

“Techniques éprouvées au cours des siècles”: African Students at the Former School for Colonial Administrators in Paris, 1951–1967

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RESÜMEE

Die unabhängig gewordenen afrikanischen Nationalstaaten traten ein schwieriges Erbe an. Die postkolonialen Staatswesen standen vor der Aufgabe an eine kolonial geprägte Verwaltung anzuknüpfen. Die Frage nach Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten in diesem Übergang rückt das Problem der Ausbildung der neuen afrikanischen Verwaltungsbeamten in das Zentrum des Interesses.

Der vorliegende Beitrag analysiert vor diesem Hintergrund den Wandel der Pariser *Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer*, die eine Monopolstellung in der Ausbildung der französischen Kolonialadministratoren innehatte, zum *Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer*, das überwiegend afrikanische Verwaltungsbeamte ausbildete. Die Untersuchung zeigt, dass trotz der von konservativer Seite so empfundenen und bekämpften „Umwälzung“ der Schule, das konzeptionelle Ziel derselben das gleiche blieb: die Ausbildung einer (post-)kolonialen Verwaltungselite. Die Analyse des Kurrikulums macht indes einen Wandel der zu vermittelten Wissenskorpora deutlich: Diese entwickelten sich zu einem Hybrid aus „bewährtem“ kolonialen/metropolitanen Verwaltungswissen und neuen „Techniken“, die unter einem Paradigma sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung standen.

Die Möglichkeit einer spezialisierten Qualifikation für den höheren Verwaltungsdienst in Paris wurde von den meisten frankophonen afrikanischen Staaten positiv aufgenommen. Wie die Untersuchung zeigt, erlangte die ehemalige Kolonialschule eine bemerkenswerte Funktion als Sprungbrett in hohe Staatsämter zahlreicher afrikanischer Nationalstaaten.

In the era of decolonization, the *Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer* in Paris experienced a profound change, at least in terms of its self-perception. From a *grande école*

holding a monopoly on training French colonial administrators – almost all born in the colonial metropole – it transformed itself into an institute for applicants from the former colonies, mainly those in sub-Saharan Africa.¹ But the overall ambition of the school remained the same: to train an administrative elite for the (post-) colonial state. This article looks for the continuities and discontinuities – both conceptual and institutional – that accompanied the transformation of the school. Drawing on Foucault's concept of "power/knowledge",² it focuses particularly on institutional and governmental policies in relation to the school's curriculum. The article also tries to specify which elements made the school particularly attractive for African students, highlighting its remarkable function as a stepping stone to high ranks in the public service of numerous francophone African nations. This alone makes the school's history particularly interesting for any analysis of postcolonial African governmentality.

1. Institutional history

The *Ecole coloniale* was founded in 1887/88 as a state-run training school for future colonial officers in Paris.³ From 1912 onwards, it held the monopoly on training colonial administrators.⁴ George Hardy, the school's director between 1926 and 1933, successfully professionalized the school. It was also during his directorate that the curriculum started to shift from an emphasis on colonial law towards the humanities in order to better understand the "natives" (*indigènes*) and "social evolutions" in the colonies.⁵ In 1934, the *Ecole coloniale* was elevated to a *grande école* and renamed *Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer* (ENFOM).⁶ It became an elite school recruiting no more than 30 to 60 students a year directly after preparatory classes in some exclusive lycées. William B. Cohen, the US-American doyen of French colonial history, has pointed out that the selection of recruits was highly class-bound to the upper middle class bourgeoisie, favouring cadets from the French capital and conditioned especially by the fathers' occupations (pre-

1 In 1959, the *Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer* was transformed into the *Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer* (IHEOM). In 1967, IHEOM was renamed the *Institut international d'administration publique* (IIAP). In 2002, IIAP fused into the *Ecole nationale d'administration* (ENA), see below.

2 In particular, see: M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison*, Paris 1975; M. Foucault, *Geschichte der Gouvernementalität*, v. 1: *Sicherheit, Territorium, Bevölkerung*. Vorlesung am Collège de France, 1977–1978, ed. by M. Sennelart, Frankfurt am Main 2004.

3 On the *Ecole coloniale*, see: W. B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa*, Stanford 1971 (French edition: *W. B. Cohen, Empereurs sans sceptre. Histoire des administrateurs de la France d'outre-mer et de l'Ecole coloniale*, Paris 1973); D. Rigollot, *L'Ecole coloniale (1885–1939)*, Paris 1970.

4 W. B. Cohen, *Rulers* (footnote 3), p. 84.

5 F. Brahm, *Wissenschaft und Dekolonisation. Paradigmenwechsel und institutioneller Wandel in der akademischen Beschäftigung mit Afrika in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1930–1970*, Stuttgart 2010, pp. 38 ff.; V. Dimier, *Le Commandant de Cercle: un 'expert' en administration coloniale, un 'specialiste' de l'indigène?*, in: *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 10 (2004), pp. 39–57.

6 Centre des archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence (CAOM), 1 Col 1, dossier 5: *École coloniale comm. 21 déc. 1934. Décret relatif au changement de dénomination de l'École coloniale en École nationale de la France d'Outre-mer*.

dominantly, but not exclusively high civil service and liberal professions).⁷ The students passed through a two-year cycle followed by a one-year internship in an administrative institution either in the metropole or the colonies, and completed by a final year thesis (*mémoire*). There was a special program for serving officers and soldiers.⁸

The school was open only to male applicants. Moreover, since World War I, it had refused to admit so-called autochthon applicants from the colonies. Up until the 1950s, only a few non-white applicants of French citizenship were accepted, predominantly from the Caribbean or from the Four Communes of Senegal.⁹ These included Félix Éboué (1884–1944) who was born in Cayenne (French Guiana). After graduating from the *Ecole coloniale*, Éboué commenced a successful career in the French colonial administration before finally becoming governor-general of French Equatorial Africa. He called for a strengthening of indirect rule and reliance on a local African elite; a program that was partly put into practice during World War II in colonies whose governors supported de Gaulle.¹⁰ Although Éboué's career in the French colonial service was certainly exceptional, it also shows that the French differentiation between the Colonizer and the Colonized was not based exclusively on colour, but upon cultural differentiation and cultural racism.

After closing temporarily due to German aggression and French mobilization at the beginning of World War II, the ENFOM reopened and, as William B. Cohen has pointed out, flourished surprisingly well during wartime and the immediate post-war years. More candidates then ever applied to the school, because a career in the colonies had become more attractive, not only for material reasons but also in terms of social prestige.¹¹ The colonies, "Greater France" (*Plus grande France*), had returned to being a source of French national pride and self-assurance.¹² But in the 1950s, ENFOM became less attractive for French applicants than its direct counterpart since 1945, the *Ecole nationale d'administration* (ENA) that trained students for a career in the French metropole's public service. The declining attractiveness of ENFOM was due particularly to problems in the colonies (not least the loss of control in Indochina in 1954) and rising public criticism of French colonial policy. This all made a career in the French overseas corps less desirable.

7 W. B. Cohen, Rulers (footnote 3), pp. 89-92.

8 Ibid., pp. 84-98; M.-A. Rauch, *Le bonheur d'entreprendre. Les administrateurs de la France d'outre-mer et la création du ministère des Affaires culturelles*, Paris 1998, pp. 24 ff.; A. Enders, *L'Ecole nationale de la France d'outre-mer et la formation des administrateurs coloniaux*, in: *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 40 (1993), pp. 272-288; F. Brahm, *Wissenschaft* (footnote 5), pp. 36-42.

9 Four communes of Senegal – Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque, and Saint-Louis – had achieved the legal status of communes françaises.

10 Cohen, Rulers (footnote 3), pp. 163 ff.

11 Ibid., pp. 143 ff.

12 For example, see: P. Blanchard / S. Lemaire (eds.), *Culture Coloniale. Les colonies au cœur de la République, 1931–1961*, Paris 2004.

2. A contentious change

The political spectrum among the post-war teaching staff of the ENFOM reveals a notable diversity. Robert Delavignette, director from 1937–1946 and lecturer up to 1962, was a Christian socialist.¹³ His popular books¹⁴ presented an anti-modernist picture of rural France as the “true France” and romanticized simple rural life and local traditions in Africa. However, we also find some notable critics of oppressive colonialism among the personnel at the school, in particular Charles-André Julien and Leopold Sédar Senghor. Both Julien,¹⁵ who became a lecturer of colonial history in 1946, and Senghor, the protagonist of the *négritude* movement who was a lecturer for *langues et civilisations négro-africaines* at ENFOM in 1948,¹⁶ favoured reforms and adhered to the idea of the French Union (*Union française*). In contrast, Paul Bouteille, who became director of the ENFOM in 1950, belonged to the conservative wing of the former overseas administrators. Only a few years earlier, he had held a high position during the bloody repression of the Madagascar Revolt.¹⁷

In October 1950, the majority of the schools’ council (*conseil de perfectionnement*) considered it to be unacceptable to admit African students, as we learn from the minutes of a meeting debating this issue.¹⁸ Accepting African applicants would, of course, have implied that the Colonized themselves should take over high ranks in colonial administration. Nonetheless, the ENFOM was soon obliged to unlock its doors, as will be shown below.

The colonial policy of the Fourth Republic was highly contradictory. On the one hand, independence movements and revolts were suppressed brutally as in Madagascar in 1947–1948, Indochina in 1946–1954, and Algeria in 1954–1962. On the other hand, France established the French Union and tried to transmute into the position of a *primus inter pares*. In the latter ambition, the sub-Saharan French colonies became the centre of attention. Conceptually, in exchange for a leading political position and for economic privileges, the French metropole pledged technical support and economic and social

13 On Delavignette, see: J.-C. Froelich, Delavignette et le service africain, in: *Revue française d’Histoire d’Outre-Mer* 54 (1967), pp. 44-51; P. Kalck, Robert Delavignette et la décolonisation, in: *Revue française d’Histoire d’Outre-Mer* 54 (1967), pp. 52-64; A. Enders, Ecole (footnote 8); B. Mouralis / A. Piriou (eds.) / R. Fonkoua (coll.), Robert Delavignette. Savant et politique (1897–1976), Paris 2003.

14 In particular, see: R. Delavignette, *Le Paysans noirs*, Paris 1931; R. Delavignette, *Soudan – Paris – Bourgogne*, Paris 1935.

15 On Julien, see: F. Brahm, *Wissenschaft* (footnote 5), pp. 92-95; C. Liauzu, Interrogations sur l’histoire française de la colonisation, in: *Genèses. Sciences sociales et histoire*, 46 (2002), pp. 44-59, here p. 48; A. Raymond, Une conscience de notre siècle. Charles-André Julien 1891–1991, in: *Des ethnies aux nations en Asie centrale. Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 59/60 (1991), pp. 259-262. In 1948, Henri Brunschwig followed Julien as lecturer on colonial history.

16 CAOM, ECOL 1, carton 14: Conseil de Perfectionnement de l’École Nationale de la France d’Outre-Mer, séance du 1er Juin 1948. On Senghor, see: J. G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A life of Léopold Sédar Senghor*, Cambridge 1990.

17 Cohen, *Rulers* (footnote 3), p. 151. On the personnel of the ENFOM, see: J. Clauzel (ed.), *La France d’outre-mer (1930–1960). Témoignages d’administrateurs et de magistrats*, Paris 2003.

18 See: CAOM, 1 ECOL 14: Conseil de Perfectionnement, séance du Mardi 31 octobre 1950.

development.¹⁹ The build-up of the vast *Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer* (ORSTOM)²⁰ in the post-war years is a good example of the political efforts undertaken in this direction. Despite the intrinsic contradictoriness of simultaneous partnership and French supremacy, the majority of the West- and Central African elite considered it to be acceptable in the short term. A temporary French leadership was seen as a positive economic boost for development and a political preventive to so-called Balkanization.

The ENFOM did not remain unaffected by this policy. At the director's annual address in 1951, the Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Overseas France, Louis-Paul Aujoulat, expressed the new guideline in front of the new students: "Your forerunners were bosses, you will be tutors, your forerunners gave orders, you will be called to give advice, your forerunners were pioneers, you will be initiators."²¹

The majority of the metropole-born students seemed to have supported this perspective. However, the school curriculum did not change in the following years, and in a 1956 manifesto, the students criticized their ENFOM training for being irrelevant to the changes taking place overseas, calling (unsuccessfully) for the introduction of a specialized technical education and "serious economic and sociological training."²²

Educating French scientific, technical, and social experts and trying to modify the self-conception of future French overseas administrators was one thing. But the education of African administrators was another. From the perspective of the colonial metropole, it was always risky if Africans from the colonies engaged in academic studies, because studying the history of ideas almost automatically revealed a gap between universalist concepts of freedom and self-determination and its actual political scope.²³ But because of the "thin white line" in the African colonies, cost considerations alone made it inevitable that Africans would have to receive a higher education and start to become involved in colonial administration.²⁴ Moreover, since World War II, the African elites had been calling forcefully for a stronger "Africanization" of the French overseas administration. For the Ministry of Overseas France, educating Africans at the school for colonial officers in Paris was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, there was, in the long run, the possibility of losing colonial control completely; on the other hand, by educating the

19 See: F. Cooper, *Decolonizing Situations: The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Colonial Studies, 1951-2001*, in: *French Politics, Culture and Society*, 20/2 (2002), pp. 47-76, here p. 51; F. Cooper, *Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept*, in: F. Cooper/R. Packard (eds.), *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge*, Berkeley 1997, pp. 64-92.

20 On ORSTOM, see: C. Bonneuil/P. Petitjean, *Les chemins de la création de l'ORSTOM, du Front populaire à la libération en passant par Vichy, 1936-1945*, in: P. Petitjean (ed.), *Les sciences hors l'occident au XXe siècle*, v. 2: *Sciences coloniales. Figures et institutions*, Paris 1996, pp. 113-161.

21 CAOM, 1 ECOL 40, dossier 18: Discours prononcé le 10 Nov. 1951 par M. Aujoulat, Secrétaire d'Etat à la France d'Outre-Mer. „Vos anciens étaient des chefs, vous serez des tuteurs / Vos anciens donnaient des ordres, vous serez appelés à prodiguer des conseils / Vos anciens étaient des défricheurs, vous serez des initiateurs.“

22 Cohen, *Rulers* (footnote 3), p. 154.

23 See: A. Eckert, *Universitäten und die Politik des Exils. Afrikanische Studenten und anti-koloniale Politik in Europa, 1900-1960*, *Jahrbuch für Universitäts-geschichte*, 7 (2004), pp. 129-145.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

applicants at the ENFOM, the so-called "Africanization" of the administration would be channelled into the controlled careers of the French corps of overseas administration. It was in 1951, the same year as Aujoulat's speech, that the ENFOM was forced to accept African applicants for the first time. It was instructed to provide training for a judiciary career (*section magistrates*), but only to applicants already in public service. In this year, as well as in the following years, some African students actually did come to the Paris school from Senegal, Guinea, and Dahomey. In the school's council, this triggered a harsh dispute with rather racist overtones. One professor, for example, asked whether any account had been taken of the "moral disasters" that would surely ensue if the "colonial candidates" were to stay in Paris without their families.²⁵

In 1956, the *loi cadre* successfully passed the French Parliament. It had been drawn up by the member of the French National Assembly from Côte d'Ivoire, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, and the new Minister of Overseas France and mayor of Marseilles, Gaston Defferre. By this act, Paris handed over more rights to the overseas territories in Africa and placed the "Africanization" of the administration on the official agenda. The *loi cadre* had overwhelming consequences for the ENFOM: from the next year onwards, two-thirds of all places had to be reserved for students originating from overseas territories.²⁶

African students conquer the school

In contrast to Cohen's assumption – drawn from an article in the student's newspaper in 1956 – that only few Africans wished to enter the school because of its odiousness as a "colonialist institution",²⁷ a great number of Africans did apply for places at the school. An analysis of the minutes of the school council's meetings reveals that one reason why there were initially so few of them actually studying at ENFOM lay in the school's efforts to restrict the inflow, arguing that it needed to protect its elite character.²⁸ Until the late 1950s, no preparatory classes for the ENFOM entrance exams were provided in any overseas territory,²⁹ and moreover, guest auditors were only admitted in limited numbers.³⁰ Looking at the implementation of the 1956 directive following the *loi cadre*, one can also observe that the school did not co-educate metropole-born candidates and overseas candidates, but separated them. Eventually, it copied the previous structure: the initial two cycles for new recruits – one for directly recruited candidates (*concours A* and *cycle A*) and the other for candidates already in service (*concours B* and *cycle B*) – were sup-

25 CAOM, 1 ECOL 14: Conseil de Perfectionnement, séance 8.11.1951.

26 CAOM, 1 ECOL 13: Conseil de Perfectionnement, séance 22.10.1957.

27 Cohen, Rulers (footnote 3), p. 155. It is notable that a majority of the school's students was in favour of the reforms. *Ibid.*

28 See: CAOM, 1 ECOL 13, Conseil de Perfectionnement, séances 17.12.1956 – 27.10. 1959; 1 ECOL 14, Procès-verbaux des séances et rapports du Conseil de Perfectionnement, 1936–1961.

29 Cohen, Rulers (footnote 3), p. 155.

30 CAOM, 1 ECOL 13, séance 3.11.1958; séance 4.12.1959.

plemented by cycles C and D for the overseas candidates,³¹ renamed A' and B'.³² Nonetheless, from 1951 onwards, African students increasingly made their way to ENFOM as regular candidates as well as guest auditors. For example, in the summer of 1958, at least 9 out of the 29 students who graduated regularly from the ENFOM were African.³³ During the course of the creation of French Community (*Communauté française*), the ENFOM was put under the tutelage of the Prime Minister (delegated to a state minister³⁴), and transformed into the *Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer* (IHEOM) in 1959. The IHEOM was particularly dedicated to educating candidates from the present or former overseas territories.³⁵ The last metropole-born candidates left the school in 1961. Physically, the institution remained in its Moresque style building at its ancestral location, in the Paris *Quartier Latin*, 2, avenue de l'Observatoire.

Because the infrastructure of the French colonial state was inherited by the independent African states, it is not astonishing that most of the new francophone African national governments appreciated a diploma from the former school for colonial administrators in Paris, and officially accepted it as training for a career in public service. Normally, future graduates of IHEOM were guaranteed a career in public service. The African governments reserved the right to choose which candidates could apply to attend the Paris institute; and no regular students were admitted to the IHEOM without the approval of their national authorities.³⁶

Indeed, the training at the former *Ecole coloniale* was highly sought after by African candidates, and the institute expanded. More than 500 students graduated from IHEOM in 1961 alone.³⁷ In 1962, the institute counted 660 students, almost all African.³⁸ After declining in the 1950s, the former ENFOM had had only about one hundred students;³⁹ at the height of its popularity in 1945, this had been 367.⁴⁰

Almost all students at IHEOM came from sub-Saharan Africa, although the institute was principally open for applicants from all former French overseas territories and even

31 Centre historique des Archives nationales, Paris (CHAN), F/17/17708: dossier E.N.F.O.M. règlements organiques 1954–1958; CAOM, 1 ECOL 1, dossier 7 comm. année scolaire 1955–1956, "Décret n° 56.489 du 14 mai 1956 modifiant et complétant le règlement organique de l'ENFOM".

32 CAOM, 1 ECOL 13, Conseil de Perfectionnement, séance 22.10.1957; CHAN, F/17/17708: 23.12.1957, Le Ministre de l'éducation nationale, de la jeunesse et des sports à Monsieur le Ministre de la France d'outre-mer.

33 CAOM, 1 ECOL 13, Procès verbal des séances des lundi 7 et mercredi 9 Juillet 1958. These included Kéba Mbaye (1924–2007) who first made a career as a judge and president of the Supreme Court of Senegal before embarking on an international career. He became well known as a member of the International Court of Justice in The Hague and vice-president of the International Olympic Committee where he played an active part in the readmittance of South Africa to the Olympics after the end of apartheid.

34 Ministre d'état chargé de la fonction publique.

35 See: Ordonnance No. 59-42 Du 5 janvier 1959 portant création de l'institut des hautes études d'outre-mer, article 2; Décret No. 65-198 du 12 mars 1965 portant règlement d'administration publique relatif aux concours d'entrée, au régime des études et à la délivrance des diplômes de l'institut des hautes études d'outre-mer, article 35.

36 See: Centre des archives contemporaines, Fontainebleau (CAC), 20030470: M. Mériçonde: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (1962), p. 9.

37 CAC, 20030470: M. Mériçonde: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (1962), p. 3.

38 Ibid.

39 Cohen, Rulers (footnote 3), p. 157.

40 Ibid., p. 151.

other countries. However, non-African students were of no relevance until the end of the 1960s. Presumably, the French colonial wars in South-East Asia and Northern Africa discredited attendance at the IHEOM in these world regions. A list of all students between 1959 and 1967 reveals a total of 22 countries of origin⁴¹ of which only two were non-African: Laos and French Polynesia. Most of the candidates between 1959 and 1967 came from Madagascar (first place), Cameroon (second place), and Dahomey (third place). In the “transitional period”, as this phase was called retrospectively in 1962, the IHEOM abandoned entrance examinations. However, they were reintroduced in this year.⁴² Again, a *concours* A was introduced for new recruits and a *concours* B for candidates already in public, civil, or military service (applicants had to have been in service for at least four years); a special *concours* was created for candidates applying from judicial authorities. But exceptions from the normal access procedure could be made.⁴³ Although not mentioned explicitly either in decrees relating to the institute or in the institutes’ publications, the attendance of female students must have been introduced some years before 1969, because this is the first year in which we find female alumni in the year-book.⁴⁴ No school fees were required, and scholarships for residence in Paris as well travel costs were provided by the French Ministry of Cooperation and some international institutions (UNO, ILO, and EEC).⁴⁵

3. Shifting paradigms?

A look at the courses offered to *concours* A first-year students in 1963 / 64 (table 1) reveals a wide-ranging programme of introductory courses covering law, administrative studies, ethnology, geography, history, the English language, and economics. This mainly followed up the teaching at the former ENFOM; only the teaching of economics – three out of twelve seminars in the first cycle alone – is rather surprising. The former ENFOM offered hardly any courses in this discipline⁴⁶ – a former critique by its students. Amongst the lecturing staff of IHEOM, we find a lot of university professors. This followed the pattern at the former ENFOM, in which a high percentage of the teaching personnel were professors from the Paris academia who were attracted by teaching assignments.⁴⁷

41 Burundi, Cameroun, Comores, Congo, Côte-d'Ivoire, Dahomey (later Benin), Gabon, Haute-Volta (later Burkina Faso), Laos, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritanie, Niger, Polynésie française, République centrafricaine, Rwanda, Sénégal, Tanzanie, Tchad, Territoire des afar et des issas (later Djibouti), Togo, Zaïre. CAC, 20030470: Annuaire des anciens élèves. L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (1972), p. 3.

42 CAC, 20030470: M. Mérigonde: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer, (1962), pp. 3f.

43 Ibid., p. 4.

44 See: CAC, 20030470: Annuaire des anciens élèves de l'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer 1969.

45 CAC, 20030470: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (1964), p. 37.

46 On the curriculum of the ENFOM, see: F. Brahm, Wissenschaft (footnote 5), pp. 36-42, here pp. 259 ff.

47 Ibid., p. 41.

Table 1: Courses offered at the Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (IHEOM), *concours A, premier cycle, academic year 1963 / 64*.⁴⁸

Course	Lecturer	Affiliation
Organisation Politique et Administrative des Etats Africains	Gonidec	Professeur à la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris
Les Institutions privées des Etats Africains	Alliot	Professeur à la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris
Economie d'Outre-Mer et Développement	Leduc	Professeur à la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris
Droit d'Outre-Mer et de la Coopération	Lampue	Professeur à la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris
Ethnologie juridique	Lévy-Bruhl / Alliot	Professeurs à la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris
Déontologie de la Fonction Publique	Dutheillet de Lamothe / Catherine	Maître des Requêtes au Conseil d'Etat / Directeur, Rédacteur en chef de la „Revue administrative“
Techniques administratives modernes	Gournay	Conseiller référendaire à la Cour des Comptes
Anglais	Mme. Dutheillet de Lamothe	Agrégée d'anglais
Travaux publics en Afrique ou Economie minière	M. Bonnal / Roland Pré	Inspecteur Général des Travaux Publics / Président du Bureau des Recherches Géologique et Minières
Commercialisation des produits tropicaux ou Syndicalisme et Coopération	Chauleur / Lasserre	Rédacteur en chef de „Marchés Tropicaux“ / Professeur à la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris
Géographie de l'Afrique et de Madagascar	Sautter / Delvert	Directeur des Etudes à l'Ecole pratiques des Hautes Etudes / Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Rennes
Histoire de l'Afrique contemporaine	Brunschwig	Directeur d'Etudes à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes

During the course of the transformation of the ENFOM, some former lecturers resigned their posts, others remained.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the teaching personnel at both the ENFOM and the IHEOM could certainly be called high-profile. In contrast to ENFOM, IHEOM personnel included a higher percentage of "practitioners" such as bank directors, journalists, and even former ministers – partly replacing a former proportion of retired colonial administrators who had lectured at the ENFOM.

During their second year, students at IHEOM could specialize in four sections. Unlike the ENFOM, there was no longer a general regional specialization (former African, Asian, and Madagascan sections).⁵⁰ However, in comparison to its forerunner, which concentrated on an administrator's and a magistrate's career, IHEOM offered a more differentiated curriculum addressing a range of vocational careers. The first section was on diplomacy (*section diplomatique*) covering mainly foreign and international affairs, area studies, and regional geography. Within the academic year 1963/64, this section contained 21 courses on, for example, international organizations (*Les Organisations Internationales*) by a university professor from Nancy, or on the Maghrib states (*Les Etats du Maghreb*) by an undersecretary of state.⁵¹

The economic and financial section (*section économique et financière*, eight courses in 1963/64), covered mainly business administration and fiscal policy in courses such as *Banque, monnaie et expansion* by a bank director or *Economie monétaire* by the acting French president of the central bank of the states of the former French Equatorial Africa and Cameroon. The administrative section (*section administrative*, 17 courses in 1963/64) tied together a diverse programme encompassing theoretical as well as applied political knowledge and administrative techniques starting with *Civilisation française*, *les grands courants de la pensée* by the head of the educational department of the Ministry of Cooperation and covering, for example, "Political and administrative organization of the African states and Madagascar" as well as "Statistical methods". The last section, *section sociale* (nine courses) focused on social affairs and public health with courses such as "Physiology of labour" (*Physiologie du Travail*) or "Methods of social statistics" (*Méthodes statistiques sociales*) by an administrator of the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Research.⁵²

Surveying the exemplary curriculum of 1963/64, it becomes very apparent that development is the dominant paradigm; this is even reflected semantically in no fewer than seven course titles. In fact, in all four of the second year's specialized sections, we find courses devoted to techniques for promoting technical or social development or to the organization of technical assistance.⁵³ The curriculum appears to be a mixture of approved

49 See: Cohen, Rulers (footnote 3), p. 157.

50 F. Brahm, *Wissenschaft* (footnote 5), p. 40.

51 This and the following quotes are taken from the 1963/64 programme: CAC, 20030470: *L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer* (1964).

52 Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE).

53 For example, in the diplomatic section, *Assistance technique internationale*, by two directors of the Bureau for development and agricultural production (Bureau pour le développement de la production agricole, BDPA);

colonial as well as the metropole's governmental knowledge combined with “modern” techniques for promoting development.

The prominent position of the idea of development at IHEOM is also evident in a booklet portraying the institute in 1962:

En premier lieu, il [l'IHEOM] assure surtout pour les pays d'Afrique, de Madagascar et d'Asie et d'une façon plus générale pour les pays en voie de développement, une formation des cadres supérieurs relativement rapide et surtout particulièrement adaptée aux problèmes de chacun d'eux. En second lieu, il fait connaître à l'élite de ces pays non seulement l'essentiel de la culture occidentale mais aussi l'Administration française et les techniques à la fois éprouvées au cours des siècles et sans cesse adaptées au rythme nouveau de la vie moderne. En troisième lieu et enfin aux cadres des Etats d'Afrique et Madagascar, il apporte deux années de vie commune au cours desquelles les ressortissants d'un continent trop 'balkanisé' pour employer une expression à la mode, apprennent à se connaître, à s'estimer et voient se développer en eux même le sentiment de solidarité que unit tous les peuples d'Afrique et de Madagascar.⁵⁴

The second of IHEOM's training missions quoted above was to “introduce to the elite of these countries not only the essentials of western culture but also the French administration and the techniques that have been tried and tested over the course of centuries while simultaneously being adapted constantly to the new rhythm of modern life”. The institute tried to approach this ambitious goal by not only recruiting more practitioners as lecturers, but also assigning the students to internships in French administrative and judicial institutions (usually a three-month internship in the first and a six-month internship in the second year). Moreover, the institute organized study trips to French cultural institutions, industrial plants, and so forth.⁵⁵

Here at the latest, it becomes obvious that from the perspective of the French government, IHEOM had also become a factor in cultural policy. This is confirmed in the alumni annuals (*Annuaire des anciens élèves*) published every few years. Names and functions of the former élèves are listed country-wise to facilitate networking – like a who's who of a presumed Francophile Africa.⁵⁶

4. An administrative elite

But what were the incentives encouraging African students to join IHEOM? This cannot be answered definitely without interviewing former students; but some obvious aspects

in the economic and financial section, *Fiscalité et développement*; in the administrative section, *Droit du Développement* or the “evolution of sciences” (*L'évolution des sciences*); in the section on social affairs, *L'action médico-sociale face au sous-développement*.

54 CAC, 20030470: M. Mérigonde: *L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer*, (1962), p. 10.

55 CAC, 20030470: *L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer*, (1964), pp. 5, 27; *Ibid.*, *L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer*, (1965), p. 41.

56 For example, see: CAC, 20030470: *Annuaire des anciens élèves. L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer* (1972).

made the institute attractive. As mentioned above, the post-colonial state had to be built upon the infrastructures of the former colonial administration. Moreover, because, in many cases, the French administrative and juridical system was adopted extensively, acquiring an education at the former school for French overseas administrators was only logical. Indeed, a study of the alumni annuals reveals that an IHEOM diploma was a stepping stone to high-ranking positions in both the home country and international institutions. In 1965, the IHEOM could proudly mention that its alumni already included numerous state ministers, state secretaries, ambassadors, and other officials of high rank.⁵⁷ It listed no fewer than 24 active ministers, eleven state secretaries, 16 ambassadors, ten Supreme Court members, and six members of national assemblies (see table 2). Summarizing the years 1951–1967 in the history of ENFOM and its institutional successor the IHEOM, we can see that this was a phase characterized by conservative resistance, roaring change, and a conceptual hybridity. As a result, any analysis of the “important changes” (*bouleversements importants*) in the “life” of the old ENFOM, noted retrospectively by the IHEOM in 1962,⁵⁸ needs to take a differentiated approach. Certainly, for African students, the fundamental difference was no longer being excluded from the administration of their own home countries and being able to train for high-ranking public service. However, the Paris school itself did not change substantially, and, moreover, it was very successful in achieving its goal of educating an administrative elite for post-colonial African states. This simultaneously foreshadows continuities in governmental techniques between the colonial and several post-colonial francophone states. Nonetheless, it is clear that the transformation of the school did not just consist in a change of clients – the curriculum changed as well. It did not just develop a more specific focus on functions in public service, but transformed itself conceptually into a hybrid of “proven” techniques of colonial/metropolitan administration combined with “new” techniques for economic and social development.

57 CAC, 20030470: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer, (1965), p. 25.

58 CAC, 20030470: M. Mérigonde: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (1962), p. 3.

Table 2: High-Ranking Officials among the Alumni of ENFOM / IHEOM (1964)⁵⁹

Office (number)	Countries (number) ⁶⁰
Active (national) ministers (24)	(4) Cameroon; Chad; Mauritania; (3) Senegal; Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) (2) Central African Republic; Gabon (1) Côte d'Ivoire; Guinea
Ambassadors (16)	(3) Mali (2) Côte d'Ivoire; Senegal; Togo (1) Central African Republic; Chad; Congo Léopoldville (Democratic Republic of Congo); Dahomey (Benin); Guinea; Mauritania; N.N.
Supreme court members (10)	(3) Senegal (2) Mali (1) Cameroon; Congo Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo); Côte d'Ivoire; Dahomey (Benin); Madagascar
National assembly members (5)	(2) Côte d'Ivoire (1) Chad; Dahomey (Benin); Madagascar; Togo
Members of national councils of economic advisors / national banks (7)	(3) Central African Republic (1) Chad; Dahomey (Benin); Madagascar, Mali
State secretaries (11)	(2) Chad; Madagascar (1) Central African Republic; Congo Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo); Dahomey (Benin); Gabon; Niger; Senegal; Togo
Total (73)	(9) Chad, Senegal (7) Central African Republic (6) Côte d'Ivoire; Mali (5) Cameroon; Madagascar; Mauritania (4) Dahomey (Benin); Togo (3) Gabon; Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) (2) Congo Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo); Guinea (1) Congo Léopoldville (Democratic Republic of Congo); Niger; N.N.

59 CAC, 20030470: L'Institut des hautes études d'outre-mer (1964), pp. 27-31. Unlisted here: Grandes directions, e.g. Côte d'Ivoire (footnote 13); Chad (6); Administration préfectorale, e.g. Cameroon (footnote 14); Madagascar (footnote 19); *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

60 BF: Upper Volta (Burkina Faso); BJ: Dahomey (Benin); CAM: Cameroon; CD: Congo Léopoldville (Democratic Republic of Congo); CI: Côte d'Ivoire; GA: Gabon; GN: Guinea; ML: Mali; NE (Niger); RCA: Central African Republic; RCB: Congo Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo); RIM: Mauritania; RM: Madagascar; SN: Senegal; TD: Chad; TG: Togo.