

ESSENCE

ISSN 1118-8170

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY

VOL. 1, Nos. 2 & 3, 1997



DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
LAGOS STATE UNIVERSITY
OJO, LAGOS, NIGERIA.

ESSENCE

(An International Journal of Philosophy)

Journal of the Department of Philosophy, Lagos-State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria.

Vol. I No. 2, January-June, 1997.

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITOR

Dr Maduabuchi Dukor
ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Dr F.A. Olajide

MEMBERS

~~Dr Sunday Oke~~
Dr Olajide Ojo
Mr Sunday Oke

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Professor J.O. Sodipo
(Obafemi Awolowo University Ife)

Professor Claude Sumner
(Addis Ababa University)

Professor I.C. Onyewuenyi
(University of Nigeria Nsukka)

Dr C.S. Momoh
(University of Lagos)

Professor J.I. Omoregbe
(University of Lagos)

Professor Kwasi Wiredu
(University of South Florida U.S.A.)

Professor G. Sogolo
(University of Ibadan)

Professor Stephen Clark
(University of Liverpool)

Professor M.A. Makinde
(Obafemi Awolowo University Ife)

Professor Paul Benacerraf
(Princeton University U.S.A.)

Professor C.S. Nwodo
(University of Port-Harcourt)

Professor Anthony O'Hear
(Royal Institute of Philosophy, London)

Professor Anthony Appirah
(Harvard University)

Dr (Mrs) S.B. Oluwole
University of Lagos

EDITORIAL POLICY

Essence, International Journal of Philosophy, is a journal of the Department of Philosophy, Lagos State University, Ojo, Nigeria. The name *Essence* does not commit the journal to any Philosophical Schools or Branches. Rather, it provides an open ended philosophical enterprise, horizon and research by accommodating the nominalists and the realists or the materialists and the idealists views in the search for the truth.

As an international journal of African origin, it is nonetheless committed to giving the African a fair and equitable place in world philosophical heritage. It is also multi-disciplinary in orientation and meta-disciplinary in method. It welcomes scholarly and philosophical researches on substantive and thematic issues arising from current discourses in other disciplines.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The Editor invites contributions suitable for publication in *Essence*. Papers previously not published elsewhere can be considered for *Essence*. A duplicate copy should be retained by the author.

Papers submitted should be clearly typed double spaced, on quarto paper. A brief abstract of paper in duplicate should accompany each manuscript.

The length of an article should be between 15 and 25 typed pages including notes, references etc., with a sufficient margin on all sides.

Footnotes or References should be used sparingly, and typed serially in double space on a separate sheet at the end of the article.

Contributors who may wish to have their manuscript returned should enclose an envelope with stamps or international reply coupons of the equivalent value.

Generally, the Editors should be able to reach a decision about the publication within six months, which is communicated to the author subsequently. Authors are advised to avoid needless correspondence.

It is not necessary that the editors should agree with the views expressed in the article.

Copyright to articles published in the journal shall remain vested with the Journal.

Contributors may receive a copy of the journal and twelve off-prints of their article free of charge. Additional off-prints may be obtained at a normal charge.

Articles for publication, Books for Review, and other communications pertaining to publication, Book review, subscriptions, *Essence* publication, etc. should be sent to:

The Editor, *Essence, International Journal of Philosophy*, Lagos State University, Ojo, P.M.B. 1087 Apapa, Lagos, Nigeria.

PRICE

Individuals N150

Institutions N100

Outside Nigeria US \$5

All payments and subscription for the journal should be addressed to the Editor.

ESSENCE: AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY
Vol. 1, No. 2, January - June, 1997.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1. Chukwudum B. Okolo Philosophy and Science: The Marking of Boundaries	1
2. Wale Olajide Man as Environment: An Existential Appraisal	15
3. J.G. Nkem Onyekpe What is Marxism without Dialectics?	22
4. I.S. Aderibigbe The Yoruba Cosmology as a Theory of Creation - Limits and Assets	33
5. A.O.K. Noah The Nigerian Society, Education, Development, Values and Socialisation	40
6. O.G.F. Nwaorgu Philosophy in Africa - Towards a Pragmatic Approach	48
7. Christopher Agulanna Abortion and Human Rights: Towards an Ethics of Compassion	55
8. G.O. Ozumba Human Soul: Mortal or Immortal	64



O.O.P.

OBAROH & OGBINAKA PUBLISHERS LIMITED

5, Olufemi Street, Bajulaiye, Somolu.

P.O. Box 10460, Ikeja,

Lagos State, Nigeria.

Man as Environment

Europe. What it has not lost is its relevance as man fumbles persistently in his quest for meaning in a world that denies him at every turn.

4. Thomas King, *Sartre and the Sacred*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1974 p.22.
 5. *Ibid.*, p.22.
 6. See, Jean-Paul Sartre, *Existentialism and Human Emotions*, translated by Bernard Frechman, (New York, The Philosophical Library, 1957) and *The Transcendence of the Ego*, translated by Forrest Williams and Robert Kirkpatrick, (New York, Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1957) for a full description apart from his thesis in *Being and Nothingness* earlier cited.
 7. This is a total departure from Berkeleyan Idealism and it is convenient for a philosophy that wishes to distant itself from unwarranted metaphysical speculations.
 8. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, *op. cit.*, p1xxii.
 9. Thomas King, *op cit*, p.24.
 10. See especially, pp.82, 89.
 11. *Being and Nothingness*, p.109.
 12. It would commonsensically be absurd to argue for something that is not given. It would be impossible to name or describe it and if attempted, such attempt would be speculative bearing all the aberrations of a myth or sheer nonsense. Read, A.J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic*, (London, Victor Gollanz Ltd. 1936).
 13. See Klaus Hartmann, *Sartre's Ontology*, Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press 1966.
 14. See Norman Greene, *Jean-Paul Sartre, The Existentialist Ethics*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor Paperback, 1963.
 15. Regis Joliver, *The Theology of the Absurd*, translated by Wesley C. Press of Westminster, Md: Newman, 1967.
 16. See the Chapter on 'Induction' in Bertrand Russell, *Problem of Philosophy*, London, Oxford University Press, 1967.
 17. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, translated by Bernard Fretchman, New York, Carol Publishing Group Edition, 1996, p.106.
 18. *Op cit*, p.122.
 19. Sartre, *op cit*, particularly his treatment of human freedom and responsibility.
 20. Simone de Beauvoir, *op. cit*, p.36.
 21. *Holy Bible*, King James Version, Texas Star Bible, Chap 1, v. 28-30.
 22. *Op cit*, p.112.
 23. *Ibid.* p.117.
- Dr Wale Olajide, Department of Philosophy, Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria.

WHAT IS MARXISM WITHOUT DIALECTICS?

J.G. Nkem Onyekpe

The central kernel of Marxism as formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels is the dialectics. It was developed further by revolutionary activists and leaders who were inspired and guided by it, especially Vladimir Lenin and Leo Trosky.

The concept of dialectics is simply about the struggle of tendencies that are fundamentally opposed to each other. In Marxist understanding and explanation of human progress, there is emphasis on the dialectics as the motive force. In other words, Marxism emphasizes that progress in human society is achieved only through the struggle of opposites and the resolution of the struggles.¹

In Nigeria, the Marxist science has suffered critical underdevelopment. The problem was initially that of State hostility to the development of revolutionary scholarship. In the First Republic, the operators of the neo-colonial State apparatus did not hide their hostility to the so-called threat of communist penetration and expansion.² Thus, although Marxist scholars appeared in the Universities in the 1960s, the Marxist approach generally and its political economy in particular became popular only from the late 1970s.³ Marxism also encountered the rabid antagonism of the organic intellectuals⁴ and troubadours of Western imperialism and its internal allies in Nigeria. The antagonisms of imperialist and bourgeois scholars were expressed in moribund and reactionary falsifications, mystifications and sophistries.⁵

But the most critical problem of Marxism has been the failure by most scholars to accept the dialectical aspect of it.⁶ Yet, the dialectics is the central kernel and essence of Marxism, and that is what qualifies Marxism as a science. Before the great discovery of the dialectics all concern about social progress and the world of the workers in Europe as a class had been without a guiding compass. Consequently those who expressed concern were merely moralising and, consequently again, their genuine concern was incapable, because it lacked the theory and vision, much less the practical force, to lead the workers out of bondage. Thus, in spite of the concern shown by thinkers in England such as Robert Owen, Charles Hall, William Thompson and John Gray and in France by Francois Babeuf, Louis Blanc, Count Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, all before Marx and Engels, there were no clear perspectives as to how the workers would cross the Red Sea, between Egypt and Canaan, the world of bondage and oppression, and the world of freedom and progress respectively. In other words, all talks about workers' welfare and the rhapsodies among the working class about the possibilities of a better world and order remained utopian.⁷ And so, the working class remained marginalized and exploited by the capitalist industrialists and their bourgeois State.

This was largely the situation until the mid-nineteenth century when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels made their great historic discovery, which achieved a clean break with utopianism by arming the workers with new preceptions of, and perspectives on their world. It was the development of these perceptions and perspectives which promoted the crystallization of the workers as a class with a consciousness peculiar to them and in relation to other classes.⁸

J.G.N. Onyekpe

Marx and Engels had devoted their intellectual existence to the cause of the workers. Their inquiries into the historical development of society through the ages and especially the capitalist stage led them to the conclusion that the improvement of the working people's material and social conditions would be a sheer utopia without a fundamental change in power relations. Their emphasis was on the capture of political power by the working people through the overthrow of the dominant, exploiter class in a revolutionary action.

Their discoveries may be summed thus:

- i) That at a certain stage in the development of material production, society is divided into two classes each identifiable by its position in the configuration of economic power (or property distribution and relations);
- ii) That those who control economic power in society constitute political power as well, the political power forming the "superstructure" of society and corresponding to the economic structure;
- iii) That the dominant class monopolizes political power which they use as an instrument against the non-propertied class;
- iv) That if they are to stir and raise themselves up, the non-propertied class must spring into the air "the whole superincumbent of official society";
- v) That for the exploiter class to be "sprung into the air", the exploited and oppressed must, of necessity, be galvanised into a political vanguard party along with their allies, viz. oppressed social categories - small and middle peasants, the youths and the lumpen proletariat;
- vi) That the vanguard party - to be led by revolutionary intellectuals and the most politically and ideologically advanced and conscious workers - is in duty bound to mobilize the people through a process which transforms the working class qualitatively from a mere class-in-itself (in the political economy) into a class-for-itself (i.e. now a social class with political and ideological consciousness for action and struggle towards power, freedom and progress);
- vii) That the capture of power by the working class is what constitutes a revolution; and
- viii) That the capture or seizure of power by the working class is not an end in itself, but a means to:
 - a) 'permanently' repressing the overthrown exploiter class and checking all counter-revolutionary tendencies and, more particularly,
 - b) effecting a comprehensive transformation of society by expropriating the class of exploiters and oppressors, establishing public and social ownership over the means of production and establishing national

Marxism Without Dialectics?

control and perspective, macroeconomic planning for the reconstruction of the economy.⁹

The above elements of Marxism constitute its scientific essence. Marx and Engels did not only recognize the existence of social classes based on property distribution and ownership, they explained that the concentration of the means of production in the form of properties in the hands of the dominant, private interests who constitute a tiny minority and the deprivation of the majority of the people through the same process was at the root of class antagonisms. Introducing their book *Manifesto of the Communist Party* which they delivered to the workers as a *Magna Carta*, Marx and Engels stated, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."¹⁰ In the *Manifesto* and the rest of their works they taught that the liberation and freedom of the oppressed are possible only through their organised political struggle and action against the exploiter class and through a resounding revolutionary victory over, and liquidation of the exploiter class.

It must be stated categorically that in Nigeria most scholars and intellectuals who embraced Marxism in the 1970s-80s when it became popular among University academics and students did so without at the same time embracing its dialectical teachings. Consequently, they were quite incapable of (1) understanding and appreciating the logical inevitability of economic crisis and social underdevelopment in the context of a dependent neo-colonial capitalist system, (2) the condemnation of the working class and their allies, the peasantry, youths and the unemployed to hardship, impoverishment and primitive material existence, and (3) the chaos and instability built into the political superstructure.

As Marxists devoid of dialectical understanding, they were naturally confined to ideological poverty. And so, in their confused state, they lamented the failure of the dominant, exploiter class and its bourgeois State to address the basic problems of social development. At best they assigned themselves the task of questioning and challenging the State and its operators on the causes of the crisis in the political economy.

Thus, writing in March 1983, Dr Yusuf Bala Usman of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, said: "I have tried to engage top economic experts of the Nigerian Federal Government in a debate on the causes of the current economic crisis in Nigeria, but have elicited no response."¹¹ Most of his public lectures in 1982-83 including May Day lectures attacked the Government for causing the crisis in the economy.¹² During the same period, two other intellectuals, more associated with Marxism than Dr Usman, wrote also to attack the bourgeois State. While Dr Sonni Gwanie Tyoden of the University of Jos descended on the State for its bourgeois approach to resource allocation,¹³ the late Professor Claude Ake lamented in a paper that "governments in Nigeria were concerned more with expanding and perpetuating their power than with good government."¹⁴ He lamented further that because of the struggle for power within the ruling class, Nigeria "has stumbled and tottered on the brink of disaster."¹⁵

The questions that must be asked are: (1) Why would there not be crisis generated by the bourgeois State and its operators especially in a neocolonial system? (2) Why would the operators of the bourgeois State not allocate resources in the interest of the dominant exploiter forces, (3) Why would they allocate resources in the interest of the working class and their allies, and (4) Why would there be a stable political system on an underdeveloped and unstable economic foundation?

To answer the first question above, it must be emphasized that crisis is naturally built into all neo-colonial systems. As in the period of direct colonial exploitation the neo-colonial economy is disarticulated and externally integrated and dependent, and therefore without internal sectorial linkages and interdependence or macroeconomic stability.¹⁶ The result of course is that the crisis immanently generated within the metropolitan capitalist economies is exported to the neo-colonial economy.¹⁷ Moreover, resources generated within the neo-colonial economy are plundered and repatriated by the metropolitan powers and their local agents thereby depriving the neo-colonial State of resources required for development.¹⁸

To answer the second and third questions, it is enough to remember that as "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie,"¹⁹ the State is simply "an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class."²⁰ Engels wrote quite aptly:

And to expect any other division of the product from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose accumulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.²¹

And finally, to answer the fourth, it must be emphasized that the struggle within the internal or local exploiter class, among the factions, for political power - which is a basic instrument for the maintenance, perpetuation and expansion of economic power - necessarily engenders chaos and instability,²² or what Ake would describe as stumbling and tottering "on the brink of disaster."²³ The problem of chaos and instability is naturally aggravated where powerful and hegemonic imperialist forces are involved.

The most critical problem of Marxism without its dialectical content is of course that the struggle of opposites is left out. Yet, it is the dialectical content which gives Marxism its status as a science. Of course, leaving the struggle of opposites out is a negation of class struggle, the Marxists lament and criticize the failure of the capitalist class and sits bourgeois State to resolve the problem of oppression of the people in particular and that of moving society forward. Marx and Engels wrote long ago that "the proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."²⁴

Up to the fall of the Second Republic in December 1983 through a military coup, most Marxist intellectuals appeared not to have appreciated the message on class struggle. Yet, this is a fundamental message which sees the liberation of the working people as their own historical responsibility. The failure to embrace this most vital element of Marxism left it emasculated. One conspicuous demonstration of the emasculation of Marxism has been that intellectuals professing it were content with questioning and challenging of the capitalist class and its State on issues bordering on social and economic progress. Thus, the most fundamental tasks of mobilising and organising the work people and sensitising them to the struggle against capitalist exploitation, and for their liberation were left out completely. The result was of course that the working class and their allies were left in the dark without clear explanation and understanding of their world of want and poverty, much less the political and ideological framework within which their liberation would be possible. Herein lies the major problem of Marxism without its dialectical essence.²⁵

Marxism Without Dialectics?

What then has been responsible for this trend? The major factor may be that most of the intellectuals who professed Marxism and used it for the investigation and analysis of social issues did not do sufficient theoretical work. Otherwise they would have discovered from the classics of Marx, Engels and especially Lenin that in a class society the dominant class cannot address the problem of the oppressed and society as a whole. Because of inadequate theoretical work, radical critique of bourgeois political economy was never thorough and so most critics continued to demonstrate faith in 'bourgeoisdom', expecting it to "deliver the good." Their criticisms amounted to: (1) that the bourgeois State had been mismanaged and (2) that otherwise it would have served the "common good."

In their critique of the management of the Nigerian State and economy most of them often pointed to the rapid progress in the socialist States of the world. The facts and evidence are there to show that in spite of the recent problems in the socialist world, most of the socialist States such as the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, etc.²⁶ and States of socialist and non-capitalist orientation such as Albania and Angola²⁷ achieve tremendous progress within few decades (and, in some cases, even few years) of socialist practice and management. However, it is not enough to point to the progress achieved in such countries. The important issue is the question which was never raised. This is the question of change in power relations. It must be emphasized that the progress that was achieved in the socialist States was achieved in each case only because of the revolutionary overthrow of the exploiter class and its State and the establishment of a new political power based on the democratic and popular aspirations of the people.

But apart from the problem of inadequate theoretical work by the Marxists, there is a more fundamental explanation of the trend. This explanation consists in the fact that most of the Marxist intellectuals were careerists content with using Marxism only to advance their academic progress rather than using it as a weapon of struggle for changing the world of exploitation and oppression.²⁸ Thus, while they locked themselves up in University libraries writing and publishing about the mismanagement of the State and economy, while they got their academic promotions and laurels and earning, as a result, more and more of the surplus generated by the working people, the working people themselves were condemned to more and more hardship, surviving primitively as scavengers. Expectedly, it is from this category of Marxists and radicals that the State appointed some of its ministers, commissioners, consultants and advisers. Of course, such appointments provided the opportunity for them to plunder public resources through "primitive accumulation." Such Marxists so called, then metamorphosed overnight into State charlatans and demagogues.

Marxist intellectuals must be reminded of the ultimate purpose of Marxism and the role expected of Marxists. Left opportunists may continue to feather their nests, but it is important to remind those lacking in ideological clarity solely on account of inadequate theoretical work and to state it clearly for progressive intellectuals yet to be exposed to Marxism that it (Marxism) does not belong to orthodox philosophy merely providing cognition and understanding of the world. It goes beyond the issues of cognition and understanding. Its ultimate goal is to change the world. Marx put it quite clearly in his theses on Ludwig Feuerbach that "the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."²⁹

Marxist philosophy teaches that the State in every class society cannot be an institution for the "Common Good" as it is not the product of any "social contract" between the different

J.G.N. Onyekpe

classes in society. The *raison d'etre* of the State in every class society is class exploitation and oppression.³⁰ The theory and practice of Marxism have shown that the progress of the working people lies only in their revolutionary political action, in their overthrow of the oppressor-class and its reactionary structures and institutions.³¹

The working people and the entire society are today imprisoned by the neocolonial capitalist State which is sustained by the military operators (or the State apparatus) and their praetorian ideology based on authoritarian and fascist practices.³² The contradictions are fundamental, and antagonistically against the people and society. The teaching of Marxism is that only a resolute, revolutionary action (of the people) can liberate the people and society from the oppression of the exploiter-class.

It is in the area of mobilising and organising the working people for revolutionary action against the oppression of the exploiter-class that Vladimir Lenin made his greatest mark in history. In the process of organising the people for the workers' revolutionary overthrow of the feudalist and capitalist classes in Russia he developed the tactics and strategy for a proletarian revolution.³³ Of course, it was his total acceptance of Marxism and all its teachings, especially its dialectical content, which gave Lenin his clear ideological perception and political vision. Lenin did not only embrace the dialectical content of Marxism, he left the Dialectics richer than he had found it - through uncompromising revolutionary action and practice.

The following statement by Cuba's Fidel Castro on the revolutionary political struggles and action of Cuban people is quite apposite, apropos of the dialectical essence of Marxism:

... We crushed the bourgeois State and with the support of the workers and peasants created a new State. This was the threshold and indispensable condition of the Socialist Revolution... The masses had always regarded the State as something standing apart from them, as something alien and oppressive. After the revolution triumphed and the army of workers and peasants formed, the people received weapons into their own hands for the first time, won power for the first time, and saw for the first time that State institutions belonged to them and were serving their interests. Weapons were now no longer directed against the people, but were in their hands. This was one of the first blessings received by the working masses as a result of the revolution's victory.³⁴

The copious reference to Fidel Castro above is aimed at reinforcing the present writer's position that Marxists in Nigeria should advance their theoretical work and thereby discover the historical purpose of Marxism and their duty as Marxists. In a few words, this purpose, this duty, is organisation of the working people, the peasantry, the youths, the unemployed, and progressive intellectuals towards the consummation of a popular democratic revolutionary seizure of power.

In this regard, it must be placed on record here that a few Marxist intellectuals in Nigeria have demonstrated genuine commitment to the struggle for revolutionary political action. In particular, Comrade Ola Oni, formerly of the Department of Economics at the University of Ibadan, must be mentioned. His intellectual life as a University teacher was devoted to the development of Marxist political economy which he popularised, along with Professor Bade Onimode of the same Department. He was a leading factor in the formation of the

Marxism Without Dialectics?

Nigerian Academy for Marxist Studies in Ibadan. But apart from contributing to the development of Marxist political economy, apart from popularising Marxism among Nigerian social scientists and youths, he demonstrated genuine commitment to the question of practical work towards revolutionary political change. His commitment to practical work and the cause of the working people were demonstrated in the establishment of the Centre for Labour Education Research at Ibadan and the Iva Valley Printing Organisation. While the Centre advanced workers' education, the printing organisation facilitated the production of materials for the promotion of revolutionary education of the people.

His political activities and revolutionary work were mostly underground throughout the period of military dictatorship from 1966 to 1979. However, with the lifting of the ban on political activities by the General Olusegun Obasanjo regime, he launched a workers' party, the Socialist Party of Workers, Farmers and Youth. The aim of the party was to mobilise and organise the people towards effecting a socialist revolution in Nigeria.³⁵ To promote the political and ideological education of the people, the party established its newspaper, the Workers' Vanguard, edited by a leading member of the party, Dr G.G. Darah. About 1985, Comrade Oni retired voluntarily from the University in the interest of practical work of organisation.

This paper must be concluded with a call on Marxist intellectuals for practical work of organising the people. This requires a break with the tradition of mere criticism of the ruling class. It must be noted that there is nothing in Marxism that quarrels with the critique of ruling class and its policies. In fact as Karl Marx said:

But if the designing of the future and the proclamation of ready-made solutions for all time is not our affair, then we realise all the more clearly what we have to accomplish in the present - I am speaking of a ruthless criticism of everything existing, ruthless in two senses: The criticism must not be afraid of its own conclusions, not of conflict with the power that be...³⁶

The important point to be stressed, however, is that the criticism of the ruling oppressor class and its political economy is not the be-all and end-all of Marxism. It must be emphasized more particularly that criticisms are useful if and only if they are aimed at raising the revolutionary political consciousness of the oppressed peoples. For any critique to contribute to this, it must be thoroughly dialectical, enabling the working class to understand and appreciate the *raison d'etre* of the State in the class society. The State must be (1) exposed always for what it is, viz, an instrument for class domination, exploitation and oppression; (2) shown as having only a transient or transitory existence in a class society; (3) shown as instrument which the working people and their allies must wrest, transform and control to serve their interests, and the needs of reconstructing society; and (4) shown as an instrument which cannot be transferred by the ruling exploiter-class to the people on a platter of gold; it can only be acquired and only by capture. This is impossible without the organised revolutionary political action of the exploited class against the class of exploiters.

ENDNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For the dialectical conception of history and development, see Karl Marx, Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital*, Volume One. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977, Reprint), pp. 22-29; Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 2nd ed., (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977).

Introduction by Maurice Dobb, pp. 5-6 and Preface by the Author, pp. 19-23; Engels, *The Origin of the Family, The State and Private Property*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972); F. Engels, *Anti-Duhring*. Herr Eurgén Duhring's *Revolution in Science* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978, Reprint); Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Second Revised Edition (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977); Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, Third Revised Edition (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976).

2. O.J.B. Ojo, 'Nigeria-Soviet Relations: Retrospect and Prospect,' *The African Studies Review*, Volume XIX, Number 3, December, 1976, pp. 43-63; S.O. Osoba, 'The Economic Foundations of Nigeria's Foreign Policy During the First Republic' in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Osoba (eds.), *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History* (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1980), Chapter 13.

3. O. Oni, 'Marxist Scholarship and Proletarian Revolution in Nigeria - Part II', Paper presented to the Conference "Marx and Africa: A Hundred Years After", A National Conference in Commemoration of the Centenary of Karl Marx's Death, at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 14-18 Mar., 1983.

4. For the concept of organic intellectuals, see O. Oni as cited in note 3 above. See also B. Swai, 'Marx, Marxism and the Third World', Paper presented to the Conference "Marx and Africa." See especially A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), Part One, Chapter One, pp. 3-23.

5. Bourgeois falsifications and mystifications of Marxism include the following arguments: Marxism encourages violence and instability; it is foreign; it advocates socialism and communism which encourage laziness and kill individual initiative; etc.

6. O. Oni, "Marxist Scholarship," See especially G.N. (also JGN) Onyekpe, 'Escapist Trends in Proletarian, A Paper written in May 1983 to remind Nigerian Marxist intellectuals of the historical purpose of Marxism and their historical duty as Marxists. The paper appeared in the Kano-based Sunday Triumph, 7 August, 1983, as "Marxism Without Dialectics: The Case of Nigerian Radicals."

7. For utopian socialists and their ideas, see J.D. Chambers and P.J. Madgwick, *Conflict and Community: Europe Since 1750* (London: George Philip and Son Limited, 1968), Chapter 10; A.J. Grant and H. Temperley, *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (1789-1950)*, Sixth edition (London: Longman, 1952), Chapter XXXIII. See especially F.

Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, pp. 309-322 and G. Plekhanov (N. Beltov), *The Development of the Marxist View of History* (Moscow: Progress, Fourth Reprint, 1980), Chapter III.

8. As in Note One.

9. As in Note One. See also V.I. Lenin, *What is to be done? Burning Question of Our Movement* (Moscow: Progress, 1978 Reprint); Lenin, *The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution* (Moscow: Progress, 1977 Reprint).

10. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, p. 35.

11. Quoted in Onyekpe, 'Escapist Trends'.

12. Dr Usman's lectures and papers include 'Behind the Oil Smokescreen: The Real Cause of the Current Economic Crisis', *Nigerian Standard*, 6-7 May, 1983, 'Who Is Responsible? The Nigerian Workers and the Current Economic Crisis', May Day Speeches and Statements, Kaduna, 1982; 'Contractors Consultants and Nigeria's Technological Bankruptcy', Lecture delivered at the Kwara State College of Technology, 'Errors and Evasions' *New Nigeria*, 21-22 May, 1982; 'The Nature and Causes of the Current Economic Crisis in Nigeria, May Day Lecture at Katsina, 1983; etc.

13. S.G. Tyoden, 'The Political Economy of Resource Distribution in Nigeria', *Sunday Standard*, 6th and 13th February, 1983.

14. Claude Ake, 'The State of the Nation', paper presented at the meeting of the Political Science Association of Nigeria, Ake's Paper is published in *Nigeria Democratic Review*, Volume One, Number One, March 1983.

15. *Ibid.*

16. C. Ake, *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa*, London: Zed Press, 1978; Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa*, (London: Longman, 1983), A. Frank, *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan, 1978), P. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1957); W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972); A.M. Babu, *African Socialism or Socialist Africa?* (London: Zed Press, 1981); etc.

17. C. Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa*, Chapter 4; P. Ehrensaff, 'The Politics of Pseudo-Planning in a Primary-Producing Nation', in R.I. Rhodes (ed.), *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 358-375. O. Abovade, *Issues in the Development of Tropical Africa* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1976), Chapters 1 and 2; A. Fadahunsi, et. al., 'Nigeria's Beyond Structural Adjustment: Towards A National Popular Alternative Development Strategy', in A. Fadahunsi and T. Babawale (eds.), *Nigeria: Beyond Structural Adjustment* (Lagos: Panaf Publishing Inc., 1996),

Chapter One.

18. See especially W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*; and A.M. Babu, *African Socialism or Socialist Africa?* and B. Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty* (London: Zed Press, 1983).
19. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto*, p.38.
20. V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, See Sub-title, p.15, Lenin's *The State and Revolution*, provides an excellent dialectical examination of the concept of the state.
21. F. Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, p.333.
22. For the Nigerian example, see B.J. Dudley, *Instability and Political Order, Politics and Crisis in Nigeria*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1973); A Ademoyega, *Why We Struck* (Ibadan: Evans, 1981); L. Adamolekun, *The Fall of the Second Republic* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1985); R.A. Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1991).
23. C. Ake, "The State of the Nation."
24. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto*, p. 47.
25. O. Oni, "Marxist Scholarship"; Onyekpe, "Escapist Trends."
26. For the development of the socialist States, see for example, M.P. Kim, et. al., *History of the USSR - The Era of Socialism* (Moscow: Progress, 1982); G.S. Sarkisyan (ed.), *Soviet Economy: Results and Prospects* (Moscow: Progress, 1980); S. Aziz, *Rural Development: Learning From China* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1978); *Beijing Review, China: Changes in 40 Years* (Beijing: New Star Publishers, 1989); J.L. Sampedro, *Decisive Forces in World Economics* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967); etc.
27. For the development of States of socialist and non-capitalist orientation, see, for example, R. Marmullaku, *Albania and the Albanians* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1975); I. Andreyev, *The Non-Capitalist Way* (Moscow: Progress, 1977, Chapter 6,); etc.
28. O. Oni, "Marxist Scholarship."
29. K. Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach" in Marx, Engels and Lenin, *On Historical Materialism*, A Collection. Compiled by T. Borodulina (Moscow: Progress, 1976 Reprint), pp. 11-13, see especially the Eleventh Thesis.
30. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto*; V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*; Samora Machel, *Establishing People's Power to Serve the Masses* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1977), etc.

31. See Notes 1 and 30. Also, M.P. Kim et. al., *History of the USSR*; and Fidel Castro 'Marxism-Leninism and the Cuban Revolution', L. Brezhnev et. al., *The Communist Movement - Problems of Theory and Practice* (Praeque: Peace and Socialism International Publishers, 1980), pp. 46-62.
32. A. Fadahunsi and T. Babawale (eds.), *Nigeria: Beyond Structural Adjustment*.
33. Vladimir Lenin was not only the most prolific and intellectual accomplished revolutionary, he was also an exemplary political activist and leader with a historically unrivalled commitment to the proletarian cause and revolution. It is an eternal credit to him that he led the first successful socialist revolution in World History. The theory of Scientific Socialist Revolution developed in his *Collected Works* (in forty-five volumes) was based on, and enriched by experience and practice. This body of works on the tactics and strategy of scientific socialist revolution, politics and economics is a common property and treasures of World's revolutionary and popular democratic forces.
34. F. Castro, 'Marxism-Leninism and the Cuban Revolution' In L. Brezhnev et. al., *The Communist Movement*, pp. 49-50.
35. The aims and task as well as the tactics and strategy of the Party are clearly defined and articulated in O. Oni, *How To Develop Nigeria: The Tasks of the People's Revolution in Nigeria: The Socialist Party of Workers, Farmers and Youth. The Programme of Struggle*. Published by Council for Public Education and Printed by Iva Valley Printing Works, Ibadan. Not Dated. See also O. Oni. *The Socialist Programme for the Development of Nigeria: An Introduction to the Programme of the Socialist Party of Workers, Farmers and Youths*. Published by Council for Public Education and Printed by Iva Valley Printing Works, Ibadan, Not Dated.
36. R.C. Tucker (ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1972), pp. 7-8.

Dr J.G. Nkem Onyekpe, Lecturer, Department of History, University of Lagos, Nigeria.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vol. 1, No. 2, January - June, 1997

	Page
1. Chukwudum B. Okolo Philosophy and Science: The Marking of Boundaries	1
2. Wale Olajide Man as Environment: An Existential Appraisal	15
3. J. G. Nkem Onyekpe What is Marxism without Dialectics?	22
4. I. S. Aderibigbe The Yoruba Cosmology as a Theory of Creation - Limits and Assets	33
5. A. O. K. Noah The Nigerian Society, Education, Development, Values and Socialisation	40
6. O. G. F. Nwaorgu Philosophy in Africa - Towards a Pragmatic Approach	48
7. Christopher Agulanna Abortion and Human Rights: Towards an Ethics of Compassion	55
8. G. O. Ozumba Human Soul: Mortal or Immortal	64

Vol. 1, No. 3, July - December, 1997

1. Taban Lo Liyong Dark Areas in African Studies: How to Lighten Them - A Diagnostic Palaver	1
2. Maduabuchi Dukor The Concept of Goodness: G. E. Moore Revisited	15
3. Karo Ogbinaka Abnormsexuality - A Logical Transition to Trans-Specio-Sexuality (TSS): The Need to Apply a Socio-Ethical Ockham Razor	24
4. Douglas Anele Disambiguating The Concept of Disciplinary Matrix (Paradigm) in Thomas Kuhn's Theory of Scientific Research Programmes	32
5. Akinyemi O. Onigbinde Changes in Mankind's Modes of Existence and The Re-establishment of a Value Coordinate: Reflections on Some Global Problems	43
6. A. F. Uduigwomen The Implications of Hans Kelsen's Pure Theory of Law on The Nigerian Legal System	53
7. F. N. Ndubuisi The Superman in Neitzsche's Philosophy: An Exegesis	58



OBAROH & OGBINAKA PUBLISHERS LIMITED

5, Olufemi Street, Bajulaiye Road, By Canal Bus Stop, Somolu,
P. O. Box 10460, Ikeja, Lagos, Nigeria.