Theodore Tucker, "Protestant Missionaries in Angola," in *Christianity and Revolution in Southern Africa*, Vol. 15, no. 3 (1968), 4; See also, Walter J. Ballard, "Portugal, Youngest Republic," in *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 73, no. 19 (1911), 516-517.

<sup>472</sup> See subsidies distribution map of the schools of recognized churches, in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino; SR: P53, Cx 114, 117, and 417.

<sup>473</sup> See, Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism," 1940-1961, in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28 (1998), 160-186.

politics.<sup>474</sup> So, the binary church–government in Angola symbolized the boundaries between the colonial administration and its social function.

### Summary

In fact, colonial education in precolonial and postcolonial periods must be understood in the context of an Angolan society deeply divided between colonizers and colonized. Education defined as the way a people teach their new members of their culture in order to preserve the survival of the society fits in both precolonial and postcolonial periods. They differ in terms of purpose. Native or indigenous education was interrupted in its natural gait relative to the continuity of Angolan cultural and traditional knowledge. Colonial education was influenced by a Portuguese bias, which considered Angolans as primitive children and whose colonial purpose of education as well as its overriding policy was to drive them to Portuguese adulthood. Colonial authorities needed the church because the real foundation of the model European school system in Angola was a literary model laid by the church mission schools to whom conversion<sup>475</sup> and catechism were the compass for educational organization. The existence of two types of education, (1) one known as official, administered in colonial schools, and (2) the other, education delivered by missionary schools, were significant signs of the discriminatory character of colonial education. Such typology was essential for the maintenance of social class differences, which impacted Angolan culture, politics, and economy.<sup>476</sup>

In the next chapter, I analyze a specific period known as "New State" symbolized by the Salazar dictatorship. During the New State, Salazar imposed a culture domination based on a

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<sup>474</sup> Scott Schieman, "Education and the Importance of Religion in Decision Making: Do Other Dimensions of Religiousness Matter," *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 50, no. 3 (2011), 570-587.

<sup>475</sup> Nathan Nunn, "Religious Conversion in Colonial Africa," in *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, no. 2 (2010), 147-152.

<sup>476</sup> Emory Ross, "Impact of Christianity in Africa," in *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 296 (1956), 161-169.

Lusotropicalism—ideology, which allowed the colonial administration to "Portugalise" and "detrribalise" the entire Angolan population through education to guarantee economic benefit for the metropolis. *This objective was one of the quintessential Portuguese tactics to preserve power in the colonies such as Angola.*

## Chapter 5—Angolan Education under Salazar Regime

The history of Angolan education is marked by certain compelling events and several landmarks. One of these landmarks is the regime of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) that existed in Portugal as a political system between 1932 and 1968. I selected the year 1930 as a starting point because it is of fundamental importance in characterizing the Salazar regime as a decisive period in the history of Portugal, the history of its colonies, and the history of its universal education.

There were internal and external conditions that favored and originated with this regime. First, in the 1930s the 3<sup>rd</sup> International History of Science Congress, the Congress of the Portuguese-Spanish Association for the Progress of Science, between 1926 and 1933, was held in Portugal. Portugal experienced a period of military dictatorship and a young professor of economics, Antonio Salazar, became Minister of Finance in 1928. By 1930 he became one of the most important members of the Portuguese government, which established the New State and the Portuguese Colonial Act. Also, Portugal was affected by the chaotic years of the First Republic (1910-1926) and by the emergence of a strong Catholic movement, in particular the Centro Académico de Democracia Cristã [Christian Democracy Academic Center] based on the social doctrines of Leon XIII's Church.<sup>477</sup>

Second, 1930 was the first year of the great depression and unemployment was causing significant problems in every area of life around the world. In *Hitler, Mussolini and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and The Speech That Was Never Made*, Emma Fattorini argued that Germans elected the Nazis making them the second largest party in Germany and Italy's electing Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini Prime Minister known as "the Man of Providence" became the two

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<sup>477</sup> See, Luís Reis Torgal, *Salazar and the Portuguese "New State." Images and Interpretations*. UDK (2009), 12.

influential political events.<sup>478</sup> Another exogenous aspect that probably influenced the Portuguese political dynamic was the colonial Development Act of the United Kingdom.<sup>479</sup> So, these events constituted the main ingredients that marked Salazar's New State, considered by many historians such as Sánchez Cervelló, Lopes Arriaga, and Antonio Costa Pinto<sup>480</sup> to be a conservative, fascist, nationalist, land baron, and military establishment. We must ask ourselves, what was the general attitude and what kind of influence in the Salazar regime did it lead to regarding the history of education in Angola as one of the Portuguese colonies? To find the answer, the connection between the New State and Angolan education, along with a description of Salazar's Angolan Colonial School and the philosophy of education in the colonial period, must be examined.

### **The New State and the Education**

When António Salazar took the office as President General Oscar Carmona's, he believed it would put Portugal on a level of development comparable to other countries in Europe. The way he chose to do so was by imposing a right wing dictatorship that he called the New State. He convinced himself that this would be "a miraculous event and the messiah that would save Portugal"<sup>481</sup> through the "great truths" encapsulated in the "three secrets of Fatima apparition" that consisted of apocalyptic visions and prophecies such as World War I, World War II, and the

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<sup>478</sup> Emma Fattorini, *Hitler, Mussolini and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and The Speech That Was Never Made*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press, (2011), xi.

<sup>479</sup> See, George C. Abbott, "A Re-Examination of the 1929 Colonial Development Act," *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 24, no. 1 (1971), 68-81.

<sup>480</sup> See, Sánchez Cervelló, "El Último Imperio Occidental: la Decolonización Portuguesa (1974-1975)," *Cuadernos de Estudios Luso-Espanôles*, no. 2, Mérida UNED, (1998); Lopes Arriaga, *Mocidade Portuguesa: Breve Histórico de uma Organização Salazarista*. Coleção Histórica do Regime Salazarista, Terra Livre, 1976; and Antonio Costa Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism*, East European Monographs, 1996.

<sup>481</sup> Patricia Vieira, *Portuguese Film, 1930-1960: The Staging of The New State Regime*, Bloomsbury Academic (2013), 135.



attempted assassination by gunshot of Pope John Paul II.<sup>482</sup> The idea of "three secrets of Fatima"<sup>483</sup> inspired the idea of "great truth," which were the origin of the New State's lemma "God, Fatherland, Family."<sup>484</sup> As the cult of the Virgin Mary expressed the spirit of the Fatima apparition, Portugal was "intimately bound to social relations of domination,"<sup>485</sup>

Salazar took this as enlightenment to construct the New State with Catholicism as the center pillar of the state. As a result, he emphasized the existence, in Portugal, of an indifferent nihilism, as the great enemy of the regime. The source of what Salazar calls "the great heresies of our time,"<sup>486</sup> includes internationalism, communism, and moral indifference as the threats to the regime.<sup>487</sup> Considered by his contemporaries to be as a righteous, humorless, religious, and intellectual man, to a certain degree Salazar had been influenced by England, Spain, and Italy. For example, the idea of the Colonial Act was certainly borrowed from the British 1929 Colonial Development Act. According to George Abbott, this act was

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<sup>482</sup> E. Ann Matter, "Inaccurate Deception? Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary, by Sarah Jane Boss, "Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age by Ruth Harris," *The Women's Review of Books*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (2000), 17-18.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid, 17. As Ann Matte wrote, "Third Secret of Fatima" was revealed to Sister Lucia by the Virgin 1917 and written down in 1944. Divulgence of "The Third Secret" had been expected in 1960 and the Vatican silence on the subject gave rise to one of the more colorful conspiracy theories in Christian history." According to Patricia Vieira this idea of Fatima apparition was also a reaction against the atheism of the Russian Revolution, or Fatima – the world's altar – opposed Moscow, the capital of the kingdom of the anti-Christ. See Patricia Vieira, *Portuguese Film, 1930-1960: The Staging of the New State Regime*, Bloomsbury Academic (2013), 140.

<sup>484</sup> This New State's slogan was also inspired by the Brazilian politician and President Afonso Penas' expression "God, Fatherland, Freedom, and Family." According to some researchers, the subject of the New State and Salazar has been interpreted and written by many authors: Brazilian authors, Americans, Spanish, English, French, Italians, Romanians, Germans, etc. So, as a result, between 1945 and 1970 more than 80, among books and articles published by those who considered Salazarism a fascist dictatorship connected to the fascist dictatorship in Italy and the Nazi dictatorship in Germany. Also there are those who deny and considered Salazarism as "wise" and "paternal" dictatorship. See Antonio Ferro, *Oliveira Salazar, El Hombre y Su Obra*, Madrid, Ediciones Fax, 1935; and Yves Léonard, *Salazarismo et Fascisme*, Paris, Editions Chandeigne, 1996.

<sup>485</sup> E. Ann Matter, "Inaccurate Deception? Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary, by Sarah Jane Boss; Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age by Ruth Harris," *The Women's Review of Books*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (2000), 18.

<sup>486</sup> Antonio d'Oliveira Salazar, "Problemas Politico-Religiosos," in *Discurso e Notas Politicas* (1938-1943), 233-3.

<sup>487</sup> Patricia Vieira, *Portuguese Film, 1930-1960: The Staging of The New State Regime*, Bloomsbury Academic (2013), 140.

The first real attempt to formalize the Chamberlain ad hoc approach to colonial development. Colonial assistance was given only a systematic examination of all schemes and projects put forward by colonial government. The act introduced a greater degree of self-consciousness and systematization. It also created the machinery for the examination of all projects. More important, however, it introduced an entirely new concept of colonial development in which the provision of annual grants and loans would prove mutually advantageous to the United Kingdom and the colonial territories.<sup>488</sup>

It was precisely Salazar who was the main architect of the Portuguese Colonial Act of 1930. This Act established that Portugal and its colonies were interdependent entities. That means that the colonies came directly under absolute control of the Portuguese government. From this Act, colonies were required to produce for the Portuguese industry, contribute to the Portuguese balance of payments, and to expand the centralization of metropolitan government.<sup>489</sup> The Portuguese Overseas Ministry had the mandate to apply the legislation concerning the laws for developing a state corporation in Portugal.<sup>490</sup> Within this logic, Leah Fine argued that, first, "this act brought Angola's economy into line with economic policies that the new regime was implementing at home. But Portugal's application of strict financial controls over the colony also halted the drift toward political autonomy in Angola."<sup>491</sup> Second, "Angola was becoming an integral part of the Portuguese nation in the early 1950s. For example, Portugal withdrew the currency, known as the *angolar*, and replaced it with the Portuguese escudo."<sup>492</sup>

More rural settlements and villages were established in Angolan territory. Farms, coffee, cotton, and cane sugar plantations owned primarily by Portuguese settlers were expanded, forced

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<sup>488</sup> George C. Abbott, "A Re-Examination of the 1929 Colonial Development Act," in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 24, no. 1 (1971), 70.

<sup>489</sup> See Marcelo Caetano, *Tradições, Princípios e Métodos da Colonização Portuguesa*, Agencia Geral do Ultramar (1951), 275-276.

<sup>490</sup> As a nation, Portugal knew different ideologies tendencies and approaches such as Corporatist Absolute Monarchy (1755 -1820); Liberal Monarchy (1820-1890); Waning Liberal Democracy and Neo-Corporatism (1890-1926; Corporatist Dictatorship (1926-1974); and Emerging Liberal Democracy and Neo-Corporatism (1974-present). The Salazar regime was entrenched in the new Constitution of 1933, in which Article 5 defined Portugal a "Unitarian and corporative republic."

<sup>491</sup> Leah Fine, *Colorblind Colonialism? Lusotropicalismo and Portugal's 20<sup>th</sup> Century Empire in Africa*, Bernard College Department of History (2007), 21.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

labor was guaranteed by *capatazes* [overseers], Angolan native settlements, and cooperatives of colonized agro-livestock were created or reinforced.<sup>493</sup> The New State was constituted for a social, economic, and political structure with control instruments of Portuguese society. Pinto's arguments, in his article, describe the main instruments:

A centrally controlled public administration was instead the main instrument of dictatorial political power. When the Estado Novo created such organizations as the paramilitary young movement, Mocidade Portuguesa [Portuguese Young -MP], and the anti-Communist militia, the Legião Portuguesa [Portuguese Legion LP], these were controlled by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior respectively, upon which they remained dependent for the duration of the regime. The same was also true of Salazar's political police, the Polícia de Vigilância e de Defesa do Estado [State Vigilance and Defense Police PVDE].<sup>494</sup>

In Angola, beyond these instruments Salazar's regime propaganda used four strong lemmas,<sup>495</sup> which drove all political and ideological actions in the metropolis and in the colonies: (a) "Everything for the Nation, nothing against the Nation," (b) "National Politics," (c) "National Revolution," and (d) "Fight for Order." The result of the installation of these instruments of repression was the suspension of fundamental freedoms and the personality cult with Salazar being considered the savior of the nation. The application and implementation of this official ideological platform along with associated propaganda were related to a specific educational system.

The New State could not survive without a specific educational system. As an essential aspect of Salazar's programme, education played a significant role in shaping the national consciousness of the Portuguese people and colonized people in order to eliminate anti-nationalism. In this context, education shaped and was shaped by colonial managers of the

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<sup>493</sup> See Alvin W. Urquhart, *Patterns of Settlement and Subsistence in Southwestern Angola*, National Academy of Science, National Research Council, 1963.

<sup>494</sup> António Costa Pinto, "Elites, Single Parties and Political Decision-Making in Fascist-Era Dictatorships," *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 11, no. 3 (2002), 433.

<sup>495</sup> Fernando Rosa. "O Salazarism e o Homem Novo: Ensaio Sobre o Estado Novo e a Questão do Totalitarismo." in *Análise Social*, Vol. xxxv, no. 157 (2001), 1035.

narrative of the Salazar regime's polarized identity. The identity expressed into the categories of "oppressed" and "oppressors" had a direct reflex in Angola in which the population was divided, as I argued earlier, into two categories: the *indigenous*,<sup>496</sup> the majority of Angolans and the non-indigenous, including, Portuguese, *mulatos*<sup>497</sup> and *assimilados*.<sup>498</sup>

This categorical identity mirrors the nature of education during the Salazar regime. Under the New State, education became an agency of social control, a mechanism of reproduction of labor, including a "reproduction model"<sup>499</sup> and a dominance of the Roman Catholic missionaries, accommodating a "balance-sheet model."<sup>500</sup> These two models, in the context of Angolan colonized corresponded to the domination of a colonial elite and a colonial culture in schools.<sup>501</sup> In his book *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, Nicos P. Mouzelis referring to Maria Filomena Mónica,<sup>502</sup> explained that,

In Portugal during the period of New State, state corporatists, the nature of education was inculcation: The Salazarism version of society as an immutable hierarchical structure led to a different conception of the role of the school: it was not destined to serve an agency of professional distribution nor of the detection of intellectual merit, but above all as an apparatus of indoctrination. Anyway, for Salazarism, there was to justify economic inequalities. They were inevitable and instituted by God.<sup>503</sup>

The relationship of schools was related to the social control, power, and conflict of interests between colonizers and colonized. According to Henry Giroux, this kind of

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<sup>496</sup> Under Salazar's domination regime are those Angolans who neither spoke Portuguese nor behaved as Portuguese and were not yet baptized in the Catholic Church.

<sup>497</sup> Called also by café com leite [coffee with milk].

<sup>498</sup> Leah Fine argued that, "the assimilados were those black Africans officially sanctioned as assimilated. To become an assimilados, African subjects had to be over 18 years of age, with certificates of birth, residence, and good health. Candidates had to present two acceptable testimonials, prove they could provide for themselves and their families, and sign a declaration of loyalty to the Portuguese government." Leah Fine, *Colorblind Colonialism? Lusotropicalismo and Portugal's 20<sup>th</sup> Century Empire in Africa*, Bernard College Department of History (2007), 17.

<sup>499</sup> "Reproduction model" represents the reproduction of division of labor.

<sup>500</sup> "Balance sheet" is the model, for example, to support the missionary actions in Angola.

<sup>501</sup> Michael W. Apple, "Ideology, Reproduction, and Educational Reform," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 22, no. 3 (1978), 369.

<sup>502</sup> Maria Filomena Mónica is the author of, *Education and Society in the Salazar's Portugal*, edited by Presença, in 1976.

<sup>503</sup> Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, London: Macmillan, 1978, 133.

relationship, usually results in a "guarantee of the distribution of and the access to the different types of culture and knowledge within different social classes."<sup>504</sup> That is the way most of the natives were interdicted to practice their own specific education. They also were obliged, first, to obey and stay in the periphery of knowledge development and second, to learn that the only truth in education was the submission to and belief of the superiority of Portuguese culture, letting one small door open only to a few Angolans to be assimilated. So, the New State as a political system constructed, with a direct involvement of Catholic Church,<sup>505</sup> an educational system, which served as a vehicle of Salazar authoritarian or totalitarian current of thought.<sup>506</sup> In fact, that means that the New State supported the Catholic Church as "one more component of the traditional social order and even favored its presence in the educational and cultural sphere"<sup>507</sup> to accomplish the intents of Salazar's regime in the Angolan colony. However, an understanding of events that influenced and marked education during Salazar's mandate requires an examination of the specific educational legislation and concrete historical aspects of the Angolan colonial school.

### **The Salazar Angolan Colonial School**

Schools are always, in every society, a form of "ideological management."<sup>508</sup> Considered as a traditional Catholic, Salazar disliked Marxism and liberalism as well as communism and

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<sup>504</sup> Henry A. Giroux, "Beyond the Correspondence Theory: Notes on the Dynamics of Educational Reproduction and Transformation," *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (1980), 228.

<sup>505</sup> The regulation and functioning of religious missions were regulated by Decree no. 77, of December 9, 1921.

<sup>506</sup> See, Hans Naier (Ed.), *Totalitarianism and Political Religions Volume II: Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships (Totalitarianism Movements and Political Religions)*, Routledge, (2012). See also, Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, 1951.

<sup>507</sup> Hans Naier (Ed.), *Totalitarianism and Political Religions Volume III: Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships – Theory and History of Interpretations (Totalitarianism Movements and Political Religions)*, Routledge, (2008), 265.

<sup>508</sup> Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-2004*, McGraw Hill, New York, 2005.

paganism. For this reason, he "preferred a kind of "third way" Catholic corporation."<sup>509</sup> To internalize this way, Salazar developed a distinctive combination of doctrines: the doctrine of Multi-continentalism and Lusotropicalism. These two doctrines constituted the foundation of the colonial school according to the regime's national ideology. Norrie Macqueen argued that,

The colonial empire provided a distraction from the larger Portuguese reality of economic underdevelopment and cultural stagnation that had long prevented the country from making any impact on the European mainstream. Philosophical rationalization was found in the construction of a 'pluricontinentalist' mythology. This underpinned an extreme integrationist view of empire which defined Portuguese colonialism by denying its existence. These were in reality no colonies, just 'one state, single and indivisible' (*um estado, uno e indivisível*). The guru of this so-called 'Luso-tropicalism' was Gilbert Freyre who, significantly perhaps, was not himself Portuguese but Brazilian. Freyre wrote of the quality of the Portuguese language itself as a catalyst and adhesive of a unique '*pax lusitania*'. His best-known work, *O Mundo que os Portugueses criou* (The World that the Portuguese Created), published in 1940, was quickly adopted by the Salazar regime as a semi-official statement of Portugal's national ideology.<sup>510</sup>

Developing a colonial school was the best way for Salazar to expand the propaganda of national ideology. However, looking to the background of the Angolan Colonial School, it is right to say that, before the New State was founded there was already installed the so-called official education and a system of education for indigenous under Christian churches and missions who were responsible for an under cover "civilization mission" in the Portuguese colonies. Beyond the Marques de Pombal's reform, names such as Filomeno da Câmara Melo Cabral and António Vicente Ferreira are referenced personalities that contributed to developing education in Angola. The first, as Governor and High Commissioners of Angola created in 1919 the first Liceu Central de Angola in Luanda<sup>511</sup> and the first mixed elementary school for boys and girls located in the

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<sup>509</sup> Michael Sanfey, "On Salazar and Salazarism," in *An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 82, no. 368 (2003), 405.

<sup>510</sup> Sic Norrie Macqueen, *Colonialism*, Routledge, New York, 2014.

<sup>511</sup> According to Martins dos Santos, through an initiative of Filomeno da Câmara Melo Cabral, Governor of Angola, on February 22, 1919 (Ordinance, No. 51) was born the Liceu of Luanda, known as Liceu Central de Luanda. And by Legislative Colonial Diploma No. 5 of January 30, 1924 it became Liceu Salvador Correia and after independence became Escola Mutu Ya Kevela; see Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda, (1970), 309-310.

village of Huila. While the second, as High Commissioner of Portugal in Angola, published a legislative package in 1927 for a new reorganization of primary education in the Angola Province.

The legislation approved for education was based on three decrees related to the creation and organization of the colonial services—the General Agency of Colonies, the Superior Council of Colonies, and the Colonial Act.<sup>512</sup> With the enactment of the Colonial Act, the Salazar regime attended to different objectives: (a) it ended the financial and administrative autonomy of the colonies; (b) it consolidated the exports from the colonies to the metropolis; (c) the high commissioner figure was replaced by the post of General Governor of the Provinces,<sup>513</sup> (d) an indigenous status was determined. By November, 15, 1933 an Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire and an Overseas Administrative reform were enacted and promulgated.<sup>514</sup> That reform had an indelible impact on education and allowed creation of a specific colonial school characterized by a direct dependency on the Portuguese authoritarian government. Debating fascism-authoritarianism,<sup>515</sup> the legacy of Salazar is a controversial subject for which there are defenders as well as critics. Baklanoff, clearly sympathetic to the Salazar regime, argued that,

A major conclusion of my analysis is that during the final decade and a half of the old regime, Portugal experienced an exceptionally high rate of economic growth and structural changes. What is particularly surprising is that, notwithstanding the regime's

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<sup>512</sup> The General Agency of Colonies was created by the Decree No. 9944 of July 29, 1924; The Superior Council of Colonies was created by Decree No. 12110 of September 30, 1924; while the Colonial Act was created by the Decree No. 18570 of June 18, 1930. See also, the Charter promulgated by Decree-Law No. 22228 of November 15, 1933, incorporating all the provisions relating to: the administrative division of the Colonial Empire; the colonial governments; the Government Councils; the principles of the general administration; the organization and operation of the administrative services; financial, judicial and economic administration of the colonies; and the issues of indigenous peoples.

<sup>513</sup> The last High Commissioners of Angola were Filomeno da Câmara Melo Cabral (1929-1930) and José Dionísio Carneiro de Sousa e Faro (1930-1931); after them came High Commissioners: Eduardo Ferreira Viana (1931-1934), Júlio Garcês de Lencastre (1934-1935), António Lopes Matheus (1935-1939), and Manoel da Cunha e Costa Marquês Mano (1939-1941).

<sup>514</sup> See Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives], Torre do Tombo, PT/TT/CMZ-ADGL/A/3-3-1/10). See also Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 653.

<sup>515</sup> See, Antonio Costa Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism*, East European Monographs, 1996.

massive fiscal commitment to the defense of its African colonial system after 1961, Portugal's economic performance was as impressive as that of its large Iberian neighbors during this period.<sup>516</sup>

In contrast, Antonio Costa Pinto, recognizing the Salazar regime as a form of fascism, stated the following in his article entitled, "Elites, Single parties and Political Decision-Making in Fascist-Era Dictatorships." The central argument of this article is that the nature of the relationships between the dictator and his followers, which in this case are the fascist parties that were transformed into single parties, the União Nacional, was the central element that subverted the locus of political decision-making within the dictatorships that have been associated with fascism.<sup>517</sup> Looking into these two statements, I concur with Antonio C. Pinto about the character of the dictatorial Salazar regime, which created specific military-type organizations of social control and repression.<sup>518</sup> Some of these organizations such as Mocidade Portuguesa [Portuguese Youth]<sup>519</sup> and Legião Portuguesa [Portuguese Legion] were controlled by the Ministry of Education.<sup>520</sup> According to Luís Torgal, these two organizations were closely related to other "ideological and propagandist organizations of culture and pleasure such as the National Propaganda Secretariat and the Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho [National

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<sup>516</sup> Eric N. Baklanoff, "The Political Economy of Portugal's Later 'Estado Novo,' A Critique of the Stagnation Thesis," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 29, no. 1 (1992), 2.

<sup>517</sup> António Costa Pinto, "Elites, Single Parties and Political Decision-Making in the Fascist-Era Dictatorships," *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 11, no. 3 (2002), 454.

<sup>518</sup> Ibid, see also Luís Reis Torgal, *Salazar and the Portuguese "New State" – Images and Interpretations*, UDK (2009), 16.

<sup>519</sup> The Regulation of the National Portuguese Organization Youth was approved by Decree No. 37:675, I Series No. 13 of March 31, 1954 and the Decree-Law No. 39:837, which inserts provisions relating to Portuguese youth activities overseas, while the Decree No. 11:413 approves the status of the feminine section of the National Portuguese Youth Organization MPF. See, SR: C0 30, Mocidade Portuguesa – Organização: C023, Cx 190. – Arquivo do Tombo.

<sup>520</sup> See Mon Kuim, "Mocidade Portuguesa nos Anos Trinta: A Instauração de uma Organização Paramilitar de Juventude" [Portuguese Youth in the Thirties: The Establishment of a Paramilitary Organization of Youth], *Análise Social*, 122 (1993), 555-588; Luis Nuno Rodrigues, *A Legião Portuguesa: A Milícia do Estado Novo, 1936-1944*, Lisboa: Estampa (1996).



Foundation for Happiness at Work]"<sup>521</sup> and to political police such as the Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado [International Police State Protection, PID] created on October 22, 1946 in substitution of Polícia de Vigilância e de Defesa do Estado [State Vigilance and Defence Police, PVDE], which was created in 1933.<sup>522</sup> So, what does education look like in this context?

According to Mattoso and Rosas, the First Portuguese Republic was less effective than the authoritarian New State in expanding education. "The last two decades of the Estado Novo, from the 1960s to 1974 saw the Carnation Revolution, during Salazar's final years and Marcelo Caetano's administration that followed in late 1968, was marked by strong investment in secondary and university education, which experienced one of the fastest growth rates of Portuguese education in history."<sup>523</sup> However, despite Salazar's best efforts, unfortunately, Portugal remained largely underdeveloped, its population relatively poor and with low education attainment when compared to the rest of developed countries in Europe.<sup>524</sup> The worst is that at the time of independences, Portugal left the colonies, including Angola, in an ambiguous situation: undeveloped domestic economies, populations in extreme poverty, and 90 percent illiteracy was a result of low levels of education. In Martins dos Santos work, *História do Ensino em Angola* [History of Education in Angola],<sup>525</sup> is a detailed description of the services of education in Angola. A better title for his book might be the History of Colonial Education in Angola. For example, Avila de Azevedo was more accurate in choosing a title for his work *A História do Ensino Português em Africa* [The History of the Portuguese Education in Africa],

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<sup>521</sup> Luís Reis Torgal, *Salazar and the Portuguese "New State" – Images and Interpretations*, UDK (2009), 16.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>523</sup> José Mattoso & Fernando Rosas, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (in Portugal) VII*, Lisboa – Estampa (1994), 268

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>525</sup> Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970).

characterizing the specificity of the cultural function of Portuguese education in the colonies.<sup>526</sup>

These works explored what occurred in Angola to education during the António de Oliveira Salazar and José Maria de Almeida Alves Caetano dictatorship, where the implementation of social assistance had a more dramatic impact in the localities where the white and *assimilados*' children lived. Even generalizations about schools in Angola were inspired by the current parameters in the metropolis.

Writing about the education in Angola is not the same as writing about education in Portugal. António Nòvoa did not distinguish the difference between education on the continent and education in the overseas territories in his work *A Educação Nacional (1930-1960)* [National Education (1930-1960)].<sup>527</sup> It is dedicated entirely to education without including the "Overseas Provinces."<sup>528</sup> It should include, for example Angola or Mozambique, because in this period, the Portuguese political Nation included the continent and all of the Portuguese colonies. Specifically, Salazar's Angolan School was developed in two periods: the first occurred between 1930 and 1955 and the second between 1955 and 1975.

### **The First Salazar Schooling Period**

The first period began with the promulgation of the Colonial Act by Decree No. 18: 570 of July 8, 1930.<sup>529</sup> As a starting point, it confirmed the essential role of Portugal to possess and colonize the overseas territories, as well as to institutionalize racial segregation, to incite Angolan indigenous cultural genocide, and to control Angolans politically through an International Police State Protection, PID. Additionally, as Marcelo Gorges discussed, "The

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<sup>526</sup> Avila de Azevedo, *A História do Ensino Português em África*. Política de Ensino em Africa, Lisboa (1958). See also, Avila de Azevedo, *Novos Subsídios Para a História do Ensino em Angola Sec. XIX*, Lisboa (1964).

<sup>527</sup> António Nòvoa, *A Educação Nacional (1930-1960)* in Portugal e o Estado Novo (Nova História de Portugal), [Fernando Rosa, org], Editorial Presença (1992), 455-519.

<sup>528</sup> Term applied to designate the non-European territories under Portuguese sovereignty, which was laid down by the Law No. 2.018, 1951.

<sup>529</sup> The Act represents mostly the creation of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, which included Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, India (Goa), São Tomé and Príncipe, Macau, Mozambique, and Timor.

Colonial Act also prescribed that Portuguese was to be the exclusive language of instruction throughout the colonies"<sup>530</sup> in the framework of the general law defined for the Overseas territories. Amos J. Peaslee in his excellent work entitled *Constitutions of Nations* defined it as follows:

The Overseas Territories of Portugal described in Article 1, II-V, shall be known as "Províncias". Their politico-administrative organization shall be on lines best suited to their geographical situation and their social standards. The Overseas Provinces, as an integral part of the Portuguese State, are united as between themselves and with Metropolitan Portugal. This unity between the Overseas Provinces and Metropolitan Portugal involves in particular the obligation to contribute in an adequate manner to the preservation of the integrity and difference of the whole Nation and the aims of the national policy as defined in the common interest, by the bodies in which sovereignty resides.<sup>531</sup>

So, the Overseas Territorial population was significant. Angola and Mozambique were the most populated territories. Under normal conditions, education should have been at the top of colonial priorities. For instance, in this period, at least 2.07 million Angolans should have been affected by education. However, according to Stephen R. Stoer and Roger Dale,

Carneiro Pacheco reform (1936) symbolized a period when the number of years of official compulsory schooling was reduced and when all primary teacher training establishments were closed on the grounds of their irrelevance to the sharply restricted purpose of education current at that period. The educational system rather rapidly found itself confronted with the set of objectives qualitatively and quantitatively far beyond anything its history and structure had prepared it to meet.<sup>532</sup>

In fact, some evidence showed how difficult the situation was. In the largest cities, such as Luanda, Nova Lisboa [actually Huambo], Sá da Bandeira [actually Lubango], Benguela, and Moçamedes [actually Namibe], the signs of crises were evident. According to Martins dos Santos, the measures taken in 1931 appointing the regulation of tenders for the provision of

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<sup>530</sup>Marcelo G. Borges, "Portuguese Migration in Comparison: Historical Patterns and Transnational Communities," *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol. 14, no. 2 (2009), 149.

<sup>531</sup> Amos Jenkins Peaslee, *Constitutions of the Nations*, Bill Archives (1956), 228.

<sup>532</sup> Stephen R. Stoer and Roger Dale, "Education, State, and Society in Portugal, 1926-1981," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 31, no. 3 (1987), 407.

teachers in primary education and for establishing the rules of admission of a Secretariat staff of public instruction including 63 teachers for primary education, as depicted in Table 5.1, were not enough: Whereas, in the same time, many teachers were working privately without nomination being appointed. As a result, there were schools where the number of teachers increased<sup>533</sup> and most of the teachers were female concentrated in the city of Luanda, as depicted in Table 5.2. It is the beginning when in the colony the teaching profession became piecemeal a feminine field mainly in the primary education.

Table 5.1. Population and Demographic Density of Portuguese Colonial Territories in 1950.

Territories	Angola	Cabe Verde	Guinea	India	Macau	Mozambique	São Tome & Príncipe	Timor
Resident Population	4,145,266	148,331	510,777	637,911	181,772	5,738,911	60,159	44,378
Inhabitants per Km <sup>2</sup>	3.3	36.8	14.2	160.0	11,045.4	7.3	62.4	23.3

Source: Adapted and Information from Portuguese Yearbook, 1950, Vol. II.

Table 5.2. Number of Teachers by Gender in the Main Cities in 1938.

Cities	Male Teachers	Female Teachers
Benguela	3	3
Luanda	12	15
Moçamedes	4	5
Nova Lisboa	3	4
Sá da Bandeira	7	7
Total	29	34

Source: Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 344.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show the critical state education was in during this period, taking into account the disproportion between the total population and the number of teachers, less than 300 teachers in the entire Angolan colony, which was in a profound economic crisis. Many other problems are reported, such as the absence of qualified teachers and teacher preparation schools, the lack of schools for girls and the lack of inspectors, which resulted in poor supervision. However, as a consequence of the Second Educational Reform post-Pombal era conducted by the

<sup>533</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 53

High Commissioner of Portugal in Angola, António Vicente Ferreira in 1927, the Salazar regime produced an immense publication of legislation in order to organize primary and secondary public education. Between 1930 and 1955, more than two hundred documents were published including laws, decrees, and orders. Unfortunately, many of these measures were palliative, transitory, and mere occasional attempts.

Another feature was the creation of several types of training: (a) the first practice teacher courses and internships to prepare teaching staff for rural teaching including the following: pedagogy, Portuguese, geography, history, arithmetic, geometry, design, natural sciences, moral education, rural economy; hygiene; physical education, choral singing, physiology, and child care;<sup>534</sup> (b) regulations concerning awards of scholarships, regulations for school canteens of primary schools specifically in the colony of Angola; (c) in 1939 were created several funds, the teaching assistance fund for primary education, the fund for libraries, the fund for holiday courses, and in 1944 the Social Welfare Institute of Angola was created; and (d) the expansion of school-workshops was created around 1931 and 1932 to instruct carpenters, masons, and intended solely for the male and native children in different districts and locations such as Congo, Malanje, Huíla, Moxico, Bié, and Kuanza Norte.<sup>535</sup> Once again showing that the social purpose of education was to be effective in training the native population as blue collar to be

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<sup>534</sup> Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 346

<sup>535</sup> Ibid, Santos recalls in some of these schools: Congo (School-Workshop Duarte Pacheco, mixed frequency, in Damba; School-Workshop Corte Real Delgado, male, in Sanza Pombo, civil district Pigeon); - Malanje (School-Workshop 5 October, mixed in New Gaia, Songo municipality); Huíla (School-Workshop Oscar Torres, mixed in Humpata; School-Workshop Cândido dos Reis, male, in Vila Pereira de Eca, the Lower Cunene; - School-Workshop Infante D. Henrique, male, in Chibia; School-Workshop Marçal Abílio, male, in Chibemba, civil district of Gambo); Moxico (School-Workshop Capelo and Ivens, male, in Cazombo in Upper Zambezi; School-Workshop Portugal, male, in Vila Gago Coutinho, civil district of Bunda; Bié (School-Workshop December 1, male, in Serpa Pinto (Menongue); School-Workshop Teófilo Braga, male, in Catabola); and Kwanza-Norte (School-Workshop Alexandre Herculano, male, in Cacuso, Pungo Andongo county), 434-435

integrated into Portuguese society and culture;<sup>536</sup> (e) in 1937 elementary agricultural programs were set up in Amboim, Catete, Cazengo, Malange, Cuima, Gabela, Silva Porto, and Tchivinguiro; this last one was transformed into an agricultural school.<sup>537</sup> These schools were a great contribution to agricultural education.<sup>538</sup> With Article 140 of the Constitution of 1933, Portuguese Catholic missions overseas were to be protected by the State due to their role in the process of native assimilation. The mission schools provided rudimentary education characterized by its subject matter delimitations and more related to agricultural work and craftsmanship so as produce a cheap work force "to serve the colonial economy."<sup>539</sup>

Between 1945 and 1950 a diversity of schools were created including regulations and curricula in the main areas.<sup>540</sup> For example, in 1947 the Decree of 17 September<sup>541</sup> represented one of the biggest reforms of secondary education with the construction of schools and culminating with the creation in 1958 of zones of influence of each liceu and each industrial and commercial school.<sup>542</sup> In reality, the results of Portuguese colonial educational policy in the

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<sup>536</sup> These schools were related to technical occupational education. See the Decree No. 36:508 of September 17, 1947.

<sup>537</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 64-65

<sup>538</sup> Decree-Law No. 37, 028 of August 25, 1948 and the Decree No. 37, 029 the same date; See also Regulation of agricultural education at intermediate level: Decree No. 38: 026 of November 2, 1950 applied to Angola by the Concierge No. 20, 918, of November 17, 1964, the Concierges No. 16: 003 of October 15, 1956 and No. 21: 411 of July 23, 1965; the Law No. 2:025 of June 19, 1947. Two concierges also defined the programs of the secondary courses and elementary courses in agriculture: the Concierge No. 21: 848 of February 1, 1966 and the Concierge No. 21, 782 of January 12, 1966.

<sup>539</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 67.

<sup>540</sup> It was in 1941 when were established in the overseas territories the General Courses and complementary courses of Arts and Science of the national metropolitan high school [Liceus] with a specific curriculum indicating the number of classes weekly as following: Philosophy 5 hours (Arts & Science), Geographic Science 3 hours (Arts), Portuguese 5 hours (Arts), Biological Sciences 3 hours (Science), Latin 5 hours (Science), Physics-Chemistry 4 hours (Science), Mathematics 4 hours (Science), Organization Administrative Policy of the Nation 1 hour (Arts & Science); See Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 528-530.

<sup>541</sup> See, Decree-law No. 36: 507 of September 17, 1947.

<sup>542</sup> Four high schools [Liceus] constituted the influence zones: 1. Liceu of Salvador Correia with the following districts: district of Luanda, Congo, Malanje, Kuanza Sul, Kuanza Norte, Lunda Sul, and Cabinda; 2. Liceu of Diogo Cão with the following districts: district of Huila and Moçamedes; 3. Liceu of Benguela in the district of Benguela; 4. Liceu of Nova Lisboa with the influence of the districts of Huambo, Bié, Moxico, and

colonies are best illustrated by the illiteracy rates in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea, and Mozambique as revealed in the 1950 census depicted in the Table 5.3. In Angola, according to the Portuguese Yearbook referred by Maria Mata Eugenia, from a population of more than 4 million Africans, only 30,089 had the status of *assimilados* and among them 22 percent of the *assimilados* were African and 19 percent were *mestiços*.<sup>543</sup>

This evidence shows that only limited numbers of the populations were served with education: 1.9 percent of whites and 0, 7 percent of *mestiços*.<sup>544</sup> But, according to Martins dos Santos, within this context, the regulation for the construction of school buildings approved in 1950 for indigenous peoples specified two types of schools: (a) the central schools in the headquarters of Catholic missions, allowed to teach only through grade 4, and (b) the rural schools in the indigenous settlements, allowed to teach through the second grade.<sup>545</sup>

Table 5.3. Angolan Illiteracy in 1950

Countries	Total of Population	Illiterate Population	Percentage of illiterates
Angola	4,145,266	4,019,834	96.97
Cape Verde	148,331	116,344	79.50
Mozambique	5,738,911	5,615,053	97.86

Source: Adapted and Information from, Anuario Statistica do Ultramar 1950, Instituto Nacional de Statistica, Lisboa; and calculations of Eduardo de Sousa Pereira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 71.

By the end of World War II in 1945, an increase of emigration from Portugal to Angola occurred, ushering in the second period. Realistically, the second period began in 1955, when

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Kuando Kubango. While the four influence zones of the Industrial and Commercial schools were the following: 1. Industrial and Commercial of Luanda with the following districts: Luanda, Cabinda, Congo, and Kuanza Sul; 2. Industrial and Commercial school of New Lisbon with the following districts: Huambo, Benguela and Bié; 3. Industrial and Commercial School of Sá da Bandeira with the following districts: Huila and Moçamedes; and 4. The Commercial School of Moçamedes in the district of Moçamedes. See Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives], Torre do Tombo, SR: AO71, Cx. 033, 048, 066, 067; AO72, Cx, 048; AO73, Cx. 018, 045, 060, 062, 063.

<sup>543</sup> See Maria Mata Eugenia, “Interracial Marriage in the Last Portuguese Colonial Empire,” *Faculdade de Economia, e-JPH, Vol. 5*, no. 1 (2007), 1-8; She also referred to the *Portuguese Yearbook, Vol. II* (1950) and to the *Anuário Estatístico Império Colonial, Vol. II* (1950).

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

<sup>545</sup> These types of schools have existed from 1927, but they were working in difficult conditions often without the required supplies and teachers.

the Portuguese colony of Angola gained the status of province as enacted by Decree No. 40 225. This status continued up to 1975 with the independence of the colonies, which ended the Portuguese empire.

### **The Second Salazar Schooling Period**

The second period, characterized by the development of the colonial situation, saw an awaking of Angolan nationalism.<sup>546</sup> The existence of the relationships of domination between the colonial society and the colonized society definitely marked the status of education, which was dedicated entirely to white people and raised the question of identity as a construction of social and economic reference.<sup>547</sup>

This period was considered by the colonial authorities as prosperous to the flourishing of primary education and secondary education as well as the development of scientific research at the university level.<sup>548</sup> Between 1957 and 1958, Angola saw an increase in the number of primary schools, secondary schools, nursing schools, and technical schools<sup>549</sup> to provide health services in the main hospitals whose programs were approved in 1959.<sup>550</sup> Most of the traditional

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<sup>546</sup> Adan Hart-Davis, *History- The Definition Visual Guide: From the Dawn of Civilization to the Present*. Penguin, New York (1012), 558. See also, Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*, University of California Press (1978), 25-27.

<sup>547</sup> Both communities of Angolan society colonized and Angolan society colonizer began to search questions such as, where are they from? Where were they born? Or from where did they grow up, live, where they learned to be what they are? Why Angola was divided among two communities, a favored and other disadvantaged?

<sup>548</sup> Scientific research had a little space through the momentum of the Board of Geographical Missions and Colonial Research (from January 7, 1934), which was reorganized in 1945 and became Board of Inquiry of Overseas in 1973; other events that boosted the tendency toward research was the organization of XVI International Conference of Geography in Lisbon in 1950. The first consequence of this event was the creation of different institutions: the Board's Centre of Scientific Documentation Overseas and the Mission of Studies of Ethnic Minorities of the Portuguese Overseas (1957), the Mission of Agronomists' Studies Overseas (1960), the Institute of Tropical Medicine and the Chair of Anthropology Tropical (1960), the Agricultural Research Institute of Angola (1961), the Board of the Overseas Research (1962/1963), and the registrations for higher education in Angola and Mozambique. See Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa: SR:A100, CX046 and CX073) and António da Silva Rego, "Overseas Portugal," in *Civilization*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 82.

<sup>549</sup> Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SR: AO81; AO83, Cx, 072; SR: CO81, Cx, 001, 024, 145.

<sup>550</sup> Technical Schools of Health Services were organized in the hospitals of Luanda, Nova Lisboa [actually Huambo] Carmona [actually Uige], Benguela, Silva Porto [actually Kuito], and Sá da Bandeira [actually Lubango]; a Central Technical School, which was functioning in Luanda, Many other nursing courses were taught such as basic nursing, normal nursing, complementary nursing, nurse-midwives, pharmacy assistants, laboratory trainers, clinical



histories of education omit the fact that in the sixties, the pressure for change verified in colonial education was a result of the increase of the Angolan nationalist movement that were demanding independence for the Portuguese colonies.<sup>551</sup> The Christian missions played a positive role in this context. In fact, the distinguished leaders of the anti-colonial struggle, such as António Agostinho Neto, Holden Alvaro Roberto, and Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, were educated in Christian missions. For example, Agostinho Agostinho Neto (1922-1979) was one of only a few native students admitted to the Liceu Salvador Correia, a high school of Luanda that was destined to educate the country's Portuguese elite. Afterward he was offered a Methodist scholarship to medical school at the University of Coimbra. Holden Roberto (1923-2007) graduated from the Baptist Secondary School, which he attended between 1936 and 1940. While, Jonas M. Savimbe (1934-2002) was educated in both a Protestant and Catholic school. Francisco A. Gallego and Robert Woodberry, examining missionary activities in both Catholic and non-Catholic institutions in Africa, argued that in fact "Christian missionaries were central agents in the development of the educational systems in former African colonies. In most former colonies, the first schools were founded by missionaries (as in the British colonies) or were managed by priests as agents of the colonial power (as in most Belgian, Portuguese and Spanish colonies)."<sup>552</sup> Often, Protestant schools served as clandestine headquarters for the embryonic organization. "Forms of anti-colonial protests arose in Angola in the late 1940's. In Luanda,

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analysis, microscopists, and sanitary inspection agents. See Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 552.

<sup>551</sup> John A. Marcum, "The Anguish of Angola: On Becoming Independent in the Last Quarter of the Twentieth Century," *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (1975), 3-1; See also, Christine Messiant, *L'Angola Colonial: Histoire et Société: Les Prémises du Mouvement Nationaliste*, Basel, Schlettwein, 2006.

<sup>552</sup> I develop deeply these themes in the next chapter; for the time being, see, Francisco A. Gallego and Robert Woodberry, "Christian Missionaries and Education in Former African Colonies: How Competition Mattered," in *Journal of African Economies*, Vol. 19, no. 3 (2010), 295.

mestiços (the progeny of Africans and Europeans) and assimilados (assimilated Africans) began cultural protests calling for Angolan identify and self-determination.<sup>553</sup>

Looking at the state of education in Angola in the final days of 1959, Eduardo S. Ferreira's analytic and informative work, entitled *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era -The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, represents a valuable explanation of how the educational system changed at all levels during the sixties and seventies. To explain the generalization of colonial education in Angola, he took into account the type and number of schools,<sup>554</sup> the number of students, and number of teachers and argued that

Assimilation continued to be the goal, and the Portuguese language, as an element of integration, remained compulsory in the schools. The reform paved way for the generalization of primary education in the colonies. The new policy was not limited to primary education. The expansion of secondary education attempted to answer criticisms of earlier Portuguese educational policy. However, the stress was on technical school expansion, to meet new demands for skilled manpower. More places were provided in technical schools, and their lower fees made them more attractive than ordinary schools to students from lower socio-economic levels [...] agricultural education, elementary agricultural instruction was an essential part of curriculum in rural schools.<sup>555</sup>

Ferreira's analysis and interpretation provide a view of interpreting the Portuguese colonial education policy in the period where most African colonies had been released from France, Belgium, and British domination, while conversely Portugal, at any cost, was insisting on the maintenance of its colonial empire. Once "the Portuguese were involved in three colonial conflicts simultaneously: Angola (from 1961), Guinea (from 1963) and Mozambique (from 1964)"<sup>556</sup> the Salazar-Caetano regime elevated the education sector as a tool to show the

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<sup>553</sup> George Wright, *The Destruction of a Nation: United States' Policy Towards Angola Since 1945*, Pluto Press (1997), 2.

<sup>554</sup> One of the gaps in the author's analysis is that he does not distinguish the official and private schools, which represents an indispensable figure of the study of Angola colonial education and a category present in all types of schools.

<sup>555</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 77-78.

<sup>556</sup> Patrick Chabal, David Birmingham, Joshua Forrest, et al., *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*, Indiana University Press (2002), 3-4.

dynamic of its said multiracial and multi-continental theory and its bureaucratic colonial structure,<sup>557</sup> hopelessly expanding the school system in these colonies in order to delay its fall.

However, António da S. Rêgo argued that education was at present regarded as the most pressing problem not only by the Portuguese Government, but also by the missions, which dealt with the elementary instruction of the natives. The shortage of teachers has always been at the root of the problem. To try to meet this difficulty, teaching staffs at all levels were being increased year by year: for elementary instruction (mission instructors), in primary and secondary schools and also in technical, commercial, and industrial schools. This was a general trend in all territories, and more particularly in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, and the Portuguese territories in India.<sup>558</sup>

This tendency marked a certain educational pattern of development where the official and private schools were installed in the White populated areas of the districts' cities and the administrative posts. For example, "in 1970/71, 87.46 percent of all so-called secondary first-cycle students [fifth graders in the USA] lived in eight of Angolan's fifteen districts, with 38.79 percent of them in the district of Luanda. In the so-called secondary second cycle [USA middle school], 77.18 percent of the students were concentrated in four districts, the district of Luanda

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<sup>557</sup> However, the administration was strongly controlled by the Portuguese Political Policy (PIDE), which was reinforced and in 1959 arrested a large number of Angolan nationalists. See also Filipe Ribeiro De Meneses, *Salazar: A Political Biography*, Enigma Books (2013), 469-470; the atrocities of PIDE are described by a group of former political prisoners in a book: Jose Vicente Lopes, João Fialho da Costa, Uanhemga Xitu, et al., *Tarrafal - Chao Bom: Memórias e Verdades* [Tarrafal – Good Floor: Memories and Truths], IIPC, Cape Verde, 2010. (All authors: Beto Van-Dúnem; Manuel Bernardo de Sousa; Armando Ferreira da Conceição; José Diogo Ventura; André Franco de Sousa; Amadeu Amorim; Nobre Pereira Dias; Jaime Gaspar Cohen; Joel Pessoa; Lote Soares Sanguia; Lote Sachicuenda; Cristóvão Evaristo Miúdo; Manuel Pedro Pacavira; Augusto Kiala Bengue; Vicente Pinto de Andrade; José Luandino Vieira; Justino Pinto de Andrade; Constantino Lopes da Costa; Macário Freire Monteiro; Augusto Pereira da Graça; Fernando Correia; Cândido Joaquim da Costa; Carlos Sambú; Caramó Sanhá; Manuel Neves Trindade; Mário Soares; Jorge da Silva; Jaime Schofield; Carlos António Dantas Tavares; Fernando dos Reis Tavares; José Maria Ferreira Querido; Gil Querido Varela; António Pedro da Rosa; João Augusto Divo de Macedo; Arlindo dos Reis Borges; Juvência da Veiga; Alberto Sanches Sameda; Ananias Gomes Cabral; Joaquim Mendes Correia; Luís Furtado Mendonça; Pedro Martins; Luis Fonseca; Joaquim Lopes; Eulália Cândida Fernandes Andrade; Ana de Tchuntchum; Maria do Livramento Barbosa Fernandes; Amândio Ferreira; Arlindo Pereira Barradas; José Coimbra Aires de Matos; Arlindo Vicente Silva).

<sup>558</sup> António d Silva Rêgo, "Overseas Portugal," *Civilizations*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 79.

alone accounting for 45.65 percent.<sup>559</sup> Even though the colonial government installed some rudimentary schools in most of the regedorias<sup>560</sup> [rural areas] dedicated to natives, the mission schools were those that served the most native Africans who had the luck to get education at least until the fourth grade. Clearly, two systems coexisted. The public schools were selective giving only a few children the good fortune to learn Portuguese culture and language.<sup>561</sup> From a racial composition of the population by 1970, according to Gerard Bender as is depicted in Table 5.4, only 5.1 percent of the population were Portuguese Whites.<sup>562</sup> Only a few natives had the "good fortune" to learn Portuguese culture and language, and of those who learned the language, even fewer acquired proficiency. According to Liliana C.C. Inverno, the degree of proficiency in Portuguese among the natives was not "significant, since as late as the eve of Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975 [...] only a minority actually used it frequently."<sup>563</sup> As she first showed, the level of proficiency in the rural areas was as follows: perfect level 0.1 percent, high level 0.4 percent, average level 16 percent, rudimentary level 24 percent, and non-proficiency level 59 percent. Second, she showed the frequency of the habitual use of

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<sup>559</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 91.

<sup>560</sup> The "regedorias" [jurisdiction of the regedor-major] were legally constituted on the same day it abolished the Statute of the Natives of the Portuguese Province of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique were, in practice, concentrationary option to discipline and surveillance of African populations, which had been dispersed due to the advancement of military contingents from the beginning War against subversion. In the second quarter of 1961, the "regedor" established the relationship between the colonial authorities and traditional authorities. Regedoria was constituted by several villages as a concentrationary option to discipline and surveil the African population. See Ministério do Ultramar, *Organizações das Regedorias Ultramarinas Decreto no. 43.896 de Setembro de 1961*, Lisboa, Agência do Ultramar, 1961; See also PT/AHD/MU/GNP/0518/01218. See also Diogo Ramada Curto and Bernardo Pinto da Cruz, "Distribuição, Regedorias e Desenvolvimento Comunitário: Notas Acerca do Pensamento Colonial Português (1910-1965)," *Práticas da História 1*, no. 1 (2015), 113-172; 119.

<sup>561</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 59.

<sup>562</sup> Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*, University of California Press, 1978.

<sup>563</sup> Liliana Cristina Coragem Inverno, *Contact-Induced Restructuring of Portuguese Morphosyntax in Interior Angola: Evidence from Dundo (Lunda Norte)*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidad de Coimbra, Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia (2009), 118. See also, Ilídio do Amaral, *Aspectos do Povoamento Branco de Angola [White Settlement Aspects of Angola]*, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Lisboa (1960).

Portuguese in rural areas to be: frequently 0.1 percent, some frequency 0.8 percent, very rarely 31 percent, and never 59 percent.<sup>564</sup>

Table 5.4. Racial Composition of the Angolan Population (1940-1970)

Races	1940	1950	1960	1970
Africans	98.1%	87.4%	95.3%	
Whites	1.2%	1.9%	3.6%	5.1%
Mestiços	0.75%	0.72%	1.1%	

Source: Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*, African World Press, 2004, 71. Reported by Liliana Cristina Coragem Inverso, *Contact-Induced Restructuring of Portuguese Morphosyntax in Interior Angola: Evidence from Dundo (Lunda Norte)*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidad de Coimbra, Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia (2009), 114.

In *A Crise de Angola: Portugal no Moderno Movimento Colonial* [The Angola Crisis: Portugal in the Colonial Modern Movement], José de Macedo wrote long ago that "it is censorship to say that governments prefer that people remain in obscurity. It may be true, but invented phrases are always mere graphics to express a moral phenomenon that repeats until it receives the consecration of being enshrined. It seems it is true that this phrase, referring to a figure for eternity has application at this time. In fact, it cannot take the place of devoted instruction with love with care."<sup>565</sup> This is the real question: Was the Salazar regime instructing and taking care to educate the entire Angolan population no matter the race and social status of its citizens? Of course not, yet even the Portuguese imperial thinkers asserted that they were unique among European colonizers in their ability to establish and maintain egalitarian and non-discriminatory relationships with tropical peoples.

These kinds of statements were creating a critical movement against the efficacy of the colonial educational system in the Angolan Province. In 1962 according to Martins dos Santos, five zones of inspection to cover primary education were created: 1<sup>st</sup> Zone of Luanda ( including Cabinda, with headquarters in Luanda); 2<sup>nd</sup> Zone of Malange (including Kwanza Norte, Uíge and

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

<sup>565</sup> José de Macedo, *Autonomia de Angola: Estudo da Administração Colonial*. [Angola Autonomy: Colonial Management Studies], Ministério da Educação-Centro Socio-Económico. Typographia Leiria, Lisboa, 1910.

Zaire, with headquarters in Malange ); 3<sup>rd</sup> Zone of Huíla (including Kuando Kubango, Moçamedes, with headquarters in Sá da Bandeira); 4<sup>th</sup> Zone of Huambo (including Bié, Moxico and Lunda, with headquarters in Nova Lisboa); 5<sup>th</sup> Zone of Benguela (including Kuanza Sul, with headquarters in Benguela).<sup>566</sup> The first reports indicated an increase in teachers, the need for building and diversifying schools (technical schools, nursing schools, teacher preparation schools and secondary teaching schools, agricultural schools, arts and crafts schools, research facilities; and the creation of the Provincial Department of Education including higher education headquartered in Luanda). In fact, Venancio Deslandes, the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Angola in 1961, thereafter proclaimed the slogan "let us bring the school up to Sanzala" where school posts and Catholic and Protestant schools<sup>567</sup> created two kinds of educational agents: (1) monitors, native Africans with elementary education and a precarious pedagogical formation and (2) the teachers of posts, non-graduates with only the second year of preparatory education. In an attempt to solve this problem, school monitor courses were created to meet the requirements of schooling for the natives, including preparatory schools for teachers' professional development. In this time, several additional schools were developed: secondary school education (intended for Angolans of European origin),<sup>568</sup> technical schools, driven by the Sociedade Educadora de Angola [Education Society of Angola], coordinated by the well-known

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<sup>566</sup> Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola [History of Angolan Education]*, Luanda (1970), 509.

<sup>567</sup> See Non-Catholic missionary activities, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SR: P57, Cx 045.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid*, 655. Most "Liceus" are the result of the disappearance of the Higher Primary Schools of the Metropolis [Escolas Primárias Superiores] created between 1890 and 1919. The main secondary schools known as Liceus were the following: Liceu Central de Luanda founded in 1919 and came to be called Liceu Salvador Correia in 1924 (Luanda); Liceu Nacional General of Norton de Matos, former Liceu of Nova Lisboa founded in 1956 (Nova Lisboa); Liceu Nacional of Huila created in 1929 (Sá da Bandeira), which came to be called in 1934, Liceu Diogo Cao; Liceu Nacional de Silva Porto, founded in 1964 (Bié); Liceu Nacional de Carmona, founded in 1965 (Carmona); Liceu of Benguela, which came to be called Liceu Nacional of Comandante Peixoto from 1967; Liceu Nacional of Guilherme Capelo (Cabinda) and Liceu Nacional of Marcelo Caetano (Luso) founded in 1969 Liceu Nacional of Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha (Moçamedes) and Liceu Nacional of Francisco Inácio (Gabela) founded in 1970; Liceu Nacional Vasco Lopes Alves (Lobito) and Liceu Nacional Adriano Moreira (Malanje), founded in 1971; Liceu of Serpa Pinto (Menongue), Liceu of Henriques de Carvalho (Saurimo), and Liceu of São Salvador (São Salvador), founded in 1974. There are several publications related to the "Liceus" in Angola; see also, for example, Sara Pereira, *Memórias do Liceu Português*, Livros Horizonte (2006).

teacher Fernando Pimetel Junior, owner also of the Commercial School of Luanda founded in 1941, which transformed in 1952 into the Industrial and Trade School.<sup>569</sup> These schools were following the structure defined in the textbook of António João Aguiar, Eurico Machado, and others, entitled *Standards for the Facilities of High Schools and Schools of Professional Education in the Overseas Provinces*.<sup>570</sup> Along with the desire to improve Angolan society, came the observation that 400 years after the arrival of the Portuguese, elementary schools and high schools were attended overwhelmingly by whites taught by white teaching staff with as well as the teaching materials, teaching methods, and teaching aid influenced by a white point of view.<sup>571</sup> The publication of Decree No. 38:678 referring to the classification of salaries to be paid to the staff of high schools was discriminatory. For example, concerning the salaries of rectors of high schools, the highest salaries were paid to the personnel of Mozambique, followed by the personnel of Angola, after which came the personnel of Cape Verde, Macau with lowest paid to the personnel of India.<sup>572</sup> After the academic crisis of 1962, in 1963 the general state of education found relative stability. As depicted in Table 5.5, a general statistic a survey indicated the existence in the educational system in Angola of various types of schools, government, ecclesiastic, private institutions (2,256) and respective number of teachers (5,377), and students

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<sup>569</sup> The Decree No. 38:679 of March 17, 1952 established and outspread the Technical Schools into commercial and industrial. As an effect of that official order issued by the Overseas Ministry, for instance, the Commercial and Industrial School of Luanda, the Commercial and Industrial School of Artur de Paiva (Sá da Bandeira), the Commercial and Industrial School of Infante D. Henriques (Moçamedes), and their teaching staffs were inaugurated. Beyond this Decree, other schools were created, such as, the Commercial and Industrial School of Vasco da Gama (Novo Redondo), the Commercial and Industrial School of D. António de Almeida (Luso), the Commercial and Industrial School of Gago Coutinho (Lobito), the Commercial and Industrial School of Henrique de Carvalho (Cubal), and other Commercial and Industrial Schools in Luanda, Cabinda, Carmona, Salazar, Gabela; Also, in 1971 several extensions and sections of Commercial and Industrial schools in various locations were created, Caconda, Quibala, Negage, Calulo, Jamba, Andulo, and Bela Vista.

<sup>570</sup> António João Aguiar, Eurico Gonçalves Machado, and Fernando Schiappa Campos, *Standards for the Facilities of High Schools and Schools of Professional Education in the Overseas Provinces*, Ministry of Overseas Territories, Urbanization Office of Overseas (1956).

<sup>571</sup> <http://angola-recordacoes-da-tropa.blogspot.com/2008/12/angola-recordacoes-da-tropa-cap-6-o-liceu.html>

<sup>572</sup> Decree No. 38:678 of March 17, 1952 established the amount to be paid to the staff of high schools and fixed the following salary for the rector: 1,500\$ (Mozambique), 1,000\$ (Angola), 500\$ (Cape Verde), 250 (Macau), and 200\$ (India).

(181,649). This structure of the educational system remained until 1975 covering the different levels from kindergarten to higher education.



Table 5.5. Type of Schools, Number of Institutions, Teachers and Students in 1963

Type of School and Institutions		Institutions	Teachers	Students
Higher Education (Universities and Colleges)	TOTAL	2, 256	5, 377	181,649
		2	38	288
	University General Studies	1	18	273
	Social Services	1	20	15
Higher School (Middle Schools)	Total	9	100	509
	Industrial	2	29	123
	Commercial	2	24	85
	Normal (School of Magisterium Primary)	8	23	96
	Agricultural Studies	1	13	192
	Social Services (Social educators, Infant educators, etc.)	1	20	13
Secondary Education	Total	75	1,019	20,623
	A. Liceal:	50	542	10,403
	Official	9	240	6,498
	Private	41	302	6,498
	B. Technical Professional (Elementary e Complementary)	25	477	10,220
	C. Commercial and Industrial:	24	460	10,205
	Official	17	423	9,988
	Private	7	37	217
	2. Agriculture:			
	Official			
	Private			
	3. Social Service:	1	17	15
	Official			
	Private		17	15
Total	2,078	155,374	155,374	

Type of School and Institutions		Institutions	Teachers	Students
Primary Education	Official	1,589	2,812	121,370
Primary Education	Private	489	1,083	34,004
Kindergarten	Total	18	47	1,071
	Official	5	21	498
	Private	13	28	573
Public Service Training	Total	25	80	943
	Civil Aeronautics	2	12	16
	Agriculture and Forestry			
	Agriculture and Veterinary	2	2	28
	Surveying and Topography	2	2	7
	Primary Teaching Adaptation	6	33	477
	Meteorology	2	3	15
	Ports, Railways and Transport			
Professional and Elementary	Health and Hygiene	11	28	400
	Total	34	100	2,094
	Official	4	21	310
	Private	30	79	1,784
Artistic			11	118
Ecclesiastic		12	74	527
Odd to the Official Plan		2	4	102
	Primary	2	4	102
	Secondary			
	Special			

Source: Information collected from Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] /Torre to Tombo, AOS/CO/ED/-7; Memorandum delivered to the Minister of National Education, (1963), 396-402; See also, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SR. A 91, Cx 073; Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola* (1970), Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 76-85.

In September of 1964 the reform of primary education was implemented<sup>573</sup> through the official Decree No. 45,608. As a result, primary education was extended to the rural areas providing a pre-primary class and the first three years. The missionary schools were allowed to provide the fourth year as part of the full primary school education. In general, the low quality of education was more visible in levels that affected more natives. This poor quality is reflected in the high rate of examination failures, exactly in the areas with teachers with a low level of preparation. The inspection reports considered that one of the reasons for this situation was that Portuguese was the only language of instruction allowed<sup>574</sup> and children had difficulty transitioning from native languages to Portuguese because the native languages were “used as a necessary stage for learning and mastering of Portuguese.”<sup>575</sup> Advocating the cause of education for natives, Eduardo de S. Ferreira stressed the improvement of education for natives and the need for their rising above other levels beyond primary education. He also argued that “despite the continued assertion of racial equality in the colonies, Africans continued to be subjected to discrimination in education [also in that] most Africans were debarred by selective process from access to any education beyond the primary level.”<sup>576</sup>

The most open schools for natives beyond the mission schools were the art craft schools, primary teaching schools, teacher preparation schools, school monitor courses, and preparatory schools. These schools had as objectives to prepare the natives with minimum and rudimentary skills. The natives were completely marginalized. From 1936 to 1971, scientific research was the result of research missions in the overseas territories, first, to know their populations and

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<sup>573</sup> Ministério do Ultramar, *A Reforma do Ensino Primário no Ultramar, 1964* [*Reform of Primary Education Overseas, 1964*], Lisboa; Anuários do Ensino Relativos a 1964-1972, Vol. 8, Luanda.

<sup>574</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 88.

<sup>575</sup> Antonio da Silva Rêgo, “Overseas Portugal,” *Civilisations*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 80.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid*, 90.

cultures and second, to accomplish a "civilizing mission." For this purpose several institutions were created within the Ministry for the Colonies: the Institute for Medical Research in Angola in 1936/1945, the Board for Geographical Missions and Colonial Research in 1953 to promote scientific research through the National Board of Education, the National Agronomy Station, and the Central Chemistry Laboratory. The mid-fifties saw the creation of the Institute of Overseas Studies and consequently the Scientific Research Institute of Angola in 1955 and the Scientific Documentation Overseas Centre of Angola in 1957.

These institutions had an impact on the process of the exploration of the colonial resources with an eye toward economic development and the increase of private investments based on Salazar corporatism as a scientific policy that defended the Portuguese nation and its overseas interests.<sup>577</sup> In the sixties, one saw the opening of an Overseas Administration Course and its programs, the creation of diverse study missions,<sup>578</sup> the Studies Centre of Tropical Pedology in 1960, and the Cultural Anthropology Research Centre in 1962. The Board of Overseas Research created in 1962<sup>579</sup> and 1963 within the Institute of Overseas Studies with related courses promoting research originated from the Complementary Courses of Overseas Studies. These institutions served as introductions to nature and the empire's relationships to science and colonial enterprise and had consequences. The main consequence was the emergence

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<sup>577</sup> See General Statutes of Overseas Portuguese Territories: Law No. 2066 of June 27, 1973, Base LXXI, No. 1; see also, Vasco N.P. Fortuna, "The Portugueses Overseas Territories," *Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Bruxelles*, Vol. 7, no. 3 (1957), 411-414; Antonio da Silva Rêgo, "Overseas Portugal," *Civilisations*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 79-84.

<sup>578</sup> Several study missions were created: Mission Studies for Associative Movements, Mission Ethnic Studies Minorities of Overseas Portuguese, and Mission Study of the African Missionology National Income Studies Overseas Mission Agronomic Studies. See also Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola* [History of Education in Angola], Luanda (1970), 584.

<sup>579</sup> The Decree-Law No. 583 of November 6, 1973, published in the *Diário do Governo*, 1<sup>a</sup> Series, No. 259 (1973, 210 define, the nature, role, and competence of the Board of Scientific Investigations Overseas.

of a group of scholars whose study of missions resulted in the publication of important work in the field of social science.<sup>580</sup>

### **Development of Higher Education in Angola**

In this period, the connection between the Institute of Social Science and the study missions, as well as the Overseas Policy was created by the Ordinance No. 19766, the Community Development Studies Centre,<sup>581</sup> which was considered in 1963 to be the first institute of higher level education in Angola. In truth, "the advent of higher education in Angola was a troubled process marked by pressures and interests generated to extend schooling to the upper level, despite the rate of 90 percent illiteracy recorded among the indigenous populations."<sup>582</sup> The main demands for the creation of higher education came from different and contradictory statements, for example, from the regions of Lubango where with the strong tradition of the Portuguese University of Coimbra, the desire of an Angolan university was a constant. However and particularly, according to Antonio da Silva "the most recent commentary on the subject comes from 'O Namibe' of Moçamedes, where it is vigorously stated that it is still too soon to think of setting up a university in Angola [...] What is needed is many more secondary schools including technical ones."<sup>583</sup> In addition, the discussion led the Ministry Overseas Captain Teófilo Duarte to animate a debate during his visit to Angola in 1956, for a possibility of creating a Portuguese University in the city of Sá da Bandeira. This idea was

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<sup>580</sup> Particularly the Center of Studies of Cultural Anthropology attracted several known scholars: P. Carlos Estermann (1896-1976) who wrote among many works the *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola* [Ethnography of Southwestern Angola], Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1956 ; José Redinha (1905-1983) author of *Distribuição Etnográfica de Angola* [Ethnographic Distribution of Angola], Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, 1974 and *Ethnias e Culturas de Angola* [Ethnicities and Cultures of Angola], Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1975; Oscar Bento Ribas (1909-2004) published what was considered the founder of Angolan modern literature and during his life he was spreading the tradition and experience of the Angolan people; P. Francisco Valente, published the *Portuguese-Umbundu Dictionary*, Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1972, and other writers such as Mário Pilheiro and Mesquita Lemo.

<sup>581</sup> Ordinance No. 19766, of March 18, 1963.

<sup>582</sup> Eugenio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto: Quo Vadis?* Editorial Kilombelombe, Limitada (2012), 101.

<sup>583</sup> Antonio da Silva Rêgo, "Overseas Portugal," *Civilisations*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 81.

matured by the Governor of Angolan Province General Venâncio Deslandes and culminated in the creation of University Studies Centers.<sup>584</sup> These centers were indicated to function in Luanda within the Institute for Medical Research of Angola and the Angolan Engineering Laboratory.<sup>585</sup> However, soon enough the legislative diploma 3,245 by which it was created in Angola the University Study Centers was considered unconstitutional by the Portuguese central government in Lisbon.<sup>586</sup> The Lisbon government's arguments were based more in a political dimension with an implication of PIDE even though not well openly declared than in the academic world. In the correspondence about the creation and regulation of the University Studies Centers of Angola, a report appears about the censorship of this decision by Luanda.<sup>587</sup> The forces opposing the

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<sup>584</sup> Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, AHU\_ACL\_MU\_DGEDU\_RE\_AO11, Cx 008.

<sup>585</sup> Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] /Torre Tombo, Correspondência Sobre a Criação e Regulamentação dos Centros de Estudos Universitários [Correspondence about the Creation and Regulation of University Study Centers]. See some extracts of Ordinances: (1) it was submitted to the National Board of Education to analyze a reprint of Angola on legislation and regulation of organization of University Studies Centers. The documents contained in this reprint are beyond the discourse of the extract given by the General Governor of Angola in the session of the Ordinance No. 12,196 and 12, 201 published on the same date; (2) the Act creates within the Research Institutes and the Engineering Laboratory of Angola, the University Study Centers, to be regulated by decree (Article First) for the “ministration of university materials of various specialties... Article seventh: Teaching includes, according to the nature of the disciplines, theoretical and practical character, only theoretical or only practical. Article eighth: The teaching will be taught by a private faculty consisting in three categories: 1. Professors; 2. First Assistants; and 3. Second Assistants. The Ordinance No. 12, 197 establishing professional and secondary teaching, which duration is of five semesters: 1. Philological Science with two options: a) Romance Philology; b) Germanic Philology; 2. Geographical and Natural Science; 3. Chemical, Physical and Mathematical Science. The ordinance no. 12,198 includes professional courses of five semesters in: 1. Medicine; 2. Clinical Analysis, and Specialty courses: 1. General Surgery during two semesters; 2. Public Health in one semester. The Ordinance No. 12,199 includes optional courses: a) Economics, in five semesters and b) Statistics for one semester. The Ordinance No. 12,200 institutes professional courses on Civil Engineering for five semesters: 1. Communication; 2. Buildings and Urbanization; 3. Hydraulics. Finally the Ordinance No. 12,201 institutes the following professional courses: 1 Agronomy; 2. Forestry; 3. Livestock; 4 Veterinary; and professional courses: 1. Agricultural Biology and 2. Agricultural Engineering, both courses will be given in one semester. See, Archive of Salazar, AOS/CO/ED-6, pt. 18, fls. no. 286-287, Process 1<sup>st</sup> Sec., Book 1- k, no. 1875 (1962), 298.

<sup>586</sup> Arquivos Histórico Nacioal, AHU\_MU\_DGEDU\_RE, AO11, Cx, 008.

<sup>587</sup> Ibid, In view of the above, the National Board of Education during its fourth session, issued the following statement: (1) The plans submitted for appreciation are inconsistent; (2 ) Establishing the courses are not acceptable; (3)The university courses to be set up overseas should work in close association with the metropolis universities; (4) These courses must have the identical organization as the courses of metropolis universities, and should have the identical conditions of enrollment; (5) It does not seem possible to operate from overseas more than two or three years of university courses; (6) It is considered to be excessive the number of courses that are to be set up in Angola; it will be necessary to reduce this number to ensure the efficient functioning of the courses; (7).The recruitment of teaching staff, in that they should as far as possible, conform to identical criteria in force for metropolitan universities (Sessions Chamber of the National Board of Education, July 10, 1962. The Rapporteur,

design of University Studies Center in Angola and Mozambique were determined to delete this dream using all means. For example, the intervention of secret police agents is evidenced in the following illustration referring to the information sent to National Education Board about professors Délio Nobre Santos and Artur Moreira de Sá nominated to fill respectively the positions of the future rectors of universities of Angola and Mozambique. The *Circular No. 1 about the Future Rectors for the Universities of Angola and Mozambique*, 1962 written by Gonçalo d'Oliveira, shows the information denigrating the two personalities as unworthy and unable to perform the functions.<sup>588</sup> Even though this news created a malaise amongst the intellectual Angolans, the resistance reactions did not slow down. Evidently, the problem was that General Horácio de Sá Viana Rebelo as Governor-General of Angola Province between 1957 and 1960 had left a plan related to the University in Angola. Then, somewhat later, António Silva Rêgo argued that:

The Governor General of Angola, Colonel Sá Viana Rebelo, in a recent interview with Pierre Davister, chief editor of the daily *L'Avenir* of Leopoldville, also stressed this aspect of higher education in Angola. In the course of the interview he said: The future universities which are being planned for Angola will only cover the early years of each course. For all courses, the final year will be done in Lisbon, so that our African students may fully absorb the idea that Portugal and Angola are one single WHOLE. Negro students are already to be found in most of the faculties of Portuguese universities.<sup>589</sup>

To overcome and resolve these conflicting perspectives, the resident Portuguese in Angola, many of whom were engaged to defend an autonomy of Angola from Portugal used the partisan way to create lobbies. For example, the President of the Provincial Committee of the National Union party sent a telegram to the President of the Executive Committee of the

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Manuel Correia de Barros); see, Archive of Salazar, AOS/CO/ED-6, pt. 18, fls. no. 286-287, Process 1<sup>st</sup> Sec., Book 1-k, no. 1875 (1962), 404-305.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid. "Doctor Délio is smart. He guards his tongue, he is a Protestant bishop, I do not know what sect. He is wild-eyed with three women; all living and whom he successively married. He now lives with the third who was his student in the College of Arts; Doctor Artur is mediocre and he rose to his professor due to low intellectual and nepotism [...] main characteristic among the body of university staff [...]" Archive of Salazar, AOS/CO/ED-6, pt. 19, circular no. 1 (1962), 311.

<sup>589</sup> Antonio da Silva Rêgo, "Overseas Portugal," *Civilisations*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1959), 81.

National Union, Antonio Salazar, requesting a solution for the problem of the University in Angola.<sup>590</sup> Another organization that influenced a way to reconsider the need for a university as one of the priorities it claimed in Angola was the Casa dos Estudantes das Provincias Ultramarinas [House of Students of Overseas Provinces].<sup>591</sup> In addition to the scholarship requirement, internally there were groups of students who demanded the creation of university courses in Angola, since the connection between the metropolis and overseas was determinant for this purpose.<sup>592</sup>

### **Main Characteristics of Colonial Higher Education**

The emergence of Angolan nationalism<sup>593</sup> and the beginning of armed struggle led by Angolans in 1961<sup>594</sup> as well as the involvement of student riot in this struggle<sup>595</sup> against the Portuguese colonial policy also had a huge impact in the acceleration of the implementation of higher education in Angola. More probably these events and others boosted the Portuguese colonial government, on one hand, cancelling the Provincial Diploma No. 21, 1962 and on the

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<sup>590</sup> The telegram sent on July 25, 1962 to the President of Executive Committee of the National Union, Prof. António Salazar by the President of the Provincial Committee of the National Union party was as follows: "With sincere it we welcome a solution to the problem of the University in Angola. It is our judgement that we represent the general feeling of Angolan population. We beg of Your Excellency President of the Council of existing our respectful recognition." See, AOS/CO/ED-6, pt. 18, (1962), 310.

<sup>591</sup> The House of Students of Overseas Provinces gained strength in the 1960s. As a consequence of the creation of the House of Angola and later the House of the Empire of Students in Lisbon in 1943 and the House of Angolan Students, Delegation of Lisbon inaugurated in 1944. These houses were created by groups of children born to the colonial elite to defend student rights. See, Maria Luisa Nunes, "Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)," *Research in African Literature*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (1982), 438-440.

<sup>592</sup> António Salgueiro, "A Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos: Verdadeiro elo de Ligação Entre a Metrópole e o Ultramar," [The Attorney of Overseas Students: Real Link Between the Metropolis and the Overseas], *Cartaz ano 3*, no. 15 (1967), 6-9.

<sup>593</sup> Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 160-186.

<sup>594</sup> The movements of Angolan liberation gained international force respective to other events, the fact that the new administration of John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) declared itself to be in favor of self-determination for people subject to colonial domination.

<sup>595</sup> Kate Burlingham, *"In the Image of God": A Global History of the North American Congregational Mission Movement in Angola, 1879-1975*, New Jersey (2011), 137.



other, promulgating the Decree-law No. 44,530 of August 21, 1962,<sup>596</sup> which created the University General Studies with the official appointment of a commissioned installer chaired by the Rector of the Technical University of Lisbon, Moses Amzalak, with representatives of the Portuguese universities and Research Board Overseas.<sup>597</sup> The installing committee ceased its function as soon as the Rector Andre Francisco Navarro<sup>598</sup> was sworn in Lisbon on December 31, 1962 in the presence of the Commander Ministry of Overseas Peixoto Correia and the Minister of Education Inocêncio Galvão Teles. Also the Ordinances No. 12,196 and 12,201 were published, which regulated the organization and implementation of the Study Centers and the Courses and Professional requirement to be integrated into it all existing institutions of scientific research in Angola, such as the Institute of Agricultural Research, Pathology Laboratory and the Veterinary Medical Research, based in Huambo. Among other institutions, the Engineering Laboratory based in Luanda, and the Institute of Scientific Research installed in Lubango were incorporated. So, these institutions were the main argument for the decentralization of the General University Studies at three poles of development (Luanda, Huambo, and Lubango).<sup>599</sup> The Rector André Navarro asked for a dismissal and was replaced by António de Mendonça from the College of Science of the University of Porto.

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<sup>596</sup> In its Article 1 this Decree stipulated that “They are created in Provinces of Angola and Mozambique General Universities Studies, integrated the Portuguese universities” and surprisingly, the ordinance maintained the same Study Centers defined in Ordinance No. 12, 197.

<sup>597</sup> As part of this commission the following professors representing the universities and the Research Overseas: Andre Francisco Navarro, Joaquim Fiadeiro, Délio Nobres dos Santos, José Veiga Simão and Alberto Xavier da Cunha were networking. See also the Boletim Geral do Ultramar, *Ano XXXVII*, no. 439/50-Nov/Dez (1962), 59-72.

<sup>598</sup> In this time he performed the functions of Chairman of the Central Board of the Portuguese Legion, teacher and director of the Institute of Agronomy of the Technical University of Lisbon. Some scholars mistakenly think that he took office on October 6, 1963 in Luanda, when in reality the date of September 16, 1963 was the solemn inauguration and opening of the first academic year 1963/1964 of the General Studies University which ceremony was held in a ballroom of the National Liceu of Salvador Correia. See Eugenio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto: Quo Vadis?* Editorial Kilombelombe, Limitada (2021), 111.

<sup>599</sup> See, Boletim Geral do Ultramar, “Estudos Gerais Universitários” [General University Studies], *Ano XXIV*, no. 453, Março (1963), 127-127/8.

In spite of the economic obstacles, between 1962 and 1970 various documents appeared to reorganize the whole educational system from primary and secondary education to higher and technical schools. As a consequence, many students were ready to take the aptitude exam required for university entrance. According to António Martins Mendes, many students were unaware of what would be expected of them during the first academic year 1963-1964. Nevertheless, the attendance of General University Studies surpassed all expectations, with a total of 286 registrations of which 122 were in the field of pedagogical sciences. “The various branches of engineering registered 97, the medical-surgical course registered 45, the agronomy and forestry 18, and the veterinary course 14.”<sup>600</sup> However a lack of infrastructure, as well as teachers<sup>601</sup> and financial support, drove the University General Studies to an unprecedented crisis in its second academic year 1964/65. Still, some solutions were found: the transfer of the veterinary medical courses, plus Agricultural and Forestry Engineering in Huambo, created the conditions for the second university center under the responsibility of Eng. Manuel Forester Gomes Guerreiro. Additionally, the Board of the Overseas Research was created to work with the Institute of Overseas Studies, a cultural Anthropological Studies Center. In affiliation with the Institute of Social Science development, the publication of catalog of General University Studies, the insertion of legislative provisions designed to meet the needs of various levels of education in the province, and the teaching technical and administrative staff of General University Studies.<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>600</sup> António Martins Mendes, “A Universidade de Luanda: Apontamento Histórico.” *Revista Portuguesa de Ciências Veterinárias*, no. 101 (2006), 154.

<sup>601</sup> Due to the lack of teachers, became evident the impossibility for the continuity of some courses such as Mechanical and Chemical Industry, Engineering, Medical-Surgical and Agronomy. As a result, these critical courses decided to send students to finish their studies in Portugal with correspondent scholarships from 1966 in order to create their own and stable faculty. See Decree No. 45, 240: Establish the regime for the granting of scholarships for overseas students.

<sup>602</sup>See, Ordinance No. 19, 137 and No. 19, 766 that established the connection between the Board of the Overseas Research with the Cultural Anthropologist Studies Center and the Community Development Studies

The promulgation of the Decree-Law No. 46, 550 of September 24, 1965 was created in Lubango to announce courses for professional technical teacher education. In the following year, courses of romance philosophy, history, and geography for a baccalaureate were added. All these courses created the conditions for the existence of a College of Arts and Sciences. Consequently, a third university center under the responsibility of the Rector Délio Nobre dos Santos was created. During the third academic year 1965/66 the center amplified taking on the General University Studies of Angola, consisting of three campuses run by Silva Cunha, Galvão Teles, and the new Rector Ivo Ferreira Soares, who had the mission of continuing and creating a New University. The new campuses were dedicated by the Rector Mendonça Monteiro, who was sworn in on March 31, 1966, in Lisbon by the Minister of Overseas and the Minister of National Education.<sup>603</sup> The fourth academic year 1966/67 was characterized by an increase in the hiring of teachers as well as diversification to include the reinforcement of clinical training of doctors and conducting international conferences. However student affairs were still problematic. For example, the question of aid to students remained unresolved. Even with the tradition of university student groups related to the House of the Empire Students as well as the activities of the Portuguese youth group,<sup>604</sup> the only organization that was allowed to officially

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Center. See also the Decree-law No. 45, 180 that fixe the General University Studies regime, and the Decree No. 45, 235 that insets provisions for meeting the need of the different levels.

<sup>603</sup> António Martins Mendes, “A Universidade de Luanda: Apontamento Histórico.” *Revista Portuguesa de Ciências Veterinários*, no. 101 (2006), 157.

<sup>604</sup> The National Organization Youth Portuguese was known as Mocidade Portuguesa [Portuguese Youth - MP] a youth and paramilitary organization of the New State. It was established by Decree No. 26, 611 of May 19, 1936 and by the Decree-No. 29, 453 of February 17, 1939 it was extended to the colonies. It was a dependency of Ministry of Education and closely linked to the secret services of the political police of Salazar regime. Mostly its members were of Portuguese origin and included some mestiços and an insignificant number of young from the indigenous population, whose activity in education was the coordination of extra-curricular activities. The main national Commissioners were the following: Francisco José Nobre Guedes from 1936 to 1940 who was strongly influenced by the model of the Hitler Youth from 1940 to 1944; Marcelo Caetano was Commissioner from 1940 to 1944, who undertook major reform that tried to remove MP’s military character; Luis Pinto Coelho, a professor of law, who served from 1946 to 1951; António Gonçalves Rodrigues a professor of Letters and Baltasar Rebelo de Sousa, who implemented the organization in African Territory; Other Salazarists such as Raul Pereira de Castro, Leopoldino de Almeida, Carlos Gomes Bessa, Melo Raposo, Manuel da Silva Lourenço served the organization

request aid for students and to sanction procedures for the granting of scholarships in parallel with the establishment of the bags-loans scheme through the Decree No. 5,769 of 4 July, 1964. Thus aid to students remained a problem. Another Decree No. 14, 015 of November 27, 1965, which approved the general regulations of the school canteen was created in 1967 with facilities to house students in Luanda, Huambo and the Library in Lubango. In the fifth academic year 1967/68, the Ministry of Overseas and the Ministry of National Education worked together to solve some of these issues. Due to the increased numbers of students passing in this academic year, 804 students, the two ministries published Decree No. 48, 471 institutionalizing the social services at General University Studies of Angola and Mozambique and providing respective regulations. Other important international events happened and had influence in education at this time: the meeting of Experts on the Education Methods to Combat Racial Prejudice in Paris on June 24-28, 1968, held under the aegis of UNESCO, the Conference on Education and Science and Technical Training in dealing with development in Africa in Nairobi on July 16-27, 1968, the organization of UNESCO African Unity, another UNESCO teaching internship was held in Varna, Bulgaria on August 19-29, 1968.<sup>605</sup>

The sixth academic year, 1968/69, was most significant because of its solemn opening session on December 12, 1968, which forecast the official announcement of Decree-Law No. 48, 790 to be passed on December 23, 1968 changing the name “General University Studies” to “The University of Angola.” This academic year coincidentally was also dynamic because beyond being the first year to graduate students in veterinary medicine in Huambo, Antonio Martins Mendes explains that,

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from 1961 to 1974, the year that the organization was extinct on April 25, 1975 by the National Board of Salvation through the Decree-law No. 171 of April 25, 1974. See also Lopes Arriaga, *Mocidade Portuguesa: Breve Histórico de Uma Organização Salazarista [Portuguese Youth: A Brief History of Salazar Organization]*, Coleção Histórica do Regime Salazarista. Terra Livre (1976).

<sup>605</sup> Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] /Torre to Tombo, RE\_A011, Cx 013, p. 21.

During this academic year 1968-69, new degrees in mathematics, pure and applied physics, chemistry, geology and biology were created. The University of Luanda already had 139 teachers, not counting teachers in extra courses. From then on the admission of new teachers and assistants allowed the university to maintain an excellent teacher-student ratio, whose rate fluctuated between 5 and 7.4. They received benefits from the Gulbenkian Calouste Foundation and among many others, a visit of Director General of the World Health Organization. He had words of great appreciation for the work of the medical school faculty.<sup>606</sup>

According to a report of December 26, 2007, written by the medical school dean, Cristóvão Simões, it was in December 1968 the then University Hospital of Luanda was officially opened after being built and equipped exclusively to serve the university design and to organize boarding of hospital specialty students, allowing them to complete their studies.<sup>607</sup> This academic year the whole university thrived with the number of students passing 1,500 and the number of teachers calculated as 168. The academic year of 1969/70, the second functioning year of the University of Angola, began with the publication of the Legislative Diploma No. 3,973 of January 2, 1970, which approved and implemented, from January 1, the general budget of the Angolan Province including the University of Luanda and all educational services under the "Third Development Plan for 1968-1973."<sup>608</sup> António M. Mendes, stated that "on October 2, 1970 the Decree-Law No. 456/70 created a higher course of economics at the university of Luanda,"<sup>609</sup> which had a record of enrolling 200 students in the first year, operating with a plan and the regime identical to the degree requirements at the University of Porto in order to ensure that the scientific preparation of the personnel was comparable and could effectively manage such a vast and complex organization.<sup>610</sup> In this year another course was created, the course in the Engineering

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<sup>606</sup> António Martins Mendes, "A Universidade de Luanda: Apontamento Histórico." *Revista Portuguesa de Ciências Veterinárias*, no. 101 (2006), 158.

<sup>607</sup> Cristóvão Simões, O Hospital Universitário que se Pretende [The University Hospital that is Intended], Medicine Faculty, in *CEDUMED*, Luanda (2007).

<sup>608</sup> Council Presidency of the Council, *Third Development Plan for 1968-1973, Vol. 1*, Lisbon (1968).

<sup>609</sup> António Martins Mendes, "A Universidade de Luanda: Apontamento Histórico." *Revista Portuguesa de Ciências Veterinárias*, no. 101 (2006), 159.

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid.*

of Oil in partnership with Stanford University. This effort promoting academics via international cooperation was also arranged to accomplish a goal of the Overseas Council, the main advisory body of the Ministry for Overseas, which was inviting the University of Angola to find a way to improve scientific development in the province.

The academic year 1970/71 was considered the year of gathering the first valuable fruits. The realization of the first public evidences of the Degree of Doctor in Engineering contributed to enhance the credibility of the university. This event had a positive effect on the people, who began to believe in the possibility of not sending their children to Portugal to conclude undergraduate studies, which was a common practice at that time. People were already thinking about building a university town with the demarcation of about 105 hectares in the Corimba area south of Luanda city, though this plan never was implemented until the overthrow of Portuguese colonization. According to Martins dos Santos, one of the novelties at this time was that on the date of June 26, 1971, in Luanda a language laboratory was created, which would serve as a pilot for other initiatives of this kind, according to what had been planned in the course of their institutionalization. It would be dependent on the Provincial Directorate of Educational Services and was intended to: (a) assist teachers in gaining skills and practice speaking modern languages; (b) to promote preparation courses and improvement, as well as other specially designed modern methods using audio-visual techniques; (c) to organize a series of lessons for students and others interested in learning foreign languages taught in systematic courses.<sup>611</sup> Among the foreign language classes attended by the university students, French was the language chosen by the majority, followed by German and English. The publication of Decree No. 49,912 of January 4, 1971 defined the functions in physical education materials that composed individually empowering courses for teachers and the instructor performing as docents whose functions were

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<sup>611</sup> See, Martins dos Santos, *História do Ensino em Angola*, Luanda (1970), 623-624.

dependent upon public educational institutions of the Ministry of National Education, whose implementation was influenced largely by the students.

A visit in 1971 to the University of Angola by the most important rector of Portuguese Universities that were part of the delegation of the Ministry of Education, José Veiga Simão, boosted the academic and scientific activities in the university. Also, it was in this academic year that the first graduates in medicine from the university hospital concluded their medical training. In the academic year 1971/72 the growth of faculty is evident: a total of 244 teachers were engaged in the process of teaching, research, and services (administrative and advising), and marked the beginning of the educational opportunities for women in a field dominated by a majority of men. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available about the number of women in the five categories of the faculty of the University of Angola: Professor Catedrático [Full Professor] (12); Professor Extraordinário [Associate Professor] (11); Professor Auxiliar [Assistant Professor] (5); Assistente and Assistente Eventual /licenciados [Teaching Assistants] (216).<sup>612</sup>

The academic year 1972/73 was the year of consolidation of the university with the publication of a series of laws and regulations. For example, the Decree-Law No. 330/72 fixed the establishment of a plan for the University Hospitals of Lourenço Marques and Luanda, and defined the categories and the remuneration. Order No. 310/72 created the models for bachelor's degrees in the Arts and Sciences to be implemented in the University of Angola. The creation of several Orders and Laws (Orders No. 64/72, 415/72, 416/72, 417/72) reorganizing agricultural, industrial, commercial and nursing sectors<sup>613</sup> and lifting schools from secondary to tertiary levels

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<sup>612</sup> See Eugenio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto: Quo Vadis?* Editorial Kilombelombe, Limitada (2012), 115.

<sup>613</sup> Particularly, the School of Nursing in Angola started working as an annex to the Hospital Maria Pia, which had its first official courses authorized in 1916. In the 1920s was created the School for Nurses Professional

and other diplomas, established the relative generosity regarding compulsory education in the public preparatory schools and official posts of Telescola [courses through broadcasting], which led to progress and considerable internal change at the University of Angola. Other areas that had an impressive momentum were related to geology and mining.

The academic year of 1973/74 was one of the most productive in terms of academic organization and scientific development. On April 18, 1973 the Order No. 304-R/73 regulating the school of Auxiliary Technicians of Mines and Geology of Angola to support the mining and oil exploration sectors was published. Practical actions were taken, as a result, such as Decree No. 227/73 of May 29, 1973 which authorized the Minister of Overseas to sign with the Petroleum Company of Angola (Petrangol Ltd.) an apostille to the concession agreement. On the whole, the publication of December 18, 1973, of the Organic Statute of the Provincial Department of Education, as well as the others which marked the General - Government of Angola, established the dependent services office, the research office and the public relations office, has given more confidence to the University of Angola and other educational and provincial structures ensuring their autonomy *visa-a-vis* the metropolis.

Little changes started appearing in the politic panorama as well: a redefinition through Decree-Law No. 587/73 of the nature, the role, and competencies of the Board of Scientific Investigations Overseas was one.<sup>614</sup> The most important event that happened in the metropolis was the *Revolução dos Cravos* [Carnation Revolution], which occurred on April 25, 1974, as the consequence of a coup which lasted throughout the last year of the Portuguese dictatorship. This event had a tremendous impact on the economic and social life in Portugal as well as in the

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Qualification enclosed to Luanda Central Hospital where was installed the training of nursing assistants and technicians. So the Faculty of Medicine from 1972 started integrating coordinated actions to improve the nursing sector and the boarding expertise for medical training.

<sup>614</sup> Portugal, "Government Daily," Lisbon, *1<sup>st</sup> Series*, no. 259 (1973), 2106-2118.



Overseas Provinces. But the real roots of dictatorship, Pedro R. Pinto argued, "remained unabated beyond the coup."<sup>615</sup> In addition, the Armed Force Movement executer of the coup was unprepared for the "upsurge of popular feeling that followed."<sup>616</sup> The different movement supporters, such as the Armed Forces Movement, the Communists, the Socialists, and the Popular Democrats were faced by a stark choice between revolution and moderation. In spite of this confused situation in the metropolis, in Angola the Portuguese were still believers in a transitional situation to a neocolonial stage. As a result, they continued to be active publishing several types of legislation. For example, Decree-Law No. 300/74 extended the autonomy of the University of Luanda, as a consequence of the "events of April 25, 1975, which precipitated an end of Portuguese colonization, the beginning of the decolonization process for national independence."<sup>617</sup> Also were created several places in the established plans for education services and the distribution of funds for the economic year 1974 as consigned to educational services through a Provincial Decree No. 49/74 and an Order No. 623/74 successively. Additionally, in many district locations and Catholic missions, sections of the preparatory cycle of secondary education destined to serve natives' children were created. By Decree No. 108/74 a compulsory teachers' education scheme in the Angola Province was created. In the year 1974 the Provincial Decree No. 112/74 of November 5, 1974 fixing the Central Organs of University of Luanda and consolidating the collegial structures was published. Finally, Law 11/74 of November 19, 1974 adapted the system of government of the State of Angola to face the current decolonization process. At this point, the time has come to take stock of the new state and the ideological processes and philosophical balances that drove what was described above.

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<sup>615</sup> Pedro Ramos Pinto, "Urban Social Movements and the Transition to Democracy in Portugal, 1974-1976," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 51, no. 4, Cambridge University Press, (2008), 1026.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid, 1028.

<sup>617</sup> Eugenio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto: Quo Vadis?* Editorial Kilombelombe, Limitada (2012), 119.

## The Philosophy of Education in the Colonial Period

Observing how education was developed under the Salazar regime, it is possible to define the philosophy of education which was applied to achieve the purpose of the colonial regime in Angola. In this section, the main goals, the ends of education, and the ways to understand how the Salazar regime promoted specific natural ideals, values, and a vision for education are identified and analyzed. Let us look at the evidences.

First of all, Salazar's beliefs had a tremendous influence on educational policies implemented in Angola as a Portuguese colony. Michael Sanfey, in his article entitled "On Salazar and Salazarism," identified four basic elements that contributed to characterize Salazar's belief background: the Catholic Social Movement, a dislike of both Marxism and Liberalism, an emphasis on individualism, and Catholic corporate welfare.<sup>618</sup> Second, Salazar's beliefs had a platform constituting with the Portuguese right-wing political movement, integral to lusitano nationalism, and to Cruzada Nuno Alves Pereira, Liga Nacional 28 de Maio [National League of May 28], as well as Movimento Nacional Sindicalista [National Syndicalist Movement].<sup>619</sup> Salazar was influenced not only by the internal elements: the Angola High Commissioner's Decree No. 77 of December 9, 1821, the Organic Bases of Colonial Administration -Decree No. 1524 of March 24, 1928, and the Political, Civil, and Criminal Statute relating to the Natives, Decree No. 26473 of February 6, 1929, the holding of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International History of Science Congress in 1930. He was influenced by external elements such as the Berlin Act of February 26, 1885, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye of September 10, 1919, The Brussels Act of July

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<sup>618</sup> Michael Sanfey, "On Salazar and Salazarism," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 92, no. 368 (2003), 405.

<sup>619</sup> Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] Torre do Tombo, Arquivo Oliveira Salazar [Archive of Oliveira Salazar], (AOS) Particular correspondence, 184, pt. 6, fls. 81-116

2, 1890, the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of June 11, 1891.<sup>620</sup> As a result, he created his own political personality as well as his political brand as founder of an original Portuguese Regime.<sup>621</sup>

These two aspects of Salazar's beliefs motivated him to structure the "New State" as well as to build a "path toward reactionary despotism"<sup>622</sup> allowing him to structure an entire body of doctrine which included economic exploitation of the country's own vast overseas territories. As was described by George Young in his book entitled *Old and Young – An Historical Study*, the idea of connecting an ideology and an economy represents the utopic old ideal of the great Portugal overseas.<sup>623</sup> Let us also examine the first major ideological aspect of the Salazar Regime.

The Salazar ideology was constructed under an intelligent design and under conflicting and dichotomous forces such as backwardness/modernity, preindustrial capitalism/advanced capitalism, traditional fatalism/enterprising individualism, and intuitive religiosity/scientific rationalism.<sup>624</sup> As explained earlier, the ideas for one of the categorical dichotomies were borrowed from Brazil, Italy, and England.<sup>625</sup> Salazar developed a distinctive doctrine of Pluricontinentalism and Lusotropicalism as the foundation of the colonial school under his

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<sup>620</sup> See, Eduardo Moreira, "Portuguese Colonial Policy," *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 17, no. 3 (1947), 181-182.

<sup>621</sup> António Ferro, *Salazar: "O Homem e a sua Obra"* [Salazar: "The Man and his Work"], Imprensa Nacional de Publicidade, Lisboa, (1935), 74.

<sup>622</sup> Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, *Transition From Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, The Johns Hopkins Press, Ltd, London (1986), 17.

<sup>623</sup> George Young, Portugal, *Old and Young – An Historical Study*, Oxford University Press, 1917

<sup>624</sup> Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, *Transition From Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, The Johns Hopkins Press, Ltd, London (1986), 16.

<sup>625</sup> The Salazar regime adopted as a semi-official statement of Portugal's national ideology Gilbert Freyre's book *Casa Grande & Senzala*, [The Master and the Slaves], about the formation of Brazilian society, published in 1933 and "O Mundo que o Português Criou" ["The World that the Portuguese Created"], published in 1940; See, Alliance Great Britain-Portugal, one of the oldest alliances in the world: The first formal political treaty of alliance was concluded in 1933 in St. Paul's Cathedral by Edward III and envoys of King Dom Fernando; See also The influence of the Italian Gruppi Universitari Fascisti [Italian Fascist University Groups], in the Vanguardistas Portugueses em Itália [The Portuguese Avant-Gard in Italy], Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] Torre do Tombo, AOS, NE-4D, box 379; Baldi Papini, *Portogallo Nuovo: Lineamenti critici della Riforma Politico-Costituzionale del Potogallo*, Firenze, Cya (1936), 79.

national and ideological regime. These doctrines are surrounded by a specific situation described by David Wilsford:

The caution so appropriate during wartime, however, became something of a liability afterward, as economic growth remained comparatively slow and Portugal continued to lag behind the rest of Europe in wealth and social development. Salazar's vision was perhaps most limited when it came to Portugal's anachronistic colonial empire. His stubborn, open-ended commitments to the status quo, in the face of both UN pressure and the expense of colonial wars, proved to be the corporatist regime's Achilles' heel, sparking a bloodless coup in 1974. Overall, few leaders have shaped their country's economics domestic politics and foreign policy so profoundly for so many decades.<sup>626</sup>

That means, according to José Mattoso and Fernando Rosa, despite Salazar's best effort, and despite a three percent average growth between 1928 and 1938, Portugal remained largely underdeveloped, its population relatively poor, and with low education attainment.<sup>627</sup>

At the same the Colonial regime showed its oppression through: the omnipotence of the State, the lack of critical ability, the lack of civic consciousness, the lack of associative spirit, restriction of personal freedom, and the repression conducted by the International Police and State Defense—a Portuguese security service agency.<sup>628</sup> He controlled Portugal's social, economic, cultural, and political life mainly hanging onto its African colonies all the misery of metropolis until the Carnation Revolution of 1974. All these aspects above have a direct influence on the educational system completely dependent and based on Portuguese government social control. What aspects characterized the Angolan colonial social control in practice?

For Angolans, it was difficult to obtain an identification card of Portuguese citizens. Ironically, all Angolan were Portuguese in the view of pluricontinental and multiracial doctrine of Portugal. To get Portuguese citizenship, an Angolan should be eighteen years old, speak

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<sup>626</sup> David Wilsford, *Political Leaders of Contemporary Western Europe: A Biographical Dictionary*, Greenwood Press (1995), 395.

<sup>627</sup> José Mattoso and Fernando Rosa, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo [History of Portugal and the New State]*, Vol. VII, Lisboa: Estampa (1994), 268.

<sup>628</sup> See Salazar Archive, National Archives, Torre do Tombo: AOS/CO/ED-6/7; PT/TT/PIDE-DA/DII/1127/00002, Delegação de Angola.

Portuguese correctly, exercise a profession and provide support for his family, be of good conduct and having acquired the enlightenment Portuguese standard. All school programs and material were submitted to a centralized surveillance. Permanently, all political education, activities, opinions, and teacher attitudes were checked carefully and depurated by the police. Political-religious ceremonies were mandatory in order "to form ideologically students, test teachers and maintain a mobilized strain."<sup>629</sup> The diffusion of Luso-tropical ideology and assimilation policy, among Angolans was more a mechanism of control over society than occupational labor. The spreading of Lusotropicalism represented a form of "ideological domination."<sup>630</sup> Among a range of institutions, such as the family, mass media, and trade unions, schools were the institutions oriented to play the main role of dissemination of colonial dominant beliefs, values, and social practices. Henry A. Giroux identified four major ideological realms: (1) the economic realm, in other words, ideologies of production, exchange and distribution; (2) the culture realm, such as, ideologies of culture, values, science, mass media, and art; (3) the social realm, the ideologies of the private sphere, education, family, social groups; and (4) the political realm, represented at the level of ideologies of the state, police, and military. In addition, these types of ideologies are those that were often incorporated in the school policies, administration and content of school curricula.<sup>631</sup> This is a true statement in colonial Angola's reality. The school in colonial education served as mechanism of cultural distribution through, for instance, the politic of "Livro Unico" [Single book-the educational system and the textbooks used are exactly the same as those used in Portugal] in all levels of education in both the public

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<sup>629</sup> Fernando Rosas, "Bilan Historiographique des Recherches sur l'Etat Nouveau." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire*, no. 62 (1999), 1044.

<sup>630</sup> António Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebook*, International Publishers, CO (1971)

<sup>631</sup> Henry A. Giroux, "Beyond the Correspondence Theory: Notes on the Dynamics of Educational Reproduction and Transformation," *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (1980), 233. See also Thomas R. Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, (1975), 63.

and the private schools. Most of education was private with a strong connection to Catholicism and Protestantism. In general terms, the Catholic missions were subsidized by the Colonial regime. For example, in the 1960s Salazar's education organized in Angola was "not adapted to mass education or to the real needs of either the whites or the blacks of Angola [The system had as purpose] to train a small elite. Even in metropolitan Portugal the people are still about 50 percent illiterate."<sup>632</sup>

The economy is the second major aspect of the impact of the Salazar Regime. The definition of development plans was the way chosen by the regime to solve economic problems in the colony. As a matter of fact, the II and III Planos de Fomento para 1959-64 / 1968-73 [II and III Development Plans for 1959-64 and 1968-1973] respectively were devoted most for the investments provided to the economic infrastructure: transport, communications, mining industry, and manufacturing industries. So, some investment was developed in the area of education although these plans had a particular attention to financing in the areas such the agriculture, forestry and livestock, the extractive industries, the transport and communications<sup>633</sup> which, according to Adelino Torres, reserved 45.6 percent of the extractive industries of the total defined in the plan.<sup>634</sup> Eduardo de S. Ferreira and Juárez C. Pinheiro in their article entitled, "La Transformación y Consolidación de la Economía en Angola 1930 1974" ["Transformation and Strengthening the Economy in Angola 1930-1974"],<sup>635</sup> showed the decline of expenditure in scientific knowledge and research comparing the Interleave and III Development Plans as

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<sup>632</sup> Malcolm McVeigh, "The Bullets of Civilization, Africa Today," *Indiana University Press, Vol. 8*, no. 7 (1961), 6.

<sup>633</sup> See, Portugal-Presidência do Conselho, *III Plano de Fomento para 1968-1973*, Vol. III, Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 1968.

<sup>634</sup> Adelino Torres, "Pacto Colonial e Industrialização de Angola (anos 60-70)" ["Industrialization and Angola's Colonial Pact"], *Análise Social, 3ª Serie, Vol. 19*, no. 77/79 (1983), 1103.

<sup>635</sup> Eduardo de Souza Ferreira & Juárez Coqueiro Pinheiro, "La Transformación y Consolidación de la Economía en Angola 1930-1974," *Estudios de Asia y Africa, Vol. 15*, no. 3 (45) (1980), 572-616.

depicted in Table 5.6, which shows the tendency of the data referring to the expenditures made in the five year period, 1968-1972.

Table 5.6. Angola: Building Plan, Major Expenditures (1,000 contos)

Selected Items	Interleave Plan (2.372.2)	III Plan (6. 522.1)
Scientific Knowledge of the territory, Scientific Research and baseline Studies	182.1	89.7
Agriculture, Forestry and Livestock	383.3	740.8
Energy	255.5	417.1
Extractive and Processing Industry	103.9	375.2
Transport and Communications	1, 056.3	2.945.5
Social Promotion	217.2	1.778.4

Source: Adapted and information collected from Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira and Juárez Coqueiro Pinheiro, “La Transformación y Consolidación de la Economía en Angola 1930-1974,” *Estudios de Asia y Africa*, Vol. 15, no. 3 (45) (1980), 60.

The tendency shown Table 5.6 is a colonial response to the imperatives of progressive integration of Portugal in the European Economic Community. For that, the process of industrialization of the colony means “the passage from the old colonial pact (Angola supplier of raw materials, operating economic, and market manufacturing industries and metropolitan wine) to a new colonial pact that industrialization of Angola was paradoxically (at least in appearance), the basic condition.”<sup>636</sup> So, the growth resisted in Angola from 1961 to 1974 in the social and economic fields can be inserted therefore, “in the overall strategy of a proposed restructuring of the economy itself and Portugal society confronted in turn with the progressive globalization of the international economy.”<sup>637</sup> For instance, the Development Plan launched in 1968 gave particular attention to the extractive industry investment in a substantial portion of 45.6 percent of total Plan investment program.<sup>638</sup> In reality, as argued Guy Neave and Alberto Amaral, it “set out to nudge Portuguese industry towards international market by implementing massive industrial initiative. It brackets from early industrial planning which had focused on internal and

<sup>636</sup> Adelino Torres, “Pacto Colonial e Industrialização de Angola (anos 60-70),” [Colonial Pact and Industrialization of Angola (60-70 years)], *Análise Social, Terceira Série, Vol. 19*, no. 77/79 (1983), 1101.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid, 1103

colonial market.”<sup>639</sup> As a result, for instance, in higher education, the universities were blocked from scientific development by the New State.

In the absence of incentives to promote the social and economic dimensions in the research for knowledge. Minister Veiga Simão launched the education reform of 1973 and through it laid down the foundation for growth in Portugal’s science base, Grounded in particular, was to be shaped by a legal enactment to recognize the equivalence of doctoral degrees obtained abroad and to restructure the career path of academic staff [...]. These legislative acts were passed more than 10 years after Manuel Rocha’s statement to the first congress of engineering education that [the fundamental aim of the university is to teach and disseminate culture, and this function cannot be performed without research activities].<sup>640</sup>

For instance, as noted earlier, in 1970 the Overseas Council, the advisory body of the ministry for the Overseas, was invited to take action on the way scientific research was structured in the overseas provinces. However, the reform of the Board introduced by Decree No. 583/73 of November 6, 1973 was put into practice only in January 1974. In the colonies, some scientific areas were not allowed to be developed, such as Political Science, law, philosophy, and sociology. For example, even though João B. Lukombo did not conduct thorough research and did not explain deeply the real reason, in “The State of Sociology in Angola,” he argued that "during the colonial era the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar as well the Instituto de Investigações Científicas de Angola published a number of studies and monographs in social science, but more ethnological and anthropological than sociological, and at times for colonial purposes.”<sup>641</sup> The research in theory was dedicated essentially to land surveying in terms of cartography, hydrology, ethnology, hydrography, and agriculture. Practically, it was limited to

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<sup>639</sup> Guy Neave and Alberto Amaral (Ed.), *Higher Education in Portugal 1974-2009: A Nation, a Generation*, Springer Science (2012), 187. See also, H.V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal*, Cambridge University Press (1976), 362; See also Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino: Repport Final-Conference sur l’éducation et la formation scientifique et technique dans leurs rapports avec le development en Africa, [Conference on Education, Science and Technical Training in relation with the Development in Africa], Nairobi, 16-27 Juillet 1968 Organozation de l’Unité Africaine and UNESCO, (1968), 21.

<sup>640</sup> Ibid, 187.

<sup>641</sup> João Baptista Lukombo Nzatzuzola, "The State of Sociology in Angola," *African Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (2006), 98-101.



agriculture through the Instituto de Investigação Agronómica [Institute of Agronomic Research] that had some expertise working on specialized crops, forestry, and cattle-raising. Also, the Missão de Inquérito Agrícola de Angola [Agricultural Survey Mission of Angola] was considered one of the best institutions in the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, which had a real knowledge of economic, social, and technical conditions of agriculture related to the country. So, in general, Portuguese development plans for Metropolitan Portugal and the Overseas Territories, the First development plan launched in 1953, the Second for the period 1959-1964, the Third for the period 1968-1973, and the Fourth Development Plans covering the period 1974-1979, included few incentives for scientific knowledge of the Angolan territory, scientific research, and baseline studies.

This attitude is understandable for the Fourth Development Plan approved in Lisbon on December 13, 1973<sup>642</sup> because it coincided with the final years of fascism. The Portuguese bourgeoisie tried to design two objectives toward the decolonization process "direct colonization and neocolonization - and it adopted strategies to achieve both of them. One strategy was to commit large amounts of money to fighting the colonial war in order to maintain the most odious means of economic pillage and to continue political control,"<sup>643</sup> and to maintain Portugal faithfully in the imperialist orbit.<sup>644</sup> In this moment of stock colonial policy, the philosophy of education seems clear that beyond the growth of population that frequented educational institutions, education in general remained insufficient to meet the needs of Angolan society. Also, for the Natives, education was limited to the primary school. Even the Lusotropicalist

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<sup>642</sup> Portugal, *IV Plano de Fomento. Relatório de Execução do III Plano Fomento Ultramar-1969* [IV Development Plan: Implementation of the III Development Overseas Plan Report-1969], Lisboa: Presidência do Conselho (1971)

<sup>643</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, "The Logic of Market Economy Consolidation in Angola, 1930-74," *Social Analysis, Third Series, Vol. 21*, no. 85 (1985), 83-110. See also, James H. Mittleman, *Under Development and the Transition to Socialism: Mozambique and Tanzania*, Academic Press, New York (1981), 63.

<sup>644</sup> Perry Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism," *New Left Review, pts. 1-3*, no. 5 (1962), 83-102.

propaganda tried to show the opposite.<sup>645</sup> In 1970, the Provincial Secretary for Education in Angola, Pinheiro da Silva, stated that all education aims are summarized in the need for integration of African Portuguese into the moral, spiritual, and material way of life of the European Portuguese. However, only from 1973 the education for Natives was extended to secondary education reaching rural areas, especially where there were Catholic or Protestant missions.<sup>646</sup>

### Summary

Angolan education under the Salazar regime was based on racial segregation, as evidenced that 90 percent of Native African population did not have access to the colonial and educational services. The metropolitan power molded and guided the educational policy imposing permanent control through special repressive structures. The main educational institutions promoted the needs of the colonizers disregarding intentionally for the most part the hope of the colonized. Many legislative acts were produced to promote a complex propaganda of the intention of promoting the New State,<sup>647</sup> as well its ideological doctrines and boast Salazar's image. The organization of colonial schools established patterns of development that promoted the assimilation process of Natives and to be the White population's servants. Because of Salazar's dictatorship, all Natives were not allowed to attend higher level education or to participate in the political process. The curriculum was based on Portuguese reality and the textbooks represented foreigners' experiences. Schools were more available in areas with

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<sup>645</sup> Cláudia Castelo, *'O Mundo Português de Estar no Mundo: O Lusotropicalism e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa* [The Portuguese World of Being in the World: The Lusotropicalism and the Portuguese Colonial Ideology], Porto: Afrontamento, 1998.

<sup>646</sup> Arquivos Histórico Nacional/Lisboa, AHU-ACL-MU-DGEDU\_ SR: AO83, (Protestant Missions): COLL, Box, 009.

<sup>647</sup> Fernando Rosas, "Bilan Historiographique des Recherches sur l'Etat Nouveau." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire*, no. 62(1999), 51-60.

colonial population, and Christianity based on Catholicism and Protestantism (ecclesiastic schools) was the main vehicle to obtain an education as depicted in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7. Angola Development of Educational System According to Category: Number of Schools (1960/61, 1964/65, 1969/70)

Type of school	1960/61	1964/65	1969/70
Infant teaching	8	21	43
Primary	2,011	2,561	4,211
Preparatory course to Secondary Education			99
Secondary	40	52	61
Technical and occupational	17	36	45
Elementary Technical School (Commercial & Industrial)	17	32	41
Commercial and Industrial Institutes	2	4	4
Agricultural Schools	2	1	5
Elementary School for Arts & Crafts	5	7	20
Ecclesiastic Schools (Secondary & High)	8	8	9
University		1	1
Technical Training (university level)			1
Teacher Training	2	9	15
Schools of Qualification for station school teacher	2	6	11
Primary teachers schools		3	4
Arts Academic	1	1	1
Other <sup>648</sup>	7	7	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,105</b>	<b>2,704</b>	<b>4,551</b>

Source: Adapted from Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portugues Colonialism in Africa: The end of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The UNESCO Press, Paris (1974), 84.

<sup>648</sup> According to Ferreira, “Other” includes Social Seviles (secondary, intermediate, high) courses for monitors, nurses, training for teachers for the preparation courses to secondary education, religion, and training civil servants. See Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portugues Colonialism in Africa: The end of an Era – The Effect of Portuguese Colonialism on Education*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 84

## Chapter 6—Education under Religious Institutions

One of the most important and foundational pillars of Portuguese colonial education is religion. There are different reasons why religion is so related to education. While there were a number of different influences, the Estado Novo [The New State] of Salazar contained at its core a specific ideal of Catholic doctrine forged mainly by the Portuguese Catholic elite in the first quarter of the twentieth century and particularly by Salazar's beliefs in the Catholic social movement corporative, anti-liberal, nationalist, and traditionalist. This Catholic component of the Salazar program emerged as a lasting and comprehensive institutional alliance particularly with the Catholic Church and in general with Christianity. In “The Salazar and the New Man: Essay on the New State and the Totalitarianism of the Issue,” Fernando Rosas explored the vast apparatus of colonial national education, which was focused on the role of women’s organizations in the field of "spiritual education" through religious missions.<sup>649</sup> The definition of the role of religious missions in the colonies was one of the items which appeared in the "Colonial Act" enacted by Decree No. 18 570 of September 8, 1930. This Act was considered to be a continuation of political and religious missions initiated in 1846 during the term of office of the Bishop of Angola José Neto, patriarch of Lisbon. Before being repealed in 1950, this Act had effects on the life of Natives. Christianity, as argued earlier, was used to categorize the Natives into two groups: (a) the pagans, (the autochthons non-Cristians and the Christians), and (b) the autochthons called assimilados [assimilated].<sup>650</sup> Portuguese authorities used the Missionary

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<sup>649</sup> Fernando Rosas, “O Salazarismo e o Homem Novo: Ensaio Sobre o Estado Novo e a Questão do Totalitarismo,” [“The Salazar and the New Man: Essay on the New State and the Totalitarianism of the Issue”], *Análise Social*, Vol. XXXV no. 157 (2001), 1042.

<sup>650</sup> Portuguese and other Christian Europeans in Africa and particularly in Angola they used pejoratively the term “paganism.” In reality, paganism represents all those who have not the knowledge of the true God but worship idols. In most societies, form of paganism existed. For example, Classic paganism or Western paganism is comparable with other forms of paganism: Native American Spirituality (Amerindian Spirituality), indigenous paganism, Afro-American spiritism, shamanism, etc. See, Robert Adam, *The Religions World Displayed; Or, A*

Agreement” known as the Concordat<sup>651</sup> as a “legal” document, although it was masked by a pretense that it was a foundation for autochthons’ civilization mission and evangelization. This perception allowed the colonial government to establish an official relationship with the congregations and religious institutions, mainly with the Catholic Church for three purposes: (a) to convert indigenous peoples to the Catholic religion and to make Portuguese Christians; (b) to recognize certain religious corporations, and (c) to institutionalize the private schools known as “ensino rudimentar ou de adaptação,” with the approval of the Catholic and Protestant Missions as well as with the recognition of other congregations as was described by Lawrence W. Henderson.<sup>652</sup> Let us see what particularities existed in the actuation of these congregations in their own schools’ missions.

### **Catholic Mission Schools**

Catholic mission schools were legitimized by the colonial government. In 1926 was published the Estatuto Orgânico das Missões Católicas de Africa e Timor [Organic Statute of the Catholic Missions of Africa and Timor] by the minister João Belo through the Decree No. 12 485 of October 13, 1926. According to Joaquim Alves Correia, this Decree was consolidated with the publication of Decree-Law No. 31 207 of April 5, 1941, which regulated the

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*View of Judaism, Paganism, Christianity, and Mohammedism*, Vol. I, II, III, London (1890), and Michael York, *Pagan Theology: Paganism as a World Religion*, New York University Press, 2003.

<sup>651</sup> The “Concordat” was signed by the representative of Pope XII and the Portuguese President of Republic, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, in the Vatican city in Italy, the Portuguese version text was published “Diário do Governo, I Series, N° 58, on July, 16, 1940.

<sup>652</sup> Lawrence W. Henderson, *A Igreja em Angola. Um Rio Com Varias Correntes*, [The Church in Angola: A River with Various Currents], Lisbon: Editorial Além-Mar (2013). See also, F. James Grenfell, *Historia da Igreja Baptista em Angola, 1879-1975*, [History of the Baptist Church in Angola, 1879-1975], Queluz, Portugal: Núcleo (1998), and F. J. Grenfell, *Uma Igreja Jovem em Acção: Historia da IEBA, Igreja Evangélica Baptista em Angola, 1975-2002* [One Young Church in Action: History of IEBA, the Evangelical Baptist Church in Angola, 1975-2002], Ed. F.J. Grenfell, 2012.

relationships between the Portuguese State and missionaries, based on the Concordat and the Missionary Agreement.<sup>653</sup>

Various religious corporations were formed in Portugal to streamline the action of Catholic mission schools in overseas territories. Some of these corporations were represented in Angola for the purpose of realizing an idea that indigenous people should be trained in manual labor including agriculture, in addition to receiving a religious and social education. The most known corporations were the following: Missionary Corporation of the Holy Spirit, Missionary Franciscans Corporation, Corporation of Mary Missionary, and Benedictine Missionary Corporation. The flourishing of these corporations coincided with the Salazar corporate project and with the effects of the "tridentine and post-tridentine period"<sup>654</sup> first, in response to a calling for reforms and for changes in the Catholic Church. Second, these corporations were a reaction to the spread of Protestantism and its role in and impact on education.<sup>655</sup> For instance, just in its early presence in Angola, the priesthood of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit had its structure of modern missions divided in several mission districts such as Congo, Malange, Lunda, Benguela, Huila, and Moçâmedes. All of these corporations were obliged to follow the organic structure of the Catholic missions. According to said Statute in its Article 5, "The Portuguese Catholic missions run by moral people, with legal capacity and they are legitimately represented by prelates and their delegates, who are the vicars general, district superior of missions, the higher pastors and any proxies with the power that the bishop confer them."<sup>656</sup> A description

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<sup>653</sup> Joaquim Alves Correia, "As Missões Perante a Lei Republicana," [The Missions In the Presence of the Republican Law], *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, Vol. 6, no. 55 (1930), 11-12.

<sup>654</sup> Kathleen M. Comerford, "Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries: A Historiographical Study," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 29, no. 4 (1998), 999-1022.

<sup>655</sup> See, James Duffy, "Portuguese Africa (Angola & Mozambique): Some Crucial Problems and the Role of Education in their Resolution." *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 30, no. 3 (1961), 294-301.

<sup>656</sup> Referenced by Joaquim Alves Correia, "As Missões Perante a Lei Republicana," [The Missions towards the Republican Law], *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, Vol. 6, no. 55 (1930), 11-12.

illustrating exactly the role of the Catholic missions can be found in *Catholic Portuguese Missions of Angola*, the procurator General of the Portuguese Mission of Angola, by C. J. Rooney. Even though it uses unacceptable terms, referring to indigenous peoples as "savages," it illustrates the functioning of the Catholic mission schools.<sup>657</sup>

What Rooney described is exactly what I experienced having myself been educated in a Catholic mission school. Literally, all missions had a similar organization and were developed in the same manner, having adopted a uniform method of evangelization. They were industrial, educational, and religious centers. They had their workshops, schools, and chapels, their barns, and their infirmaries, and they controlled their specific Christian villages. I grew up in one of those neighborhoods known as "Bairro da Missão Católica da Damba [Damba Neighborhood of the Catholic Mission]<sup>658</sup> and other surrounding villages considered "pagans."<sup>659</sup>

The schools were only part of the mission. The mission was composed of different categories of persons. As a student in the Catholic Mission s School of St. João de Brito in Damba, my homeland, I observed that, first of all, there was the missionary priest superior whose primal obligation was to conduct the church services, including the administration of sacraments, as well as to provide religious instruction and to designate the general direction of the mission. He taught the higher literacy classes and became according to necessity nurse, physician, druggist, architect, smith, builder, carpenter, and cook. That is why one of the objectives was for the structural framework to gradually include young indigenous students to assist with some of

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<sup>657</sup> C. J. Rooney, "Catholic Portuguese Missions of Angola," *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1912), 293.

<sup>658</sup> Christian villages were constituted by Christian assimilados. In 1948 Capuchin missionaries settled in Damba and soon they began the construction of buildings for a fruitful evangelization, educational activities, and health. This Damba Neighborhood of the Catholic Mission is part of the Catholic mission school of St. João de Brito in Damba founded by Father Italians Graciano de Lugazzano, Camilo de Terasso and Hilarino de Cassaco and the brother José.

<sup>659</sup> C. J. Rooney, "Catholic Portuguese Missions of Angola," *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1912), 291.

these duties. Curiously, my father also experienced this type of education. With the priests, he learned the professions of builder, carpenter, and nurse, as well as catechist before becoming a teacher. The second category of missionaries was the lay-brother. The lay brother was not a cleric; he had not received orders; but he was religious; he was taking the three vows of religion as an adjutant in missionary work. These lay brothers were charged with the most elementary instruction, providing material and mainly literacy, teaching trades and handicrafts, areas where most of the indigenous people were allowed to be engaged.

Another important valuable educational force was the nun. Nuns were groups of Catholic women who lived together in community life and were bound by the three vows of religion, poverty, celibacy, and obedience. In their missions, known as Female Mission of Sisters, they helped to educate and "civilize" the native children.<sup>660</sup> The legitimacy of the missions and the schools was converted directly and indirectly by the colonial policies creating a parallel structure between official and private education. From 1912 the Central Catholic Missions constituted the majority of schools frequented mainly by the native boys and girls who usually lived in a boarding school managed and supported by priests, Lay brothers, nuns, Christian village, and catechists, as depicted in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. The Central Missions in Angola (1912)

Districts	Missions	Priests	Lay Brothers	Nuns	Christian Villages	Catechists	Interns	
							Boys	Girls
Cabinda	4	13	11	10	14	20	477	285
Luanda	4	11	8	12	6	36	144	69
Benguela	9	21	16	4	11	40	432	150
Huila	7	20	26	7	34	34	228	165
Total	24	65	61	33	46	139	1281	669

Source: Adapted from C. J. Rooney, "Catholic Portuguese Missions of Angola," *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1912), 291.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid, 294.



These missions had their own schools for female children and adult females. With the existence of both the Catholic mission schools for boys and the Catholic mission schools for girls, many of these missions gained the status of Parochial schools composed for primary and secondary schools based on a general religious education. In this type of education, children, teenagers, and adults learned about Christian beliefs, rituals, customs, rites, and the general Catholic doctrine through catechism classes. In the catechism the priests, nuns, brothers, and catechists emphasized first the Ten Commandments and the life of Christ, second the profession of faith, the Christian Lord's prayer, and third, the celebration of the Christian mystery. Beyond religious education consisting of the catechism and religious hymns, the school's curriculum included reading, writing, and arithmetic.

During the Estado Novo, the missions and the missionary regimes flourished, creating an impressive network for female education. The Overseas Historical Archive makes clear that between 1930 and 1974 more than 30 Institutes and female Congregations had at least one or several schools functioning in Angola as shown in Table 6.2.<sup>661</sup>

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<sup>661</sup> Arquivos Histórico Ultramarino/Lisboa, AHU-ACL-MU-DGEDU\_ SR: C 52 (Missions & Missionaries Regime); RCM\_ C 52, Cx 374; P 51, Cx 029, 139, 140, 331,390, 332, 355, 373, 379; P 52, Cx 012, 0 14, 015, 017, 019, 019 , 023, 026, 030, 033, 037, 104, 111, 131, 143, 311, 314, 316, 319, 322, 331, 334, 342, 347, 351, 352, 371, 373, 372, 375, 372, 382, 394, 395, 399, 400, 402, 412, 419, 441, 457, 444, 458, 481, and 484.

Table 6.2. Institutes and Female Congregations in Angola (1930-1975)

Years	Institute/Congregation	Dioceses
1937-1974	Holy Spirit Congregation	Sá da Bandeira
1937-1974	Brothers of the Blessed Congregation	São Salvador, Luanda, Benguela, Silva Porto, Nova Lisboa
1937-1974	Congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Savior	Benguela, Lunda, S. Porto, N. Lisboa
1938-1974	Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Our Lady of Victories	Luanda, Luso, Malange, Lunda
1941-1974	Congregation of the Missionaries of Our Lady De la Salette	Nova Lisboa
1941-1974	Sisters Medical Missionaries of Mary	Sá da Bandeira
1942-1975	Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny	Malange, Lunda, Luanda, S. Porto, Sá da Bandeira, Nova Lisboa
1942-1974	Institute of Holy Sisters Dorothea	Benguela, Lunda, S. da Bandeira, N. Lisboa
1944-1976	Institute of Franciscan Missionaries of Mary	Carmona, Luanda, Malange, S. Salvador
1945-1974	Missionary Sisters of Holy Spirit	S. Porto, S. da Bandeira, , N. Lisboa
1945-1974	Congregation of the Sisters of the Most Holy Savior	Benguela, Luanda, S. da Bandeira, S. Porto, N. Lisboa
1946-1975	Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Consolation	Benguela, Luanda, S. Porto, N. Lisboa
1946-1974	Institute of the Daughters of Mary	Luanda, N. Lisboa, S. Porto
1947-1974	Congregation of the Sisters Dominican Missionaries of the Rosary	Luanda, Silva Porto
1948-1974	Congregation of the Missionary Benedictine	Luanda, Luso, S. Porto
1948-1974	Congregation of the Franciscan of Our Lady of Victories	Luanda
1948-1974	Missionary Sisters of Reparations of the Sacred Heart of Jesus	Luanda, S. da Bandeira
1948-1974	Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood	Luanda, N. Lisboa, S. Bandeira
1948-1974	Congregation of the Sisters of the Love of God	Carmona, Luanda, S. Salvador
1948-1975	Company of Santa Teresa of Jesus	Luanda, S. Porto, N. Lisboa
1950-1975	The Heart of Mary Son Society	Luanda
1951-1974	Institute of Love Jesus	Luanda, S. Salvador
1953-1974	Secular Institute Teresian	Nova-Lisboa
1953-1975	Congregation of the Sisters of the Parish Action Angola	S. da Bandeira
1953-1975	Congregation of the Missionary Benedictine Sisters of Tutzing	Luso, S. Porto
1953-1975	Missionization Congregation of the Institute of Verona	Carmona, Luanda, S. Salvador
1956-1972	Congregation of "Petites Secures" of Jesus	Silva Porto
1956-1973	Congregation of Discalced Carmelites	Luanda
1965-1975	Institute of the Good Shepherd	Luanda
1965-1975	Women's Section of the Social Welfare Institute of Angola	Luanda
1967-1974	Congregation of the Sisters "Jesus-José-Maria" of Angola	Luanda
1971-1972	Dominican Contemplative	Benguela
1972-1974	Cooperating Institute of the Family	Nova Lisboa
1972-1974	Congregation of Discalced Carmelite Missionaries	Luanda, N. Lisboa
1972-1974	Foundation of Saint Teresa of the Child Jesus	Luanda
1972-1974	Congregation of Our Lady of Mount Carmel	Luanda

Source: Information collected from the Overseas Historical Archive, SR: C52, P 51, 52.

Table 6.2 represents one of the characteristics of Catholic education. Combining this network of female institutions with the network of the mission school for boys, Catholic

missions represented a powerful entity in public education. Clearly, public education in the colonial period was born within the Catholic mission schools. One of the main requirements for Catholic mission schools related to the teacher was that in most schools the teacher had to be married and teaching students of their own sex. Indeed many Institutes of the Consecrated Life for Women and Men separately were settled in Angola. According to the Catholic directory published in 1988, 53 Female Institutions and 19 Male Institutions existed.<sup>662</sup> Catholic mission school played a remarkable and fundamental role in the history of evangelization led by the secular clergy of Jesuits, including Charles Duparquet, Joseph Eigenmann, Alexander Rulhe, and José Maria Antunes, the founder of the missions of Jau in 1889, Quiita in 1893, Gambos in 1896 and Munhino in 1898.<sup>663</sup>

The highest achievement of the Catholic schools was the construction of the seminaries, mostly by the Order of the Spiritans, for the formation of priests. The best known include: the Seminary of Lândana created in 1879, which is probably the oldest; the Seminary of Jau created in 1882 from the older Seminary of Huila; the Seminary of Luanda, created in 1936; the Seminary of Caála created in 1921; the Seminary of Malanje created in 1927; the Seminary “Cristo Rei” in Nova Lisboa created in 1947. In *Holy Ghost Father: History of the Portuguese Province (1867-2004)*, Adélio Neiva explained that on average these Seminaries had ordained more than 160 priests annually by 2004.<sup>664</sup> No one doubts the justice of the Spiritan cause. In terms of education, they were the main promoters of education for Natives and the culture in general. They created several colleges and teacher preparation facilities, for example the well-

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<sup>662</sup> See Conferência Episcopal Angola e S. Tome, *Anuário Católico de Angola e S. Tomé* (1988), 523-526.

<sup>663</sup> See Benedict Schubert, *A Guerra e as Igrejas: Angola 1961-1991*, P. Schlettwein Publishing Switzerland (2000), 30; See also Liga Intensificadora da Acção Missionária (L. I. A. M.), *Portugal em Africa* [Portugal in Africa], Vol. 4 no. 10, Lisboa. Harvard University (1897), 452-454.

<sup>664</sup> Adélio Torres Neiva, *Congregação do Espírito Santo e do Imaculado Coração de Maria. A História da Província Portuguesa (1867-2004)*, [Holy Ghost Fathers and the Immaculate Heart of Maria: History of the Portuguese Province (1867-2004)], Lisbon (2005).

known Teacher Qualification School Teófilo Duarte of Cuima, where between 1952 and 1966 more than 500 teachers in elementary education were graduated. The importance of being recognized is emphasized by eminent personalities in their writings, such as Manuel Nunes Gabriel and Eduardo Muaca.<sup>665</sup> In general, all schools founded by Spiritans included boarding schools, arts and craft programs, typographies, and agriculture farms. The social and cultural promotion of Spiritans was influenced by the tradition of Prof. Quirino de Jesus, one of the founders of the magazine “Portugal em Africa” in 1894 and was instrumental in the origins of the Angolan Newspaper, “O Apostolado,” which was founded in 1935 by Moisés Alves de Pinho.<sup>666</sup> Years later in 1954, Catholic Radio was founded. As a result of the expansion in media many young Native Angolans grew in the Catholic missions and were formed in the Catholic mission schools.

Beyond the Spiritans, the Capuchin played a significant role constructing several Catholic mission schools mostly in the North of Angola. The tradition originated with the first contacts between the first four priests of the Order of Franciscans: the Italians João António Cavazzi de Montecuccolo and João Francisco, the Spaniards António de Teruel and Mateo de Aquino, and the sovereign of the Kingdom of Congo, Garcia II Nkanga a Lukeni a Nzenze a Ntumba in 1645 and 1665. The order of Franciscans, known as Capuchin, also constructed a network of schools and seminaries. I am one of the privileged to have been formed in the Catholic Capuchin primary, secondary, and high schools. Missionary schools were the only educational alternative for the majority of Angolans during the period of colonization, The Missionary Accord signed

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<sup>665</sup> See, Manuel Nunes Gabriel, *Padrões da Fé.As Antigas Igrejas de Angola* [Faith Standards: The Ancient Churches of Angola], Archdiocese of Luanda (1981), 15. Manuel Nunes Gabriel, *Angola. Five Centuries of Christianity*, Braga, 1978. See also, Eduardo Muaca, *Breve Historia da Evangelização de Angola* [Brief History of Angola Evangelization], CEAST, Luanda (1999).

<sup>666</sup> Cândido Ferreira Costa, *Cem Anos dos Missionários do Espírito Santo em Angola, 1866-1966* [One Hundred Years of the Holy Ghost Missionaries in Angola], Espiritanos, Nova Lisboa, (1970).

with the Vatican made the Roman Catholic mission one of the most important representatives of the Portuguese Colonial State in education guaranteeing them some accommodations. This situation eventually allowed the Roman Catholic Church to make tremendous internal changes and to become “as an organization or social system.”<sup>667</sup> In 1970, Pope Paul VI appointed André Muaca as Auxiliary Bishop of Luanda. He was the first Native bishop of Angola. The Church also received subsidies from the Portuguese government.<sup>668</sup> Also, the Church gained certain privileges through Law No. 2033, which established a basis for the status of the private education regime and the conditions for duty free publication in each economic year.<sup>669</sup>

Another good dividend has been the return of native languages before being entirely banished by Salazar’s influence, which is beneficial for the majority of Native students. The prohibition of the use of native languages in schools and in public places by the Decree No. 77 in 1921, constituted a setback for native children. Instead, this ambiguous situation was favorable for the exhibition of New State because these schools awakened and kept "alive the 'national pride' of the Portuguese people."<sup>670</sup> However, historically the Decree No. 77 of 1921 as one of the consequences of the Republican Revolution of 1910 brought crisis to the Catholic Church and more freedom of Protestant actions, which marked its presence in the Portuguese colony,

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<sup>667</sup> John Seidler, “Contested Accommodation: The Catholic Church as a Special Case of Social Change,” *Social Forces*, Vol. 64, no. 4 (1986), 847-874; See also Paul Christopher Manuel, Lawrence C. Reardon and Clyde Wilcox (Eds.), *The Catholic Church and the Nation State: Comparative Perspectives*, Georgetown University Press, Washington (2006).

<sup>668</sup> Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] /Torre do Tombo, SR. P53, Box 119, AO1.086.03 Box 118, P54 Box 114 and 417 referring to subsidies for Catholic schools and houses of formation and subsidies distribution map.

<sup>669</sup> If we take year 1935, we can see that several ordinances were published by the General Government of Angola; Just few examples: See Legislation, I Series No. 7 of 1935: Ordinances No. 1 610 and 1 612 of February 16, grant to the Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions, tax exemption rights of cult objects and drugs; I series no. 8, February 23, 1935: Ordinance No. 1 619 grant tax exemption of images for worship services; I Series no.9 of March 2, 1935:Ordinance no. 1 623 grant tax exemption of objects and bronze bell for religious cult; I Series no. 13 of March 30, 1935: Ordinances No. 1 656 and 1 657 grant tax exemption rights of pharmaceuticals and diverse school supplies and other items of worship.

<sup>670</sup> See, Luis Angelo Sánchez-Gómez, “Imperial Faith and Catholic Missions in the Grand Exhibitions of the ‘Estado Novo’,” *Análise Social*, Vol. 44, no. 193 (2009), 671-692.

Angola. "Portuguese attitude towards Protestant and Catholic" is described by Didier Péclard, in his article, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonialist State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961."<sup>671</sup> But let us analyze some particularities of Protestant Mission Schools.

### **Protestant Mission Schools**

Protestant mission schools were the main competitor of the Catholic Church in terms of education. The only main difference is that Protestantism was mostly introduced in Angola by other European countries and only few of the Portuguese were involved in the process of Protestant implementation in Angola.<sup>672</sup> In this period of colonization, the Portuguese government classified Protestant missions and others as the "non-Catholic Missions."<sup>673</sup> However, the history of Protestantism in Angola started at the threshold of colonization. The first intervention of Protestantism in Angola was related to the incursion in 1878 of the Baptist Missionary Society of London in São Salvador, the capital of the Congo Kingdom. Until the total occupation of Angola by the Portuguese and beyond activities of other associations, mission schools had a significant role in the Angolan process of Native Christianization. These associations are: Missionary Association in London created in 1795, Missionary Association of the Netherlands created in 1797, and the American Missionary Association created in 1810, and the American Baptist Missionary Union created in 1814. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why in Angola several denominations of Protestantism still exist. Didier Péclard argued that for this purpose three main movements staged the development of Protestantism in Angola:

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<sup>671</sup> Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonialist State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 166.

<sup>672</sup> The only denomination founded by Portuguese is the Baptist Convention of Angola. It was founded in 1942.

<sup>673</sup> Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives] /Torre do Tombo, SR. P 57, Box 096.

Protestant missionaries came from different countries, had different religious traditions, were affiliated to different denominations and, perhaps most importantly, and viewed the accomplishment of their missionary task in many different, sometimes opposed ways. The message they transmitted depended very much on those different traditions and alienations, as did also their attitude towards the colonial State. Broadly speaking, the Protestant missionary enterprise in Angola was divided into three main currents, established in as many quite definite areas: (1) the Baptism Missionary Society (BMS) of Great Britain created its missionary station in Northern Angola in 1878. (2) The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) sent its first missionaries to Bié and Bailundo, in the central Highlands, in 1879-1880. They were joined a few years later by Canadian Congregationalists (CCFMS), and, in 1956, together with the 'Association of Umbundu Churches', which grouped most of the churches founded by the ABCFM and the CCFMS, they formed the Council of Evangelical Churches of Central Angola. (3) In 1885 a party of missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, led by Bishop Taylor, arrived in Luanda.<sup>674</sup>

Apart from these denominations, others developed their actions in Angola: the Alliance Missionarie Evangélique, the Evangelical Church of South-West Angola, and the Seventh Day Adventists. In the Northern part the English Baptist Mission, in the central part the American Methodists, and in the central highland the American Canadian Congregationalists, and the North American Congregational Mission. Despite the amalgam of denominations, such as occurred in the Catholic missions, the Protestant missionaries were also entrusted with the whole of the 'native' education system though limited to primary school.<sup>675</sup> In terms of Protestantism, "most missionaries supported the new African perspective. The Church's official policies in the late 1950s and early 1960s were as confusing as those of the colonial powers."<sup>676</sup> Protestants were politically more independent from the Portuguese and other foreign commands with a strong emancipatory tendency. The creation of the Association of the Christian Baptist Church of Angola by the Angolan Baptist in 1969 was the prelude of its liberating potential. This characteristic guided the educational philosophy of Protestant mission schools. In these schools

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<sup>674</sup> Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonialist State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 171.

<sup>675</sup> Ibid, 167.

<sup>676</sup> Ibid, 163.

the use of native languages (Kikongo, Fioti, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kiokwe, and Ngangela) was almost always an obligation besides the Portuguese. I found in the National Archives Torre do Tombo a description between 1921 and 1940 referring to Protestant missions, which explains how the Protestants cared for a number of primary schools and several vocational training centers. From a strict analysis it is evident that they promoted traditional religion and morality in a Western sense as core missions for education. Parochial schools were the places where the posting of the Ten Commandments on school property became a heritage and the spiritual content of classrooms.

The Portuguese observed the existence in Angola of three ideological Protestant movements; the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, whom they considered to be potential supporters of the anti-colonial ideas. These Protestant sects are based in Nathaniel William Taylor's doctrine whose theology encouraged a revival and the missions of the Congregationalist and Presbyterians competed more aggressively with the Baptists and Methodists. The schools in the country were transformed with instruments spreading the gospel of free education. It is difficult to distinguish the different teachings among all of the Protestant denominations, but for all of them concerning religious instruction, the promotion of education was the second most important goal for most of those advocating of Protestantism.<sup>677</sup> The growth of the Protestant denomination obliged the Portuguese authority to regulate their services.<sup>678</sup> Advising those to register their situation in the territory was done extensively for most all religions of whom was

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<sup>677</sup> Arquivos Nacionais [National Archives], Torre do Tombo, AO1. 086.03, P57, Box 045

<sup>678</sup> See Overseas Historical Archive, SR: C52, AHU\_ACL\_MU\_DGEDU\_RCM- C52, Box 374.



required the official registration of their schools and their application as male or female missionary corporations.<sup>679</sup>

As happened in the Catholic mission schools, the Protestants also were obliged to follow a curriculum approved by the Portuguese government with the particularity to include Biblical and divinity studies. The theological seminaries played an important role as part of the educational system. They represented an opportunity for the native children to gain access to moral, civic training, and for self-development through a liberal arts education. What was the philosophy behind these schools? Protestant philosophy is rooted, as we know, in the Enlightenment reforms of Europe and North America. As a result, it is grounded in the authority of the Bible emphasizing religion and morality. So accordingly, Protestant beliefs imply that each Angolan should be educated in virtue as a patriotic duty. This statement basically represented a declaration of war due to the existent cleavage between colonizers and colonized.

This situation represented a real obstacle for the majority of Angolans affiliated with Protestantism. Most of them were illiterate and the Bible was printed in English or in Portuguese. Consequently, the introduction of Native languages in the Bible studies and the translation of the Protestant fundamentals in those languages were included in the system of Protestant schooling and in the general plan of education.<sup>680</sup> Collisions between the state and the church took place concerning both the political and the religious aspects of this philosophy. The question of schooling for the masses was not welcomed by the colonial authorities. In 1961 a final rupture occurred with the outbreak of the war, known as Colonial War by the Portuguese

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<sup>679</sup> Ibid, P57, Box 116. There are several applications of missions to exercise their activities in Angola and Mozambique.

<sup>680</sup> For example, one of the objectives of the first Protestant missions in the central highland was the translation of the New Testament in to Kimbundu language. See Lawrence Henderson, *A Igreja em Angola* [The Church in Angola], Editorial Além –Mare , Lisboa (1990); Justo, González, *Uma História Ilustrada do Cristianismo* [An Illustrated History of Christianity] Vol. 7 A Era dos Conquistadores, São Paulo: Vida Nova (1983).

and as War for National Liberation by the majority of Angolans. This situation culminated with attacks on and the closure of several Protestant missions.<sup>681</sup> Many pastors were expelled and detained by colonial authorities, thus decreasing the number of Protestant missionaries. Until independence, "the disagreement between Protestant missions and the colonial government would have a far reaching impact on diplomatic relations between Portugal and the United States, particularly when missionaries voiced their concerns about Portuguese colonialism internationally known."<sup>682</sup>

### **Other Mission Schools**

Education under religious institutions had specific characteristics. While Catholic mission schools and Protestant mission schools were the most influential educational systems, they functioned at the same time alongside other churches that marked the history of missionary education in Angolan churches such as Tokoism, Kimbanguism, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Church of the Seventh Day Adventists, which also had schools functioning under the auspices of their churches. These churches were the most persecuted by the colonial regime. Their focus was primary education and some theological seminaries. Just to give two examples: the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Word (the Tokoist Church), founded between 1940 and 1949, is one of the most problematic and yet influential Christian churches in the colonial period. It was influenced by several religious tendencies: the Watch Tower Movement, which proselyzed the apocalyptic book of the Bible;<sup>683</sup> Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Baptist Church. Simão Toco

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<sup>681</sup> Quibocolo and Bembe, the most important missions in the northern of Angola, were closed and moved to the Congo. See Lawrence Henderson, *A Igreja em Angola* [The Church in Angola], Editorial Além –Mare, Lisboa (1990), 317.

<sup>682</sup> Kate Burlingham, *In the Image of God: A Global History of the North America Congregational Mission Movement in Angola, 1879-1975*, New Jersey, 2011.

<sup>683</sup> This movement was founded in 1906 by Elliot Kenan Kamwana, a Christian forerunner of the Church independence movement. It combined prophecy, possession, healing with baptism, and was often known as Kitawala or "Kingdom." It followed Jehovah's Witness teaching, using symbolism and preached the imminent coming of Christ to liberate the people of Africa from European and White domination. The movement spread to

founded his own choir within this church and considered himself to be a prophet. His preferred statement was, "asking only the power of the Holy Spirit to reside in Africa and to increase of the Word of God."<sup>684</sup> Simão Toco and João Macoka, who after years, returned definitively to the Jehovah Witnesses, were preaching that Christ would return to earth to liberate the Africans and that there would be a reversal of roles. Simão Toco created a religious movement and a school whose teaching was based on the Bible with strong beliefs regarding pacifism, obedience to the authorities, honesty, freedom, and sincerity. In colonial conditions, two of their beliefs were contradictory: freedom and obedience to the authorities. Freedom implied, for example, the refusal to volunteer for agricultural work, which could have been one of the factors in provoking an awakening of the resistance of the forced labor system imposed by the Salazar regime. As a result, Simão Toco was accused, put in prison, and deported several times for practicing the rites of a mystical-religious doctrine, which preached the arrival of a new order under the reign of a new Christ and would put end to all present authorities and power.<sup>685</sup>

This kind of philosophy was taught also by Simao Kimbangu, the founder of Kimbanguism.<sup>686</sup> The Kimbangusit missions were taught the foundation of the Bible emphasizing an African Identity. The main languages used were Lingala (Kongolese language) and Kikongo (Angolan language). The doctrine also emphasized an African Church identity in a framework of theological and politico-religious tradition. Simao Kimbangu was persecuted, deported by Portuguese and Belgian colonial authorities several times, and died after thirty years

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Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), South Africa, the Belgian Congo (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Mozambique, and Malawi; see also Karen E. Fields, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa*, NJ: Princeton University Press (1985); B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (1961).

<sup>684</sup> F. James Grenfell, "Simão Toco: An Angolan Prophet," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (1998), 210-226

<sup>685</sup> Eduardo dos Santos, *L'Etat Portugese et le Problème Missionnaire*, Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos (1964), 95-124.

<sup>686</sup> Marie-Louise Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church*, Blackwell Publishers (1975), 100.

in prison. After his death, Tokoism was recognized by the Belgian government in 1959 under the name Church of Jesus Christ on Earth.<sup>687</sup> These churches, including Jehovah's Witnesses and Church of the Seventh Day Adventists, harbored schools. These schools were attended by many native children. Certainly many Angolans that could not attend official colonial schools were educated in these religious institutions in spite of the hatred and persecution exhibited by the colonial authorities.

### Summary

The analysis of education under religious institutions shows how the different churches played their roles in the area of education. Some churches were much closer to colonial administration and some were antagonist to this administration, though the reality is that they all, none-the-less, constituted the real foundation of public education in Angola.<sup>688</sup> It is also true that within the circumstance of being churches, they found that the mainstream education tended to be monopolized by mainstream religions. This was good for Angolan society due to the possibility of having citizens educated with a strong moral foundation. In short, the result left us with two lasting myths: the first myth was that Portuguese colonization was a positive element for the Angolan population. This interpretation demanded analysis. The resulting analysis showed that in reality, Portugal contributed to the underdevelopment of Angola. When the Portuguese left Angola, more than 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The second is related to the first, the widespread notion among the population, including among teachers, that

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<sup>687</sup> See Kate Burlingham, *In the Image of God: A Global History of the North America Congregational Mission Movement in Angola, 1879-1975*, New Jersey, 2011; André Droogers, "Kimbanguism at the Grass Roots: Beliefs in a Local Kimbanguist Church," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 11, no. 3 (1980), 188-211 and Aurélien Mokoko-Gampiot, "Les Kimbanguistes en Europe. D'une Génération à l'Autre," [The Kimbanguists in Europe. For one Generation to the Other], *Archive de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, no. 143 (2008), 111-128.

<sup>688</sup> Manuel Fernandes Costa, *The Portuguese Catholic Missions and Teaching Overseas*, Lisboa (1965).

the Portuguese instituted the Angolan Public Schools. Instead, the historical record shows that it was the religious institutions that created the conditions for public education in Angola.

## **Part III Development of History of Angolan Education 1975-1980**

### **Chapter 7—Transition from Colonial to Postcolonial Education**

In the period between 1972 and 1974, the Portuguese accelerated all change from a political perspective, particularly in education. At this time there were both internal and external pressures as a consequence of the increasing nationalist struggle that started in 1961 demanding independence. The struggle was baptized the "Colonial War" by the Portuguese, which was causing an increase in discontent among Portuguese politicians and military. The discontent was first due to the social disintegration, including the lack of jobs and the difficulty of access to education and public health and second, to political repression, especially repression of student protests, the intensification of censorship and increasing challenges from Catholic progressives. These issues, exactly the same in the colonies, were exacerbated by economic and political instability.

Another setback for Portugal was the reception of the Vatican's Pope Paul VI, the leaders of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola, the Mozambique Liberation Front, and the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde. In addition, the United Nations decreed an intervention in the sale of arms to Portugal. According to António de Spínola, Portugal should have introduced changes in its politics and accommodated the local African tribes, creating a Luso-Afro-Brazilian Confederation as one of the alternatives in the decolonization process.<sup>689</sup> Other more radical voices were raised before the publication of Spínola's book, as Francisco da C. Leal, Manuel J. H. de Melo, and Fernando P. de Amorin, who

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<sup>689</sup> See António de Oliveira Salazar, *Portugal e o Futuro, Análise da Conjuntura Nacional* [Portugal and the Future, the National Situation Analysis], Editorial Arcadia, Lisboa (1974).

were claiming the need for deeper changes in the "Primaveira Marcelista" and the recognition of the need for the self-determination of the Portuguese colonial empire.<sup>690</sup>

After Salazar, the Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano, who was the last prime minister of the *Estado Novo*, was governing Angola under the slogan: "The Continuity of Salazar Work." Although he tried to introduce changes, according to Gerald J. Bender, he was promoting the status of "State of Angola," set in the Law No. 5/72, of June 23, 1972, which promulgated the Organic Law of the Overseas Territories.<sup>691</sup> So in 1973, emerged a movement claiming for the prestige of the armed forces created probably by General António Sebastião Ribeiro de Spínola via the Armed Forces Movement. This movement was known as "The Captains Movement" led by a group of individuals such as Costa Gomes, Melo Antunes, and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. Melo Antunes prepared the political program of the military coup d'état of April 25, 1974, which dismantled the New State, created the Junta of National Salvation, and opened the door for the completion of the decolonization process of the illegally occupied territories by Portugal.<sup>692</sup> The coup of March 11, 1975<sup>693</sup> within the "Carnation" Revolution when the Communists took over power in Portugal with the support of the left wing party led by Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho,

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<sup>690</sup> See Francisco da Cunha Leal, *Coisas do Tempo Presente. A Pátria em Perigo* [Things of the Present Time. The Fatherland in Danger], Edição do Autor, Lisboa (1962); Manuel José Homem de Melo, *Portugal, o Ultramar e o Futuro* [Portugal the Overseas and the Future], Edição do Autor, Lisboa (1962) and Fernando Pacheco de Amorim, *Unidade Ameaçada. O Problema Ultramarino* [Threatened Unit. The Overseas Problem], Imprensa de Coimbra (1963).

<sup>691</sup> Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*. University of California Press, (1978), 6-8.

<sup>692</sup> The operation called "Operação Fim Regime" was led by Major Otela Saraiva de Carvalho. During the operation the radio diffused the songs of Paulo de Carvalho "E Depois do Adeus" and the music of Zeca Afonso, "Grândola, Vila Morena," while Marcelo Caetano yielded to General Spínola; see J. Cordeiro, "Writing History in Portugal Today," *History Workshop*, no. 18 (1984), 211-212; Thomas C. Bruneau, "Portugal in the 1970's: From Regime to Regime," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, Neue Folge, Vol. 7*, no. 4 (1981), 389-429; Thomas C. Bruneau, "The Portuguese Coup: Causes and Probable Consequences," *The World Today, Vol. 30*, no. 7 (1974), 277-288; and Pedro Ramos Pinto, "Urban Social Movements and the Transition to Democracy in Portugal, 1974-1976," *The Historical Journal, Vol. 51*, no. 4 (2008), 1025-1046.

<sup>693</sup> A political coup was led by General António S. R. de Spínola against the Portuguese Communist Party in which the left-wing population of many cities mounted street barricades in defense of the left government and rampaged for three days. This failure forced General António S. R. de Spínola to flee to Spain and exile in the Brazil.

resulted in the seizure of power in the territories of Africa. These were the events that marked the definitive form of the transition from a colonial to Postcolonial period, with the independence of the country coming on November 11, 1975. What happened to education during this transitional period is important to understand. For a comprehensive look, I discuss in the following the role of Angolan nationalists and the prospects for education, the multifaceted new educational system, and the philosophy of Angolan postcolonial education.

### **The Role of Angolan Nationalists and Prospects for Education**

In this period of transition from the colonial to the postcolonial period, people with a certain level of education played a fundamental role concerning many aspects of national life, mainly in terms of consciousness. The period between 1951 and 1975 was decisive in the creation of a national consciousness with strong beliefs related to national identity. Due to the mistreatment appropriated to the majority of the population by the colonial powers, the parasitic prosperity of the settlers, the alienation of the lands of Angolan ancestors, and the interdiction of participating in political life, plus racial discrimination, and a lack of education for the majority of Natives, Angolan nationalists denounced the Portuguese colonial system.

Recognizing Angola as representing several nationalities, but none-the-less as a cohesive whole with distinctive traditions, culture and languages, the nationalists of different social strata decided to fight together for freedom. As the colonial powers were resisting recognition of the self-determination of Angola, the Angolans came to understand that a peaceful path to change would not be enough. Because the world was divided during the Cold War, Angolan nationalists also chose their own ideologies dividing themselves into nationalists, non-nationalists, and other



nationalists while integrating all of them into the "Angolan anti-colonialist movement."<sup>694</sup> The only way they had to raise their contesting voices was to be affiliated with the Movements of National Liberation, which were strongly based in ethnicity and embodied with the single vision hope for national liberation.

The impact and speed of events of the coup of March 11, 1975 in Portugal and the weight of postwar international relations caught the Angolan nationalists by surprise. According to Andrew D. Crain, the output of Spínola accelerated the events in Portugal: "A communist victory looked more likely after António S. R. Spínola launched a coup on March 11, 1975. Virtually all the military sided with the MFA, forcing Spínola to flee for exile in Spain; after which radical elements took advantage of the coup to consolidate power. The third government fell, and the next government, under Vasco Gonçalves was heavily influenced by the communists."<sup>695</sup> Those in power did not have sufficient time to design and consolidate a realistic program for Angola's decolonization in the postcolonial period. Ideological differences magnified on the one hand, pro-occidental and liberal ideas, and on the other hand, pro-Marxist ideas strongly influenced by class struggle as several causes, among others, which prevented the nationalists from creating a unity of action to solve the difficult problems and asymmetries inherited from colonialism.

However, whose particular struggle it was and the role they came to play unveiled the myth of Portugal's pluricontinentalism and the myth of invincibility constructed by Europeans in the colonies. It seems that only a few Angolan nationalists were influenced by Leopold Senghor, Aimé Cesaire, and Frantz Fanon's work about the meaning and psychological impact of European cultural alienation. A close reading of these scholars and a deeper analysis of the

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<sup>694</sup> Edmundo Rocha, *Angola, Contribuição ao Estudo da Gênese do Nacionalismo Angolano, Período de 1950 a 1964 (testemunho e Estudo Documental* [Angola, Contribution to the Study of Genesis of the Angolan Nationalism, Period 1950-1964 (Testimony and Documentary Study)], Lisboa: Dinalivro, 1964.

<sup>695</sup> Andrew Downer Crain, *The Ford Presidency: A History*, New Carolina (2009).

ideals of the African Revolutionary Front for the Independence of the National People under Portuguese Domain, formed in 1960, would probably have prevented a civil war had the nationalists become involved in this period of transition. As it was, anyone who fixed as priority political leadership and control of the territory abandoned by settlers succeeded. Many Angolan scholars contributed significantly in the process of Angolan nationalism's development such as José de Fontes Pereira, borne in Luanda (1839-1891) radical Angolan lawyer and journalist, Viriato Francisco da Cruz, born in Porto Amboim (1928-1973), and Mario Coelho Pinto de Andrade, born in Golungo Alto (1928-1990).<sup>696</sup>

Antonio Agostinho Neto, born in Icolo e Bengo (1922-1979), had a special contribution. He became Angola's first President in 1975. His work, "Sagrada Esperança," published in 1974 constitutes one of the major inspirations of Angolan nationalism. António Jacinto Amaral Martins born in Luanda (1924-1991), became known for his poem entitled "Letter from a Contract Worker," which inspired a determination for freedom in the people of Angola. Artur Carlos Mauricio Pestana dos Santos born in Benguela wrote, "As Aventuras de Ngunga," in 1972 about the awareness of traditional values and the spirit of nationalism. Agostinho André Mendes de Carvalho was born in Calomboloca (1924-2014), as part of the so-called "Process of 50," having been deported to the Tarrafal Concentration Camp in Cape Verde. His work, "Mestre Tamoda," was inspired by the Angolan National Freedom Movement. Oscar Bento Ribas was born in Luanda and published in 1952, "Ecos da minha Terra" [Echoes of my Land], which reflected a distinctive African character.

Certainly, these Angolan nationalists understood the important place of education in our society. Their literature contains valuable aspects of Angolan life while denouncing the

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<sup>696</sup> Mario Coelho Pinto de Andrade besides having created the Center for African Studies in 1951 wrote an important book entitled, *Liberté Pour l'Angola* [Freedom to Angola], Paris: Maspero (1962); Viriato da Cruz, "What Kind of Independence for Angola?" *Revolution-Paris, Vol. 1*, no. 9 (1964)

inequality and mistreatment of the Angolan people during the Portuguese colonization.<sup>697</sup> These works written by nationalists were not dedicated exclusively to education but it is undeniable that their reflections reviewed and summarized the feelings that an extremely exclusive colonial education can create. So, let us continue to analyze how Angolans built the new system of education in this period of a troubled transition.

### **The Multifaceted Aspects of the New Educational System**

From the collapse of the dictatorship to a process of a troubled decolonization, Angola's nationalism has suffered from more than just a narrow political environment of a colonial period of 400 years. According to Gerald J. Bender and Stanley Yoder, "following the April 25, 1974 military coup in Portugal, the white population in Angola does not exceed 335,000 and may be considerably less by the end of 1974 if the exodus of Portuguese continues through the year."<sup>698</sup> On the eve of independence, more than 80 percent of White people consisting mainly of Portuguese left Angola after having run the country for more than four centuries.

The Alvor Agreement was signed by the Portuguese Government and those representing the three liberation movements (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) [The National Front of the Liberation of Angola], Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) [People's Movement of Liberation of Angola], e União para a Independencia Nacional de Angola (UNITA) [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]) January 10-15, 1975. The agreement is a document of 60 articles. In Article Five it was established that power would be exercised until independence as per the Alvor Agreement by the High Commissioner and by a

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<sup>697</sup> Russell G. Hamilton, "A country Also Built of Poems: Nationalism and Angolan Literature," *Research in African Literature*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (1982), 315-326; and Patrick Chabal, "Aspects of Angolan Literature: Luandino and Agostinho Neto," *African Languages and Culture*, Vol. 8, no. 1 (1995), 19-42.

<sup>698</sup> Gerald J. Bender and Stanley Yoder, "Whites in Angola on the Eve of Independence: The Politics of Numbers," *Africa Today*, Vol. 21, no. 4 (1974), 23- 37; Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angola," *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1975), 21-13.

tripartite Transitional Government that took place on January 31, 1975. One of the first effects of this Act was the political liberation of prisoners from São Nicolau Camp, one of the largest concentration camps in the interior of the country. According to Paul Fauvet, there were 6,000 Angolans held, men and women farmers, carpenters, masons, teachers, students (mainly from Liceu Salvador Correia of Luanda), and civil servants, with about 2,335 children living there. More than 2,000 prisoners composed of natives and some mestiços and not one White, were mostly convicted without trial. All of them were liberated on May 3, 1974.<sup>699</sup>

The High Commissioner representing the President of the Republic and Portuguese Government created the Junta Governative of Angola consisting of Admiral Rosa Coutinho, Captain Leonel Cardoso, Brigadier Altino de Guimarães, Colonel Silva Cardoso, and Major Emílio Silva. This Government Board supervised the subsequent appointments of the interim governors<sup>700</sup> and ensured a little progress in areas such as economics, public works, urbanization, habitation, transportation and construction. Article 21<sup>st</sup> established the composition of Angolan tripartite Transitional Government: (1) The National Front of the Liberation of Angola was responsible for the following areas: Interior, Health, Social Affairs, and Agriculture. (2) The Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola received the following areas: Information, Planning, Finances, and Justice. (3) The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola ensured areas such as Labor, Social Security, Education, Culture, and Natural Resources. This

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<sup>699</sup> Paul Fauvet, Angola: "The Rise and fall of Nito Alves," *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 9, Southern Africa (1977), 89.

<sup>700</sup> After the last General Governor of Angola Fernando Augusto Santos e Castro other interim Governors succeeded: António da Silva Osório Soares Carneiro from 27 April to May 1974, Joaquim António Franco Pinheiro from May 4, to June 15, 1974, and António da Silva Cardoso from January 28, 1975 to August 2, 1975.

tripartite Transitional Government was coordinated by a Presidential College made up of three individuals from each movement.<sup>701</sup>

In general, the Alvor Agreement was already a poisoned chalice. First, the Fifth Article was contradictory in content indicating two parallel governments: the Government Board of Angola and the transitional government. Second, Article 26 established that the transitional government could be fired by the Portuguese High Commissioner. Third, Article 32 stipulated the presence of 45 hundred military from the three movements and 44 hundred military on the side of the Portuguese armed forces. Fourth, in an interview done in the 1980s, António Rosa Coutinho (favored by the Portuguese Communist Party) declared that even then the Alvor Agreement was known to be a hoax, that the Portuguese government recognized the Popular Movement of Liberation of Angola as the only force capable of directing Angola; that Portugal would treat differently the three movements. He went to Havana several times to negotiate Angolan issues, but eventually he knew that war was inevitable. So, the Portuguese High Commissioner continued to organize the withdrawal of Portuguese residents from Angola. For example, in August of 1974 more than 34,000 Portuguese left Luanda for Lisbon or other destinations. The civil war started before the day of independence and each movement sought control of the situation. According to Gerald J. Bender,

The United States and the Soviet Union have supported opposing sides in Angola for more than a quarter of Century. Generally during this period, for both superpowers actions were stymied not only by a lack of control over their respective Angolan allies but also by the minimal impact they had on determining the desired outcomes of their support. Another critical aspect of U.S. and Soviet activity in Angola has been their unreliability as patrons for their respective clients. Not surprisingly most Angolans no matter which side they were on were highly skeptical and cynical about superpowers.<sup>702</sup>

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<sup>701</sup> Parts of the Presidential College were the following individuals: Johnny Pinnock Eduardo, member of the National Liberation Front of Angola; Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento, member of the Popular Movement of Liberation of Angola; and José Ndele, member of the National Union for the Independence of Angola.

<sup>702</sup> Gerald J. Bender, "The Eagle and the Bear in Angola," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 489, International Affairs in Africa (1987), 124.

Both the National Front of the Liberation of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola received military assistance from various countries such as United States of America, Britain, France, China, North Korea, Rumania, and South Africa. While the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola received support from the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nigeria, Denmark, Congo Brazzaville, and from the Katangese Gendarmes of Moises Tshombe.<sup>703</sup> Particularly, during the period between 1974 and 1976, a total of 300,000 Cubans arrived in Angola.<sup>704</sup>

The complexity of this situation also made the task to develop education difficult. The Administration of Education was assigned to the National Front of the Liberation of Angola. The first challenge for Jerónimo Elavoco Wanga was that in education the economic situation was extremely serious. In most schools and in most education institutions investments declined and the majority of those who graduated in higher education left Angola. Educators became completely paralyzed. Luanda was changing: there were threats of strikes in most every sector of the capital, Luanda. Bread began to run low. One of the first measures taken in the field of education was the Decree No. 25 of July, 1975, when the transitional government increased the salary of educators.<sup>705</sup> Another measure was the publication of the Decree-Law No. 86/73 of July 1975, which created two new universities beyond the University of Luanda. But, three aspects contributed to the failure to achieve continuity in the education program in the beginning of the postcolonial period: first, internal ideological contradictions and interests resulted in a highly

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<sup>703</sup> Ibid, 125.

<sup>704</sup> See also Christine Hatzky, *Cubans in Angola. South-South Cooperation and Transfere of Knowledge, 1976-1991*. The University of Wisconsin Press (2012).

<sup>705</sup> This diploma is one of the most important documents signed by the transitional government that had an immediate impact on Angolans' lives. It was signed by Jonny Pinnock Eduardo, first vagal of the Presidential College, Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento, and José N'Dala, member of Presidential College. Others responsible also signed the diploma such as Jerónimo Elavoco Wanga holder Education Minister, Saily Vieira Dias Mingas from the Ministry of Planning and Finances, and António da Silva Cardoso Portuguese High Commissioner.

conflicted tripartite political system, and, second, external intervention increased as of November 11, 1975 when the transfer of power approached and the People's Republic of Angola emerged. Third, the religious identity of the nationalist leaders contributed to the cleavage of different groups among them. All of these aspects were intertwined and resulted in deep racial, ethnic, class, and ideological disruptions. For example, it was not by chance that historically, North American and British Protestants divided Angola into three regions: (1) the North was dominated by the Baptist Mission Society with whom Holden Alvaro Roberto, an ethnic Bakongo, was the leader of The National Front of the Liberation of Angola orientated toward Africans; (2) the Center was ruled by the Methodist Church, in which Antonio Agostinho Neto from Mbundu ethnicity was raised and became the leader of the Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola, characterized by a strong multiracial and Marxist orientation;<sup>706</sup> and (3) the South dominated by the United Congregational Church in which Maoist Jonas Malheiro Savimbi of Ovimbundu ethnicity was oriented toward Africans. With this unsettled context among the nationalist leaders, major distrust resulted and the educational prospects continued to be bleak.<sup>707</sup>

Remember that during the process of the introduction of Portuguese culture, "Portuguese Catholic mission schools had transplanted the rigidly class-based and oriented education system of Portugal to Angola."<sup>708</sup> At this time three major educational systems were already implanted in the country: the Protestant educational system, the Catholic educational system, and the so-called official Portuguese educational system. In October of 1975 the planned national elections were not held.<sup>709</sup> These aggressive inter-ethnic conflicts and the intervention of foreign forces

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<sup>706</sup> Basil Davidson, "Dans la Brousse de l'Angola avec les Guerrilleros du MPLA," in *Le Monde Diplomatique-Paris*, no. 198 (1970), 19.

<sup>707</sup> See John A. Marcum, "The Anguish of Angola: On Becoming Independent in the Last Quarter of the Twentieth Century," *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (1975), 6, 8.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>709</sup> Unfortunately the UNESCO International Conference of Education realized on September 4 of 1975 in Genebre, was completely forgotten due to the political and internal confusion in the country.

put an end to the Agreement of Alvor, and on November 11, 1975 independence was declared under a political climate of instability marked by the beginning of one the bloodiest and most prolonged Civil Wars in history. It would only end in 2002.

The period between 1975 and 1976 was chaotic, with a multitude of aspects influencing the new educational system. An active Cold War meant Angola was being disputed by three great ambitious super powers with their sights on Angolan oil and precious minerals. Nuno Valério and Maria P. Fontoura demonstrated this as seen in Table 7.1.<sup>710</sup>

Table 7.1. Composition of Exports from Angola (Values in percentages)

Year	Coffee	Diamonds	Petroleum	Others
1969	35	20	5	40
1974	20	8	51	21
1979	14	13	72	1
1984	4	3	91	2

Source: Nuno Valério and Maria Paula Fontoura, “A Evolução Económica de Angola Durante o Segundo Período Colonial: Uma Tentative de Síntese,” *Análise Social*, Vol. xxix, no. 129 (1994), 1205.

In addition to the infighting, finding support for the three movements of liberation was a challenge. The People’s Movement of the Liberation of Angola, which was governing Angola and supported in Central Angola, was supported by the USSR; The National Front for the Liberation of Angola, which had strong support in the Northeast of Angola, was supported by the United States of America; and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, which was strongest in the South of Angola, was supported by South Africa. Portugal was overtaken by all of the related events and the churches were becoming powerless. All levels of education were at a crossroads between uncertain peace and imminent war: (1) the forced mobility and

<sup>710</sup> See Nuno Valério and Maria Paula Fontoura, “A Evolução Económica de Angola Durante o Segundo Período Colonial – Uma Tentative de Síntese,” [The Economic Development of Angola During the Second Colonial Period: A Summary of Tentative] *Análise Social*, Vol. xxix, no. 129 (1994), 1193-1208. The authors explained that, in 1975 the economy had become prosperous, either due to the existence of considerable export of agricultural products (coffee, cotton, sugar, sisal and others from plantations, maize from traditional) and mining operations (diamonds, iron, and oil) and even services (particularly through traffic for Shaba, the former Katanga, by the way iron in Benguela), also due to the start of a process of industrialization; see also, Thomas J. Noer, “International Credibility and Political Survival: The Ford Administration’s Intervention in Angola,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (1993), 771-185.



displacement of the population in all regions according to their ethnicity created instability in the student and teacher population; (2) as a consequence, a fluctuating number in the increase of number of students to be enrolled, the lack of schools, the lack of teachers, the lack of material appropriately reflecting the new independent country, as well as supplies and administrative personnel were demanding of serious investments; (3) the lack of clear educational policies was making the task difficult for those responsible for education due to the collapse of the system of educational indicators and its related information. All combined to effect an already fragile school organization in which teacher absenteeism in government schools was out of control.<sup>711</sup>

With a Civil War that began with conflicts among the three movements of national liberation even before an independence proclamation, continued crises in the transitional stage of Angolan education were inevitable. Education in all its different forms: colonial education, missionary education, indigenous education, nationalistic education, and socialist education, was strongly showing its social syndrome of inequality. That is why it is so important to examine and understand what ideas were officially formulated to drive education in the post-independence period, and for which purposes and functions they existed in the new political environment of Angolan society.

### **The Philosophy of Angolan Postcolonial Education**

The purpose of education in the postcolonial period was determined by a political course of events following the end of Portuguese domination. The exodus of the Portuguese, the continuous bloody Civil War, and the recognition of the People's Movement of the Liberation of Angola as the legitimate government of Angola were some of the important events that contributed to defining education in this period. The Portuguese had represented the vast

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<sup>711</sup> See also Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Investing in Education: Analysis of the 1999 World Education Indicators*. OECD, Publications Services, 2000.

majority of educated and technically able personnel in Angola. Once they fled abroad, a modern administration and economy could not be run. Because of an ideological position,<sup>712</sup> the Marxist government made a decision to expropriate Portuguese property and to implement central planning for the economy.<sup>713</sup> Some scholars still hoped to change the situation for the better. For example, in his article, “Angola,” Douglas L. Wheeler argued that,

Angola requires fundamental improvements in education, commerce, agriculture, industry, mining and many other sectors. [...] The development of large resources of petroleum and agriculture here could help alleviate food and fuel shortages in other parts of tropical Africa. [...] Careful study of the real needs of this hard-working and long-suffering people must be undertaken.<sup>714</sup>

However, following the war, the petroleum sector was viewed merely as a potential to be developed. The government created a National Commission for Restructuring of the Petroleum Sector formed by “Percy Freudenthal a white Angolan businessman, Morais Guerra, a lawyer with banking sector expertise and Desiderio Costa, an engineer, plus a handful of other experts.”<sup>715</sup> As consequence of the work of this commission and the nationalization of the Portuguese company SACOR/Petrogal, two important institutional developments followed: (1) the creation of Sonangol<sup>716</sup> in June 1976 as an Angolan oil concessionaire with the status of a sector regulator and tax gathering agent, and (2) the position of Petroleum Minister in 1976 was established for the desired increase of the oil sector in the next years, as shown in Table 7.2. The existence of such economic structure, with the increase of oil and oil derivation, was a healthy

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<sup>712</sup> President Agostinho Neto in a speech in the plenary of the OAU Summit in July 1978 said that “The People’s Movement of Angolan Liberation-The Labor Party is willing to build the Scientific Socialism in Angola” (Khartoum, Sudan, on July 18-21 of 1978).

<sup>713</sup> Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, “Business Success, Angola-Style: Postcolonial Politics and the Rise and Rise of Sonangol,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 45, no. 4 (2007), 597-598.

<sup>714</sup> Douglas L. Wheeler, “Angola,” *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1975), 22.

<sup>715</sup> Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, “Business Success, Angola-Style: Postcolonial Politics and the Rise of Sonangol,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 45, no. 4 (2007), 598.

<sup>716</sup> Sonangol, Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis [The National Fuels Company]. Its development gained an early tendency to the liberalization in the oil sector by Agostinho Neto with the increase of oil production and oil derivation.

signal for the sector of education because they could help in the management of educational partnerships.

Table 7.2. Industrial Production in 1977 and 1979

The Main Branches	Value of output in current prices (in million Kwanzas)	
	1977	1978
Foodstuffs	2,648	3,148
Heavy industry	1,195	1,598
Light industry	662	947
Mining industry	1,607	3,981
Crude Petroleum	23,675	20,330
Refined petroleum products	1,029	1,262
Electrical energy	252	267

Source: M. R. Bhagavan, *Angola: Prospects for Socialist Industrialisation*, Research Report no. 57, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala (1980), 44. (Main source: Boletim Informativo 1978. Ministério do Plano. RPA, Luanda. Tabela 6, p. 34)

An increase in instability due to the Civil War combined with the official adoption of constructing a socialist society in 1976, set up an educational system based on an ideology reflective of the Marxist-Leninist Party in power. The question of what kind of education should be implemented in Angolan post-independence was influenced directly and indirectly by issues within the party.<sup>717</sup>

To unify internal positions and mostly to find a common denominator among what had always been the most dramatic determinant external influence such as colonization, independence, socialism and capitalism, the Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola in power held its first Ordinary Congress on December 4-10, of 1977. The Congress passed a new program of development and a party line constitution as well as resolutions on the thesis known as “Linhas-Mestras” [Highlights] of Economic and Social Development up to 1980, including Education and Teaching in the People’s Republic of Angola, and media broadcasts. Politically, the Congress reaffirmed the construction of a socialist society. Consequently, the other two

<sup>717</sup> Jean-Michel Mabeko, *Dissidences et Pouvoir d’Etat: Le MPLA Face a Lui-Même (1962-1977)*, Université Paris VII (Thèse de Doctorat) See Chapter 3 and 4 (1996).

movements of Angolan liberation, The National Liberation Front of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, were classified as traitors and agents of capitalism in the service of international imperialism, placing the conflict in a non-negotiable and irreversible position. The “*Linhas-Mestras*” of the *Economic and Social Development until 1980* adopted during the Congress considered Education and Teaching in the People’s Republic of Angola as a high priority. “The constitution of the first post-independence government sector created an Education and Culture Ministry and appointed as incumbent minister, António Jacinto do Amaral Martins,”<sup>718</sup> who started to organize the *Basic Principles for the Redesigning of the System of Education and Training in the Republic of Angola*,<sup>719</sup> published in 1978. The document started by examining the situation in that very year. The first phenomenon was related to the explosive increase in the number of students and the diminution of teachers at all levels. For example, as depicted in Table 7.3, the number of students in 1973 was 512,942 and in 1978 the country counted one million students only in the primary grades with a mere 25,000 teachers distributed throughout the country. In secondary education, more than 105,368 students had only 306 teachers, while in the university in 1974 there were 4,176 students. By 1977 this number had dropped to 1,109 students.<sup>720</sup>

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<sup>718</sup> Ministério da Educação, “O Educador,” [The Educator] *Revista Oficial do Ministério da Educação*, no.0-Outubro/Dezembro (2013), 5.

<sup>719</sup> Ministério da Educação, *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, [Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A], Luanda (1978).

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

Table 7.3. Development of Educational System According to Categories: Number of Students and Teachers

Years	Primary Education		Secondary Education		Higher Education		Total of Students	Total of Teachers
	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers		
1969/70			11,325	936	976	160	12,301	1,096
1973/74	512,942	12,200			4,176	287	517,118	12,487
1977/78	1,000,000	25,000	105,368	336	1,109	60	1,106,477	25,396

Source: Adapted and Information from Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effects of Portuguese Colonialism on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 82-84 and Ministério da Educação, *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, Luanda (1978), 8-9.

Through a critical analysis of the colonial heritage, in *The Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A* was defined for example that,

In elementary school, beyond the reactionary content of the programs (colonial, fascist, Eurocentric, Catholic, unscientific) the proclaimed pedagogical system was purposely laggard reflecting directly the relations of exploitation and oppression. The school teacher was trained with the mentality of the colonial overseer, the jailer. The established relations at school were of oppression and terror, to create the child – a future explored.<sup>721</sup>

At this time, according to the party guidelines, Angolan postcolonial education should be based on the principles of “socialist education” following the thinking of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, plus Friedrich Engels and his follower Lenin, all of whom formulated the fundamental characteristics of education and instruction in the socialist society.<sup>722</sup> According to them, education and teaching should: (1) concern and pertain to citizens; (2) abolish all privileges and make the only concern for the whole society to serve as an instrument for the communist transformation of whole society; (3) combine education with the production of materials; (4) establish the people’s power by their participation in the consolidation of the national independence via the destruction of the old colonial State; and (5) participate in the elevation of the cultural level of all Angolans; and finally (6) serve as a means of reproduction of

<sup>721</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid, 16.

a social being to be considered as a whole and created as a new type of producer and consumer, in short a ‘New Man.’<sup>723</sup>

### Summary

Despite the troubled time and the specificity of the birth of the new nation, the philosophy of Angola postcolonial education was characterized by a radical change in its essential paradigm. The meaning and the social functions of education were literally embodied in the new vision of a different World with the perspective to construct a socialist society. The function of socialization involved the development of personality with a mission to “be free indeed and walk towards socialism.”<sup>724</sup> In this sense, as Joel Samoff, argued “Schooling became more important than clan, kinship, religion, ethnicity, race, religion, and connection in employment and recruitment to positions of authority.”<sup>725</sup> The noble goal of education was to form a “New Man” who was proud and self-confident enough to reject appeals to racial, ethnic, religious, and regional identities in favor of class and international solidarity, and who should value community and cooperation over competitive individualism. The educational function of social control was based on the regulation of individual and ideological behavior and values. Irrespective of ideology, education in most “societies is expected to play a major role in constructing a desired future.”<sup>726</sup> This philosophy of Angolan postcolonial education oriented to “constructing scientific socialism in the People’s Republic of Angola”<sup>727</sup> was destined to face several problems.

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<sup>723</sup> Ibid, 22-25.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>725</sup> Joel Samoff, “Socialist Education?” *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (1991), 1-22.

<sup>726</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>727</sup> Ministério da Educação, *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, [Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A], Luanda (1978), 28.

## Chapter 8—The Main Concerns of Angolan Post-Independence Education

It is not surprising that a new country would face difficulties educating its citizenry initially in the period of its first years and additionally during the normal period of transition from one political system to another. Unfortunately, Angola did not have a normal transition, which complicated the various elements implied in the process of the development of education in the post-independence period even more. There were some intrinsic aspects related to the foundation of the identity of the Angolan educational system, which proved particularly difficult. The elimination of the exogenous elements linked to colonial ideology and the introduction by substitution of another group of exogenous elements, such as those which came with a Marxist ideology, created a precarious situation forestalling the emergence of the solid identity necessary to a new Angolan educational system.

The goals of national reconstruction and the forms it should take were announced by the Central Committee of MPLA in October 1976. These were presented to and ratified by the first Congress of MPLA held in Luanda in December 1977. At this Congress, MPLA was proclaimed a Workers' Party with an explicit Marxist-Leninist ideology and a democratic-centralist structure, the supremacy of the Party over the government was reaffirmed, and the choice of socialism.<sup>728</sup>

The thesis of implementing the principles of Marxism in education was already a flagrant contradiction to the desire for an endogenous educational development<sup>729</sup> oriented by the party in power. The usual references for such an endogenous development are related to the local sociocultural, ecological, and economic elements established in the society. Therefore, development should have meant enhancing these elements, preserving their strengths, and correcting their weaknesses. Contextually the Angola Civil War was destructive to its

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<sup>728</sup> M. R. Bhagavan, *Angola: Prospects for Socialist Industrialisation*, Research Report No. 57, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala (1980), 5; see also, MPLA, *Teses e Resoluções do 1º Congresso*, Luanda, Imprensa Nacional (1978).

<http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:274875/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

<sup>729</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

infrastructure (including education). Socialism was also destroying the social fabric of the people who had existed for centuries and were denied accumulation of culture, including religious traditions rooted in the culture. In the following, the effects of colonial education followed by a socialist education, require further analysis concerning the decolonization of the Angolan educational system and the elements of Angolan educational system reform.

### **Effects of Colonial Education**

Colonial education and its philosophy had powerfully affected the Angolan educational system. After a domination of more than 400 years, it was evident that a Portuguese presence in this part of Africa in all sectors of life was unquestionable. According to Eduardo de S. Ferreira “indoctrination and acculturation were intense even in primary education and continued at all levels.”<sup>730</sup> Even those that appeared as defenders of scientific socialism were so completely affected that in looking for their names one can see how they were acculturated to the point that none of them had the courage to remove the cover imposed by colonialism. It is so pronounced that when I see their names it causes confusion as to whether they wrote about Angolans or Portuguese. Education was the main instrument used in colonialism to achieve their objectives. “The Portuguese language was compulsory and the only one to be used in education,”<sup>731</sup> Eduardo de S. Ferreira cited what was written in *Diário de Notícias* on September 3 of 1967: “We must be obstinate, intransigent, and insatiable in the intensification of the use of the Portuguese language.”<sup>732</sup> No one dared to contradict this thesis. Several ministers passed through the Ministry of Education (António Jacinto do Amaral Martins, Ambrósio Lukoki, Augusto

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<sup>730</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: the end of an era – The Effects of Portuguese Colonialism on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 85

<sup>731</sup> Ibid., 85

<sup>732</sup> Ibid.



Lopes Teixeira, António Burity da Silva, João Manuel Bernado, Pinda Simao),<sup>733</sup> who worked hard to overcome this, but they could not minimize the effect of this colonial heritage and its strategies for the extinction of Angolan languages, culture, and its native identity. Probably, they believed, like many Angolans, to develop indigenous languages meant putting national unity at risk and the Portuguese language was the only vehicle of the unification guarantee for Angolans. And so, today, most of the new Angolan generations are illiterate in national languages and see the habits, customs, and indigenous names of their forebears after forty years of independence as strange. With the increase of military conflict, the colonial tendency became to maintain schools mostly in cities or in white settlements in the hope of continuity in the first five years after independence.

### **Primary and Secondary Education**

Access to education for Angolans is still difficult today. Few facilities are available in spite of the strong efforts made by the government. The result is that the number of children outside of the education system continues to climb. This is also a major colonial heritage based on explicit distinctions between rural and urban education (See Appendix B – 28 and 29: school of Jombe II and School April 14). This differentiation was developed as an important Marxist concept for the political mobilization and defense of the peasantry and the pseudo-Angolan proletariat. We should remember that extending schooling to the rural areas where most Angolans lived happened only between 1964 and 1970, “which provided a pre-primary class and the first three years of primary education [...] and most of the teachers in the three-year schools and all of the monitors (teachers with four years of education and poor teacher training) were

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<sup>733</sup> Ministério da Educação, “O Educador,” [The Educator] *Revista Oficial do Ministério da Educação*, no.0-Outubro/Dezembro (2013), 5.

African.”<sup>734</sup> Eduardo de S. Ferreira argued also that, “the poor quality of education even at the lowest (i.e., primary) level (the only level that affects most Africans) is reflected in the high rate of examination failures-highest in districts with higher student/teacher ratios and a higher proportion of teachers with a low level of training.”<sup>735</sup> The statistics presented by Eduardo de S. Ferreira show that with a total of 6,283 teacher agents, the primary school teachers covered 28.75 percent, the secondary school teachers covered 26.65 percent, and the monitors covered 44.60 percent,<sup>736</sup> which clearly demonstrates that teaching and learning were in the hands of monitors. This reflects a low quality of education reserved for the majority of the Angolans.

Secondary education was almost nonexistent in the areas inhabited by the majority of Angolans. The missionaries were allowed to create this type of school only very late between 1973 and 1974. In the cities, the “Liceus” were created and mostly “reserved for the children of the colonial bourgeoisie”<sup>737</sup> and considered schools recognized for quality of education. “These schools were permitted direct access to the university; in this case the education provided was purely theoretical and general, so that was good for the future cadres of colonialism to acquire the cultural foundation for higher education.”<sup>738</sup> So, the question of teacher preparation, the general quality of education, and the fact that Angolans continued to be subjected to class discrimination still defined education.

### **In Higher Education**

In the *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, it was explained that, for all of the insurmountable socioeconomic barriers put to

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<sup>734</sup> Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era – The Effects of Portuguese Colonialism on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, The Unesco Press, Paris (1974), 87-88.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid, 88

<sup>736</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>737</sup> Ministério da Educação, *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, [Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A], Luanda (1978), 13.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid, 13.

Angolans in the secondary schools, higher education was almost exclusively populated by children of the colonial bourgeoisie because they were the only ones who ended up at the Liceu.<sup>739</sup> Ordinance No. 76 A/76 of September 28 of 1976 was created for the Universidade de Angola by the Ministry of Education and dictated what the university would be in the post-independence. Eugénio A. da Silva argued that,

The University of Angola borne under a socialist revolutionary sign is subject to State control and the ideological influence of the party because it was a stake in the protection of national sovereignty in the course selected in terms of the model of development, with the responsibility for the fulfilment of a revolutionary task of utmost importance. [...] Hence, the metaphors, considering the university as a ‘forge of cadres for the revolution’ and ‘trench for the Angolan revolution.’<sup>740</sup>

Clearly there was a continuity of tradition and colonial heritage that passed from Lusitanism to socialism, whose missions and objectives were indoctrination characterized by a lack of diversification and autonomy. The crises that began in the colonial period between State interests and education geared to teach free men to think continued in the post-independence period. “The relationship between the state and education also reflects the leadership’s need to demonstrate the benefits of constructing a new social order.”<sup>741</sup> While the university was no longer exclusively for elites, it became an ideological instrument for a party maintaining a status concerning colonial emanation. The University of Angola was transformed into precisely what Artur Carlos Mauricio Pestana dos Santos (Pepelela) wanted to avoid. When he was the Vice-Minister of Education for high school and university he was opposed to transforming university into a school to form a bourgeoisie and neo-bourgeoisie with a Marxist language. However, the Faculty of Law<sup>742</sup> of the University of Angola agreed to spearhead the management of Marxist

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<sup>739</sup> Ibid.

<sup>740</sup> Eugénio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto, Quo Viadis?* Editorial. Kilombelombe, Limitada, (2012), 127-128

<sup>741</sup> Joel Samoff, “Socialist Education?” *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (1991), 1-22

<sup>742</sup> For students enrolling in the Law School they should show evidence of being party activists.

ideology at the University of Angola. Also, it was oriented to avoid the influence of occidental capitalist countries and encouraged closer cooperative relations with socialist countries. Table 8.1 exposes the state of education in 1970, which did not change in substantial terms in the following five years because of the legacy of both institutions and ideas, except for the explosion of the number of students in all levels. At university 1,109 were enrolled in 1977 as is shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.1. State of Education in Angola (1969/70)

Type of School	Students	Teachers	Schools
Infant Teaching	2,484	70	34
Primary	384,884	8, 714	4, 000
Secondary:			
Preparatory	25,137	1,206	99
Secondary	10,779	936	61
Technical Occupational	14,660	1,171	65
Art	304	12	1
Ecclesiastical	720	66	6
Higher Education	1,757	213	5
Teacher Training	1,402	126	15

Source: Adapted from Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: the end of an era – The Effects of Portuguese Colonialism on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, The UNESCO Press, Paris (1974), 81.

Table 8.2. Enrollment in Higher Education in 1977

Institutions	Location	Enrollement
College of Agricultural Science	Huambo	86
College of Medicine	Luanda	260
College of Engineering	Luanda	78
College of Science	Luanda	404
College of Art & Science [Letras]	Lubango	109
College of Economics	Luanda	172
Total		1, 109

Source: Adaptated from the Ministério da Educação, *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, [Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A], Luanda (1978), 9.

### Effects of Socialist Education

With the massive flight of the Portuguese from Angola, the Angolan government had no choice but to work with the different socialist countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Central America. In 1978 a Decree was promulgated to regulate hiring citizens of cooperating countries. Decree No. 22/78 of 31 February regulated the statute of the Foreign Worker in complement to

the “Statute of the Cooperative,” published under Decree No. 99/76 of December 2 of 1976, as well as the creation of the Ministry of Cooperation and corresponding structures in all ministries.<sup>743</sup> Contravening the Angolan government’s self-titled secular state, as common attitude in African states,<sup>744</sup> it would guarantee and protect religious freedom. But in order to enforce the applicability of Marxist ideology, the Angolan state expropriated all the property of the churches which were providing social services, such as education and health, and forced them to abandon their duties. The first victim of the implementation of a socialist education was the Christian Church. Angola’s ruling class was copying what Lenin had done during the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 against the Orthodox Church when he published a decree related to the separation of Church and the State and between the school and the church.<sup>745</sup> As a result, “the State must not spend a single kopek on the Church.”<sup>746</sup> This Angolan decision had a considerable effect on both Catholic and Protestant churches. However, beyond the Capuchin and other Catholic denominations, it was the Spiritans who suffered the most. With more than 88 years of presence in Angola, the Spiritans had more than 10 parochial and 61 mission schools, with 202 priests and 50 brothers. About 106 priests and brothers had spent all of their lives and

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<sup>743</sup> This orientation is shaped in the speech of the proclamation of national independence given on November 11, of 1975 by the first president of Angola, Antonio Agostinho Neto, when he said: “It is clear that initially our economy resents the lack of qualified personnel. To answer this need we will produce a prompt plan for national staff training, at the same time, we will appeal for international cooperation in this area. Our schools, at all levels must undergo a radical overhaul so they can actually serve the people and the economic reconstruction.” See Fundação António Agostinho Neto, *Discurso do Presidente Agostinho Neto na Proclamação da Independência Nacional* [President Agostinho Neto’s Speech in the Proclamation of National Independence], Luanda, 2012.

<sup>744</sup> See Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press, 2000.

<sup>745</sup> John D. Basil, “Revolutionary Leadership and The Russian Orthodox Church in 1917,” *Church History*, Vol. 48, no. 2 (1979), 195; see also, Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, Church and State in the Soviet Union, *International Journal*, Vol.14, no. 3 (1957), 182-189.

<sup>746</sup> In fact, Lenin’s plans were based exclusively on his anti-religious views. He made no secret of his intention to use force in ecclesiastical affairs in the power if suggestion failed to bring the desired results. See, John D. Basil, “Revolutionary Leadership and the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917,” *Church History*, Vol. 48, no. 2 (1979), 193, 195.

died in Angola.<sup>747</sup> Agostinho Neto, as first President, understood that education was an extraordinarily powerful force. Therefore, with the separation of church and state, churches should not play a strategic role in education.<sup>748</sup> The school missions and all of their infrastructures were closed or passed under State control. Even with this Angolan State anti-religious attitude, Angola did not have enough teachers to implement its socialist education.

Several socialist countries responded to the request for aid for Angola. They signed government agreements, which began with three important moments: the official visit of President Agostinho Neto to Cuba on July 22-30 of 1976; the signing of the agreement between the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the President of Angola in Bulgaria, on October 15, of 1976; and the signing of an agreement of cooperation between Fidel Castro and the Angolan Prime Minister Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento in December of 1976, involving the areas of education, transportation, public health, construction, and agriculture. Other agreements were signed with other countries of Eastern Europe. The intervention of socialist countries allowed thousands of foreign teachers to work in Angolan schools from secondary to higher education.<sup>749</sup> Among them, the country that stood out most was Cuba. Without the known *Operación Carlota*,<sup>750</sup> the Cuban military intervention in Angola, the Angolan educational system could not have survived without Cuban assistance from literacy to higher education.

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<sup>747</sup> Adélio Torres Neiva, *Congregação do Espírito Santo e do Imaculado Coração de Maria – História da Província Portuguesa: 1867-2004*, Lisboa (2005), 773, 905.

<sup>748</sup> António Agostinho Neto, *Discursos* [Speeches], Departamento de Educação Político-Ideológica, Propaganda e Informação do MPLA, 1980.

<sup>749</sup> These countries included: German Democratic Republic, People's Republic of Bulgaria, People's Republic of Congo, Hungarian People's Republic, People's Republic of Poland, Socialist Republic of Romania, The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, etc.

<sup>750</sup> Cuban military assistance with weapons and men started in 1975 and also was known among Angolans as "help Cuban internationalist in Angola." See Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington and Africa, 1950-1979*, The University of North Carolina Press (2003) and Chistine Hatzky, *Cubans in Angola. South-South Cooperation and Transfere of Knowledge, 1976-1991*. The University of Wisconsin Press (2012).

Following the orientation of the President Agostinho Neto, hundreds of teachers from the different socialist countries entered Angola. They taught mostly science at the various levels of education and with inadequate preparation in the Portuguese language. Also, hundreds of Cuban teachers were sent to Angola. Compared with other partnerships, the Cubans were able to teach in Spanish, which represented a relative advantage over teachers from other countries due to the similarities between Spanish and Portuguese. In the same time, Angola sent hundreds of Angolan children to Cuba for their education, most of them aged less than 10 years old.<sup>751</sup> After years, as a result, according to Angel Abascal, “more than 10,000 Angolans learned to write via the literacy campaign carried out from the first year of national independence and which was attended by teachers from Cuba with over 800 Angolan teachers having been trained in Cuba since independence.”<sup>752</sup> The lack of knowledge of Portuguese (the language left by the Portuguese and adopted as the official language in education) by the cooperative teachers contributed to the low quality of education, a repercussion whose effect was felt for many years.

Here the path of decolonization of Angolan education entered into a vicious circle of unknowns in terms of strategies and priorities. With major investments in an attempt to contain the Civil War, the Angolan government referred to education as a secondary goal and plan. Literacy, adult education, and non-formal education were no longer central to Angolan education policy. The structure left by the colonial government broke down. School enrollment expanded considerably at all levels due to with the independence, the right to education had become “universal.” The colonial system of education was substituted by the Cuban system recognized by the UNESCO, as the system which effectively accomplished the process of mass education. Similarly, Sheryl L. Lutjens explained that,

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<sup>751</sup> The children were sent to the main school at the Cuban Isle of Youth.

<sup>752</sup> He is the general director for the international scientific exchange of Ministry of Education of Cuba, in an interview with ANGOP-Angola Press Agency, on November 18 of 2010.

In contrast to the attention devoted to the first decades of change and such innovations as the Literacy Campaign or the combination of study and work, however, the pace of research and reporting on Cuban education has slowed. The recognition of past progress remains crucial for understanding the challenges facing the Cuban schools in the current period as well as where educational reforms including diminished access to higher education fit in Cuba's strategy for survival in the new world order.<sup>753</sup>

Cuban history, differed from Angola wherein the process of decolonization began with the people and especially divided the young population, e.g., "though the response of the Cuban people to educational changes has been "generally positive" [...] and university students [...] continue to endure intense programing and ideological indoctrination."<sup>754</sup> Sheryl L. Lutjens considered that Cuban educational policy was developed in three main phases: (1) the expansion of education in the 1960s, including the Literacy Campaign; (2) the reforms of Perfeccionamiento (Improvement) that pursued qualitative improvements beginning in the 1970s; and (3) current policies of Perfeccionamiento Continuo (Ongoing Improvement) that reflect the hopes and the difficulties of a Cuba committed to socialism in a nonsocialist world.<sup>755</sup>

Considering that usually this type of periodization is figured out at the university level, in Angola some authors such Augenio A. da Silva considered three periods of Angolan university development as well: (a) the revolutionary assertion period (1976-1980); (b) the adjustment period and expansion (1980-1991); and (c) the period of crisis and confrontation (1991-2000).<sup>756</sup> The reality of the period reserved herein shows that Angola from 1975 to 1980 was taking and adapting from Cuba its main strategies for educational development considering the first period, as Cuba did, as a period of reforms. The first period approved by and adopted by the Ministry of Education corresponds to the publication in 1978 of the *Basic Principles for the Revision of the*

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<sup>753</sup> Sheryl L. Lutjens, "Education and the Cuban Revolution: A Selected Bibliography," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 42, no. 2 (1998), 197.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid, 200-201.

<sup>755</sup> Ibid, 197

<sup>756</sup> Eugénio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto, Quo Viadis?* Editorial. Kilombelombe, Limitada, (2012), 129.



*Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A.*, which includes higher education and corresponds to the first Cuban period. However, it is possible to frame Eugénio A. da Silva's periodization, also borrowed from Cuba, as the process of continuing to program and indoctrinate ideological policies and student affairs. The space left open by religion, as prohibited by the Angolan government filled by the ideology of the party in power and the structure of the university contributed to the implementation of socialism.<sup>757</sup> This project entered into crisis with the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9 of 1989 and the movement for reformation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union started by Mikhail S. Gorbachev.<sup>758</sup> Due to this event, was signed the Tripartite Accord on December 22, 1988 in New York among South Africa, Angola, and Cuba as part of the independence of Namibia. As a result, the last Cubans were allowed to return home from Angola in June of 1991.

### Summary

Analysis reveals main concerns of Angolan education in the post-independence period were related to the context at the time. At the time of independence “more than 90 percent of Angolans were illiterate.”<sup>759</sup> The transition from colonization to independence occurred in a climate of Civil War. The education structure left by the Portuguese was inconsistent on a grand scale and the cadres that supported it left the country. The colonial heritage was unfavorable in terms of actual benefits to Angolans plus the political line adopted by the ruling party

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<sup>757</sup> The University ideological dimension was defined through an official document; see MPLA, *Orientações Fundamentais para o Desenvolvimento Económico-Social da República Popular de Angola no Período de 1978-1980*, Luanda: Imprensa Nacional (1978).

<sup>758</sup> Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev (1931) was the leader of the Soviet Union during 1980s. He was associated with a political movement for reformation the Soviet Union Communist Party. His dual revolutionary program called perestroik (restructuring) and glasnost (openness), produced profound changes in the world: (1) brought the end of the Cold War (1945-1991) as consequence of World War II; (2) provoked the collapse of the Soviet Union. He resigned from office on December 25 of 1991. See Karl-Ernst Schenk, “Economic Policy Framework in Tansition – Resistance to and Startegy for Change in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of international and Theoretical Economics*, Vol. 148, no. 1 (1992), 103-115.

<sup>759</sup> Christine Hatzky, *Latin-Africa' Solidarity: The Cuban Civilian Mission in Angola, 1975-1991*, *Iberoamericana*, no. 20, Year 5 (2005), 161.

confiscated the religious infrastructures, which made it difficult for them to find the freedom to exercise their social mission.<sup>760</sup>

Thus, the young People's Republic of Angola found itself in a situation of life or death as a nation. Most Eastern block countries and some from Asia rescued Angola by sending teachers. But the most important influential actions, which affected Angolan education, came from Cuba.

More than 500,000 Cubans were actively involved in the Angolan independence struggle and in building up Angola as an independent nation [...] Cuba also, dispatched advisors to the Angolan ministry of education where teaching curricula, lesson content and pedagogical concepts were drawn up based on Cuban models [...] The Angolan university system was largely rebuilt by Cuban university teaching staff in the 1970 and 1980s, particularly in the natural science and agriculture.<sup>761</sup>

The effects of colonial education and the effects of socialist education are present in most of the dimensions of the system of education in Angola. The important aspect resides in the knowledge of how both the legacy and the prospects coexist.

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<sup>760</sup> Adélio Torres Neiva, *Congregação do Espírito Santo e do Imaculado do Coração de Maria. A História da Província Portuguesa 1867-2004*, [Congregation of the Holy Ghost and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The History of the Portuguese Province 1867-2004] Lisboa (2005).

<sup>761</sup> *Ibid*, 159-163.

## **Part IV: Conclusion**

### **Chapter 9—The Legacy of Colonialism and the Perspective of Educational Change**

To understand the sense of any historical legacy, I strongly believe that the best history needs to be experienced and not forgotten. For this reason, all that was expected must be reckoned with dedication and responsibility. We live in an epoch of ambiguous globalization where identity issues become more relevant every day.<sup>762</sup> It has been shown that Angolan history has been largely tragic: centuries of slave trade, forced labor, severe repression, and a world which set in motion a process of deculturalization. In my conclusion, I explore and review the main arguments, the future research tendencies, and the recommendations for this research.

#### **Review of the Main Arguments**

Education was one of the vehicles that the Portuguese colonial system used to achieve its goals of dynamic domination. The presence of the Portuguese in Angola resulted in an increase of nationalism justifying the end of Portuguese exploration. Nationalist desire became endemic and was manifested by the beginning of the war for Angolan liberation, which the Portuguese called a Colonial War. While the internal crisis in Portugal led to the acceleration of the end of the Portuguese empire, the Portuguese colony continued to need raw materials, overseas markets, and cheap labour. As a result, education was first used as an instrument for legitimizing the Salazar colonial regime by maintaining the entire Angolan people in a condition of subaltern<sup>763</sup>

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<sup>762</sup> The effect of globalization in education is discussed in general terms in two interesting articles: James M. Becker, "Goals of Global Education," *Theory into Practice*, 21, no. 3 (1982), 228-233 and Kenneth A. Tye, "Global Education as a Worldwide Movement," *The Phi Delta*, Vol. 85, no. 2 (2003).

<sup>763</sup> That is why I recalled three scholars: (1) Gayatri C. Spivak to use her deconstruction as critical tool to rethink the over-simplified binary opposition of "colonizer" and "colonized" and to question the methodological assumptions of postcolonial theory; see Spivak, Gayatri C. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. London: Macmillan (1988); (2) Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage (1993) and (3) Valentin I. Mudimbe's *The Invention of Africa:*

as a productive force for achieving these perceived needs. Second, education was promoted with a view to realize colonial interest, politically and economically. Consequently, this Portuguese internal crisis influenced important events in the postcolonial period which were facilitated by several methods, such as the “continuance of the civil war with increasing ethnic overtones, promoting micro-identity political alignments and general economic scarcity.”<sup>764</sup>

Another instrument used by the colonizers was religion. It served as a way to undertake the colonial mission of civilization by putting in question and prohibiting the cemented indigenous knowledge and native Angolan culture.<sup>765</sup> The non-existence of indigenous studies in the colonial educational literature constituted a challenge for the new Angolan generation of researchers. So severe that, even today, indigenous education in Angola does not occupy a significant, merited space and is not given deserved and adequate attention by the educational authorities, many of whom are still burdened by and victims of a colonial heritage. Through this colonial heritage, indigenous knowledge, languages, and culture are often misunderstood, misrepresented, ridiculed, and even condemned in popular discourse. Due to a diversity of influences on the current educational system, there is a misunderstanding that in reality colonization encapsulates both colonized time and precolonized time. I argued that Post-colonial Theory offers some direction with possibilities for research in the form of pedagogical projects. An understanding of the practices of colonialism and of colonialism’s continuing aftermath is

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*Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, Indiana University Press (1988) in order to understand and analyse the Salazar regime.

<sup>764</sup> Nuno carlos de Fragoso Vidal, *Post-Modern Patrimonialism in Africa: The Genesis and Development of the Angolan Political System*, A Dissertation Submitted to the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King’s College, London (2002).

<sup>765</sup> Due to the colonial culture of domination, the colonial educational literature ignored completely indigenous studies. A revitalization of indigenous studies is urgent due to, first, the role that it could particularly play in the Angolan society and its impact on the global society and second, and its open avenue on academic perspective. The Portuguese propaganda of Lusotropicalism was more interested in exploring indigenous identity as indigenism emphasizing the negative connotation of its meanings largely used in Third World as synonymous with the concept “primitive.” See Linda Tuhiwai Smith. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*, Zed Books, London & New York (1999), 147.

essential. Beyond colonization and Catholic and Protestant missionary influence, the political/ideological option of socialism adopted in the post-independence period was determinant. From this perspective, in “African Socialism, Post-colonial Development, and Education: Changes and continuity in the Post-Socialist Area,” Diana B. Napier argued that Post-colonial Theory can serve as a magnifying glass for a deeper perception of the real philosophy of education in the post-colonial period.<sup>766</sup>

Clearly, in the period between 1975 and 1980, education was determined by socialist pedagogical elements and their corresponding ideological orientation from the Eastern Bloc. In the first years of independence, Angola adopted the Cuban educational system that was established in Cuba between 1960 and 1970. In *Principles for the Overhaul of the Education System and Teaching*, published by the Angolan Ministry of Education, three subsystems were indicated: (1) subsystem for elementary education with eight grades to be divided into three levels: Level 1 corresponding to grade four; Level 2, corresponding to grade six, and Level 3 corresponding to grades eight; (2) subsystem for technical and vocational education to include four grades: grade nine, ten, eleven and twelve; (3) and a subsystem of higher education, from five to six years. To motivate teachers, November 22, 1976 was set aside as the Day of the Educator. But there were still not enough teachers to deal with the over two million students who were enrolled between 1979 and 1980, and half of them could not continue the formation due to the lack of teachers.

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<sup>766</sup> Diana Brook Napier, “African Socialism, Post-colonial Development, and Education: Changes and Continuity in the Post-Socialist Area,” *International Perspectives on Education Society*, 14, Esmeralda Group Publishing Limited (2010), 369-399.

The second President of the Republic, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who took office in 1979<sup>767</sup> after the death of Agostinho Neto,<sup>768</sup> increased the number of Cubans in the Central administrative office of education, further concentrating their power. Cuban specialists conducted the first educational system survey in 1980. They recommended the improvement of teaching methodology, curriculum, teaching materials, and the introduction of the “Monitor System.”<sup>769</sup>

In 1980 the First Extraordinary Congress of the People’s Movement for Liberation of Angola- Labour Party was held. According to Nuno Carlos de F. Vidal citing the resolutions of the Congress, argued that this Congress,

had denounced all informal activities (generalized thefts, diversion of produce, corruption, organized networks, involvement of managers, cadres and security forces, and so on) were denounced. It also attacked the prevailing solidarities encouraging the very “regionalism, racism and sectarianism [...] which contributed to the disorganization and lack of discipline in production and distribution, which in turn hampered progress [...] towards Socialism.”<sup>770</sup>

Further, Nuno Carlos de F. Vidal cited the following statement from the resolutions and messages to the Congress: “the divisionist elements [...] must be persecuted as enemies of the

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<sup>767</sup> The Presidente José Eduardo dos Santos took office on September 21 of 1979 in a complicated situation. Beyond the Cuban intervention, the United States of America was supporting the oppositional movements (FNLA and UNITA) with lot of money and material as was confirmed by John Stockwell formed head of the CIA’s Angola Task Force. He was probably the person responsible for recruiting Americans, British, French, Portuguese, and South African mercenaries that were sent to Angola, to destabilize Angola politically and military, according to *New York Times* (September 25, 1975; December 19, 1975) and *The Guardian of London* (June 25, 1990, p. 10); See also Sharon Beaulaurier, “Profiteers Fuel War in Angola,” *Covert Action Quarterly*, no. 45, Washington, DC, Summer, (1993), 61-65; Leila Leite Hernandez, *A Africa na Sala de Aula: Visita à História Contemporânea* [The Africa in the Classroom: A Visit to Contemporary History], São Paulo (2005), 562-584; and José Mena Abrantes, *José Eduardo dos Santos e os Desafios do seu Tempo. Palavras de um Estadista 1979-2004, Vol. 1 Primeira República 1979-1992*. [The Challenges of His Time. Words and Statements 1979-2004, Vol. 1 First Republic 1979-1992], Edições Maianga: Luanda, (2004), 384.

<sup>768</sup> António Agostinho Neto’s death in Moscow on September 10 of 1979. However, persistent voices say his death is still a mystery to the point where his wife Maria Eugenia Neto believes that his death was not a fluke.

<sup>769</sup> Christine Hatzky, *Latin-Africa’ Solidarity: The Cuban Civilian Mission in Angola, 1975-1991*, *Iberoamericana*, no. 20, Year 5 (2005), 119.

<sup>770</sup> Nuno Carlos de Fragozo Vidal, *Post-Modern Patrimonialism in Africa: The Genesis and Development of the Angolan Political System*, A Dissertation Submitted to the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King’s College, London (2002), 248.

working class, of the Angolan nation and Socialism [...] Regionalism, tribalism and racism are reflections of pre-capitalist production relationships and colonial domination [...].<sup>771</sup>

However, this preoccupation of the Congress did not directly impact education. One of the reasons was due to the non-enforcement of sanctions because everything belonged to the people, i.e., “increased the public discredit for legislation facilitating the lack of discipline, the behavior called “o deixa andar” [the spirit of laissez faire] the morale and corruption. As a result, the moral order was becoming distinct and distant from the juridical order.”<sup>772</sup> From the year 1980 on, phenomena such as nepotism or regionalism, patrimonial protection, and the promotion of incompetence began to create roots for a discriminatory type of solidarity generating socio-economic distortion in all sectors of society, which would negatively impact the education of Angolans.<sup>773</sup>

Due to the different ideologies (Lusotropicalism, religion, Marxism) and politico-economical elements (the Civil War, capitalism versus socialism), the philosophies of education in both periods, colonial and postcolonial had a common point: indoctrination. However, this concept was applied differently. During the colonial time, indoctrination ingrained the prejudices of domination. While during the postcolonial period, indoctrination served as the springboard to “the formation of the ‘New Man’ required by the Angolan Revolution and the construction of scientific socialism in the People’s Republic of Angola.”<sup>774</sup>

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<sup>771</sup>The 1<sup>st</sup> Extraordinary Congress, Luanda on December 17/13 of 1980, which structured the People’s Assembly (Parliament) and the provincial popular assemblies. See, Resoluções e mensagens ao 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Extraordinário do MPLA, 1980, 36, in Nuno Carlos de Fragoso Vidal, *Post-Modern Patrimonialism in Africa: The Genesis and Development of the Angolan Political System*, A Dissertation Submitted to the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King’s College, London (2002), 248.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid.

<sup>773</sup> Principais resultados do desenvolvimento económico-social da RPA no triénio 1978-1980, [Main results of the RPA’s Economic and Social Development in the Triennium 1978-1980] Secretariado do Comité Central, Luanda (1980), 11.

<sup>774</sup> Ministério da Educação, *Princípios de Base para a Reformulação do Sistema de Educação e Ensino na R.P.A.*, [Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System in the R.P.A], Luanda (1978), 29.

The history shows that because of the strong ideological influences several perceptions were created. To a certain extent, four ideas were erroneously emphasized. First, that the colonial system created the Public Education in Angola. In actuality, the records show that their work was no more important than the work done by the Christian mission schools. For it was from there that most educated Angolans emerged. Second, that indigenous education was condemned to disappear; whereas history shows that there were never serious plans that to allow the development, for instance, of indigenous knowledge, or a strategy to develop the teacher formation, the research, and the production of materials related to indigenous knowledge. Third, that to develop indigenous languages meant putting national unity at risk and the Portuguese language was the only vehicle of the unification guarantee of Angolans, which should create conditions to develop tribalism and separatism among Angolans. History shows that these ideas inherited from colonialism are still a weapon to kill Angolan identity and continue the process of Angola's deculturalization. Fourth, that the ideological option for socialism, with the increase of partnership with socialist countries would help to create "new men" and represent a benefit for the equality in education; history shows the opposite because the education based on Scientific Socialism was a dream without hope. Also, the socialist option increased Angolan dependency on the Cuban educational system, which without this engagement would have caused an irreversible collapse of the Angolan educational system. This is evidenced via the fact that the first Cuban report related to the situation in Angola was not taken seriously by Angolan authorities. As stated in *Relatorio de Balanço* [Balance Report] from the Ministry of Education:

The study's Office working group for a Diagnostic, constituted by the Ministry of Education Ministry's Technical and by Cubans, has grown up a work plan to carry out the Scientific Prognosis of Education according to the determination of the Congress of MPLA-Party of Labor and the Government, developing it from a mutual agreement. Initially, the activities for the group were dedicated to the study of materials that regulate

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and guide the educational activity, both from the point of view of its organization and its content, from the point of view of the internal efficiency of the education system.<sup>775</sup>

As a result, Angolans built a new but deficient educational system, which was low in quality. An increase of corruption settled itself comfortably at all levels of the educational system, which according to the Design Office for the Diagnosis of the Ministry of Education is characterized by: no existence of a system that fully ensures the school buildings; the system established for the formation of teaching staff has not solved the problems of the Basic Education; lack of efficient educational planning and control at all levels of the system and schools; insufficient control of assistance and promotion of the students; a weak link between school-communities; and lack of communication among all levels of the system.<sup>776</sup> This was one educational issue in the post-colonial period that affected all other efforts aimed at changing Angolan education for the better. In fact, 1980 was a year of production for various legislative changes in education. The Decree of September 2, of 1980 declared the opening of an executive training centre operated in Caxito, defining its methodological function under the coordination of the Ministry of Educação. Another official order issued by the Ministry of Education was the Decree No. 31/80 of April 17 of 1980, which approved the organic status of Universidade de Angola [Angolan University]. According to Eugénio A. da Silva, history shows that

What was really at issue was the transformation of the anachronistica colonial university in every dimension in that it had been an instrument that was serving the minority and yet continuing to be a reproduction of the colonial system, which eventually became an instrument for the transformation of social relations through the elimination of differentiation over the guarantee of affirmation and mobilization of previously exploited social classes.”<sup>777</sup>

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<sup>775</sup> Grupo de Prognóstico do Ministério da Educação da República Popular de Angola, *Relatório de Balanço do Trabalho Realizado Pelo Grupo de Prognóstico do Ministério da Educação da República Popular de Angola do Mês de Março ao Mês de Junho de 1986* [Balance Report Labor Performed by Prognostic Group of the Ministry of Education of People’s Republic of Angola in May and J of 1986], Luanda (1986), 13.

<sup>776</sup> Ibid, 24-25.

<sup>777</sup> Eugénio Alves da Silva, *Universidade Agostinho Neto, Quo Viadis?* Editorial. Kilombelombe, Limitada, (2012), 159.

However, the university lost something precious for its development, i.e., its autonomy due to the prevalence of the ideological nature that drove the university, the mandatory partisan link to taking any academic position, and the appointment of the university Rector by the Ministry of Education.

### **Issues and Topics for Future Research**

Having already taken an enormous leap since the first period of independence, an Angola still in flux stands ready to confront the complexities of identifying what tendencies continue to dominate the history of its public education. That is why it is still urgently important to conduct historical studies in education today. In this work I covered two periods: (1) the period of colonial fascism between 1930 and 1975 where the Angolan school system was fine-tuned to strengthen the relations of colonial domination and subordination, which resulted in sustaining colonialism. The history shows that Angolan education represented an instrument of social control, including the production and reproduction of labour power for supporting the well-being of the Portuguese. Also during this period, most of the educational changes that occurred were related to primary education on both administrative and political platforms; (2) the period related to the transition from the colonial empire to independence, which covers the years 1975 and 1980, was characterized by a socialist education, the main issues of educational reform being mainly provided through cooperation with Cuba. This period is characterized by the student population exploding at all levels, a lack of educational and appropriated infrastructures, and an inadequate quality of teachers at all levels.

Future research should of necessity continue to deal with both colonial education and postcolonial education. According to Gerald Bender and A. Isaacman, colonial education does

not see the broader context of the colonial social and economic processes.<sup>778</sup> That is why areas such as indigenous education rarely appear as an essential element of colonial educational studies. Changing the discussion of the historiography of Angolan education represents an avenue for future research, for instance the history of the period between 1980 and 2002 and the period between 2002 and 2015. The destruction of the basics of Christianity created a void in terms of moral and civic education. Identifying ways to reposition ethnic studies due the crisis of identity and morality represent a challenge for the process of studying and researching appropriate ways to educate Angolan citizens.

In general, the history of education could provide support for the majority of professional educational studies as providing guidance related to the knowledge of the past,<sup>779</sup> contributing to the development of knowledge concerning the society and education. This knowledge can inspire teachers to improve the quality of education and their educational practices recognizing the weaknesses and the strengths of the past related to the path of the educational system in Angola. Due to the increase of globalization, genuine Angolan culture became vulnerable. It can only be preserved with the involvement of the young generation on cultural projects<sup>780</sup> conceived by the government, with working and conducting research on areas of combination of modern knowledge and indigenous knowledge at the university level, and with the redefinition of the project of educational reform.<sup>781</sup> Knowing the history of its own education can play a significant

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<sup>778</sup> See Gerald Bender and Allen Isaacman, *The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique, In African Studies Since 1945*, Ed. Christopher Fyfe, London: Longman (1976).

<sup>779</sup> Artur Henry Moehlmann, "Toward a New History of Education," *School and Society*, Vol. 63 (1946), 57-60.

<sup>780</sup> Filipe Zau, *Do Acto Educativo ao Exercício da Cidadania: Compilação de Artigos e Comentários Publicados no Jornal de Angola (2007-2012)*, [The Education Act to Citizenship Exercise: Compilation of Articles and Reviews Published in the Journal of Angola (2007-2012)], Mayamba Editora (2012), 303.

<sup>781</sup> This redefinition needs to be started by building studies on systematic reform including: (1) a process of knowledge and understanding of national, provincial, and local approaches to educational reform; (2) a review of the Basic Principles for the Revision of the Education and Teaching System and the related literature; (3) a reform and alignment of educational policy coherence; (4) a promotion of ambitious student outcomes from the elementary to

role in restoring hope to Angola's people, whose identity depends on reclaiming their culture, languages, and identity, so they can influence the development of a "new pedagogy rooted through their experiences," within the perspective of John Dewey, Paulo Freire, and Vanessa Andreotti,<sup>782</sup> open for the modernity, and being a vehicle for transformation and development of Angolan society through removing all obstacles to equity in Angolan education.

### **Recommendations**

In general, the history of education as a field of study in Angola is very new. As a result, ways must be proposed for its integration as a subject at least in higher education in the subsystem of teacher preparation and professional technical training. The contents here presented are intended for use as a textbook included in the school curricula for both students and teachers due to the lack of materials on the history of education in Angola. The integration of indigenous knowledge into the system of Angolan education with an emphasis on the study of Angolan culture and languages at all levels will involve specific activities for teachers and students.

Given that education is one of the main sources of power,<sup>783</sup> this research opens a large field in the scientific and pedagogical research area about the history of school legislation in order to reach four objectives: (1) to participate in and accelerate the process toward universal primary education; (2) to increase access to education for Angolan girls and women; (3) to

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tertiary level; (5) a restructuring of the governance system to support the improvement of the achievement, the teacher preparation and professional development; and (6) an implementation of a methodological network and leadership.

<sup>782</sup> Developing action even critically on the works of John Dewey, *Education & Experience*, Kappa Delta Pi, New York (1938), 23-50; Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Continuum, New York (1970), 70- 80 and Vanessa Andreotti, *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education*, Postcolonial Studies in Education, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

<sup>783</sup> Mann, Michael. *The Source of Social Power*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

enhance the internal efficiency of the educational system. The creation of small group collaboration within the Ministry of Education and within the direction of education in each province will serve as way to motivate and sensitize the government and private educational agents to support programs for the creation of professional teaching/learning communities in the area of the history of education.<sup>784</sup> These communities can help to improve teacher knowledge through promotion of a permanent dialogue among the members and (4) to help assure stronger leadership and teaching, promoting critical thinking among teachers and students. Provision for the preparation of teachers needs to be a major goal throughout instruction. In the context of Angola, which experienced probably the longest period of war in history, instruction based on history is not only fundamental to recovery but also to preventing such a history from being repeated.

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<sup>784</sup> See, UNESCO, L'Initiative de l'UNESCO Pour la Formation des Enseignants en Afrique Subsaharienne (TTISSA) [TheUnesco Training Initiative for Suth-Saharan Africa of Ensignantas], National Meetings BREDA, Dakar, March, 2006.

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## Appendix A—Primary Documents

IMPÉRIO COLONIAL PORTUGUÊS  
SERVIÇOS DOS CORREIOS, TELEGRAFOS E TELEFONES  
COLÓNIA DE *Angola*

VALE (S) *Colonial* Nº *1* DA SÉRIE *1*

O EMPLEADO DO PALANQUE DE VALORES  
*Vila Rica*

PAGARÁ A *António Gonçalves*

RESIDENTE EM *Luanda - Angola*

A IMPORTÂNCIA DE *199,00* (199 e 00/100) MIL REIS  
*cento e noventa e nove mil réis*

VALOR RECEBIDO DE *António Gonçalves*

RESIDENTE EM *Luanda - Angola*

ESTACIÃO EMISSORA DE *Vila Rica*

EM *29* DE *setembro* DE 1962

C. ENCARREGADO DA EMISSÃO  
*[Signature]*

MARCA  
DE  
LUA

Appendix A.1. Portuguese Colonial Empire/ Colony of Angola, Mail Services.

Source: Daily, First Series September, 1962.





Appendix A.2. Missionarie Agreement between Portugal and Catholic Church.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino AHUL, 1,408.



# Ministério da Educação Nacional

## Lei n.º 1:969

Em nome da Nação, a Assembleia Nacional decreta e eu promulgo a lei seguinte :

### BASE I

Ao Estado e aos corpos administrativos incumbe estimular a acção educativa da família e auxiliar as instituições particulares que promovam a assistência educativa pre-escolar, bem como estabelecer a fiscalização desta.

### BASE II

O ensino primário abrange dois graus de educação: elementar e complementar.

O ensino elementar é uniforme para cada sexo e obrigatório para todos os portugueses, física e mentalmente sãos, entre os sete e os doze anos, e destina-se a habilitá-los a ler, escrever e contar, a compreender os factos mais simples da vida ambiente e a exercer as virtudes morais e cívicas, dentro de um vivo amor a Portugal. Pode ser autorizada, aos seis anos completos, a matrícula das crianças que possuam robustez física e desenvolvimento mental compatíveis com o normal aproveitamento escolar.

O ensino complementar será diferenciado e facultado aos que, entre os dez e os dezasseis anos, desejarem preparar-se para seguir outros estudos ou elevar o nível dos conhecimentos úteis à vida familiar e à do meio económico-social a que pertencem, dentro de um consciente amor ao trabalho.

Adoptar-se-ão providências adequadas à educação dos anormais, em cooperação com a iniciativa privada e com a assistência pública.

### BASE III

O ensino primário será ministrado, segundo programas oficialmente aprovados, em cinco classes anuais, correspondendo as 1.ª, 2.ª e 3.ª ao ensino elementar e as 4.ª e 5.ª ao complementar. A 5.ª classe será de índole regional, utilitária e de sentido económico-social.

O cumprimento da obrigação de adquirir o grau elementar será comprovado ao fim da 3.ª classe por meio de exame, constituído por provas simples e feito em regra na própria escola que o aluno frequenta ou noutra de cómodo acesso. Os responsáveis pelo não cumprimento desta obrigação serão sujeitos a um sistema eficaz de sanções, directas e indirectas.

Appendix A.3 Ministry of National Education, Law No. 1:969, Basic Law of Educational System, Official Gazette of Colony of Angola, Legal Diary, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, No. 115, May 20, 1938; published in I Series No. 33 of August 23, 1944.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

A aprovação no exame do ensino primário elementar é habilitação bastante em todos os casos em que a lei exige a instrução primária.

O aproveitamento no ensino complementar será certificado pela escola, em face das provas prestadas durante a frequência, independentemente de exame, excepto quando a lei o exigir como habilitação para determinadas funções públicas.

O certificado de aproveitamento na 4.ª classe é exigido para o exame de admissão a outros estudos, e estabelecer-se-á uma correlação adequada entre a 5.ª classe deste ensino e o ensino profissional.

#### BASE IV

O Estado criará no mais curto prazo a rede escolar suficiente para, em cooeração com a família, estabelecimentos particulares de ensino e organizações de assistência educativa, tornar fácil a todos os portugueses o cumprimento da obrigação de adquirir o grau elementar, e também para que possam frequentar sem inconvenientes sacrificios o grau complementar e facultativo.

Em cada freguesia haverá as escolas elementares e, nos meios rurais, também os postos escolares que se justificarem por um mínimo legal de frequência. E onde a dispersão populacional não permitir a existência de postos dar-se-ão facilidades e estímulos especiais ao ensino particular.

Em cada concelho haverá as escolas complementares suficientes, devendo a sua diferenciação e distribuição adequar-se às condições locais e à maior comodidade dos povos.

Enquanto a rede de escolas do ensino complementar não for julgada suficiente, poderá a 4.ª classe ser frequentada nas escolas de ensino elementar.

Far-se-á a revisão dos períodos de férias no sentido do maior rendimento da escola, e o serviço diário obrigatório poderá ir até seis horas efectivas, convenientemente distribuídas entre tempo lectivo e recreio educativo, excepto aos sábados, em que será de três.

#### BASE V

O pessoal docente das escolas complementares terá a categoria de professor, o das escolas elementares a de regente diplomado e o dos postos escolares a de regente.

A habilitação pedagógica dos professores e dos regentes diplomados visará à posse do método para a formação moral, intelectual e física correspondente ao grau de ensino, terá sentido imperial, corporativo e predominantemente rural, abrangerá a aprendizagem dum ofício e, na medida do possível, a prática da psicotécnica, de modo a facilitar a colaboração com a família na descoberta da aptidão natural dos alunos.

O número e a localização das escolas do magistério, oficiais ou particulares, serão determinados pelas necessidades do ensino e da formação pedagógica, devendo ser instituídos cursos de regentes diplomados em todas as províncias e suas mais importantes regiões, para a conveniente preparação de candidatos às escolas elementares, afeiçoados à terra e conhecedores da índole e necessidades das famílias, com as quais hão-de colaborar.

O curso do magistério elementar terá a duração de dois anos e a ele serão admitidos, mediante exame de aptidão, os indivíduos habilitados com o primeiro ciclo liceal ou equivalente. A este curso seguir-se-á um ano de prática e Exame de Estado.

O recrutamento para o magistério complementar far-se-á através de um curso de aperfeiçoamento, seguido de Exame de Estado, ao qual serão admitidos, em número limitado, os regentes diplomados que, durante cinco anos, tiverem o seu serviço qualificado de *muito bom*.

Os candidatos a regentes de postos escolares prestarão provas de cultura geral e de habilitação pedagógica. E os que tiverem cinco anos de serviço qualificado de *muito bom* poderão requerer o Exame de Estado para ingressarem na categoria de regentes diplomados.

#### BASE VI

É reconhecido aos actuais professores do ensino primário e aos diplomados pelas actuais escolas de magistério o direito de preferência, com a sua categoria e vencimentos, no provimento das escolas elementares, mediante concurso.

No provimento das escolas elementares e dos postos escolares terão preferência, dentro da mesma categoria na escala de classificação, os candidatos domiciliados no concelho ou na freguesia, respectivamente. O provimento de um regente não diplomado e com qualificação de serviço inferior a *bom*, nos dois últimos anos, caducará logo que um regente diplomado requiera o provimento no posto escolar.

Enquanto não houver professores habilitados com o respectivo curso, o provimento das escolas complementares far-se-á por escolha de entre os do ensino primário elementar, tendo-se em atenção tanto a informação do diploma e a qualificação do serviço do professor como a sua actividade circum-escolar.

É assegurado aos doadores de edifícios para escolas e postos escolares o direito de indicarem o respectivo agente de ensino, de entre indivíduos legalmente habilitados que dêem garantia de idoneidade moral e cívica. A fim de auxiliarem os professores no ensino prático económico-social, poderá ser autorizada a colaboração desinteressada dos serviços técnicos do Estado ou corpos administrativos, ou de indivíduos do respectivo concelho cuja idoneidade seja reconhecida pela Junta Nacional da Educação.

Mediante os quadros de professores e de regentes agregados, é assegurado o provimento dos lugares criados e a continuidade do funcionamento tanto das escolas como dos postos escolares.

#### BASE VII

Para efeitos de administração, orientação e fiscalização do ensino primário, tanto oficial como particular, o País será dividido em regiões escolares e estas em círculos, devendo as respectivas áreas corresponder, tanto quanto possível, à divisão administrativa.

Os serviços administrativos do ensino funcionarão diferenciadamente dos de orientação pedagógica e fiscalização, concentrando-se os primeiros na sede das regiões escolares, e estas serão dotadas do pessoal de secretaria indispensável à eficiência dos respectivos serviços.

#### BASE VIII

As câmaras municipais fornecerão instalações para as escolas e postos escolares, providas do material didáctico necessário e de uma pequena biblioteca popular adequada ao meio; as escolas complementares disporão ainda de anexos indispensáveis para o ensino prático que lhes competir segundo a sua diferenciação. A instalação compreenderá ginásio coberto, que servirá também para cantina, e terreno anexo com amplitude suficiente para recreio dos alunos e para os exercícios da Mocidade Portuguesa.

As instalações escolares obedecerão, tanto quanto possível, aos seguintes princípios: atribuição de edifícios e recreios independentes a cada sexo; proximidade de cada sala de aula em relação ao respectivo núcleo de alunos; mínimo de concentração de salas de aula, variável segundo as circunstâncias.

Será concedida a comparticipação do Estado para a construção dos edifícios escolares, segundo a ordem de precedência que for determinada pelo Ministro das Obras Públicas e Comunicações, ouvido o da Educação Nacional. Os edifícios escolares, ainda que doados ao Estado, serão, em princípio, do tipo adequado à região.

Nos meios rurais, e em relação a cada lugar docente, as câmaras municipais reservarão aos professores ou regentes diplomados moradia apropriada, mediante o pagamento de uma renda módica.

Appendix A.4. Part II: Ministry of National Education, Law no. 1:969, *Basic Law of Educational System*, *Official Gazette of Colony of Angola*, Legal Diery, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, No. 115, May 20, 1938; published in I Series No. 33 of August 23, 1944.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

## BASE IX

O Estado subsidiará cursos nocturnos para o ensino primário elementar nos Sindicatos Nacionais e nas Casas do Povo, dos Pescadores e da Lavoura, bem como, por iniciativa de corpos administrativos ou a requerimento de núcleos de analfabetos, quando o número e a idade destes o justifiquem, nas escolas e postos escolares, ou noutro local de conveniente instalação; e a sua regência poderá ser confiada, na falta de candidatos legalmente idóneos, a pessoas autorizadas a exercer o respectivo ensino particular.

Os concessionários do Estado e dos corpos administrativos e as entidades particulares, individuais ou colectivas, que tiverem pessoal assalariado em concentração que justifique a existência de escolas ou de postos escolares são obrigados a sustentá-los convenientemente instalados e apetrechados, bem como os cursos nocturnos que se tornarem necessários para os operários e suas famílias.

Nas mesmas escolas ou postos escolares será realizada aos sábados, por pessoas idóneas, a «hora educativa para os trabalhadores» destinada especialmente à difusão de conhecimentos elementares sobre higiene moral e física, técnica profissional, corporativismo e história pátria, bem como ao exercício do canto coral.

É instituído em todos os estabelecimentos oficiais de ensino primário, sem prejuízo do respectivo serviço, o «voluntariado para o combate ao analfabetismo», e será promovida a concessão de galardões e prémios aos professores, regentes e outras pessoas idóneas que o exerçam, em função do aproveitamento do aluno fora da idade escolar.

## BASE X

O ensino primário é inteiramente gratuito para os pobres, e para os que não forem pagarão uma propina ou taxa moderada, variável segundo a situação económica e os encargos de família.

Serão instituídas bolsas de estudo para alunos pobres muito bem dotados moral e intelectualmente.

Serão fixados por lei os vencimentos dos professores do ensino complementar e dos regentes diplomados das escolas elementares, e ainda os prémios a conceder, segundo o seu rendimento, ao ensino particular exercido em lugares de extrema dispersão populacional.

Publique-se e cumpra-se como nela se contém.

Paços do Governo da República, 20 de Maio de 1938.—ANTÓNIO ÓSCAR DE FRAGOSO CARMONA—*António de Oliveira Salazar*—*António Faria Carneiro Pacheco*.

(*Diário do Governo*, 1.ª série, n.º 115, de 1938).

Appendix A.5. Part III: Ministry of National Education, Law No. 1:969, *Basic Law of Educational System*, *Official Gazette of Colony of Angola*, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, No. 115, May 20, 1938; published in I Series No. 33 of August 23, 1944.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

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PROJECTO DE  
REFORMA DO ENSINO PRIMÁ -  
RIO E EDUCAÇÃO POPULAR

- Bases gerais -

Março/1964.

Elaborado por:

Veiga de Almeida

Appendix A.6. Primary Education and Popular Education Project Reform/General Bases /1964.  
Source: Arquivo Salazar-Torre do Tombo, PT-TT-AOS-CO-ED-7.

A N O L E C T I V O d e  
1 9 4 1 / 1 9 4 2



A s s u n t o :

    R E L A T Ó R I O  
d o  
    F U N C I O N A M E N T O  
d e  
    E S C O L A D E A P L I C A Ç Ã O E E N S A I O S

L U A N D A  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXX  
XX  
X

Appendix A.7. Application Testing and School Report, Luanda, 1941/1942.

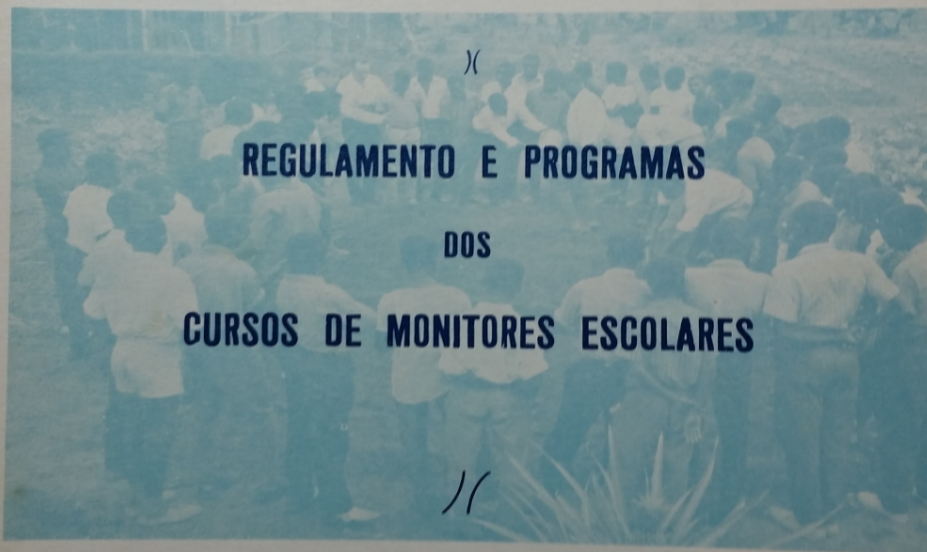
Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.





PROVINCIA DE ANGOLA  
SERVIÇOS DE EDUCAÇÃO

Inspeção Provincial de Educação  
ENSINO PRIMÁRIO

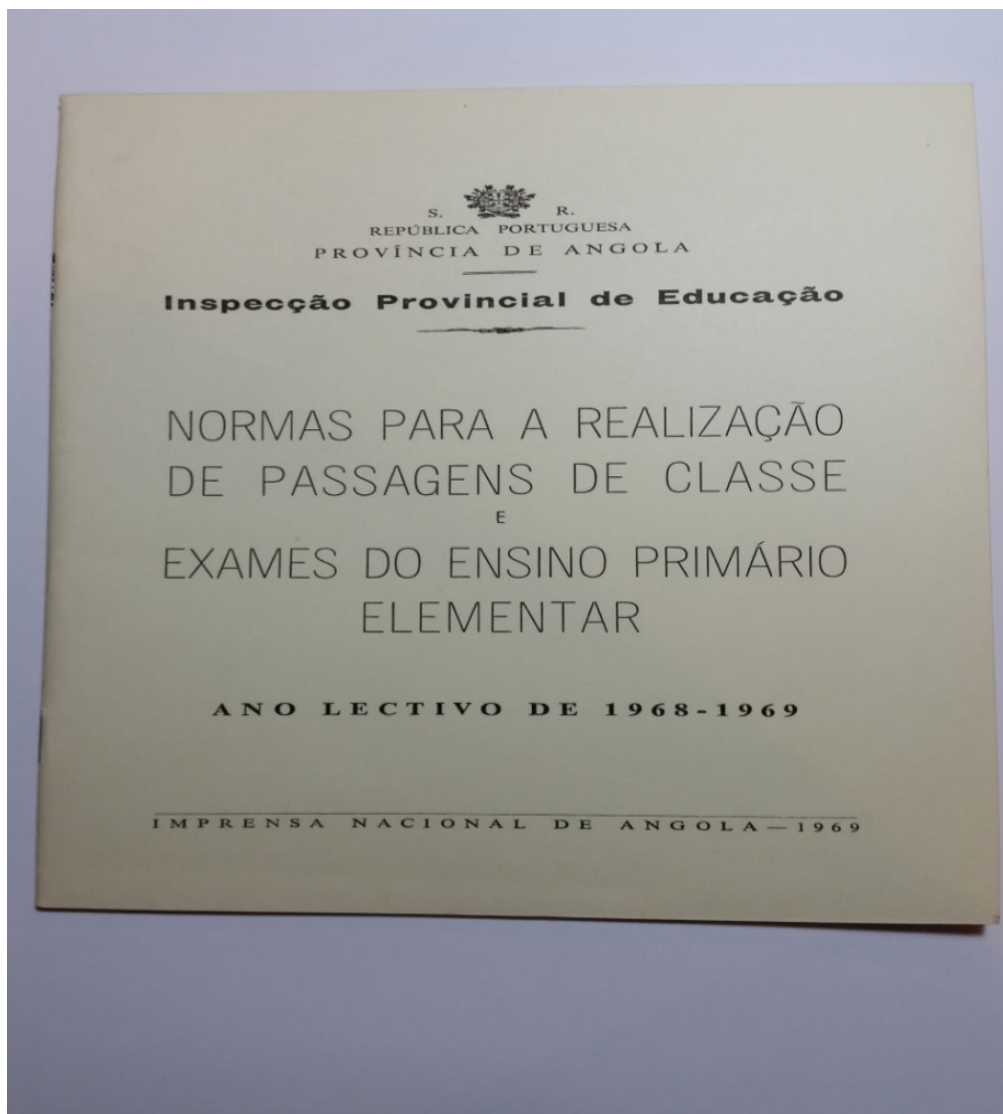


**REGULAMENTO E PROGRAMAS  
DOS  
CURSOS DE MONITORES ESCOLARES**

PREFACIO DE ANTÓNIO DE ALMEIDA ABRANTES,  
INSPECTOR ADJUNTO PARA O ENSINO PRIMARIO.

Appendix A.8. Regulation and Programs of Schools Monitors' Course.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SR: AO 61, Cx 029.



Appendix A.9. Standards for the Class and Passing Test Elementary School (1968/1969).

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SR: AO61, Cx 029.

UNIÃO NACIONAL



COMISSÃO EXECUTIVA



65  
Mte 7/4  
962

Senhor Presidente:

Tenho a honra de juntar  
uma informação que, a meu  
ver, acaba de ser prestada  
por um jornalista Pereira de  
-Carte sobre a situação da  
imprensa hoje controlada por  
dirigentes das associações  
académicas.

apresento a Vossa Excc.  
tinha as minhas melhores  
respeitos  
5-4-1962 Henrique Vaz de Almeida

Appendix A.10. Letter from an Informant under Salazar Party Coverage, National Union.  
Source: Arquivo Salazar, Torre do Tombo, PT-TT- AOS/CO/ED/6-7.



מועצת תנועות הנוער בישראל  
 מוסדות לאיגוד הנוער העולמי  
 THE COUNCIL OF YOUTH MOVEMENTS IN ISRAEL  
 Affiliated to the World Assembly of Youth (WAY)

ירושלים / ת.ד. 92 / טלפון 4671  
 JERUSALEM, / P.O.B. 92 / TEL. 4671



No. 602399/29 מסמך

12th June, 1962.

*Mh 19.6 / 962*

AI RMAIL.

President O. Salazar,  
 Lisbon,  
PORTUGAL.

Dear Sir,

Our council wishes to express its complete agreement with the cable sent to you by the World Assembly of Youth expressing its concern over recent events in Portugal and its protest against measures of repression and arrests undertaken by Portuguese authorities against students and thus appealing to your government to restore full civil rights and democratic liberties.

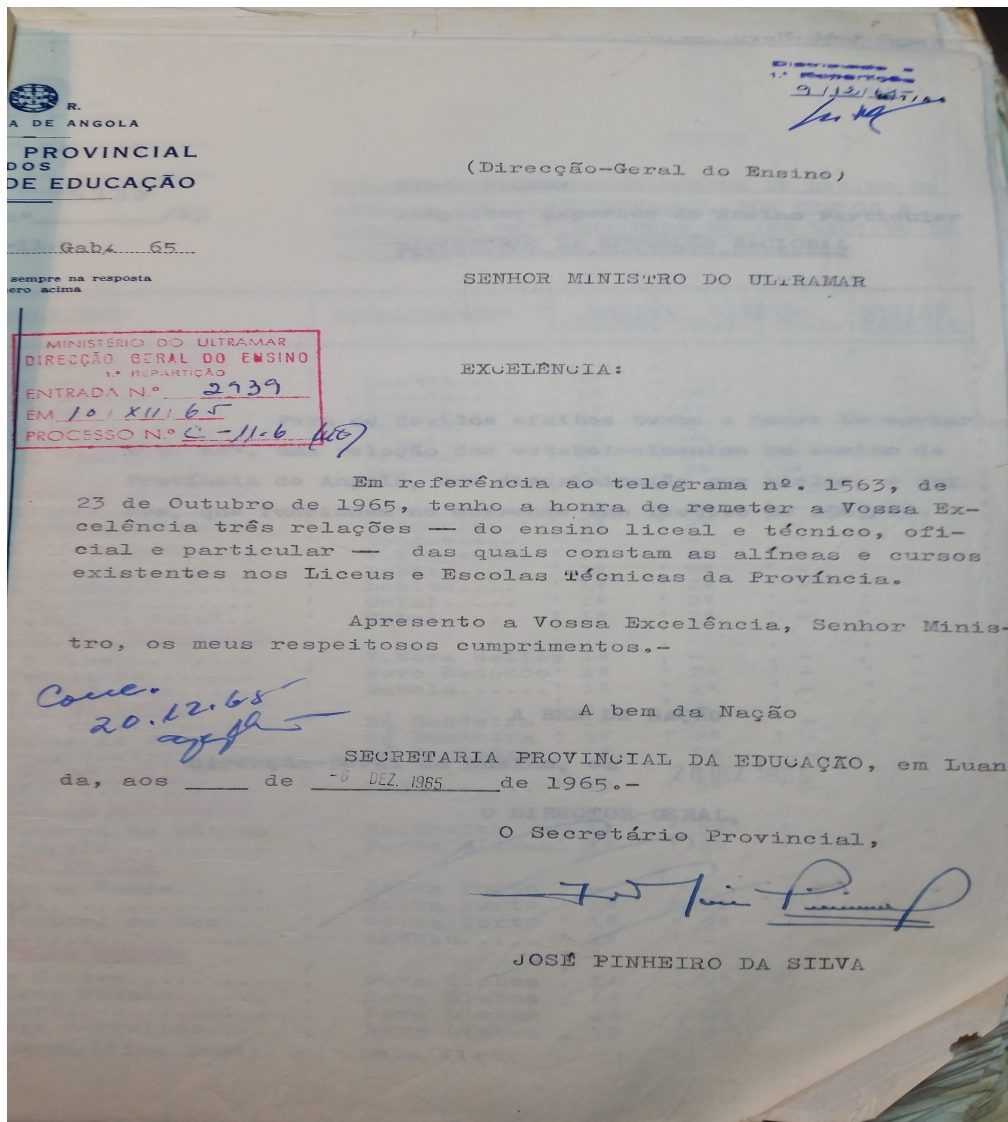
We hope that full attention was paid to the contents of this cable, which was sent in the name of millions of young people from all over the world.

Yours faithfully,

*Y. Kavish*  
 Yehuda Kavish  
 Secretary of the Council of  
Youth Movements in Israel.

Appendix A.11. Letter to President Salazar, from the Council of Youth Movement in Israel.

Source: Arquivo Salazar, Torre do Tombo, Ca-PT-TT-AOS – CO – ED- 6-7



Appendix A.12. Report of the Secretary of Education services in the Province of Angola, Jose Pinheiro da Silva, sent to the Minister of Overseas (1965).

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino



ANGOLA  
Escolas Técnicas (Secundárias)

TIPO DE ENSINO	DESIGNAÇÃO	DIPLOMA LEGAL	DATA	LOCALIDADE
Industrial	"Oliveira Salazar"	Dec. 38 679	17-3-1952	Luanda
Comercial	"Vicente Ferreira"	Dec. 38 679	17-3-1952	Luanda
Indust. e Comerc.	"Sarmiento Rodrigues"	Dec. 38 679	17-3-1952	Nova Lisboa
Indust. e Comerc.	"Artur de Paiva"	Dec. 38 679	17-3-1952	Sá da Bandeira
Comerc. e Indust.	"Infante D. Henrique"	Dec. 38 679	17-3-1952	Moçâmedes
Industrial	"Venâncio Deslandes"	Dec. 39 850	15-10-1954	Benguela
Com. e Indust.	"Gago Coutinho"	Dec. 39 850	15-10-1954	Lobito
Agricultura	"Escola Prática"	Dec. 40 799	13-10-1956	Salazar
Ind. Comerc. Agríc.	"João de Almeida"	Dec. 41 686	18-6-1958	Silva Porto
Com. Ind. e Agríc.	"Sá Viana Rebelo"	Dec. 41 686	18-6-1958	Malange
Indust. e Comerc.	"Silvério Marques"	D.L.M. nº 6	8-8-1964	Cabinda
Indust. e Comerc.	"Tomás Berberan"	D.L.M. nº 6	8-8-1964	Carmona
Indust. e Comerc.	"Óscar Carmona"	D.L.M. nº 6	8-8-1964	Salazar
Indust. e Comerc.	"D. António Barroso"	D.L.M. nº 6	8-8-1964	Gabela
Indust. e Comerc.	"D. António de Almeida"	D.L.M. nº 6	8-8-1964	Luso
Indust. e Comerc.	"Vasco da Gama"	Dec. 46 518	24-9-1965	Novo Redondo
Agricultura	Escola Prática de Agricultura	Port. 15 258	22-11-1967	Vila de Folgares
Indust. e Comerc.	"D. João II"	Dec. 47 799	17-7-1967	Cubal
Indust. e Comerc.	"Ernesto Vilhena"	Dec. 47 799	17-7-1967	Vila Henrique de Carvalho
Ind. Com. e Agríc.	"Narciso Espírito Santo"	D.L.M. nº 3	16-1-1969	Vila Santa Com - ba - Cela

Appendix A.13. Technical schools (secondary).

Source: Revision of the educational needs overseas short-term -1964-1968- Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

ENSINO PRIMÁRIO

	ESTABELECI- MENTOS DE ENSINO			AGENTES DOCENTES				ALUNOS MATRICULADOS						
	ESCOLAS PRIMÁ- RIAS	POSTOS ESCO- LARES	TOTAL	PROFES- SORES PRIMÁ- RIAS	PROFES- SORES DE POS- TO	MONI- TORES ESCO- LARES	TOTAL	PRÉ- PRI- MÁRIA	1ª CLASSE	2ª CLASSE	3ª CLASSE	4ª CLASSE	ADUL- TOS	TOTAL
SERVIÇOS DE EDUCAÇÃO	28	144	172	152	109	311	572	9.643	6005	3348	1575	1222		21793
MISSÕES	79		49				217	217	3.208	3074	1564	1066	770	9677
POSTOS MILITARES		130	130	185			185	3.402	3171	1249	502	242		8566
AULAS REGIMENTAIS								850	950	1500	1790			5090
TOTAL	108	261	352	152	294	528	974	16.248	13100	7111	4643	2024	2500	47626

Appendix A.14. Primary School: schools, teachers, and students enrollment.

Source: Revision of the educational needs overseas short-term -1964-1968- Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

REFORMA EDUCATIVA APRESENTA PROGRESSOS

# Avaliação melhora sistema de educação

Ministro Pinda Simão revela que estudo identificou desafios e as necessidades de mudança

O ministro da Educação afirmou, em Benguela, que os resultados da avaliação da reforma educativa vigente no país desde 2004, divulgados este ano, estimulam a melhoria do sistema de educação.

Pinda Simão, que discursava no acto central nacional do Dia do Educador, disse que com este estudo foram identificados alguns desafios como a existência de cerca 23 por cento de crianças com idade escolar fora do sistema de ensino e a necessidade de obras de manutenção em cerca de 70 por cento das escolas visitadas no âmbito do processo de avaliação da reforma educativa.

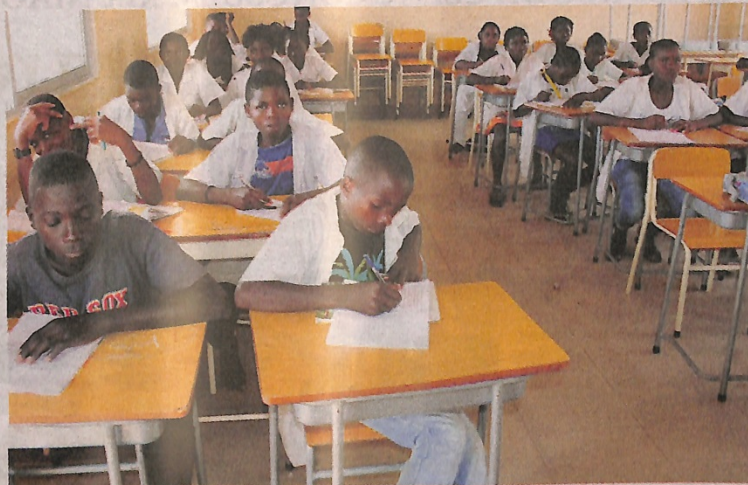
O estudo, salientou, revela que cerca de 66 por cento dos professores do ensino primário dão aulas sem os respectivos planos e que apenas 51 por cento dos pais e encarregados de educação se preocupam em acompanhar a vida académica dos educandos e participam nas actividades das escolas.

O ministro referiu que “as taxas de conclusão dos níveis de ensino melhoraram significativamente, mas as competências dos alunos continuam a ser grande preocupação, principalmente no ensino primário”.

O ministro lembrou que o ensino primário é que “a base da pirâmide educacional, onde os alunos demonstram competências em língua portuguesa na ordem de 48 por cento do universo observado e na Matemática na ordem de 51 por cento”.

“Aos educadores aqui representados por directores de escolas, responsáveis do ensino superior, professores, pais e encarregados queremos reafirmar que somente temos quadros e mão-de-obra qualificada se a escola assumir o seu papel”, disse.

O professor, insistiu o ministro da Educação, ocupa o papel cen-



CASMIRO JOSÉ

Programa de reforma educativa em curso permitiu identificar a percentagem de crianças que estão fora do sistema de ensino

tral do processo docente educativo e é o responsável em motivar e criar as condições materiais e técnicas para que o conhecimento aconteça, pois ele é o responsável pela organização e o sucesso da sua turma.

O 38º aniversário do Dia do Educador em Angola decorreu sob o lema “Pela Afirmação do Sistema da Educação, Trabalhem por um Corpo Docente de Excelência e Comprometido com o Desenvolvimento do País”.

Na cerimónia participaram, entre outros, o governador provincial, Isaac dos Anjos, o secretário de Estado do Ensino Superior para a Superação, António André, o reitor da Universidade Kativala Bwila, Albano Ferreira.

Em Luanda, o governador de Luanda reconheceu o papel de

todos os que sacrificaram as suas vidas, para que os angolanos pudessem ter acesso ao ensino e caminhar de cabeça erguida e sem medo do futuro.

Graciano Domingos sublinhou que graças à liberdade conquistada em 11 de Novembro de 1975, os angolanos ganharam direito ao ensino. Só a capital do país, disse o governador, tem mais de dois milhões de alunos, enquadrados em nove mil salas de aulas.

Sob o lema “Pela afirmação do sistema de educação, trabalhem por um corpo docente de excelência e comprometidos com o desenvolvimento do país”, o Dia do Educador foi marcado com uma marcha, que começou na Estátua do Motorista (junto à FTU) e culminou no Largo da Independência. Nela participaram mais de 50 mil pes-

soas, entre professores e alunos de diversas escolas de Luanda. Graciano Domingos afirmou que o lema das comemorações responde ao significado daquilo que é prioridade e atenção do Executivo, que defende um ensino primário digno e um corpo docente formado, possuidor de uma moral cívica que inspire e arraste os seus educando para uma inserção e comportamento digno na sociedade, com rigor e excelência de ensino.

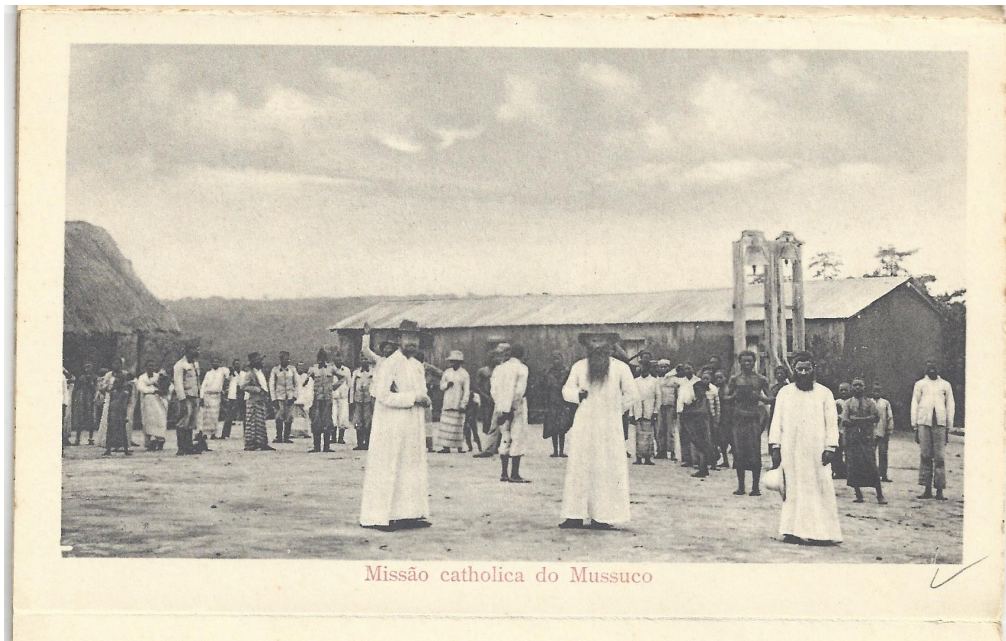
O governador da província de Luanda falou, igualmente, do esforço do Executivo para continuar a construir e equipar escolas e dar possibilidade a mais crianças de entrarem no sistema normal de ensino. Uma Angola desenvolvida, disse Graciano Domingos, só é possível com aposta na educação de qualidade.

Appendix A.15. Evaluation of the educational system: the educational program of reform allows identification of the children outside of the Angolan Educational System.

Source: Angola Newspapers, November 24, 2014.



## Appendix B—Gallery



Appendix B.1. Catholic Mission of Mussuco.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola; [Album No. 029, Remington Rand Inc. Branches everywhere, Made in USA. Leatherette Pocket, Cat. No. 507-A], Arquivo de Veloso de Castro (1908)/ANA, No. 00018-6/58.



Appendix B.2. Students of the Mission.

Source: Arquivo Historico Nacional de Angola. [Album No. 029, Remington Rand Inc. Branches everywhere, Made in USA. Leatherette Pocket, Cat. No. 507-A], Arquivo de Veloso de Castro (1908)/ANA, No. 1166.



Appendix B.3. Indigenous knowledge/marimba: Angolan musical instrument.

Source: [http://www.welcometoangola.co.ao/\\_cultura](http://www.welcometoangola.co.ao/_cultura)



Appendix B.4. Indigenous knowledge: Angolan art.

Source: [http://www.welcometoangola.co.ao/\\_cultura](http://www.welcometoangola.co.ao/_cultura)





Appendix B.5. Chokwe chief's chair, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Brooklyn Museum, Museum Expedition 1922, Robert B. Woodward Memorial Fund, 22.187. Creative Commons-By (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 22.217 threequarter\_SL1).

Source: [https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/2899/Chiefs\\_Chair](https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/2899/Chiefs_Chair)



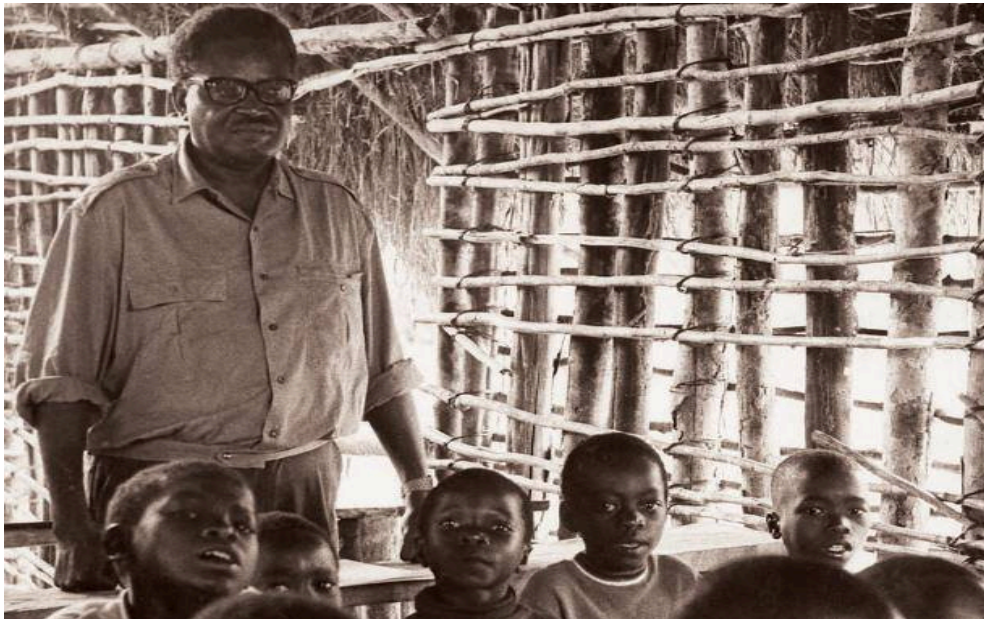
Appendix B.6. Colonial settlement of hime ex-Mário Cunha, founded in 1930; served for coffee and palm plantation, Province of Kwanza Sul.

Source: Images taken by the author, 13/12/2014.



Appendix B.7. Settlement of Hime ex-Mário Cunha . The author in conversation with Eduardo de Oliveira “NDoli” who probably was born in this settlement in 1956.

Source: Images taken by Yona Patrícia Alves Cardoso, 13/12/2014.



Appendix B.8. Agostinho Neto visiting children in a school in an area liberated during the national struggle for the Independence of Angola.

[http://www.agostinhoneto.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=167:fundacao-sagrada-esperanca-quer-cooperar-com-a-faan&catid=41:quem-somos](http://www.agostinhoneto.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=167:fundacao-sagrada-esperanca-quer-cooperar-com-a-faan&catid=41:quem-somos)





Appendix B.9. Elementary school of Longuri in Caconda/Province of Huila

Source: Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola, A-3770, L- 4-63.



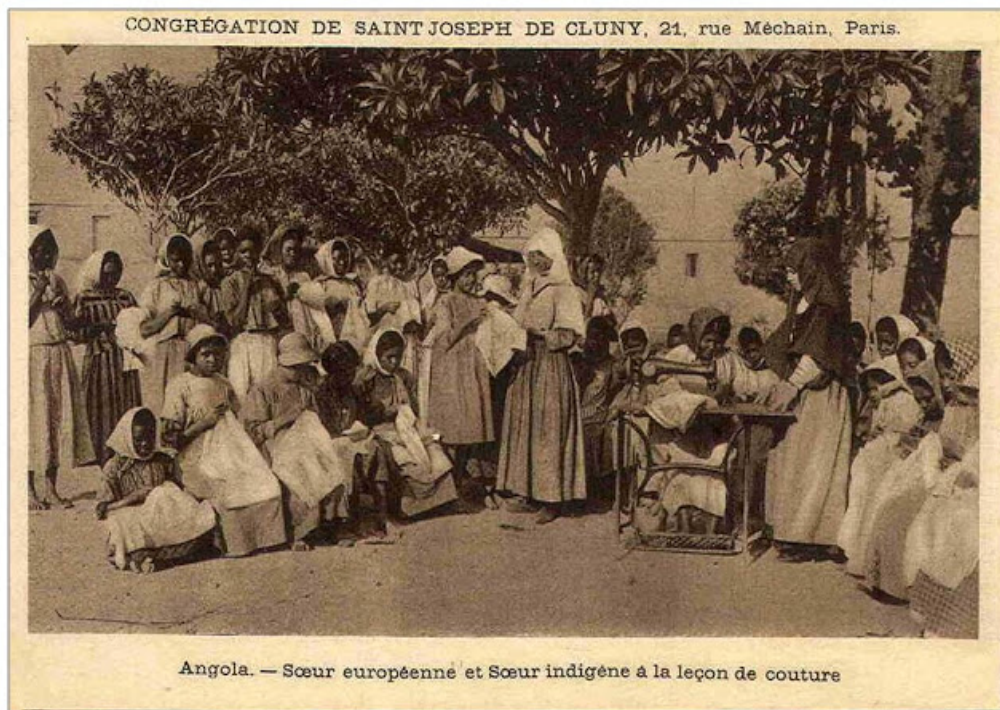
Appendix B.10. Angola: indigenous children praying with a Sister of St. José de Cluny Congregation.

Source: <http://tudosobreangola.blogspot.com/2012/01/postais-da-accao-missionaria-na-angola.html#links>



Appendix B.11. Priest celebrating mass in a Village in Damba in the presence of the authorities.

Source: <http://muanadamba.net/album-1646001.html>



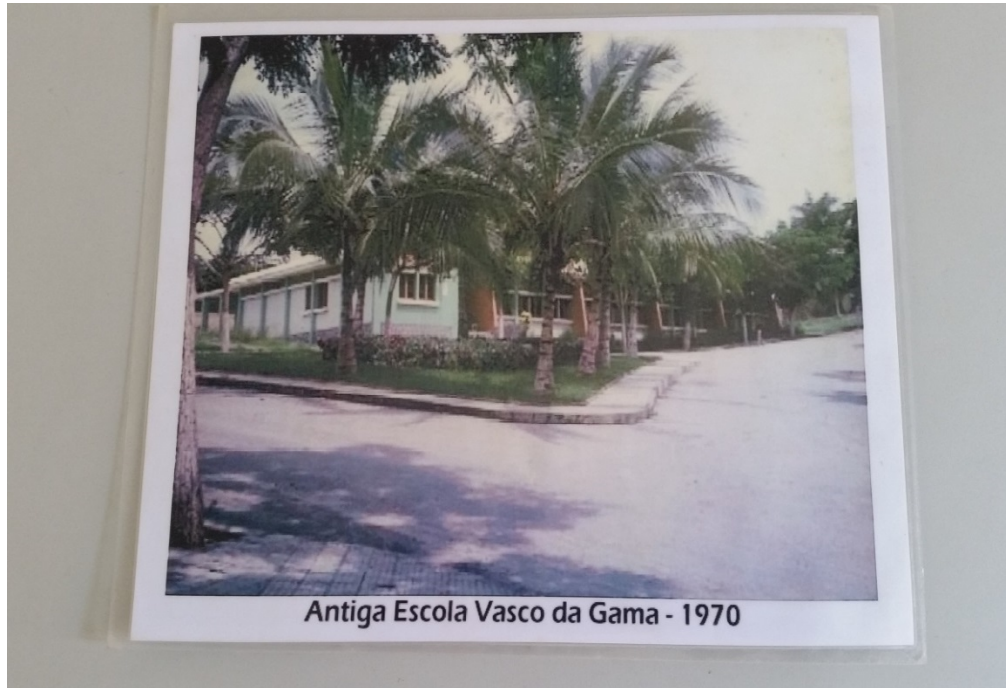
Philamer

[www.delcampe.net](http://www.delcampe.net)

Appendix B.12. Angola: European and Indigenous sisters having the sewing lesson.

Source: <http://tudosobreangola.blogspot.com/2012/01/postais-da-accao-missionaria-na-angola.html#links>



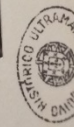


Antiga Escola Vasco da Gama - 1970

Appendix B.13. School Vasco da Gama, 1970, actual Elementary School no. 324, Sumbe  
Source: Image kindly offered by the School Director, 11/12/2014.



Sala do 1º ano



Appendix B.14. Classroom, first year of Liceu.  
Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino



Appendix B.15. Classroom, second year of Liceu.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino



Appendix B.16. Classroom, third year of Liceu.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino



Sala de Desenho

Appendix B.17. Drawing classroom of Liceu.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

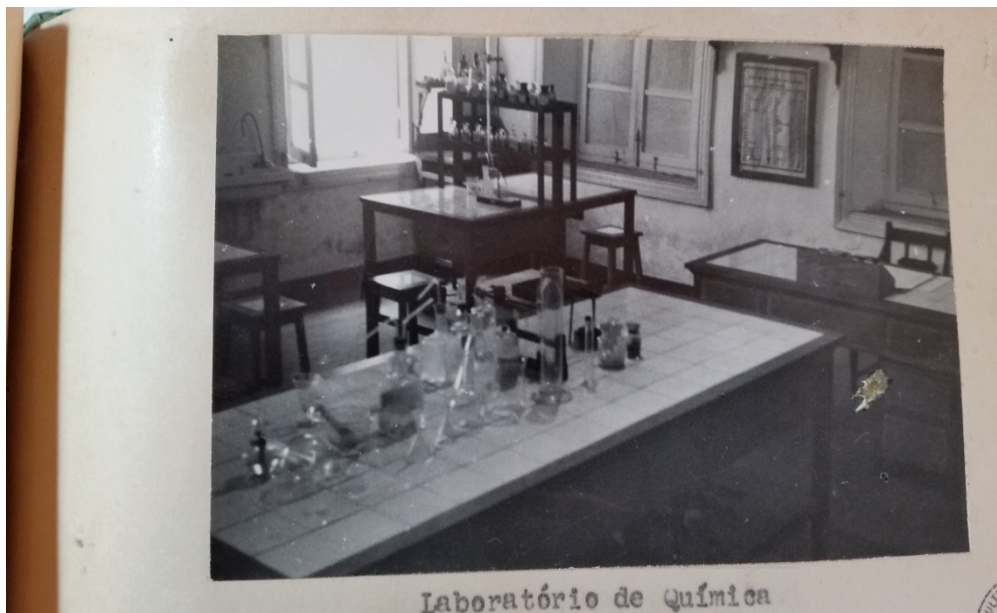


Gabinete de Ciências-Naturais

Appendix B.18. Cabinet of natural sciences of Liceu.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino





Appendix B.19. Chemistry Lab of Liceu.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino



Appendix B.20. A Desk of students in physics laboratory.

Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino



Appendix B.21. Catholic Church of Huíla Mission, the first to be sacred by D. Moisés in 1934 and became the main core of the development of education in southern Angola by the priest José Maria Antunes.

Source; <https://sites.google.com/site/celiojgf/lobango-sa-da-bandeira/memorial>



Com os missionários capuchinhos na sua primeira ida à Damba

Appendix B.22. Capuchin missionaries and colonial authorities in Damba.

Source: <http://muanadamba.net/album-1646001.html>



Appendix B.23. Missionary Camilo Maria de Tarassa with Baptist Protestant Community in Damba/1962.

Source:<http://muanadamba.net/2014/03/15-de-marco-de-1961-na-damba-as-legendas-de-uma-fotografia-historica-2.html>



Appendix B.24. D. André Muaca (1924-1970) the first indigenous bishop of Angola in modern times. The first Angolan Bishop was Henry, Bishop of Utica, Prince of Congo in the first half of the seventeenth century. D. André Muaca chaired the Episcopal Conference of Angola. He represents an emblematic figure of the Angolan intelligentsia.

Source: [https://www.google.com/?gws\\_rd=ssl#q=Imagens+dom+eduardo+andre+muaca](https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=Imagens+dom+eduardo+andre+muaca)





Appendix B.25. Simão Gonçalves Toco (1918-1984), founder of one of the largest Christian movements in Angola, the Angolan Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the World.

Source: <http://tocomania.no.comunidades.net/index.php?pagina=galeria>



Appendix B.26. First meeting of President António Agostinho Neto with the ministers and secretaries of State on November 17 of 1975.

Source: <http://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/a-transicao-de-neto-a-dos-santos-os-discursos-presidenciais-sobre-as-relacoes-internacionais-d>



Appendix B.27. President António Agostinho Neto and Fidel Castro in Luanda, March 23, 1977

Source: <http://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/a-transicao-de-neto-a-dos-santos-os-discursos-presidenciais-sobre-as-relacoes-internacionais-d>



Appendix B.28. Elementary school of Jombe II, Commune of Jombe, in the Municipality of Sumbe/Kwanza Sul.  
Source: Image taken by the author, 15/12/2014.



Appendix B.29. Computer lab, School April 14 (Secondary school First and Second Cycle) Former Commercial and Industrial School Sacadura Cabral, Municipality of Sumbe.  
Source: Image taken by the author, 15/12/2014.



Appendix B.30. The Symbol of Angolan Culture, “The Thinker.”

Source: Image taken by the author in the Provincial Government of Luanda, January, 2015.

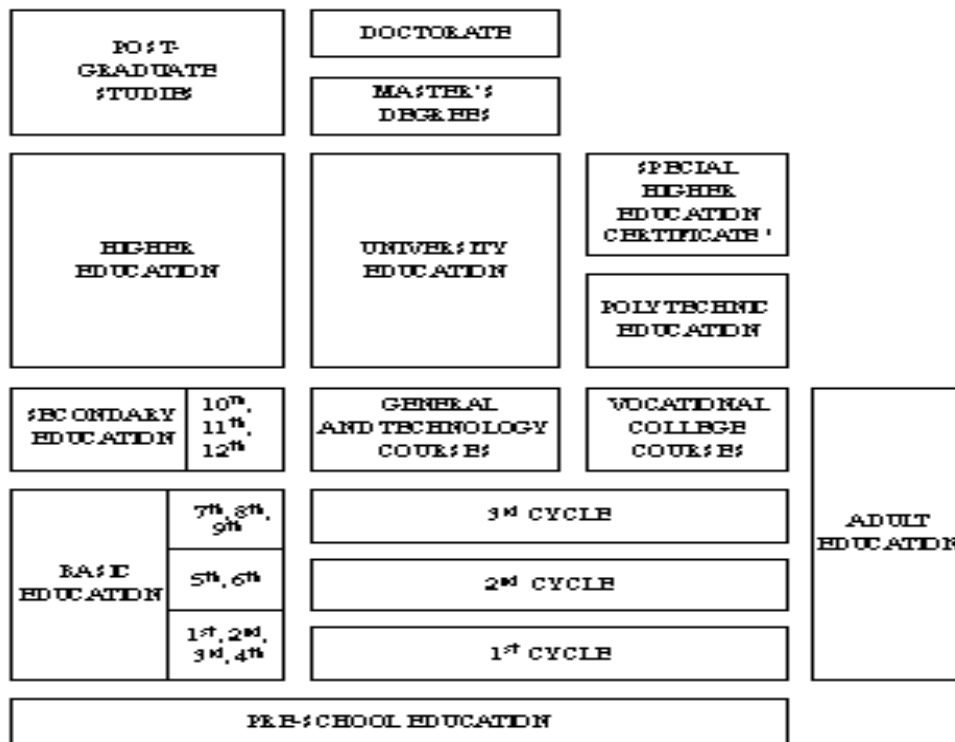
## Appendix C—Structure of Educational Systems

ENSINO SUPERIOR	Curso Superior (Only in Portugal)		
ENSINO SECUNDARIO	7 Ano 6 Ano 5 Ano 4 Ano 3 Ano Ensino Complementar	Ensino dos Liceus	Ciclo Complementar 2o. Ciclo 1o. Ciclo Administração Civil Enfermagem Ensino Preparatório Escolas Comerciais e Industriais
ENSINO TECNICO	2 Ano  1 Ano	Escola Agrícola e Pecuária Caminhos de Ferro Correios e Telegráfos	Escola do Ensino Preparatório  Ensino Elementar
ENSINO PRIMARIO	4 Classe 3 Classe  2 Classe 1 Classe		Escola Primaria Geral  Escola Normal do Bailundo  Escolas de Ofícios      Escolas Missionárias  Classe Preparatória  Escolas Rurais  Iniciação Escolas Infantis Escolas para Brancos  ENSINO INDIGENA

Appendix C.1. Portuguese Educational System 1950/1966; it was restructured by Law No. 5/73.

Source: Adapted from Gastão Sousa Dias, *O Ensino em Angola*, Imprensa Nacional de Angola, Lunada (1934).



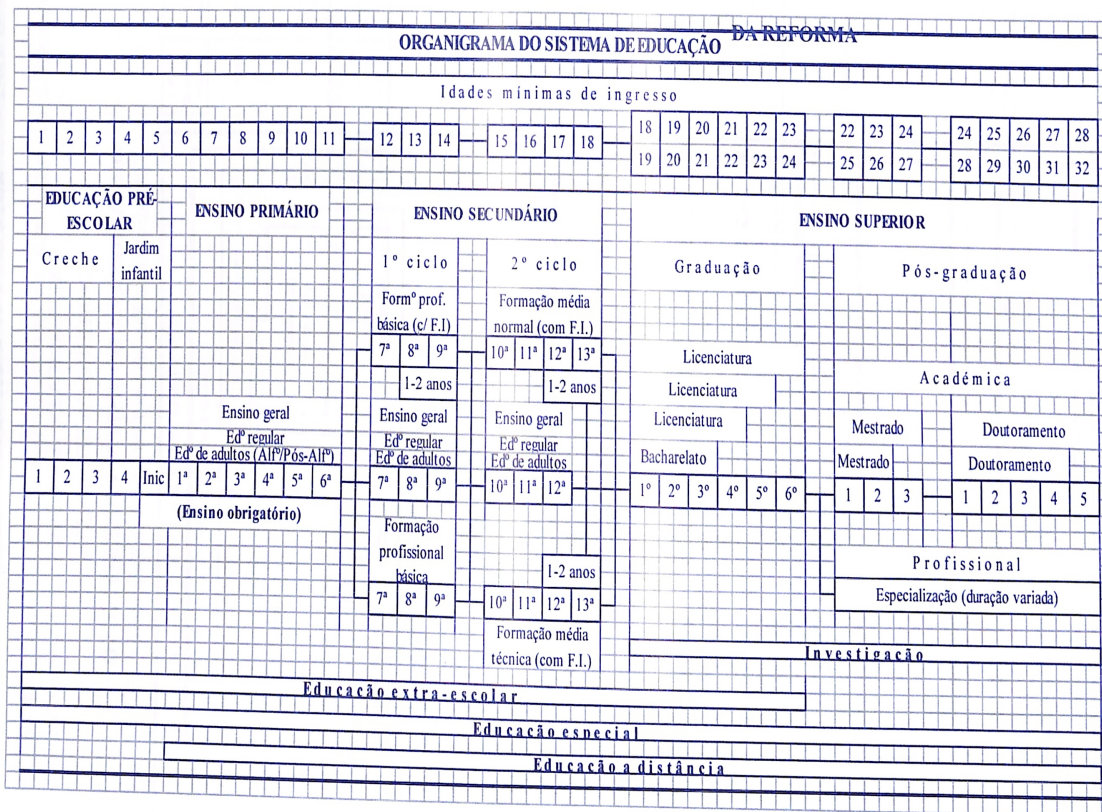


\* Currently being phased out

Appendix C.2. Portuguese Educational System Diagram. (1) Responsible for Policy: the Ministry of Science Technology and Higher Education (Higher Education), (2) the Ministry of Education (Primary and Secondary Education), (3) Ministry of Labor and Social Solidary (Pre-School Education).

Source: Maria Eduarda Boal (Ed), *Portuguese Educational System: The System Today and Plans for the Future*, Ministry of Education Bureau for European Affairs and International Relations (1999), 15.





Appendix C.4. Reform Organization Chart of Angolan educational system.

Source: Ministry of Higher Education, Agenda 2013.

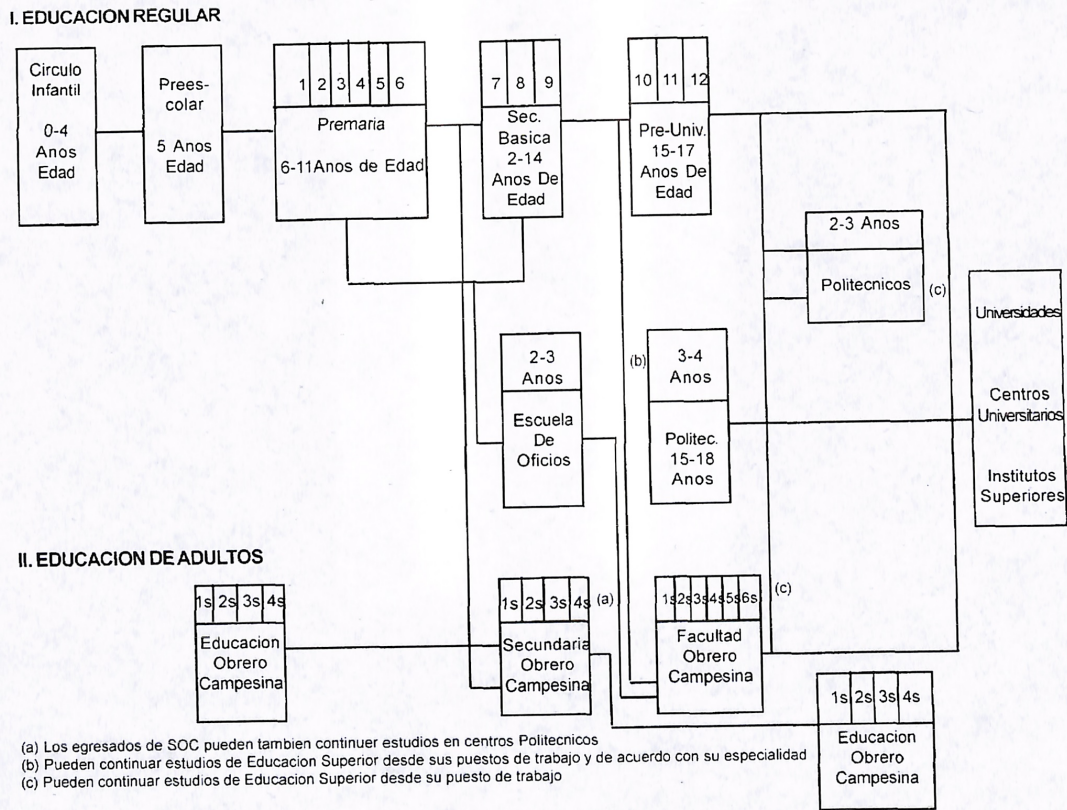


Level	Type of School	Length	Age Level	Diploma	Responsible for Policy
Higher Education	Higher Institutes & Universities	5-6 Years	18 to 25 Ages	Licenciatura, Doctorado, Doctor en Ciencias*	Ministerio de Educación Superior
Upper Secondary	Cyclo Medio Superior, Pré-Universitario	3 Years	15 to 18 Ages	Bachillerato (Secondary-School-Leaving Certificate)	Ministerio de la Educación
Technical Secondary	Escuela Tecnológica	3 Years	16 to 19 Ages		Ministerio de la Educación
Basic Secondary	Secundaria Básica	3 Years	12 to 15 Ages		Ministerio de la Educación
Primary	Escuela Primaria	6 Years	6 to 11 Ages		Ministerio de la Educación

Appendix C.5. Cuban educational system (\*+special field)

Source: adapted from Lavinia Gasperini, *The Cuban Education System: Lessons and Dilemas*. The World Bank, Latin American & Caribbean Regional Office, Annex 2 (2000), 27.

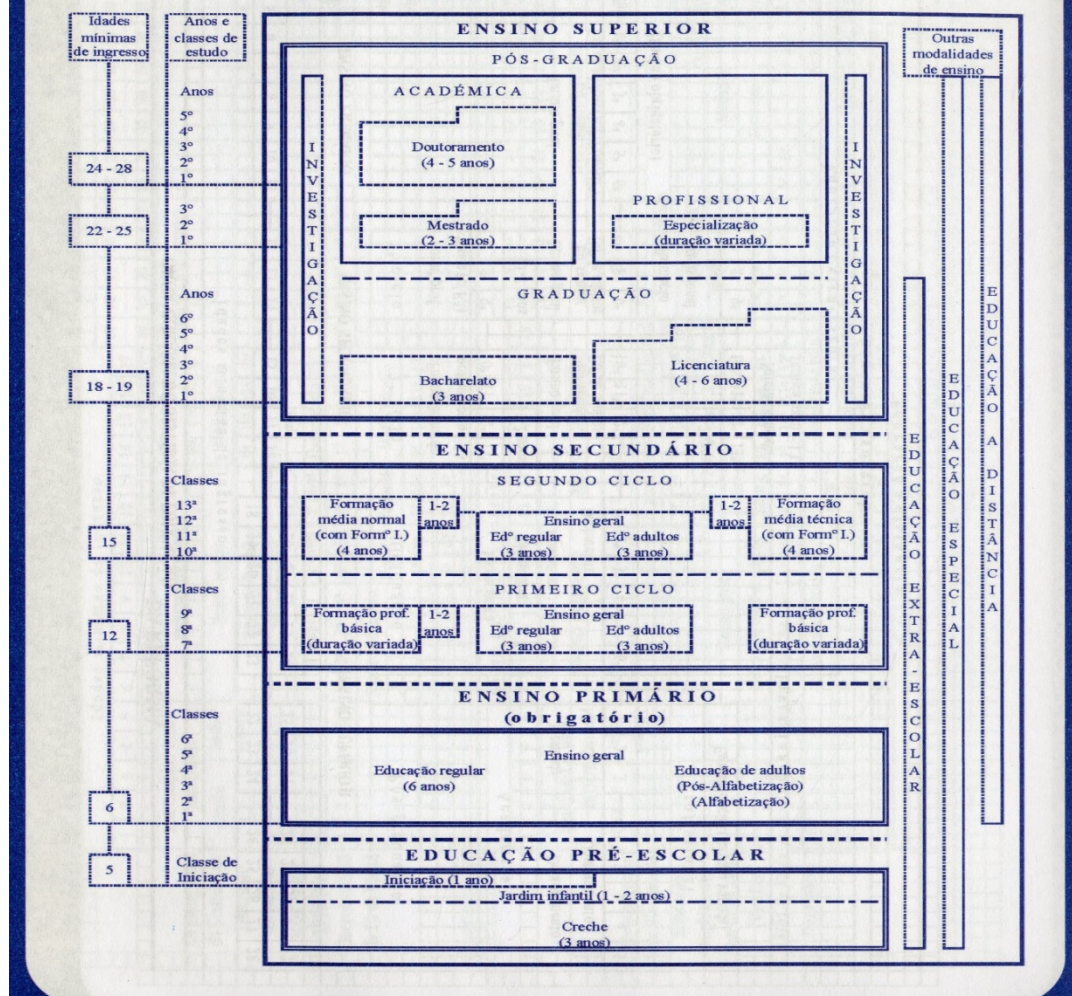
**Graphic of the Cuban National Education System**  
**Ministerio de Educacion Estructura del Sistema Nacional de Educacion**



Appendix C.6. Graphic of the Cuban National Education System

Source: Lavinia Gasperini, *The Cuban Educational System: Lessons and Dilemas*. The World Bank: Latin American and Caribbean Regional Office (2000), 27.

REPÚBLICA DE ANGOLA  
 MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO  
**ORGANIGRAMA DO SISTEMA DE EDUCAÇÃO**  
 Elaborado com base na Lei 13/01 de 31 de Dezembro



Appendix C.7. Organization Chart of Angolan educational system.

Source: Ministry of Higher Education, Agenda 2013.

## Appendix D—Spiritans who Died in Angola

No.	Name of the Priest	Time life of death in Angol	Years
01	Ir. Gregório Gomes	1874-1930	56
02	P. José Seveno	1902-1930	28
03	Ir. Mateus Eleutécio Tomé	1856-1931	75
04	P. Luis Barros da Silva	1869-1931	62
05	Ir. Nuno Marques	1893-1932	38
06	Ir. Estávão Dias Viera	1903-1933	30
07	Ir. Alberto Silva	1875-1935	60
08	Ir. Lourenço Naval	1850-1935	85
09	Ir. Teotónico Gomes	1856-1935	79
10	P. José A. Terças	1904-1935	31
11	Ir. Celestino Oliveira	1867-1936	69
12	Ir. João Bento Borges	1894-1936	80
13	Ir. Domingos Martins	1856-1938	74
14	Ir. João de Brito da Silva	1864-1939	75
15	Ir. Silvano Gomes	1864-1940	76
16	P. António Pereira	1872-1940	68
17	Ir. Duarte Va	1871-1942	71
18	P. Abílio Teixeira	1914-1942	28
19	Ir. Fortunato Pereira	1877-1943	66
20	Ir. Luiz Gonzanga Silva	1868-1943	75
21	P. João Cordona	1877-1943	66
22	Ir. António Pereira	1880-1946	66
23	P. Manuel Junqueira	1840-1947	107
24	Ir. Angelo Joaquim Alves Bicho	1878-1948	70
25	Ir. António Ferreira	1889-1949	60
26	Ir. Cristiano Cristina Pacheco Nunes Neves	1887-1949	62
27	Ir. Gervásio Dantas	1868-1949	81
28	Ir. Marcos Rodrigues	1885-1949	64
29	Ir. Anselmo-Manuel Rodrigues	1867-1950	83
30	P. José Domingos Sampaio	1924-1952	28
31	Ir Amândio José de Oliveira Claro	1879-1956	77

No.	Name of the Priest	Time life of death in Angol	Years
32	Ir. Guelberto-Ildefonso Lourenço Antunes	1876-1957	78
33	Ir. Celerino Cordeiro	1893-1959	66
34	Ir. Lourenço -João matias	1899-1959	60
35	P. Agostinho Rodrigues Pintassilgo	1884-1959	75
36	P. Agostinho Rodrigues Pintassilo	1888-1959	71
37	P. Manuel António de Sousa	1906-1956	50
38	Ir. Silvestre Carlos Augusto da Silva	1907-1960	53
39	P. Bernardo Vieira Melo	1909-1960	51
40	P. Joaquim Pereira da Silva	1875-1960	85
41	P. António Pintassilgo	1891-1961	70
42	P. Agostinho Esteves Pinheiro	1907-1962	55
43	P. Manuel Misteno	1891-1964	73
44	Ir. Luciano-Luciano Ferreira	1881-1965	84
45	Ir. Francisco Assis-Narsiso Martins Vaz	1876-1967	91
46	P. Alvaro Oscare da Cruz Melo	1910-1967	57
47	P. Clemente Pereira Silva	1919-1969	50
48	P. José Gonçalves da Silva	1918-1967	49
49	P. Mário Alves da Silva	1902-1967	65
50	P. António Peeira da Silva	1919-1969	50
51	D. Daniel Gomes Junqueira	1894-1970	76
52	Ir. Manuel Martino Campos-Evaristo	1872-1970	98
53	Ir. Casimiro José Esgalhado	1902-1971	69
54	Ir. José Joaquim Esteves Pinheiro	1926-1971	45
55	P. Manuel Alves Laranjeira	1928-1971	43
56	D. Pompeu Sá Leão Seabra	1908-1973	65
57	Ir. Tedor- António Machado	1910-1973	63
58	Ir. Evangelista-Manuel José Ramos	1909-1974	65
59	Ir. Afonso Rodrigues-Gaudêncio G. Henriques	1914-1976	62
60	P. Adélio Ribeiro Lopes	1930-1976	46
61	P. José Silva Pereira	1907-1978	71
62	P. José Rodrigues Neiva de Araújo	1899-1979	80
63	P. Afredo Mendes	1911-1980	69
64	P. Jacinto Ngola	1935-1980	45

No.	Name of the Priest	Time life of death in Angol	Years
65	P. Porfírio Duarte Lourenç	1926-1981	55
66	Ir. Agostinho-Agostinho Alves Trindade	1899-1983	84
67	Ir. Domingos Rogeiro Anjos Mereiles	1921-1980	59
68	P. Alfredo dos Santos	1918-1988	70

Source: Adapted from Neiva, Adélio Torres, *Holy Ghost Fathers and the Immaculate Heart of Maria: History of the Portuguese Province (1867-2004)*, Lisbon, 2005.

## **Appendix E—Legislation Timeline**

### **Legislation Concerning Diplomas First Series from 1930 to 1980**

#### **1930**

Decree no. 26473 of February 6, 1929, the holding of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International History of Science Congress in 1930.

Diploma Legislation No. 238, May 17, 1930: Establishes the difference between official education and indigenous education.

Decree No. 19:360: Replaced Angolan Government Ordinance No. 644 of September 29, 1930 and No. 650 of October 15, 1930 according to Decree 19:12 incorporating members of the indigenous population into military companies representative of the planned secretariat of the military districts of Benguela and Moxico of the 29th Logistics Company.

Ordinance No. 754: Extends to the rural Elementary School of Bailundo, provisions of Article 8:09 concerning Legislative Diploma No.165 of December 11, 1930 requiring the same enrollment policies in Bailundo Elementary School as are used in the colonial high schools, including admissions exams.

#### **1931**

Ordinance No. 3 of January 31, 1931: Diploma Legislative No. 174- Gives rectors of high schools the authority to select entrance exam judges, overriding Article 4 of Diploma Legislative No. 165 of December 11, 1930, referred to in Article 12, paragraph 8 of Law Decree No. 18: 884, September 27, 1930.

Ordinance No. 714: Forces the institutionalization of state reserves for the use of the indigenous population: First Section No. 4, including the civil districts of Quipungo and Gambos and the entire civil district of the Upper Cunene, situated on the right bank, east of the River Cunene.

Ministry of Trade and Communications: Section 9 No. 1 of February 28, 1931: Decree No. 11:988- States that the designation of “engineer” shall belong to all who graduate from legitimate courses.

Legal Diary: First Series, Nos.11 and 13 of March 14 and March 28, 1931 respectively: Concerning Ministry of Colonies: Decree No. 19: 381- Orders the administrative reorganization of the Angolan Colony for the purpose of reducing expenses.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 27 of July 4, 1931: Decree No. 19:762- Extends the deadline set in Article 3 of Decree No. 19: 381 until July 15, 1931.

Diary No. 15 of April 11, 1931: General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 753- Eliminates the map of the settlements along with their classifications as annexed by Ordinance No, 441 of April 8, 1929, integrating the settlements of Dundo and Vila Paiva de Andrade into the lands conceded to the Angolan Diamond Company.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 17 of April 25, 1931: Ordinance No. 763- Postpones the beginning of all colonial high schools for the academic year 1931-1932 until May 11 as proposed by the Directory of Public Instruction Services, to allow for entrance examinations.



Ordinance No. 764-Makes compulsory in the fourth grade of all primary and trade schools the reading of The Lusíadas of Luis de Camoës as narrated for children and the general public by Joao de Barros, to guarantee the association of a certain level of patriotism with the acquisition of education.

Legislative Decree No. 221- Enforces the applicable portions for Liceus Decree No. 18:486, 18:779 and 18, 827 of June 18, August 26 and September 6 1930.

Decree No. 17:950-Prohibits billboards and posters in foreign tongues except where affiliated with nonPortuguese properties.

Decree No. 18:281- Prohibits the use of foreign languages in announcements and advertising, manufacturing and trade marks, hotels, restaurants, pensions and similar establishments.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 22 of May 30, 1931: Ordinance No. 787 and Diary No. 22 of June 4, 1931: Concerning general government of Angola-Legislative Diploma No. 237.

General Government of Angola- Diploma Legislative No. 240- Exempts taxes on inheritance and any inheritance or legacy pertaining to Portuguese Catholic missions in Angola or any missionary employed therein or belonging to any legally constructed missionary corporation.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 26 of June 27, 1931: Ordinance No. 815 and 816- Relates to the baseline distribution of auxiliary trade schools.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 27 of July 9, 1931: Ministry of Colonies  
Decree No, 19:733- Addresses money transfers to the Angolan regime and ensuing exchange and currency problems in the colony. It referenced financial reform, 1926, Decree No. 14:997, which declares the state will cover the “deficit” of transfers.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 28 of July 11, 1931- Forbids the District Board of Education of Mocamedes to directly acquire diverse school supplies for Primary School No. 49, Francisco Nogueira, in the city of Francisco Nogueira.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 29 of July 18, 1931: General Government of Angola: Legislative Decree No, 251- Transfers the Colonization of Services formerly the responsibility of the Administration of Farm Services to the Directorate of Colonization and Land Services’ District Section for the Colonization of Services and Land.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 35 of August 29, 1931: Ordinance No. 7:158- Clarifies under “your appointments” regulations concerning the execution of the functions of the rectors and vice-rectors of high schools as explained under “the colonies” in Decree No. 18:235.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of December 19, 1931: Diploma Legislative No. 296- Creates a Botanical Office, which later becomes an integral part of the Central Agronomy Station in Luanda and whose functions depend upon the Bureau of Forestry Techniques.

## **1932**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of January 16, 1932: Ministry of Public Instruction- General Directorate of Higher Education and Fine Arts: Decree No. 19:952- Regulates library services and national archives as well as the respective inspections thereof.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 6 of February 6, 1932: General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 390-



Presents guides to be adopted in primary schools during the 1932-1933 terms and kept in the superintendent's books.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 11 of March 12, 1932: Order No.941- Allows as reinforcement the transfer of funds from other sources for the purchase of didactic materials for the Luanda Nursing School.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 12 of March 19, 1932: Legislative Diploma No. 325- Closes several schools and workshops, transferring the staff to the remaining schools/workshops and regulating the forms of provision to be extracted for the remaining schools.

Diary Supplement No. 14 of April 8, 1932 General Government of Angola:  
Legislative Diploma No. 336- Inaugurates the application of Decree No. 29:369 of October 8, 1931, published as an annex to Legislative Diploma No. 336.

Ministry of Public Instruction Decree No. 20: 369- Approves programs for all classes at the secondary level.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 37 of September 10, 1932: General Government of Angola  
Legislative Decree No. 386-Approves programs for primary education as per practical application of said decree, determining which laws are to be enforced as pertain to pedagogical instructions carried over from Legislative Diploma No. 755 of March 26, 1928.

Ordinance No. 1:057- Proclaims the Fortress of São Pedro da Barra in Luanda (for all practical purposes) to be a "Provincial Monument."

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of September 24, 1932 Ministry of Instruction: Decree No. 20:744- Reports reorganization of courses established by Decree No. 18: 779 of August 26, 1930, reducing the number of subjects to be taught in each class, combining those which are similar and initiating the simultaneous teaching of others.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 42 of October 10, 1932 General Government of Angola: Legislative Decree No. 360 - Approves programs for primary education and instruction, forming part of the law.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 46 of November 12, 1932 General Government of Angola:  
Legislative Decree no. 413 -Transfers ownership of the former Municipal School of Benguela, including all furniture and didactic materials, to the State, for the comprehensive conversion and integration of primary education at Primary School No. 31, Hermenegildo Capelo, Benguela.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 53 of December 31, 1932: Legislative Decree No. 426-Creates the Sanitary Sector of Damba's Sanitary Zone in the Congo (to fight against sleeping sickness).

### **1933**

Presidency of the Council: A newly rectified publication of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, with alterations to Laws No.1:885 and 1:910, approved in a national plebiscite on March 19, 1933 (a constitutional referendum in which the new constitution was approved by 99.5 percent of voters) and inaugurated on April 11 of that same year.

November 15, 1933: Enactment and promulgation of the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, approved by the Overseas Administrative Reform. (PT/TT/CMZ-ADGL/A/3-3-1/10).

Decree Law No. 22:228 of November 15, 1933- Charter promulgation and incorporation of all provisions

relating to: the administrative division of the Colonial Empire; the colonial governments; the Government Councils; the principle members of the general administration; the organization and operation of the administrative services; financial, judicial and economic administration of the colonies; and the issues of indigenous peoples.

#### **1934**

Enactment of the law biogenetic and the Active School of 1934;

The First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition took place in Porto from 16 June to September 30 of 1934. (Disgusting expo based on eugenic methods).

#### **1935** (Location: 3072-7/2, p. 2-853)

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of January 24, 1935 Ministry of Education: Decree No. 24:526- Inaugurates the new programs for secondary education in all classes of secondary schools in the academic year 1934-35.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4 of January 26, 1935 General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 1:588- Distribution of assistance in the form of subsidiary funds, designated in the general budget of the colony for the economic year 1934-35, to primary and secondary schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 5 of January 28, 1935: Legislative Decree No. 696- Adopts and enforces the Regulation of Scholarships.

Ordinance No. 597- Approves and puts into effect the Regulations of the National Diogo Cao Lyceum Library.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 6 of February 9, 1935 General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 1:602- Grants the "Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions" the right to post six chapel boxes containing church's religious objects.

Legal Diary: First Series y No. 7 of February 16, 1935 General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 1:610- Grants the "Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions" tax exemptions concerning such religious objects.

Ordinance No. 1:612- Grants the "Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions" tax exemption for medicines.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 8 of February 23, 1935 (Location 3072-7/20, P. 2-853: Ordinance No. 1:619- Grants the "Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions" tax exemption for images of worship.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 9 of March 2, 1935: Ordinance No. 1:623- Grants to the Board of the Portuguese Catholic missions tax exemption on objects of religious worship, including bronze bell.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of March 30, 1935: Ordinance No. 1:656- Grants the "Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic missions" tax exemption for pharmaceutical items intended for the same missions.

Ordinance No. 1: 657- Grants the "Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions" tax exemptions for diverse school supplies and other items intended for worship at the same missions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 16:17 of April 20 and 27, 1935 respectively: Ordinance No. 1:672 and 675- Grant the Portuguese Catholic missions tax exemptions for cult objects designed for the same missions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 42 of October 26, 1935: Ordinance No. 1:835- Grants the Portuguese Catholic Missions tax exemptions on wooden objects and the baptismal font at the Parish Chapel of Lobito, designed by the same missions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of May 4, 1935: Legislative Decree No. 708- Changes the body of Article 2 of the Legislative Diploma No. 334 of April 1, 1932, which set an extension for the length of the high school year for named colonial schools.

Daily No. 23 of June 8, 1935: Ordinance No. 1:708- Grants the “Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions tax exemptions for cult objects and tools for the same missions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 40 of October 12, 1935: Ordinance Nos. 1:819,820,821- Grant the Directorate of the Portuguese Catholic Missions to exempt taxes on medicines at The Catholic Mission of Bailundo, on cement at The Parish Church of Cabinda and on miscellaneous construction supplies at the Parish Church of Maiombe as defined by the same missions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 2 Supplement No. 23 of June 8, 1935: Ministries of the Colonies Decree No. 25:306- Supervisors of the financial directors of the colonies estimate the financial needs of public schools and institutions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 31 of August 3, 1935 Ministries of the Colonies/ Law No. 1:920- Creates the Institute of Tropical Medicine.

Ordinance No. 8:158-Determines that the local administrative bodies of the colonies must promptly provide a subsidy of one percent of their gross revenues to the School of Tropical Medicine.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 35 of August 31, 1935: Legislative Decree No. 741-Authorizes the students of private secondary schools to be implemented in school laboratories.

A newly rectified publication of the Colonial Act including alterations to Law No.1:900

Ordinance No. 1:788-Distributes to the school districts, primary schools and trade schools in the provinces of the colony, the assigned funds as prescribed in the general budget for the economic year 1935-36 (eighteen months).

Ordinance No. 1:790-Determines that the list of books adopted for primary schools includes “Choreography of Angola.”

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 7, 1935: Ordinance No. 8:202- Fairly adjust the subsidies to be collected from the delegates of the colonies.

Diary -Supplement No. 37 of September 18, 1935: General Government of Angola; Ordinance No. 1:803-Accepts the suggestion that the colonial government of Angola be arranged according to paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 24 of the Charter of the Organic Imperial Portuguese Colony.

First Series-Supplement No. 38 of September 26, 1935: Decree No. 21:110-Approves and sets in motion the execution of regulations for physical education in the high schools.

Decree No. 21:150- Approves and inaugurates a regulation for choral music programs in the high schools.

Opinion from the Secondary School Education Section of the Superior Council of Public Instruction approved by the ministerial order, the disposition of Article 94 of the Statute of Secondary Education allowing no advantage to individuals who, having interrupted their secondary courses request admittance to high schools subsequently.

Decree No. 21:681-Deletes from the list of attendants of the Ministry of Public Instruction any student who for three successive years or five alternate years has not obtained approval to pursue any single subject or class.

Ordinance No. 8:098-The Government of the Portuguese Republic and the Ministry of the Colonies in compliance with Article 180 of the Administrative Overseas Reform adopts the following ordinances concerning weapons for colonies that, under the Constitution and Colonial Act form the Portuguese Colonial Empire, and together forming an integral part of this ordinance is signed by the Minister of the Colonies according to Act No. 16 of the Government Council.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 46 of November 23, 1935: Ordinance No. 1:862-Approves the Institution of Association for Assistance and Protection of "Indigenous children" (IACI); extinguishing the League of Protection for "Children of Angola," stipulating that the assets of the League and the milk dispensary and maternity ward of Benguela constitute property of the ninth institution.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 47 of November 30, 1935: Ordinance No. 1:874-Approves and sets the collection of indigenous taxes as a stimulus for work habits, allowing blacks opportunities for successive improvement regarding the quality of production and providing consequentially a growing likelihood for better living conditions.

**1936** (Location: 5353-7/2, p.1-646)

Legal Diary: First Series First Series No. 19 of May 9, 1936 General Government of Angola  
Legislative Decree No. 802-Opens the way for Finance and Accounting Services to apply three special credits intended to defray the costs related to laboratory work and classroom functions for secondary private school students at the Central Liceu of Salvador Correia.

Legal Diary: First Series First Series No. 21 of May 23, 1936 Minister of Instructions Publications  
Directorate for Secondary Education Services, Section 1: Decree No. 22:347- Regulates secondary school education publications.

Legal Diary: First Series First Series No. 29 of July 18, 1936 Ministry of National Education: Law Decree No. 26:594- Regulates the provisions for entrance exams within the framework of instruction reform according to a survey of aptitude tests for the enrollees at the Universities of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Porto.

Legal Diary: First Series Second Series No. 31 of August 1, 1936: Ordinance No. 2:061-Considering the utility of the institution and the National boarding School of Diogo Cão in the Sa da Bandeira, Province of Huila.

Ordinance No. 2:143-Supports the installation of a telephone free of charge at the boarding annex of Diogo Cão Liceu in Sa da Bandeira.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 17, 1936: Legislative Diploma No. 830-Opens a path for Finance and Accounting Services to offer a special credit for payment of teachers' salaries at the Interim Central High Schools of Salvador Correia and National Diogo Cao School, relating to the months of July and September 1936.

Order: Authorizing the Dean of the Central Liceu of Salvador Correia in Luanda to acquire for the colony didactic materials for equipping their offices and laboratories.

No. 34 of August 22, 1936: Ordinance No. 2:077-Adopts the published model for “Honorable Mentions” at the Central Liceu Salvador Correia in Luanda.

Legislative Decree No. 838-Authorizes the Colony to participate in the September 1936 Johannesburg Pan-African Conference.

Decree No. 27:084 of October 14, 1936-Promulgates a defense for the teaching known as “Reform Carneiro Pacheco.”

Legal Diary: First Series No. 42 of October 17, 1936: Decree No. 27:003-Makes mandatory declaration of loyalty to be integrated into the social order established by the Political Constitution of 1933 for the sake of repudiating communism and related subversive ideas in regard to admission to competitions, appointments, wages, and other circumstances.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of October 31, 1936: Ordinance No. 8:530-Mandates throughout the colonial empire the proclamation of Decree No. 27:003.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 45 of November 7, 1936: Ordinance No. 8:535- Mandates standards be published throughout the colony for the collection of diplomas for the sake of having legal references concerning academic disciplines and establishes several applicable rules.

Legal Diary: First Series 2nd Supplement No. 52 of December 31, 1936, it sets alterations “table of revenue” for 1937.

### **1937**

Decree No. 27:882 of July 21, 1937 referenced the Publication of Elias Alexandre da Silva Correia’s The History of Angola/Lisbon, General Agency of the Colonies.

Law No. 1:961, 1937 (Recruitment Law and Military Service). Legal provisions which govern the situation of Catholic priests including exemptions from military service for individuals who are part of the formation of missionary organizations and auxiliaries are published.

### **1938**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 1 of January 7, 1938: Carta Orgânica of the Colonial Empire  
Ordinance No. 2:908- Distributes funds for the various provinces according to the overall budget of the colony for 1930 which assigned amounts of money for school districts, primary schools, elementary professional arts and crafts schools, professional elementary agricultural schools, as well as livestock, gardens and museums for which instruction was made available and assistance was established in the form of subsidies and charitable gifts.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 8 of February 26, 1938, Legislative Diploma No. 1:067- Fixes tuition and examination fees for secondary education as well as for the practical work for the academic year 1939-40 and establishes who shall preside over the collection of said fees.

Legislative Diploma No. 1:069- Sets aside the constitutionally required revenues for the “Helping Fund for Elementary Education,” and designates the purposes for which said funds may be used, laying down rules to be enforced for every applicant.

Legislative Diploma No. 1:070- Promulgates regulatory dispositions of tender for the provision housing of places for teachers of primary education as per appointment and placement provided for the official schools of the colony.

Legislative Diploma No. 2:938-In the year 1939-40, Makes exceptional allowance for repetition of the fourth primary grade, providing the student is of legal age, even if they have not passed the diploma examination for the primary education level.

Decree No. 29:453-Established the Administration Directorate General for the Organization of Political and Civil-Portuguese Youth (MP) of the colonies, according to the orientation and the principles that inform youth in the Portuguese metropolis.

### **1939**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 25 of June 24, 1939 Uniform Script and Ordinance No. 3:014- Inaugurates as agreed the “African Telecommunication Union” and associated telephonic regulations.

Legal Diary: First Series - 2nd Supplement to No. 25 of June 30, 1939: Ordinance No. 3:022-Reinforces the general budget of the colony for the economic year 1938. Assigned to General Charge, a special fund for the construction of the Liceu Salvador Correia.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 31 of August 5, 1939: Ordinance No. 3:069-Approves and puts into effect Regulations for the Medical Library of the Colony of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 34 of August 28, 1939: Ordinance No. 20- Regulates the operation of the Agro-Livestock School established via Article 101 of Decree No. 29:244, December 8, 1938.

Ordinance No. 21- Creates a school of arts and crafts in Huila Province.

Ordinance No. 22-Permanently institutes two scholarships for poor students in their seventh year of study who wish to pursue high school courses in the colony.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 35 of September 2, 1939 Ministry of National Education  
Decree No. 25:461-Keeps record of high school admissions following standards approved by the ministerial order and mandated to secondary school principals.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 9, 1939: Legislative Diploma No. 1:114- Combines the “Teaching Assistant Primary Fund” with the “Library Fund for Education” plus the “Assistance Fun for Holiday Courses” into a single fund to be called the “Auxiliary Fund for Primary Education,” setting target amounts for giving and standards for its administration.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 37 of September 16, 1939: Diploma Legislative No. 1:120-Opens as special credit for funds to reinforce the overall budget of the colony for the economic year 1939 “and intended” for organizing and installing a Museum of History in Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 4, 1939: Legislative Diploma No. 1:126-Opens a special credit to reinforce the general budget of the colony for the economic year 1939 “and intended” for the construction of Liceu Salvador Correia.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 44 of November 9, 1939  
Ordinance no. 3:130-Regulates the elementary and general primary education in the colony.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 49 of December 9, 1939

Ordinance No. 3:174-Reinforces funds beyond the overall budget of the colony for the economic year 1939, to be assigned to the Dean of the National Liceu Salvador Correia, for the acquisition of furniture.

Legal Diary: First Series 3rd Supplement No. 52 of December 30, 1939

Ordinance No. 3:228-Reinforces funds beyond the overall budget of the colony for the economic year 1939 to be assigned to the National Liceu Salvador Correia. Expenses for the Portuguese Catholic missions.

#### **1940**

First Series No. 40 of October 9, 1940, Order No. 3:503-Improves efficiency of Quela-Camaxilo phone line in the Catholic Mission of Bangalas, Bondo and Bangala Districts, Malanje Province.

Daily No. 45 of November 13, 1940: Ordinance No. 3:540- Extends indigenous census deadline to November 30, 1940 as per Ordinance Article 370-3:332.

Daily No. 49 of December 11, 1940: Ordinance No. 3:578 -Approves a Board of Regulators for the National Lyceum “Diogo Cao,” Huila.

#### **1941** (Location: 7396-7/3 p.1-538)

First Series No. 5 of January 19, 1941: Legislative Diploma No. 1:223-Approves and enforces the regulation of the School Colonial Nursing .

Legal Diary: First Series No. 10 March 5, 1941: Ordinance No.3:659-Grants the Portuguese Catholic Missions of Angola exemption of duties and taxes.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 11 of March 12, 1941: Ordinance No. 3:663-Exempts from duties and taxes IS No. 18, April 30, 1941: Ordinance No.3:697 ISN 21 May 21, 1941: Ordinance No. 3:713.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 19 of May 7, 1941: Ordinance No. 3:700-Creates a military nursing school in Luanda and determines the functions and purposes for which it is intended.

Legal Diary: First Series 2nd Supplement No. 26 of June 30, 1941: Legislative Diploma No. 1:251-Opens a special credit for the economic year 1940/41 recording the furnishing of offices and laboratories at Liceu National Diogo Cão.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 3, 1941: Legislative Diploma No. 1:258-Opens special credit for military expenses in the region of Mucubals.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of September 24, 1941: Legislative Diploma No 1:267-Approves credit for acquiring property for the future Agro-Livestock School of Dr. Francisco José Viera Machado, IS N 49 for December 30, 1942 as per Ordinance No. 4:255.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 53 of December 31, 1941: Ordinance No. 3: 883-Creates “Identity Card Services.”

Ordinance No. 4:074 (IS N 32 of August 19, 1942: New Model and duplicate Images p. 626)

Ordinance No. 3:885-Adds a new number to the former Ordinance No. 2: 873 of December 31, 1938, for admission to high schools in New Lisbon.

#### **1942** (Location: p. 1-1357)

Legal Diary: First Series First Series No. 8 of February 25, 1942: Ordinance No. 3:927-Approves and incorporates regulations for indigenous passbook requirements throughout the colony.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of April 1, 1942: Legislative Diploma No. 1:267-Establishes a new division of the academic year in colonial high schools.

Legal Diary: First Series 2nd Supplement No. 45 of December 7, 1942: Legislative Decree No. 21- Creates a qualification course for entrance exams for the boarding school National Liceu of Diogo Cão.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of April 1, 1942: Ordinances Nos. 4:247 and 4:249- Increase the budget for public service instruction.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 41 of October 28, 1942: Legislative Diploma No. 1: 348 (Corrected)- Establishes the conditions under which indigenous rubber from Angola can be traded in Europe.

Ordinance No. 4:160-Authorizes Dr. Viera Machado, Director of the Agro-Livestock School of Chivinguiro (Humpata) to use the national official telegraph service and designs an abbreviated telegraphic address for his personal use.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 47 of December 16, 1942 General Government of Angola  
Legislative Diploma No. 1:371-Rewords Article 33 concerning regulation of nursing schools and is approved by Legislative Diploma No. 1:223 of January 29.

**1943** (Location: 8496-7/3 p. 3-806).

Decree No. 32:1943-BO n. 20 Expansion of Private Education repeals

Legislative Diploma No. 1:230 1941 and suspends until new regulations can be implemented after Legislative Diploma No. 525, 1933, via Diploma Legislation 1:400 of January 6, 1943.

Order Mandatory small pox vaccination certification prior to enrollment in any school public or private at any age, at any level.

Ordinance No. 4:378 of May 26, 1943 School of Military Chart, fixed dates and numbers of young men at school in the academic year of 1943, increasing exposure to official courses related to weaponry and infantry.

Superior Colonial Course-Determined that while not regulated, proof of early starts by students shall be ignored for the purpose of increasing the numbers to receive a diploma from the colonial university; Port. N. Min. 10:306, referring to Primary Schools- Colonial Schools for the 1943-44 academic year, adopt the textbooks "Arithmetic and "Geometry of Bernardino" by Fonseca Lage.-Decl. of March 31, 1943. Official Bulletin (O. B), 2nd Series, No. 13.

Exams were approved and published for obtaining nursing diplomas, as well as physical therapy, and professional certificates of dentistry and midwifery. Port. No. 4:590, November 29, 1943. O. B. No. 47.

High Schools (Liceus) expanded the age limits for registration. Decree No.32:732 of April 3, 1943. O.B. No. 20.

Port. No.4:494 of September 8, 1943. O. B. No.36: Grants permanent funding to Liceu Salvador Correia.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 22 of June 2, 1943: Legislative Diploma No.1:449-Grants an additional scholarship to the Liceu Salvador Correia of Luanda along with one already established via Ministerial Decree No. 22 of August 28, 1939.



## 1944

Legal Diary: First Series No. 15 of April 12, 1944: Ordinance No. 4:706-Authorizes a 75% of travel, enrollment, bonus, discount for official and vocational school students who travel to the Maritime Colonies as exchange students and who return to the same colonies.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 23, 1944: Ministry of National Education; Law No. 1:969, Define the Bases of Primary Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 28, 1944: Ministry of National Education  
Law no. 1"969-Promulgates the basis of the reform of primary education.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 34 of August 31, 1944: Office of the Ministry of Colonies:  
Decree No. 33:727-Approves legislation granting land in the continental colonies of Africa to the state.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 35 of September 9, 1944: Ministry of Colonies. Telegram  
exonerating and appointing government officials.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 38 of September 27, 1944: General Government of Angola  
Ordinance No. 4:889-Creates Assistance Center for Service to Pregnant Women and Indigenous Children  
with Dona Maria do Carmo Viera Machado, Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 8, 1944: Ministry of Colonies:  
Ordinance No. 10:729-Orders published in the Government Gazzete and circulated in the official bulletin  
of all colonial schools a pedagogical section noting the general path for secondary education.

Second Series No. 270 of November 19, 1944 Ministry of National Education  
Order No. 10: 729- The Organic Charter of the Colonial Portuguese Empire took issue with the  
application of the doctrine circulated in the pedagogical section concerning the general path secondary  
education as published in the Government Gazette No. 270.

Decree No. 32:234-Integrates all school associations, excursions, philanthropic endeavors, etc. existing in  
high schools, technical schools, agricultural schools, regents and private schools with all corresponding  
rights and obligations.

Circular No. 778 define the role and responsibilities of the rectors of high schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 48 of December 27, 1944: Legislative Diploma No. 1:594- Ads a paragraph  
to Article 6 of Legislative Diploma No. 1:070 dated 25 February, 1939, relating to age limitations for  
primary school teachers in the colonies and refers to the graduation and qualifying classifications of  
teachers.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 49 of December 13, 1944: Order No:10:767-Executes Decree No. 34:053 in  
the colonies of Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, and State of India Macau for the remodeling of the  
current system of secondary school examinations and admissions to high schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of December 27, 1944 Ministry of Colonies:  
Order No. 10:778-Sets into motion Ordinance No. 8:954 (operations for regimented study rooms with  
optional courses in disciplines outside of the third cycle).

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 51 of December 29, 1944: Order No. 5:036-Strengthens a grant  
from the general budget for the colony for economic autonomy 1944 consigned to "the Dean of the

National Liceu Salvador Correia. Ministry of Colonies: Promotion of Colonial General Directorate.

### **1945**

Ordinance No. 11:212- Mandates in all colonies Decree No. 35:228 approving the agreement of August 10, 1945 of the Inter-Academic Conference for a Lisbon orthographic unit of the Portuguese language developed in harmony with the Luso-Brazilian Convention of December 29, 1943.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of March 28, 1945 fixed the budget of Agricultural School Dr. Francisco Viera Machado for the academic year 1945, totaling \$362,000,00 signed by the director Alberto Ferreira da Silva.

Ministry of National Education: Decree No. 35, 228: approve the accord of August 10, 1945 related to the Orthograph Conference of Lisbon.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 35 of August 28, 1945: Dispatch: determined the increase of wages of natives who worked with the Portuguese government.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 42 of October, 1945 Ministry Overseas: Ordinance No. 16: designed the way of function of the official commercial course; Ordinance No. 22, Duty free school supplies intended for Lieu Diogo Cão in Sá da Bandeira, Province of Huila.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 43 of October, 1945 Ministry of Education: Ministerial dispatch articulates the regulation for the enrollment of ancient Seminarists in the Liceu (high education); General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 288 created in Nova Lisboa the district county of Huambo.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 50 of December, 1945: General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 1:723, November 28, of 1945, created the place of private educational inspector.

### **1946** (Location: 9:515 – 7/3, p. 1-967)

Legal Diary: First Series No.1 January 2, 1946: General Government of Angola, Ministry of Education Decree No. 35:228—Approved agreement published and attached.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4 of January 28, 1946: Legislative Diplom No. 1:745 designates the way it should be provided the inspector of the place of private schools set up by the legislative Decree No. 1: 723 November 1945.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 7 of February 28, 1946: Ministry Overseas, Ordinance No. 11:212, cause to be performed in all the colonies Decree No. 35: 228, approving the agreement of August 10, 1945 resulting from Lisboa International Conference working for a orthographic unit of Portuguese Language, whose instruments were drawn up in line with the convention Luso-Brazilian of December 29, 1943.

Ministry of National Education: Decree No. 35:228, approve the accord of August 10, 1945 related to the Orthograph Conference of Lisbon.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 9 of March 13, 1946: Diploma Legislative No. 1:755- Adds paragraph 1923, approving the general rules of school workshops in the colony.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 11 of March 27, 1946: Ordinance No. 5:488-Fixes the number of primary teachers from the total possible as created by Decree No. 34:455 of March 16, 1945 and regulates provisions for corresponding schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 34 of September 11, 1946 General Government of Angola

Diploma Legislative No. 1:816- Provides special credit for National Liceu Diogo Cão's boarding operation concerning tuition for five students.

Legal Diary: First Series No 38 of October 9, 1946 General Teaching Direction: Decree No. 35:853-Fixes subsidy for study in the metropolis for legally eligible children according to Decree No. 17 of October 23, 1946.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 38 of October 9, 1946 Ministry of National Education: Decree No. 35:704- Provides new wording to Articles 20, 21 and 82 of Decree No. 34:646, which regulates the legal disposition concerning admission exams to high schools and secondary schools.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 47 of December 13, 1946: General Teaching Direction Decree No. 35:885-1946- Rearranges the colonial school.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 49 of December 31, 1946: Statutory Instrument No. 1:871 general budget of the colony for public instruction in the economic year 1947.

**1947** (Location: 9536- pp. 2-1003)

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 3 of January 17 1947: Ordinance No. 5:823- Classifies into three groups the colonial roads of Angola, defining their characteristics.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 12 of March 19, 1947: Ordinance No. 5:874-Approves regulation for the penal colony of the Damba-Malange Agricultural Indigenous School (as created by Statutory Instrument) No. 1:842 of November 13, 1946, Biographical Bulletin of Detainees.

Decree No. 15:491 of July 12, 1947-Direction of Public Instruction.

Decree No. 20:065 of July 12, 1947-Defense of the poorest and the best students granting scholarships.

Ordinance No. 11:811 of July 12, 1947-Regulated an increase in National Liceu Diogo Cão classrooms.

Ordinance No. 11:802 of July 12, 1947-Published the changes of the Organic Charter of South African History. Organic Letter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire Fund assistance to indigenous population

Legal Diary: First Series No. 22 of June 4, 1947: Ordinance No. 11:745-Presents opinion of the Permanent Council of Educational Programs as approved by the Secretary of State for National Education.

Diary 2nd Supplement No. 25 of June 30, 1947: Legislative Diploma No. 1:920-Reinforces budget intended for equipping the offices and laboratories of the National High Schools Salvador Correia and Diogo Cao.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 26 of July 2, 1947: Ordinance No. 5: 957-Increases the state's reserve created to cover Ordinance No. 5:062 of January 24, 1945, for the installation of the Greater Seminary School for Missionaries, thirty-seven blocks away from the Diocese of New Lisbon.

Legal Diary: First Series Supplement No. 27 of July 12, 1947 Ministry of Public Instruction Decree No. 15:941 (Articles 2 and 6)-Promulgate various dispositions on exemption from fees for popular high school courses.

Decree No. 20: 06:- Regulates the granting of exemptions from tuition and scholarships.

Ministry of Colonies: General Directorate of Administrative and Civil Policy.

Order No. 11:802- shall publish again resultant alterations of Law No. 2:016, in the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

**1948** (Location: 10,192-1-1156 7/4)

Diary 2nd Supplement No. 9 of March 6, 1948: Order No. 12:238: Reports the status of secondary education in the colonies.

Ministry of Education-General Directorate of Secondary Education, Decree No. 36:508-Approves the status of secondary education.

Central Government of Angola: Order No. 6:245-Determines the beginning of the high school year.

Decree No. 6:246-Approves the tuition for boarding student enrollment and Order No. 6:248-Fixes exam admission and tuition fees in high schools of the colonies.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 10 of March 10, 1948: General Government of Angola.

Order: Name change from Industrial Customs School of Luanda to Industrial School of Luanda, along with forming a new board to which all security issues are to be entrusted.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 16 of April 21, 1948: Ministry of Colonies: Ordinance No. 12:238-Mandates the status of secondary education in the colonies to be ratified by County Presidential Declaration.

General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 6:245-Establishes the starting dates of the school year in the colonies.

Ordinance No. 6:246-Approves enrollment tuition for domestic students as well as internal exam fees and external students.

Ordinance No. 6:247-Fixes the tuition for students of Agro-Livestock School of Dr. Francisco Viera Machado.

Ordinance No. 6:248-Adapts several articles of Decree No. 36:508 of September 17, 1947 to the colonies, approving the Statute of General Education.

**1949**

Diploma Legislative no 2:163 of September 7, 1949: Creates Education Fund of Angola.

**1950** (Location: 10198 7/4 p. 1-1375)

Legal Diary: First Series No. 6 of February 6, 1950 General Government of Angola

Order No 7:079- Approves and enacts Regulations of Rudimentary Education and the Teaching Profession, with associated programs.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 17 of May 4, 1950: Order No. 13:126-Applicable to the State of India and Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Macau, and Timor, Ordinance No. 37:798 restores with reference to the 2nd cycle of secondary education, a system of examinations by sections or groups of disciplines.

Decree No. 13:117-Adopts the model of internal and external students.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 26 of July 12, 1950 General Government of Angola  
Order No. 7:165- Establishes registration techniques for the census of the civilized and the not civilized populations.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 27 of September 27, 1950 Ministry of National Education  
Decree No. 37:892 -Introduces alterations in the status of secondary education approved by Decree No. 36:508.

Decree No. 37:944-Introduces alterations in Article 16 of Decree No. 36:507 that adopt the reform of secondary education.

### **1951**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 9 of March 7, 1951 Ministry of Colonies: Decree No. 13:450- Permits the appointment of another priest to act as professor of religious education and moral discipline as necessary.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 22 of March 6, 1951: Order No. 7:486-Sets the limits of the areas of influence for the purpose of enrollment in the various schools of the colony.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 25 of June 27, 1951 Presidency of the Republic  
Decree No. 2:048- Introduces alterations in the constitution policy of the Portuguese Republic.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 41 of October 17, 1951: Order No. 7:486-Grants secondary education, technical and university students permission to pursue courses in the metropolis and, to those whose parents usually reside in Angola or Mozambique, a rebate of 50% for economy class airline tickets on DTA: Division of Air Transport.

### **1952** (Location: 10633 /7/4 p. 1-1236)

Order No. 7:784-Opens under the Sá da Bandeira City the Institute for the Training and Education of Unprotected Girls: "The Huila Girls Home."

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of Martha 26, 1952 Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 38:678-Repeals Article 28 of Decree No. 39:945, substituting advice relating to teaching service of the overseas high schools

Government of Angola: Order No. 7:809-Arranges settlements into commercial settlements of Capunda-Cavilongo with an administrative post in Congalongue responsible for Ongueri, Hamutenha, Tongomenha, and Corimbua, including Job Jau, and all the municipality of Chibia in the District o Huila.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 17 of April 24, 1952: Presidency of the Republic  
Law No. 2:025-Promulgates education reform in the respective programs of the technical/professional curricula.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 47 of November 19, 1952: Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 38:812-Introduces alterations in the status of secondary education, approved by Decree No. 36:508

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of December 17, 1952: Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 39:024-Frees prospective teachers for industrial overseas school in Angola and Mozambique from formalities, including possession, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 7 of Decree No. 38:679 and Article 7 of Decree No.38: 972.

**1953** (Location: 10708 /7/4, p. 1-997)

General Government of Angola: Order No. 14: 292-Amends the Statute of Secondary Education for the purpose of overseas applications.

**1954** (Location: 11,108 /7/4 (1-1229)

Legal Diary: First Series No. 9 of March 8, 1954: Order No. 8:510-Approves the regulation of the Central Library of Education, attached to Public Education Services.

Legislative Diploma No. 2:526-Rearranges the Institute of Social Assistance (IASA).

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of March 31, 1954 Ministry of Education: Decree No. 37:675-Approves regulations for the National Portuguese Youth Organization.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 15 of April 14, 1954 Presidency of the Council: Decree No. 39:580-Creates the Nuclear Energy Board and the Commission of Nuclear Energy Study and defines its powers.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 20 of May 19, 1954 General Teaching Path: Order No. 14:868-Regulates work hours of teachers.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 41 of October 18, 1954: Charter promulgated by Decree No. 22:228 of November 15, 1933, incorporating all provisions related to the Administrative Division of the Colonial Empire: governments, councils, administrative principles, administrative services of the colonies, and indigenous issues.

Ministry of Education: Decree No. 39: 824-Creates a girls high school in Luanda with provisions for basic educational needs, plus religious and moral training.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 43 of October 27, 1954: Overseas Ministry and National Education Decree No. 39:837-Inserts provisions relating to Portuguese youth activity overseas.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 48 of October 27, 1954: Changes title of girls high school, Decree No. 39:824, to "Liceu D. Guiomar of Lancaster" via Ordinance No. 15:449, First Series No. 28, of July 13, 1954.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of December 27, 1954: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 15:108-Sends to all provinces rules contained in Decree No. 39: 807, approving the program disciplines for secondary education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 52 of December 29, 1954: Legislative Diploma No. 2:620-Inaugurates a system for re-routing high school teachers of religion and moral discipline to professional, industrial, commercial schools.

**1955** (Location: 11,867 /7/4, (1-1139)

Legal Diary: First Series No. 12 of March 23, 1955: Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 40:078-Creates and situates in Luanda, Angola, and Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, Institutes of Scientific and Medical Research.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 14 of April 6, 1955: General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 2:643-Creates the "Colonato of Chicomba" aimed at situating Portuguese families.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of May 4, 1955: Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 40:131-Authorizes the Overseas province of Angola to contribute to the construction and equipping of a Colonization Museum.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 19 of May 11, 1955: Ministry of Education: Ordinance No. 15:192- Introduces changes in course taught in technical/vocational schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 21 of May 25, 1955: Directorate of General Education: Ordinance No. 15:374-Creates the educational discipline of Elements of Tax Law and Tariff Techniques.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 27 of July 6, 1955: Presidency of the Council: Office of the Minister of Defense: Order No. 15:406-Concerns the insignia of the Commander in Chief of the Overseas Provinces.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 29 of July 20, 1955: Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 49:225-Enacts the Statute of the Province of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 30 of July 27, 1955: Overseas Ministry and National Education Decree No. 39:916- Establishes a new admissions scheme for courses at the Institute of Overseas Studies.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 17, 1955: General Government of Angola Ordinance No. 9:048-Creates new villages, the “Colonato European Cela.”

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 2, 1955: National Education Ministry Ordinance No. 15:546- Establishes programs in arithmetic and geometry to improve teaching in general commerce courses.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 45 of November 9, 1955: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 15:568-Determines the cartography and geography to be taught at the Colonial Studies Center, created by Ordinance No. 11:462, which went on to be named the Overseas Geography Center.

**1957** (Location: 12,400-7/5 pp. 1-1040)

Legal Diary: First Series No. 1 of January 2, 1957: General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 2:2799-Approves the Regulation of Indigenous Districts.

Legislative Diploma No. 2:797-Regulates various provisions of the Indigenous Labor Code.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of January 21, 1957: Ordinance No. 9:656-Creates several primary schools in the area of Benguela and new Lisbon.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 8 of February 20, 1957: Ordinance No. 16:157-Creates and sets goals for The Board of Geographical Missions and Overseas Investigation for the Overseas Scientific Documentation Center.

Ordinance No. 16:158-Creates Community Study Groups for missions in Africa to look at their constitution and competency.

Ordinance No. 16:160-Creates a study to look at the attraction of large cities and rural well-being for the Portuguese overseas, establishing a constitution and competency guide.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 8 of February 21, 1957: Ministry of Education; Ordinance No. 14:524- Approves technical programs for agricultural education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of March 27, 1957: Ministry of Overseas Territories: Decree No. 41:029- Approves the regulations for Scientific Research Institutes of Angola and Mozambique.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 14 of April 3, 1957: General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 2:818-Creates the Congo Museum.

Legislative Diploma No. 2:748-Creates various primary schools in the District of Congo Luanda, Malange, Benguela, Huambo, Huila, and Mocamedes.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 31 of July 31, 1957: Legislative Diploma No. 2:840-Establishes the rules and regulations for Practical Agricultural Schools.

### **1958**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4 of January 22, 1958: Legislative Diploma No. 4 of January 22, 1958 The town of Negage is reclassified as a city in the District of Congo.

Decree No. 41:686-Creates various professional-technical schools in the Maritime Provinces.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4 of January 22, 1958: General Government of Angola Order No. 10:340-Creates new elementary schools in Vila Guilherme Capelo, Conda, Cambambe, and Castanheira de Pera, closing their former locations.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of October 29 1958: General Government of Angola Order: Establishes principles for the functioning of study halls in high schools.

### **1959**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 2 of January 14, 1959: Resolution of the Council of Ministers to adopt as the official version of the national anthem the one established for the Portuguese and named by the commission on March 27, 1956.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 19, 1959: Ordinance No. 10:894-Creates a primary school in the village of Quiculungo.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 9, 1959: Order: Establishes the Industrial and Commercial school "Artur de Paiva" by Sá de Bandeira, with masters course in civil construction, public works surveyor-assistant, and position of foreman.

Decree No. 42:511-Creates Senior Overseas Study Course, Higher Institute of Overseas Studies Chair Expansion of the Portuguese World Culture, which in two years will be integrated into the fifth year.

Overseas Ministry and National Education: Ordinance No. 17:356-Approves the statutes of The Luanda Music Academy and establishes the official terms and qualifications for all the Portuguese Territories.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 4, 1959: Ordinance No. 10:994-Creates School No. 142 in Vila Vicosá, Kwanza-Sul District.

### **1960**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 27 of July 6, 1960: Order No. 11:286-Closes several school posts in Huila District and creates primary schools 153,154,155 and 158, all of Huila District, in their place.



Legal Diary: First Series No.34 of August 24, 1960: Ministry of General Education-Directorate of Primary Schools: Decree No. 42:994-Advanced payment for primary education programs currently in place for the first three classes and the fourth was approved respectively by Decree No. 27:603 of March 29, 1937, and Decree No. 16:730 of April 13, 1929 extending to the fourth class exams to cover Portuguese, Arithmetic, Geometry, and basic Geo-scientific terms.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of September 29, 1960: Activities of Physical Education in Primary Schools approved by Order No. 10:893 of August 19, 1959.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 34 of August 24, 1960: Ministry of Education: Decree No. 11:413-Approves the status of the feminine section of the National Portuguese Youth Organization (MPF) revoking Decree No.28:262 (pp1354-1356) Article 10 which sets fourth stages: Portuguese males 7-10 years, youth, 10-14 years, vanguards 14-17 years.

## **1961**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of January 18, 1961: General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 11:511-Creates primary schools 165 & 166 in Quicombo District of Conde Kwanza Sul.

Army Ministry: Decree No. 43:351-Determines the territorial organization of the army in four military regions.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 6 of February 8, 1961: General Government of Angola Ordinance No. 11:543-Extinguishes replaces the school at Alto Catumbela with Primary School No. 168.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 8 of February 22, 1961: General Government of Angola Ordinance No. 11:568-Updates the models of books and maps (mostly for the sake of bookkeeping and statistics) earlier approved by Decree No. 3130 of November 4, 1939, which categorized by sex and race: white, black, and mixed.

Legal Diary: First Series No, 10 of March 8, 1961: General Government of Angola: Ordinances 11:597 and 11:600-Increased the number of students in the districts of Hambo and Congo (p. 196-197).

Legal Diary: First Series No. 20 of May 8, 1961: General Government of Angola: Order No.11:112 of January 31, 1960: Series 1 in 2: Manual of Pedagogical Etiquette preparation course for sports coaches. "School Sports, Overall Ratings."

Legal Diary: First Series No. 24 of June 14, 1961: General Government of Angola: Order No. 11:696-Closes Kwanza-Sul District Catofe School and creates Primary School No. 169 in the same locality.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 25 of June 21, 1961: Presidency of the Council Disclosure: Rectifies Decree No. 43:688 concerning special docents services for overseas students in regard to syllabi aimed at individuals who by virtue of occupation are unable to attain normal attendance.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 43:641-Rewords Article 192 of Decree 37:029, which promulgates the Statute of Professional Commercial and Industrial Education.

Ordinance No. 18:565-Grants ten scholarships by the Overseas Ministry of Education aimed at students from distant provinces who wish to pursue study at the Institute of Social Services, repealing Ordinance No. 17: 888.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 32 of August 9, 1961: Presidency of the Overseas Council: Decree No.

43:808: Regulates the establishment and operation of civil aircraft pilot schools in the overseas provinces.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 16, 1961: General Government of Angola: Ordinance No. 11:770-Approves the regime for competition for school 2nd class sub-inspectors of the Angola Province.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 35 of August 30, 1961: Overseas Ministry of National Education  
Decree No. 43:858- Integrates the Technical University of Lisbon and the Institute of Overseas Studies, which depends on the Ministry of National Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 6, 1961: Ministry of Education: Decree No. 42:583-Creates the Doctor of Philosophy Chair at the Industrial and Commercial Institutes, inserting provisions to mitigate difficulties between the institutes and the technical schools.

Decree No. 43:880- Inserts provisions for educational services in the overseas provinces. Ministry of Education:

Decree No. 38:031-Organizes the teaching of medium level technical branches of industrial and commercial schools.

Decree No. 38:032- Approves the regulations for the industrial institutes.

Decree No. 38:231-Enacts the Regulation of the commercial institutes.

Decree No. 38:899-Amends Decree No. 38:032-Approving the regulations of industrial institutes.

Decree No. 38:904- Alters Decree No. 38:231

Decree No.43:140-Introduces changes in regulations of mid-level agricultural, industrial, commercial teaching.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of September 27, 1961: Overseas Ministry and National Education  
Decree No. 43:913-Inserts provisions amending the regulatory standards of the teaching profession in overseas schools.

Decree No. 43.896 of September, 1961: Overseas Ministry, organizes the regedorias; Overseas agency.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of September 28, 1961: Overseas Ministry and National Education  
Decree No. 43:957-Enacts a reform of the study plan and the recruitment of teachers in the overseas schools.

General Government of Angola: Order No. 11902-Authorizes for the current academic year electrician and commerce courses.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 43 of October 28, 1961: 3rd Supplement Office of Overseas Minister  
Legislative Diploma No. 94-Integrates the Instruction Services of Kindergartens at Benguela and Sa da Bandeira.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 2, 1961: Office of Overseas Minister  
Legislative Diploma No. 78-Transfers the headquarters of the Medical Research Institute of Angola to New Lisbon.

Decree No. 44:016 of November 1961- Political integration and economic Development in Angola.

## **1962**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 7 of February 14, 1962: Ordinance No. 12:078-Creates Primary School No. 176 in the Canico Martins neighborhood of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4 of April 14, 1962: Ordinance No. 12:173-Regulates Practical Agricultural Schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No.15 of April 11, 1962: Overseas Ministry and National Education Order No. 19:091-Approves Social Services courses sociologists, elementary teachers, preschool, and family assistants as per Decree No. 44:159. Presidency of Council: Modifications of course in various technical education schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 16 of April 18, 1962: Decree No. 37:028-Changes name of Directorate-General for Education and Elementary Technical Media to General Directorate of Technical Vocational Education, with provisions.

Decree No. 32:243 regulates the functioning of primary schools.

Decree No. 43:369-Changes the study plan for primary school teachers, inserting alternatives for operation.

First Series No.16 of April 21, 1962: General Government of Angola  
Legislative Decree No. 3235-Organizes among research institutes and the Angola Engineering Laboratory, university research centers.

Ordinance No. 12:196: States that university level professional and training courses for teachers and technicians linked to construction, production, distribution, transportation, welfare, and sanitation be taught.

Ordinance No. 12:197-Situates specialized secondary teaching courses at the Scientific Research Institute.

Ordinance No. 12:198-Determines that centers for university studies for professional courses be annexed to the Angola Research Institute.

Ordinance No. 12:199-Determines that centers for university professional studies in the field of economics be annexed to the Angola Engineering Laboratory.

Ordinance No. 12:200-Determines that centers for university professional studies in the field of engineering to be annexed to the Angola Engineering Laboratory.

Ordinance No. 12:201-Determines that agrarian studies shall be included at the university study centers of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of May 2, 1962: Overseas Ministry: Ordinance No. 19:137-Creates a Board of Overseas Research to work with the Institute of Overseas Studies' Cultural Anthropological Studies Center.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 19 of May 11, 1962: General Government of Angola  
Diploma Legislative No. 3243- Determines that primary teaching schools created by Article 10 of Decree No. 44:240 of March 17 be localized in the cities of Malange and Silva Porto.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 28 of June 6, 1962: General Government of Angola  
Legislative Diploma No. 3252-Approves the regulation of parochial authorities and militias.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 28 of June 6, 1962: Overseas Ministry

Ordinance No. 19:210-Creates the Board of Overseas Research for collaborative operation with the Institute of Overseas Studies and the Anthropological Studies Center, which will replace the Overseas Ethnology Studies Center.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 28 of July 11, 1962: General Government of Angola  
Ordinance No. 12:295-Closes existing schools in Tchivinguio, Huila District, and Cacucaco District, Luanda and creates primary schools in the same locations.

Ordinance No. 12:296-Creates Primary School No. 183 in the Agricultural Settlement of Caconda, Huila District, for operation in the next academic year.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 42 of October 20, 1962: Overseas Ministry General Education Directorate:  
Decree No. 44:624-Locates elementary technical schools in Joao Belo, Tete, and Vila Cabral.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 3, 1962: Overseas and Education Ministries  
Decree No. 44:644-Activates constitutional rules for university general pedagogical studies.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 50 of December 17, 1962: Overseas Ministry  
Order No. 19:305-Activates a Civil Procedure Code as approved by Decree No. 44:129 to allow amendments to begin January 1, 1963.

### **1963**

Legal Diary: First Series of the Official Gazette of Angola,

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of January 19, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Order: Establishes rules in granting subsidies to private schools situated where there is no appropriate official educational institution.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 8 of February 23, 1963: Overseas Ministry  
Decree No. 44:881-Expands the contracts of primary teachers in the overseas province of Angola.

General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 3345-Creates night classes for third year high school students at the National Liceu Salvador Correia in Luanda.

Order No. 12:626-Establishes areas for pedagogical influence in secondary educational institutions in the province, repealing the second articles of Decree No. 10:493 of November 29, 1958.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 9 of March 2, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Order: Determines that title Institute of Education and Social Services Pius XII replace the title Institute of Education and Social Work.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 10 of March 9, 1963: Directorate of Educational Services  
Establishes rules for the provision of third year students passing to the fourth year.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of March 30, 1963: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 19:766-Creates the Board of Overseas Investigation to work with the Institute of Social Sciences and Overseas Policy of the Community Development Studies Center.

General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 3359-Requires legal investigation into any repeated action in service at the Lyceum Almirante Lopes Alves in Lobito by non-degree teachers there employed.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of May 4, 1963 Government General of Angola  
Order No. 12:728-Determines that from the first of academic year 1963/64, all classroom furnishings, including furniture, for teaching posts shall be the responsibility of the teachers.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 19 of May 11, 1963 General Government of Angola: Order-Determines that the Congregation of St. Joseph of Cluny Sisters shall operate the Female Institute of D. Fernanda Silva Carvalho share the use of the building located at Sa da Bandeira, Huila District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 24 of June 15, 1963: General Government of Angola; Legislative Diploma No. 3382-Creates a Sa da Bandeira establishment to administer professional technical training to disadvantaged boys.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 26 of June 29, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 12800-Authorizes courses related to mechanical maintenance, electricity, and aircraft to be taught at the Industrial School of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 31 of August 3, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 12:856-Creates a school garden in Novo Redondo City, Kwanza South District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 17, 1963: Overseas Ministry and National Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 33 of August 17, 1963: General Government of Angola; Legislative Diploma No. 3396-Transfers the primary teaching school in Malange created by Decree No. 44:240 of March 17, 1962 via Legislative Diploma No. 3243 to Luanda City School.

Decree No. 45:170-Rewording of Articles 2 and 3 of Ministerial Legislative Diploma No. 43 of May 11, 1962, published in Luanda on May 19, 1961, concerning orientation of nursery schools.

Decree No. 45:180-Inaugurates the operating regime of General University Studies of Angola and Mozambique.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 38 of September 21, 1963: Overseas Ministry: Decree No. 45:235-Inserts newly directed Article 4 of Decree No. 44:777 legislative provisions designed to meet the needs of various levels of education in Provinces of Angola and Mozambique.

Decree No. 45:240-Establishes a regime for the granting of scholarships and the caring for students from the Overseas Provinces.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 41 of October 12, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Legislative Diploma No. 3411-Creates level three at the National Adriano Moreira Liceu in Malanje in the academic year 1963-64.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 42 of October 19, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Diploma Legislation No. 3417-Sets fees for compulsory teacher education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 44 of November 2, 1963: Overseas Ministry and National Fine Arts Ed.  
Decree No. 45:322-Fixes conditions for enrollment of student volunteers from the Overseas Provinces for the Faculties of Letters and Law and the School of Social Sciences and Overseas Policy.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 47 of November 23, 1963: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 20:155-Applies

Article 219 of Decree No. 38:032 concerning Regulations for Industrial Institutes to the Overseas Provinces of Angola and Mozambique.

Ministry of National Education: Decree No. 38:032-Approves the regulation of industrial institutes.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 49 of December 7, 1963: Overseas Ministry and National Fine Arts Ed.

Order No. 20:027- Confirms the teaching, technical, and administrative staffs at the lesser general studies universities of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of December 21, 1963: General Government of Angola  
Ordinance No.13:049-Fixes time for night service classroom and practical application teaching.

## **1964**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 10 of March 7, 1964: Order No. 20:380-Sends orders to apply alterations regarding application for primary learning programs.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 15 of April 11, 1964: Directorate General of Education Order No. 20:473-Regulates scholarship grants to overseas students.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of May 2, 1964: Ministry of Overseas and National Education  
Directorate General of Higher Education and Fine Arts: Ordinance No. 20:524-Builds administrative offices of Dean, Department Heads, and Accounting Officers for the Universities of General Studies in Angola and Mozambique.

Order No. 20:528-The Community Center for Developmental Studies becomes The Study Center for Social Work and Community Development.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 27 of July 4, 1964: Ministry of Overseas Territories  
Decree No. 5769-Establishes the scholarship/grant loan scheme provided for in Article No. 9 of Decree No.45:240.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 32 of August 8, 1964: Overseas Ministry: Directorate General of Health and Overseas Assistance: Decree No. 45:818-Approves the General Regulations of the Technical Schools of Health and Overseas Assistance Services.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 40 of October 3, 1964: Overseas Ministry-Directorate General for Education: Decree No. 45:908-Enacts the Primary Education Reform for teaching in the Overseas Provinces.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 48 of November 28, 1964: Ministry of Education: Decree No. 36:508-Approves the Statute of Secondary Education.

Decree No. 38:0328-Approves the Regulations for the Agricultural High School.  
Scientific Research Institute of Angola sets Governor General Standards for publication of scientific papers.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of December 19, 1964: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 13:521-Determines within the General Statistical Services whose task it is to draw up notices to be included in the publication of said Statistics Education Services.

## **1965**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 1 of January 2, 1965: Ordinance No. 13:584-Approves the regulation of scholarships for technically trained therapists.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13 of March 27, 1965: Order No. 13:734-Establishes school funding budget of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 4, 1965: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 13:924-Closes several schools in Luanda and creates primary schools in their place. Replaces a primary school of Mulemba.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of September 25, 1965: Order No. 13:935-Creates Primary School No. 234 in Malanje next to the Regional Hospital and No. 235 in Ritondo.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 41 of October 9, 1965: Overseas Ministry and National Education  
Decree No. 48:550-Creates the General Studies Universities of Angola and Mozambique, preserving the adjunct faculty of the 8th and 11th professional/technical teaching groups.

Order No. 13:962-Creates school post Uhiuva, Capolo District, and the administrative posts of Amboiva, in the Kwanza-Sul District.

Order No. 13:935-Creates School posts Caio, Manenga, and Pangamong in Cabinda District.

Order No. 13:935-Creates the Quimbele Catholic Mission School Post and the Colonato Post of January 31st in Uige District.

Order No. 13:935-Creates the Cuque School Station in the area of the administrative Cangandala Station in Malanje District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 46 of November 13, 1965: Order No. 14:003: Creates the Quissole School Post in the administrative area of Ebo, Kwanza-Sul District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 48 of November 27, 1965: Order No. 14:015: Approves the General Regulations of the Angolan School Canteens.

## **1966**

Legal Diary: First Series of the Official Gazette of Angola,

Legal Diary: First Series No. 27 of July 2, 1966: Ministry of Overseas Territories-Directorate General of Education: Ordinance No. 22:0338-Investment incentive concerning Regulation of Industrial and Commercial Institutes in Angola and Mozambique.

Ministry of National Education: Decree No.38:032: Approves the Regulation of Industrial Institutes.  
Decree No. 38:231-Enacts the Regulation of Commercial Institutes.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 34 of August 20, 1966: Ordinance No. 22:174-Approves regulations on competition for inspectors and sub-inspectors of Overseas Province schools.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 36 of September 3, 1966: General Government of Angola  
Ordinance No. 14:509-Creates several schools in several locations in the Cabinda District.  
Ordinance No. 14:508-Creates the Quiage School Post on the advice of Bula Atumba, Kwanza Norte

District.

Ordinance No. 14:509-Creates several schools across the Huila District.

Ordinance No. 14:510-Creates Primary School No. 283 in a popular neighborhood near Catete Road and Primary School 284 in the neighborhood of Malange.

Ordinance No. 14:511-Creates additional school posts in the area of Malange.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 41 of October 8, 1966: Ministry of Education

Ordinance No. 14:599-Creates the Primary School No. 287 of Tengue, Kwanza-Norte District.

Ordinance No. 14:600-Creates Primary School No. 288 of Chitapua, area of Chicomaba Post, Caconda Municipality, Huila District.

Ordinance No. 14: 601-Creates Chimboa of Ganda, Ganda Municipality, and Benguela District.

Ordinance No. 14: 602-Creates additional school posts in the Benguela District.

Ordinance No. 14: 603-Ranks school directors in Cabinda District, in Maiombe.

Ordinance No. 14: 604-Creates a school on Azorean Farm in the municipality of Santa Comba, Kwanza-Norte District.

Ordinance No. 14: 605-Creates the Sanguengu School Post, Bela Vista Municipality/Huambo District.

Ordinance No. 14: 606-Creates the School Post Kussava, Bela Vista Municipality/Huambo District.

Ordinance No.14: 607-Creates the Sanguengue, IAVA Muicpality of Longonjo in Longonjo City, Huambo District.

Ordinance No.14: 608-Creates the Lutete School Post in Cacuso City/Malange District.

Ordinance No.14: 609-Creates the Camaxilo School Office in Lunda District.

Ordinance No 14: 610-Creates the Cainzure School Station in Malange District.

Ordinance No.14: 611-Creates the Cassinga School Station in Huila District.

Ordinance No.14: 612- Creates Quidulo School Post in Samba City in Kwanza-Norte District.

Ordinance No. 14: 614-Creates Cateco Cangola School Post in the Duque de Bragança municipality in Malange District.

Ordinance No 14: 615-Creates Cambuengue School Post in Mungo City/Huambo District.

Ordinance No. 14: 616-Creates Porto Quipiri School Post in Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 43 of October 22, 1966: Ministry of Overseas Territories: Ministry of Overseas and National Education: Order No.22:251-Applies Article 211 of Decree No. 38:032 and 38:231, approving Regulations of Commercial and Industrial Institutes in Angola and Mozambique.

Ministry of Education: Decree No. 38:032-Approves Regulation of Industrial Institutes; and Decree No. 38:231-Approves Regulation of Commercial Institutes.

## **1967**

Official orders service, referring changes to the school holiday arrangements, determining who would like: Christmas vacation: from December 19 to January 3 inclusive;-Carnival Holidays: from Saturday to Wednesday inclusive; -Easter Holidays: from 5 to March 31, inclusive; in years when Easter was not covered, would be holidays the last three days of Holy Week, from Thursday to Saturday.

## **1968**

Legal Diary: First Series of the Official Gazette of Angola 1968

First Series No. 166 of June 15, 1968: Ministry of Overseas and National Education

Decree No. 48:471-Institutionalizes Social Services at the University of General Studies of Angola and Mozambique.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 170 of July 19, 1968: General Government of Angola: Order No. 15:628-Determines that the New Lisbon National Lyceum be changed to the National Liceu Noton de Matos.



Order No, 15:629-Creates the Industrial School of Luanda with courses in radio technical assemblage and information technology, according to the programs officially approved by the Ministry of National Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 170 of July 27, 1968: Presidential Council: Declaration: Rectifies the text of the mathematics program for fifth grade and complimentary series for the sixth grade, as contained in Decree No. 22:966.

Overseas Ministry: Order No. 23:426- Extends to overseas provinces, subject to alterations, Decree No. 22:966.

Ministry of National Education: Order 15:966-Approves the experimental title of Complementary Primary Education Cycles.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 184 of August 5, 1968: General Government of Angola Order No. 15:659-Creates School posts in various locations in Cabinda District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 186 of August 7, 1968: General Government of Angola Order No. 15:663-Approves standards to be applied when driving motor vehicles in urban areas, near college where students reside.

General Government of Angola: Order No. 15:665: Approves and inaugurates the Regulation of Elementary Primary Education with an exclusive public declaration executed by the National Press of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 168 of August 7, 1968 School of General Government of Angola Order No. 15:667-Creates a primary school in the village of Ridge.

Official Bulletin No. 60, First Series of March 11, 1968: Approves the creation of the Medical Investigation Institute of Angola, subsequently amended by Ordinance No 15:539, published in the Official Gazette No. 112, First Series of May 10, 1968.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 198 of August 22, 1968.

## **1969**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 3 of January 3, 1969: Ministry of Overseas Education Decree No. 48:790-Determines that the University General Studies of Angola and Mozambique will hereafter respectively be called the University of Luanda and the University of Lourenco Marques.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4, January 6, 1969: General Government of Angola Order No. 15:943-Approves and initiates the School Budget Fund of Angola for the economic year 1969.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 13, January 16, 1969: Office of Overseas Ministry Ministerial Legislative Diploma No. 3-Opens high schools in the cities of Cabinda and Luso, a commercial/industrial school in the village of Santa Comba and secondary preparatory schools in Sao Salvador; Santo Antonio do Zaire in Ambrizete, Calulo, and Andulo.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 14 of January 17, 1969: General Government of Angola Order No. 15:953-Authorizes the construction of two mono block transformer stations for supplying power to the Elementary Technical School John Chrysostom in Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 19 of January 23, 1969: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 23:718-Guides the application of junior status in the overseas provinces, subject to amendments as approved by Decree No. 48:572.

Ministry of Education: Decree No. 48:572: Approves the Secondary Education Preparatory Statute Cycle.

Order No. 23:601-Approves programs of junior secondary school, established by Decree No. 47:480.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 25 of January 30, 1969: Establishes an exclusive and exceptional course to be taught in 1969 at the Auxiliary School of Livestock Technicians in New Lisbon to admit students with a minimum age of eighteen years.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 53 of March 4, 1969: Decree No. 48:879-Determines the degree of Bachelor in Medicine be awarded to those who have passed all medical-surgical course work at medical schools of Portuguese universities providing it be followed by a general first year internship, as per new wording in Article 7, No. 1 of Article 16 of the Order of Doctors Statute approved by Decree No. 40:651 and modified by Decree No. 48:587.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 62 of March 14, 1969: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 16:057-Approves the School Canteen Budget Fund for the economic year 1969.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 83 of April 8, 1969: Decree No. 48:947-Upgrades distribution of subsidies recorded in the Overseas Ministry Budget to include male and female missionary corporations.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 101 of April 20, 1969: Ordinance No. 16:147-Creates arts and crafts schools in the provincial districts.

Decree No. 49:417 of November 25, 1969: Restructures the existing Organic Livestock Development Fund in the provinces of Angola and Mozambique.

## **1970**

Legal Diary First Series No. 31 of January 2, 1970: General Government of Angola  
Legislative Diploma No. 3973-Approves and implements from January 1, 1970, the general budget of the Province of Angola ( University of Luanda, Education Services) for: a) the administration, inspection of schools, district offices and zones; b) male, female and mixed high schools; c) commercial and industrial institutes; d) technical and vocational schools; e) secondary preparatory cycles; f) agricultural education; g) education for primary teachers; h) school gardens; i) primary education; j) professional arts and crafts school districts, and for Primary Teacher Training School of Luanda; Primary Schools Numbers 1,137, 162, 181, 203, 297, 299, 300, and 301 of Uige; Nos. 3, 68, 78, 85, 107, 117, 131, 135, 136, 195, 219, 220, and 295 of Zaire; Nos. 2, 77, 116, 125, 270, 271 of Kwanza Sul; Schools within the District; Commercial Industrial School D. Antonio Barroso in Gabela; Industrial and Commercial School; Casco da Gama in Novo Redondo; Industrial and Commercial School of Santa Comba; School; Preparatory Course of Agostinho in Gabela; Sacadura Cabral Preparatory School (Novo Redondo); Preparatory School Silva Carvalho (Santa Comba); Preparatory School D. Moises de Pinho (Vila Nova do Seles); Preparatory School Augusto de Castilho (Porto Amboim); Preparatory School Pinheiro Chagas (Quibala); Prep School of Fernando Pimentel Junior (Calulo); Primary Schools No. 22, 27, 39, 58, 66, 75, 82, 101, 138, 142, 165, 166, 169, 178, 179, 243, and 287; Professional Arts and Crafts School (Novo Redondo).

Decree-Law No. 456 of October 2, 1970: It created a higher course of economics at the University of Luanda.

Luanda University directory: 1967-1968, published in 1970.

### **1971**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 2 of January 4, 1971: Ministry of Education

Legislative Decree No. 49:912-Defines the function of physical education material dependent on the Ministry of National Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 4 of January 6, 1971: General Government of Angola

Order-Establishes the minimum academic requirements for graduation of primary teachers.

General Government of Angola- Order No. 177:423-Creates several primary schools in Uige District.

Legislative Decree No. 11/70 of January 8, 1971: Creates in Angola and Mozambique the Provincial Secretariat of Labor, Social Security and Social Action, and the Provincial Secretariat of Communications as per rewording of Article 5 of Decree No. 58:955, which creates planning, economic integration, finance, and accounting branches.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 10 of January 13, 1971: Order No. 17: 434-Creates Arts and Crafts School in Cuchi (Infante Sagres) in Kuando Kubango District, assigning patrons.

University Legislation, 1930-1971, published in 1971.

Order No 17:435-Creates School of Arts and Crafts in Catumbela (Benguela District), assigning respective patrons.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 16 of January 20, 1971: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 3/71-Creates techniques for health service schools and assistance for overseas orthotics travel.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of January 22, 1971: General Government of Angola: Order-Creates a co-ed section in the National Liceu of Adriano Mareira, Malanje (Salazar) for the academic year 1970-71.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 22 of January 27, 1971: General Government of Angola: Order No. 17:462-Creates Primary Schools Nos. 369 and 370 in Sá da Bandeira, Huila District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 51 of March 2, 1971: Overseas Ministry of National Education

Legislative Decree No. 31/71-Determines that the services provided via the Board of Overseas Research by teachers' institutions in any degree or field of study be dependent on the Overseas Ministries or Ministry of Education or both.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 58 of March 8, 1971: Presidency of the Council Statement: Rectification of Decree No. 587/70, which defines rules for engineering courses at the Universities of Luanda and Lauro de Moura.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 85 of April 12, 1971: General Government of Angola: Order No. 17:647-Creates School Catequero Post in Cuamato County, Kunene District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 96 of April 24, 1971: General Government of Angola: Order No. 17:697-Distribution of school funds.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 97 of April 26, 1971: General Government of Angola: Order No. 17:682  
Distribution of Funds by District.

Decree No. 49, 912 of January 4, 1971: Defined the functions in physical education materials that  
composed individually empowering courses for teachers and the instructor perform

## **1972**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 108 of May 8, 1972: Ministry of National Education  
Legislative Decree No. 262/70- Approves Regulation for Final Examination of the Secondary Education  
Preparatory Cycle.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 113 of May 13, 1972: Overseas Ministry and National Education  
Legislative Decree No. 330/72-Plans for Hospitals of the Universities of Lourenco Marques and Luanda,  
including categories and remuneration.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 129 of June 2, 1972: Order No. 297/72- Advances construction permits for  
projects requiring more than one year. Carmona Intern Students, second phase (Block 2.4 e7/8).

Legal Diary: First Series No. 131 of June 5, 1972: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 374/72e2-Creates Kabbala and Cassanzo School Posts near Directors of Icolo and Bengo,  
Luanda District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 136 of June 12, 1972: Overseas Ministry and National Education  
Order No. 310/72-Approves Bachelor Degree Model for Arts and Sciences from the University of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series 149 of June 27, 1972: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 415/72-Determines driving permit requirements for tractors and admission for examination for  
individuals with minimum qualifications including three years of elementary school.

Order No. 416/72-Creates the Knights of Macedo School, Kwanza-Sul District.  
Order No. 417/72-Creates various school posts in Kwanza-Sul District.

General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 64/72-Creates Agricultural Industrial and  
Commercial School Silveiro Marques Section of Cabinda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 190 of August 14, 1972: Ministry of Overseas Territories  
Legislative Decree No. 272/72-Extends Nuclear Energy staff joining Overseas Provinces as per Decree  
No. 48:970, of July 17, 1972 concerning hire and pay.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 190 of August 14, 1972: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 526/72-Closes Chongoroi School and creates Primary School No. 400 in the same place,  
Benguela District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 192 of August 17, 1972: Overseas Ministry: Order No. 452/72-Extends  
Statutes for Professional Teaching in Industrial and Commercial Schools to the provinces as per Decree  
No. 37:029 of August 25, 1948.

Ministry of National Education: Decree No. 37:029 (Article 295)-Determines qualifications for masters of  
handicrafts, calligraphy, typing, and shorthand.

## **1973**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 80 of April 4, 1973: Order No. 229/73-Establishes sub-delegate competencies regarding directors of education services.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 92 of April 18, 1973: Order No. 269/73-Approves the Regulation of the School of Auxiliary Technicians of Mines and Geology.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 101 of April 30, 1973: Order No. 304-R/73: regulating the school of Auxiliary Technicians of Mines and Geology of Angola to support the mining and oil exploration sector and new joint Regulation of Surveying School, approved by Presidential Decree No. 218/72 of April 15, 1973.

General Government of Angola: Legislative Diploma No. 29/73-Approves Regulation of the Social Welfare Institute of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 116 May 17 of 1973: Order No. 328/73-Extends to the Overseas Provinces as amended Regulation of Physical Education Instructor Training Schools, approved by Order No. 60/71 on February 6.

Legal Diary-First Series No. 126 of May 29, 1973: General Government of Angola Order No. 365/73-Closes various school offices and creates primary schools in their place.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 126 of May 29, 1973: Overseas Ministry: Legislative Decree No. 227/73-Authorizes the Overseas Ministry to cosign with Petrangol Ltd (the petroleum company of Angola) an apostate to the concession agreement.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 126: Overseas Ministry - Decree No. 206/73-Approves the Regulation of the Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Decree-Law No. 587/7: Defined the nature, the role, and competencies of the Board of Scientific Investigations Overseas.

## **1974**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 161 of July 12, 1974: Ministry of Inter-territorial Coordination; Legislative Decree No. 299/74-Determines availability of bachelor and law degrees from the University of Luanda and Lourenco Marques for the 1974-75 school year.

Legislative Decree No. 300/74-Extends the autonomy of the University of Luanda and Lourenco Marques.

Legal Diary: First Series of No. 167 of July 9, 1974: General Government of Angola Provincial Decree No. 49/74-Creates and installs several positions in the establishment plans of educational services.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 191 of August 17, 1974: General Government of Angola Order No. 622/74-Approves distribution of a general budget as per the Portuguese State Budget in Angola for the economic year 1974 as assigned to Education Services.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 92 of August 19, 1974: General Government of Angola Order No. 623/74-Distributes funds for the economic year 1974 on consignment.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 206 of September 4, 1974: Order creates Preparatory Cycle Secondary Education Section in Quiculungo Village, Kwanza -Norte District.

Order: Creates the Chinguar Village Secondary Preparatory School Section in Bié District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 208 of September 6, 1974: Order: Creates the Huambo Catholic Mission Section of the Secondary Prep School Cycle.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 210 of September 9, 1974: Ministry of Education and Culture: General Path of Higher Education: Legislative Decree No. 302/74-Determines the necessity of all professed degrees in science education faculty to comply with the same laws using the State Examinations provided for in Decrees 49204 and 49205 of August 23, 1969.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 222 of September 23, 1974: Provincial Decree No. 87/74: Determines that within the category of school monitors of Article 90 of the Overseas Civil Servant Statutes have more or less ten years of service.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 231 of October 3, 1974: General Government of Angola Order No. 712/74-Creates a co-ed secondary school section at the National Diogo Cão Liceu in Sá da Bandeira for those working in Caluquembe.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 237 of October 11, 1974: Order: Creates a section of the Secondary Education Prep Cycle at Vila Joao de Almeida, Chibia in Huila District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 238 of October 12, 1974: General Government of Angola Provincial Decree No. 97/74-Creates a Primary Teaching School in New Lisbon.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 239 of October 14, 1974: Order: Creates Secondary Education Prep Cycle Section in Thamutete, Jamba, Huila District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 255 of November 2, 1974: General Government of Angola Provincial Decree No. 108/74-Makes volunteering a compulsory part of teacher education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 257 of November 5, 1974: General Government of Angola Provincial Decree No. 112/74-Fixes the Central Organs of the University of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 264 of November 13, 1974: Order: Creates Secondary Education Prep Cycle Section in Bula Atumba, Kwanza-Norte District.

Order: Creates Secondary Education Preparatory Cycle Section in Luimbale, Huambo District.

Legal Diary: First Series 264 of November 13, 1974: Order: Creates Secondary Education Preparatory Cycle Section in Vial Rocardas in Cuene District.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 271 of November 21, 1974: Ministry of Inter-territorial Coordination Ordinance No. 714/74-Expands the University Hospital of Luanda as amended in Legislative Decree No. 553/74 of October 25.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 273 of November 23, 1974: General Government of Angola Order No. 819/74-Creates Primary School No. 440 in Utalamo neighborhood in New Lisbon.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 278 of November 29, 1974: Presidency of the Republic  
Law 11/74- Prepares the Government of the State of Angola for adaptation to the decolonization process.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 278 of November 29, 1974: Ministry of Inter-territorial Coordination  
Decree 625/74-Creates a Liceu in Serpa Pinto, Henrique de Carvalho, and S. Salvador, Angola.

Order No. 835/74-Approves the supplementary budget for the scholarship fund, subsidies and grants for students for financial year 1974.

Order No. 837,838,839/74-Distributes budget assigned to education services for economic year 1974.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 279 of November 20, 1974: General Government of Angola  
Order No. 847/74-Dispatches a plot of land, from Book No. IV of the State Charter, in New Lisbon for the Veterinary Research Institute of Angola and the installation of a Veterinary Medicine Course at University of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 300 of December 27, 1974: Provisional Government of Angola  
Decree No. 13/74-Authorizes the Government of Angola to acquire by purchase unused land which is part of the University of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 303 of December 31, 1974: Provisional Government of Angola  
Decree No. 33/74-Approves the first supplementary budget for the economic year 1974 for the University Hospital of Luanda.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 303, 3rd Supplement, and Order of December 31, 1974: Order No. 945/74- Strengthens funding for ordinary expenses of the private budge of Angolan schools, economic year 1974.

## **1975**

Swearing-in Angola's transitional government. Luanda of 27 February 1975.

Decree-Law No. 86/75 of July 5, 1975, created the University of Huambo and the University of Lubango.

August –The suspension of the Alvor Agreement by Portugal. The government happens to be exercised by a high commissioner.

## **1976**

Official Visit of President Agostinho Neto to Cuba on July 22-30, 1976.

Ordinance No. 76/76 of September 28, 1976, Ministry of Education and Culture created the University of Angola.

Admission of the People's Republic of Angola as a United Nations member on December 11, 1976.

## **1977**

Decree No. 26/1977 structure the Educational System of Education

Nationalization of Diamang Company and diamond mining operations on August, 1977.

**1978**

Decree 40/80 of May related to the Angolan Organizational chart of the old system of education, which lasted until 1978.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 47 of February 25, 1978: Presidency of the Republic: Decree No. 22/78 of 21 February regulates the “Foreign Worker Statute” in the People’s Republic of Angola to compliment the “Cooperative Statute” published under Decree 99/76 of December 2, 1976.

**1979**

Ministry of Education: Order No. 17/79-Regulates the schedules and docent training exercises of teachers at the middle and pre-university levels, canceling Order No. 36/78 of August 21.

**1980**

Legal Diary: First Series No. 18 of January 22, 1980: Ministry of Education and Provincial Coordination: Executive Decree No. 7 2/80- Creates an Executive Training Center to operate in Caxito, under the methodological coordination of the Ministry of Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 30 of February 6, 1980: Executive Decree No. 7 2/79-Creates dependence on the Ministry of Petroleum and the methodological guidance of the Ministry of Education, establishing the People’s Republic of Angola’s direct ties with The Central School of Petroleum.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 39 of February 11, 1980: Law No. 1/80: Creates the Central Census Bureau and proceeds with a census of the population.

Legal Diary-First Series No. 58 /9 /1980: Mallet: Ministry of Education: Office of the Minister of Order: Pursuant Decree No. 44/79 of April 4 concerning the General Mobilization Plan for National and Foreign Teacher Recruitment.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 61 13 1980 Mallet: Ministry of Education recasts the High Commissioner of Education, repealing order No. 3/79 from the Deputy Minister of Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 83 of April 8, 1980: Ministry of Education: Order: Sets standards for the the collaboration of teachers from the University of Angola by the Ministry and other agencies.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 85, April 10, 1980: Ministry of Education: Decree No. 31/80-Approves the Statute of the University Teaching Career.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 91 April 17, 1980: Council Ministers: Decree No. 37/80-Approves the Organic Statute of The University of Angola.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 111 of September 5, 1980: Ministry of Education-Creates Evaluation Committee.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 113 of May 14, 1980: Cabinet approves the Organic Statute of the Ministry of Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 119 of May 29, 1980: Ministry of Internal Trade: Order: Determines that all vacant or illegally occupied shops must pass legal jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 145 of June 25, 1980: Minister of Education: Creates the Tchivinguiro UEE Company.



Legal Diary: First Series No. 149 of June 25, 1980: Council of the Revolution: Law No. 4-C/ 80-Creates the special Status of Luanda Norte.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 171 of June 21, 1980: Ministry of Education: Order: Approves the school calendar for the academic year 1980/81 in accordance with the Cooperation Secretariat of the State.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 189 of August 11, 1980: Ministry of Defense and Education  
Executive Decree No. 201 of August 25, 1980.

Law No. 6/80-Approves the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Republic of Socialist Romania and signatures of Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation with several socialist countries.

Legal Diary: First Series No. 247 of October 18, 1980: Ministry of Education and Ministry of Energy  
Joint Executive Decree No. 73/80 -Creates the Executive Electricity Training Center Commander Hoji ya Henda in the satellite city of Viana.

Ministry of Education: Order: Creates the International Exchange Sector within the Department of Planning at the University of Angola.

## Appendix F—Permissions

Re: Permission

AF

AfricaSON <info@africason.com>

Reply all |

Continue editing Discard

Fri 10/2/2015 12:18 PM

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Dear sir,

Go ahead. And remember to quote source.

Regards,

Africason

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Appendix F.1. Permission for Figures at the end of Chapter 1: Angola in Africa and The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 to Divide Africa.



## DECLARAÇÃO

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Luanda, aos 23 de Janeiro de 2015

O (a) Declarante,

Pedro Felisberto Miguel Bondo

A Direcção,

H/O Soares Bomanga

Appendix F.2. Permission to use documents and images from the National Archives of Angola/Ministry of Culture of January 23, 2015.



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Página 1/1

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**From:** Deborah Wythe <Deborah.Wythe@brooklynmuseum.org>

**Sent:** Thursday, October 1, 2015 12:21 PM

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**Cc:** Ruth Janson

**Subject:** RE: Permission

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The Brooklyn Museum is an art museum located in the New York City borough of Brooklyn. At 560,000 square feet, the museum is New York City's second largest in physical size and holds an art collection with roughly 1.5 million works.

Appendix F.4. Permission for using the image Appendix B for the Chokwe chief's chair, 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Re: Mensaje enviado a través del formulario de contacto de Portal do Uíge e da Cultura Kongo

MD

Muana Damba <legoza@gmail.com>

Reply all |

Wed 10/7/2015 9:48 PM

Assunto: Permissão

Obrigado tio Pedro Bondo.

Podes utilizar a fotografia e desejo-te sucesso na sua dissertação.

Se se referes ao tio Pedro Faria, aqui está a ligação :

<http://muanadamba.net/article-recordando-o-tio-pepe-pedro-faria-101724083.html>

E não esqueces fazer a referência do nosso portal [www.muadamba.net](http://www.muadamba.net)

Sala kyambote

Sebastião Kupessa "Muana Damba

Appendix F.5. Permission for using the figures in Appendix B for: Priest celebrating mass in a village in Damba in the presence of the authorities, capuchin missionaries and colonial authorities in Damba, and missionary Camilo Maria de Tarassa with Baptist Protestant community members in Damba/1962.