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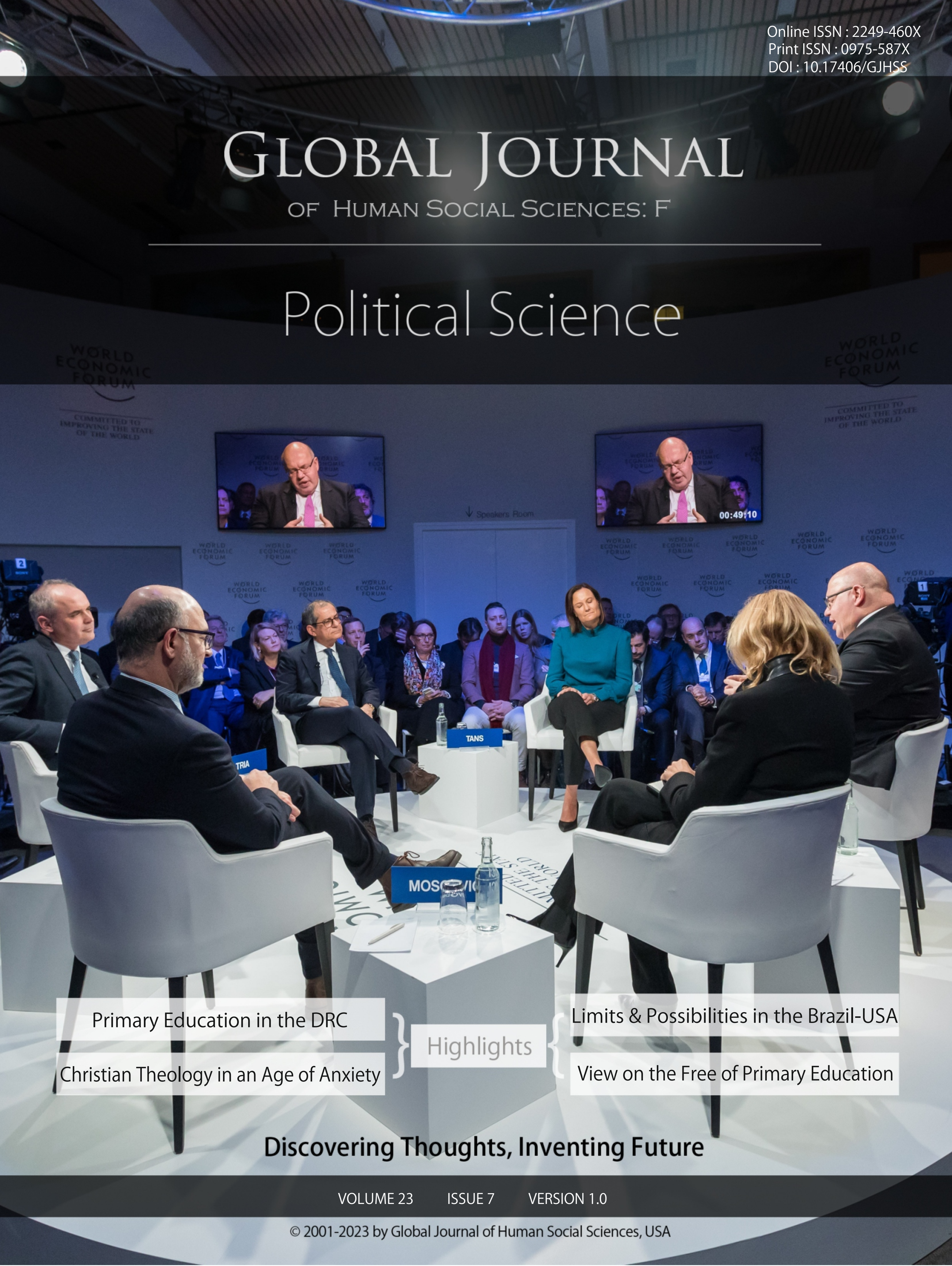

Primary Education in the DRC

Christian Theology in an Age of Anxiety

Highlights

Limits & Possibilities in the Brazil-USA

View on the Free of Primary Education

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Politological View on Free Primary Education in the DRC

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Abstract- As most of the developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is known as singular about the delay in the field of education on the one hand and the free primary education on the other hand, whence the levels of education and training of its people are getting retrogressed day by day. The daily voices to decry not only the steep drop in the level of education, but also the cost of quality and effective teaching, which falls over the heads of the parents in schools, with the consequence that we are seeing the rise of illiteracy compared with the rate of population increase.

For this purpose, it is not enough that the constitutional and legal provisions are of the free primary education a shot principle of international and regional legal instruments, we need to clear the State of affairs and the relationship between these provisions and the effectiveness of this free issue itself of the right to education.

Keywords: *promoting free, primary education, education for all, teacher, parents, government.*

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POLITOLOGICALVIEWONFREEPRIMARYEDUCATIONINTHEDRC

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Politological View on Free Primary Education in the DRC

Regard Politologique Sur la Gratuite de L'enseignement Primaire en RDC

Objectifs, Obstacles et Contribution à la Mise en œuvre des Mécanismes Spécifiques

Par Kanze Kitambo Valentin

Résume- Comme plusieurs pays d'Afrique subsaharienne, la République Démocratique du Congo connaît une situation singulière quant au retard dans le domaine de l'éducation d'une part et dans celui de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire d'autre part, en cela que les niveaux d'éducation et de la formation de sa population régressent du jour le jour. Les voix s'élèvent quotidiennement pour décrier non seulement de la baisse vertigineuse du niveau d'enseignement mais aussi du coût de cet enseignement qui tombe sur les têtes des parents, avec cette conséquence que l'on constate la hausse d'analphabètes par rapport à l'augmentation du taux de la population[1].

Cette fragilité individuelle et collective a d'importantes conséquences sociales et économiques. A la base, il faut penser à l'absence d'une politique d'encadrement des élèves et des instituteurs.

De ce constat, la présente étude tente de dégager l'état des lieux de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire en République Démocratique du Congo. Elle voudrait préciser les contours de cette gratuité et proposer les mécanismes spécifiques pour l'application effective et générale des dispositions de l'article 43, alinéa 4 de la Constitution du 18 février 2006.

Elle n'aborde pas l'ensemble des questions fondamentales qui peuvent être suscitées par l'examen du droit à l'éducation qui appellerait un développement à plusieurs pages. Elle ne s'intéresse pas non plus au caractère « obligatoire » de l'enseignement primaire même s'il constitue la conséquence de la « gratuité »

Sans nul doute, la présente étude intéresse au plus haut point le Gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Congo et toutes ses entités administratives. Il intéresse également les parents, les partenaires de l'enseignement, les institutions étatiques chargées des questions d'enseignement, les organisations non-gouvernementales, les syndicats, les enseignants, les responsables des établissements d'enseignements primaires, les élèves, les chercheurs, ...

Motsclés: gratuité – enseignement primaire – education pour tous – enseignants – parents – etat.

Abstract- As most of the developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is known as singular about the delay in the field of education on the one hand and the free primary education on the other hand, whence the levels of education and training of its people are getting retrogressed day by day. The daily voices to decry not only the steep drop in the level of education, but also the cost of quality and effective teaching, which falls over the heads of the parents in schools, with the consequence that we are seeing the rise of illiteracy compared with the rate of population increase.

For this purpose, it is not enough that the constitutional and legal provisions are of the free primary education a shot principle of international and regional legal instruments, we need to clear the State of affairs and the relationship between these provisions and the effectiveness of this free issue itself of the right to education. The notion certainly concern to the State, public authorities, private actors (companies) and civilians ("NGO" nongovernmental organizations) but between them the issue related to its implementation; some (State, public authorities) prefer to leave it obsolete letter or at least to find a formula that can be a great burden on them, so that others (private and civilian actors) claim the immediate, effective and absolute principle application.

The purpose of this research is to put at the disposal of the Government and politicians, the Non-governmental organizations (NGOS) and teaching partners a schema convenient for the effective implementation of the free primary education in our country. This convenient scheme is that, on the one hand, a special law, in the strict sense of the word, is taken to organize free and, on the other hand, State institutions (outside existing ones or the strengthening of these) responsible for the implementation of this free education. Such a proposal requires some clarification. The free primary education has various objectives: reduce the illiteracy rate to increase tuition and ease the burden on parents for their children's schooling.

To achieve our goals, we used an exploratory research with stakeholders to gather their views on our subject.

In addition, the literature search allowed making qualitative data analysis. These data are from reference

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Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XXIII Issue VII Version I Year 2023

materials (DRAFT, PRSP) of the Ministry of Basic Education, UNESCO reports and studies conducted by the analysis of education systems program.

In sum, we conducted a joint research that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches. A triangulation based on the documents, interview and questionnaire is then carried out.

This study has been the merits of developing few pages in accordance with the instructions of the East China Normal University in Shanghai, the notion of free primary education as it is regulated by international legal instruments and the Constitution of the democratic republics of Congo (before and after independence). He began also to introduce free practical questions in our country: its progress, the objectives pursued by making legal free and the different obstacles that must be fought for an effective implementation of this concept. The research did not end there. This study suggested that the mechanisms put in place to track and make effective the free primary education in our country: that is the contribution made to the positive evolution of the notion.

Keywords: promoting free, primary education, education for all, teacher, parents, government.

Introduction

A travers le monde, une rentrée scolaire est souvent source d'angoisse pour les parents d'élèves, les enseignants et l'Etat, eu égard aux nombreuses agitations observées pendant cette période : les parents font face à d'énormes dépenses pour la scolarisation de leurs enfants, occasionnées par l'achat de matériels scolaires, les différents frais scolaires à payer, sans oublier la prise en charge des enseignants.

Alors que l'on sait, dans certains pays comme la République Démocratique du Congo, les parents, pour la plupart ne disposent pas de moyens financiers suffisants pour faire face à ces dépenses. Les enseignants eux, revendiquent quotidiennement les bonnes conditions de travail et leur prise en charge par l'Etat. Ce dernier, pour sa part, se plaint de manque de moyens suffisants pour répondre positivement aux revendications des uns et des autres.

A cela s'ajoute la réalité selon laquelle l'offre éducative est souvent insuffisante par rapport à la demande et, scolariser un enfant revient de plus en plus cher pour les parents et même pour l'Etat. A plusieurs reprises et habituellement lors de la rentrée scolaire, la réaction gouvernementale engendre des mouvements de grève des enseignants. Comment alors peut-on conjurer ces maux ?

La Conférence mondiale de l'Education pour tous (EPT) qui s'est tenue à Jomtien (Thaïlande) en 1990 a fixé les grandes orientations de l'action en faveur du développement durable. Cette Conférence a été suivie du Forum mondial de l'éducation tenu à Dakar (Sénégal) du 26 au 28 avril 2000. Au cours dudit Forum, il a été adopté que l'Education pour tous devrait devenir une réalité concrète d'ici 2015. Et pour ce faire, les Etats devraient faire de l'éducation primaire non seulement obligatoire mais également gratuite. En effet, ces deux expressions sont tirées respectivement des instruments juridiques internationaux et régionaux, des Constitutions de plusieurs Etats modernes et reprises dans les Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement (OMD) (NATIONS UNIES, 2005, p.10).

Si le caractère obligatoire de l'éducation primaire n'a jamais suscité des diverses interprétations, il n'en est pas le cas de l'expression « gratuité ». En effet, en République Démocratique du Congo par exemple, l'année scolaire 2007-2008 n'a pas été comme les autres. Le Gouvernement congolais avait décidé, conformément à l'article 43, alinéa 4 de la Constitution du 18 février 2006, d'expérimenter la gratuité de l'enseignement dans toutes les écoles primaires publiques du pays ce, pour aller vers une plus grande efficacité du système éducatif congolais. (C. AKIHIRO, 1994, p.294).

Par ailleurs, avec l'avènement de son Excellence, Monsieur Felix Antoine Tshisekedi Tsilombo, Président nouvellement élu de la République Démocratique du Congo, il sera décrété la mise œuvre effective de la gratuite de l'enseignement primaire sur toute l'étendue du territoire national à partir de l'année scolaire 2019 – 2020.

Ainsi, tout au long de cette réflexion, il sera question de répondre aux questions ci-après:

> Quels sont les objectifs poursuivis par la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire? Quels sont ses obstacles ? Que doit faire l'Etat pour que cette gratuité soit effective ?

La gratuité de l'enseignement primaire tend à permettre à tous les parents, sans distinction, d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école en vue de combattre et diminuer l'analphabétisme dans le pays.

Les manques des infrastructures, la non mécanisation des nouvelles unités, les conditions de vie et de travail déplorables, etc. sont autant des obstacles qui freineraient la mise œuvre effective de la gratuite de l'enseignement en RDC.

L'Etat devrait construire des nouvelles écoles, mécaniser tous les enseignants nouvelles unités et améliorer les conditions de vie et de travail des enseignants… Il faut donc, un budget conséquent quant à ce.

Par ailleurs, l'Etat devra créer des mécanismes spécifiques de mise en oeuvre et de surveillance de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire en vue d'empêcher la violation par des écoles récalcitrantes de cette disposition constitutionnelle et des instructions qui seront prises. Car, un texte sans mécanisme de suivi n'a pas des raisons d'être. A cela, il faut tout de même prévoir des sanctions pénales et civiles contre toute école ou responsable de l'école qui enfreindrait la loi.

On aurait tort de généraliser les problèmes de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire dans le monde

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XXIII Issue VII Version I Year 2023

alors que pour chaque pays, il se pose des problèmes spécifiques. C'est pourquoi, notre étude se veut être limitative dans le temps et dans l'espace. Dans le temps c'est la période allant de 2007 à 2019. L'an 2007 coïncide avec l'intégration de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire avec comme année scolaire d'essai et 2019 la période de l'effectivité de la mise en œuvre de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire dans notre pays. Par ailleurs, la RDC constitue notre espace géographique d'investigation à partir de Kinshasa.

Par ailleurs, l'approche critique nous permettra de faire une remise en question du système éducatif congolais avec visée de le rendre compétitif en répondant aux besoins du pays et aux exigences du moment. La technique documentaire et la webographie nous serviront de consulter et d'interpréter les documents écrits et ceux postés sur les sites internet proches de notre sujet de recherche au même titre de ceux issus de l'observation.

Par contre, nous avons eu des entretiens et des discussions avec les spécialistes de la politique de l'éducation, les Professeurs et les chercheurs qui s'intéressent, aux questions soulevées, c'est ce qui nous a permis d'être éclairés sur de différentes questions que suscite notre préoccupation.

Hormis l'introction et la conclusion, le présent texte se subdivise en cinq points notamment: Aperçu sur la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire en R.D. Congo, les objectifs de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire, les obstacles à combattre pour l'effectivité de la gratuité de l'enseignement en République Démocratique du Congo, l'impact de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire en RDC et les Mécanismes spécifiques pour la mise en oeuvre de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire.

I. Aperçu Sur la Gratuité de L'enseignement Primaire en R.D. Congo

La République Démocratique du Congo accuse en effet un déficit éducatif dû en grande partie aux options politiques de l'Etat, aux guerres fratricides répétées, à la lutte pour l'instauration d'une démocratie de type occidental, à l'absence des politiques éducatives appropriées. A cela s'ajoute l'absence, depuis l'indépendance en 1960, des bases juridiques réglementant la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire. Il faut ainsi relativiser selon que l'on se trouve dans une période d'avant l'indépendance ou dans celle d'après l'indépendance.

a) La notion de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire avant l'indépendance

La R.D.C est un Etat situé au centre du continent africain, colonisé par la Belgique depuis la Conférence de Berlin en 1885 jusqu'en 1960, date de son accession à la souveraineté nationale et internationale. Elle est un pays d'une très grande superficie de 2,3 millions de Km^2, soit environ 33 fois plus grande que le Benelux, quatre fois plus que la France ou deux fois plus que le Québec (Canada).

En Afrique, seuls le Soudan (ancienne configuration) et l'Algérie lui sont plus étendus. Partageant neuf frontières avec ses voisins, elle est un pays totalement enclavé, à l'exception de quelques kilomètres de côte en bordure de l'océan Atlantique. En raison de sa grande superficie, de ses richesses et de son importante population, elle demeure l'un des géants de l'Afrique, avec l'Egypte, le Nigeria et l'Afrique du Sud. (P.F. KANDOLO ON'OFUKU WA KANDOLO, 2005, p.p. 15-16)

Quant à la gratuité de l'enseignement, celle-ci n'est pas connue des textes juridiques régissant le Congo colonisé et ses indigènes. En effet, le premier texte constitutionnel ayant régi le Congo fut la Charte coloniale adoptée par le Parlement belge en date du 18 octobre 1908 sur le gouvernement du Congo-belge. (IYELEZA MOJU-MBEY, 1991, p.p. 143-148). Par contre, avant 1908, cette Colonie Belge était une propriété privée du Roi des Belges, Léopold II.

Il faut signaler que c'est cette date qui symbolise l'annexion du Congo à la Belgique. Le parcours de cette Charte ne révèle aucune disposition expresse relative soit au droit à l'éducation, soit à la gratuité de l'enseignement de quelque niveau qu'il fut. Mais nos parents rapportent que pendant toute la période coloniale, comme l'enseignement était obligatoire et comme peu de parents acceptaient d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école, celle-ci était totalement gratuite. Il y a donc lieu de recourir à la période d'après la colonisation.

b) La gratuité de l'enseignement primaire après l'indépendance

Le premier texte constitutionnel qui a régi le Congo indépendant est la loi fondamentale du 19 mai 1960 relative aux structures du Congo. Mais celle-ci n'ayant pas protégé les droits de l'homme, une autre loi fondamentale fut prise en date du 17 juin 1960 relative aux libertés publiques. L'article 13 de cette loi parle expressément du droit à l'éducation lorsqu'il stipule « *Le droit à l'instruction étant reconnu, les pouvoirs publics mettront tout en oeuvre pour assurer à tous les enfants congolais l'accès à l'enseignement, en créant les établissements nécessaires, et en subsidiant les établissements privés présentant les garanties souhaitables. L'enseignement est libre. L'instruction organisée par les pouvoirs public est réglée par la loi ou les édits* ».

Ce texte constitutionnel ne rend ni obligatoire, ni gratuit l'enseignement au Congo. C'est plutôt les articles 33 à 38 de la Constitution de la R.D. Congo du 1er août 1964, appelée communément « Constitution de

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XXIII Issue VII Version I Year 2023

Luluabourg », qui règle de manière claire le droit à l'éducation. L'article 33 consacre « expressis verbis » le caractère obligatoire et gratuit de l'enseignement lorsqu'il stipule : « *Tous les Congolais ont droit à l'éducation. Les parents ont par priorité, le droit de choisir le genre de l'éducation à donner à leurs enfants. L'enseignement est gratuit et obligatoire jusqu'au niveau d'études et jusqu'à l'âge prévu par la loi* ».

Ces propos sont vérifiables surtout lorsque l'on parcourt le point 11 du communiqué de prise du pouvoir en 1965 par le Haut Commandement de l'Armée Nationale Congolaise en ce que, s'agissant des droits et libertés fondamentaux, il s'est engagé à ne respecter que « les droits et les libertés garantis par la Constitution du 1er août 1964, tels que prévus par les articles 24, 25, 26, 27 et 28, notamment la liberté de pensée, de conscience, de religion, d'expression, de presse, de réunion et d'association » (IYELEZA MOJU-MBEY, *Op.cit*, p. 80).

L'intelligence de ce point 11 peut être comprise en ceci que les putchistes ne s'étaient pas engagés à respecter toutes les libertés garanties par la Constitution de 1964 comme la liberté partisane, le droit à l'éducation, le droit à l'inviolabilité du domicile, etc.

Ce refus de respecter le droit à l'éducation a connu postérieurement des atténuations du fait que la Constitution du 24 juin 1967 qui a suivi le coup d'Etat militaire de 1965 prévoit le droit à l'éducation mais sans aucune référence au caractère gratuit et obligatoire de l'enseignement primaire.

L'article 13 de ladite Constitution stipule « *Il est pourvu à l'éducation de la jeunesse par l'enseignement national. L'enseignement comprend les écoles publiques ainsi que des écoles agréées contrôlées, prises en charge par les pouvoirs publics et soumises à un statut fixé par la loi. Tous les congolais ont accès aux établissement de religion, de race ou d'opinion politique ou philosophique* ».

Toutes les révisions et Constitutions qui ont suivi le coup d'Etat de 1965 n'ont rien prévu sur la gratuité de l'enseignement. Et les conditions de l'éducation nationale n'ont fait que se détériorer. C'est la Constitution salvatrice du 18 février 2006 qui revient sur les expressions « gratuité » et caractère « obligatoire » de l'enseignement primaire (Article 43, alinéa 4 de la Constitution du 18.02.2006).

c) Principe légal de la gratuité en République Démocratique du Congo

Le principe de la gratuité de l'enseignement en République Démocratique du Congo est posé par l'article 43, alinéa 4 de la constitution du 18 février 2006. Donc, la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire est à la fois constitutionnelle et légale.

La valeur juridique et l'étendue d'une telle disposition est son caractère général et absolu, même si son exécution pose de sérieux problèmes de fond.

La gratuité ne s'impose donc qu'aux écoles publiques du niveau primaire en tant qu'ordre d'enseignement comportant différents niveaux de scolarité (classes élémentaire, moyenne et terminale). En clair, la gratuité ne concerne pas les écoles même publiques d'enseignement maternel car la loi-cadre n° 86/005 du 22 septembre 1986 portant enseignement national stipule, en son article 16, que « *L'enseignement national est organisé en enseignement maternel, enseignement primaire, enseignement secondaire, enseignement supérieur et enseignement universitaire* » (Recueil des directives et instructions officielles, 1998, P.20). L'article 18 de la même loi rend facultatif l'enseignement maternel. Il va de soi qu'il est incompréhensible de rendre gratuit un enseignement facultatif. Elle ne concerne pas non plus les enseignements secondaire, supérieur et universitaire.

Le principe de gratuité de l'enseignement primaire public doit s'imposer de façon générale et absolue à toutes les normes juridiques. Cette affirmation bien que provenant de l'essence même des dispositions constitutionnelles et du terme « gratuité », demeure incertaine. Elle peut faire appel à plusieurs éléments dont le principal est le suivant : qu'en droit commun, le principe de gratuité n'est pas un principe général régissant le fonctionnement des services publics.

Toutes les activités de service public, quelles qu'elles soient, sont soumises à quelques grands principes (de continuité, d'égalité avec ses corollaires de neutralité et de laïcité, d'adaptation) que d'éminents juristes ont théorisés (L. ROLAND, 1943, P.46) que le droit public congolais accepte comme faisant partie des principes généraux du droit.

La gratuité ne figure pas au nombre de ces principes : au contraire, le coût des prestations fournies par le service public fait très souvent l'objet d'une répercussion, en tout ou en partie, sur les usagers. Dans ce contexte, la gratuité de l'enseignement constitue un mode de gestion qui est une heureuse spécificité du service public d'éducation. Elle constitue donc un « devoir » de l'Etat, plus qu'un « droit » des citoyens. Et l'Etat congolais devra donner une signification claire et précise, du genre de celle qui était donnée primitivement en France, après la suppression de la rétribution sociale.

Elle signifie que *la prestation de service, en l'occurrence l'enseignement dispensé par les maîtres, ne fait l'objet d'aucune contrepartie financière de la part des usagers de service public* ; en somme, le coût de revient de la prestation (personnels) est entièrement pris en charge par la collectivité, non par les bénéficiaires directs.

Ainsi, sous quelque dénomination que ce soit, des « rétributions », des « redevances », des « droits d'inscription » ne peuvent être perçus par les établissements scolaires pour les enseignements dispensés aux élèves dans le cadre des horaires et programmes fixés par le Ministère de l'Education nationale (B. TOULEMONDE, *Op.cit.*, p. 8.). La règle est là absolue.

Mais les Congolais n'attendent pas une telle signification. Pour eux, en comprenant l'élargissement du terme, la notion de gratuité de l'enseignement doit perdre de sa simplicité et de sa force pour déborder sur le terrain beaucoup moins circonscrit et plus mouvant de l'aide aux élèves et à leurs familles. D'une conception étroite, mais absolue, on voudrait vite passer à une conception large, mais relative du principe de gratuité. D'où des discussions et des sujets de controverses.

Si aucun reproche ne peut être fait contre l'article 40, alinéa 4 de la Constitution en ce qu'il précise le niveau de scolarité et le secteur des établissements concernés par la gratuité, les incertitudes pèsent par contre sur l'étendue de la gratuité quant à la nature de prestations d'enseignement offertes gratuitement.

d) La nature des établissements concernés par la gratuité

Le texte constitutionnel est clair à ce sujet, il s'agit de l'enseignement primaire des établissements publics, à l'exclusion des établissements privés. La différence entre ces deux types d'établissements réside en ce que, les établissements publics d'enseignement sont ceux créés par les pouvoirs publics et gérés, soit directement par eux-mêmes, soit par des privés, personnes physiques ou morales ayant reçu mandat suivant les modalités déterminées par les pouvoirs publics. Tandis que ceux d'enseignements privés agréés sont ceux créés à l'initiative des privés, personnes physiques ou morales gérés par eux-mêmes et soumis au contrôle du gouvernement (Article 6 de la loi-cadre n° 86/005 du 22.09.1986 de l'Enseignement National).

Le texte constitutionnel laisse planer une certaine ambiguïté en ce qu'il ne concerne que la période de la scolarité obligatoire (lorsqu'il parle de l'enseignement primaire en excluant l'enseignement maternel). En réalité, la gratuité ne se limite pas à la scolarité obligatoire mais relève d'un critère organique - école, collège, lycée publics, même si la scolarité s'y déroule avant ou après l'obligation scolaire. C'est le cas en France des classes maternelles et infantiles, antérieures à l'âge de six ans, qui sont incontestablement couvertes par la gratuité.

II. Les Objectifs de la Gratuité de L'enseignement Primaire

Si les Constitutions antérieures de la République Démocratique du Congo, singulièrement celles de la II^ème République et la Loi-cadre n° 86/005 du 22 septembre 1986 de l'Enseignement National, faisaient mention du caractère obligatoire de l'enseignement primaire, elles étaient en même temps muettes à propos de la gratuité de ce cycle d'enseignement.

Et pourtant, ainsi que le précise MOKONZI, l'obligation scolaire n'est possible que si elle s'appuie sur la gratuité (G. MOKONZI BAMBANOTA, 2007, p.21). C'est sur ce point que la Constitution actuellement en vigueur en R.D. Congo constitue une avancée importante à travers son article 43 précité. Mais pour quels objectifs ? La gratuité poursuit plusieurs objectifs qui peuvent être classés les uns comme principaux et les autres comme subsidiaires.

Si l'on interroge à chacun de nous de dégager les objectifs que poursuivent les Etats en luttant pour la gratuité de l'éducation primaire, plusieurs réponses seront données. Mais en ce qui nous concerne, nous pensons qu'il y a un objectif principal en amont, qui est celui d'éradiquer l'analphabétisme et un objectif secondaire en aval, celui de décharger les parents.

a) La réduction du taux d'analphabétisme

Les quatrièmes objectifs de l'éducation pour tous, résultant tant de la Conférence de Jomtien que du Forum de Dakar, demandent aux Etats de fournir des efforts en vue de la réduction du taux d'analphabétisme des adultes.

L'une des motivations de la proclamation par les Nations-Unies de l'année internationale de l'alphabétisation était de pouvoir donner aux gouvernements membres de l'UNESCO, confrontés au problème d'analphabétisme, l'occasion d'amorcer le plan d'action de l'élimination de ce fléau avant l'an 2000.

Ce plan associe la généralisation de l'enseignement primaire (procédure préventive de l'analphabétisme) à l'intensification de l'analphabétisation des jeunes non scolarisés ainsi que des adultes n'ayant pas profité de la première chance d'alphabétisation au cours de leur enfance (procédure curative de l'analphabétisation).

L'école, on le sait, entretient des relations dialectiques avec la société dans laquelle elle fonctionne. En même temps qu'elle est influencée par les mutations enregistrées par celle-ci, l'école contribue largement à façonner les individus, mais aussi la société toute entière ; raison pour laquelle elle est exposée aux critiques de l'opinion et soumise à des demandes injustifiées lorsque la société évolue.

Dans l'optique de l'interaction école-société, la nouvelle donne politique en République Démocratique du Congo présente des conjonctures intéressantes pour l'école congolaise. L'école pour tous pourra enregistrer un coup de pouce décisif, étant donné les dispositions constitutionnelles qui établissent le tandem obligation-gratuité de l'enseignement primaire (article 43, alinéa 4) et érigent la lutte contre l'analphabétisme en un devoir national. L'instauration de la démocratie a mené le thème de l'éducation sur l'espace des débats politiques

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XXIII Issue VII Version I Year 2023

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XXIII Issue VII Version I Year 2023

et des secteurs prioritaires du programme de développement du pays (L'éducation a été retenue parmi les cinq chantiers du Chef de l'Etat durant l'exercice de son mandat quinquennal).

Ainsi, la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire est retenue comme une procédure préventive de l'analphabétisme des adultes car, l'on sait, comme ne cessait de le répéter le feu Président Mobutu, « l'avenir du Zaïre dépend de ce que l'on aura fait de la jeunesse aujourd'hui ».

Mais la procédure préventive, apparemment privilégiée par notre législation par rapport à la procédure curative, est-elle actuellement un instrument efficace de lutte contre l'analphabétisme en République Démocratique du Congo ?

Nous répondons avec Mokonzi Bambanote lorsqu'il écrit « (...) pour apprécier les efforts fournis dans un milieu donné (continent, pays, province...) en matière d'alphabétisation, il faut envisager deux situations différentes et complémentaires : d'une part, l'ampleur de la scolarisation primaire et, d'autre part, le développement des actions d'alphabétisation des jeunes et des adultes » (G. MOKOZI BAMBANOTA, 2006, p. 1). En ce qui concerne la République Démocratique du Congo, en vertu du principe de continuité de l'Etat et au regard de certains textes de base élaborés pendant la deuxième République et pendant la longue transition amorcée sous le régime du Président Mobutu et poursuivie sous les règnes des Présidents Laurent-Désiré Kabila et Joseph Kabila, on peut affirmer que l'analphabétisme est, bien que de manière peu prononcée, une préoccupation à la fois du Gouvernement et de la communauté nationale.

Mais il faut encourager la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire pour réduire l'analphabétisme étant donné que les résultats de l'enquête effectuée par l'Unicef démontrent combien la situation est catastrophique. En effet, selon les résultats de l'enquête MICS[)], effectuée par l'UNICEF (2002, p.7), la participation aux programmes d'éducation préscolaire ne concerne que 3 % d'enfants de 3 à 4 ans révolus et demeure l'apanage des centres urbains. Quant à la scolarisation primaire, l'enquête précitée relève que 17 % seulement des enfants commencent l'école primaire à l'âge de 6 ans. Nombreux sont ainsi les enfants qui amorcent tardivement l'éducation formelle.

Cet indicateur d'accès à la scolarité a enregistré, de 1995 à 2001, une baisse globale de 6 %, passant de 23 à 17 %. En outre, le taux net de scolarisation pour les enfants âgés de 6 à 11 ans était seulement de 52 % en 2001 alors qu'il s'élevait à 56 % en 1995. Les raisons, on ne peut s'en douter, les études coûtent chères et les parents sont pour la plupart chômeurs ou sous-rémunérés, incapables d'amener les enfants à l'école.

Quant à l'analphabétisme, il appert, à la lumière des résultats de l'enquête menée par l'Unicef en 2001, comme dans la plupart des pays du tiers-monde, plus les femmes que les hommes : 44 % des femmes contre 19 % des hommes sont analphabètes, soit un indice de parité de 0.69. Ces estimations de l'Unicef concordent en gros avec celles de l'Institut de Statistique de l'Unesco (2002), lesquelles mentionnent pour la République Démocratique du Congo à l'an 2000, un taux d'analphabétisme de 33 % de la population adulte âgée d'au moins 15 ans.

Ce taux s'élevait au cours de la même année à 23,7 % pour les hommes et 43 % pour les femmes, écart traduit par un indice de parité de 0.75 (UNESCO, 2003, p.21).

En matière d'alphabétisation des adultes, les estimations de l'Institut de l'Unesco montrent que la situation s'améliore progressivement, de sorte qu'en 2015, le taux d'analphabétisme sera d'environ 20,8 % pour l'ensemble de la population adulte, 13,8 % pour les hommes et 27,7 % pour les femmes. Permettant ainsi à la République Démocratique du Congo d'atteindre l'objectif de la réduction de 50 % du taux d'analphabétisme par rapport à la situation de l'an 2000, cette amélioration s'accompagne de la réduction progressive des disparités entre les hommes et les femmes (G. MOKONZI BAMBANOTA, 2005b, p. 7.).

b) L'allégement des charges des parents et dispositions pratiques mises en oeuvre par le Gouvernement

Le deuxième objectif que poursuit la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire peut être recherché dans l'allégement du poids lourd qui pèse sur les parents en vue de faciliter la scolarisation primaire d'un plus grand nombre d'enfants.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les parents payent un lourd tribut pour la scolarisation des enfants, ce qui ne permet pas à l'Etat de rendre effective l'obligation assignée par la Constitution selon laquelle tous les enfants scolarisables (âgés de 6 ans) doivent aller à l'école.

En effet, chômeurs, impayés ou sous-payés, les parents congolais ne sont pas à mesure de faire face aux différents frais (directs et indirects) exigés par les écoles pour scolariser leurs enfants. Avec la gratuité consacrée, aucun parent ne peut trouver d'alibi sur la non scolarisation de ses enfants : le caractère obligatoire de l'enseignement primaire peut donc s'appliquer. Et si la gratuité est appliquée effectivement, le taux d'analphabétisme sera réduit sans beaucoup d'efforts. Mais cela demande de la part du Gouvernement une prise de responsabilité et de conscience en faveur des enseignants et des écoles.

III. Obstacles à Combattre Pour L'effectivité de la Gratuité de L'enseignement en République Démocratique du Congo

Il faut ici relever les avancées que la RDC a connues dans le domaine de la gratuité avant de dégager les obstacles qui ont empêché et continue à empêcher la mise en oeuvre effective de la gratuité dans ce pays.

a) Les avancées progressives

L'article 14 du Pacte international relatif aux droits économiques, sociaux et culturels du 16.12.1966, ratifié par notre pays (J.O.R.D.C, 1999, pp. 12-20) stipule :

> *« Tout Etat partie au présent Pacte qui, au moment où il devient partie, n'a pas encore pu assurer dans sa métropole ou dans les territoires placés sous sa juridiction le caractère obligatoire et la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire s'engage à établir et à adopter, dans un délai de deux ans, un plan détaillé des mesures nécessaires pour réaliser progressivement dans un nombre raisonnable d'années fixé par ce plan, la pleine application du principe de l'enseignement primaire obligatoire et gratuit pour tous».*

Ce pacte qui a un caractère contraignant vient renforcer les stipulations de l'instrument universel déclaratoire qu'est la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme du 10.12.1948, en son article 26.1 en ce qu'il rend gratuit l'enseignement élémentaire et fondamental.

Malgré que la République Démocratique du Congo a intégré la DUDH (Bulletin Officiel, 1949, p. 1206) et le Pacte, c'est seulement après la Conférence mondiale de l'Education pour tous tenue à Jomtien (Thaïlande) en 1990, qu'on l'a vu poser des actes clairs en matière de l'éducation.

Nous pouvons citer:

- en 1991, une Table Ronde Nationale de N'sele fut tenue sur l'EPT ;
- en 1992, des Tables Rondes provinciales furent organisées à Goma et à Kikwit ;
- en 1994, une journée de réflexion sur l'éducation pour tous au Zaïre : quatre ans après Jomtien fut organisée ;
- en 1996, les Etats Généraux de l'Education furent tenus ;
- plusieurs actions furent également entreprises, notamment une mise en oeuvre d'un programme pilote de revitalisation des écoles publiques, création d'un Conseil National pour l'enfant, l'élaboration d'un Plan cadre de reconstruction du système éducatif congolais, l'élaboration du programme triennal de développement, des ateliers sur l'établissement du bilan de l'éducation pour tous, organisation de plusieurs émissions radiotélévisées destinées aux jeunes, etc (*Rapport national*, 1999, p. 5.).

Les actes constitutionnels et législatifs pris depuis la ratification du PIDESC ainsi que des résolutions et décisions publiques nationales ne font guère allusion à la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire alors que la Conférence mondiale de l'éducation pour tous en fait allusion. Il eut fallu attendre la Conférence de Dakar de l'an 2000 suivie de la Déclaration du Millénaire des Nations Unies, adoptée en 2000 par 189 pays et d'où découlent des Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement, afin de voir la R.D.C. insérer dans sa Constitution une disposition relative à la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire en 2006. Et pour cause, certains obstacles sérieux n'ont pas permis la proclamation de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire aussi tôt que la Constitution ait été promulguée.

La lettre-circulaire du Ministre de l'Enseignement Primaire, Secondaire et Professionnel, datée du 21 juin 2007 fixe les frais de scolarité pour l'exercice 2007-2008, complétée par les Arrêtés provinciaux qui rendent gratuite pour l'année scolaire 2007 – 2008 seule la classe de première année primaire des écoles publiques de certaines provinces.

Cette série d'actes encourageants est clôturée à ce jour par la première alternance civilisée suivie de la mise en œuvre effective, par le l'actuel Président de la République, de la politique de la gratuite de l'enseignement primaire sur toute l'entendue du territoire national.

b) Les différents obstacles à combattre

Les obstacles à la gratuité sont ceux liés à l'éducation en général. Il faut donc distinguer les obstacles politico-juridiques, des obstacles sociaux du système éducatif congolais.

i. Les obstacles politico-juridiques

Comme dans d'autres contrées de l'Afrique, « l'école congolaise moderne fait partie de ce que Sikounmo (1992) appelle les « cadeaux-séquelles » de la colonisation. Elle s'est implantée ici au 19ème siècle dans le but initial de pourvoir la métropole de la main d'oeuvre minimale indispensable pour une exploitation optimale des ressources de la colonie.

Aussi, de par la politique éducative appliquée par la puissance coloniale (la Belgique), l'école héritée par la R.D.C, à son accession à la souveraineté nationale et internationale, était-elle essentiellement sélective ; une école qui devrait, du fait de nouveaux enjeux, être littéralement renvoyée au diable. C'est pourquoi, au cours de la première décennie de l'indépendance de ce pays, soit la décennie 1960, cette école a enregistré un développement spectaculaire aussi bien sur le plan qualitatif que sur le plan quantitatif.

Ce développement a amené « les autres pays africains à exprimer leur admiration pour l'enseignement congolais issu de la réforme de 1961/1962. La R.D.C s'était ainsi engagée dans une expérience sans précédent. Elle se détournait apparemment radicalement de l'éducation coloniale et instaurait un système d'enseignement correspondant aux progrès les plus sûrs de la pédagogie moderne » (R.S. GASIBEREGE, 1979, 126).

A partir de la décennie 1970 et particulièrement à partir de la politisation du système scolaire de la R.D.C déclenchée par la décision d'étatisation des écoles, l'école congolaise a été progressivement et demeure rongée par une crise profonde. Ainsi, ses indices s'apparentent amplement à ceux relevés par Hallak pour des systèmes éducatifs de plusieurs pays en développement, notamment le déclin de la qualité, les doutes touchant l'adéquation entre les programmes scolaires et les besoins économiques et sociaux, le déséquilibre entre l'offre et la demande d'une main d'oeuvre instruite qui entraîne des déséquilibres supplémentaires entre les possibilités d'emploi, le problème grandissant posé par le chômage des diplômés, les écarts continus ou croissants entre les normes et la scolarisation des zones urbaines et rurales (J. HALLAK, 1996, p.27).

A ce déclin du système éducatif congolais dû à l'étatisation des écoles, il faut ajouter d'autres obstacles nés lors de l'entrée dans la décennie 1990. En effet, depuis que, venu de l'Est, le vent de la perestroïka a soufflé sur la R.D.C, le pays n'a enregistré un seul instant la stabilité politique jusqu'en 2004. On est ainsi passé du pénible déclenchement du processus de démocratisation (en 1990) suivi des troubles politiques, des grèves, pillages et des journées villes mortes et aux différentes guerres (de libération) à partir de 1992, 1996, 1998 jusqu'en 2004, les agitations et turpitudes politiciennes. Les agitations sociales, les guerres interethniques, les guerres de libération ainsi que les guerres d'agression ont connu des ramifications inextricables et ont généré des effets à la fois fâcheux et complexes qui ont menacé dangereusement l'avenir du pays. Ces effets n'ont nullement, loin s'en faut, ménagé le secteur de l'éducation.

Dans un contexte pareil, il était impossible de penser à réglementer le domaine de l'éducation car en Afrique, la politique domine sur toute activité nationale ; lorsqu'elle ne va pas, rien ne peut marcher.

Au-delà de ce qui précède et peut être ce que le climat politique a créé, il faut ajouter les obstacles sociaux liés aux fonctionnements du système éducatif congolais.

ii. *Obstacles sociaux*

Les difficultés rencontrées dans la mise en oeuvre des programmes d'éducation sont aussi : le non fonctionnement du Comité de suivi mis en place après la Table Ronde de N'sele sur l'Education pour tous au Zaïre en 1991, la suspension de la coopération bilatérale et multilatérale due au mauvais climat politique et privant le pays de l'assistance extérieure, les effets de la politique d'ajustement structurel sur les secteurs sociaux, la non couverture du territoire national par la campagne d'information et de sensibilisation de la population en faveur des objectifs de l'Education pour tous, le manque des ressources financières dû en grande partie par la malversation financière par des dirigeants politiques et par la suspension de la coopération avec les grands bailleurs de fonds, l'absence de construction des nouveaux bâtiments et équipements scolaires par l'Etat depuis la détérioration de ceux laissés par le colonisateur.

Alors que son système éducatif est dans un état pitoyable eu égard au tableau ci-dessus, la R.D.C se trouve aujourd'hui, après plus de 60 ans d'indépendance et de traversée du désert, face à une opportunité décisive, celle de l'espérance ; espérance d'un avenir meilleur, de la démocratie et de la bonne gouvernance, espérance de voir les enfants étudier gratuitement et dans les conditions humaines.

IV. Impact de la Gratuité de L'enseignement Primaire en RDC

Nombreux d'enfants ont pu étudier ou ont repris le chemin de l'école grâce à la gratuite de l'enseignement primaire devenue effective depuis la rentrée scolaire 2019 - 2020. Mais sur le terrain, beaucoup d'écoles à travers le pays font encore face à des difficultés énormes pour bien fonctionner.

Au-delà de ses effets positifs, la gratuité de l'enseignement telle que prônée par le président de la république présente aussi des conséquences. A la longue, la gratuité pourra aussi être à la base de la baisse du niveau de l'enseignement en RDC.

Depuis la mise en œuvre effective de la gratuité, le nombre des élèves a augmenté dans les institutions officielles de l'enseignement, dans une salle de classe par exemple l'effectif dépasse 55 élèves.

D'après Patrick WENDA, le nombre d'élèves dans une salle de classe ne favorise pas la compréhension de la matière. « *Quand nous avons dans une salle de classe plus de 100 élèves qui suivent cours, avec un seul enseignant surtout au niveau de primaire, la compréhension de la matière par tous les élèves pose problème*» (WENDA, P., Entretien accordé à ELECTION-NET, le 20/10/2020). A ces conditions, il est impossible pour un enseignant de suivre chaque élève pour voir s'il progresse.

Le nombre pléthorique, crée des conséquences très désastreuses.

Vous pouvez par exemple, terminer toute une année sans que les apprenants aient compris le programme et rater d'atteindre les objectifs assignés à chaque cours et terminer le cycle de primaire sans une base solide.

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XXIII Issue VII Version I Year 2023

Le gouvernement congolais devrait réglementer la question de nombre d'élèves dans une salle de classe afin de favoriser la bonne formation.

Depuis la rentrée de classe des élèves au début l'année scolaire 2019-2020, il règne un remue-ménage inquiétant au sein des écoles primaires et même secondaires publiques de la République Démocratique du Congo en général, et aux écoles conventionnées, toutes tendances confondues, en particulier, suite à la mise en œuvre effective de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire.

En effet, tout commence à partir des instructions fermes que les Directeurs et les Préfets des études ont reçues de leur hiérarchie scolaire, selon lesquelles la gratuité de *l'enseignement primaire* doit scrupuleusement être observée telle que l'exige la Constitution de la RDC.

Cela implique le non-paiement des frais scolaires et des primes des parents pour *les élèves des écoles primaires ;* et on laisse justement le paiement des frais scolaires dont le taux est fixé généralement par le gouvernement.

Les autorités vont jusqu'à imposer le remboursement immédiat aux parents des frais déjà perçus par les écoles dès le début de l'année scolaire de la mise en œuvre effective de la gratuite de l'enseignement, et elles menacent de sanctionner sévèrement tout chef d'établissement qui continuerait malignement ou par mégarde à percevoir lesdits frais et primes des parents.

En conséquence, la prime que les parents payaient traditionnellement pour venir à la rescousse des enseignants dont le salaire est toujours insignifiant, ainsi que pour couvrir la totalité de la paie des « NP » (c'est-à-dire les enseignants *non payés* malgré les matricules qu'ils détiennent), est d'office supprimée puisque le gouvernement lui-même prend désormais en charge les enseignants, tant ceux qui sont régulièrement rémunérés (qui verront leur enveloppe gonflée) que ceux qui ne le sont pas encore, appelés vulgairement les NP.

Le gouvernement de la RDC s'engage donc à payer des salaires réajustés des enseignants, dès le mois de septembre 2019 (selon certaines indiscrétions, le salaire d'un enseignant de milieu rural (puisqu'il y a une certaine discrimination à ce sujet) s'élève aux environs de 190.000 Francs congolais, soient 111.7 $ US,) et y compris certaines sommes pour le fonctionnement des écoles.

Certes, cette exigence de la gratuité scolaire du primaire est bénéfique pour les parents d'élèves qui voient à travers cette intervention gouvernementale l'allègement de coût de la scolarisation de leurs enfants ; mais elle est un coup dur pour les enseignants qui ne sont pas encore pris en charge par l'Etat congolais, à moins que tous les 135.000 « NP » de toute la république soient concernés dans cette mesure, sans oublier les nouvelles unités (les NU), c'est-à-dire les nouveaux enseignants qui travaillent déjà sans avoir des matricules, c'est-à-dire sans être répertoriés par l'Etat à travers les services de SECOPE (services de contrôle et de paie des enseignants), organe du ministère de l'EPST (enseignement primaire, secondaire et Technique). Ces NU bénéficiaient jusque-là desdites primes des parents afin de travailler pour la bonne marche de leurs écoles.

En supprimant les primes des parents, non seulement les NU seront contraintes de rendre le tablier, mais encore leur départ entraînera à coup sûr la fermeture de certaines classes, avec comme conséquence le surpeuplement des élèves dans les classes restantes, sans compter l'exode des élèves qui dépeupleront les écoles privées pour venir envahir les établissements publics afin de bénéficier eux aussi de la gratuité.

Cette situation n'épargne pas certaines écoles réputées meilleures de la république, où l'on note toutefois un nombre considérable d'enseignants qui bénéficiaient jusque-là de rémunérations mensuelles considérables y compris des avantages de soins de santé, pour eux-mêmes ainsi que pour leurs familles restreintes, grâce à la bonne gestion financière des primes perçues des parents d'élèves.

En plus, les frais de fonctionnement de ces écoles liés aux activités scolaires telles que l'achat des matériels et fournitures scolaires et didactiques, la paie supplémentaire de son personnel (tant celui payé par l'Etat que les NP et les NU), l'organisation des tests scolaires et la paie des testeurs, les photocopies des questionnaires des élèves pour les examens (chaque collégien reçoit habituellement sa copie pendant les examens), la couverture sanitaire du personnel ainsi que leurs familles restreintes, le système de double vacation scolaire, etc. dépendaient en grande partie des recettes excédentaires générées auprès des parents d'élèves car les frais de fonctionnement qui pouvaient venir du gouvernement sont presque inexistants. Et même si ceux-ci étaient fournis, ils ne suffiraient pas à faire fonctionner ces établissements scolaires.

Ces écoles ont des multiples dépenses Toutes ces particularités concourent à la prouesse et au rendement meilleur qui caractérisent ces écoles.

La suppression de la prime des parents à ces écoles prive en conséquence des suppléments nécessaires pour son bon fonctionnement, et pour sa performance qui le caractérisaient et le maintenaient au point culminant des écoles d'Afrique et pourquoi pas d'Europe.

V. Les Mécanismes Spécifiques Pour la Mise en Oeuvre de la Gratuité de L'enseignement Primaire

La Constitution congolaise vient de franchir une étape importante des objectifs de l'Education Pour Tous en consacrant, non seulement le caractère obligatoire mais également la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire du secteur public en République Démocratique du Congo. Mais cela ne suffit pas, il faut mettre en oeuvre cette gratuité. Pour y parvenir, les mécanismes spécifiques peuvent être proposés ; une loi spéciale organisant la gratuité et les institutions étatiques et non étatiques chargées du suivi de la gratuité devront être mises en place.

a) La nécessité de la promulgation d'une loi spéciale organisant la gratuité absolue de l'enseignement primaire public

En constitutionnalisant la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire du secteur public, la République Démocratique du Congo montre sa volonté de voir tous les enfants accéder facilement à l'éducation de base et prouve qu'elle attache une grande importance à la réorganisation de l'enseignement national en général et primaire en particulier. Mais il faut, pour la manifestation de cette volonté, outre la loi-cadre de l'enseignement national qui, est d'ailleurs muette sur la gratuité de l'enseignement, éditer une loi devant organiser cette gratuité, fixer ses contours. Ainsi, le premier mécanisme spécifique qui peut être proposé pour une mise en oeuvre effective de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire en RDC devra s'agir d'une *Loi* dans son sens strict.

Cette Loi est celle qui devra définir les différents frais qui sont concernés par la gratuité. Elle devra notamment stipuler de manière claire « qu'il ne sera plus perçu de rétribution scolaire dans les écoles publiques et que les charges anciennement supportées par les parents pour la scolarisation de leurs enfants sont supprimées sous toutes leurs formes et sur toute l'étendue de la république ». Une telle stipulation paraît non ambiguë et épargnerait les parents d'être victimes d'interprétation erronée de la part des responsables des écoles et des faux-fuyants du Gouvernement.

Il faut dire que pareilles stipulations ne seront pas une innovation dans l'arsenal juridique mondial. En France par exemple, la loi du 16 juin 1881, qui fait partie des Grandes lois de la République française sur l'enseignement primaire, énonce une stipulation semblables (Digithèque MJP, 20016, p.6). Pareille loi (avec tous ses caractères abstraits, général et contraignant) devra en outre déterminer toutes les institutions étatiques et non étatiques devant participer à sa mise en oeuvre effective et garder sa valeur d'une loi ordinaire prise conformément aux dispositions constitutionnelles, loi suprême de notre pays. Elle devra également déterminer la période de couverture de cette gratuité.

Mais quel genre d'Institutions pourrait-on mettre en place pour le suivi de la mise en oeuvre de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire ?

b) La nécessité de la mise en place des Institutions spécialisées

A l'heure actuelle, il existe plusieurs Institutions qui s'occupent et qui sont impliquées dans le domaine de l'enseignement en République Démocratique du Congo.

Au niveau central, il existe au sein du Gouvernement, un Ministère chargé de l'enseignement primaire, secondaire et Technique. Il est responsable de la formation tant morale, intellectuelle que civique des enfants du cycle maternel, primaire et secondaire. Au niveau politique, le Ministère est dirigé par un Ministre, secondé par un Vice-Ministre. Au niveau de l'Administration, il est secondé par un Secrétaire Général. Il statue par voie d'arrêté. Le Ministère comprend plusieurs Directions et Projets notamment : les Services Généraux, l'Administration de l'Enseignement général et normal, les Programmes scolaires et matériel didactique, l'Inspectorat général, la Direction de Pension et rente de survie, Service de contrôle de la Paie des Enseignants (SECOPE), Service national d'identification des élèves (SERNI), Bureau Projet Education - Banque Mondiale, Planification et statistiques scolaires, etc. (Elisco, Kin. 1998, p. 61).

Au niveau de l'Administration provinciale, le Ministère est dirigé, suivant la nouvelle structure, par le Ministre Provincial de l'Education nationale. Il est secondé au niveau politique par le Chef de Division Provinciale qui lui est secondé par l'Inspecteur Principal Provincial (IPP).

Outre cette organisation politique et administrative, il existe d'autres organes qui fonctionnent sous la haute autorité du Ministre, on peut citer notamment le Conseil National de l'Education pour l'Enseignement primaire et secondaire (Ordonnance n° 79-021 du 7 février 1979). Suivant l'article 2 de l'ordonnance n° 79-021 du 7 février 1979 portant son organisation, le Conseil donne ses avis sur toutes les questions relatives à l'enseignement ou à l'éducation. Il y a également certains organismes non étatiques qui fonctionnent comme partenaires de l'éducation : l'UNESCO, l'UNICEF, Association Nationale des Parents d'Elèves et Etudiants du Congo (ANAPECO), syndicats, Organisations non-gouvernementales (O.N.G), etc.

Pour assurer la gratuité de l'enseignement, nous pensons qu'il faut créer un organisme dépendant du Ministre de tutelle et chargé du suivi de l'exécution et de la mise en oeuvre effective de la gratuité. Cet organisme, qui peut être appelé « Service de suivi de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire », devra également avoir pour tâche, outre les missions classiques assignées à un tel organe, d'entendre et de transférer en justice tout contrevenant.

Pour la réalisation de la gratuité, il faudra permettre aux provinces, territoires ou communes de disposer d'un bon pourcentage de leurs revenus aux fins de l'enseignement : paiement du salaire des enseignants, achat des infrastructures et fournitures scolaires, réfection et construction des bâtiments scolaires,... Cela résulte de la volonté du Constituant congolais lui-même qui, à l'article 204, point 13, fait de l'enseignement maternel, primaire, secondaire, professionnel et spécial ainsi que l'alphabétisation des citoyens, une matière relevant de la compétence exclusive des provinces.

Ainsi, pourront être affectés en faveur de l'enseignement primaire, les prélèvements à effectuer par les provinces, territoires ou communes, les ressources provenant :

- des revenus en argent des biens provinciaux ;
- de la part revenant aux provinces sur les différentes impositions et taxes ;
- des droits de voiries et des droits de location aux halles ;
- du produit net des taxes ordinaires d'octroi, etc...

Il faut donc que la rigueur dans la gestion des recettes provinciales soit de mise et qu'en cas d'insuffisance des ressources sur les 40 %, les dépenses soient couvertes par une subvention de l'Etat sur les 60 % à lui verser sur les recettes de chaque province (L'article 175, alinéa 2 de la Constitution).

VI. Conclusion

La présente étude a eu les mérites de développer la notion de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire telle qu'elle est réglementée par les instruments juridiques internationaux et par la Constitution de la Républiques Démocratique du Congo (avant et après son indépendance).

Elle s'est attelée également à présenter les questions pratiques de cette gratuité dans notre pays : les avancées, les objectifs poursuivis en rendant légale cette gratuité ainsi que les différents obstacles qu'il faut combattre pour une mise en oeuvre effective. Les recherches ne se sont pas arrêtées là. Cette étude a proposé les mécanismes à mettre en place pour le suivi et rendre effective la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire dans notre pays : c'est là la contribution faite pour l'évolution positive de la notion.

Le but poursuivi par cette recherche est de mettre à la disposition du Gouvernement et des acteurs de l'éducation et politiques, des ONG et partenaires de l'enseignement un schéma pratique pour la mise en place effective de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire dans notre pays. Ce schéma pratique consiste en ce que, d'une part, une loi spéciale, au sens strict du mot, soit prise pour organiser la gratuité et, d'autre part, des institutions étatiques (en dehors de celles qui existent ou le renforcement de celles-ci) chargées de veiller à la mise en oeuvre de cette gratuité. Une telle proposition appelle quelques précisions. La gratuité de l'enseignement primaire poursuit des objectifs divers : réduire le taux d'analphabétisme en vue d'augmenter celui de scolarité et alléger la charge des parents pour la scolarisation de leurs enfants.

De la même manière qu'il ne peut y avoir un développement sans respect des droits de l'homme, il ne peut y avoir de véritable développement sans un système éducatif efficace. Ce système éducatif efficace passe également par la qualité de son organisation et financement. De ce fait, la RDC, qui vient d'insérer la gratuité de l'enseignement dans son arsenal constitutionnel, ne peut espérer s'engager pleinement dans la phase de reconstruction et de développement sans que son système éducatif ne relève des défis importants : les défis du travail, de la qualité, de l'éthique et de la didactique.

Il ne suffit pas de proclamer la gratuité pour accroître les effectifs des élèves. Le défi de la qualité comme celui du travail doit être relevé. Ce défi suppose des actions à entreprendre dans au moins trois axes fondamentaux : l'amélioration des compétences et des conditions de vie des enseignants, la conception des programmes d'études et la gestion des écoles.

Chaque système éducatif est le fruit de ce que les pouvoirs publics auront décidé d'en faire. Ainsi en République Démocratique du Congo, l'éducation étant du domaine de la loi, seul l'Etat doit prendre des mesures appropriées pour faire de celle-ci ce qu'il veut. L'Etat ayant donc décidé de rendre l'enseignement primaire gratuit, il doit prendre également des dispositions pour que celle-ci soit effective.

S'il est vrai que la plupart des difficultés que rencontre la mise en œuvre effective de la gratuité de l'école incombe à l'Etat, il faut cependant souligner que certains responsables d'école et les enseignants ne permettent pas toujours une bonne visibilité et une lisibilité des efforts du gouvernement en matière de gratuité de l'école primaire par le non-respect des instructions de la hiérarchie des uns, et le laxisme avéré des autres.

La conception populaire de la notion de gratuité assimile celle-ci à quelque chose qui n'est pas importante. Lorsqu'une chose devient gratuite, elle perd de sa substance et surtout de sa qualité. Ainsi, doit-on se méfier des choses gratuites ?

En effet, l'éducation a un prix. Ce prix est à payer non pas seulement par les parents mais aussi et surtout par l'Etat. Si l'Etat fait les efforts pour construire des écoles et former les enseignants, il serait naïf de croire que la gratuité de l'école même énoncée dans la Constitution puisse être une réalité. La gratuité reste une exigence morale dans notre contexte.

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Ephemeral Windows: Limits and Possibilities in the Brazil-USA Relationship, Regarding the South Atlantic

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Abstract- The South Atlantic is a region that has been receiving growing attention, due to the possibilities of changing its geopolitical balance, mainly due to the increase in presence of China and, to a lesser extent, Russia. Having Given the changing trend of the international configuration, exemplified by real Inter- and Intra-state conflicts (Ukraine, Middle East, African regions) and potential (South Sea China, Central Asia, Caucasus), what would be the possibility of the Brazil increases its capacity to project power in region, if by chance this clashed with the interests of the naval hegemonic power (USA)?

From the historical approach of two situations in which Brazil achieved positive arrangements with the USA, in amid changing international configurations, sought to establish an analytical standard from which some conclusions were established about the Current and future South Atlantic.

Keywords: *BRAZIL-USA relationship, South Atlantic, hegemonic competition, China.*

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Ephemeral Windows: Limits and Possibilities in the Brazil-USA Relationship, Regarding the South Atlantic

Janelas Efêmeras: Limites e Possibilidades na Relação Brasil-EUA, no Tocante ao Atlântico Sul

Marcelo Marcel Felix [α] & Wellington Dantas de Amorim [σ]

Abstract- The South Atlantic is a region that has been receiving growing attention, due to the possibilities of changing its geopolitical balance, mainly due to the increase in presence of China and, to a lesser extent, Russia. Having Given the changing trend of the international configuration, exemplified by real Inter- and Intra-state conflicts (Ukraine, Middle East, African regions) and potential (South Sea China, Central Asia, Caucasus), what would be the possibility of the Brazil increases its capacity to project power in region, if by chance this clashed with the interests of the naval hegemonic power (USA)?

From the historical approach of two situations in which Brazil achieved positive arrangements with the USA, in amid changing international configurations, sought to establish an analytical standard from which some conclusions were established about the Current and future South Atlantic. In summary, the article points out that Negotiations between the USA and Brazil should only produce structural gains for both the parties when the fear of US regarding a Chinese enlargement becoming significant; other than that, eventual US concessions will be cosmetic and will not serve the interests strategies in Brazil.

Keywords: BRAZIL-USA relationship, South Atlantic, hegemonic competition, China.

Resumo- O Atlântico Sul é uma região que vem recebendo crescente atenção, pelas possibilidades de alteração no seu equilíbrio geopolítico, devido principalmente ao aumento da presença da China e, em menor escala, da Rússia. Tendo em vista a tendência cambiante da configuração internacional, exemplificada por conflitos Inter e Intraestatais reais (Ucrânia, Oriente Médio, regiões da África) e potenciais (Mar do Sul da China, Ásia Central, Cáucaso), qual seria a possibilidade de o Brasil aumentar sua capacidade de projeção de poder na região, se por acaso isso se chocasse com os interesses da potência hegemônica naval (EUA)?

A partir da abordagem histórica de duas situações em que o Brasil conseguiu arranjos positivos com os EUA, em meio a configurações internacionais também cambiantes, procurou-se estabelecer um padrão analítico a partir do qual algumas conclusões fossem estabelecidas em relação ao Atlântico Sul atual e futuro. Em síntese, o artigo aponta que negociações entre o EUA e o Brasil só devem produzir ganhos estruturais para *ambas* as partes quando o temor dos EUA quanto a uma ampliação chinesa tornar-se realmente significativo; fora isso, as eventuais concessões dos EUA serão basicamente cosméticas e não atenderão a interesses estratégicos do Brasil.

Palavras-Chave: relacionamento brasil-eua, atlântico sul, competição hegemônica, china.

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I. Introdução

O Brasil, por ainda ser uma Potência Média, enfrenta obstáculos muito significativos tanto para projetar poder de forma sistemática e contínua como também preservar sua soberania e interesses geopolíticos. Afinal, tais obstáculos são de ordem interna (por exemplo, na superação de desníveis sociais injustos e perniciosos à formação de mercado interno robusto, na carência de uma coesão maior em nível das diversas elites quanto a uma Grande Estratégia mais definida e politicamente aderente a sucessivos governos, etc.) quanto externos (ao enfrentar limites demarcados pelas Grandes Potências quanto à própria expansão do Brasil, à medida que isso implica perda de poder relativos daquelas, como por exemplo na quase intransponível transferência de tecnologias mais sensíveis).

Este artigo procura analisar duas situações em que o Brasil conseguiu ganhos expressivos ao negociar com os EUA em situação de necessidade mútua, no início do século XX (com o Barão do Rio Branco como chanceler) e no final da década de 30 e início da década de 40 do mesmo século (política pendular de Getúlio Vargas e alinhamento explícito a partir de 1942), por conta da II Guerra Mundial. O estudo dos dois casos permitiu que semelhanças estruturais (englobando tanto fatores mundiais quanto regionais e dos dois países mencionados) fossem elencadas, levando a conclusões sobre a característica de situações em que o Brasil pudesse barganhar com sucesso (ou não) com os EUA, mesmo em condições flagrantes de assimetria em termos de poder.

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O estudo do caso I (sob a liderança do Barão do Rio Branco) se encontra na parte I, o estudo do caso II (política pendular de Vargas) na parte II. A parte III, por sua vez, aproveita a tipificação sugerida a partir dos dois casos para apontar, de maneira exploratória, o que se pode discernir sobre a situação atual do Brasil em relação aos seus interesses no Atlântico Sul e as possibilidades ou limites que as iniciativas dos EUA podem proporcionar em termos de favorecimento/ restrições àqueles. Entre as conclusões gerais do artigo, aponta-se para uma recorrência de situações em que as negociações com os EUA foram significativamente benéficas para o Brasil *apenas* quando havia uma ameaça expressiva (ao menos segundo a percepção dos EUA) aos seus interesses geopolíticos na região, com a possibilidade de alguma potência extrarregional estabelecer um nível de penetração que pudesse alterar de forma estrutural o seu caráter hegemônico no hemisfério ocidental. A conclusão afirma que, caso esse padrão histórico se mantenha, a participação do Brasil na sua área de influência e o desenvolvimento pleno de diversos projetos estratégicos poderão ser prejudicados.

Parte I

Ao final do século XIX e início do século XX, a configuração mundial apresentava uma crescente competição interestatal assimétrica, seja nos aspectos geopolíticos, econômico e tecnológico. Tal competição provocava movimentos de ambição/ocupação de territórios pelas potências, especialmente na Ásia e África. Embora tais movimentos fossem primordialmente de potências europeias e o Império Japonês, não se pode esquecer dos EUA e a incorporação de vários atóis e pequenas ilhas no Pacífico, o domínio das Filipinas e Porto Rico e influência em outras nações caribenhas (por conta da Guerra com a Espanha, em 1898), além da anexação do Havaí, no mesmo ano.[1]

Nas Américas, ao lado da já citada expansão dos EUA pelo Caribe e aumento da influência na América Latina como um todo, ocorria uma corrida pela hegemonia na América do Sul, com destaque para as rivalidades entre Argentina e Chile, ao lado da existente entre Argentina e Brasil. Ao mesmo tempo, diversos litígios territoriais, envolvendo quase todos os países que compartilhassem fronteiras, estimulavam ainda mais as citadas rivalidades, chegando mesmo a um embrião de corrida armamentista, como no caso da expansão naval de Argentina e Brasil, além do Chile.[2] Vale também citar que os países sul-americanos viam-se fragilizados perante a ambição imperialista das principais potências, algumas das quais presentes no continente (Guiana Inglesa, Guiana Neerlandesa, Guiana Francesa), ou exemplificadas pelo Bolivian Syndicate, em que uma área extensa da Bolívia (e alvo de litígio com o Brasil) seria explorada por investidores internacionais (especialmente anglo-americanos) em mecanismo de concessão.[3] Um outro evento que aumentou o temor das repúblicas sul-americanas foi a crise da Venezuela, em que potências europeias (Reino Unido, Alemanha e Itália) fizeram um bloqueio naval exigindo o pagamento de parcelas da dívida externa e alegadas reparações por prejuízos de seus cidadãos.[4]

Portanto, o panorama que o Brasil encarava era de extrema incerteza, um desafio diplomático dos mais complexos: parte das fronteiras em litígio, concorrência pela hegemonia regional com a Argentina, ameaça de violações de soberania por potências mais poderosas, condições econômicas ainda frágeis para se montar uma estratégia de defesa mais sólida. De fato, a economia somente atingiria condições mais estáveis após os governos de Prudente de Moraes e Campos Sales, ou seja, com Rodrigues Alves, já no início do século XX.[5]

Ao assumir a Chancelaria em 1902, o Barão do Rio Branco vinha de vários sucessos na negociação de litígios fronteiriços (região de Palmas, também reivindicada pela Argentina, arbitragem do presidente dos EUA; Amapá, reivindicado pela França, arbitragem da Suíça). Ainda viria a ser bem-sucedido na negociação com a Bolívia envolvendo a região do Acre, assim como as fronteiras com o Peru, anos depois. Pode-se ressaltar também que Rio Branco "concretizou o realinhamento do Brasil da órbita britânica para a norte americana" (ALSINA Jr., 2015, p. 182). No entanto, deve-se também destacar que este foi um movimento de consolidação de tendências pre-existentes, reconhecido pelo próprio Alsina Jr.[6]

Qual a lógica, do lado brasileiro, em consolidar de vez a mudança de eixo da sua diplomacia em direção dos EUA, em detrimento da Europa? Ricupero (1990, p.17) é enfático:

> *Seu cálculo era claro:* necessitava do apoio ou ao menos da benevolência dos EUA para resolver questões fronteiriças das quais a mais complicada, a do Acre, envolvia interesses privados norte-americanos. Esse apoio ou possibilidade de apoio lhe parecia importante não só para desencorajar intentos de uma negociação coletiva de limites, opondo os hispano-americanos herdeiros de San Ildefonso ao Brasil, como indispensável para persuadir as potências coloniais europeias a aceitarem o recurso a

[1] Para uma análise da configuração mundial à época, ver Kennedy (1989), especialmente o capítulo 5

[2] Tal rivalidade naval, além de uma análise detalhada da evolução dos diferentes litígios e os impactos na *rationale* da política externa brasileira, podem ser vistos em ALSINA Jr. (2015)

[3] Sobre o Bolivian Syndicate, ver MONIZ BANDEIRA (2000)

[4] ALSINA Jr. (2015, pp. 171-173)

[5] ALSINA Jr. (2015, pp. 132-133)

[6] E por outros autores como Ricupero (2021, pp. 240-243) e Santos (2018, pp. 348-350)

arbitragem ou os seus resultados (como no caso do Amapá).

Alsina Jr. (2015, pp. 182-183) sintetiza o que seria a grande estratégia de Rio Branco nos seguintes termos:

> O primeiro objetivo inseria-se na diplomacia de prestígio favorecida por Rio Branco. Sua intenção era difundir imagem do Brasil como nação estável, confiável e próspera (...) uma nação que se diferenciasse dos vizinhos sul-americanos não mais pelo regime político e por suas instituições, mas pela seriedade e perspectiva de futuro.[7]

Alsina Jr continua sua argumentação:

> O segundo objetivo mencionado, de caráter essencialmente defensivo, decorria das tensões geradas por dois processos inter-relacionados: a demarcação das fronteiras ainda pendentes[8] e a disputa entre Brasil e Argentina pela primazia no subcontinente. (...) O terceiro objetivo fundamental era resguardar o país do imperialismo europeu. O cenário internacional oferecia ampla evidência dos perigos que corriam as nações periféricas diante do expansionismo colonialista das potências do velho continente.[9]

Do lado dos EUA, sua grande estratégia se baseava na projeção de poder cada vez mais intensa no Caribe, além de garantir a segurança nas suas duas costas e não se intrometer ativamente nas rivalidades crescentes entre as potências imperialistas europeias, a não ser quando seus interesses fossem ameaçados. A expansão para a Ásia, conforme já mencionado (política de portas abertas na China, anexação do Havaí, ocupação das Filipinas, etc.) visava auferir ganhos comerciais com a região e estabelecer uma política de contenção a eventuais ameaças a sua costa Oeste. O mesmo se aplicava à América do Sul, em que sua presença econômica ensaiava substituir a do Reino Unido.

No caso da América do Sul, a preocupação dos EUA com países que ficassem à mercê de potências europeias (como no caso da crise venezuelana já citada) levou ao reforço da Doutrina Monroe e à declaração do Corolário Roosevelt, que atribuiria aos EUA a possibilidade de intervir em qualquer país em dificuldades com credores externos ou ameaçando interesses dos EUA (no fundo desestimulando uma intervenção europeia em sua área de influência).[10]

Qual seria o interesse dos EUA em incrementar a relação com o Brasil? O primeiro seria o apoio ao reforço da Doutrina Monroe e o estabelecimento do Corolário Roosevelt. Conforme Alsina Jr. (2015, p.175), "para o ministro das Relações Exteriores, o país nada teria a temer (...) pelo simples fato de não ser mau pagador.". O segundo era buscar um apoio consistente na América do Sul, por temor de uma interferência europeia cada vez maior na região, especialmente alemã. Por exemplo, "a existência de significativas colônias tedescas no sul do Brasil era encarada como potencialmente perigosa, pois poderia fornecer apoio à Marinha imperial em caso de confronto com a U.S. Navy" (ALSINA Jr., 2015, p. 172).[11]

Logo, pode-se dizer que havia compatibilidade nas estratégias tanto de Brasil quanto EUA, mas daí a denominar a relação de "aliança não-escrita", conforme Burns (1966), constitui um exagero.[12] Um termo mais apropriado, utilizado pelo próprio Burns, seria o de "aliança tácita", a respeito da qual Ricupero (1990, p. 18) observa que "não se dirigia contra um adversário específico, mas visava antes a *aumentar o poder de barganha do Brasil"* (grifo nosso). O embasamento dessa estratégia passava pelo reconhecimento da assimetria de poder entre as duas nações e da sua instrumentalização de modo a:

> ...tentar colocar o poder dos EUA a serviço de objetivos brasileiros ou ao menos de neutralizá-lo, de não tê-lo contra. Para isso, aceitava-se um vínculo pragmático ou utilitário entre o apoio a posições norte-americanas no cenário global ou hemisférico, em troca de ajuda ou benevolência de Washington em relação a objetivos brasileiros."(RICUPERO 1990, p. 20)

No entanto, deve-se ressaltar que Rio Branco reconhecia as limitações de tal "entente informal", conforme designação de Alsina Jr. (2015, p.185). Embora, por um lado, as esferas de influência imediatas (nas quais os interesses, capacidades e manifestações de poder estivessem mais latentes) não se superpusessem, o que impediria um confronto significativo[13], por outro "Washington estava voltada para os seus próprios objetivos, sem maiores preocupações com os planos de um país periférico como o Brasil" (SANTOS, 2018, p. 416).

De fato, quando em 1908 a tensão entre Argentina e Brasil chegou a níveis próximos a de um conflito aberto, por conta do reaparelhamento da Marinha brasileira procurando alcançar um equilíbrio

[7] Vale lembrar que o Brasil não apoiava a Doutrina Drago, compartilhada por outros países sul-americanos, que defendia o não-pagamento de dívidas a outros países, caso as condições internas não lhes permitissem.

[8] O litígio com o Peru, somente resolvido em 1909, era o mais claro exemplo.

[9] Especialmente no caso da Amazônia, que fazia fronteira com três colônias de potências imperialistas europeias, conforme já citado.

[10] KENNEDY (1989, pp. 317-321)

[11] Alsina Jr. também comenta na mesma página, citando Mitchell (1996, p. 256), que a avaliação do órgão de planejamento da Marinha dos EUA era o de que ela não estaria preparada para um combate total com a Marinha do Reino Unido ou a Marinha da Alemanha, na prática sinalizando que a preservação da efetividade da Doutrina Monroe não seria totalmente garantida, à época.

[12] Santos (2018, p. 416) argumenta que "a proposição revela mais o contexto ideológico – no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos - de meados da década de 1960, quando Burns veio ao Brasil para pesquisas com bolsa da Fundação Ford, do que a realidade dos dois países no início do século XX."

[13] Ver SANTOS (2018, p.485) para o cálculo de viabilidade efetuado por Rio Branco.

perante a Marinha argentina, os EUA não apoiaram o Brasil, preferindo a tese de equivalência naval (o que, naquelas circunstâncias, favoreceria a Argentina) (SANTOS, 2018, pp. 428-429).

Sopesados todos os aspectos, a estratégia da "entente informal" foi benéfica para o Brasil, com as principais ameaças vislumbradas por Rio Branco sendo neutralizadas. Mas se deve observar que em grande parte isso foi facilitado pelo desenrolar das crises internacionais até a precipitação da I Guerra Mundial. O pós-I Guerra iria diminuir sensivelmente a ameaça das potências imperialistas europeias, tendo em vista as grandes perdas devidas ao conflito. Ao mesmo tempo, a resolução da maior parte dos litígios fronteiriços na América do Sul e um ambiente antibélico reinante após a "Grande Guerra" desestimulavam tensões constantes na região, características marcantes da passagem do século XIX para o século XX. E, talvez o aspecto mais significativo, os EUA iriam ampliar decisivamente sua área de influência sobre a América do Sul, não só na parte política, mas também na econômica e militar.

No entanto, é forçoso reconhecer que o sucesso da estratégia da "entente informal" foi restrito a uma *janela temporal específica.* Com a minimização dos fatores básicos que a sustentavam, no pós-I Guerra, por que mantê-la? Logo, a continuidade "ideológica" de uma "aliança", num movimento inercial e com alicerce frágil, correspondia mais a uma lembrança imperfeita do passado do que uma avaliação realista do presente e futuro.

Parte II

A década de 1930 foi marcada por grandes transformações nas dinâmicas político-econômicas em termos mundiais. Para ilustrar, entende-se como suficiente pontuar dois acontecimentos marcantes, um no início e outro no final dessa década: a crise de 1929, inaugurada com o colapso da Bolsa de Nova Iorque, seguida da Grande Depressão e o estopim da Segunda Guerra Mundial (II GM), em 1939.

Ao longo desse período, alguns atores estatais (potências regionais e países periféricos) passaram por transformações políticas internas motivadas, em parte, pela crise econômica da Grande Depressão. Destacam-se, nesse contexto, a Alemanha, a Itália e o Japão, Estados revisionistas que buscavam a alteração do *status quo* da ordem mundial que passaram, a partir de meados da década 1930, a utilizar a força como instrumento de política externa[14].

Em consequência, passaram a ocorrer crises político-diplomáticas entre as potências do Sistema Internacional que elevaram o nível de tensão até o seu ápiceem 1939, quando a Alemanha invadiu a Polônia – causa imediata da II GM[15] – após a oposição declarada do Reino Unido e França[16].

A II GM foio conflito mais destrutivo da história. Durante 2.174 dias, a guerra ceifou a vida de mais de 46 milhões de pessoas, entre civis e militares[17]. A abrangência destrutiva da II GM é justificada,em parte, pelo seu caráter global e total.O caráter global da II GM, diminuiu a margem de manobra dos Estados periféricos, reduzindo a autonomia destes em relação à decisão, ou não, pela neutralidade. Por outro lado, os Estados periféricos tiveram mais oportunidades de auferir ganhos diante da decisão por possíveis alinhamentos, conforme estes se desenhavam[18].

O Brasil não ficou imune a esse processo, sendo também arrastado para o conflito mundial. Entretanto, antes de se declarar um país beligerante, a Política Externa brasileira foi caracterizada pela autonomia, pragmatismo e equidistância. Essa postura da Diplomacia brasileira se desenvolveu dentro do contexto do primeiro mandato (1930-1945) de Getúlio Dornelles Vargas, período que ficou conhecido como a "Era Vargas".

Segundo o Embaixador Rubens Ricupero, a política externa de Vargas, até o início de 1942, buscou auferir ganhos econômicos e militares dos dois lados (EUA e Alemanha), tendo como um dos principais objetivos a manutenção do comércio compensado com potências europeias, inclusive com a Alemanha, ao mesmo tempo que mantinha o vínculo político com os EUA. Essa peculiar ação externa brasileira, evitando o enfraquecimento de ambas as partes envolvidas, ficou conhecida como "diplomacia pendular" ou "jogo duplo[19]".

O período de 1930 a 1937 foi marcado por forte conturbação interna na política e na economia do País, no qual Getúlio precisou usar de muita articulação para manter o País unido. Com o advento do Estado Novo (1937)[20], Vargas se consolidou no poder com o apoio das Forças Armadas. Entretanto, o apoio castrense não se traduziu em submissão, pelo contrário, utilizou as

[14] Tchecoslováquia, Etiópia e China foram invadidas territorialmente pela Alemanha, Itália e Japão, respectivamente. Ver Alves (2002, p.16).

[15] A causa imediata é nome atribuído ao evento que se tornou o marco referencial para o início de um acontecimento histórico. Não sendo, necessariamente, o único.

[16] ALVES (2002, p.16).

[17] GILBERT (2014, p.1).

[18] A II GM foi global porque, quisessem ou não, todos os Estados independentes do mundo se envolveram. Ela também foi total, porque os Estados tiveram que utilizar todos os recursos de poder para manter a máquina de guerra, ou seja, manter seus exércitos industriais. Ver ALVES (2002, p.41).

[19] RICUPERO (2017, p.327).

[20] O novo regime foi fruto de um golpe de estado e tinha como característica a desarticulação do Poder Legislativo e a centralização do poder na figura de Getúlio Vargas. Dessa forma, ele se tornou um ditador que, segundo Ricupero (2017), buscava inspirações nas instituições fascistas para a condução da política interna do País.

Forças Armadas como instrumento de coesão e desenvolvimento nacionais[21].

O estabelecimento do novo regime gerou preocupações por parte do Governo norte-americano. A Carta de 1937, que estabeleceu o Estado Novo, apresentava de maneira clara o caráter antidemocrático e repressivo do novo regime. Além disso, existia a vontade da Alemanha hitlerista de transformar os países da América do Sul em área de influência das ideias nazifascistas[22]. Segundo McCANN Jr, o Brasil entrou no cálculo estratégico alemão, pois o plano de Hitler era facilitar a infiltração de agentes do serviço diplomático e consular alemão, das organizações internacionais do Partido Nacional Socialista Alemão (NSDAP)[23], além de associações culturais, educacionais e econômicas.

Apesar das aparências do novo regime que, segundo Ricupero, "buscava inspirações nas instituições fascistas para a condução da política interna do País[24]", Getúlio não estava interessado em seguir ideologias externas. Ele organizou um governo personalista, centrado nele e com alguns poucos assessores. Assim, não estava disposto a permitir que ideologias, internas ou externas, colocassem em risco a diminuição do seu poder, bem como atrapalhassem o desenvolvimento do País.

Essa postura tornou-se evidente na condução da Política Externa brasileira desenvolvida durante a Era Vargas. Em que pese as investidas norte-americanas e alemãs na busca por um posicionamento do Brasil, a diplomacia brasileira não se afastou dos seus princípios basilares estabelecidos desde o Barão do Rio Branco[25].

Contudo, a postura na ação externa brasileira não era suficiente para afastar, totalmente, as desconfianças norte-americanas acerca do regime antidemocrático de Getúlio Vargas. Nesse contexto, a influência do Embaixador Osvaldo Aranha[26] foi notória para esclarecer os mal entendidos gerados pelo posicionamento pouco claro do então Governo.

Um exemplo da percepção norte-americana em relação ao Brasil pode ser traduzido da carta escrita pelo Adido Naval norte-americano no Brasil ao então Diretor do Naval War College, Almirante Charles P. Snyder, que revela apreensão e dúvida com relação ao regime estabelecido, em novembro de 1937. Um aspecto interessante desta carta, datada de 8 março de 1938 e escrita pelo Sr. Paulus P. Powell, está no fato dela retratar a visão de um norte-americano que vivia no Brasil e que tinha acesso aos bastidores do poder.

Mesmo assim, Mr. Paulus teve dificuldades em caracterizar o Governo de Vargas e estabelecer um paralelo com o conceito anglo-saxão de ditadura e democracia, conforme pode-se verificar:

> *"Homens de negócios americanos aqui geralmente admiram o Sr. Vargas pelo que ele fez ao fortalecer o poder do governo Federal às custas dos governos estaduais.* Ele aboliu o uso de bandeiras dos estados. Ele efetuou mudanças na organização e administração das tropas estaduais, as quais o governo Federal se apropriou e incorporou ao Exército" (USN, 1938, p.1, tradução nossa, grifo nosso).

E continuou:

> "O presidente Vargas controlou as facções políticas, suprimiu os integralistas e fortaleceu o poder do governo federal, mas ninguém no Brasil diria que o regime é nazista ou fascista. *A vida da pessoa comum - o homem na rua - continua como antes. As ditaduras não são novas no Brasil. Nenhum brasileiro honesto e sério pensa que é possível governar o Brasil como democracia puramente constitucional"* (USN, 1938, p.2, tradução nossa, grifo nosso).

Nessa atmosfera de percepções e falsas percepções, o Brasil buscava obter o maior proveito possível da disputa travada entre os EUA e Alemanha pelo mercado brasileiro.

O aumento das atividades alemãs nos países sul-americanos provocou medidas por parte dos norte-americanos, a fim de se prepararem para uma disputa também na esfera cultural-ideológica. Nesse contexto, a política da "boa vizinhança", inaugurada por Franklin Roosevelt, foi determinante para gerar iniciativas a favor de uma aproximação com o Brasil e os demais países sul-americanos[27].

O primeiro passo dado nessa direção foi a criação, em fevereiro de 1938, de uma comissão interministerial, com o objetivo de formular políticas que seriam disseminadas por transmissões radiofônicas internacionais. A medida tinha por objetivo se contrapor à propaganda do Eixo que chegava ao Continente Americano por emissoras de ondas curtas como a Rádio Alemã "Salada Mixta" que possuía um programa semanal transmitido em português[28].

Na esfera militar, entretanto, os EUA não atendiam as demandas por armamento oriundas dos países sul-americanos, principalmente o Brasil. O motivo estava nas restrições legislativas norte-americanas para a venda de armas e a incapacidade de oferecer preços e condições de concorrer com o mercado europeu favoreceram a opção brasileira

[21]McCANN Jr. (1995, p.58).

[22]Ibid. p.71

[23] Após a ascensão do nazismo na Alemanha em 1933, "os cidadãos alemães no Brasil organizaram associações nacional-socialistas para expressar a solidariedade à pátria" (Ibid. p.71).

[24] RICUPERO (2017, p.330).

[25] Realismo e Pragmatismo, padrões de conduta herdados de Rio Branco. Ver CERVO (2008, pp. 29-30).

[26] Osvaldo Aranha foi Embaixador do Brasil nos EUA (1934 – 1937) e o Chanceler brasileiro (1938 – 1944).

[27] TOTA (2000, pp.43-44).

[28] FERREIRA (2012 p.64).

pelo mercado compensado dos países europeus[29]. Assim, sem condições de pagar pelos preços norte-americanos, o Brasil "encomendou artilharia da Alemanha, armamento de infantaria da Tchecoslováquia, belonaves da Inglaterra e Itália[30]".

Após o ataque japonês, em 7 de dezembro de 1941, à base norte-americana em Pearl Harbor, no Havaí, os EUA entram definitivamente no conflito. O Brasil, por seu turno, se proclama solidário a causa norte-americana, o que levaria o Governo brasileiro em 15 de janeiro de 1942, através do pronunciamento do Chanceler Oswaldo Aranha, a romper relações diplomáticas com as nações do Eixo[31]. Esse ato colocou fim à "diplomacia pendular" e deu início ao alinhamento brasileiro aos Estados Unidos da América.

O alinhamento veio acompanhado da barganha. O Brasil negociou os últimos detalhes da construção da siderúrgica nacional e passou a receber recursos do programa Lend-Lease[32]. Por outro lado, Vargas disponibilizou os portos, bases aéreas e navais às forças norte-americanas no Atlântico Sul[33]. Adicionalmente, os EUA tinham acesso exclusivo a recursos primários, como: a borracha, o manganês, o quartzo e o café, produtos vitais ao esforço de guerra norte-americano[34].

Segundo Ricupero (2017), graças ao programa Lend-Lease as Forças Armadas foram reequipadas. A Marinha adquirira navios mais modernos, com aumento de 20% no contingente[35]. Isso sem contar com os ensinamentos doutrinários adquiridos que constituíram um legado para o período pós-guerra. Entretanto, segundo Alves (2002), do total de recursos oferecidos pelo programa Lend-Lease, o valor destinado ao Brasil correspondeu a 1%. Isso demostra o grau de importância atribuído à América do Sul dentro do contexto global da guerra. A exceção pode ser observada na questão da guerra antissubmarino no Atlântico Sul, onde a garantia e proteção do comércio marítimo receberam prioridade dos Aliados.

Não obstante, o Brasil emergiria do conflito com a "economia fortalecida, expansão de reservas e das exportações, dívida externa equacionada, indústria dinamizada e siderurgia em vias de implementação[36]". Além disso, "o prestígio internacional do País atingia o mais elevado nível em muitas décadas, só se igualando à época de Rio Branco[37]".

Parte III

Nas Partes I e II deste artigo, analisaram-se duas situações em que, mesmo em meio a um cenário internacional incerto, o Brasil soube interpretar as principais características e tendências e, posteriormente, elaborar uma posição que lhe fosse favorável, preservando seus interesses e até mesmo auferindo alguns ganhos. A partir do resumo desses dois estudos de caso (caso I – final do século XIX e início do século XX; caso II – meados da década de 30 do século XX até o final da II Guerra Mundial) buscou-se um alicerce histórico que contribuísse para a análise do atual posicionamento brasileiro perante o Atlântico Sul, bem como as eventuais tendências, ameaças e oportunidades derivadas de tal configuração internacional e regional.

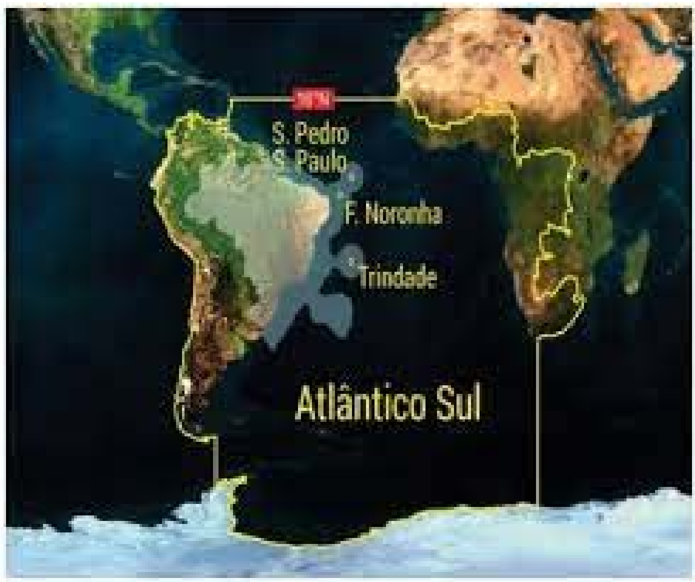
Em termos de configuração do Mundo, conforme ressalta Alsina Jr. (2015), há diversas semelhanças com o caso I, especialmente quanto à aguda competição interestatal (especialmente entre grandes potências, seja com viés aliancista ou não), com reflexos econômicos, militares e geopolíticos claros e uma percepção de "transição em curso" acelerada pelas "mudanças suscitadas pelas novas tecnologias". Segundo o mesmo autor, para fazer frente a tais desafios, as características básicas da atuação do Barão do Rio Branco, ou seja, "pragmatismo, circunspecção, prudência, sentido de oportunidade, frieza, sagacidade e patriotismo" continuam extremamente apropriadas[38].

Já quanto à configuração da América do Sul, há uma diferença significativa. Ao contrário das duas situações anteriores, em que não havia uma diferenciação tão aguda entre os países (especialmente no caso I, em que uma embrionária corrida armamentista quase levou a um conflito aberto entre Argentina e Brasil, além de aquela ser mais poderosa economicamente do que este), atualmente a preponderância brasileira se reflete não apenas na questão territorial, como antes, mas também em termos

[29] Segundo McCAAN Jr. (1995), esse comércio consistia num elaborado acordo de escambo que utilizava notas de compensação. As aquisições eram pagas majoritariamente com produtos primários.
[30] McCAAN Jr. (1995, p.94).
[31] MARTINS (1985).
[32] Lei de Empréstimo e Arrendamento foi assinada em 11 de março de 1941, na intenção de possibilitar uma melhor ajuda aos Aliados no envio de equipamentos militares para auxiliar no esforço de guerra. Essa ajuda militar foi ampliada a outros países, por ocasião do rompimento da neutralidade norte-americana (MINISTÉRIO DA MARINHA, 1944, p.16). Para detalhes da referida lei, ver: MORISON, 1966, p.36-38.
[33] Segundo Alves (2005, p.160), "a Marinha de Guerra dos Estados Unidos já estava autorizada a usar os portos de Recife e Salvador desde o início de 1941"
[34] FELIX e VIOLANTE (2021, p.19).
[35] Com o programa de ajuda norte-americana para as Forças Armadas (200 milhões de dólares), a Marinha recebeu recursos e apoio para melhorias na infraestrutura naval. Além disso, passaria a receber navios para realizar suas tarefas de patrulhamento do Atlântico Sul. No total foram vinte e quatro navios recebidos, via *Lend-Lease*, sendo dezesseis caça-submarinos (caça ferro e caça pau) e oito contratorpedeiros de escolta classe *Bertioga* (ALVES, 2005, p.161; DUARTE, 1968, p.128).
[36] RICUPERO (2017, p.339).
[37] FELIX e VIOLANTE (2021, p.19).
[38] ALSINA (2015, pp.350-351).

populacionais, econômicos e gastos militares[39]. Mais ainda, a tradição de mais de 150 anos sem invadir algum vizinho ou tentar fragiliza-lo em um conflito (como por exemplo o Chile em relação à Argentina, durante a Guerra das Malvinas em 1982), nem mesmo a partir do momento em que a preponderância mencionada se solidificou, acabou qualificando o Brasil como a principal potência na América do Sul. No entanto, é importante frisar que essa unipolaridade em vários aspectos não se refletiu em um movimento sustentado de integração ou confiança dos outros países de que tal processo fosse ser conduzido da melhor forma, pelo Brasil[40]. De qualquer forma, as ameaças regionais ou desafios a uma hegemonia brasileira, tão presentes no caso I (pela rivalidade argentina e vários litígios territoriais ainda pendentes) e em menor escala (mas ainda presentes) no caso II, no atual momento praticamente inexistem, de forma significativa.

Deve-se ressaltar que, se na América do Sul propriamente dita tais ameaças foram flagrantemente reduzidas, ao mesmo tempo a capacidade (ou pelo menos a intenção) de projetar poder do Brasil se ampliou espacialmente, com o país adotando um entorno estratégico que abrange a América do Sul, a Antártica, o Atlântico Sul, parte reduzida do Atlântico Norte e do Oceano Índico, conforme a figura a seguir:



Fonte: BRASIL. Marinha do Brasil. PEM 2040, p.18.

Figura 1: Entorno Estratégico Brasileiro

O estabelecimento de tal área como Entorno Estratégico acarreta uma série de compromissos e necessidade de sustentá-los. Proteger linhas de comunicação, manter as estruturas de cabos submarinos, ao mesmo tempo preservando a soberania brasileira e o equilíbrio ambiental numa área tão extensa como a Amazônia Azul (somatório da Zona Econômica Exclusiva com a Extensão da Plataforma Continental[41]), plena de recursos vivos e não-vivos, inclusive no leito marinho, constitui um desafio de grandes proporções[42].

A atual "grande estratégia" dos EUA seria um composto de duas vertentes básicas (internacionalismo liberal e engajamento profundo)[43]. A primeira se caracterizaria pela defesa obstinada do uma sociedade internacional moldada nos valores pós-II Guerra (e que representa a generalização de elementos nítidos da sociedade dos EUA), além de fatores que lhes perpetuam vantagens competitivas econômicas/ tecnológicas. A segunda prevê o mesmo, mas com o acréscimo de uma extensa/intensa participação militar potencial em áreas de interesse (especialmente Europa, Oriente Médio e Ásia). A importância da América do Sul (e, por extensão, da América Latina) residiria na possibilidade de potências extrarregionais estabelecerem alianças com países da região e

[39]Ao final de 2022, em relação à América do Sul, o Brasil apresentava 44% dos gastos militares, 48% do território, 49% da população e 47% do PIB. Ver SIPRI (2023) para os gastos militares, IMF (2023) para o PIB e World Bank (2023) para as demais variáveis.

[40] Por não se encontrar no escopo do atual trabalho, tal timidez no processo de integração e/ou liderança brasileira não será analisado.

[41] Atualmente, a área da Amazônia Azul seria de aproximadamente 5,7 milhões de km². Em termos de tamanho bidimensional, equivaleria ao sétimo país do mundo, depois da Austrália e 40% superior às dimensões da Índia.

[42] E que, acrescenta Alsina Jr. (2015, p.350), torna "imprescindível que a nação construa uma poderosa esquadra de combate, única forma de projetar robustamente os interesses nacionais na região e além dela."

[43] Segundo LATHAM (2023), haveria cinco vertentes básicas diversas (além das duas citadas, a competição estratégica, restrição e progressiva), com predominância atual das citadas no texto.

reforçarem movimentos mais agudos de contestação/ revisionismo à hegemonia dos EUA[44].

Já a "grande estratégia" brasileira, segundo Brands (2010), consistiria de três fatores básicos: i) soft balancing em relação aos EUA; ii) construção de coalizões; e iii) tentativas de consolidar a liderança na América do Sul e fortalecer a integração da região.

Tal análise é baseada no modelo proposto por Keohane (1969), segundo o qual as chamadas Potências Médias não teriam (ainda) a capacidade de desafiar diretamente as Grandes Potências; logo, o objetivo primordial daquelas seria o de empreender um arco de coalizões e processos que posteriormente foram denominados de soft balancing. Leoni (2023) matiza tal estratégia, acrescentando detalhes como o "servir de mediação entre Grandes Potências" e o da necessidade de "priorizar autonomia estratégica em áreas-chave". Conforme ressaltado por Leoni et al. (2023):

> "...é importante levar em conta o posicionamento das potências médias durante a transição (do sistema internacional). A ideia das potências médias com o um potencial bloco (fluido) tem sido negligenciada até agora. No entanto, não seria apropriado pensar que tais países serão objetos passivos durante a transição para uma nova ordem mundial.(...) Elas não possuem uma visão compartilhada da ordem mundial e operam em um sistema complexo e fluido, cheio de interseções, de agrupamentos e coalizões interdependentes. Segundo, elas compartilham sua resistência a serem alinhadas às preferências de uma superpotência. Elas preferem uma abordagem mais transacional, baseada em interesses, por meio de *hedging* e *balancing* que as protegem de aguentar o fardo da competição entre as grandes potências.(...) Algumas alcançam isso por meio da busca por *autonomia estratégica,* algumas por meio de *rígido não-alinhamento,* outras por *multi-alinhamento* e cooperação caso a caso, outras por *hedging*."(grifo nosso, tradução livre)

A análise dos dois estudos de caso apresentados, caso I e caso II, demonstrou duas situações em que o Brasil soube se aproveitar da conjuntura para saber barganhar seu posicionamento perante a principal potência das Américas, os EUA, e auferir ganhos enquanto conseguia minimizar as principais ameaças presentes.

O fio condutor básico que une as duas situações é o grau de transição existente na conjuntura internacional planetária, com reflexos evidentes na regional. Por exemplo, no caso I (final do século XIX, início do século XX), a competição interestatal entre as principais potências levava à expansão do imperialismo em termos gerais. O Brasil soube manejar tal competição colocando-se implicitamente como peão no embate de esferas de influência entre os EUA e algumas potências europeias em relação à América do Sul, e transferindo essa imagem de "aliança" para dissuadir o seu grande rival geopolítico de então, a Argentina. Mas deve-se ressaltar que, à medida que o conflito intereuropeu se tornava quase inevitável, pela quantidade de eventos e crises intencionais ou não (uma das quais desencadeando o grande conflito em 1914), a própria expansão de influência europeia na América do Sul sofrerá retração e com ela o gradual desinteresse dos EUA, ao menos em relação à situação anterior. Pode-se verificar isso com a defesa da "equivalência naval", em 1908; naquele momento, o Brasil já não se tornava tão importante para a estratégia dos EUA, muito mais preocupada com um conflito na Europa (e no qual teve que interferir, após a Revolução Soviética e a saída russa da guerra tornar a vitória alemã uma possibilidade bem palpável).

No caso II, a importância do Brasil para a estratégia dos EUA em relação à II Guerra era fundamental, pela proximidade do Saliente Nordestino em relação à África. O Brasil soube manipular tal essencialidade com ganhos expressivos, o maior dos quais o aporte de capital e tecnologia para a instalação da Usina de Volta Redonda. Tal evento proporcionará a capacidade brasileira de se mover em direção a uma industrialização intensiva na década de 50, descolando-se cada vez mais da Argentina. De fato, a neutralidade argentina na II Guerra Mundial, se trouxe ganhos expressivos em termos de divisas ao final do conflito, por outro foi prejudicial nos médio e longo prazos, já que um processo sustentado de industrialização (para a qual o setor de bens de capital é essencial) foi retardado e demorou mais décadas do que o Brasil[45].

No entanto, tão logo finda a II Guerra e se estabelece solidamente uma situação internacional dominada pela bipolaridade, a atração dos EUA pelo Brasil se esvai, tal qual no final do caso I. As atenções da superpotência estão voltadas para a Europa e posteriormente Ásia, locais onde a Guerra Fria se tornou um foco contínuo de tensões e conflitos. O Brasil somente se livrará do saudosismo do alinhamento benéfico com os EUA nos anos 50 (governo JK, especialmente com o lançamento da OPA[46]) e anos 60, com as bases defendidas pela Política Externa Independente.

[44] Este é um dos argumentos básicos de Mearsheimer (2001) para explicar a necessidade dos EUA no sentido de evitar o surgimento de qualquer potência hegemônica em outro continente. Vale lembrar que, *de acordo com os conceitos expostos por Mearsheimer,* os EUA são o único exemplo de potência hegemônica a ter existido ou existir, até o momento.

[45] Isso reforça nossa observação de que nem sempre o não-alinhamento pode ser a decisão mais sábia, em termos de ESTADO (para o qual o longo prazo é essencial); por vezes pode parecer a solução mais fácil (e óbvia), especialmente num conflito entre outras potências, mas a capacidade de barganhar o melhor desfecho NO LONGO PRAZO é que é o fator fundamental.

[46] Operação Pan-Americana, que visava dar sustentação à superação do subdesenvolvimento na América Latina, em vez de ressaltar o embate ideológico reinante na bipolaridade mundial.

Logo, o estudo dos dois casos demonstra que uma potência média pode auferir ganhos de negociação com uma grande potência, especialmente quando o sistema internacional estiver passando por transições que afetem os interesses daquela. No entanto, a possibilidade de sucesso na barganha está diretamente ligada à janela de oportunidade que se apresenta em tal situação[47].

Tais evidências oferecem sólida sustentação para analisar a situação atual e futura do Atlântico Sul, no qual a influência geopolítica dos EUA (e, em menor escala, do Reino Unido) se encontra ameaçada por uma crescente presença chinesa na África (especialmente com a construção de portos, em tese para o chamado projeto da *BeltandRoadInitiative*, mas que poderiam facilmente ser adaptados para bases navais), tal como a russa (em nível inferior). Além de várias iniciativas congregando os países da região, capitaneados pelo Brasil (e tendo na ZOPACAS[48] seus alicerces mais significativos).

Em termos gerais, temos uma configuração internacional em transição, na qual a principal potência (EUA) e seus aliados encontram-se desafiados por posturas revisionistas[49] (de grau e escopo variados, a depender da situação) de potências como Rússia e China, além de eventuais posicionamentos de potências médias como Índia, Brasil, Turquia, etc.

Nesse contexto, o Brasil busca se afirmar como potência média regional no Atlântico Sul. Em abril desse ano, na VIII Reunião Ministerial da ZOPACAS[50], o Governo brasileiro tomou a iniciativa, reforçando o desejo de fortalecer o fórum, por meio da cooperação, institucionalização e engajamento.O objetivo é aumentar a comunicação entre 24 países membros, provocandoummelhor entendimento entre eles acerca das ameaças e oportunidades existente no Atlântico Sul. Como resultado final, espera-se que a ZOPACAS passe por uma revitalização que contribua para que o Atlântico Sul permaneça sendo uma região de paz e cooperação.

Por outro lado, a percepção de ameaça por parte dos EUA fica evidente quando a Potência do Norte adota iniciativas assertivas em relação ao Atlântico Sul. Em 18 setembro de 2023, o Departamento de Estado dos EUA lançou uma declaração sobre a cooperação atlântica. A "Declaração da Cooperação Atlântica" tem por objetivo unir os países banhado pelo Oceano Atlântico contra as ameaças comuns[51], absorvendo, inclusive, outras iniciativas já existentes. Nota-se que a Declaração utiliza o conceito de um único Oceano Atlântico com problemas comuns que devem ser enfrentados de igual maneira, não importando em qual latitude se encontre.

Em que pese a Declaração atribuir importância e valor à ZOPACAS, é importante ressaltar que o conceito de um único oceano fere os princípios do fórum e tem o potencial de obscurecer as iniciativas brasileiras na ZOPACAS. Nesse sentido, a diplomacia brasileira terá queuma vez mais, utilizar-se do seu acumulado históricoem busca de um posicionamento favorável aos interesses brasileiros no Atlântico Sul.

II. Conclusão

O objetivo básico desse artigo era o de, ancorado numa análise histórica sólida, discernir padrões no relacionamento entre Brasil e Estados Unidos que pudessem ser aplicados à atual situação do Atlântico Sul e os interesses de ambos os países e que fossem extrapolados, na medida do possível, em relação ao futuro.

A análise do caso I, abordando o final do século XIX e início do século XX, mostrou que havia interesses mútuos expressivos (especialmente do lado brasileiro) em que o relacionamento entre os dois países fosse (ou pelo menos parecesse ser, em relação às demais nações) mais próximo. O apoio do Brasil ao pan-americanismo dos EUA, o qual encobria o temor de uma interferência imperialista de países europeus na América Latina, era importante para consolidar a projeção de poder estadunidense, mais sólida até o Caribe, conforme reconhecido pelo próprio barão do Rio Branco.

Já o apoio dos EUA ao Brasil era fundamental para este por três motivos: o primeiro seria a consolidação do prestígio brasileiro como uma república confiável principalmente às grandes potências (em meio a demandas variadas dos outros países sul-americanos, especialmente quanto ao aspecto do endividamento externo, o que irá se desdobrar na Doutrina Drago). O segundo seria a dissuasão perante incursões imperialistas do Reino Unido, Países Baixos e França, na fronteira norte amazônica; já o terceiro seriaa dissuasão perante a Argentina, grande rival regional do

[47]ALVES (2002, p.41)

[48] A Zona de Paz e Cooperação no Atlântico Sulfoi estabelecida em 27 de outubro de 1986, por meio da Resolução 41/11 da ONU, fruto de uma iniciativa do Brasil, apoiado pela Argentina. Ela foi criada com o intuito de promover a cooperação regional, manutenção da paz e segurança no entorno dos 24 países, com litoral no Atlântico Sul, que aderiram ao projeto.

[49] Define-se revisionismo, nas Relações Internacionais, como a postura adotada por um ou mais países no sentido de rever a estrutura de governança mundial relativa a determinado aspecto (militar, econômico, organizações internacionais, cultura,etc.). Logo, países que usufruem do funcionamento do comércio mundial, sem questioná-lo na essência, podem ser revisionistas em relação à composição do Conselho de Segurança da ONU, por exemplo.

[50] A VIII Reunião Ministerial da ZOPACAS ocorreu nos dias 17 e 18 de abril de 2023, em Midelo – Cabo Verde.

[51] De acordo com a "Declaration on Atlantic Cooperation" as ameaças são: pirataria, o crime organizado transnacional, o tráfico de drogas, bem como a pesca ilegal, não declarada e não regulamentada (INN), mudança do clima, desastres naturais, poluição e degradação ambiental. Disponível: https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/09/18/declaration-on-atlantic-cooperation/

Brasil e na época possuindo um poder militar e econômico superior.

No entanto, mal diminuiu a probabilidade de intervenção europeia na América Latina, por conta das rivalidades intraestatais na própria Europa (e que viriam a desembocar na I Guerra Mundial), os EUA deixaram de se posicionar favoravelmente ao Brasil (por exemplo, propondo paridade naval com a Argentina).

A análise do caso II, na década de 30 e início da década de 40 do século XX, demonstrou uma capacidade ainda mais ampla do governo brasileiro (liderado por Getúlio Vargas) em se aproveitar da situação de transição na configuração mundial de poder e da crise econômica internacional, com redução significativa do comércio e investimentos mundiais. Denominada de estratégia pendular, consistiu em acordos comerciais tanto com os EUAquanto Alemanha, ao mesmo tempo em que se diversificavam fornecedores, inclusive militares (por exemplo, Itália).

No entanto, a eclosão da II Guerra Mundial acentuou os temores dos EUA de uma maior influência da Alemanha no Brasil (e Argentina), ao mesmo tempo em que o Saliente Nordestino Brasileiro seria fundamental para a estratégia militar estadunidense, pela proximidade com a África. Nessa situação, vários acordos preferenciais são concluídos entre Brasil e EUA, tanto em cooperação militar (o que proporcionará um expressivo reaparelhamento das forças brasileiras) quanto, principalmente, a viabilização da construção da siderúrgica de Volta Redonda (crucial para a posterior aceleração do desenvolvimento industrial brasileiro).

Mas, mal finda a II Guerra, os EUA abdicam de um tratamento preferencial ao Brasil, inclusive permitindo à Argentina (que havia ficado neutra no conflito até *dois* meses antes da rendição alemã) o acesso ao mesmo reaparelhamento militar que o brasileiro.

A parte III do presente trabalho consolidou os dados dos casos I e II, enfeixando-os em um padrão recorrente, ou seja, o de que os EUA somente concederam tratamento preferencial ao Brasil em situações específicas nas quais havia um temor significativo de que outras potências extrarregionais se estabelecessem com mais assertividade nas Américas e, portanto, ameaçassem sua hegemonia. Tão logo esse temor foi afastado, o tratamento preferencial é sumariamente abandonado.

Tal observação não é uma crítica aos EUA, afinal os países se guiam por interesses. De fato, a definição de interesses nacionais claros e de longo prazo, por mais difícil que seja o processo de identificação/elaboração, costuma ser colocado como pilar indispensável de qualquer Política Externa consistente. A crítica a ser feita, ecoando o observado por Alves (2002) em relação ao caso II, é que o Brasil não deve ter ilusões quanto a uma aliança preferencial com os EUA por conta *apenas* dos seguintes fatores: participação na II Guerra com o envio de tropas, posição hegemônica na América do Sul, relações próximas entre as elites políticas, econômicas, culturais e militares.

Esses aspectos são importantes em termos de memória histórica e efeitos práticos do cotidiano, mesmo pequenos projetos compartilhados. Mas eles *não são* alicerces para uma relação preferencial que permita ou facilite ao Brasil avançar em projetos estratégicosou projeção de poder no seu Entorno Estratégico (com a consolidação plena da ZOPACAS, e não sua subordinação a um guarda-chuva conceitual hegemônico como o projeto de Parceria Atlântica). Ou seja, elementos fundamentais para o desenvolvimento de uma Grande Estratégia de uma Potência Média como o Brasil são, na prática, obstaculizados pelos EUA.

Em um futuro artigo, ora em elaboração, os autores delinearão quais as estratégias possíveis para o Brasil, no caso do Atlântico Sul, utilizando o planejamento de cenários. Mas, preliminarmente, pode-se afirmar que o aumento de assertividade e da presença de potências extrarregionais deve *alargar* as janelas de oportunidade para o Brasil, à medida que a apreensão dos EUA se agrave. No entanto, segundo os casos estudados, deve-se alertar que tais janelas são *efêmeras, logo o planejamento é essencial para aproveitá-las a contento.*

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Hashtag Endsars as Political Activism in Nigeria: On Doing Christian Theology in an Age of Anxiety and Terror

By Hassan Musa
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Abstract- This article reflects the serious agony of Nigerians which was demonstrated from the year 2020 as the #Endsars protest. Three years now, yet the surging problems of systemic injustices against the poor people of Nigeria have not been solved or adjusted to the right sense of justice. In the midst of the Endsars protests in Nigeria, I wrote a short sentence to friends on face book showing my optimism even in the midst of the chaos we see around us, that this Endsars protest for me is the birth pangs of Nigeria in the process of giving birth to a new Nigeria with a human face, a new nation that would rise to the needs and voices of its citizens. Now using an advocacy method of voicing the frustration and agonies of the voiceless within liberation theology discourse, I present this article as an advocacy for justice as key to human dignity which will be made possible only in the living hope for true justice in and through Jesus Christ.

Keywords: *endsars, social media, anxiety, christian theology, faith, hope etc.*

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HASHTAGENDSARSASPOLITICALACTIVISMINNIGERIAONDOINGCHRISTIANTHEOLOGYINANAGEOFANXIETYANDTERROR

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Hashtag Endsars as Political Activism in Nigeria: On Doing Christian Theology in an Age of Anxiety and Terror

Hassan Musa

Abstract- This article reflects the serious agony of Nigerians which was demonstrated from the year 2020 as the #Endsars protest. Three years now, yet the surging problems of systemic injustices against the poor people of Nigeria have not been solved or adjusted to the right sense of justice. In the midst of the Endsars protests in Nigeria, I wrote a short sentence to friends on face book showing my optimism even in the midst of the chaos we see around us, that this Endsars protest for me is the birth pangs of Nigeria in the process of giving birth to a new Nigeria with a human face, a new nation that would rise to the needs and voices of its citizens. Now using an advocacy method of voicing the frustration and agonies of the voiceless within liberation theology discourse, I present this article as an advocacy for justice as key to human dignity which will be made possible only in the living hope for true justice in and through Jesus Christ. Thus in this essay I present my argument of the sociopolical struggles of Nigeria among many other nations of the world for the birth of a new social and political order of human rights and dignity for all. In this essay, the idea of political theology has been discussed in the midst of the social history of the rise and use of social media for political activism. It recognizes the dangers and terrors of our time and also articulates the hope that we have in the person of Jesus Christ in this world. Thus Nigeria is open to new face of hope and political theology that hears the voices of those who mourn and cry for justice and for the coming of God to heal and restore.

Keywords: endsars, social media, anxiety, christian theology, faith, hope etc.

I. Introduction

The history of African, Islamic,[1] Western and Technocratic slavery in Africa and Nigeria in particular has rendered us numb in many ways. The chains of enslavement have been eating up our limbs. The major crime in the social, political and religious history of Nigeria is the abuse of God in the face of human injustice. People always have ways to link even bad things to God in order to control the people at the grassroot of accepting their injustices. We live not just in a modern world in which life becomes meaningful and improved but rather we have turned it into an age of terror in which the news and sight of death have become the order of the day.

The Endsars protests around Nigerian major cities like Lagos, Port Harcourt, Jos, and even Kaduna leave us in serious tension because of the agitation of fellow citizens in their quest to fight for their rights. It has been a common sight that Nigerians are used to suffering that is why some even sing and dance in the process of protest not necessary shout and cry. The Endsars protests of 2020 have turned quite differently and frighteningly. The protesters have turned very angry and aggressive in their serious quest to restore their human rights and dignity from their political overlords. Nigerian politicians have broken the heart of the people in these recent times especially when in Lagos, Jos and Kaduna just to mention a few places where citizens broke through Corona Virus palliative stores and packed numerous goods that have even expired and were never shared to the poor citizens for whom they were initially donated and stored.

The tension in Nigeria today has in many ways stimulated our thoughts on moral theory and theodicy struggles. We would join the trend of Felix Oloyede, and Adeola Elega to briefly explore the history of hashtags (#) in recent history in order to show the significance of the social media in human mass mobilization and the social campaigns for human rights and dignity.

This short historic reflection would lead us further into a more theological reflection in connection to socio-political activism. This would give the discussion of activism a theological turn by presenting the ethics of hope from a theological perspective as the leading paradigm in doing political theology in Nigeria today. This political theology does not aim at politicizing theology but rather it hopes to theologize politics. This would hopefully present some kind of hybridization between the two human practices not in total disharmony with each other but with some measure of cohesion and tranquil hope in the midst of the chaos of life that incessantly made life difficult and our beautiful world more of a desert than home.

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[1] This is good to understand that not all Muslims are harsh, or brutal or terroristic, yet, many on the extreme parade themselves in the name of Islam carrying out serious act of evil and crime against those who do not subscribe to their vision and conviction. This extremist group is the problematic from within the larger Islamic family.

II. Endsars and the Political Terror of Nigeria

Felix Oloyede and Adeola Elega help us to see the legitimacy and role of social media in social and political activism with special emphasis to Nigerian context.[2] Historically speaking, from the inception of democratic politics in Nigeria say, from 1999, the social and political terrain of Nigeria has changed radically for better and for worse. There have been many interesting social and ethical developments around the country and the standard of human life that are quite appreciable from the democratic turns of event, yet, there is also enormous growth of social injustices of the violation of human rights and dignity across strata of life. These gross violations have rendered our country so ugly and backward in the international community and even from within us too, the distances between our religions are so enormous that we live as cats and dogs in many localities now. The horror of dehumanization has pushed many young people into aggressive resolves in order to make their voices heard on matters that concern them. These issues of sociopolitical injustices are seen in many other countries too numerous to mention here. The racial unrest of America, the sociopolitical tyranny in Belarus, the political revolutionary moves in Thailand and Nigeria among many others are only a few examples to show us that the time is ripe for major social reforms in our country and the world at large.

There are many other hashtags that have become the necessary expression of human awareness of their needs from those who trample upon the values of life and freedom and justice. For example, there is "#Occupy WallStreet, #BlackLivesMatters, #BringBackOursGirls, #Ferguson, #ArabSpring, #EnoughtIsEnough, #Occupy Nigeria etc. All these are heart cries of many citizens in quest for freedom and justice. The citizens have explored the new avenue which can be used to easily mobilize people and their power in unison so they could speak in one authoritative voice.[3]

The protest like that of Endsars and other previous ones have been done with the actual "physical street occupation in Nigeria"[4] in order to 'dramatize their grievances so as the voice of moderation could be heard and the wisdom for good action may be revitalized' (paraphrasing Hannah Arendt). This strategy has been variously interpreted and abused by different people over the social media and commentaries.[5] There is no denying of the fact that some use thugs and hoodlums to take advantage of peaceful protest in order to bring on chaos and the disruption of order, sanity and even the sanctity of human life and nature in society. This is a crime and must be condemned by all and sundry.

In their article on "Exploring Hashtag activism in Nigeria" Oloyede and Elega argue that "…hashtag activism is instrumental for social transformation and as such, social media impact, dictates and influence what the traditional media think and show as important to the public."[6] This means the hashtag revolutionary strategy opens the space for demonstrative emphasis on issues of public importance with particular weight and interest. The move is revolutionary which invites the general public into the usefulness of what should be done in mass mobilization within a short time to gain the actual interest and support of the public. The new face it gives to activism is that of digitalization. This new avenue opens space for the actual demonstration of that which is important to the well being of the general public. "The use of Twitter for social transformation over the years has given rise to hashtag activism, which is the use of hashtags for digital activism."[7]

SARS was created out of dire necessity but it turns out ironically to be a serious concern and even a menace to the wellbeing of the general public. "The #Endsars hashtag was created to protest against the high handedness and human right abuse by men of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a unit of the Nigerian police force."[8] This was meant to identify and apprehend armed robbers and not to terrorize the general public of any given community. It may be sympathetically understood that there are times when the armed robbers use the citizens of a particular community to hide themselves. This has gradually turned into community conspiracy in many instances in that the particular community in which they take refuge may not like to expose them to the law enforcement agents, this has created a lot of tension and anger on the side of the SARS agents which severally resulted into the storming of innocent communities and homes in search of suspected robbers etc. And in the process of

[2] Felix Oloyede and Adeola Elega, "Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: A Case of #Endsars Campaign." Conference Proceeding: 5th in Communication and Media Studies (CRPC 2018), Famagusta, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyrus, Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2019; 87-92.

[3] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 88 cf. S. S. Ofori-Parku, and D Moscato, Hashtag Activism as a Form of Political Action: A Qualitative Analysis of #BringBackOurGirls Campaign in Nigerian, UK, and US Press.*International Journal of Communication,* (2018) 12,23.; C. Olson, BringBackOurGirls: Digital Communities Supporting Real-world Change and Influencing Mainstream Media Agendas. *Feminist Media Studies,* (2016) 16 (5), 772-787. A. S. Olutokunbo, T., Suandi, O. R. Cephas, & I. H. Abu-Samah, Bring Back Our Girls, Social Mobilization: Implications for Cross Cultural Research. *Journal of Education and Practice,* (2015) 6(6), 64-75.; M. Maxfield, History Retweeting Itself: Imperial Feminist Appropriation of "Bring Back Our Girls." *Feminist Media Studies,* (2016) 16(5), 886-900.

[4] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 88

[5] N. Egbunike, Framing the #Occupy Nigeria Protests in Newspapers and Social Media. *Open Access Library Journal*, (2015) 1-13.

[6] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 87.

[7] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 87.

[8] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 87.

such house by house search for hidden armed robbers, many atrocities have been committed like several dehumanization of innocent citizens by excessive beating and even killing at some point, destruction of properties, rape, etc. It is sad to note that, “Nigerian youth using the hashtag explained their ordeals with the ruthless SARS officers, some of which included humiliation, detention, extortion, unlawful arrest as well as forcefully breaking into their homes especially student dormitories.”[9] This made the Nigerian youth to look for an alternative way out of that life-threatening situation by calling for its end.

Hashtag activism had an interesting history in recent times which Oloyede and Elega have carefully surveyed. This shows it more as a socially and politically creative strategy and not just as spontaneous reactive move of undesirable activities around the communities. “The use of hashtags started long before the creation of Twitter although it was made popular by Twitter.”[10] This shows the discovery of the power of the political union of people in the 21st century. The power of politics now has been technologized such that the people become more powerful and influential if they can muster their efforts and share their ideas on social media. The rise of hashtag as a device for social mobilization started gradually and had a serious move within a very short period of time. According to Oloyede and Elega, “…hashtags were first used to trend world issues on microblogging platforms and sometimes to have real time updates on issues that affect or can affect the public.”[11]

Some may have different kinds of interpretation of the use of hashtag on social media. It is beyond a certain fashion for its own sake but rather it has become a mobilization network sign and identity. It is agreeable that, “…hashtag activism can be seen as an effort that concurrently induce awareness to a movement and ambiguous important phases of the movement such as historical backgrounds or socio-political context.”[12] This move is always done with the thoughts and quest for revolution. The idea of revolution here does not mean anarchy even though there is certainly space and effort to subvert one kind of ideological move in order to securely pursue and promote the other. Nevertheless, there should be actual expression of the heart-feelings of people in any social contexts for its improvement without actually the unleashing of terror from the people who protest and from those to whom or against whom they protest. Social and political protest is not an action of sabotage or anarchy although there are several instances in many cities of Nigeria recently where the protesters grew so angry to the extent of vandalization of many wares houses in order to pack palliatives to their homes. These violent reactions and riots cannot be justified as acceptable morally speaking yet they are rational in the sense that the subjugation of many people into the state of abject poverty and hunger that even killed many can easily stimulate such violent reaction from the oppressed. This is still another sound of the voice of the marginalized and the oppressed being raised in action against those who have trampled upon them.

Going back to the issues around the history of online activism in Nigeria it is noteworthy that, “Online activism in Nigeria can be traced back to 2009 when former Nigerian Rapper eLDee took to Twitter to express his discontent about erratic power supply in Nigeria. “This came after his friend could not have a surgery done due to power outage.”[13] The actual content and sociopolitical significance of hashtag campaigns have been made understandable in the following summary, “There are three distinct observations from all the hashtag campaigns,; firstly it creates awareness about public issues. Secondly, it demands for a solution from the government, and lastly, it sets the agenda for the public.”[14]

Oloyede and Elega go further to provide a useful overview of #Endsars Campaign in which they further highlighted on the fact that, “The history of police brutality in Nigeria dates back to the colonial period.”[15] In their allusion to 1861 that led to the creation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates they discovered that, “The use of violence to suppress the people by the police from the beginning has created a disconnection between the people and the force; this has defined law enforcement practices in Nigeria since that period.”[16] The colonial masters especially from the West and the Arabian countries around Africa and some within it colonized the people by the use of force as a symbol of their victory of domination and control. The police force was used to suppress demonstrations in 1920s, workers strikes in 1940s, communal violence in 1950s into the 1960s etc.[17]

The evil of Western and Islamic colonization in Africa have left very painful memories and indelible marks on the hearts and skins of the African people, not less Nigerians. The evil of unequal governance and the subjugation of the powerless have made the powerful more powerful and brutal. The freedom of the masters was always at the expense of the freedom of the slave. The masters are the only free people not their wives,

[9] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 87.
[10] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 88.
[11] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 88.
[12] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 88.
[13] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 88. Cf. O. Odewale, Project Light Up Nigeria: Power in Our Hands. In E. Zukerman & L. LeJeune, *Global Dimension of Digital Activism* (Cambridge: MIT Center for Civic Media 2014).
[14] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 89.
[15] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 89.
[16] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 89.
[17] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 89.

children and slaves. This kind of enslavement mentality has tragically been normalized in African social and political history. The coming of Christianity also did little on that note to change things, nevertheless, it is now that the people are realizing their intrinsic and collective power by which they would always move into a better creation of a new society.

The evil of inequality in the history of Africa has rendered many young people with great potentials into nothing but thugs and hooldlums. Many of these young people had to take to arms and rob people in different communities and contexts of life in order to "make ends meet". This polarization of the equations of freedom and justice has produced many terrorist groups in the name of fighting for freedom. The intensification of the number of armed robbery moved the government to the creation of SARS. "The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was created in Lagos State in 1992, a time when Notorious armed robbers such as Shina Rambo were in control of the state."[18] The most unfortunate thing about such organizations is that they too have at different points connived with the perpetrators of evil in order to do evil themselves. Theirs may be seen as a clean evil because of their points for its possible justification in the name of trying to create better living conditions for their wives and children. That notwithstanding, the Special Anti-Robbery Squad pushed the ball too far in many senses. There have been many reports on how they have been molesting people, men, women and children in the name of sanitizing the society. The evil of SARS pushed the citizens of many local communities into serious aggression in self-defence.

The protests on social media have been done in mass in the process of setting the agenda for tradition media.[19] "Agenda setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media."[20] This is a new move that cannot be so politicized and covered over. Thus the media tradition has to change to become an ordered one. The terror of those that supposed to restore peace and sanity reorients that general politic into becoming more dangerous to themselves and others too. It is now a new turn of things to think and say that, "Nigerians are actively involved in politics of their country through the use of social media."[21] Social media has been revitalized not just for the purpose of personal entertainment but more so for the attainment of new political ideals. This quest is that of universal equality and active social justice. These are the pillars of peace and freedom in all communities. The creation and access to social media has become a giant step forward for the African people and Nigeria in particular for the much better and informed engagements. It is interesting now to note "that social media has become an important tool for social change and transformation."[22]

[18] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 90.
[19] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 90.
[20] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 90.
[21] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 90.

III. Living in an Age of Anxiety and Terror

One of the major points of concern in existential thinking is that which pertains to the aspect of life and the process of living in the world. The discourse on existential thinking gives attention to the reality of life in its actual experience and interconnectedness to the whole process of living in the world. We cannot be exhaustive in this discussion on existential questions and how they stimulate necessary responses from us for our own good and for the good of all others, thus we shall focus more on the question of anxiety and how it relates to terror as the anticipation of danger or the manifestation of evil in the world. Living in an age of anxiety and terror is the horror of life in the modern world. The dawn of Western and even cosmic enlightenment should have ushered mankind into a new dispensation of reasonableness and mutual acceptance and life together but it is so unfortunate that the age has time and again repeated the old history of evil and terror in the world. We live in an age of great technology and creative destruction of human life and nature.

The correlation between anxiety and terror is very serious and discernible. Nevertheless, the rationalization of violence cannot be an excuse for its normalization. There is no new normal in the killings of people and the destruction of their property. The professional scholars on the crisis of human tension with regards to fear and anger that leads to anxiety and violence always keep our eyes opened and our feet ready for what might come our way.[23] This is human crisis beyond the quick solutions of the psychologists.

The human person is always meant to be active in search of whatever would be of help in furthering the reality of his or her life and making it comfortable. Anything that tempers with this freedom is a free stimulus for chains of reactions. Critical scholars on human psychology and theologians who have given time to the reality of human crisis and the psychoanalysis of self have concluded on the correlation of human crisis as an emotional core of human philosophy. Anxiety may be seen as the constant unrest within the self in search of comfort, peace and progress. It is a deep seated emotion that cannot easily

[22] Oloyede and Elega, Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: 91.
[23] Carl F. Weems, Natalie M. Costa, Christopher Dohen, and Steven L. Berman, Paul Tillich's Theory of Existential Anxiety: A Preliminary Conceptual and Empirical Examination. *Anxiety, Stress and Coping* (December, 2004) vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 383-399; S. Kierkegaard, *The Sickness Unto Death* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ [1849] 1954b).

be controlled without the actual satisfaction of the self within a given paradigm of life and action. Seeing the philosophy of life as something cogent and highly correlative with the idea of the actualization of life leaves the entire subject of being and action open.

The human quest for self actualization when hindered reacts with serious anger which eventually also triggers the emotion of fear.[24] The combination of these two emotions at any given point in time leaves the human person as a free subject of any kind of action in order to either demonstrate his anger or to exhibit his fear. The demonstration of anger may be a positive sense of free communication that is meant to stimulate a sense of deep consideration for his or her sake. This is when the injustice done to them is called by its name and is dramatized in serious action. If this is neglected the fear of abandonment pushes one to the point of redundancy and even the feeling of more anger for being worthless. In order not to allow his injustice to go unnoticed the fear of such loss is manifested in the chains of reactions that may lead to serious attack in order to enact his or her own sense of justice. The negative reactions may be seen as violence from one who reads justice and decency from without but the inner self is using his or her own reason to justify such action in order to see that nothing more is done to hinder the intention of either calling attention to their pitiable situation or even taking justice into their own hands. This idea is often coming into play when those who are supposed to activate justice and order seem to neglect their duties and even seek to twist the arm of truth and justice to self-service and vested interest.

Anxiety, fear and terror are existential phenomena that are intrinsically correlative with each other. The chain moves from the point of anxiety, it moves to fear and then culminates in terror. This idea of terror may be a potential or actual depending on the situation and the feeling of the person directly involved. J. Sartre wrote on the human crisis of being and nothingness.[25] From the narrative of human creation as seen in the Bible, every human being is the precious creation of God in God's own image. This means every human being is created to be valued and honored as a special guest on earth on behalf of God. The denigration of any human being is an act of injustice and an outright confrontation to the actual image of God. The being of the human is ultimately the being of God. This does not mean that the human person has in any way assumed the character and position of being God or even a god in context. But rather the perfection of God in the person from the point of creation in terms of human originality and the continual creation by human progressive birth on earth leaves the question of the worth of all mankind open. The sense of nothingness in man is the negation of the worth of the same person as created and given by God. Although it is not possible to take away the worth of the human being from them, nevertheless the acts of injustices by the government, church or individuals can confront us and make the person feel rejected and dishonored. This feeling of nothingness renders the person as less than human in themselves. This has the tendency of orienting the person to act less than human expectation. This is why the sane human person can be pushed to the acts of violence and terror in the world. In action, not in essence, the image of God in him or her is denied and suppressed and the image of the evil one is constructed and exalted. This move into terror is the exaltation of evil in the goodness of life not because that evil can lead to any kind of goodness but that the human sense of anxiety has moved him or her beyond the question of patience into the fast fight for the security of his or her freedom and the enactment of justice. Only the release of justice into actual human experience can assuage his or her nerves and lead them to the expression of the goodness that is intrinsically their nature as created by God.

Human emotions have been critically discussed in the discipline of human psychology and philosophy as the most interesting and endless question of existentialism.[26] This is the kind of being human in the world as we live here and now. The consideration of existentialism as a key aspect of the general understanding of the human person leaves the question of life and death open. In the natural world these two react against each other and even negate each other. But in the new perspective of the Christian these two can be correlative to each other where death does not have to be the negation or the termination of life but even an expression of another sense of life. Death and anxiety can be correlative when the human person sees no option of survival in the hands of tyrants and the context of injustice.[27] The rationalization of terror and violence only unlocks the human tendency on the negative in order to reach out to the last resort. Death can be that last resort. The death of the perpetrator of injustice and violence may be the release of those under his or her yoke of oppression. This can be the justification of violence not as something right but as something necessary. The necessity of violence in order to break the yoke of injustice cannot be the final solution of the difficulty that the question poses. Nevertheless, the necessity of violence can be allowed to be the only

[24] S. Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ. (1843/1954a)

[25] J. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956).

[26] J. Sartre, *Existentialism and Human Emotions* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957).

[27] Rasmussen, C. A. and Brems, C (1996). The Relationship of Death Anxiety with Age and Psychosocial Maturity. *The Journal of Psychology*. 130, 141-145.

resort against the problem of injustice. There is no way we can accept violence and injustice in the name of peace and rationality but the force of violence can remain the open door through which the captives are released from bondage and through which justice can come in.

Paul Tillich wrote on the theology of being human and the actualization of life by faith and action in the context of the free life. Anxiety is seen as the main symptom of human crisis that needs urgent care and solution.[28] The solution of anxiety is the restoration of worth and the freedom of being. There is no way the sense of being human as the release of the courage to be[29] can be any meaningful without the attentiveness to closely understand human crisis of life and address it constructively.[30] The courage to be may not be an adequate explanation of the meaning of faith when faith comes from within as trust and hope, but rather it is the actualization of faith in its movements outward for action. Faith cannot be moved into action or actions cannot be produced by faith without the courage of being human. This idea of the courage to be as put forward by Paul Tillich is a seminal realization of the necessity of faith in the actualization of life as truly given and as objectively created. Every human being is given the grace of life as seen in his or her actual life.

The chain of human reaction on the on acts of injustices lead to the general chaos we experience both socially and politically. This is what leads to the interpersonal chaos and even social upheavals that leave our contexts vulnerable and so much open to the tyranny of each against all. This dog-eat-dog situation is the bad omen of nihilism even in our time. The idea of solving these dangers does not only lie in the hands of the psychologists with all their therapeutic technicalities.[31] Nevertheless, it calls for an urgent attention on the side of the government and the general public that constitute the nation state to make sure that justice is done and peace is restored.

The quest of the human person is generally confronted by the questions of life and death as the core of his or her existential enquiry. "Existential anxiety involves apprehension about the ultimate meaning of life and death."[32] The question does not begin and end at whether we leave or die but rather how can we go on leaving and how can be actually avoid dying. At the core of existentialism is the human fantasy that moves his or her mind beyond the possibility of dying or rather beyond the natural welcome to the idea of death as the unnatural and the unwelcomed. This can continue to invite the human person into a sense of restlessness and anxiety. Furthermore, "Anxiety about fate and death concerns the absolute threat to one's being in death and the relative threat to the self in our personal fate."[33]

Another level of anxiety touches the heart at the point of guilt. This is what goes out of a person and also returns back to him or her as an open question that leaves his heart open to challenge and possible corrections. "Anxiety about guilt and condemnation involves perceived threat to one's moral and ethical identity."[34] The best of this condemnation is the sense of self-condemnation. Even this can go too far if it reaches the point of self-rejection. Guilt is born within human consciousness in order to alert the mind of its corruption and the wrong that it has done. This easily leaves the person uneasy and pushes him or her to the point of repentance. The killings of human beings at rallies around different countries of the world including Nigeria are acts of heinous crimes against humanity and their rights. This can only be made right when the guilt in the minds of the perpetrators humble them enough to accept the ugliness of their wickedness and to listen to the voices that cry against them. The turning point of Nigeria in the face of all the protests we witness in recent time can be adjusted only if the ruling people seek the ways of truth, justice and righteousness among the people. For them to sit and listen to the voice of conscience from within themselves is a good step for them to hear the actual voice of God addressing them. From this personal revelation the act of revolution would lead to true revival. The destiny of Nigeria and the rest of the world does not need to end in chaos but rather to move through the darkness of life despite all looming dangers around to the point of peace and safety where the freedom and dignity of everyone is recognized and respected.

The correlation of "Fear and anxiety" are the heart of all the protest that we have witnessed at different places not least our own.[35] The protesters have been moved by the fear of death as a result of tyranny and all kinds of injustices thus they were moved by the "courage to be," not to perish, that is why they came out in mass in search of the air of life and freedom that makes them human again. The problem of fear and

[28] Paul Tillich, Anxiety, Religion and Medicine. *Pastoral Psychology*, 3, (1952b):11-17; Paul Tillich, Existentialism and Psychotherapy. *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry,* 1, (1961) 8-16.

[29] Paul Tillich, *The Courage to Be* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952a).

[30] S. Solomon, J. Greenberg, and T. Pyszczynski, A Terror Management Theory of Social-behaviour-The Psychological Function of Self-Esteem and Cultural Worldview. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 24, (1991): 93-159.

[31] I. D. Yalom, *The Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy.* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

[32] Weems, Christopher, and Steven, Paul Tillich's Theory of Existential Anxiety: 383

[33] Weems, Christopher, and Steven, Paul Tillich's Theory of Existential Anxiety: 383

[34] Weems, Christopher, and Steven, Paul Tillich's Theory of Existential Anxiety: 383

[35] Weems, Christopher, and Steven, Paul Tillich's Theory of Existential Anxiety: 384.

anxiety paralyzes the human person and moved them away from themselves into all kinds of inhumane thoughts and actions. The only way that all this evils can be avoided is in our common self recognition as the interconnected family of God in which everyone needs to be adequately cared for and respected. In this context of mutual care and respect the material wealth of the nation can be well shared and the citizens would live with the satisfaction of being connected and together protected.

The reaction of many has led not just to periodic demonstrations but rather even to full scale "terrorism" this is the evil of the human person against another human being. Terrorism cannot be explained or excused in the name of political injustices or marginalization. Nevertheless, all this may have their own contributions to it. According to the historical development and actions of terrorist groups they do not operate from the vantage point of humanity in need, they do not live in fear and anxiety that raise existential questions. But rather they operate from the vantage point of religious exclusivism and imperial hunger and arrogance. No terrorist groups seek freedom and justice, all they need is the space to capture, dominate and oppress. They are all oppressive religious groups who want to exclude all others to their own glory and honor. They have turned themselves to the god of themselves. They live in the name of "the power of the will" as Nietzsche would say, and proclaim the gospel of death in the name of might as their only right. These are groups around the world who daily push all others to the margin and seek to the take hold of the center in the name of trying to sanitize the world in the name of God. The hashtag protests that led to the beginning of the new turn of political activism is also influential in the rethink of Christian theology especially with regards to political theology and social sciences to ask questions that lead to the adjustments of social and political policies in order that this broken world can share the thoughts of humanity that cry so severely against all dangers that loom around it. The basic question that remains for us to reflect upon at the end of this essay is the question of hope and ethics. How can we think and speak of hope as an ethical paradigm in this time of crime and danger?

IV. Conclusion: Toward the Ethics of Hope

Jürgen Moltmann has made a name since 1964 with his epoch making publication titled *The Theology of Hope.*[36] In this book and in many other subsequent books, Moltmann has redefined hope as the Christian hope of life against death. From a realistic point of view, this is hope that is born in the midst of strife and threats of death. Nevertheless, human evil towards nihilism and the end of history do not have the last word. The Christian theological vision of life is found on the new horizon opened by the person and work of Jesus Christ in whose light and life we stand and live and for whom we wait in hope in this terrible world of darkness. The comforting words of Jesus Christ of victory against the world (John 16:33) surely keeps the Christian open to the hope of life in its fullness in the person of Jesus Christ. The time in which we live may be the time of anxiety, terror and death as a result of human sinfulness, crimes and injustices, yet, it is also the time of hope and the time of grace. "All of time is grace."[37] And the God we know in Jesus Christ is the God of grace and the God of justice and healing of life.

Moltmann discussed the ugliness of our history in the emergence of what he titled "[a] culture of life, terror of death" which has heavily characterized our civilization and age in general. The idea of capturing human beings and even killing them has almost been normalized as the order of the day. The protests we see here and there are general condemnations of the evil of human beings against one another and the continual call for the space and breath of life against the looming danger of death and the reign of evil. It is no news that "Today human life itself is in acute danger."[38] The killings and threats may continue as we see them only because of the hardness of the human heart for the cry of the other. The call of the neighbor has been made a strange story from a distant land. It is so pathetic that in our time we hardly see each other as friends and neighbors but more as strangers and foreigners. The time we live in today is surely the days of evil and the life we live is only a borrowed time. "Life was for us a matter of indifference, because it had been made meaningless."[39] The meaning of life can only emerge from the heart of love. Where the human heart has grown callous nothing remains than the reign of evil in the distance of self. The darkness of human neighborliness is seen in the words of a Taliban Leader in 2004, Mullar Omar who said to a reporter, 'Your young people love life, our young people love death".[40] The character of life is seen in the love of life and the character of death is seen in the love of death. The evil of life cannot continue to reign among us as the final order of the day. No matter how dark and ugly the situation gets we can move beyond it in the name of Christ who alone is our life and nothing else, for there is nothing else (Col. 3:1-4).

Our ethics of hope is rooted in the person of God as revealed to us in Jesus Christ. The evil of our

[36] Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology.* Translated by J. W. Leitch (London: SCM Press, 1967).

[37] Graham Ward, *Cities of God* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 2f.

[38] J. Moltmann, *Ethics of Hope.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012) 80.

[39] Moltmann, J, (2012) *Ethics of Hope*. 80

[40] Moltmann, J, (2012) *Ethics of Hope*. 81.

time has turned many human beings to love their religions more than the love of God. To love religion more than God is the love of darkness more than light. This is the darkness from within and not only from without the self. To love God more than religion is to recognize the Lordship of God above all things and everyone at all time. This is the glory of God and the sure promise of life in the midst of death. The recent Endsars protests in Nigeria point us not only the new turn of political action in Nigeria and the revelation of the evil of human personal interest and social injustices, but it also opens us further to the general hunger of people to the reign of God's righteousness which is the only true history of justice and freedom. The age we live today as an age of anxiety, and all kinds of evil is a constant threat to our human sense of life and flourishing, nevertheless, it is also the time in which we live under the shadow of God and experience the time of grace.

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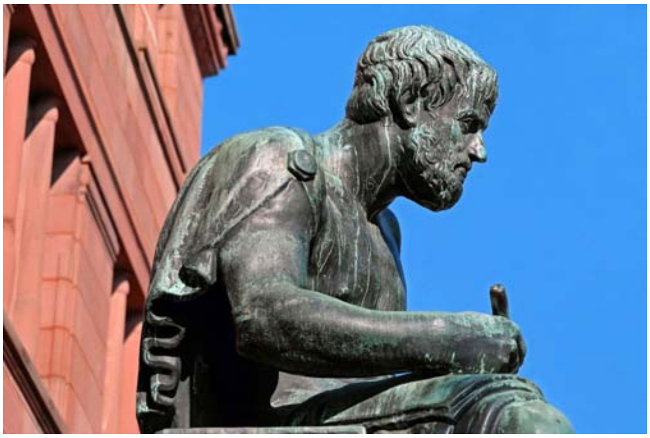

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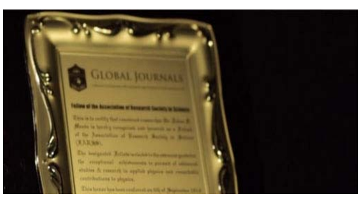

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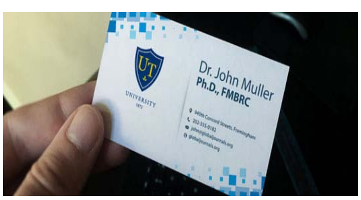

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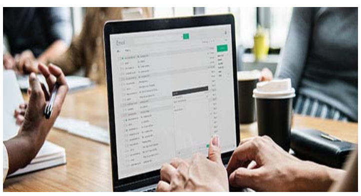

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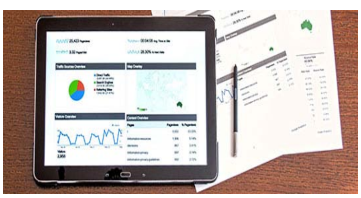

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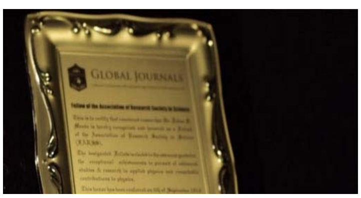

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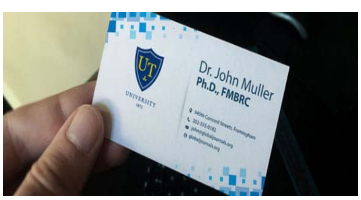

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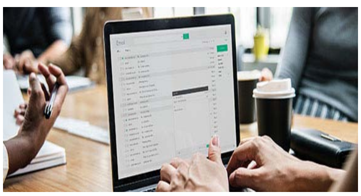

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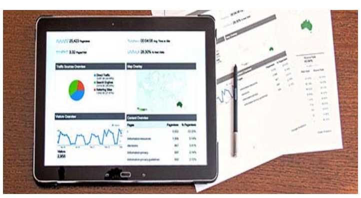

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The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.

6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

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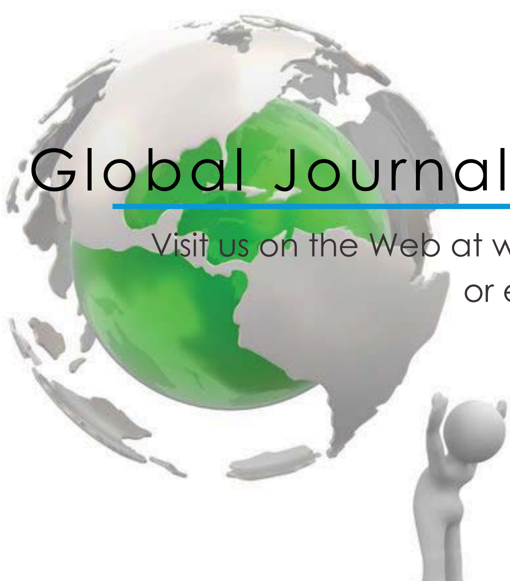

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