

An Evaluation of Jean-Paul Sartre's Notion of Freedom and Responsibility and its Implications in Nigeria

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Abstract

There have been long debates over the definition of human freedom. This issue touches on both man's freedom from social and political restrictions as well as his inherent potential for free will and activity in nature. In order to analyze the nature of freedom in relation to country-building, this paper identifies a lack of freedom as a key impediment to nation formation. Additionally, it assesses human freedom and nation-building issues from an existentialist angle. The fundamental ideas of existentialism are that truth must begin with subjectivity, that existence comes before essence, that reality is in action, that life is meaningless, and that man can only give his existence meaning by acting. This paper makes an effort to demonstrate how philosophy is important for the advancement of society and the nation. According to the argument made in this paper, the desire for freedom serves as the foundation for all progress. Every person has the fundamental right to freedom, which includes the capacity to choose how to live one's life and how the country will evolve in the future. In this perspective, development is the capacity to free humans from the potentially harmful influence and power of the ecological, geophysical, and global environment. It is impossible to borrow and must not be denied that this capacity exists. Natural development must be supported, encouraged, and enhanced. It concludes that to establish uniqueness and genuine nationalism, Citizens must work to achieve freedom and self-determination.

Keywords: Human Freedom, Responsibility, Nation Building, and Existentialism

Introduction

Philosophers have been interested in the concept of freedom since the classical era and continue to this day. The idea of freedom has been discussed to some extent in social and political philosophy from Thucydides on through Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, John Stuart Mill, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. This is a crucial principle since it requires man to decide whether or not people are free, what this implies, and what sorts of

institutions we should create in support of these ideals.

It may be said that philosophy's primary contribution to national development has been its prescription of the elements considered to make up the ideal form of society. This prescription would be by rational needs and would also take into account fundamental requirements for human survival. Therefore, to properly alter a country, one must conduct an objective critical analysis of it to ascertain the consistency of its operations. The work of philosophy begins here. The management of international events in the present day is a stark illustration of the failure of theorists and analysts to provide human society with a desired change beyond the condition of nature. Plato (427BC – 347BC), after witnessing the level of decadence and social disorder in the state, asserted thus:

The human race will not see better days until either the stock of those who rightly and genuinely follow philosophy acquire political authority, or else the class who have political control be led by some dispensation of providence to become real philosophers.

According to Jim Unah (2006, p.23), philosophy is a world-organizing, world-consolidating, and world-stabilizing activity. It is an activity of synthesis. In *The Fundamentals of Marxist – Leninist Philosophy* (1979 p.14), philosophy is defined as “an outlook with its specific content and form, a world outlook, which offers theoretical grounds for its principles and conclusions.” A philosophical worldview is a collection of broad, theoretical assumptions about how society, nature, and human nature operate. In the social, political, scientific, moral, and artistic aspects of existence, philosophy aims to develop and substantiate the fundamental principles of clear direction. From this, it becomes clear that philosophy has a major role to play in nation-building. Momoh (2000, p.2) agrees with this fact when he states that, “...a people with its philosophy are liberated, a nation with its philosophy is a free nation....” Building a nation requires the original skill of transformation, creativity, and innovativeness. These can only be realized by a free being. The existentialists see freedom as the very structure of the being of man.

To Sartre, man is free, self-creating, and self-transcending. He is “self-creating” in the sense that what he becomes depends on what he brings about as a result of his own freely chosen actions. In other words, man is condemned to be free. The individual is “self-transcending” in that by

exercising his freedom, he transcends the past, the “already-made”. Whatever man may have done in the past, he has the power, as long as he lives, to change or alter it. Freedom constitutes the essence of man and not vice versa; freedom comes first before other makes of man. All personalities of man are a result of this freedom. The constitutive fundaments of man are his freedom.

Existentialism

Existentialism is an ontological formulation of man and his existence. It is significant because it seeks to identify the nature of man's being and to show man's place in reality. Stumpf (1994, p. 936) defines existentialism as a mode of philosophy, which focuses upon existing individual person; instead of searching for truth in distant universal concepts, existentialism is concerned with the authentic concerns of concrete existing individuals as they face choices and decisions in daily life. The term Existentialism is coined by the Danish theologian and philosopher, Soren Kierkegaard. According to Roubiczek (1966, p.10), quoting Kierkegaard, existentialism “is a rejection of all purely abstract thinking, of a purely logical or scientific philosophy; in short, a rejection of the absoluteness of reason”. Existentialism begins as a voice raised in protest against the absurdity of Pure Thought, a logic which is not the logic of thinking but the immanent movement of Being. It recalls the spectator of all time and of all existence from the speculations of Pure Thought to the problems and the possibilities of his own conditioned thinking as an existing individual seeking to know how to live and to live the life he Knows (Blackham, 1959, p.2).

The word Existence is the key concept in Existentialism. It is used in this philosophy in a very special sense. The existentialist uses existence to refer specifically to human existence. There is a common belief that only a concrete thing can exist. Existentialists also support this view and describe man as a concrete individual capable of an existent. The Existentialist considers that to be an existent one has to be capable of being conscious that one exists. In this sense man alone can exist. Existentialism is principally interested in existence. Sartre expresses this when he asserts that as far as existentialism is concerned, existence precedes essence. Existentialism is more interesting and particularly addresses fundamental problems of human existence. For Sartre, to say that something exists is to say that it is. That is, to state something's essence is to state what it is (Stephen 2001, p.21) For Heidegger, man alone exists, other beings simply are. The being that exists is the man. Man alone exists. Trees are but they do not exist

(1956, p.215). Commenting on existentialism, Unah maintains that, “the true position of existentialism is that man first of all turns up, appears on the scene, and only afterwards defines himself” (2006, p.16). He further maintains that our existence precedes our essence and consequently, the only way philosophy can have real meaning is for it to come up with an accurate assessment of the human condition and deal with the peculiarity of our concrete situation (2006, p.16). Prominent existentialist philosophers include Soren Kierkegaard, Karl Jaspers, Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Albert Camus amongst others.

Freedom

Sartre in his book, *Being and Nothingness*, human freedom is established by this description of man's relation with being. The possibility that human reality has to “secrete a nothingness 'which isolates it’” (1966, p.24). The being of man, in so far as he conditions the appearance to nothingness, is freedom. To him, “There is no difference between the being of man and his being free” (1966, p.25). The full implications of man's freedom can only be understood after other elements of the human situation have been uncovered, but the fact of freedom as the possibility of detaching oneself from the density of being by a nihilating withdrawal is conclusively established by a study of man's being-in-the-world. Our freedom is revealed to us in anguish. Anguish is the specific consciousness of freedom, in the face of my past and my future. Anguish is my consciousness of being my future, in the mode of not-being.

Problems in the Existentialist Concept of Freedom

The central idea of existentialism is freedom. Freedom can be defined as “the capacity of self-determination. That is, the capacity to decide what to do” (Omoregbe 2022, p.36). As a rational entity, man is by nature free; thus, he should have the freedom to carry out his acts. A free action is one that a person decides to carry out and has the option of not doing. Based on this idea, “a man is free when he can exercise some degree of self-determination and spontaneous activity” (Bourke, 1966, p.45). Therefore, to be free, one must have the internal control to act however one chooses.

Existentialists do not discuss free will in the same way as classical philosophers do. Existentialists do not strive to demonstrate the truth of human freedom; rather, they view freedom as being inherent to man and not a quality of the will. They view human freedom as an essential component of human existence and the foundation of man. To

existentialists, attempting to demonstrate human freedom is equivalent to attempting to demonstrate human existence.

For existentialists, especially Sartre (1969, p.481), freedom differs from the ability to achieve success or to obtain what one wants.

It is necessary to point out to common sense that the formula to be free does not mean to obtain what one has wished, but rather oneself to determine oneself to wish (in the sense of choosing). In other words, success is not important to freedom.

So, the existentialist notion of freedom does not emphasize the practical result as the target of freedom but stresses the ability to wish and to choose freely. The existentialist concept of freedom takes into account issues like responsibility, choice, bad faith, anguish, and authenticity.

Responsibility

One of the fundamental problems with the idea of freedom is the idea of responsibility. The notion of freedom is unassailable, according to Sartre's claim that man is destined to be free. In essence, since being free implies that there is no justification for a man's actions, man is born into freedom, which comes with a weight. When we hold a man morally accountable for a deed, we hold him up as a proper target of moral promise or blame. However, it seems obvious that a man cannot be a justifiable target of moral adulation or scorn for an act unless he actively chose to commit it. Therefore, it follows that freedom in some way is a prerequisite for moral responsibility. What are the freedom-related requirements that an act must meet to qualify as a morally responsible act? We pinpoint two essential requirements that apply to this question. The conduct must be self-caused and self-determined, which is the first criterion. The second requirement is that the agent must not just be a cause but also the only cause of the behavior for which he is held morally accountable. With this, we can say that an act is a free act in the sense required moral responsibility only if the agent is the sole cause of the act and could exert his causality in alternative ways (Campbell, 1967, pp.36-37).

Anguish

According to Sartre, the standard conscious manifestation we have of our extensive phenomenological freedom is anguish. "Anguish is to be distinguished from fear. Both are responses to threats or dangers, but

whereas fear concerns the enemy without, anguish concerns an enemy within” (Meculloch, 1994, p.45). The theme of anguish is also fundamental in the existentialist notion of freedom. Anguish is one of the characteristic conditions of human existence. Anguish is the psychological feeling of depression that one develops when one realizes the burden that goes with the exercise of one's freedom. Sartre, in this connection, says in his *Being and Nothingness*: “In each instance of reflection, anguish is born as a structure of the reflective consciousness in so far as the latter considers consciousness as an object of reflection. (40).

Theoretically speaking, in the face of anguish, one should be able to adopt various attitudes, but the immediate and the most natural behavior when confronted with anguish is flight. In this state, man flees from the responsibility of choice and escapes it by depicting himself as a thing, determined by his past. This results in inauthenticity of existence according to Sartre. He says: “Psychological determinism, before being a theoretical conception, is first an attitude of excuse, or if you prefer the basis of all attitudes of excuse” (40). In short, what is called the anguish of freedom could more accurately be called “anguish before the necessity of choosing”. The anguish of freedom, Sartre holds, is anguish over the fact that one must choose: “For human reality”, Sartre asserts, “to be is to choose oneself; nothing comes to it either from the outside or from within which it can receive or accept (*Being and Nothingness* 440). He further adds that in every situation, one has to choose, and even not to choose is also a choice. “I can always choose, but I must know that if I do not choose, that is still a choice” (*Existentialism and Humanism* 48).

The anguish of freedom arises only with the realization that one must always decide for oneself and that efforts to shift the burden of responsibility upon others are necessarily self-defeating. Not to choose, as mentioned above, is also to choose, for even if we deliver our power of decision to others, we are still responsible for having done so. It is always the individual who decides that others will choose for him. At times, he may dull the awareness of his original and inalienable responsibility, but he can never wholly suppress that awareness. It will always be there even on the surface of consciousness as a vague sense of guilt or uneasy feeling or personal inadequacy. In this regard, Sartre says:

I am condemned to be free. This means that no limits to my freedom can be found except freedom itself or if you prefer, that we are not free to cease being free. To the extent that for-itself

wishes to hide its nothingness from itself and to incorporate the in-itself as its true mode of being, it is trying also to hide its freedom from itself (*Being and Nothingness* 439-40).

Thus, of all the existentialists, Sartre has most stressed the anguish of freedom. How he has developed the set of ideas connected with this form of anguish has, therefore, special interest and concern. Anguish usually comes with reflection. When we reflect on the contingency of our being, the basic problems of life, which defy any satisfactory solution, then we are seized with tormenting anguish. The realization that we do not know the meaning and purpose of our existence, that our existence is gratuitous and unnecessary, that we might very well not have existed, and that sooner or later we shall cease to exist, etc give rise to disturbing anguish.

Choice

Pointing out the importance of choice Sartre says that the universe would be vain and meaningless if man does not endow it with meaning by an unceasing act of choice. Freedom is the *summum bonum* of Sartre's ethical system as well as his socio-political thought. The very being of the For-itself (existing human individual) which is "condemned to be free", insists Sartre, "must choose itself i.e., make itself. For existentialists, especially Sartre, freedom differs from the ability to achieve success or to obtain what one wants. According to Sartre:

It is necessary to point out to common sense that the formula to be free does not mean to obtain what one has wished, but rather oneself to determine oneself to wish (in the sense of choosing). In other words, success is not important to freedom (*Being and Nothingness* 481).

So the existentialist notion of freedom does not emphasize the practical result as the target of freedom but stresses the ability to wish and to choose freely.

Bad faith

Bad faith is using freedom to deny freedom. It is choosing to say "I have no choice", to reject the being-for-itself of human reality, and identify falsely with the in-itself then treat that choice as though it is not a choice. Bad faith is sometimes described as self-deception but this is strictly inaccurate; I cannot lie to myself, as I can lie to someone else, without catching myself in the act. Bad faith is rather self-evasion or self-distraction, the practice of ignoring the meaning of my actions by desperately focusing on other

matters as I move forward in time. Bad faith is irresponsibility. It is often overlooked that responsibility is integral to Sartre's theory of freedom, largely because the claim that we are always free is far more appealing than the claim that we are always responsible. For Sartre, authenticity is the overcoming of bad faith. Authenticity is taking responsibility for freedom; taking responsibility for what we do in every situation. Authenticity is affirming all our choices and therefore all our past without regret.

During the Second World War, Sartre formulated the concept of authentic being in a situation after encountering a comrade who declared he was not a soldier but a civilian in disguise. Indeed, his comrade was not a mere soldier-thing, but he was nonetheless a soldier because he was acting as a soldier. His comrade was in bad faith, refusing to confront the reality of his situation and the meaning of his choices and actions in that situation. Sartre chose the war and decided that his situation was not merely happening to him. He chose his past, he claimed – even his birth. By his lights, he adopted the authentic attitude that his entire life had been leading to that time and place. He took full possession of his situation without regret. Responsibility refers to the fact that there is no determinative power but the consciousness of being itself and that being is free.

Within specific reference to Sartre's atheistic existentialism, the human being is solitary before his/her decisions, alone in creating his/her values or projects to be realized and he/she is in authenticity to choose his/her ways and actions. In that sense, responsibility is the inevitable consequence of the lack of outside determination and the existence of free consciousness or will. According to Sartre, “man being condemned to be free, carries the weight of the whole world on his shoulders” (p. 553). Because he is free, he is responsible for the world and for himself as a way of being. “If one's life is composed of one's choices or actions that are freely projected by oneself, then freedom refers to the fact that man is the author of his own life and he is responsible for the consequences or situations of freedom. In other words, what happens to me happens through me” (p. 554). There is no exterior, spiritual, or material power to which humans can load the whole responsibility; there is no non-human situation (*BN*, p. 554). Therefore, the famous declaration that man is condemned to be free means that he is condemned to be wholly responsible for himself.

Additionally, Sartre insists that one is also responsible for the entire world, that is, all people. Any human being shares the responsibility for the events,

situations, and formations that humanity is subjected to, experienced, and lived (BN, p. 556). So, it can be accomplished that a human being who is conscious of his/her freedom is also conscious of this responsibility, and according to Sartre, such a heavy responsibility makes a human being feel anguish.

Freedom and Authenticity

Authenticity has always been associated with Freedom. If we express ourselves and our feelings, then we are initiating an act of emancipation. An authentic life is lived by a person who has made a free decision and is fully aware of that choice and accepts full responsibility for it. Freedom and authenticity, of course, both pertain to human individuals. Therefore, to live an authentic life, one should not just follow the herd, acting in a certain way just because others are doing it or because it is the local habit. Instead, one ought to live according to their own free will and carry out their chosen actions. Every decision should lead to an action.

Authentic existence can begin only when we have realized and thoroughly understood what we are. Once we have grasped that each human being is uniquely himself and no one else and that each of us has his possibilities to fulfill (Warnock, 1970, p.55). According to Jean-Paul Sartre, authenticity is achieved when man performs actions, not merely because society approves of them, not merely because they agree with some universal moral norms, but because they are necessary for his survival and existence. "Man becomes authentic when he realizes the radical contingency of his freedom; when he realizes that there is no morality given *a-priori* that he must create meaning and invent his values and accept the consequences of his action" (Unah, p.43).

The authentic man for Sartre is the person who undergoes a radical conversion through anguish and who assumes his freedom. He recognizes himself... as the cause of there being a world and as the unique source of the world's value and intelligibility (Robert, 1962, p.139).

Similarly, a sovereign nation is understood to be a nation that is free from external determination and control. Such a nation is not only a free nation but an authentic nationhood. Any externally determined nation can hardly acquire stature and maturity a nation without a sound ideological framework of its own to guide social action is an inauthentic, nation (Unah, p.119). Finally, only when freedom is assured, only when one has an actual existence, can existence have any real significance. The capacity for

independence and self-determination is a necessary condition for a people to become nationalistic and for a nation to grow in stature and maturity.

Only when someone is capable of engaging in self-creative initiatives will real scientific and technological growth occur. Political instability and economic imbalance may be overcome in a country where citizens freely engage in free creative entrepreneurship. Such a country is a springboard for maturing and gaining status.

Building an Authentic Nationhood

The true state or actuality of being a country might be interpreted as authentic nationhood. According to this perspective, the idea of authenticity is coordinated with the fundamental aspects of nationhood. We must come up with a practical definition of a nation. A nation is a “historically formed community for people which is distinguished first by common materials of life, such as specific territory, economic mode of life, common language, psychological makeup and also certain traits of nation character manifest in the national specifics of its culture for a higher form of social integration” (Ogundowole, 1994, p.46). Authenticity requires both individual and national innovation. “A nation that keeps testing one alien system of government after another in the hope that one of them would provide a permanent solution to its social and economic problems is inauthentic (Unah, p.119). In the words of Jim Unah, such a nation is:

A nation without a sound ideological framework of its own to guide social action, a nation that goes about copying every available piece of ideology is vulnerable, and like an edifice without foundation, such a nation easily falls prey to the windstorm of imperialism. Such a nation is not genuine and is therefore lost in the inauthentic “world” where failure and misfortune are explained away in terms of sabotage. (p.119)

Thus, the meaning of authentic nationhood would have been a nation characterized by creative fidelity of people, through fidelity of love and friendship in human relationships (Gabriel, 1960, p.72). This is because he sees authenticity essentially in the spheres of human relationships, which for them enables a genuine human community. The essence of our history must be revived to reinvent it and raise it to the level of human civilization. This is what it means to be an authentic country. A nation with this

temperament aspires to transcendently employ its metaphysical endowment to foster sustainable growth within its local environment. It does this by utilizing the intellectual resources at its disposal. Jean-Paul Sartre (1977, p.34) anchors authenticity on freedom of choice and responsibility. He says we are condemned to be free and compelled to make future-directed choices. In other words, our factual givens are not determined by us, but we are free to create our interpretation of ourselves about the world, to create a project of possibilities, of authentic action as the expression of freedom.

Authentic nationhood can be interpreted as a nation that appreciates the independence of the sovereignty to determine for itself political structures in which possibilities are abundant for a higher form of integration into the mainstream of global recognition. Such a nation realizes the inevitability of its factual givens, and the need to make projections within it, as well as being responsible for the outcome. By this, such a nation distinctively defines itself. This implies a high level of originality, borne out of a strong character of maturity, as well as the display of self-reliance.

In this view, an authentic nation is self-determined, self-oriented, and adopts a foreign policy not because it wants to uphold political order but rather because it is in keeping with the reality of its historical visions. For Martin Heidegger, authenticity consists in not being submerged in the anonymous crowd of the “world” that is, being free from any outward determination and control. In this sense, a real nation is not subject to outside influence in the name of any alliance. By this, we mean that a real nation does not restrict human existence in its surroundings to comply with international laws, especially if such an alliance distorts the standard of living. To be precise, a developing nation that goes about implementing the policies of the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank at the detriment of its domestic economy without prudent management of its endowed natural resources is doomed to be lost in the “they world”. Such a nation's vision and constitution will be inauthentic, and will always be a victim of the imperialist antics.

Critical Reflection

A fundamental objective of existentialism is the concern for human existence, especially for the affirmation of freedom and the refusal to subordinate personal self-awareness to the abstract concept of dehumanizing social structures. It represents rebellion against established

ideas and institutions that inhabit freedom and negate responsibility. It is a statement of fact that human freedom suffers from a host of obstacles. However, against the position that these obstacles are the products of freedom itself; that freedom suffers from its self-imposed restrictions and obstacles, some situations leave a man with no opportunity for freedom or freedom of choice. For instance, someone who is drowning and happens to save his life by getting hold of a tree at the sea bank will not be said to have made a choice. This is because his act here is purely accidental; there was no chance for him to exercise his freedom by making a choice (Ndubuisi, 1998, p.120).

The truth of the matter is that there can be no absolute freedom. Some crucial factors determine our actions, which enslave our freedom. Such factors as economic, psychological, legal, and even religious are determinants of the exercise of our freedom. The freedoms of choices we make are preconditioned by these factors. Even the creation and enforcement of social values require appraisal in the critical evaluation of existential freedom. It is a known fact, according to Ndubuisi (1998, p.12) that society is made possible by the existence of both social norms and laws. These norms and laws are the parameters by which our actions are evaluated. That one action is commended or condemned is due mainly to the existence of these factors. It becomes almost impossible to pass judgment on one when there is no focus, a reference point for the evaluation of one's conduct. Whichever is the case, the fundamental value of Sartre's notion of freedom is that it builds in man an overarching confidence to chart the course of his action for himself. In this regard, obstacles are not enough to stop a man from actualizing his purpose of existence.

Sartre's concept of freedom emphasizes that man has to pattern his life the way he pleases. Man, according to Sartre, has a virgin future which he is expected to fill by his actions. The realization of this fact obviously will push man to action as man's actions constitute his personality. The existential notion of human freedom no doubt inspires hope, courage, and optimism. It essentially shows that man alone gives meaning to his life. Human freedom brings out the power of originality, creativity, innovativeness, and authenticity in man. The novelty of Heidegger's concept of authenticity is its anchorage on human freedom. Human freedom, therefore, is the basis of authenticity. Self-determination, self-orientation, and self-actualization are the components of authenticity. A country that encourages its citizens to fulfill their creative enterprise in

molding their future achieves the status of authenticity. This refers to the populace's capacity to make use of their historical context and "freedom" to choose for themselves the route leading to their existentiality. This kind of nation will guard against having its destiny decided by outside forces.

Conclusion

The notion of freedom can be understood from so many angles and perspectives. Thus freedom in the abstract is a class comprising many species – freedom of thought and speech, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of worship, freedom of movement, etc. The above seems to appear as the positive notion of freedom, in the attempt to identify those specific spheres of human activity. This paper has examined the notion of human freedom from Sartre's perspective. That is, from what ideas it means to exist, to the understanding of human existence. Contemporary issues that have a bearing on human freedom, ranging from the notion of choice, responsibility, anguish; bad faith, and authenticity were examined. From the point of view of Sartre, this paper demonstrated that man makes himself what he is by his freedom.

Freedom however has its facticity and its contingency. The facticity of freedom is that it is a condemned freedom, for it is condemned to be free and it cannot cease to be free. And the contingency of freedom is the fact that it finds itself thrown into existence and it cannot cease to exist “Whatever it does, freedom cannot escape its existence. Freedom is not free not to be free. It is not free not to exist. This is because “the fact of not being able not to be free is the facticity of freedom and the fact of not being able not to exist is its contingency” (Sartre, p.486). This paper has also been able to demonstrate convincingly how the being of man, after affirming itself through the exercise of his freedom can meaningfully contribute to nation-building. This is where the existentialist concept of authenticity comes into play. To be free is *ipso facto* to be genuine in thinking, and to be free from tailored ideas. “Authenticity forbids us to hibernate in a solipsistic enclave of being. Authenticity calls for social relations” (Unah, p.142).

Authenticity simply serves as the panacea to the genuine process of national development. “For the man in the political realm, authenticity demands him to rise from a crude level of politics to a sophisticated polished level” (Unah, pp.142-143). We therefore allude to the submission of Jim Unah who maintains that, if authenticity demands that we use the

past as a foundation for our present activity to provide opportunities for future activities, then authentic political practice must consist in the expression of the present opportunities bestowed by the earth and a people's heritage in the working out of a people's destiny (p.143). Finally, Sartre's view of freedom as a necessary component of nation-building is a call to authenticity. It is a call to true nationhood for the people of Nigeria. Rewriting our past is being urged by this. It is a demand for a nation whose foundation is self-determination, self-orientation, and self-actualization to go through a real historical development. It is an appeal to oppose having outside forces decide on Nigerians' fate. It is a revolt against slavery and neo-colonialism. It is the reawakening of the transcendental ability of the Nigerian to build a solid foundation for a higher kind of integration into the mainstream of human civilization. This appeal is a rejection of the current, "state of nature," state of affairs. It is a call for the complete dismantling of colonial apparatus. It is an exhortation to introspection and self-reflection. This is the path that will lead to the real nation's objective construction.

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