

turned into opportunities. They offer the opportunity for the leaders to bring to the awareness of the people what are the national problems, how these are related to local ones, and why their participation in finding the solutions is important. This presumes, of course, that the leaders recognize this opportunity and do not see it only as a problem. For in the development process, every problem is an opportunity and every opportunity may be a problem. A problem becomes an opportunity because it allows for people to apply their skills and knowledge, and to develop new ones in the search for solution. Such skill and knowledge becomes accumulated as experience and available for application in other instances. Like capital, it can be reinvested and it will yield further capital. The opportunity may become a problem if it is misused, or is not even recognized. In this latter case, little progress is made or an impasse is reached; no development takes place. The most important factor — and this cannot be overemphasized—on whether an opportunity is utilized or misused is the existence of a political ideology which recognizes the intrinsic value of relentlessly involving the masses in their own development.

To summarize, development is a political process. It cannot be brought about through bureaucratic or administrative means. Public administration cannot replace politics and therefore it is an unsuitable tool for development. The public administration approach to development in the third world only serves to reinforce the *status quo ante* independence. Because this status quo was created by imperialism; because public administration in the third world was specifically introduced during colonialism for the service of imperialism; because imperialism only results in exploitation; because exploitation is the antithesis of development; and because the third world was *not* developing under colonialism, the public administration approach to development is misinformed.

THE CONCEPT OF MAN IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX

INNOCENT C. ONYEWUENYI*

In Africa, other developing countries, and even inside developed Europe and America, there exist very distorted ideas about Marx and his teachings. Some reasons for this are not hard to find. The developing nations have been the battle field of propaganda between the West and the East; between the Right and the Left. In their bid to win the emerging nations to their side, the Western colonial powers launched serious propaganda aimed at discouraging the Third World from embracing communism. It was portrayed as destructive of religion, freedom of speech, private property even to the extent of advocating community of wives and children. People were instructed to keep contact with Marxists very limited and to suspect any humanistic move they made as a device to get into the system of government and of the church in order to overthrow them. Marx was branded as being materialistic. "Marx is supposed to have believed that the paramount psychological motive in man is his wish for monetary gain and comfort and that this striving for maximum profit constitutes the main incentive in his personal life and in the life of the human race. Marx's criticism of religion was held to be identical with the denial of all spiritual values... that he had neither respect nor understanding for the spiritual needs of man, and that his "ideal" was the well-fed and well-clad but "soulless person."

Perhaps the Western powers in Africa were right in their propaganda against communism. Perhaps in Russia, freedom of speech was curbed to some extent; that families broke up on account of the State's intervention in determining who did what job to maintain the communist system; that children belonged first and foremost to the State and secondarily to their parents; that the church was persecuted. These were alleged proofs of the demerits of communism and the inhuman treatment inflicted on the people under the communist regime.

Whatever the truth of these statements, one point is clear as a result of a research on Marxism - namely, that the man Marx and the communism he preached were quite different from what they were said to be by the West. Eric Fromm defends Marx: "Suffice it to say at the outset that this popular picture of Marx's "Materialism", his anti-spiritual tendency, his wish for uniformity and subordination - is utterly false. Marx's aim was that of a spiritual emancipation of man, of his liberation from the chains of economic determination, of restituting him in his human wholeness, of enabling him to find unity and harmony with his fellow man and with nature. Marx's

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1 Eric Fromm, *Marx's Concept of Man*, New York, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1966, p. 2.

philosophy was, in secular, nontheistic language, a new and radical step forward in the tradition of prophetic Messianism; it was aimed at the full realization of individualism, the very aim which has guided Western thinking from the Renaissance and the Reformation far into the nineteenth century."²

We shall trace the development of Marx's concept of man from the background of the Hegelian philosophy and show how indeed Marx concerned himself primarily with the realization of the individual man as a person.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HEGEL AND FEUERBACH AS REMOTE INFLUENCE ON MARX

Influence by Hegel

The connection that Marx had in his early university training with the Hegelian philosophy, was very decisive in the future of Marx's philosophy of anthropology. Hegel had died in 1831. Marx entered the University of Berlin in 1836 where Hegel had taught till the time of his death. Most of the Faculty of Philosophy had become Hegelian at the time Marx began his philosophical studies. In fact, Gans, a Hegelian disciple had lectured Marx on the Philosophy of Right and Marx was credited to have been 'very industrious' in the course. "Gans interpretation of Hegel's theory of right was to have a profound influence on Marx's early philosophy. It was in his classroom that Marx's attention was first drawn to the revolutionary aspect of the Hegelian dialectic - that no historical state of affairs can ever be considered final. Rather than freezing juridical institutions, dialectical philosophy must further their progress by its own dynamic character."³

Hegel had dealt with what ought to be the ideal. In the *Phenomenology of Mind*, he noted a separated identity between ego and nature, "I and the 'other' in all the four levels of perception. His whole philosophical effort was to reconcile the one-sided identity and to show the sameness of ego and nature. "The present standpoint of philosophy is that the idea is known in its necessity, the sides of it redemption nature and spirit, are each of them recognised as representing the totality of the idea — what exists as actual nature is an image of divine reason, the forms of self-conscious reason are also the forms of nature. The ultimate aim or business of philosophy is to reconcile thought or the notion with reality."⁴

Hegel's treatment of Lordship and Bondage which illustrates the Hegelian notion of human relationship had a far reaching influence on

2 Ibid., p. 3.

3 Louis Dupre, *The Philosophical Foundations of Marxism*, Chicago, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966, p. 67.

4 G.W.F. Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, Vol. III, London, New York, The Humanities Press, 1963.

Marx's treatment of the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. According to Hegel, the level of consciousness that operates in Lordship and Bondage is that by which one is conscious of oneself as the negation of the other by a process of objectification. The 'other' is regarded as a 'thing' which is useful (or not) according to whether it renders or does not render service. One never reaches the individual character or personality of the other. This gives rise to social and political control, injustices and wars.

The evils of the Master/Slave relationship can be overcome by the ethical disposition of the individuals concerned, namely the knowledge of identity of all their interests with the whole and their mutual knowledge of themselves in this identity. "The ethical substance is thus, in this determination, actual concrete substance, Absolute Spirit realized in the plurality of distinct consciousness definitely existing...It is Spirit which is for itself, since it maintains itself by being reflected in the minds of the component individuals."⁵

Whereas in the Lordship/Bondage situation, the "Other" is useful or useless, on the level of ethicality, I find my realization in the 'other.' I realize that my being is contained in the other. The Master realizes that he is the servant within their difference and that he is then a servant to the servant. This is love. "For love implies a distinguishing between two and yet these two are as a matter of fact not distinguished from one another. Love, this sense of being outside of myself is the feeling and consciousness of this identity. My self-consciousness is not in myself but in another but this other in whom alone I find satisfaction and am at peace with myself."⁶ The ability to practise this mutuality is the highest act of the Spirit. This is meaning for existence; this is social justice and peace; this is Absolute Unity.

INFLUENCE BY FEUERBACH

Feuerbach criticised the Universality and absoluteness of the Hegelian system. For Feuerbach, the individual cannot be encompassed in the metaphysical concept. "But reason knows nothing of real and absolute incarnation of the genus in a determinate individuality... whatever becomes real, becomes real as something indeterminate. An incarnation of the genus in its whole fullness in one individuality would be an absolute miracle, a violent cancellation of all laws."⁷ Feuerbach introduces historical and sociological variables to Hegel's system. The Hegelian interpretation, says Feuerbach, makes communication and understanding between different cultures impossible.

As a materialist, Feuerbach questions the metaphysical pre-suppositions of Hegel. "The idealist sees also in nature, life and reason, but only as his

5 G.W.F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1966, p. 466.

6 G.W.F. Hegel, *Lectures on Religion*, New York, The Humanities Press, 1962.

7 L.A. Feuerbach, *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Philosophie* Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1966, p. 82.

own life and his own reason. What he saw in nature, that he himself has imposed on nature."⁸ Rather, Feuerbach appropriated the Hegelian system and inverted it to suit his own materialistic doctrine. Instead of Nature realizing itself in the Absolute Spirit, man becomes the highest realization of Nature. The idea of God or religion as the realization of ethicality was thrown overboard by Feuerbach. "The task of modern era was the realization and humanization of God — the transformation and dissolution of theology into anthropology."⁹ Feuerbach made concrete the idealistic love or charity of Hegel. From the development of techno-structure, he shows how the security once thought of as the prerogative of the divine can be given by organizations resultant from techno-structure. "We have shown that the substance and objective of religion is altogether human. We have shown that divine wisdom is human wisdom; that the secret of theology is anthropology... the necessary turning of history is therefore the open confession of the species... Homo homini Deus est;... this is the greatest practical principle... The relations of child and parent, brother and friend, in general of man to man; in short all the moral relations are per se religion."¹⁰

BACKGROUND OF KARL MARX'S HUMANISM

Influenced by Feuerbach's interpretation of Hegelian ethicality and his material inversion of the Hegelian idealistic system, Marx took a philosophical stand which improved greatly on Feuerbach's materialism while at the same time retaining the dialectic method of Hegel. Marx extricated himself from the philosophical idealism which characterized Hegel and acquainted himself with the historical situation of his time. He felt that speculative philosophy was also an alienation; he involved himself in practical investigations of how to cure the social evils of his day - the economic and social issues.

Abstract notions such as "Absolute Spirit", "eternal ideas", "heaven" and "after-life" were attacked by Marx because he was convinced that these notions had been used as a cover to practise injustice and other social evils by the wealthy class. Taking an opposite stand against Hegel, Marx taught that the individual man should be given to the State. "In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men imagine, conceive, nor from men as narrated, conceived, thought of or imagined, in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real active

⁸ Ibid., p. 109.

⁹ L.A. Feuerbach, *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*, Indianapolis — New York — Kansas City, Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.

¹⁰ L.A. Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* New York, Evanston, London, Harper and Row, 1957. p. 12.

men and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process."¹¹ This is the basis of Karl Marx's philosophy being called naturalism or humanism as distinguished from both idealism and materialism.¹²

THE ASPECT OF MAN THAT CONCERNS MARX

There are many aspects from which man can be treated: the historical, the religious, political, economic, social, materialistic and so on. Marx studies man in relation to the economic and social conditions under which he lives. He was primarily interested in historical materialism, which states that "the way man produces determines his thinking and his desire" as distinct from psychological materialism which holds that the strongest motive in man is to gain money and to have more material comfort.¹³ For Marx, men are the authors and actors of their history. How does man make his own history? How does he find himself? The answer is found in Marx's incorporation of Hegel's thought in the *Phenomenology of Mind*: "The outstanding thing in Hegel's Phenomenology of mind and its final outcome — that is the dialectic of negativity as the moving and generating principle— is thus first that Hegel conceives the self-genesis of man as a process, conceives objectification as loss of the object, as alienation and as transcendence of this alienation, that he thus grasps the essence of labour and comprehends objective man... as the outcome of man's labour."¹⁴

Louis Dupre expounds the above quotation from Marx by picking two elements of Hegel's thought which are basic for Marx:-

- i. Labour is conceived of as the activity through which man realizes his own essence. "Labour is man's coming-to-be for himself."¹⁵
- ii. This becoming oneself is realized within alienation; labour itself constitutes this alienation.

Marx criticizes the identification of labour itself with alienation. Marx feels that Hegel's erroneous concept of man is due to his idealistic philosophy by which man is essentially consciousness. Hegel implies that man does not express himself by external relation with the outside world. On the contrary, Marx holds that man is complete when he interacts with nature as part of the world. "Man is directly a natural being. As a natural being and as a living natural being, he is on the one hand furnished with natural powers of life - he is an active natural being. These forces exist in him as tendencies and abilities - as impulses. On the other hand as a natural corporeal, sensuous, objective being he is a suffering, conditioned and limited creature, like

¹¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *German Ideology*, New York, International Publishers, Inc., 1939, p. 14.

¹² Eric Fromm, op. cit., p. 9.

¹³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴ Louis Dupre, op. cit., p. 122.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 122.

animals and plants.¹⁶ Since labour is man's coming-to-be for himself, i.e. since labour is man's proper channel of expressing his real life by contact with natural objects for the satisfaction of his needs, Marx regards labour as an essential property of man, such that if it is taken away from man, he would be in a state of bankruptcy and need.

HUMAN NEED AS THE ORIGIN OF LABOUR

Having shown the central position which labour holds in Marx's concept of man, we will proceed to investigate why man has to labour and why labour is the means of self-expression. The reason is to be found in the concept of human need. Man has many needs, the acquisition of which means self-expression, self-realization and satisfaction. Man seeks clothing, sex, habitation, food, which are all realized by man's manipulation of nature.

Labour is this manipulation of nature carried on by man for the satisfaction of his basic needs. "We must begin by stating the first premise of all human existence, and therefore of all history, the premise mainly that men must be in a position to live in order to be able to 'make history'. But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing and many other things. The first 'historical' act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself."¹⁷

The labour imperative does not exempt anyone whether one's needs are many or few. Even men leading a most austere religious life by separating themselves as much as possible from 'worldly pleasures,' have some needs no matter how insignificant and they must labour to fulfil these needs. "The founder of the Trappists, wanting nothing more than a walking stick, had to go into the forest in order to cut one from a tree. In this simple feat, St. Brune was performing an act of material production. Few men are satisfied with so little, of course, for, generally, as soon as needs are satisfied, new needs arise. The only way to satisfy this incessant unremitting claim of nature is through labour, for need in becoming passion, stirs man to action."¹⁸

This is the central position that labour holds in Marx's philosophy of anthropology. Hence the relevance of Marx's fundamental principle that the mode of production of the material life in general dominates the development of social, political and intellectual life. Man by his work determines the type of life he lives. It is interesting the extent Marx goes to identify the individual with his labour. Labour or the mode of production is a definite form of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are.

16 Ibid., p. 125.

17. E. Fromm, op. cit., p. 199.

18. Wilfrid Desan, *The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre*, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966, p. 26.

What they are therefore coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce."¹⁹ This makes clear the difference between materialism and the humanism or naturalism of Marx.

MARX'S THEORY OF ALIENATION

From the thoughts expressed in the preceding paragraph, it is easy to see the relevance of the treatment and emphasis which Karl Marx gives to the theory of alienation. Martin Milligan gives a detailed explanation of the meaning of alienation.²⁰ The word is an English translation of the German *entaussern* which has the following meanings "to part with" "to renounce", "to cast off", "to sell" a right or property. "To alienate" best expresses the sense in which Marx usually uses the German term. For "alienate" is the only English word which combines in much the same way as does *entaussern*, the idea of "losing" something which nevertheless remains in existence over-against one. At the same time, the word *entaussern* has, more strongly than 'alienate', the sense of "making external to oneself", or estrangement.

The idea of alienation is however not original to Marx. He incorporated it from the writings of Hegel and Feuerbach. For Hegel, "a consciousness which projects its substance outside itself or, in other words, exteriorizes itself is alienated. In a vain attempt to reach this myth which it has projected outside itself whether in the form of a god or any other, human consciousness becomes unhappy."²¹ Feuerbach, whose brand of materialism influenced Marx, although criticised by Marx as not understanding human activity itself as objective activity, in that human activity (labour) deals with sensuous objects as distinguished from the objects of thought, presents a well-known example of alienation, in his *Essence of Christianity* "Where a man is shown to embody each one of his main faculties - mind, will and heart-in a Superior Being. In positing his aspirations as fulfilled in the Deity, man deems himself to be by contrast weak and powerless. This conception of a Being which exists at a great distance in all the splendour of his isolation results in alienation for man. In an attempt to overcome this alienation, man loves God and through belief in the incarnation of his son, finds a means of sermon with the distant Deity. All this is, in Feuerbach's opinion, not only deceitful but actually harmful. Man must confront the earth and make his happiness there, rather than live in the vain desire of a non-existent God. Homo homini Deus! Man is God for himself."²²

Marx went a step further than his predecessors in his application of the idea of alienation. He is interested in man as a concrete human being who is essentially producing the means of his subsistence. The type of alienation

19 E. Fromm, op. cit., p. 10; quoting from K. Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family*, 1945.

20 Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, New York, International Publishers, 1964.

21 G.W.F. Hegel, op. cit., p. 253.

22 Wilfrid Desan, op. cit., p. 7.

that Marx was interested in is the alienation of man from his personal activity, his labour, not the speculative and idealistic alienation of consciousness. If Hegel called the state of consciousness, which has projected itself outside, unhappy, Marx implied that the state of the man, whose proper activity has been alienated, is worse off; "for to him, alienation has been an enormous source of grief far surpassing that of the unhappy conscious."²³ Marx says that man has been alienated in all spheres of his concrete earthly life activities. The type of man for whose interest Marx poses as the spokesman is the working man, who suffers the grief and poverty issuing from religious, intellectual, political and economic alienation. This is the proletariat in contradistinction from the bourgeoisie which inflicts this pain on the proletariat. Man's inhumanity to man!

CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY: MAN'S ALIENATION FROM HIS LABOUR

We saw in the section on Human Need as the origin of Labour, that Marx identified the individual man socially with his labour. For him, labour was a definite form of expressing man's life. He made his stand more forceful by saying the following about men: "What they are, therefore, coincides with their production; both with what they produce and with how they produce".²⁴

In the industrialised capitalist society, labour or the expression of man's life, is taken from him. Man is alienated in a threefold way, namely from the product of his work, from the act of producing and from his own social nature. The worker in a capitalistic society is used as an instrument of production. Whereas his production should be the very expression of his being, it now becomes a thing alien to himself. He externalizes his labour in the object of production over which he has no control as to its disposal and enjoyment. "The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labour becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him independently as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him; it means the life which he has conferred on the object confronts him as something hostile and alien".²⁵

In the chapter on Wages of Labour, ²⁶ Marx engaged himself in an imaginary dialogue with the political economist who would argue that the worker is compensated by a just wage. Marx contends that the idea of wage earning makes a slave of the worker who is thereby reduced to the status of a commercial object, a commodity which is paid for according to the quantity and quality of his production. In other words, according to whether his capitalist master gains more money out of his labour or not. His value as a human being is forgotten and unconsidered. As a man, "the worker becomes

²³ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁴ K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., p. 7.

²⁵ Louis Dupre, op. cit., 126.

²⁶ Karl Marx, op. cit., p. 66

all the poorer the more wealth he produces, the more his production increases in power and range. The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity, the more commodities he creates. With the increasing value of the world of things proceeds in direct proportion the devaluation of the world of men."²⁷

Marx points out the following disadvantages in respect of the worker in a capitalist society.

i. The separation of capital, ground rent and labour is fatal to the worker. The lowest and the only necessary wage rate is that providing for the subsistence of the worker for the duration of his work and as much more as is necessary for him to support a family.

ii. The demand for men necessarily governs the production of men, as of every other commodity. Should supply greatly exceed demand, a section of the workers sinks into beggary or starvation... The worker has become a commodity, and it is a bit of luck for him if he can find a buyer. And the demand on which the life of the worker depends is on the whim of the rich capitalist.

iii. Thus in the gravitation of market price to natural price, it is the worker who loses most of all and necessarily.

iv. The worker need not necessarily gain when the capitalist does, but he necessarily loses when the latter loses. Thus the worker does not gain if the capitalist keeps the market price above the natural price by virtue of some manufacturing or trading secret, or by virtue of monopoly or the favourable situation of his property.

Another respect in which the worker is at a disadvantage: the labour prices of the various kinds of workers show much wider differences than the profits in the various branches in which capital is applied. In labour, all the natural, spiritual and social variety of individual activity is manifested and is variously regarded, whilst dead capital always shows the same face and is indifferent to real individual activity.²⁸

In the above points, Marx spreads out clearly the dehumanization of man in a capitalistic society. He shows the cruel way in which man is laid off when the capitalist 'loses'; and by 'loss' we understand that the profit does not rise to expectation and not that capital is in any way affected. Thus man's value, like merchandise, is marked down to the value of his money. The demon, almighty money, destroys all authentic interpersonal rapport, christian love and compassion.

COMMUNISM: THE RE-EVALUATION OF MAN

Equipped with his knowledge of French Proudhon's *What is Property?* and its treatment of private property as theft; equipped with the scholarly in-

²⁷ Ibid., p. 66.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 65.

corporation of Proudhon's ideas into the German situation by earlier German communists Hess and Lorenzo Stein, Marx became convinced that the one solution for the ills of capitalism is communism. He saw in communism, "the return of man himself as a social, i.e. really human being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. Communism as a fully developed naturalism is humanism, and as a fully developed humanism is naturalism. It is the definitive resolution of the antagonism between man and nature and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, between objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is the solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be the solution."²⁹

The strongly emphasized notes in the above quotation are "self-realization," "humanism", "resolution of antagonism between man and man", "solution of the riddle of history". Marx, as we saw earlier on in this article, believed that man realised himself by bringing nature to his auspices by labour. He accused capitalism of usurping man's labour and making a commodity out of it thus reducing man to the status of a slave by alienating him from his labour which is his definite form of expressing his like and a definite mode of his life. This causes antagonism between the "capitalist" and the "worker".

Communism, by doing away with active private property, i.e. private ownership of means of production, resolves this antagonism between man and man. In communism, wealth or poverty in a community is shared by all with pride and dignity; whereas in capitalism, some class of human beings enjoy the goods of this life while others merely subsist and lead lives below the level of dignified human beings. Communism will put an end to the stupidity of personal pride which comes from the sense of having instead of from a sense of being.

To further appreciate the Marxian idea of communism as humanism, it is necessary to clarify his notion of private property. The so-called communist and socialist nations have distorted Marx's idea of communism and popularised the information that in communism, the individual can claim nothing as his own. This is contrary to the meaning of private property in the Marxian sense. Eric Fromm explains: "By private property, Marx never refers to the private property of things for us (such as a house, a table etc). Marx refers to the property of the 'propertied class', that is of the capitalist who, because he owns the means of production, can hire the propertyless individual to work for him, under conditions the latter is forced to accept. 'Private Property' in Marx's usage, then, always refers to private property within capitalist class society and thus is a social and historical category; the form does not refer to things for use, as for instance, in a socialist

²⁹ Eric Fromm, op. cit., p. 34.

Today, with the growth of the economy, and with the efforts of the Mobutu regime to encourage the education and employment of the Zairian woman, this unfortunate situation is beginning to change. It is complicated, however, by two important factors: class and ethnicity. Political scientists and sociologists alike who have studied developing nations in particular have noted that the concepts of class and ethnicity are often central, crucial to understanding the conflicts and contradictions in the society. (Rubin, 1974, 111-121). Indeed, class and ethnicity constitute the two principal cleavages in Zairian society.

First, the problems of "development" in Zaire must be examined in terms of personal, economic and class interests, and we suggest that other Third World countries should be looked at from this perspective of analysis as well (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1970). Among the main effects of colonialism in Zaire were, first, the extraction of natural resources for use in Belgium, and second, the growth of new systems of production which were based on her domination by capitalism. A new social class developed through colonial settlement and resettlement and it was also ultimately created from among the indigenous population. This class, interested in overseeing the new economic activities, eventually became powerful enough to replace the colonial administration at the time of independence in 1960. The social class which administers this government owes its very existence to underdevelopment. This capitalist class, desiring to enter the industrial field, has found that it is unable to do so without recourse to technology developed in industrialized countries. Thus, western capitalist governments have had no trouble in establishing relationships with the new bourgeoisie of Zaire, no matter how shrill for internal consumption - the "radical" or "revolutionary" rhetoric may be. When industrial wage-earners, organizationally weak because of poor working conditions, low wages and high unemployment, have attempted to think about redistribution of wealth, the bourgeoisie has had no difficulty repressing them. (Mwabila Malela, 1975). The incomes of the majority decline in gross sums and in purchasing power, and the elite class continues to play its role in the international capitalist system.

Colin Leys, in his important study *Underdevelopment in Kenya* (1975), states that the concept of "development" is simply not adequate for understanding what is actually occurring in African and other Third World countries. This concept fails to distinguish between the different forces that are operating within "developing" countries. It gives the false impression that the country in the process of "development" is united behind its existing government to combat "underdevelopment", making little mention of the various class interests struggling within the country or the economic interests influencing it from without. In the case of Zaire, however, as Mwabila Malela (1974) has pointed out, class consciousness among the proletariat cannot be defined in the same way as in the developed countries. It is a segmented force which can be best understood in the context of its

economic domination and political control by the bourgeoisie and its attachment to cultural traditions.

While industrial expansion should be creating a greater need for workers, giving all Zairians, men as well as women, new possibilities for employment, for bettering their socio-economic status and for acquiring economic independence, only a very small number of women are managing to obtain the training they need for this. Those few educated women, basically concerned with little more than achieving a higher social status for themselves and their families (T.F. Gould, 1974), become a part of the bourgeoisie which takes advantage of the Party structure, closely linked to international capitalist interests, in order to maintain its position.

The current political regime in Zaire, established by a military *coup d'etat* on 24 November, 1965, is held together by the dominant, charismatic role played by General Mobutu Sese-Seko, leader of the military intervention and founder of the ruling party, the *Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution* (M.P.R.). Mobutu's rise to power developed during a politically unstable situation wherein the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the proletariat had not yet acquired the faculty of ruling the nation (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1975). The top priorities of Mobutu's regime have always been national unity and maintenance of law and order. Nzongola describes how Mobutu has succeeded in achieving both by abolishing parliament, regional and local self-government, and choosing

...the one model of territorial administration that had been tried and found capable of insuring stability and administrative efficiency, namely the administrative structure that the Belgians had established in Zaire (Nzongola, 1975, p. 35).

Under this system, a single party is the supreme political and ideological apparatus of the State. The Government leaders, at the level of the Cabinet, the Regional (ex-Provincial Governors), the Sub-Regional (County Commissioners) and even Zonal (Mayors or Township Heads), and in all of the newly nationalized industries, are all appointed and dismissed by President Mobutu, and the resultant centralization leaves little room for local autonomy (Mpinga-Kasenda, 1973, p.280).

Financial and administrative explanations for this restoration of the colonial model of territorial administration and the quest for uniformization underlying it are readily apparent. Nzongola points out that

In Zaire... the full-time businessmen who constitute the new commercial bourgeoisie are for the most part former political leaders and high-level state and private enterprise bureaucrats who were able to invest because of their higher salaries and supplementary sources of income, legal as well as extra-legal. Current political authorities and high-level bureaucrats are also owners of important enterprises... (Nzongola, 1975, p. 18).

As in other African countries, this bourgeois class controls-along with foreign capitalist interests - the means of production, exploits the labour of others,

and works politically to maintain this situation. A recent study on Zairian intellectuals (Mudimbe, 1974) reveals that educated (i.e. high school and university graduates) Zairians are also a part of this class. The bourgeoisie serves as an agent for foreign interests and allows these interests to dominate and oppress the overwhelming majority of the population, which remains impoverished and illiterate. According to Mudimbe

In a certain manner, from the point of view of the masses, the intellectual is the enemy. (Mudimbe, 1975, p.8, our translation).

The activities of this class have serious repercussions in the socio-economic, political administrative fields.

Belgian colonization, through its concerted efforts to serve its own capitalistic interests, created in Zaire not only class problems, but ethnic problems as well. When the Belgians first came to Zaire, their exploitative economic interests served to develop the port city of Kinshasa (ex-Leopoldville) on the Zaire River and the Bas-Zaire Region, connecting Kinshasa to the south-western tip of the country fronting on the South Atlantic Ocean. Lubumbashi (ex-Elisabethville), situated in the heart of the rich "Copper Belt" which had also attracted English capitalists over the border in present-day Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia), served as a similarly seductive magnet for colonization in the southeastern corner of the country. Here, where the colonizers were busy exploiting and exporting copper, coffee and the other abundant natural resources of the Congo, or administering the political-administrative structure and the church system established to further the essentially economic goals of the colony, the first schools were established. The ethnic groups living in proximity to the Kinshasa and Lubumbashi areas - and even certain groups from farther away, such as the Kasaian and Rwandese labourers whom the Belgians uprooted and moved into the Lubumbashi area to work in the copper mines, and others who were attracted to the two urban magnets - were subjected early to rapid social change and benefited from the intensifying economic activity there to become more upwardly mobile. This process accelerated as the "Congo Free State" of King Leopold became the Belgian Congo as such in 1908. The large number of schools in this area - which aimed at first at producing mass elementary education and no more for the "natives", but which by the 1950's were turning out hundreds of native high school graduates yearly - are still producing many secondary school graduates, a good number of whom regard higher education as a realistic possibility. In fact, recent research on Zairian university students found that most of the students come from mining areas or other parts of the country where for economic reasons the colonizers had begun schools early and in significant numbers, and that considerably fewer students originate from the less industrialized areas in Zaire (Dias et al, 1971, pp.48-49; Payanzo, 1974, pp.180-181). A similar disproportionality showed up in our 1974 study of women university students at the Lubumbashi campus of the National University, which revealed that among the scien-

tifically-derived sample of women we interviewed, hardly any came from the less industrialized regions of Haut-Zaire and Equateur (T.F. Gould, 1974, pp.36-38).

What does this mean and why is it significant? There is a problem in Africa of inequalities of access along ethnic lines which have grown out of the historical pattern of European penetrations into various areas and concomitant variations in the rate of internal socio-economic change (Clignet and Foster, 1966, p.5). The various ethnic groups in Zaire have originated in particular regions. As Payanzo (1974, p.179) expresses it:

...In general, ethnic affiliations follow regional lines. For example, with regard to the major ethnic groups in Zaire, the Kongo people are almost exclusively from Bas-Zaire Region, and the Luba are from Kasai-Oriental, Kasai-Occidental and Shaba Regions, Ngola people are mainly in Equateur, but there are also some in Haut-Zaire and Bandundu.

We have seen that the young Zairians who manage to get to the University, women as well as men, happen to be members of ethnic groups who have had a "head start" due to the social and economic policies pursued by the Belgians. When they finish their university education they are able to qualify for the higher-paying jobs which serve to make them automatically a part of the bourgeoisie.

Thus ethnic conflict and rivalry, still strong in Zaire today, had its roots in history - in the colonizers' failure to equalize opportunity for Africans - and it flourishes today in this new class society which is essentially a neo-colonialist system. Nzongola (1975, p.20-22) points out that at the time of independence the field of fractional struggles within the new national bourgeoisie was dominated by ethnicity. The conflicting interests revolved primarily around the appropriation of political offices and the control of regional patronage systems. He believes that tribalism, ethnic rivalry, has to be understood in terms of the:

...opportunities role played by the political leaders in their competition for highly prized political offices and the economic and social rewards that these entail... (1975, p.20).

It is in this overall context of a neo-colonialist class system, tinged by ethnicity, that one has to examine women and development in Zaire. What is occurring in Zaire is not national development of human resources. It is the development of industries designed to serve foreign markets, the profits from which are used to buy consumer goods to maintain the new class of Zairian bourgeoisie.

The situation of underdevelopment in "developing" countries is often said to be a result of a lack of capital, trained personnel and industrial sophistication. Leys is among those who argue, on the contrary, that:

...the predicament of the "underdeveloped countries" (is) due to the application to them of Western capital, know-how, and political power, often over several centuries, in way which had structured (and continued to structure) their economies and societies so as to continually

reproduce poverty, inequality and, above all, political and economic subordination to the interests of Western capitalism, (1975, p. xiv).

Thus the relation between Zairian society and the pattern of post-independence development cannot be regarded in isolation from the rest of the world. It is rather the result of international forces as they have been operating over several generations on the people of Zaire and on Zaire itself.

The concepts of the political system and "the economy" cannot be divorced from each other. The two are profoundly related so that any political decisions which are taken in Zaire must always be understood to be influenced by economic considerations and class interests.

What, then, is the role of the Zairian woman in this system? In order to understand her situation throughout, it is necessary to examine, first, her situation in pre-colonial society and in colonial society. Only then can we understand her role in the new neo-colonialist system. Further, the situation of the Zairian woman can be regarded in terms of work, for work is the basis for economic independence, for self-realization, for *development* - both personal and national. Economic independence is a pre-requisite for emancipation at every level.

Historically and culturally, the Zairian woman has always worked. In the village, it is the woman who is the imaginative entrepreneur, selling home-made trinkets beside the road, cultivating the fields and bringing the produce to market. The idea of staying at home never occurred to a village woman. While her husband might rest for long periods without employment, the family would never go hungry; baring natural catastrophes, an industrious woman always makes sure that her children are fed. (Evans-Pritchard, 1965; Small and Mbuyi, 1973; and Paulme, 1971).

This way of life still exists in the villages of Zaire and even in certain sectors of the urban population. (Tshibangu, 1973). It should be understood, however, that the fact that the Zairian woman has always worked does not necessarily mean that she has enjoyed, nor that she enjoys today, true economic independence. More often than not, she has been obliged to turn over her produce, her earnings to the men in her family - her husband, her father, her brothers, and, in matrilineal tribes, her uncles. Her labour, then, has never brought her the economic independence that is so necessary for self-realization. (Gordon, 1973).

The situation of the Zairian woman changed quite radically with the advent of colonization, and its corollary urbanization, in the early 1900s. The Belgians needed people to do heavy manual labour, so they imported men to the towns and cities, leaving the women in the villages. Later, in order to bring organization and stability to the lives of the men, the colonizers encouraged their families to follow them. Torn, then, from her traditional milieu, and plunged into a life so completely different from what she had known in the village, the Zairian woman found herself confronted with at least three new conditions:

1. A new ideal as to what the role of the woman should be. With colonization the Europeans had brought to Zaire the idea that the good wife and mother is one who stays at home and concerns herself with house-keeping and child-raising. The model urban woman did not work outside the home. This idea is completely contrary to Zairian tradition which, as we have seen, expects the woman to labour to feed her family.
2. A new set of moral values. Faced with the freedom of new urban sexual mores, many Zairian men were not willing to allow their wives and daughters to expose themselves, by working at a salaried job, to the dangers of corruption of city life.
3. A new requirement for obtaining work - training. The Zairian woman accustomed to working in the fields, found herself in a situation where there was no earth to cultivate and where the jobs that were available in the urban setting required level of training which she did not possess and which the colonizers were not disposed to give her. As we have explained, the Belgians did very little to prepare Zairian men to occupy responsible positions, and they did even less for Zairian women. (Colin, 1957; Comhaire-Sylvain, 1968; Young 1965).

We are attempting, in our current research on Zairian women, to answer certain specific questions. We are attempting to determine to what extent colonization and urbanization are, ultimately, liberating forces for the Zairian woman. Has urban development made the Zairian woman more dependent on the men in her family, or is it providing her with an opportunity to acquire the independence she needs to be able to exercise her influence and to play an important role in family life and in public life? It appears that, in general, urbanization seems to have liberated a small minority of women, to the extent that access to higher education has enabled them to acquire the training which they need to qualify for professional employment. (Zaire, 1972; T.F. Gould, 1974; Mudimbe, 1974). But it is necessary to ask two important questions about the role this new class of Zairian professional women is going to play in the Zaire of today.

1. First, are they going to continue to play the role their grandmothers played, the role of workers with no real independence (Trosky, 1970; Lund, 1971), or do they wish to overcome this exploitative situation in demanding equal participation in family, social and public affairs?
2. Second, in their participation in family, social and public affairs, such as it may be, are they going to permit themselves to be absorbed in the neo-colonialist class of Zairian bourgeoisie who serve to oppress the majority of the population and to foster foreign capitalist exploitation, or, as members of an oppressed group themselves, are they going to be

conscious of and sensitive to the needs and rights of the neglected majority and seek to develop a more egalitarian way of life in Zaire?

The first question must be answered before the second question can even be considered. The sexual class system is the deepest source of social and cultural disease and that until the sexual class system has been eradicated and politically traditional sex-roles have been broken down (Firestone, 1972; Novack, 1969; Rowbotham, 1974b), we cannot think about the development of a humane, egalitarian society. But, as Firestone (1972, p. 2) points out:

For feminist revolution we shall need an analysis of the dynamics of sex war as comprehensive as the Marx-Engels analysis of class antagonism was for the economic revolution. For we are dealing with a larger problem, with an oppression that goes back beyond history to the animal kingdom itself.

Further, we are discovering that the new class of Zairian professional women are beset by numerous conflicts and problems which are caused by the fact that the formal structures to accommodate the emancipation of the woman as we understand it do not exist in the Zairian urban milieu. It should be recognized that Western feminist theory, analyses of cultural processes which are the source of sex role stereo-types in the so-called "developed" societies of Europe and the United States (Freeman, 1973, 792-881; Morgan, 1970; Thompson, 1970) may not apply at all to the situation of the Third World. Many authors (Fluehr-Lobban, 1973; Jenness, 1971; Landes, 1969; Machel, 1971; Randall, 1972; Sidel, 1972; Sontag, 1973; and Wachtel, 1974) have found this to be the case.

The new class of Zairian professional women can certainly be studied in terms of emancipation, self-realization or self-development, but only in so far as we are able to divest ourselves of our own cultural preconditioning and examine them in the light of cultural patterns which may define emancipation in an entirely different way.

We have ascertained that a great deal of what has been written about women in developed, industrialized countries is irrelevant to what is presently happening to educated Zairian women. It would appear that the situation of the Black woman in western societies (Cade, 1966; Staples, 1973; Williams & Newman, 1972; Epstein, 1973) is in some respects comparable to the way that the situation of any upwardly mobile individual from a repressed minority who eventually becomes a part of the bourgeoisie is comparable to the situation of any other. Further, as Epstein points out (1972, p.170):

...only the most extraordinary (Black American women); those who are intellectually gifted and personally attractive, can make it. The fact that some do indicates that an enormous amount of energy in the social system must be directed to keeping others out.

Thus the Black American professional woman has in common with her Zairian counter-part her rarity, her scarcity, the fact that society is willing to make a place only for very few. But it is sometimes argued that because,

many generations ago, American Blacks shared certain forms of culture with Africans at the time and were, in fact, themselves Africans before the slave trade, the American Black experience today has much to do with the contemporary African experience and, in particular, that the American Black woman has much in common with the African woman. Certainly, women's struggle for emancipation is an international struggle which has the same roots, the same bases, and exhibits itself in many of the same forms, in cultures all over the world. But, in relation to culture, our research leads us to regard the Black American professional woman as having much more in common with White American professional women struggling to make their mark in a male-dominated western society, than with Zairian professional women whose struggle, despite some surface similarities, is being carried on in an entirely different cultural context. Their skin colours and distant ancestors may be the same, but our current research has made it clear that Black American and Zairian professional women are products of different cultures, no matter how psychologically satisfying it may be to see a fundamental similarity between them.

The goal of our current research, then, is to find out whether this hypothesis is a valid one. Is this new class of Zairian professional women going to permit itself to become a part of the oppressive, ruling consumption-oriented bourgeoisie, capitalizing the labour and oppression of the majority to maintain international economic interests in the ascendancy in their country, or as we have suggested above, is this group of women, despite their favour economic status of an oppressed sex-stratum, going to be conscious of, and sensitive to, the needs and rights of the Zairian people as whole? Is the newly educated Zairian woman going to forget she herself has come a long way from the time of her grandmother when women worked as the vassals of men, without economic independence, without social influence on an equal footing with men, and with no recognizable role in public life, or is she going to realize the injustice of oppression and speak out for a more egalitarian way of life in Zaire, abolishing exploitation? Rowbotham (1974a, p. 168) has noted that these women, like women everywhere:

...are involved in a continuing struggle to claim our bodies and our labour power which social relationships of domination have removed from our control. The revolutionary reawakening in advanced capitalism since 1968 had brought in its (wake) wider movements which are attacking capitalism in new areas. The emphasis in these has not been upon getting more within capitalism for particular groups, but upon how we can create a society in which all human beings can control every aspect of their life.

We are attracted by Marxist explanations of the problem. At the same time, however, we see the limitations of an unqualified Marxist approach, first, to the problems of development, underdevelopment and dependency in Africa in particular and in the Third World in general, and, second, to the situation of women.

In relation to development, for example, Marx contended that the penetration of advanced capitalist societies into primitive non-industrialized societies would destroy the old communal economies and social systems, introduce private property, and create a market for industrial products which would eventually bring about a process of industrialization and reinvestment which would develop the country itself. (Marx, 1949, Vol. I, Part VIII). It is this latter idea - that of capital derived from the industrialization of the colonized or eventually the neo-colonized country itself - that does not apply integrally to what we observe to be actually occurring in Zaire, in Africa and in other Third World countries. It is true that Marx states that it would benefit the bourgeoisie. But if he were able to see what is occurring in Zaire today, he would have to modify his idea of reinvestment and development of the colony country, for, as we have described earlier, what we see occurring in Africa is a *non-development* of the "developing" country for the further economic development of modern imperialist countries, and all of this is facilitated by the indigenous bourgeoisie. Further, Marx implies that through their industrial capacity, their "reproductive power", (Marx, 1969, 134), the masses would eventually be able to emancipate themselves. But it does not appear that he envisioned the oppressive neo-colonialist situation existing in Third World countries, which utterly precludes the masses from having any reproductive powers. (Fanon, 1970).

Marx believed, furthermore, that the position of women was an important indicator of the level of civilization achieved by a given society. He connected sexual subordination to property ownership and discovered the relationship between the oppression of women and the exploitation of workers. But in the case of Zaire, patriarchy, the power of men to appropriate the product of women's labour especially in the family (Rowbotham, 1974a, ix) has not had a direct and single relationship to class exploitation. Even in the simple classless village societies that existed before colonization and urbanization women were workers, but not economically independent. They were expected to turn their produce over to the men and often, while the men were idle, it was they who laboured as their vassals. Shulamith Firestone states, in fact, that:

There is a growing recognition of Marx's bias against women (a cultural bias shared by Freud as well as all men of culture), dangerous if one attempts to squeeze feminism into an orthodox Marxist framework ... There is a level of reality that does not stem directly from economics (1972, 5).

She suggests that we try to develop a materialist view of history based on sex itself and insists that, "We shall need a sexual revolution much larger than - (inclusive of) a socialist one to truly eradicate all class systems."

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