

**NIGERIA'S BID FOR INCLUSION IN THE PERMANENT SEAT OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS:**

AN ASSESSMENT

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the opinions of some scholars on Nigeria's agitation for reform and inclusion in the permanent seat of the Security Council of the United Nations, presently occupied by five countries including the United States of America, Russia, Great Britain, France and China. The essence of the reform is to make it look more democratic thereby reflecting all the continents of the world, against the present order. The paper also investigates the elements that undermine Nigeria's bid for inclusion in the permanent seat of the Security Council. The paper adopts content analysis in its methodology, with particular focus on secondary data as source of information.. The paper finds out that Nigeria, at present, cannot occupy a permanent seat of the Security Council because of domestic and or internal problems such as political leadership, economic dependency, military capacity and technology, democratic practice, human rights abuses, etc. The paper recommends that Nigeria solves her domestic problems before looking at the world problems. Besides, she can still exercise power at the international system using the machinery of regional platforms like ECOWAS and AU.

Keywords: Nigeria, Security Council, United Nations, Permanent Seat, Agitation

Introduction

An international organization is an organization with an international membership, scope or presence. International organizations are classified into two main types (Evans, Graham and Newnham, 1998). These are first, the international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which comprise two sub-organizations. These are the international non-profit organizations such as the World Organization of the Scout Movement, International Committee of Red Cross, etc. The other one is the

international corporations which are profit making and which are referred to as multinational corporations, and they include Coca Cola Company, Toyota. Second, the intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), refer to those organizations that are primarily made up of sovereign states (referred to as member states). Notable examples include the United Nations (UN), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Council of Europe (COE), European Union (EU) and World Trade Organization (WTO) (Intergovernmental Organization, n.d). Others are sub-regional organizations such as ECOWAS and regional organizations such as AU (Formerly OAU) (Akonye, Udeh & Paul, 2013).

International organizations play important roles towards the advancement of interest of their members. Some of these roles include helping to set the international agenda, mediating political bargaining, providing place for political initiatives and acting as a catalyst for coalition. Besides, international organizations contribute to habits of cooperation, in other words, organizations and states become used to working together, and engage in information gathering and surveillance. Again, international organizations lend out technical cooperation to the member countries which require them. International organizations perform certain supervisory roles, and also provide lucidity and information to members of the particular organization.

Following the failure of League of Nations established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the United Nations was established in October, 1945. Five countries including United States, United Kingdom, United Soviet Socialist Republic, China and France spearheaded its formation. However, since its establishment, the United Nations may be having some challenges. These are financial, effective operation of the UNO, terrorism, conflicts in different parts of the world and the use of veto power by the five permanent members of the Security Council which are the US, UK, USSR, China and France.

Among these problems, the use of veto power, which means power by the five permanent members to cancel or over rule decisions made by the United Nations, has been pilloried by other member states of the United Nations because it has created inequality among members and forestalled the efforts to have unanimous or consensus decisions on major issues by the United Nations. According to Karen (1995), "the actual inequality of states is recognized in the veto power given to five permanent wealthy states in budget negotiations, and the weighted voting system used by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund".

Thus, it was in realization of the problem posed by the use of veto power by the five permanent members of this organ that there have been calls for reform of the Security Council. According to Babangida (1992), "Nigeria's call for a permanent seat on the Security Council of the United Nations is to fully reflect its geographical composition".

The paper seeks to answer the following research questions

- (a) Does Nigeria have effective political leadership and economic capability that are pre-requisites for the position of permanent membership of the Security Council of the United Nations?
- (b) Does Nigeria have the military capability and technology to guarantee global peace and security?
- (c) Does Nigeria uphold good democratic practices obtainable in other democratic nations of the world as to enable it become a member?
- (d) Does Nigeria have good human rights record that can enable her challenge acts of human rights abuse that often times result into crises and wars in other parts of the world?

Methodology

This paper adopted content analysis in explaining the variables. Secondary data were used and information was gathered from journals, newspapers, magazines, colloquium and periodicals.

The paper is divided into five parts. Part one which is the introduction includes the research questions and methodology. Part two dwells on overview of both the United Nations and Security Council, and the theoretical framework. Part three examines the arguments in favour of Nigeria's candidacy for position of permanent membership of the Security Council. Part four focuses on the factors that undermine Nigeria's quest for inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council. Part five forms the concluding part of the work.

United Nations and Security Council: An Overview

United Nations Organization This is a universal organization that represents the whole population of the globe, and it is not limited to any specific or geographical territory. The organization is a blend of Wilsonian idealism and post World War II realism. A one-time United States President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt first coined the term United Nations to describe the allied countries. The term was officially used on 1-2 January 1942, when 26 governments signed the declaration (United Nations, 1942).

The fore runner of the United Nations was the League of Nations, an organization conceived in similar circumstances during the First World War, and established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security (Magliveras, 1999). The League of Nations failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War in 1946. Some of the reasons adduced for this failure include the following: First some powerful countries like America did not join the League because of their isolationist policy. Besides, in 1923, France and Italy occupied Ruhr and Kerkira respectively. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria and withdrew from the League two years later. In all these, the League demonstrated powerlessness (Adeniran, 1983).

With the demise of the League of Nations, based on the above reasons, the leaders of US, USSR, UK, France and China conceived an idea that would guarantee international peace and security. The United Nations officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, upon ratification of the Charter by the five permanent members of the

Security Council- France, the Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the UK and the US, and by a majority of the other 46 signatories (Milestones in United Nations History, 2013). The UN Charter allows for peace loving states that are able and willing to carry out the duties of the UN, to join the organization.

. The United Nations, its land and buildings are international territory. The United Nations has its own flag, its own post office and its own postage stamps. Six official languages are used at the United Nations namely, Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2013). The United Nations Day is celebrated on 24th October each year.

The United Nations has six organs namely, the General Assembly, Security Council, Secretariat, ICJ, ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council. The United Nations also has some smaller, more specialized agencies that deal with specific needs. These agencies are over 15 in number and they include the World Health Organization (WHO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations International Children's Education Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations High Commission For Refugee (UNHCR), International Finance Corporation (IFC), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Bank For Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Civil Aviation Authority (ICAO), International Development Agency (IDA), General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT), United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). The United Nations has since inception in 1945 made remarkable achievements especially in terms of maintaining international peace and security, promoting democracy, ending apartheid in South Africa, promoting women's rights, promoting human rights, etc. However, the United Nations has not lived up to expectation despite some achievements recorded. Among the flaws are disarmament, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, terrorism, conflicts in different parts of the world, improving the standard of living and life of people and reducing poverty especially in Low Developing Countries, and most importantly addressing the issue of veto power by the five permanent members of the Security Council (Ohia, Udeh, Onuoha & Paul , 2010).

Security Council

This is one of the Organs of the United Nations saddled with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security as contained in Article 24 of the United Nations Charter. Security Council is a key organ of the United Nations that is mandated to ensure peace and security in the world, while other organs of the United Nations can only make recommendations to member states. The Security Council has the power to make binding decisions that member states have agreed to carry out, under the Charter Article 25 (United Nations Charter, 2013). The decisions of the Council are known as United Nations Security Council resolution (Fasolu, 2004).

The Security Council is composed of five permanent members and ten non-permanent members. The five permanent members are the founding fathers of the

United Nations. These countries possess veto power, that is, power to cancel or over rule decisions taken by the United Nations. In other words, any of the five permanent members who opposes any decision taken by the United Nations that decision stands killed. In effect, the United Nations Security Council stands as:

a chasse gardee, a nearly proprietary territory of the most developed and powerful nations, one that ...caters primarily for their needs (Coicaud, 2001).

On the other hand, the non-permanent members of the Security Council are elected on the basis of the ability to make contributions to the United Nations for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security. Besides, consideration is given to its geographical location to ensure equitable distribution. Due to the increased membership of the Security Council from 11 to 15 in 1965, the distribution of the non-permanent seats-Latin America(2), Middle East(1), Eastern Europe(1), Western Europe(1), Common-Wealth(1), has now been altered as follows: Africa(2), Asia(2), Eastern Europe (1), Western Europe(2), America(2) and Arab World(1) (Ohia, Udeh, Onuoha, & Paul , 2010).

The permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations which exercise veto power use it to protect and advance their national interest and not necessarily that of the world. Consequently, it has been pretty difficult to have consensus on issues that bother on maintenance of international peace and security, and even on minor issues by the members of this organ. For example, it was Clinton’s administration that vetoed the re-election of Professor Boutrous- Boutrous Ghali as Secretary-General allegedly for his commitment to the reform of the UN (Gambari, 1997). This was one case out of several issues that could not elicit the consensus of the five permanent members of the Security Council due to individual interest of these countries including the US, Russia, UK, France and China.

In view of the proposal for the reform of the Security Council, the United Nations set up high level panel which recommended two models. These were models A and B . These models are illustrated in table 1.

Table 1: Structure of an Enlarged UN Security Council as Recommended by the High-Level Panel

Regional areas	MODEL A					MODEL B			
	No. of states	No. of permanent seats now	Rec. new permanent seats renewable	Rec 2 Year seats renewable	Total seats	No. of permanent seats now	Rec. 4-yr seat renewable	Rec 2 Year seats non renewable	Total
AFRICA	53	0	2	4	6	0	2	4	6
ASIA AND PACIFIC	56	1	2	3	6	1	2	3	6
EUROPE	47	3	1	2	6	3	2	1	6
AMERICA	35	1	1	4	6	1	2	3	6
TOTAL	191	5	6	13	24	5	8	11	24

Source: Adapted from the Report of the High-Level Panel on UN Reform, 2005

Theoretical Framework

In analyzing issues in international relations, a number of theories are available and can be used or employed depending on the issue being studied. In this regard, therefore, the games theory is seemingly fit for the study.

Games Theory

The focus of games theory is on rational choices and conflict resolution. The choices are either limited or unlimited. Games theory assumes that each state is an autonomous decision making unit, and has unique options and stipulated payoffs associated with each of the options. The players are expected to be guided by rational calculations, and in most cases, advocates of this theory view international relations as an N person –Non zero- sum game. The Non zero-sum game describes a situation in which the interacting parties aggregate gains and losses can be less than or more than zero. What this implies is that a gain by one country or party is not necessarily at the expense of others. This should not be confused with zero- sum game which implies that a winner wins all and a loser loses all.

There are advantages of using games theory as a simplification of the complex choices states make. Games theory forces both analysts and policy makers systematically to examine assumptions, helping to clarify the choices available and offering possibilities that may not have been explored. It helps the analysts and policy makers to see not just their own states position, but also where the other states might stand. Again, by observing the players' attitudes and dispositions in matters involving decisions as to whether to settle a conflict or wage a war, co-operate in science and technology or promote military alliances, etc, propositions could be readily tested while such conditions as fear, suspicion, trust, reward, punishment, risk, etc, which normally affect bargaining behaviour could be determined.

However, there are also clear limitations or grey areas of games theory. It assumes a unitary state in which internal factors play little role in determining a state's preferences. In other words, the unitary state acts rationally by choosing the best overall option available.

As Nigeria contends for one of the two slots or seats slated for the African continent in the permanent seat of the Security Council of the United Nations, there are both benefits and liabilities accruable from such position. Thus, like the present five permanent members of the Security Council, whatever, decisions taken by any of them on any issue at global level, the overriding interest is that of their people and of course the country at large. In this regard therefore, Nigeria's membership of the permanent Security Council shall benefit her in diverse ways. In the first place, it is prestigious to belong to the permanent membership of the Security Council of the United Nations. It will make Nigeria to be regarded as one of the strongest powers in the world that determine global affairs. Besides, it will justify Nigeria's leadership position not only in West Africa, but also in Africa. Again, in terms of decision making generally, if decisions are to be taken on issues pertaining to international peace and security,

Nigeria will be part and parcel of decision making at the international level, not West Africa or Africa now, but the world at large.

However, there are liabilities or losses associated with playing politics at the global level such as membership of the permanent Security Council of the United Nations. Nigeria's admission as a permanent member of the Security Council entails heavy financial burden. For example, it is estimated that in some quarters, that universally acclaimed peace enforcement operations of Nigeria in Liberia and Sierra Leone cost her over \$14 billion, while she lost up to 1000 soldiers in the operations (Emeh Jnr, 2005). Besides, in terms of peace keeping activities, Nigeria will lose much in the area of human resources and capital respectively. Apparently, Nigeria has lost valuable human resources in the course of striving to maintain peace and security in the world. For example, Mr. Felisi Iniya, a volunteer under the UN Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) died while in the service of the UN in June 1992. Another Nigerian, Mr. Otto Essien died in Namibia in April, 1992 (Akinterinwa, 2005).

Arguments in Favour of Nigeria's Bid for Inclusion as a Permanent Member of the Security Council of the United Nations

Nigeria's quest for inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, has elicited tremendous and overwhelming support both within and outside the country. This support cuts across individuals and groups/organizations to continents including Asia, Africa, Europe, America, etc.

However, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has argued that members of the Security Council should be those nations that "contribute most to the United Nations financially, militarily and diplomatically, participate in mandated peace operations and contribute to the voluntary activities of the UN in the areas of security and development and diplomatic activities in support of United Nations objectives and mandates (Alli, 2005). In other words, Nigeria's qualification into the permanent seat of the Security Council is contingent on meeting those conditions among others.

According to Frazer (2007), United States is open to supporting an African state including Nigeria, to become a member of the Security Council. However, she understood the fact that Nigeria's quest for admission into the permanent seat of the Security Council of the United Nations must follow the electoral reforms, strengthen the institutions of democracy, ensures stability and contribute to international peace and security.

As many as have argued in favour of Nigeria's candidacy to the permanent seat of the Security Council, one of the key factors that is central is peace keeping operations. Other factors that have been considered for Nigeria's quest for the position were population, natural resources, Nigeria's leadership role not only in the world, but also in the African continent, especially West African sub-region. We shall examine these factors in turn to justify Nigeria's inclusion in the permanent seat of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Peace Keeping Operations Nigeria attained independence on 1st October, 1960 and became a member of the United Nations on 7th October the same year as the 99th

member. Soon after becoming a member of the United Nations, Nigeria was involved in peace keeping and observer operations first in Congo and later in distressed areas of the world, including Somalia, Mozambique, Rwanda, India/Pakistan, Western Sahara, Lebanon, Angola, Botswana, Liberia, Cambodia, Burundi, Sierra-Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, Iran/Iraq and Iran/Kuwait under the auspices of the United Nations (Osontokun, 2005).

In accordance with the principles and purposes as contained in the UN Charter, the first purpose members adhere to is:

to maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international dispute or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace (UN Charter, Article 1).

Thus, Nigeria is guided by this principle as a loyal and faithful member of the United Nations as far as external relations were concerned. More particularly, Nigeria's efforts towards peace-making and peace keeping activities are underpinned by the principles establishing her foreign policy initiated by the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in his address to the National Parliament on 20th August 1960, and the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on the occasion of Nigeria's admission as the 99th member of the UN on 7th October 1960 (Babalola, 2005).

Since that time Nigeria has contributed to global peace, security and development. Nigeria's absolute commitment to the total liberation of Africa and the restoration of pride and respect for the blackman has been exemplary. Right from 1960, Nigeria had maintained a permanent presence in the decolonization committee and long serving chairman of the Anti-Apartheid committee of the United Nations. Nigeria has always shown that peace was indivisible, hence, while contending with finding solution to the problem of Africa, she was nevertheless concerned with global peace in a dangerous bipolar world, where the two contending military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact were armed to the teeth with thermonuclear weapons (Osuntokun, 2005).

Similarly, Nigeria's military has participated in various forms of peaceful initiatives and objectives since her independence in 1960. These initiatives can be divided into four categories.

1. United Nations organized Peace keeping missions.
2. OAU/AU regional Peacekeeping missions
3. ECOWAS Sub regional Peace keeping and Peace enforcement missions.
4. Bilateral Assistance Programmes between Nigeria and various African countries.

Nigeria's participation in peace keeping operations since attainment of independence is illustrated in the table below:

**Table 1: Peace Keeping Operations (PKOs) in which Nigeria has Participated:
AFRICA**

<i>Serial</i>	<i>Mission name</i>	<i>Acronym</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	UN Operation in the Congo	ONUC	1960-1964	UN
2.	UN Angola Verification Mission	UNA VEM I	1985-1997	UN
3.	UN Angola Verification Mission	UNA VEM II	1985-1997	UN
4.	UN Angola Verification Mission	UNA VEM III	1985-1997	UN
5.	UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia	UNTAG	1989-1990	UN
6.	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	MINURSO	1991	UN
7.	UN Operation in Somalia	UNOSOM I	1992-1995	UN
8.	UN Operation in Somalia	UNOSOM II	1992-1995	UN
9.	UN Operation Mozambique	ONUMOZ	1992-1994	UN
10.	UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda	UNAMIR	1993-1995	UN
11.	UN Group in the Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad.	UNASOG	1994	UN
12.	UN Mission in Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	1999-Date	UN
13.	Democratic Republic of Congo	MONUC	200-Date	UN
14.	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia	ECOMIL	Aug-Oct 03	ECOWAS
15.	UN Mission in Liberia	UNMIL	2003-Date	UN
16.	Nigeria in Peace-keeping Force in Tanzania	TAPKM	1994	OAU
17.	Chad Operation	OP HARMONY I	1979	OAU
18.	OAU Intervention Force in Chad	OP HARMONY II	1981-1982	OAU
19.	AU Monitoring Group in Rwanda	NMOG	1992-1993	OAU
20.	AU Mission in Sudan	AMIS	2004-Date	OAU
21.	Operation LIBERTY	ECOMOG	1990-1997	ECOWAS
22.	Operation SANDSTORM	ECOMOG	1997-2000	ECOWAS

Source: Sanda, J. G. (2005), Nigeria's Peacekeeping Efforts Outside Of Africa (1960-2005). A Broad Overview.

Table 2: Peace Keeping Operations (PKO) in which Nigeria has Participated: Outside Africa, 1960 – 2005

<i>Serial</i>	<i>Mission name</i>	<i>Acronym</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	Security Force in West New Guinea	UNSF	1962 – 1963	UN
2.	UN India-Pakistan Observer Mission.	UNIPOM	1965 – 1966	UN
3.	UN interim Force in Lebanon	UNIFIL	1978 – 1983	UN
4.	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group.	UNIMOG	1988 – 1991	UN
5.	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission	UNIKOM	1991	UN
6.	UN Interim Mission in Kosovo	UNMIK	1991	UN
7.	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia	UNTAC	1992 – 1993	UN
8.	UN Protection Force (former Yugoslavia).	UNPROFOR	1992 – 1995	UN
9.	UN Confidence restoration Operations in Croatia	UNCRO	1993 – 1995	UN
10.	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	UNMIBH	1993- Date	UN
11.	UN Mission Observer in Tajikistan	UNIMOT	1994 – 2000	UN
12.	UN Preventive Deployment in Macedonia	UNPREDEP	1995 – 2000	UN
13.	UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slovenia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (Croatia)	UNTAES	1996 – 1998	UN
14.	UN Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina	UNMIBH	1995 – 2002	UN
15.	UN Observer Mission in Prevlaka	UNMOP	1996 – 2000	UN
16.	UN Transition Authority in East Timor	UNTAET	2000	UN
17.	UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti	MINUSTAH	2004	UN
18.	UN Emergency force I Syria (Golan Heights)	UNDOF		UN

Table 3: PKOs in which Nigeria has Participated: Total

<i>Serial</i>	<i>Mission name</i>	<i>Acronym</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	Security Force in West New Guinea	UNSF	1962 – 1963	UN
2.	UN Disengagement Observer force in Syria (Golan Heights)	UNDOF	1974 -	UN
3.	UN India-Pakistan Observer Mission.	UNIPOM	1965 – 1966	UN
4.	UN Interim Force in Lebanon	UNIFIL	1978 – 1983	UN
5.	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group.	UNIMOG	1988 – 1991	UN
6.	UN Angola Verification Mission.	UNAVEM I	1985 - 1997	UN
7.	UN Angola Verification Mission.	UNAVEM II	1985 – 1997	UN
8.	UN Angola Verification Mission.	UNAVEM III	1985 – 1997	UN
9.	Un Transition Assistance Group in Namibia	UNTAG	1989 – 1990	UN
10.	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	MINURSO	1991	UN
11.	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission	UNIKOM	1991	UN
12.	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia	UNTAC	1992 - 1993	UN
13.	UN Operation in Somalia	UNOSOM I	1992 – 1995	UN
14.	UN Operation in Somalia	UNOSOM II	1992 – 1995	UN
15.	UN Operation in Mozambique	UNOMOZ	1992 – 1994	UN
16.	UN Protection Force (Yugoslavia).	UNPROFOR	1992 – 1995	UN
17.	UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda	UNAMIR	1993 – 1995	UN
18.	UN Confidence Restoration Operations in Croatia	UNCRO	1993 – 1995	UN
19.	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	UNMIBH	1993 – Date	UN
20.	United Nations Group in the Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad	UNASOG	1994	UN
21.	UN Mission Observer in Tajikistan	UNMOT	1994 – 2000	UN
22.	UN Preventive Deployment in Macedonia	UNPREDEP	1995 – 2000	UN
23.	UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slovenia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (Croatia)	UNTAES	1996 – 1998	UN
24.	UN Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina	UNMIBH	1995 – 2002	UN
25.	UN Observer Mission in Prevlaka	UNMOP	1996 – 2000	UN
26.	UN Mission in Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	1999 – Date	UN
27.	Democratic Republic of Congo	MONUC	2000-date	UN
28.	UN Transition Authority in East Timor	UNTAET	2000	UN
29.	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia	ECOMIL	Aug-Oct 03	ECOWAS
30.	UN Mission in Liberia	UNMIL	2003-Date	UN
31.	Nigeria Peace keeping Force in	TAPKM	1994-	OAU

	Tanzania			
32.	Chad Operation	OP HARMONY I	1979	OAU
33.	OAU Intervention Force in Chad	OP HARMONY II	1981-1982	OAU
34.	AU Monitoring Group in Rwanda	NMOG	1992 – 1993	OAU
35.	AU Mission in Sudan	AMIS	2004 – Date	OAU
36.	Operation LIBERTY	ECOMOG	1990 – 1997	ECOWAS
37.	UN Interim Mission in Kosovo	UNMIK	1991	UN
38.	Operation SANDSTORM	ECOMOG	1997 -2000	ECOWAS
39.	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti	MINUSTAH	2004	UN
40.	UN Emergency force I Syria (Golan Heights)	UNDOF		UN

Source: Sanda, J. G. (2005), Nigeria's Peacekeeping Efforts Outside Africa (1960-2005). A Broad Overview.

Population This is one of the elements or factors that have been argued for Nigeria's admission into the permanent seat of the Security Council of the United Nations. Thus, like China, one of the permanent members and India a new contender, Nigeria's population is seen as a booster in her quest for inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council. The current population of Nigeria is 185,088,132 based on the latest United Nations estimates (2015). This statistics shows that Nigeria has large population that can boost large market and stimulate demand for goods and services. This no doubt, will attract foreign investors that can contribute towards economic growth and development.

Natural resources Apart from having good climatic condition for agricultural production, she has a lot of mineral and oil deposits. These include zinc, iron ore, coal, bauxite, diamond, uranium, crude oil to mention but a few. Nigeria is the 6th largest oil producer in the world and a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Thus, because of large oil deposit which translates into huge revenue for the country, Nigeria is reckoned with by the international community. In the African continent, she plays a big brotherly role by assisting the poor and needy African countries. This singular privilege was evident in the support of ECOWAS activities especially the establishment of ECOMOG, a military unit to deal with issues of crises and wars in the West African sub-region during the civil wars of Liberia and Sierra-Leone

Nigeria's Leadership Role in the World, Africa and in Particular West Africa Sub-Region

Nigeria, a contender to one of the seats allotted to Africa in the proposed reform of the permanent seat of the Security Council has played leadership roles not only in the African context, but also at the global level. These roles shall be looked at from three

different perspectives including the world, Africa and West African Sub-region respectively.

1. **Global level** Since attainment of independence in 1960, and shortly after it became a member of the UN on 7th October, 1960 Nigeria has demonstrated commitment towards world peace and security. This is evident in the unassailable role of Nigeria in the chess board of international diplomacy which underscored her determined effort to secure a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. Notably, among the personages who have brought energy, dynamism and focus into the country's foreign policy are top flight diplomats like Chief Emeka Anyaoku (Former Secretary-General of the Common-Wealth) and successive foreign ministers, especially Chief Mathew Mbu, the late Major-General Joseph Nanven Garba (Soldier-diplomat and former Nigerian Permanent Representative in the UN), Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari (currently the Under-Secretary General of the UN and a member of the Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters), Prince Bola Ajibola (former Nigeria's Representative at the International Court of Justice, (ICJ), in the Hague and Ambassador Olu Adeniji , as well as international relations scholars like Prof. Joy Ogwo (the Director- General, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), and member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters), (Emeh Jnr, 2005). Other Nigerians who occupied many high positions in the UN agencies were the late Prof. Adeoye Lambo (Deputy Director-General of the World Health Organization) based in Vienna, Austria, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala and Dr. Oby Ezekwesili respectively were on the Board of the World Bank in the United States (The Guardian, 2009). Also Nigeria has been a member of the non-permanent Security Council of the UN, making it the fourth time she was elected into the council. The periods were 1966-1967, 1978 – 1979, 1994-1995 and 2010-2011(The Guardian, 2013). The late Teslim Elias was elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations to the International Court of Justice at the Hague in October, 1975 (ICJ, 1991).

Indeed, the way and manner Nigeria had asserted herself in the comity of Nations even before independence made African-Asian countries rally round support for her. As a matter of fact, if Nigeria did not speak of any issue at the UN, African-Asian countries would not support such issue. According to Chibundu (2009), "it was so glaring as they looked on Nigeria for leadership". He went further, "we fought for the increase of the representation and expansion of the UN council. Such moves gave birth to our foreign policy. That was how Liberia became a member of the UN, the first African country in the Economic and Social Council of the UN".

2. **African level** Nigeria is seen as the giant of Africa both in terms of population and huge natural resources. In the former, she is the most populated black African country in the world, with a population of about 185,088,132. In the latter, Nigeria has huge natural resources especially crude oil deposits which have made her a global player in the international politics.

However, Nigeria's leadership role in the African continent is apt and exemplary in the formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and now the African Union (AU) in 2002. After Nigeria became independent in 1960, she joined other independent African states in the quest for a continental body which could be used as a platform to fight for the independence of other African countries still under colonial yoke. Nigeria's desire for the Unity of African States culminated in the formation of OAU in 1963 despite the division of Africa into three groups, the Casablanca, Monrovia and Brazzaville of which Nigeria was a member of the Monrovia group, regarded as a moderate group. Besides, the former Nigeria's Attorney-General, the late Teslim Elias helped to draft the Charter establishing the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Protocol of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration (Bello & Ajibola, 1992),

Secondly, Africa is the center piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. In other words, Africa is given high premium in Nigeria's foreign policy decisions and actions. Similarly, in his inaugural address at the United Nations General Assembly on that occasion, late Alhaji (Sir) Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, not only outlined Nigeria's Foreign Policy objectives approved in the House of Representatives in Lagos on 20th August, 1960, he also suggested structural reforms to accommodate Third World countries, particularly Africa and Asia, in the United Nations Organisations (Balewa, 1960).

Consequent upon this foreign policy thrust of Nigeria, her resolve and commitment morally and financially to the liberation of African states under colonial yoke were intensified, total and unequivocal. Nigeria was involved in the struggle for the independence of frontline states such as South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, etc. In the 1960s, the ferocious campaign of the administration of Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa culminated in the Commonwealth being prevailed upon to expel South Africa from the Commonwealth games. Nigeria was consecutively given the privilege to chair the UN Committee on Apartheid from the 1970s until 1994, when the committee was dissolved following the emergence of majority rule in South Africa. Furthermore, in 1978, the then Head of State, Major General Olusegun Obasanjo went ahead to nationalize the British Petroleum, Shell BP and Barclays Bank over the white minority regime in South Africa in which Britain was accused of using her veto power to stop the United Nations from ending apartheid system in South Africa. Similarly, Nigeria ensured the expulsion of South Africa from the Board of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1977. By that time, South Africa by virtue of her possession of the most advanced nuclear programme in Africa was occupying the seat reserved for Africa. Egypt replaced South Africa which then had a modest nuclear programme (Adeniji, 2005).

West African Sub-Regional Level Nigeria is the leader of countries in West Africa. Her leadership role is exemplified in her avowed commitment to the moral and financial assistance, as well as peaceful co-existence of the countries in the West African Sub-region.

Nigeria played a prominent role in the formation of ECOWAS on 28th July, 1975 following the move which began in 1972 by the then Nigerian Head of State,

General Gowon and the former Togolese Head of State, General Eyadema. This was after previous efforts made by such countries like Liberia, Guinea, Sierra-Leone and Cote d'Ivoire between 1964 and 1965 failed to yield any positive result (ECOWAS, 1972).

In the area of peace keeping operations, Nigeria had committed both human and material resources for the restoration of peace in war torn countries like Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Somalia, etc. During the Liberian crises in the 80s, Nigeria single handedly sponsored the establishment of ECOMOG-ECOWAS Monitoring Group. As explained by Adeniji (2005: 69):

the powerlessness of Somalia's neighbours arose mostly from the absence of another Nigeria in that region to sustain an effective sub-regional action. Indeed, it has been estimated that the ECOMOG operation in Liberia draws 70% of its troops and 80% of its funding from Nigeria.

Nigeria also granted Charles Taylor, erstwhile President and warlord of Liberia , an asylum in Calabar until 2006 when the government of former President Olusegun Obasanjo transferred him to the war crime tribunal in Sierra-Leone.

Nigeria, under the leadership of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa championed the cause and vehemently opposed France's testing of her atomic bomb in Western Sahara in 1962. This action taken by Nigeria made her severe diplomatic ties with France. Apart from Ghana which condemned the tests but did not go to the extent of having to sever ties with France, other African countries appeared to prefer silence over the matter. As a result, France did whatever was possible to frustrate Nigeria's interests at the European Economic Community (Akinterinwa, 1999).

Technical Aids Corps (TAC) Although, the Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC) under the UN volunteer service was created in 1970, TAC scheme is a wholly-owned Nigerian initiative, which seeks to promote socio-economic development in friendly developing countries of the South. The Nigerian Technical Aids Corps was formally established in 1987 as a result of the desire by government to streamline the hitherto unco-ordinated foreign aid and technical assistance programme.

Since its inception, the scheme has given a boost to the conduct of the nation's foreign policy especially as it relates to continuing efforts in strengthening both sub-regional and regional cooperation. The scheme has equally revitalized South-South cooperation. It is presently operational in such countries as Fiji, Jamaica, Belize, the Gambia, Sierra-Leone, Benin Republic, etc (Daura, 2005).

An analysis of development of volunteers since the inception of the scheme in 1987, shows that there has been a progressive increase in the number of volunteers sent abroad by the Nigerian government. This trend emphasizes a growing interest by the recipient countries in the scheme and therefore an appreciation of its utility value in filling the professional manpower gaps in these countries (Daura, 2005).

Following the advent of democracy in 1999, there had been a tremendous increase in the number of volunteers sent aboard. The relevant development figures are shown below:

(a). First Batch: 1987/88 – 90

Medicine	-	35
Teaching	-	28
Engineering	-	8
Nursing	-	20
Accountancy	-	4
Land surveying	-	5
Law	-	1
Agriculture	-	2
Architecture	-	2
Total	=	<u>105</u>

(b). Second Batch: 1990 - 1992

Law	-	7
Sports	-	4
Medicine	-	10
Teaching	-	54
Engineering	-	10
Nursing	-	14
Accountancy	-	2
Architecture	-	2
Total	=	<u>103</u>

(c). Third Batch: 1992 – 1994

Medicine	-	55
Microbiology	-	3
Nursing	-	37
Engineering	-	15
Pharmacy	-	3
Teaching	-	65
Nurse Tutor	-	3
Agriculture	-	6
Surveying	-	6
Radiology	-	1
Total	=	<u>190</u>

(d). Fourth Batch: 1992/3 = 1995

Medicine	-	41
Teaching	-	85
Pharmacy	-	3

Law	-	8
Surveying	-	4
Microbiology	-	1
Accountancy	-	4
Med Lab Tech.	-	1
Nursing	-	36
Nurse tutor	-	11
Sports	-	5
Radiology	-	1
Engineering	-	4
Total	=	<u>204</u>

(e). Fifth Batch: 1994 = 1996

Agriculture	-	5
Law	-	4
Nursing	-	24
Medicine	-	66
Pharmacy	-	14
Engineering	-	7
Med. Lab Tech	-	5
Teaching	-	118
Accountancy	-	1
Radiography	-	3
Sports	-	6
Nurse tutor	-	24
Total	=	<u>277</u>

(f). Sixth Batch: 1997 = 1999

Teaching	-	61
Engineering	-	6
Pharmacy	-	8
Law	-	35
Nursing	-	45
Medicine	-	25
Sports	-	2
Med Lab Tech	-	5
Nurse Tutor	-	2
Accountancy	-	2
Agriculture	-	1
Total	=	<u>192</u>

(g). Seventh Batch: 1999 = 2001

Teaching	-	103
Medicine	-	43

Pharmacy	-	12
Nursing	-	59
Med. Lab Tech	-	11
Engineering	-	6
Agriculture	-	4
Nurse Tutor	-	7
Law	-	5
Sports	-	1
Total	=	<u>251</u>

(h). Eight Batch: 2002 = 2004

Nursing	-	52
Teaching	-	174
Pharmacy	-	24
Med Lab Tech	-	15
Nurse Tutor	-	18
Medicine	-	52
Sports	-	2
Surveying	-	9
Agriculture	-	6
Law	-	8
Engineering	-	15
Accountancy	-	5
Meteorology	-	1
Total	=	<u>381</u>

Source: Daura, M .M (2005), Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps Programme From Capacity –Building to International Confidence and Peace-Building : Nigeria and United Nations Security Council, Vantage Publishers Ibadan.

Comparatively, among the other contenders from African continent like Egypt and South Africa, Nigeria stands out on peace keeping operations, technical aids corps, etc. Though, South Africa looks more African in racial composition with 68% African population than Egypt, the country does not have a clout and international reputation which Nigeria has acquired or earned over the years in the course of her single minded commitment to African cause in the international arena. Nigeria with nearly 200 million population consisting of blacks will obviously show more representation of the black people in the UN than South Africa and Egypt put together. In terms of peace keeping activities, the country is one of the largest participants in the UN peace keeping operations around the world. Be it in the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo or Lebanon, Nigeria has performed creditably (The Punch, 2007). Also in the area of supplying technical manpower to needy countries in the Afro-Asian and Pacific, she has no rival. Infact, Nigeria's commitment to African issues or affairs is altruistic in the sense that she does not look forward to any reward for assisting in solving problems involving

African countries. Egypt on the other hand, is an Arabic country and therefore is less concerned with issues involving Africa. Invariably, her commitment and loyalty are more towards the Arab countries than African countries. In summing up Nigeria's commitment to African course, Akinterinwa (2005: 5), averred that:

...no (other) African country has done more than what Nigeria had done already for Africa, in terms of total commitment to the defence and promotion of African interests, maintenance of regional peace and security as well as promotion of regional cooperation and integration.

Arguments against Nigeria's Bid for Permanent Seat of the Security Council of the United Nations

The arguments against Nigeria's bid for the permanent seat of the Security Council of the UN are based on corruption and peacekeeping operations, economic capability, military technology, democratic practices and human rights abuses. With regard to peacekeeping operations, Nigeria is second to none as far as Africa is concerned. Nigeria is very outstanding in this area, and her records speak volume for her enormous contribution towards global peace, security and stability. However, even as laudable as our efforts are, our records are flawed. Monies remitted from UN, through Nigeria to soldiers and policemen are shortchanged. And these soldiers and policemen have complained loudly, a situation that lowered the country's esteem in the comity of nations (Daily Champion, 2007). This singular act challenges Nigeria's public life whose ethical tone stinks to the high heaven.

In the area of economic capability, given her domestic problems and lack of industrialization, she would not be able to carry the financial burden associated with such position in the UN. Consequently, Nigeria does not have the financial capability, needed for that exalted position in the face of local and international debt that stand at US\$60 billion (Osinbajo, 2015).

With respect to military capacity and technology, a country that is desirous of occupying such an exalted position, as a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN should have the capacity to manufacture high technology military hardware, and not to depend on importation which may be counter-productive in the event of diplomatic row between her and the country that she is importing from. The truth is that Nigeria does not possess nuclear power even though she is endowed with uranium, a natural resource to manufacture arms and ammunition.

Although, Nigeria re-embraced democracy in 1999, following the disengagement of the military from the politics and governance of the country, our electoral process has been characterized by electoral malpractices. Thus, in the general elections of 2003 and 2007, especially the 2007 elections, there was an overwhelming evidence that the election was massively rigged. This was evident in the various concerns expressed in very strong terms by the courts and the admission of President Umaru Yar' Adua himself, that the election was flawed (Enabulele & Ewere, 2010).

On human rights, despite our return to democratic governance since 1999, our human rights record and posture do not portray Nigeria as a country that respects and

upholds the human rights of its people. This is evident in two incidences among several others where injustices were meted to innocent citizens through flagrant abuse of their fundamental human rights by way of extra judicial killings and illegal detention without prosecution by government agencies. The recent killing of nine (9) Nigerians in a controversial manner by men of the DSS at an uncompleted building allegedly owned by a senior army officer in Apo Quarters, Abuja is instructive. This incident generated reactions from both individuals and groups who condemned the action of the security agents. According to Arewa Consultative Forum (2013), "It is against the backdrop that ACF calls on the authorities to thoroughly investigate the incident for the purpose of enabling Nigerians and the world to know the truth needed for inspiring confidence in the nation's intelligence community for public good". In this incident, the Directorate of State Security (DSS) claimed that they carried out the raid to recover hidden weapons, but they began to fire them after they were allegedly shot at by the suspected terrorists. However, some survivors of the incident said the building was indeed inhabited by homeless artisans, drivers, Okada riders and hawkers who could not afford the very expensive rent in Abuja. A similar incident occurred at Edo State where a 500 Level student of the Faculty of Laboratory Science, University of Benin was allegedly killed by a DPO. The security agent alleged that the student was carrying a gun and he wanted to shoot her men on patrol before he was shot dead in self defence (ACF, 2013). However, Ebohon Rebecca Egbe, the elder sister to the victim dismissed the police report, which she claimed as mere allegation and narrated how the DPO, Carol Afegbua was fingered in the complicity over killing her brother, Momodu Ibrahim, and buried him the next day without the family's knowledge (ACF, 2013).

Finally, on political stability, a country is said to be politically stable where there exists transparent and effective leadership, good governance, security of lives and property, good electoral system that can guarantee free, fair and credible elections, etc. However, the numerous challenges confronting Nigeria especially insurgency in the north east among others, are capable of impinging on the political stability of the country.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Summary

Since the establishment of UN in 1945, and the use of veto power by the five permanent members of the Security Council which include US, USSR (Russia), UK, France and China, there has been agitation for reform by other members including Nigeria. Nigeria's bid for inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN is undermined by the following factors; peacekeeping operations, population, natural resources, Nigeria's leadership role in the world, Africa and West African sub-region. In spite of the favourable elements, there are great impediments to her ambition. These are as follows; economic incapacity occasioned by huge indebtedness, lack of military capacity and technology, human rights abuses, etc.

Conclusion

Nigeria's quest for inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations following the proposed reform of the organization in general and in particular the organ, is pilloried against the backdrop of numerous problems. These problems include political, economic, absence of military technology, poor human rights record, etc. The study finds out that these problems constitute great impediments to Nigeria's quest as one of the two contenders from the African continent into the United Nations Security Council permanent seat. The study concludes that these challenges; political, economic, lack of military technology and poor human rights record will impinge on Nigeria's quest and chances for the exalted position in the United Nations Security Council.

Recommendations

With regard to the findings of the study, we therefore make the following recommendations.

- Nigeria should concentrate and make frantic efforts towards solving her domestic problems which are very critical to her desire and aspiration for the permanent seat, before tending to solve other countries problems around the globe.
- Besides, she can still exercise power at the international system through the regional Security platforms such as African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

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