ASSESSEMENT OF NIGERIA'S BID FOR A PERMANENT SEAT AT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY KEFFI, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF SCIENCE (M.Sc.) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

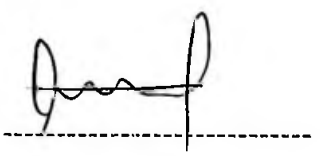
(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

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MAY, 2021

DECLARATION

I MOHAMMED KABIRU humbly declare that this work entitled **EVALUATION OF NIGERIA'S BID FOR A PERMANENT SEAT AT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL** is a result of my research effort carried out in the Faculty of Social Sciences, Nasarawa State University, Keffi under the supervision of Prof. Jideofor Adibe. I further wish to declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University or institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.



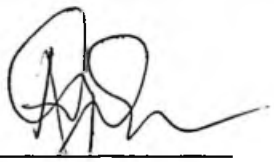
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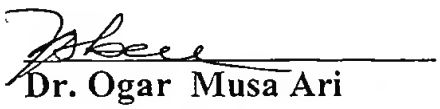
CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled **"Assessment Of Nigeria's Bid For A Permanent Seat At The United Nation Security Council"** by Mohammad Kabir meets the regulations governing the award of Master Degree in political science (International Relations), of the school of postgraduate studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nasarawa State University, keffi, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.



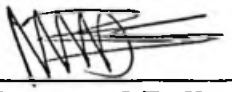
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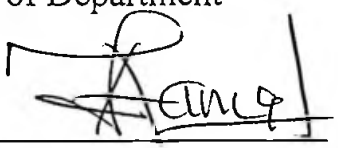
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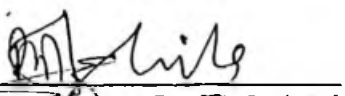
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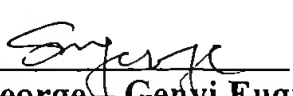
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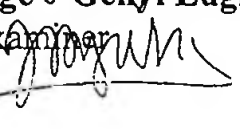
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to Almighty Allah, the most merciful and most gracious God and I also dedicate this work to my father Alhaji Mohammed Abdullahi and my wonderful and supportive mother Hajiya Halimah Aliyu for their support towards the completion of my Postgraduate Programme. May Almighty Allh bless you abundantly Ameen.

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The efforts of my lecturers, Prof. Abdullahi Nuhu Liman former Dean of Social Science, Prof. Eugene Aliegba, Dr. Bello M.B, HOD Political Science Department, Prof. Asisi Asobie, Prof. Ibrahim Shuaibu, Dr. Jacho, Associate Prof. Abu Tom, Dr. Philip Ajeh, Dr. Ari Musa, Dr. Modibbo, Dr. Naomi, Dr. Bello M.B, Dr. Abdullahi M. Abdul in Political Science Department that have impacted me in one way or the other are noticed and appreciated.

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I also appreciate my humble self, indeed God is not a man, I thank him for his support and strength which he has imbibed in me that keeps me moving. I promise I will keep the stone rolling until I reach the top and will never give up because one with God Almighty is majority.

Finally, I sincerely apologize to anyone whose name I may have inadvertently omitted here, it is of course, left for me to say that any contribution they made in the pursuit is instrumental to the success of this task.

I also appreciate a brother. friend and a guardian in person of Genesis Tersoo Anyula M.sc, for his support and guidance throughout my research work. Indeed, you are a genius, I see a future Professor and a political gladiator in Nigeria.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UN – United Nations.

UNSC – United Nations Security Council.

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

SA - South Africa.

BRICS – Top Strong Emerging Economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

NAM – Non-Aligned Movement.

P-5 – Five Permanent Members of the Security Council (US, Russia, China, Britain and France)

WWI – World War I.

WWII - World War II.

G4 - The four countries of Germany, Japan, Brazil and India that are jointly seeking permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

UFC - Uniting for Consensus formerly the coffee club used in designating those countries that vehemently oppose the idea of granting either permanent seat or veto to member countries of the G4.

ABSTRACT

This work set out to evaluate Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council. The study adopts the rational actor model theoretical postulation as a tool of analysis. The study essentially implores both the primary and secondary methods of collecting and analyzing data through the use of interview, relevant texts, documentaries, journals as well as internet sources. This study vehemently believes that the structure and composition of the United Nations Security Council must definitely be reformed and reorganized to reflect the wide and varied membership of the organisation. Both the qualitative description and quantitative informations brings simplicity and coherence to the work. The findings reveal that Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat has been inherently bedeviled wit challenges such as insecurity, systemic corruption, mal-administration and governmental ineptitude. While observing that there exists a fundamental need to reform and enlarge both the membership and voting pattern in the Security Council in order to reflect geopolitical realities of the 21st Century by making both the organisation and the Security Council in particular to appear democratic while at the same time enhancing its efficiency and legitimacy around the world.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

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 (Bayle, 2000).

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 (Puth, 2005).

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 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 theSecurity 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.

This work therefore seeks to evaluate Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This research assessed Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council to an appreciable extent revealing the respective contention that have continued to arise forthwith.

There has been general argument by member state at the UN over time that the Security Council is an unrepresentative relic and that its composition is a throwback to the immediate Post-World War II global order. Several recommendations for expanding the Council have been proposed since the end of the Cold War. For instance, the Commission on Global Governance recommended establishing a new class of five standing members, the intent of which would be to reduce the status of permanent membership; increasing the number of "non-permanent" members from ten to thirteen; and eliminating the veto, except for very exceptional and overriding circumstances related to the national interests of the major powers.

The mind seeks to reconcile them over time, if necessary by substantially modifying one of them or by denying its validity altogether in order to relieve the dissonance. Politics, of course, holds innumerable examples of the phenomenon. At the United Nations, there may be no starker case than that of the protracted and polarizing matter of Security Council reform. On one hand, judging by public statements, it is generally accepted that the Security Council is long overdue for a major overhaul. The calls for its radical reform have come with such frequency and from so many quarters, as to qualify as common wisdom.

In this connection Japan and Germany, the second- and third-biggest contributors to the UN budget, have been campaigning for permanent seat status on the Council. India, the world's second most populous country, and Brazil, Latin America's biggest country, also have designs on achieving permanent status on the Council. These four states have banded together to press their case before the UN membership, and they are joined in spirit by the Africans, who want two seats for their continent (perhaps Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa).

None of these proposals for UN Security Council expansion is likely to go far. However, China mistrusts Japan. Italy opposes a permanent seat for Germany and has instead proposed a single permanent seat for the European Union. However, while these group of scholars and existing literature on the issue of United Nations Security Council reform largely succeeded in providing the descriptive analysis of the need to reform the United Nations Security Council and the on-going bid by some perceived "developing nations" in all the geo-political regions of the universe for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council is very informative; it contains neither a thorough discussion of the potential strategies for obtaining a permanent seat nor a theoretical framework that might be used to further analyze the bids for these group of countries seeking permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council.

Fundamentally, this research is an effort towards contemplating the following problematic; the problem of inadequate conceptualization of concepts and operationalization of the United Nations within the framework of international law.

The problem of determining the validity of Nigeria's position in her bid for the United Nations Security Council, despite several claims by the state.

A lot of criticisms have been leveled against Nigeria in her bid for the permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council by scholars, researchers and practitioners.

Considering the enormous human and material resources that are inherently accruable in the Nigerian State, the country still battles with several societal ills such as underdevelopment, bad leadership, corruption, illiteracy, hunger and starvation, to mention a few.

Nigeria is unarguably the giant of Africa and the country over time have continued to play a leading role as far as the African continent is concerned. This development has obviously reflected towards the decolonization of several African Countries, peace keeping missions, apartheid as well as the projection of Africa in the international system.

Going by the afore-mentioned, one would confidently argue that Nigeria is more than qualified for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security council.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to effectively evaluate Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council, the research will be set to answer the following questions;

i. What are the arguments by Nigeria in her bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council?
ii. What are the challenges facing Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council?
iii. How can those challenges be overcome?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this research is to evaluate Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council, while the specific objectives are stated as follows:

i. To examine the argument used by Nigeria in her bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

ii. To ascertain the challenges facing Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

iii. To proffer on how to overcome the challenges militating against Nigeria's quest for a permanent set Act the United Nations Security Council.

1.5 Research Propositions

The study will be based on the following Research propositions:

i. The arguments raised by Nigeria in her bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council includes human and materials endowments.

ii. The challenges facing Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council include insecurity, corruption and racism.

iii. These challenges can be overcome through a concerted effort by the African continent and a political will on the part of the Nigerian leadership.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study has both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, the study will provide a comprehensive insight into the looming and cyclical issue of United Nations reforms, especially in to the United Nations Security Council reform by giving a detailed account of both the remote and immediate factors that necessitate the call for the reformation of the structure of the council and its voting pattern; it will also account for the reasons why the current veto wielding members (the so-called big five) have been giving the move a sort 8 of lip service

and lackadaisical attitude, rather than giving the issue the seriousness and attention that it deserved.

It will also provide the reading public with a clear cut meaning and nature of the functions of the United Nations Security Council, its structure and the provision of the United Nations Charter as it regards the membership and power of the Security Council. It shall equally add to the extant body of literature that borders on United Nations Reform and the Quest for permanent seat in the world especially as it concerns Africa, which Nigeria is part and is vehemently positioning itself as the beautiful bride to be crowned with one out of the two proposed slots (seats) that is to be allocated to Africa.

Practically, it shall be of immense benefit to diplomats, public policy formulators, politicians and high level representative at the international level especially policy makers that are saddled with the task of devising appropriate institutional mechanisms for the smooth and foreign policy thrust that will enable their home government to adequately lobby and canvass for the its allocation or (s)election. For the United Nations Security Council, It will also provide the basis to scholars for further research into the United Nations Reform and the expansion of the composition of the security for both the permanent and non-permanent categories.

With the availability of existing scholarly literature however, most scholars, researchers and practitioners have asserted severally about the giant strides Nigeria have continued to record in the African sub-region, in terms of decolonization, peace-keeping and the advocacy for effective collaboration in order to move Africa forward. Very little is been saved about the wastefulness that accrue such flamboyant gestures

by Nigeria over time, which would have been properly channeled towards enhancing the developmental strides of the country.

The study will be carried out with the aim of understanding the salient issues that are contingent in Nigeria's bid for the permanent seat of the United Nations Security Council. This study is largely significant because the findings will highlight the implications of such agitation by the independent sovereign state, thereby serving as a requisite guide to countries who intend to make such contestations.

The study will be of tremendous benefit to policy makers on how to effectively manage such cases in the future. The study will also reflect on the issues raised about Nigeria's contestation of the exalted seat, as it affects the international security arrangement.

The study would largely serve as a veritable source of relevant material for future researchers in international relations and diplomatic studies.

Lastly, the study will be an addition to knowledge to researchers in the discipline of political science and international relations, international affairs generally as well as international law.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study will be focused on Nigeria's bid for the permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council. To this end, the study will also center on Nigeria's ascension of the non-permanent seat of the United Nations Security Council.

The scope of this study thereby covers the issues that have continued to arise from Nigeria's contestation of the United Nations permanent seat right from 2014 to date and how such issues may affect the entirety of international peace and security.

The period 2014 has been chosen particularly as a result of the fact that Nigeria successfully emerged a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security council.

This is particularly due to the dynamic and continually evolving nature of the subject matter and in other to avoid delving into other unconnected issues.

1.8 Organization of the Study

Chapter one is generally centered on the introductory notes, comprising of the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, research propositions, scope of the study and organization of the study.

Chapter two however, essentially dwells on the conceptual framework, empirical review, theoretical framework, relevance to the theory and the summary of the literature gap.

Chapter three is the research methodology which is on the research design, population, sample and sampling techniques, methods of data analysis and justification of methods.

Chapter four dwells substantially on data presentation and analysis. The findings evidently derived from the study has been essentially discussed.

Chapter five is focused on the summary, conclusion and recommendations. The research gives an insight into the limitation of the study as well as suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Permanent Seat at the United Nation Security Council

The permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (also known as the Permanent Five, Big Five, or P5) are the five states which the UN Charter of 1945 grants a permanent seat on the UN Security Council: China (formerly the Republic of China), France, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), the United Kingdom, and the United States. These countries were all allies in World War II, which turned out victorious. They are also all nuclear weapons states. A total of 15 UN member states serve on the UNSC, the remainder of which are elected. Any one of the five permanent members have the power of veto, which enables them to prevent the adoption of any "substantive" draft Council resolution, regardless of its level of international support (Davis, 2001).

At the UN's founding in 1945, the five permanent members of the Security Council were the French Republic, the Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. There have been two seat changes since then, although not reflected in Article 23 of the United Nations Charter as it has not been accordingly amended:

In 1971, UN General Assembly Resolution 2758 recognised the Government of People's Republic of China as the legal representative of China in the UN, and gave it the seat on the Security Council that had been held by the Republic of China, which was expelled from the UN altogether. Both governments still officially claim one another's territory. However, only 16 states continue to officially recognise the Republic of China's sovereignty (Immanuel, 2000).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia was recognised as the legal successor state of the Soviet Union and maintained the latter's position on the Security Council. Additionally, France reformed its provisional government into the French Fourth Republic in 1946 and later into the French Fifth Republic in 1958, both under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle. France maintained its seat as there was no change in its international status or recognition, although many of its overseas possessions eventually became independent (Thomson, 2005).

2.1.2 Establishment of United Nation

The General Assembly decided during the second part of its first session in London to locate its permanent headquarters in New York. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., donated land for a building site in Manhattan. Temporary headquarters were established at Lake Success on Long Island, New York. The permanent Secretariat building was completed and occupied in 1951–52. The building providing accommodations for the General Assembly and the councils was completed and occupied in 1952 (Kante, 2000).

The UN flag, adopted in 1947, consists of the official emblem of the organization (a circular world map, as seen from the North Pole, surrounded by a wreath of olive branches) in white centred on a light blue background. The Assembly designated October 24 as United Nations Day (Nolla, 1995).

(international organization established on October 24, 1945. The United Nations (UN) was the second multipurpose international organization established in the 20th century that was worldwide in scope and membership. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, was created by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and disbanded in 1946. Headquartered in New York City, the UN also has regional offices in Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi. Its official languages are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. For a list of UN member countries and secretaries-general (Hans, 1991).

In addition to maintaining peace and security, other important objectives include developing friendly relations among countries based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; achieving worldwide cooperation to solve international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems; respecting and promoting human rights; and serving as a centre where countries can coordinate their actions and activities toward these various ends (Paul, 2006).

The UN formed a continuum with the League of Nations in general purpose, structure, and functions; many of the UN's principal organs and related agencies were adopted from similar structures established earlier in the century. In some respects, however, the UN constituted a very different organization, especially with regard to its objective of maintaining international peace and security and its commitment to economic and social development.

Changes in the nature of international relations resulted in modifications in the responsibilities of the UN and its decision-making apparatus. Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union deeply affected the UN's security functions during its first 45 years. Extensive post-World War II decolonization in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East increased the volume and nature of political, economic, and social issues that confronted the organization. The Cold War's end in 1991 brought renewed attention and appeals to the UN. Amid an increasingly volatile geopolitical climate, there were new challenges to established practices and functions, especially in the areas of conflict resolution and humanitarian assistance. At the beginning of the 21st century, the UN and its programs and affiliated agencies struggled to address humanitarian crises and civil wars, unprecedented refugee flows, the devastation caused by the spread of AIDS, global financial disruptions, international terrorism, and the disparities in wealth between the world's richest and poorest peoples (Liman, 2000).

The purposes, principles, and organization of the United Nations are outlined in the Charter. The essential principles underlying the purposes and functions of the organization are listed in Article 2 and include the following: the UN is based on the sovereign equality of its members; disputes are to be settled by peaceful means; members are to refrain from the threat or use of force in contravention of the purposes of the UN; each member must assist the organization in any enforcement actions it takes under the Charter; and states that are not members of the organization are required to act in accordance with these principles insofar as it is necessary to maintain international peace and security.

Article 2 also stipulates a basic long-standing norm that the organization shall not intervene in matters considered within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. Although this was a major limitation on UN action, over time the line between international and domestic jurisdiction has become blurred (Clarke, 2002).

New members are admitted to the UN on the recommendation of the Security Council and by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. Often, however, the admittance of new members has engendered controversy. Given Cold War divisions between East and West, the requirement that the Security Council's five permanent members (sometimes known collectively as the P-5)—China, France, the Soviet Union (whose seat and membership were assumed by Russia in 1991), the United Kingdom, and the United States—concur on the admission of new members at times posed serious obstacles. By 1950 only 9 of 31 applicants had been admitted to the organization. In 1955 the 10th Assembly proposed a package deal that, after modification by the Security Council, resulted in the admission of 16 new states (4 eastern European communist states and 12 non-communist countries). The most contentious application for membership was that of the communist People's Republic of China, which was placed before the General Assembly and blocked by the United States at every session from 1950 to 1971. Finally, in 1971, in an effort to improve its relationship

with mainland China, the United States refrained from blocking the Assembly's vote to admit the People's Republic and to expel the Republic of China (Taiwan): there were 76 votes in favour of expulsion, 35 votes opposed, and 17 abstentions. As a result, the Republic of China's membership and permanent Security Council seat were given to the People's Republic (Nath, 2005).

Controversy also arose over the issue of "divided" states, including the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), North and South Korea, and North and South Vietnam. The two German states were admitted as members in 1973; these two seats were reduced to one after the country's reunification in October 1990. Vietnam was admitted in 1977, after the defeat of South Vietnam and the reunification of the country in 1975. The two Koreas were admitted separately in 1991.

Following worldwide decolonization from 1955 to 1960, 40 new members were admitted, and by the end of the 1970s there were about 150 members of the UN. Another significant increase occurred after 1989–90, when many former Soviet republics gained their independence. By the early 21st century the UN comprised nearly 190 member states (Clement, 1995).

2.1.3 United Nation Security Council

The UN Charter assigns to the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council originally consisted of 11 members—five permanent and six non-permanent—elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. From the beginning, non-permanent members of the Security Council were elected to give representation to certain regions or groups of states. As membership increased, however, this practice ran into difficulty. An amendment to the UN Charter in 1965 increased the council's membership to 15, including the original five permanent members plus 10 non-permanent members. Among the permanent members, the People's Republic of China replaced the

Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1971, and the Russian Federation succeeded the Soviet Union in 1991. After the unification of Germany, debate over the council's composition again arose, and Germany, India, and Japan each applied for permanent council seats.

The non-permanent members are chosen to achieve equitable regional representation, five members coming from Africa or Asia, one from eastern Europe, two from Latin America, and two from western Europe or other areas. Five of the 10 non-permanent members are elected each year by the General Assembly for two-year terms, and five retire each year. The presidency is held by each member in rotation for a period of one month.

Each Security Council member is entitled to one vote. On all "procedural" matters—the definition of which is sometimes in dispute—decisions by the council are made by an affirmative vote of any nine of its members. Substantive matters, such as the investigation of a dispute or the application of sanctions, also require nine affirmative votes, including those of the five permanent members holding veto power. In practice, however, a permanent member may abstain without impairing the validity of the decision. A vote on whether a matter is procedural or substantive is itself a substantive question. Because the Security Council is required to function continuously, each member is represented at all times at the UN's headquarters in New York City.

Any country—even if it is not a member of the UN may bring a dispute to which it is a party to the attention of the Security Council. When there is a complaint, the council first explores the possibility of a peaceful resolution. International peacekeeping forces may be authorized to keep warring parties apart pending further negotiations. If the council finds that there is a real threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression (as defined by Article 39 of the UN Charter), it may call upon UN members to apply diplomatic or economic sanctions. If these methods prove inadequate, the UN Charter allows the Security Council to take military action against the offending country.

During the Cold War, continual disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union coupled with the veto power of the Security Council's permanent members made the Security Council an ineffective institution. Since the late 1980s, however, the council's power and prestige have grown. Between 1987 and 2000 it authorized more peacekeeping operations than at any previous time.

The use of the veto has declined dramatically, though disagreements among permanent members of the Security Council most notably in 2003 over the use of military force against Iraq—have occasionally undermined the council's effectiveness. To achieve consensus, comparatively informal meetings are held in private among the council's permanent members, a practice that has been criticized by non- permanent members of the Security Council.

2.1.4 International Law

International law is the set of rules, agreements and treaties that are binding between countries. When sovereign states enter into agreements that are binding and enforceable, it's called international law. Countries come together to make binding rules that they believe benefit their citizens. International laws promote peace, justice, common interests and trade (Bath, 2000).

International laws apply to governments. It's up to each state government to implement and follow international laws. A country's laws apply to citizens and other people that are present in the country. However, it's up to the country's governing authority to apply international law and keep their agreements with the other countries that are involved (Luka, 2005).

2.1.5 Diplomacy

Diplomacy refers to the management of international relations through negotiations. It entails the process of bargaining among countries in order to reduce areas of disagreement in the

economy of the state. It means redefining one's interest and trying to strike a balance acceptable to both parties. which cannot fully satisfy the two parties involved, but they will be satisfied with the compromise reached. Diplomacy by compromise helps to reduce areas of disagreement on issues over which agreement cannot otherwise, be reached. A basic issue in diplomacy is that it is a means to an end. an instrument out of other instruments, adopted to realize foreign policy objectives (Dunmoye, 2000). From the definition of Dunmoye above, it can be seen that the best way for a country to achieve her foreign policy is through the use of diplomacy; this shows that no country can achieve her economic, political and social interest in the global politics without embracing the tact of diplomacy.

According to Asobie (1991), diplomacy is generally defined as "the method by which international relations are managed and adjusted by ambassadors and envoys, that is, by those trained in the art of peaceful management of international relation. When, however, bargaining is tacit, diplomacy could take the form of fighting aimed at establishing leverage over an opponent in negotiations. Such leverage will come in useful, in either an on-going or in future, negotiations. It is in this sense that "war is said to be a continuation of diplomacy by other means". The position by Asobie, shows that for a state to achieve diplomatic relations with other sovereign states, it is imperative for them to appoint individuals, who serve as ambassadors, diplomats and foreign envoys that negotiate the interest of their state government in international community.

According to Coolsaet (1998), narrowly conceived in the manner defined earlier, diplomacy is different from foreign policy. While foreign policy is the substantive aspect of external relations, diplomacy is the procedural aspect. In this restricted sense, diplomacy is the process of putting into effect the foreign policy of nation states. It consists of strategies and tactics for implementing foreign policy. It is therefore distinct from the substantive formulation of a nation's goals and objectives in its relations with other actors in the

international systems. This study agrees with the postulation of Coolsaet, as it explains precisely the differences between diplomacy and foreign policy. The author also succeeded in x-raying how foreign policy is often carried out by nation -states and the manner in which diplomacy is used to achieve states foreign policy objectives. Coolsaet, (1998, P.23) stressed that: "it should be noted, however, that, though in principle, a distinction may be made between foreign policy as substantive and legislative and diplomacy as procedural and executive, in practice, both diplomacy and foreign policy are complementary. In some cases, they are even indistinguishable".

According to Tawaih (2010), diplomacy is the art of conducting and implementing foreign policy. It is the process by which diplomats seek to achieve foreign policy goals through the instrumentality of negotiations and bargaining by state and non - state actors. The essence of diplomacy is bargaining, which involves the use of both the carrot and stick, because of the importance attached to economic diplomacy, some nations appoint highly specialized commercial diplomats. Economic welfare is a key preoccupation of the foreign and domestic policies of a state. The paramount objective of diplomacy for any state is the creation and maintenance of adequate safeguards for continued existence and for mutual advantage of actors; as it enabled them to individually and collectively compromise their position and nevertheless, still end up achieving some of their important national interest. It is of worthy to note that the essence of diplomacy is the actualization of a state national interest. According to Raymond (2002), diplomacy evolved over time and so did its definition and the professional identity of diplomats. The recorded history of diplomacy dates back to ancient Greece and has evolved over time. Important contributions to the diplomatic method have been made at different times in recorded history particularly during the periods of Italian city-states, in France before and after the French revolution and in England starting with Industrialization and expansion of its empire. Systematic contributions have mostly been

made in the USA especially after WWII with the start of large-scale social science research aiming at analyzing and understanding behaviour of international negotiators.

According to Fafowora (2009), as recent history teaches, however, conflicts might again involve non-state actors. The 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York, involving a state (USA) and its allies (mostly OECD Countries) are facing a non-state actor (Al-Qaeda) working world-wide through various networks and alliances. This Eurocentric character of the Westphalian system might not fit the globalised world of today and tomorrow. In addition to national states, there are now also sub-national actors (e.g. regions like Lander of Germany), supranational actors (e.g. EU, NAFTA) and non - state actors (e.g. NGOs and enterprises). Which are all partaking in the shaping of international relations? In line with this, proliferation of actors involved in international relations and diplomatic activities, Melissen (1999,) offers the most succinct definition of contemporary foreign policy and diplomacy by stating: "Diplomacy is defined as the mechanism of representation and negotiation and through which states and other international actors conduct their business".

Melissens definition best mirrors and captures the post - modern nature of diplomacy that is characterized by the simultaneous participation of multiple state and non - state actors. While greater representation and participation of diverse interest groups; leads to a democratization of the political processes at the national and global levels. It also makes diplomacy and international relations vulnerable to fragmentation and possible outbreaks of conflicts due to potential paralysis caused by too many states and non - state actors with often mutually exclusive policy goals.

According to Theodore (2010), today, diplomatic services place virtually equal emphasis on political and economic work. Rich countries and developing nations alike consider the mobilization of inward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and export promotion as the essence of advancing interests in foreign countries. Over a dozen nations around the world use the

Australian and Canadian model of an integrated ministry that handles foreign affairs and external trade: others like UK have achieved similar unity of action with joint collaborative diplomacy. i.e the essence of diplomacy is economic comfort for a state.

Diplomacy's role in foreign policy is hampered by multiple understandings of what diplomacy is and does. A broad definition of diplomacy holds that it encompasses more than the promotion of peaceful international relations. Instead, it applies to the sum of those relations peaceful, hostile, and everything in between. Thus, foreign relations so long as they involve the interests, direction, and actions of a sovereign power may be regarded as being synonymous with diplomatic relations, whereby foreign policy relates to the theory and practice of setting diplomatic priorities; planning for contingencies; advancing strategic, operational, and tactical diplomatic aims; and adjusting those aims to domestic and foreign constraints. This conception of diplomacy is functional: it emphasizes the roles of diplomats and recognizes that many other people perform these roles besides official envoys; and it illustrates that diplomatic settings and the means, methods, and tools of diplomacy undergo continuous change. The basic mediating purpose of diplomacy, however, has endured, as has much of its institutional apparatus embassies, ambassadors, treaties, and so on. This is likely to remain the case so long as there are multiple polities in the world, all having to relate to one another (Blitz, 2010).

2.1.6 National Interest

The notion of national interest is vague and so it is difficult to give a precise definition of the term. In spite of that, national interest is defined as the general long term and continuing purpose which the states, nation and the government see themselves as serving. The national interest of a state is rooted in the social consciousness and in the cultural identity of a people. In other words, the national interest of a state is a product of social values which the people

have. In practice, the national interest of a country is synthesized and checked by political leaders or policy makers. That is why national interest is defined as "what policy makers say it is" The national interest of a country is the interest of its leaders. It may also be the interest of a group such as the bourgeoisie or proletariat depending on which class is in power. It may as well be the interest of the king. Babagida (1986) maintained that he would like to think of national interest as national security interest. This is because to him the concept of national interest has become so vague and elastic. We have been warned by social scientists that national security has many tangible ingredients which may be more menacing than external military threat. It can take subtle forms such as subversion of core values through economic sabotage, counterfeiting, drug trafficking, espionage, and cultural subversion.

We are all aware of the damage which these elements can cause on a nation's psyche and survival. National security interest can be used to refer to such concepts as "self-preservation", self-defence", and even "survival". In short national security means that the state should survive. It means it should live without serious threat to all values that are regarded as important or vital (Emma 1991). Nigeria's. national interest objectives as identified under the new economic diplomacy were: the promotion of export trade; inflow of foreign direct investment; and inflow of external public loans and grants as well as debt rescheduling.

These National interest objectives continued to chart Nigeria's foreign policy trajectories to varying degrees all through the protracted military rule in Nigeria, and the drafters of the 1999 constitution did little to elucidate Nigeria's national interest beyond providing in Section 19(a) that Nigeria's foreign policy objectives shall be "promotion and protection of the national interest'. It was therefore left to the civilian administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo, which assumed the reins of leadership in 1999 to articulate Nigeria's national interest and the appropriate policy tools for the realization of such interests. In his inaugural

speech on 29 May, 1999, he clearly identified one of the priority issues, which his administration must deal with as the debt question. Accordingly, he called 'on the world, particularly the Western World to help us sustain democracy by sharing with us the burden of debt, which may be crushing and destructive to democracy in our land' (Obasanjo, 1999). President Olusegun Obasanjo began a new brand of diplomacy that was aimed at achieving debt relief for Nigeria.

2.2 Empirical Review

2.2.1 Arguments used by Nigeria in her bid for a permanent seat at the U.N Security Council

There is no doubt that Nigeria is presently and for a while, for that matter have, been embroiled in a myriad of social, economic and political problems. These problems include endemic religious and ethnic bloody conflicts; epidemic power shortages; bankrupt educational system; institutional corruption; stratospheric unemployment; 419 scourge; out of control armed robbery, assassinations and mayhem; and, total lack of essential social amenities, to name but a few. It is therefore criminal for our leaders to abandon urgent efforts that are needed to confront these critical problems in preference to chasing a pipe dream (Abdul, 2015).

The decision to set it up and the fanfare with which it was inaugurated by the Vice President is nothing but a ruse to divert attention from the failure of the present administration to grapple with its constitutional and ethical obligations to the nation. The current quest for this seat is uncanningly akin to the now-abandoned but the hitherto much vaunted quest for foreign investors. Like the search for foreign investment, this new fad will suffer the same fate, to wit, a consignment to the scrap heap of ignominious history (Luke, 2010).

In typical Nigerian fashion, the President and his Vice have rolled out the red carpet and have mobilized our scarce human and material resources to chase this fleeting fancy. A 28 member committee headed by retired General A. Abubakar have already been constituted and charged with the task of selling this campaign. The committee has among its members the deputy president of senate, the deputy speaker of the federal house. nine state governors and several public servants and eminent Nigerians. It calls to the question the justification for yanking these governors and members of the national assembly away from their constitutional mandate and obligations to their various constituencies and states to the pursuit of a project which has no real effect on the everyday live of the average Nigerian.

Pretty soon these public servants will abandon their duties and embark on yet another world jamboree. At the end of the day Nigeria will not be successful and they would in turn have lost precious time and effort that could have been channeled towards making a real difference to the lives of their constituents. The President has once again dusted his "globe-trot mobile" in a vain attempt to push an agenda that has no chance of success and if the truth be told, no substantive benefit to Nigeria and Nigerians (Peterson, 2001).

Having laid the premise, let us have a critical look at Nigeria's chance of landing this seat. There is a proposal to assign five seats to the continent of Africa in the proposed expanded Security Council. Three of the seats would be rotational whilst two seats will be permanent. It seems to me that if Nigeria is interested in one of the rotational seats she would not have any problem securing it. It is also reasonable to assume that of the two permanent seats allotted to Africa, one is most likely to go to North Africa leaving the remaining for East, West and Southern Africa. If that is the case. it is not far fetched to assume that apart from Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa and perhaps Kenya would also be interested in that seat. While one believes that Nigeria might have the upper hand in a contest with Ghana and/or Kenya,

regrettably, South Africa would be an insurmountable obstacle to Nigeria. I will explain momentarily (Luke, 2006).

Several factors would tilt the balance in favour of South Africa. One, the erroneous perception overseas that Nigeria is a haven for criminals and that Nigerians foster criminal enterprise all over the globe is the most damaging argument against this quest. The fact that for several years now, Nigeria has taken a permanent seat on the top two of Transparency International's most corrupt nations in the world is a fact that speaks for itself. The 419 scourge and the inability or unwillingness of the Nigerian government to put any real effort in combating it will exert a terrible price on this quest (Justice, 2011).

In a discussion with some people in the United States recently, a Korean national pointedly asked me whether there is any guarantee that if Nigeria is given this seat, her representative would not take bribe to influence her vote to pass or veto an important resolution in the Council. I was dumbfounded and confounded by that thought. I did not know what the answer to that would be. Your guess is as good as mine.

Second, it is a little known secret that the United States does not quite trust Nigeria because they feel that Nigeria leans too much towards Europe given her colonial past. Conversely, Europe is not quite trusting of Nigeria and they are not quite sure that Nigeria (if she is given a permanent seat on the Council) would not be amenable and pliable to pressure from the United States. Nigeria is therefore seating between the rock and the hard place. It therefore goes without saying that if it came right down to it, they will ere on the side of South Africa (Tom, 2007).

Third, the Charles Taylor issue has now come home to roost. The refusal by Nigeria to give up that mass murderer and common thug to the Human Rights Court will be our final undoing. People are going to point out that Nigeria cannot seek a permanent seat on the Security Council of an institution whose rules and directives she flouts with impunity by

continuing to shelter a fugitive from international justice. The President recently tried to justify Nigerian's position by pointing to the fact that Charles Taylor ended up in Nigeria with the tacit approval of the United States and the West. Persuasive as that argument might sound, it smirks of political naïveté. President Obasanjo obviously did not remember that whoever dines with the "devil" must attend with a long spoon. The United States government would use anybody for their own expediency and toss them away when their job is done. The United States have no permanent conscience. She only has its only selfish interest. What is right is only what inures to the strategic interest of the world's remaining super power (Ibrahim, 2011).

And if the President capitulates and decides to hand Taylor over to the International Tribunal, it still will not pacify critics and skeptics. Besides it will be seen as a decision of convenience.

What is needed for this sort of quest is quiet diplomacy and discreet campaign. Rather than the present hoopla, the President should have used back channels, our ambassadors and heads of Nigeria's diplomatic missions abroad to do this job. This way, if the mission is unsuccessful, Nigeria will not lose face in the International Community.

In spite of the indisputably and remarkable records of these two countries Nigeria and Egypt, supporters of the Nigerian bid have gone ahead to submit that Nigeria's bid is unquestionable. First, of the three nations under consideration, Nigeria is the most representative of the black race. With complete black population of over 120 million people, it qualifies to be treated as the real black man's country because for every four black persons anywhere in the world, one of them is a Nigerian. This statistic, they contend, is very important if the black race is being considered for representation in the multi-racial global body (Ikhariale, 2002:35). Although Egypt is on the African continent, it is more ideologically identified with the Arab World

than with Africa they profess. As for South Africa. It is contended that the country is not racially a pure African society since it is composed of blacks. white and Indians - the so-called rainbow nation.

Secondly, Nigeria is deemed to be ahead of the other contending nations because it has been fully tested in the responsibility and effective discharge of international obligations in the key areas of peace-keeping and peace-enforcement - two critical areas in which the Security Council had been very active. On this score. even the UN records confirm that Nigeria has acquitted itself very well (Gambari, 1997).

Lastly, Nigeria is considered the ideal African candidate for a permanent seat at the Security Council because. in addition to the points already highlighted, the country is strategically located almost at the middle of Africa; Egypt is too northerly to be effective in responding to a truly African situation, while South Africa, developed as it may be, is too southerly to effectively respond to many possible core African crises. From this abundantly strategic perspective therefore, none of these other countries is considered to enjoy the near equidistance to the" four corners" of the African continent which Nigeria does (Ikhariale, 2002).

2.2. 2 Challenges to Nigeria's Quest for a Permanent seat on the UNSC

Successive Nigerian leaders by virtue of Nigeria's foreign policy stand, her size, population and natural resources, have demonstrated the Will to lead Africa particularly in the area of permanent seat on the UNSC. Nigeria has gained international acceptance in playing prominent roles in global peace. This has added to Nigeria's ability to participate more in Peace operations and thereby contribute to the over-all security of the globe.

General Babangida in Onoja (1996:11) sums it thus:

> Nigeria has evolved to the point of acceptance of the fact and reality that the conduct of our international relations and foreign policy mayat times involve certain contractual military and obligations beyond our borders.

The possession of a virile economy, political will, the availability of manpower, and the support for Nigeria's role by Nigerians are some of the factors responsible for her level of preparedness. Apart from this, Nigeria government still has some challenges threaten her hope of obtaining permanent seat in the Security Council.

This includes leadership challenges. Howbeit, Nigeria live in an inextricably interrelated and co-dependent world, this becomes a fact of life, that our domestic challenges are intertwined in one form of the other with our external relations. We recall that many years ago one of our leaders said, almost prophetically, that the reflection of peace in African continent is possible with the exclusion of Nigeria. These realities have huge costs for us as a people. It also has enormous impact on how we handle our own domestic affairs and the resources we devote to our domestic and foreign policy. This has posed us serious challenge to meet UN condition for permanent seat. We must now translate our growing stature in Africa into incontrovertible grounds for seeking and gaining a permanent seat in a reformed and expanded United Nations Security Council (Paul, 2000).

The challenge of terrorism (Boko Haram Insurgency) in Nigeria poses threat to her quest for permanent seat. But as we attempt to fast track our country into globalization with the promotion of political and socio-economic development, it is clearly evident that, charity must begin at home. We must meet the aspirations for domestic peace, security and prosperity (Tunde, 1999).

It appears to have been a consensus awaiting reorganization of the permanent seat of the UN Security Council reserved for Africa in the expansion of Security Council. Again, very constantly Egypt and South Africa have been touted as countries that may challenge Nigeria

for the seat. To be sure, whether in terms of geopolitics, regional international politics and issues of stability and conflict, or size of population and culture, Egypt remains an important Arab and African state. It also shares with Iran, Israel and Turkey for many of the same reasons, the characterization of being one of the four most important countries in the entire Middle East including North Africa. Egypt until 1991 was the key hegemonic state in the international relations of the Middle East. It is the self identified chief peace-maker, and on occasions, chief war maker in the region. It was Egypt, for example, which crafted the unexpected Arab alliance against Iraq in 1991. It has 300,000 military combat and powerful in terms of size and quality of armed forces as well as its population size (Cantori, 2002). We acknowledged that Egypt had a strong voice in the GAU (AU). It was Egypt, for example, that prejudiced the diplomatic isolation of Israel in Africa, following the 1973 Arab-Israel war.

South Africa's qualifications are also quite remarkable. It is indisputably the regional hegemonic power in the South African sub-region; and secondly, it had an incredible economic performance relative to other African nations. But perhaps, it greatest strength can be located in the fascinating personality of its previous leader, Nelson Mandela. It is well-recognized that it will be difficult for any country to resist a lobby anchored by the legendary (Peterson, 2008).

2.2.3 Overcoming the Challenges been Faced by Nigeria in Her Bid for the U.N Permanent Seat

As a giant of Africa, Nigeria is inherently bedeviled with several contending problems which have largely affected her both internally and externally. (Kasim, 2011) makes the following points:

1. It is observed that foreign owed debts are a serious threat to global peace and security. It is thus recommended that these debts owed by the third world be written-off for an enhanced global peace.

2. Of particular importance is the need to restructure the UNSC. Permanent representation should be reviewed to include every region of the globe.
3. Nigeria has shown interest in the peace of the world through her participation in Peace Support Operations, hence it is recommended that she should be given a permanent seat on the SC of the UN as Africa's representative.

Realism In view of the fore-going scenario, it is our considered suggestion that Nigeria should steer clear absolutely, of any pretensions to a 'Veto' wielding permanent status. The Nation's focus should be on the first of the three reform proposals, which specifically is –a reformed and enlarged Security Council with a third category of non-Veto wielding permanent members, ensuring equitable and fair representation for all regions. This is certainly more realistic and feasible. Since veto wielding permanent status is based on power calculations, it is futile aspiring for it without acquiring the necessary power profile. Though Article 23 of the Charter requires that due regard be specially paid, to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as equitable geographical distribution, it is in respect of the election of the non-permanent members (Bello, 2010).

The Great Powers are more likely to accede to a reform programme proposing increase in the permanent membership without a veto than with veto power. More importantly, veto power not backed by proven power dispositions, is simply pyrrhic and futile. It does appear that the present Nigeria Government has imbibed this suggestion, as President Muhammadu Buhari in his address at the 71st Session of the UNGA, carefully avoided any mention of the status of permanent membership, sought by Nigeria. He only stated that "Africa should be adequately represented ...in the Permanent member category ...Nigeria stands ready to serve Africa and the world in a reformed Security Council, to advance international peace and security" (Carl, 1996).

VIII. profound domestic reforms Given the crucial role domestic factors play in the determination of a country's external or global rating, which as a result of the ever increasing globalisation and improved technological factors, have become even more critical, there is need for sweeping profound domestic reforms to shore up Nigeria's rating or estimation globally. A situation where the nation cannot harness its natural resources and continually trudge on a wobbling mono-cultural economy with all its pernicious effects, does not do the image and perception of the country any good. Similarly, being rated as one of the most corrupt, with prevalent unemployment, pervasive poverty and perpetual insecurity, cannot give the country the required respect and reputation to be reckoned with globally (Ibrahim, 2002).

2.3 Theoretical Framework: The Rational Actor Model

Rational actor is argued to have developed as part of the behavioural revolution in American political science of the 1950s and 1960s which sought to investigate how individuals behaved, using empirical methods. The approach has increasingly become a growing approach to political science, especially in the United States. Anthony Downs (1957) was the first to apply rational choice theory to electoral behaviour and party competition. His work, reviewed in Hinich and Munger (1997) went further to revolutionize the studies of elections. Other directions in which rational choice theory has gone away from the works of Downs include areas of collective action, public choice, rent seeking, among others.

Olson (1965) showed that individuals with self interest would not always take part in collective action to accomplish a common goal, for instance, why would some of us refuse to pay our tax despite the fact that the monies derived from taxes are used to develop our society; improve basic amenities and security. This has lead to the development of the collective action theory, which can assist us to explain how

collective actions failures can be grossly reduced if the decision-makers involved are small. The subject of public choice posits that the intervention of democratic governments to repair market failures have often created more problems than it solved. In part because, the combination of the self interest of bureaucrats in maximising their budgets and bureaucratic control over information on cost structure of state provisions of public goods results in their over provision, at the expense of the citizenry (Niskanen, 1971).

Post-war intellectual developments go back through microeconomics and welfare economics, nineteenth-century liberalism and utilitarianism, and the work of classical political economist like Adams Smith, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. If rational choice theory owes intellectual debts to the liberal tradition, it has made repayments by suggesting lines of analysis and arguments within the field. Rational choice theory adopts a quite different approach to the study of social action, human agency, and social systems and structures. There are many variants of rational choice theory which tend to differ from other perspectives in the following ways (Smith, 1971).

The rational choice theory begins, firstly, from the viewpoint of the individual, as opposed to viewing several individuals interacting together, social situations, or groups. The emphasis on the individual interest is always the starting point of the theory. Although some theorists of rational choice make different assumptions about the individual and proceed to larger social groups and systems, each theorist begins with the individual as the foundation unit of the theory. In the words of Abell (2000), "it is only individuals who ultimately take actions and social actions ... individual actions and social actions are optimally chosen" and "individuals' actions and social actions are entirely concerned with their own welfare".

These basic assumptions portray the methodological individualism of the theory– the individual as actor with an initial concern only about him or herself, as well as his or her welfare. Upon the foundation of individualism, the rational choice theory may go further to portray how sharing, cooperation, or norms emerge, and the role they play in the decision making process. Another major differential aspect of the rational choice theory is the fact that it is sociologically minimalist. It begins with a few simple assumptions about the individual and the relationship among individuals, and then builds models of social action and interaction that describe and explain the complexities of larger groups, systems, and whole societies (Thompson, 1999).

This approach is very different from the systems and structural approaches of Durkheim or Parsons, who make social norms and values at the societal level an essential feature of their perspective. It also differs from the writers in the Marxian and Weberian traditions that emphasize large-scale, global, and historical social forces. The rational choice theory also runs opposed to the symbolic interaction, interpretive, and feminist approaches that adopts a dense and complex view of social actors and social interaction. The latter consider meaning, interpretation, emotions, experiences, and a wide variety of aspects of human existence, none of which can be reduced to the other, nor is capable of simple explanation. Contrastingly, the theory adopts a relatively spare and simple model of the individual, one that can be applied across time and space, so that it is a universal model (Parsons, 1984).

2.3.1 Assumptions of the Rational Actor Theory

There are a few assumptions made by rational choice theorists. Abell (2000) noted three assumptions made by rational choice theorists. These assumptions include:

1. Individualism - it is individuals who ultimately take actions. Individuals, as actors in the society and everywhere, behave and act always as rational beings, self-calculating, self-interested and self-maximizing, these individual social actions are the ultimate source of larger social outcomes. From this first overarching assumption derives the four other major assumptions summarized below.

2. Optimality - Individual choose their actions optimally, given their individual preferences as well as the opportunities or constraints with which the individual faced.

Abell (2000) defines optimality as taking place when no other course of social action would be preferred by the individual over the course of action the individual has chosen. This does not mean that the course of action that the actor adopts is the best in terms of some objective, and outside judgment. The rational choice theory, therefore assumes, according to Abell (2000), that individuals "do the best they can, given their circumstances as they see them".

3. Structures - Abell argues that structures and norms that dictate a single course of action are merely special cases of rational choice theory. In other words, the range of choices in other circumstances differs from choices in a strong structural circumstance, where there may be only one choice. Although these structures may be damaging to the rational choice model, individuals will often find a way to exercise action optimally, hence the rational choice model may not necessarily show harmony, consensus, or equality in courses of action. Again, structures, as we know them, may not be optimal from the viewpoint of an individual with few resources, however, the rational choice approach will attempt to explain is how this situation emerges and is maintained through rational choices.

4. Self-Regarding Interest – This assumption states that the actions of the individual are concerned entirely with his or her own welfare. Abell (2000) noted that in as much as this is a key assumption in the rational choice approach, is not as essential to the approach as the assumption on optimality. He also noted that various types of group sentiments could exist, such as cooperation, unselfishness, charity, which initially may seem to be contrary to individual optimality. Rational choice theorist may argue that these sentiments can be incorporated into the rational choice model by observing that such sentiments may ultimately be aimed at pursuing some form of self-interest. For instance, charity movements or efforts Abell says, could ultimately be aimed at making an individual feel good or could be a means of raising one's social esteem in the eyes of others.

5. Rationality – This appears the most predominant assumption of the rational choice theory. All individuals, according to this assumption act in ways that would benefit them more; every individual is most like to undertake courses of actions that they perceive to be the best possible option and one that would immensely be to their own advantage.

2.3.2 Strengths of the Rational Actor Theory

The rational choice theory has largely emerged in the political science subfield. It has been commended as the prototype for a more deductive approach to political analysis. Becker (1976) has described the rational choice model as "a unified framework for understanding all human behaviour", Rogowski (1997) also asserts to the model as the "most rigorous and the most general theory of social action that has been advanced in this century". Hirshleifer (1985) simply describes the theory as "universal grammar of social science". Other advantages of the rational choice theory can be summarized as;

1. Generality; This means that one set of assumptions relating to each type of actor in a given circumstance, is compatible with any set of structural assumptions about the environmental setting in which the actor is present.

2. Parsimony; The common knowledge of rationality assumption, the assumption of isomorphic and self-regarding utility function, when combined with the rational optimization model, allow rational choice theories to treat variations in choices among actors and by an actor over time as entirely a function of their structural position. Preferences and beliefs are simply perceived as the only relevant variables for determining action.

3. Predictive; Assumptions of the rational choice model have been used to produce a wide variety of decisive theories, whose predictions about the measurable real world phenomena rule out a much larger set of outcomes than what is already generally accepted to be unlikely. The decisiveness of rational choice theories depends on structural as well as the individual actor's assumptions.

2.3.3 Weaknesses of the Theory

Several critique and scholars have identified certain shortfalls of the rational choice approach. Aside, some of the disagreements that have been associated with accepting the basic assumptions of the approach, there are a number of other weaknesses that have been attributed with the rational choice theory. Some of these weaknesses are:

1. Problems associated with inadequate information and uncertainty. This may make it difficult for individuals to make rational decisions. As a result, they may rely on other ways of making decisions.

2. Human social action and interactions are complex, and many of the theories examined earlier may provide better guides to how these take place.

3. Theorists of rational choice argue that macro level structures and institutions can be explained from the models of individual social action. But there are problems of aggregation of individual to societal level phenomena. These same difficulties exist in well developed economic models.

4. Norms and habits may guide much action, and once these take root people may not question them but use them to pursue meaningful social action.

5. One problem of RCT is that some theorists argue that almost everything humans do is rational, even philanthropy and self-sacrifice. By expanding to include all forms of action as rational, action that is non-rational or irrational becomes part of the model. By including every possible form of action in rational choice, it is not clear how the standards of what is rational and what is not are constructed.

2.4 Relevance of the Theory to the Work

Despite the demerits of the rational actor model in explaining this study, it is still very relevant in its analysis of this study; it focuses on the decision makers identifying the need of the state by setting up goals to achieve them. According to Olusegun Obasanjo *(2014)* the goals or objectives that the state wants to achieve determines government line of actions and steps to be taken. The theory therefore, is largely relevant in evaluating Nigeria's bit for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

The relevance of the rational actor model theory to the analysis of Nigeria's bid for the permanent seat of the United Nations Security council cannot be overemphasized. This is

particularly as a result of the fact that the theory has largely contributed no small measure towards the effective analogy of the important subject matter under discourse.

It is to be noted significantly however that the theory. with its continuous emphases on the rationalization of co-existing interests amongst independent sovereign states, while projecting their intensions in the international system.

The international system, which is an embodiment of various manifestations amongst both state and non- state actors is fundamentally x-rayed. with a view to positively improving on the fortunes inherent, thereby realizing set objectives for the generality of all and sundry.

2.5 Summary of Gaps in Literature

The empirical review of related studies indicate that Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council has over time been accompanied by lots of scholarly literatures about Nigeria's emergence of the UN security council seat. Very little however is mentioned about the enormous contributions Nigeria has made over time as far as the United Nations is concerned.

The United Nations have largely contributed towards the maintenance of Law, order and stability across the international community, thereby facilitating mutuality of interest amongst member states, Peterson's view is fundamental but it should be stated that the United Nations serves certain vested interest, whereby influence and the quest for superiority is the order of the day.

Nigeria given her wealth and position in Africa, should be allowed to clinch the U.N Security Permanent Seat. This perspective is unarguable, but it is very important for the country to effectively galvanize available resources for the overall growth and development of the state, thereby meeting the yearnings and aspirations of the citizenry.

Nigeria's Military capabilities which have been effectively brought to bare in the African sub region. The failure of the Nigerian military in combating the series of insecurity that have ravaged most parts of the country should be considered. with a view to making it more proactive in handling security issues effectively. It is these gap in literature that this work sets to fill.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Design

Research design encompasses the methodology and procedure employed to conduct scientific research. To this effect, the review research design has been employed as the research design of this research. It focuses on reviewing literatures or text of scholarly works and their contributions to a particular topic. It draws on the strengths of relevant secondary sources such as. textual analysis, archival researches to arrive at logical conclusions.

3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Techniques

The target population for this study will consist of all relevant personnel, including, Nigeria Permanent Representative to United Nation and the Ministry of foreign affairs as well as other concerned stakeholders that are knowledgeable about Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

3.2.1 Presentation of Areas of Interview

SN	Area	No. of Male staff	No. Female Staff	Total
1	Ministry of foreign affairs	2510	1,584	4094
2	ECOWAS	93	45	138
	Sum-Total			**4232**

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 3.2.1 is a representation of the number of males and females at the department of United Nations and Foreign. Based on the table above. the target population of the study is summed up to be **4232**

A total 20 persons (male and female) from each of the aforementioned department shall be sampled as respondents. Therefore, a random selection of 40 respondents shall serve as the sample size.

Sample Size

To derive the sample size for the study, the Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table was also used.

Table 3.1

Table for Determining Sample Size of a Known Population

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
[illegible]									

Note: N = Population Size S = Sample Size *Source: Krejcie & Morgan (19[illegible]*

3.3 Methods of Data Collection

This work will adopt both primary and secondary analysis. Qualitative analysis will be done using simple percentages, simple percentage will be used in the analyses of personal details and views of the respondents.

Qualitative analysis will be involved in the analysis of secondary data and also the analysis of existing statistics and content analysis.

3.4 Techniques for Data Analysis

On primary source. the research will use interview to address issue raised by the objectives of the study. They are positions research method in such interview. There exist low level of involvement of a person who is conducting the interview and high-level of involvement of the person who is answering the interview.

3.5 Justification of Methods

Primary data will provide firsthand information in evaluating Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

Secondary data will complement the data the primary source, simple percentages will be used for data presentation with the aim of making it appear easy for understanding. Content analysis will be used for the test of hypothesis because it will establish the courses and connections between the dependent and independent variables.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter is an evaluation of Nigeria's bid for the United Nations Permanent Seat. The intention here is to make realistic suggestions and recommendations in the next chapter. This chapter therefore deals with the analysis of data collected from the field.

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

The part "A" which is the respondents' personal data is represented in the table below.

Table 4.1 Gender Distribution of Respondents

Sex	No	Percentage
Male	13	65%
Female	7	35%
Total	20	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2019

From the table 4.1 above, out of the twenty respondents interviewed, thirteen were male representing 65% and seven (7) people were female representing 35%. It goes to show that males are more disposed to aiding a researcher in data collection than the female.

It may be noted that the percentage of male respondents in the sample is higher than the female respondents. This may be due to the fact that some females that the researcher approached to be respondents declined. On the whole, the male respondents were more disposed, open, passionate and more inclined to issues relating to Nigeria's bid for the United Nation Permanent Seat agitation than the female folks.

Table 4.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

Range	No	Percentage
18-40	7	35%
41- 60	8	40%
61and above	5	25%
Total	20	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 4.2 shows those 41 to 60 years of age bracket of the respondents are more active and aware of Nigeria's bid for the permanent seat of the United Nations because 40% responded as against 35% of 18 to 40 and 25% of 61 and above. These people within the age bracket of 41-60 that make up the majority, from the researcher's findings were very eager to help feed the researcher with all the data that are useful for the research. They were very instrumental for assessing others including the youth.

Table 4.3 Qualification Distribution of Respondents

Qualification	**No**	**Percentage**
HND/B.Sc	2	10%
PGDE	2	20%
M.Sc	4	40%
Ph.D/Above	2	30%
Total	**10**	**100**

Source: field survey, 2019

Table 4.3 shows that the respondents with the highest number are those with HND/B.Sc. qualifications because they represent 10% as against PGDE and above with 20%, M.Sc with 40% and Ph.D/Above who have 30%.

On the whole, this research utilized data gotten mostly from male respondents and those within the age bracket that can be described as adults formed the majority of those sampled.

From the analysis, those that have tertiary education qualification of HND/B.Sc constituted a chunk of those sampled and supplied the primary data for this research.

Below are the interview questions the researcher posed to the respondents in the course of carrying out the study.

Interview Questions for the first Proposition

The arguments raised by Nigeria in her bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council Includes Human and Material Endowments.	
1.	**Do you have any Knowledge Concerning Nigeria's bid for the United Nation's Permanent Seat?** **Responses** whole range of critical cases that have over time continued to shape the entire international system. Reacting on the development, Abiodun Demola, Aged 36, of the department of political and social studies of the United Nations for West Africa stated that security issues exist in order to maintain peace and tranquility in the affected states. Similarly, Adebayo Abdullazeez, aged 41, a desk officer at the foreign affairs inspectorate of the federal ministry of foreign affairs stated that the existence of the United Nations security council is particularly in order to establish normalcy in affected states globally. Also. Nwaorgy Grace, aged 36 of the African Affairs Department of the Federal ministry of foreign affairs viewed the matter of security as the best suitable alternative at any given point in time. Nurudeen Augustine, aged 40, the administrative officer of the same ministry concord by saying that the process is largely is peaceful process which promotes peace. In a reaction, Lamma Dayou, aged 44, the third secretary to the Liberian ambassador to Nigeria clearly stated that most states of the world have been seriously ravaged with crisis that lasted for several years, the security pact therefore was largely instrumental towards the attainment of relative decorum in the entire universe.. Qamar Ousa, aged 39, still of the United Nations for West Africa decried the loss of lives and property during the civil war and also considered the balance in security deal as a perfect solution. Also considers the security question as a worthy and appreciable formulae, towards maintaining peace in any polity.
2.	**What can you say about the United Nation's Security Council?** **Responses** According to Aimar Hans, aged 38 of the United Nations, the success of the United Nations has largely contributed in no small measure towards ameliorating the plight of the citizens of the World generally. Also. Nizar Blaka, aged 39 of the same establisment was of the opinion that nothing can be able to function in an atmosphere of Rancor. Joram Nill, aged 41 of the same Ministry of Foreign Affiars also holds the view that the crisis distorted in no small measure the socio-economic as well as political facets of the society.

	Akin Kugbe, aged 40, of the office of the minister of foreign affairs has remarked that the development also affected Africa largely and Nigeria particularly. Akindele Oluwumi, aged 45 of the same ministry was also of the view that crisis distorts virtually everything in an affected place . Uche Iukedioha, aged 45 from the department of security ad strategic studies of the National institute of strategic studies has established that the United Nations security council has largely affected political interplay in the affected states. as normalcy has been relatively restored, following the development. Joachim Jonah, aged 49 of the protocol department of the ministry of foreign affairs was concerned that apart from the bush fire effect of the dictatorship of most powerful states, one of the immediate reasons why these conflicts escalated was bad governance where majority of the people or citizenry were disen franchized, coupled with poverty, low standard of living and human rights violation.
3.	**Do you think in your Opinion that Nigeria has what it takes to occupy such Position?** **Responses** According to Elias Anderson, aged 42 of the economic, consular and legal department of the federal ministry of foreign affairs, the pressure mounted by the United States and most developed countries is unfavorable to the entire international system. Considering the several ungodly acts allegedly masterminded by developed World. Ali Mohammed, the spokesman to the House of representatives committee on foreign affairs stated that Nigeria has all it takes to occupy the position of a permanent member of the United Nations security council, giving her endowments in terms of human and material resources. Miriam Aima, aged 40 of the department of planning research and statistics, stated that despite the challenges facing Nigeria internally, Nigeria is qualified to hold the exalted seat.
4.	**What Contributions can Nigeria bring to bear in the United Nations Security Council?** **Responses** According to Ayaka David, aged 39 of the federal ministry of foreign affairs, Nigeria have a great contribution to the reshaping of the United Nations security council in terms of its trained and professional military as well as the abundance in human and materials resources. Kamar Jack, aged 40 of the United Nations for West Africa stated that the Nigeria being a giant of Africa can effectively contribute to boosting the developmental strides of the United Nations towards living up to its responsibility of effective service delivery to the entire world. Areej Dulphine, aged 45 of the embassy of the ministry of foreign affairs opined therefore that the security question is largely relevant in several aspects, reflecting in the social, political, economic as well as other facets of the society.

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Interview Questions for the Second Proposition

The challenges facing Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security council includes Insecurity, corruption and racism.	
5.	**Is corruption a challenge facing Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council?** Responses According to Martins Atawa, aged 39 of the department of international studies, of the National institute of strategic studies, Nigeria's high corruption profile over the years no doubt constitutes a fundamental challenge to not just the attainments of the permanent seat but indeed the substantial growth and development of the country. Osas Bello, aged 40 of the United Nations development unit of the National institute of strategic studies, stated that the security cases has exposed certain vested interests amongst the powers of the world. Aniagwon Oloja, aged 46 of the administrative department of the federal ministry of foreign affairs, stated that the corruption cases further portrayed Nigeria in the international system in a bad light. Aondoaka Mike, aged 50 of the office of the Honourable Minister of state for foreign affairs had established that the high corruption means an end to impunity and governmental rascality.
6.	**Has the Nigerian leadership done enough to achieve such heights?** Responses According to Bruce Atah, aged 37 of the research unit of the National institute of strategic studies, the Nigeria government have not done enough to address societal ills that characterize the country. Ali Mohammed, aged 50 of the ministry of foreign affairs has established that the Nigerian leadership has been instrumental towards the attainment of relative peace and stability of the African continent, hence the desire to attain the permanent seat at the United Nations security council which has remained a contentious issue in the international system. Marian Aima, aged 46, also of ministry of foreign affairs, stated that there should be institutionalized measures to hold leaders accountable for both their actions and inactions while in office.

7.	**What other challenges do you think are constituting threats to Nigeria's bid?** **Responses** According to Abdullahi Bello, aged 51, of the foreign affairs inspectorate, federal ministry of foreign affairs, the Nigerian state should look inwards in terms of solving her problems or challenges, instead of constantly seeking foreign aids from other countries of the world. Augustus Ekwueme, aged 38 of the same ministry stated that tribalism, ethnicity, leadership question and mal-administration remains the Chief evils confronting the Nations that most be dealt with if the country can move forward.
8.	**Has there been any effort aimed at reasonably addressing these issues?** **Responses** According to Stella Edward, aged 40, of the foreign affairs department, there has been several measures put in place by successive government towards addressing the menace, unfortunately there have been no political will which will adequately address this ills confronting country. Poka Clawn, aged 46 of the United Nations opined that the measures should be put a place as deterrence in order to forestall future occurrence.

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Interview Questions for the Third Proposition

These challenges can be overcome through a conserted effort by the African continent and political will on the part of the Nigerian leadership	
9.	**Does Nigeria need to partner with Africa and the international community in her bid?** **bid?** Responses According to Ellias Dock, aged 50 of the ministry of foreign affairs, the entire leadership of Nigeria overtime have been largely characterized with several acts of recklessness and insensitivity. Ali Mohammed aged 42 of the ministry of foreign affairs describes Nigerian leadership as unfortunate which are best described as birds of the same faders. This is because there administrations were characterized largely with mal-administration, which was largely orchestrated with brutality and lack of accountability. There is therefore the need to partner with the international community.
10.	**Is the insecurity in Nigeria negating Nigeria's bid for the U.N security seat?** Responses According to Lamma Bellin, aged 41 of the United Nations for West Africa, the glaring in security that largely characterize the entire country has constituted a major threat towards Nigeria's attainment of the United Nation's permanent seat. Doyou Dick, aged 39 of the same establishment was also of the opinion that the security measures is an applaudable decision and as such places Nigeria in a better position internationally, Quamar ousa, aged 38 of the same establishment was of the view that Africa and the world in general remains thankful to Nigeria for her leadership status in the African continent. Mean Usama, aged 43 of the same embassy contended that Nigeria's current position at a non permanent member of the United Nations Security council is a right step in the right direction.

11.	Are there any impediments to Nigeria's bid? **Responses** According to Aimar Billeh, aged 46 of the United Nations for West Africa, the level of poverty, inequality and bad governance as well as corruption are integral reasons of the uprisings in the Nigerian states no doubt. Nizar Glan, aged 40 of the same establishment has stated that social ills generally have accounted for several uprisings in virtually all parts of the world, there by truncating growth and development. Joram, aged 55 of the ministry of foreign affairs opined that societies should try to curb to the barest minimum, these ills in order to meet the yeanings and aspirations of the citizenry .

Source: Field Survey, 2019

4.4.1 First Proposition

The Arguments Raised By Nigeria in Her Bid For a Permanent Seat at The United Nations Security Council Includes Human and Materials Endowments

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 International Journal of Development and Management Review (INJODEMAR).

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, GuineaBissau, 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.

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.

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 severe 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).

4.3.2 Second Proposition

The Challenges Facing Nigeria's Bid for a Permanent Seat at the United Nations Security Council

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 short changed. 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 goodl. 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. Inspite 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.

4.3.3 Third Proposition

Overcoming The Challenges Facing Nigeria's Bid For Un Permanent Seat

Nigeria, officially the Federal Republic of Nigeria, is a federal constitutional republic comprising 36 states and its Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The country is located in West Africa and shares land borders with the Republic of Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the north. Its coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean. The three largest and most influential ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. The people of Nigeria have an

extensive history. Archaeological evidence shows that human habitation of the area dates back to at least 9000 BCE (Keech, 1981).

The area around the Benue and Cross River is thought to be the original homeland of the Bantu migrants who spread across most of central and southern Africa in waves between the 1st millennium BC and the 2nd millennium. The name Nigeria was taken from the Niger River running through the country. The British colonised Nigeria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century setting up administrative structures and law while recognizing the traditional chiefs.

Nigeria became independent again in 1960. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, the seventh most populous country in the world, and the most populous country in the world in which the majority of the population is black (Library of Congress - Country Profile, 2008). It is listed among the "Next Eleven" economies, and is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The founders of the Security Council wanted the organ to be small in order to be efficient. Efficient in this case means that the Security Council can rapidly take the necessary decisions. It is logical that it is very simply to reach a consensus when only few have to be persuaded. The founders created the Council based on four features (Luck, 2006).

The council had to be ruled by the most powerful states, to these powerful states would be given special rights and responsibilities concerning the maintenance of international peace and security, the council had to be small without "exaggerated equality between the great and small Powers", the Council had the authority to enforce its decisions while its members had the power to impose its decisions.

The legitimacy of the P-5 lays among others in their military, economical, and political power. It was not the intention of the founders of the Security Council to create a Council that represented the entire UN membership. The element of power was its basis. The founders of the UN Council believed that "the UN as an entity of sovereign states could only work effectively when individual states, particularly its most powerful members, conferred on it sufficient authority and competences" (Bourantonis, 2005).

However its founders recognised that the element of power was not enough to maintain the authority of the Council. Ultimately they realized that the Security Council, when acting on behalf of all members of the UN, should be seen as representatives of the interests of the entire UN membership otherwise its legitimacy

and effectiveness could be jeopardised. To make the Security Council more representative the founders created a 124 secondary category of members in the Security Council, the non-permanent members. The distribution of the non-permanent seats had to reflect the main geographical regions of the UN member States: Africa, Latin American, West and East Europe (Frank, 2007).

In this connection therefore, the study examined the struggle for permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. We were basically concerned with the reorganisation of the Security Council in such a manner that not only reflect the geo-political make-up and constituents of the United Nations by making it more democratic and accountable to the larger global community. To carry out this study, two specific issues were selected and empirically studied so as to determine the practical possibility of granting more permanent membership to new and developing countries within the organization.

In more specific terms, the study sought to determine the struggle and quest by the members of the United Nations to reform and enlarge the composition of the Security Council both in terms of membership and voting pattern as predicated in the right to veto by the so-called P-5; all of which are believed by the reformist and their apostles to have implications on the efficiency and legitimacy of the councils resolutions and decision as it will draw moral and legal support from all the regions of the world rather than a club of select few; that masquerade to protect and promote the interest of the entire globe, while in reality they parochially serve and primarily pursue their selfish national interest which is implicated in the manner that the veto have been used since the inception of the organization (Zedillo, 2005).

When reality. the veto is meant to be used in ensuring balanced viewpoint and inclusiveness in all matters that pertains to global peace and security; and by ensuring that all parties are agreed and carried along before any major decision can be reached. 125 5.2

5.2 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).

The reform of the Security Council represents a major challenge for the United Nations. The increase of the number of permanent members of the Council,

improving on the transparency of its decision-making and ensuring equitable representation of all UN member states on the Council are just some of the issues surrounding the reform. The addition of new non-permanent members that was not discussed in this essay due to the lack of space is another issue of considerable importance.

The consensus on the necessity of the reform has been reached and, thus, the idea is not hopeless. Some reform proposals are workable, though many issues remain controversial. Moreover, the legitimacy of the UN as an international organization is still quite considerable. It should not be forgotten that the United Nations is an institution created by its members, as is the Security Council. Therefore, reinforcing the legitimacy of the UN will only be possible if the member-states are determined to commit to the reform.

It is the commitment of member-states and particularly of the permanent members of the Council that will likely decide the future of the UN Security Council in the years to come. Established as one of the principle organs of the United Nations (UN), the Security Council bears the 'primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security' (Malone, 2007:117).

The Council's mandate, outlined further in Article 24 of the Charter, coupled with its ability to make legally binding decisions, makes the Security Council arguably the most powerful organ of the UN. The Council has retained its importance in international relations and is arguably of increased importance as a result of heightened international co-operation in the post-Cold War era (Malone, 2007).

The lack of reform since its creation, has however led to doubts over the Council's legitimacy and effectiveness in contemporary politics. Commentators have referred to

its lack of reform as 126 'one of the most successful failures in the history of the United Nations' (Terraviva, 2009). The most commonly debated areas for reform revolve around the veto power, the size of the Council and in the event of an enlargement, the powers and selection of new members. Currently, the Security Council is comprised of five permanent members, referred to as the P-5, and ten non-permanent members, each elected for a two-year term.

In addition to having a permanent seat on the Council, Article 27 of the UN Charter grants the P-5 a veto power. Reform of the Council requires support from two-thirds of the General Assembly and all of the P-5. Whilst reform is not impossible, as seen by the successful 1965 reform that enlarged the Council from eleven to fifteen members, consensus on necessary reform is hard to achieve. With a seat of the Council seen as 'a proxy for global influence on peace and security issues' (Malone, 2007) competition for the ten non-permanent seats is high. The size of the Council is therefore a key concern for member states. With the Italian delegation pointing out that 77 countries have never had a seat on the Council and 47 have sat just once, questions over the Council's size have been raised (Knight, 2002: 24-25).

This disparity is due to the fact that, having increased in size just once since its formation, the size of the council is no longer proportionate to the size of the General Assembly. At its formation, the number of member states compared to seats at the Council was 11 to 51, representing a ratio of 1 to 4.6. In spite of the increase in the number of seats on the Council from eleven to fifteen, the dramatic increase in the General Assembly, largely as a result of decolonisation and the breakup of the Soviet Union, has seen this ratio increase, reaching 1to 12 (Peterson, 2007).

The significant increase in the number of States in the General Assembly indicates that enlarging the Council is a necessary reform. Enlarging the Council, however, must not hinder efficiency (Global Policy Forum, 2010). The majority of proposals for an increased Council have therefore varied between the low to high twenties. Proposals such as 'In Larger Freedom' and 'Uniting for Consensus' for example, recommended an increase to 24 and 25 seats respectively, aiming to enhance 'both the legitimacy and the efficiency of the Council' (Global Policy Forum, 2010:1).

Whilst referred to as 'the apex body of the United Nations' (Knight, 2002) the Council's current composition is no longer representative of the values of the General Assembly. Formed in the aftermath of World War II, the Council's composition has not adapted to reflect contemporary political realities, notably decolonisation. The stagnant nature of the Council in turn undermines its legitimacy. Social institutions derive their power from their perceived legitimacy. This means that a reformed Council 'will find compliance with its rules more easily secured than in the absence of legitimacy' (Knight, 2002:24).

Unlike the large consensus that surrounds calls for the increased size of the Council, plans such as 'In Larger Freedom' that call for an increase in permanent members have led to fierce debate. Vocal calls for inclusion as permanent members of an increased Council have largely come from the G4 countries, Africa Group and developing countries. The G4 members states, in particular Japan and Germany, the second and third largest financial contributors to the Council respectively, argue their case for permanent membership on the grounds of Article 23 (1) of the Charter.

The Article states that selection to the Council must take into account the country's commitment to the 'maintenance of international peace and security and to the other

purposes of the Organization' and 'geographical distribution' (Global Policy Forum, 2010:1). This argument is supported by advocates of the functionalist 128 perspective such as Schwartzberg, in what he refers to as the 'entitlement quotient' for entry into the Council (knight, 2002: 27).

Nigeria on the other hand is Africa's most populous country and although home to the most UN members, no African country has a permanent seat at the Council. Whilst taking a more literal approach to Article 23 (1), a purely functionalist perspective places too much emphasis on the financial capabilities and neglects geographic distribution. The financial requirement of the functionalist perspective also gives preference to developed countries, therefore ensuring the continued underrepresentation of the developing world.

It is important to note that the majority of population growth is occurring in the developing world with predictions that in fifty years, the populations of India, Pakistan, China, Indonesia and Nigeria will exceed four billion (knight, 2002). Representation by region would minimize this disparity and give increased geo-political legitimacy to the Council by rewarding both contribution and ensuring regional representation.

The existence of the veto power is possibly the most contentious feature of the Council. Whilst arguably an inevitable reaction to the failure of the League of Nations, the P5 no longer represents the great powers in international relations. The two-tiered structure of the Council reinforces the notion that "some states are more equal than others", resulting in entrenched institutional elitism within the UN whilst 'a splendidly egalitarian idea' (Kennedy and Russett, 1995: 56-71).

To abolish the veto, with the P-5 eager to "cling fiercely to their veto privileges and reform requiring unanimous P-5 support". debate surrounding the abolishment or expansion of the veto is largely redundant (Terraviva. 2009:1).

However. reforming the veto is unlikely. We strongly conclude that enlarging and altering the composition of the Council would significantly increase its legitimacy and ensure it remains off contemporary relevance. Although a country's contribution to the Council is important, the exponential growth of the developing world indicates that regional representation in an enlarged Council is imperative to ensure legitimacy.

5.3 Recommendations

i. The arguments that largely impedes Nigeria's clamour for the permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council should be effectively taken care of by the government, policy maker and other relevant stakeholder in order to reposition Nigeria as the contests for the exaulted position.

ii. Nigeria as a state is inherently bedeviled with several problematics such as bad governance, corruption, inequality, tribalism, nepotism as well as insecurity. These societal ills should be handled appropriately with a clear view to addressing the menace.

iii. The challenges militating against Nigeria's quest for the permanent should be addressed by all sundry. This will go a long way towards remolding the image of the country internationally.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

The major limitation of the research work is funding and the inability to visit the United Nations. This would not affect the quality of the research as efforts have been

made to utilize the available funds and analyze the data gathered from the primary and secondary sources critically to arrive at objective conclusions.

5.5 Suggestion for further studies

The security of lives and property is a major desire of the citizens in any particular country. The quest for the permanent seat should be done in line with the dictates of international law. There is therefore a need for future researchers to undertake a study on the need for the international law to be re-visited, so as to effectively carter for the yearnings and aspirations of all member states. The plight of particularly the less developed states should also be looked into in-terms of resourceful assistance to such states, thus creating an equitable ground for all member states in the future.

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APPENDIX

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Department of Political Science,

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Nasarawa State University, Keffi,

September, 2019

Dear Respondent,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Please kindly assist in completing the attached interview questions. I am an M.Sc. student of the Department of Political Science, Nasarawa State, University, Keffi undertaking a research on the topic: **EVALUATION OF NIGERIA'S BID FOR A PERMANENT SEAT AT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.**

The success of this work depends greatly on your co-operation in providing objective answers and information to these questions below.

All information supplied will be treated in strict confidence and used only for the purpose of academic research.

Thank you for your anticipated cooperation.

Yours Faithfully

MOHAMMED KABIRU

REG. NO: NSU/MSc/IRS/0044/17/18

Interview Questions

1. Do you have any knowledge concerning Nigeria's did for the United Nation permanent seat?
2. What can you say about the United Nation Security Council?
3. Do you think in your opinion that Nigeria has what it takes to occupy such position?
4. What contributions can Nigeria bring to bare in the United Nations Security Council?
5. Is the insecurity in Nigeria negating Nigeria's bid for the U.N Security Seat?
6. Are there any impediments to Nigeria's bid?
7. Is corruption a challenge facing Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council?
8. Has the Nigerian leadership done enough to achieve such heights?
9. What other challenges do you think are constituting threats to Nigeria's bid?
10. Has there been any effort aimed at resolving these issues?
11. Are the Nigerian laws enough to address the issues mentioned?
12. Does Nigeria need to partner with Africa and the international community in her bid?
13. How can such challenges be overcome?