UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL REFORMS: NIGERIA'S SUITABILITY TO REPRESENT AFRICA.

BY

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(MIAD/2004-2005/40733)

JANUARY 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that this research work was undertaken by me in meeting part of the requirements for the award of Masters in International Affairs and Diplomacy (MIAD) of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. All authors, scholars whose works were used and other sources, were acknowledged. I however take full responsibility of any error found therein as 'perfection' is only attributed to God Almighty.

Hanafi-Idiaro, Mustapha

January, 2006

CERTIFICATION

This research work titled ***"United Nations Security Council Reforms: Nigeria's Suitability to represent Africa"*** by Hanafi-Idiaro, Mustapha has met the regulations governing the award of Masters of International Affairs and Diplomacy (MIAD) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Project Supervisor **Date**

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Dean, Post Graduate School **Date**

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to the following people:

- My late father, Alhaji Hanafi Idiaro for bequeathing the legacy of humility, discipline and being good to people;
- My beloved Mum, Alhaja UmmuHani Hanafi – Idiaro for labouring so hard for us (her children) to succeed in life.
- My darling wife, Hussainat Taiwo Idiaro for her wonderful love, care and support.
- Brother Tunji, Sisters Sa'adatu, Mulkat, Hafsat, Nimata and AbdulRazaq for their love and prayers.
- My lovely daughters – Fatima Niyaas and Hafsat both of whom I cherish so dearly.
- All the good people of Nigeria who share the same dream of having Nigeria as a permanent member of the reformed UNSC.

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All praise is due to Allah Almighty who has endowed me with lots of blessings since the day I was born to date. I will forever express my gratitude to Him. I equally thank my parents Late Alhaji Hanafi Idiaro and Alhaja UmmuHani Hanafi-Idiaro for bringing me to this world and being able to appreciate man's purpose on earth. Fro bringing me up in a modest, disciplined and determined way, I will continue to pray for God's mercies and blessings on them.

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My hearty appreciations go to my darling wife Mrs. Hussainat Taiwo Idiaro for her love and overwhelming support since the beginning of this programme up to this stage. I pray God to bless and protect her with our children and excel her in all her endeavours.

For believing in my ability to succeed, despite the odds, I will continue to be grateful to the following people who have also contributed immensely and positively to my life. They are: Sheikh Muhammed Nurul Faedat Cisse, Dr. Sulayman Shittu,

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My wonderful friends in MIAD 6 class can never be forgotten. Notable among them are Samie Ihejirika (SEMA), Denis, Nanyen, Ibro, Musa Bala, Sadiq, Nok, Squadron Ldr Etuk Udoh and Capt Obolo, Hon. Gideon Y. Morik. (Member Kaduna State House of Assembly).

And to all who have contributed in one way or the other to this achievement, I say thank you and God bless!.

Hanafi-Idiaro, Mustapha

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ABSTRACT

This work is undertaken to examine the imperatives for the United Nations reform, which had not been accorded serious attention it deserves since its inception over sixty years ago. It focuses on the reform of the Security Council which is the most strategic organ of the U.N. It further examines the need for an urgent reform of the Council in particular, to correct the injustices of the past and make the world body truly democratic and representative in the current global realities.

The work exhaustively analyze the suitability of more countries representing "the marginalized continents" such as Latin America, Asia and most importantly Africa, in the United Nations Security Council – considering their appreciable contributions towards the achievement of the goals of the world body.

Nigeria's suitability to represent Africa in the reformed council with other qualified member states from Latin America, Asia and even Europe was adequately articulated with the hope that current members would accept the reform.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION:

1.1 Background to the Study:

The United Nations was established in 1945 "***to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,"*** the United Nations is unquestionably the most sophisticated diplomatic machinery ever created for the promotion and management of international peace and security. The United Nations emerged after the catastrophy of the Second World War.

In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its founding fathers, under Article 24 of the U.N Charter, assigned to it the following objectives:

(i). To maintain international peace and security,

(ii). To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people.

(iii). To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an Economic, Social Cultural, Humanitarian Character; and

(iv). To be centre for harmonizing the actions of nations for the attainment of these common goals.

The United Nations charter established six principal organs to

Enable it implement its broad mandate and the programme agenda that flows from it. The first and most representative organ is the **General Assembly** often referred to as the ***"parliament of the global Community of sovereign states"*** All member states are represented in this organ, which is constitutionally empowered to ***"discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international Peace and Security",*** and to ***"make recommendations with regard to the state or sates concerned to the Security Council or both".***

The **Security Council** is the second organ in term of importance, it is the nerve centre, indeed the most strategic organ of the U.N, consisting of 15 member states, with 5 of them, USA, Russia, France, Britain and China having permanent membership status and veto power associated with it. The third organ is the **Economic and Social Council** with a membership of 54 mandated to make or initiate studies on international, Economic, Social, Cultural, Educational, Health and Related matters and make recommendations to the General Assembly.

The fourth organ is the **Trusteeship Council,** which has now become redundant following the virtual end to the process of

decolonisation. The principal judicial organ to the U.N, the **International Court of Justice (ICJ),** the fifth organ is made up of 15 Judges. It adjudicates on legal matters and also offers advisory opinions at the request of the General Assembly, the Security Council, or of any of the specialized agencies of the U.N. The sixth principal organ is the **Secretariat** headed by a Secretary-General who is appointed by the General Assembly at the recommendation of the Security Council.

1.2 Statement of the Problem: -

To be able to understand and analyze the United Nations and the Agenda for its reform, this work is undertaken to identify and examine the following problems: -

(i). The problem regarding the system which lies with the Security Council that was meant to administer the rules but, ironically had ignored charter rules and principles;

(ii). The lack of commitment and political will to suggest the Security Council's reform and weakened the U.N.O.;

(iii). The not-well articulation of the suitability of more countries representing Latin America, Asia and Africa (such as NIGERIA) in the United Nations Security Council;

(iv). To examine the focus of the reforms if they are meant to promote the ideals of the formation of the Un;

(v). The issues of how the reforms would be successful with the current members accepting the reforms;

(vi). The problems of overhauling the institutional and structural inadequacies of the UN to enable the organization face the challenges and collective threats of the 21st Century.

1.3 **Objective of the Study:**

The objective of this study is to have a Security Council that is representative and subject to the rule of law, a council with renewed legitimacy and which must be responsive to the wishes of the international community.

It is also to have a reform of the Council to correct the injustices of the past and make the world body truly democratic, representative in the current global realities. And also to provide the check of a veto-override mechanism on

the power of a few or to expand the number of beneficiaries of veto power so as to make it's working methods more efficient and transparent.

1.4 Significance of the Study:

The importance of this research is to highlight the need to increase the number of permanent members of the Security Council from the present permanent five to a body that has geographical spread with Latin America, Asia and Africa being represented – considering their appreciable contributions to the work of the United Nations since its inception.

1.5 Literature Review:

The review of relevant literatures on the subject matter seeks to analyse the historical perspective of the United Nations Organisation and its agencies from inception to date and the agitation for the Security Council reform since 1965 to early 1970s.

The work also reviews the prospects and challenges associated with the reform agenda and with some aspiring

member states such as NIGERIA – by examine her invaluable contributions towards the realization of the ideals of the world body.

It finally reviews the two models recommended by the High-Level Panel that the Security Council be expanded to accommodate regions that hitherto had been marginalized, and makes a critique and proffers suggestions as to how to make the world body truly democratic, representative and transparent in the present world order.

1.6 Scope of the Study:

The entire work covers exhaustively, the historical analysis of the United Nations Organisation, its organs and specialized agencies and most importantly the imperative for the reform of the Security Council in particular.

It also highlights, specifically, the prospects of and challenges facing the aspiring member – state most especially NIGERIA.

Although, the work examines the suitability of Nigeria to represent Africa in the reformed UN Security Council, brief mention is also made on the prospects and challenges of the

aspiring G – 4 members – state (i.e. Japan, Germany, India and Brazil).

1.7 Research Methodology: -

1.7.1 Sources of Date:

In the conduct of this research, data was gathered from various

sources so as to make the research findings very reliable. A great deal of data is collected from secondary sources since the primary sources could not be accessed. These secondary sources include: Libraries, where all sorts of textbooks, journals, newspapers and magazines are consulted. Internet, Seminar Papers and Workshops e.t.c.

1.7.2 Instrument of Research:

Instruments of research are also referred to as data collection

Instruments. They are so called as they assist in collecting, measuring and gathering the data that is essential for successful conduct of a research project work. Adequate care has been exercised in choosing the instruments of research that were adopted for this work. This is because the quality of

the research instruments is very essential, as a faulty instrument will only lead to distorted, unreliable and inaccurate.

Therefore, instrument used include: Documentations such as standard Textbooks, Magazines, Newspapers, Statistical Summaries, Websites, and Seminar Papers e.t.c.

CHAPTER ONE

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represented in this organ, which is constitutionally empowered to "discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international Peace and Security", and to "make ***recommendations with regard to the state or sates concerned to the Security Council or both".***

The **Security Council** is the second organ in term of importance, it is the nerve centre, indeed the most strategic organ of the U.N, consisting of 15 member states, with 5 of them, USA, Russia, France, Britain and China having permanent membership status and veto power associated with it. The third organ is the **Economic and Social Council** with a membership of 54 mandated to make or initiate studies on international, Economic, Social, Cultural, Educational,

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(iii). The not-well articulation of the suitability of more countries representing Latin America, Asia and Africa (such as NIGERIA) in the United Nations Security Council;

(iv). To examine the focus of the reforms if they are meant to promote the ideals of the formation of the UN;

(v). The issues of how the reforms would be successful with the current members accepting the reforms;

(vi). The problems of overhauling the institutional and structural inadequacies of the UN to enable the organization face the challenges and collective threats of the 21st Century.

1.8 Research Question

The following questions are asked in the course of this research:

i. Is the composition of the Security Council membership (particularly the five permanent members) sufficiently a representative of the international community".

In the above question it is argued that the Security Council membership composition is not a true representation of the international community.

ii. Is the unanimity of the permanent members of the UNSC an evidence that great powers are not determined to dominate the international system and use the UN as an instrument of their own national interest"?

In this question it is argued that the unanimity of the permanent members of the UNSC is not necessarily a return to the principles of the UN charter but rather an evidence that the few great powers are using the UN as an instrument of their own self interests in order to dominate the international system.

1.9 **Objective of the Study:**

The objective of this study is to have a Security Council that is representative and subject to the rule of law, a council with renewed legitimacy and which must be responsive to the wishes of the international community.

It is also to have a reform of the Council to correct the injustices of the past and make the world body truly

democratic, representative in the current global realities. And also to provide the check of a veto-override mechanism on the power of a few or to expand the number of beneficiaries of veto power so as to make it's working methods more efficient and transparent.

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contributions to the work of the United Nations since its inception.

1.7 Scope And Limitation

The entire work covers exhaustively, the historical analysis of the United Nations Organization, its organs and the imperative for the reform of the Organization in general, and the need for the reform of the Security Council in particular. It also highlights, specifically, the prospects of and challenges facing the aspiring member – states most especially NIGERIA.

Although, the work examines the suitability of Nigeria to represent African in the reformed UN Security Council, brief mention is made on the prospects and challenges of the aspiring G-4 member- states (i.e Japan, Germany, India and Brazil).

Finally, a great deal of data is collected from secondary sources because the primary sources could not be accessed due to time factor and lack of financial resources.

1.8 **Review of Relevant Literature:**

1.8.1 **Introduction**

This review of relevant literature seeks to analyze the historical perspective of the United Nations Organization and its agencies from inception in 1945 to date and the agitation for the Security Council reform, which began in 1965.

The chapter also reviews the prospects and challenges associated with the reform agenda and with some aspiring member-states. It further examines, specifically, Nigeria's invaluable contributions towards the realization of the ideals of the U.N.

It finally reviews the two models recommended by the High-level Panel that the Security Council be expanded to accommodate regions that hitherto had been marginalized so as to make the world body truly democratic, representative and transparent in the present world order.

1.8.2 **Origins of the United Nations:**

The basic concepts and assumptions underlying the United Nations go back to the beginning of statecraft and humanity's first effort to foster international cooperation. Its heritage is found in the evolution of diplomacy, alliances,

conferences, rules of warfare, means of peaceful settlement, and the development of international law. The overriding purpose of the UN is war prevention.

Progress toward peaceful settlement of disputes was made at two Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907 (The Encyclopedia Americana, 1985). In what became known as the Hague system, diplomats from all over the world worked toward the codification of international law; formulated a set of procedures for pacific settlement that included mediation, conciliation and inquiry; and establish a permanent court of Arbitration. This body of international arbitrators became the forerunner of the World Court in the Hague.

The horrors of modern warfare during the first World War led to the creation of the first multipurpose intergovernmental organization, the League of Nations. At the heart of the League was the concept of collective security namely, the extension of traditional alliances to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of all League members. The League's covenant was drafted by the victorious great powers at the Paris Peace conference in 1919 and subsequently made part of the Treaty of Versailles.

Headquartered in Geneva, the League of Nations was composed of four main organs: the Assembly, Council, Secretariat and the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. The Council, with core of its members drawn from great-powers with the status of permanent membership, was the League's most prestigious and powerful body. The League's major shortcoming was its impotence to prevent great-power's aggression. Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 brought little more than League condemnation. This aggression was followed, in 1935, by Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. Economic sanctions were imposed against Italy, but arms and trade embargoes proved insufficient to change Italian design on Ethiopia, and participation in their enforcement was less than universal. The League did not respond to external intervention in the Spanish civil war or to Hitler's abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles by his remilitarization of the Rhineland in 1936.

The German takeovers of Austria and Czechoslovakia also met with no League resistance, and when the second World

War broke out in Poland in 1939, the League was powerless to act.

After Japan's withdrawal from the League in 1933, the great-power exodus from Geneva began, with only France and Britain remaining as permanent Council members in 1939. Ironically, isolationist sentiment had prevented the United States from joining the organization that President Woodrow Wilson laboured so hard to create, although it did participate in various League activities. The failure of the League of Nations was mainly the failure of its members to uphold the provisions of the covenant. In many respects, the League was ahead of its time, not because its member states were not ready to place the interest of the international community and collective security above their own parochial foreign policy goals but, as mentioned above, the failure of its members to uphold the provisions of the covenant .

The Atlantic charter of August 14 1941, a statement of Anglo-American war aims and principles, called for the creation of a ***"permanent system of general security".*** The purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter were –

incorporated into the U.N. declaration of January 1, 1942 in which 26 nations pledged their cooperation in fighting the Axis powers. The declaration marked the first appearance of the term “united nations”.

Planning for the postwar period got underway in 1940 in the U.S State Department. President Franklin Roosevelt initially favoured a decentralized international organization in which the maintenance of international peace and security would be in the hands of the U.S. the U.S.S.R, Britain and China. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill shared similar visions of a world body having a vague and secondary role, while the great powers assured primary responsibility for peace enforcement in different regions.

The U.S., the Soviet Union and Britain finally agreed in the Moscow declaration of October 30 1943, to work toward the establishment of a comprehensive global organization. The basic framework of the new organization was prepared in two meetings at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington D.C, the first between the U.S, the Soviet Union and Britain in August and September of 1944, and the second in September and October.

In San Francisco the great powers submitted their draft proposal to the other countries that were present at the conference held between April 25 to June 26, 1945. With the war drawing to a close, there was a sense of urgency to the deliberations.

The small states made their voices heard by demanding several changes in the charter such as increasing the assembly's power in the field of security so that it would not remain the exclusive preserve of the great powers.

The one area where the small states failed to elicit any major concessions from the great powers was in limiting the application of the VETO. The U.S. and the Soviet Union made it clear that this safeguard was crucial to their participation, and without these two powers, there would be no U.N.

The Charter came into force on October 24, 1945, now celebrated as U.N's Day. The General Assembly held its first meeting in London on January 10, 1946, but it was decided that the permanent headquarters of the new organization would be in the United States.

1.8.3 **The United Nations Charter**

The U.N. Charter, which was signed on June 26, 1945 spells out the purposes and principles of the organization, along with the institutional arrangements and procedures to be employed in achieving them. The primary purposes of the organization are to protect the peace, to advance socio-economic cooperation, and to promote respect for human rights. To attain the first objective, the charter stipulates that member states should settle their disputes by peaceful means, refrain from the threat or use of force, and assist the organization in the application of measures against aggression.

The authority and actions of the United Nations are severely limited by the acknowledged sovereign equality of all members, a prohibition against intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of member states, and the fact that only certain decisions of the security council are binding on the general membership.[Chadwick et al 1995.

Since 1945 the charter has been formally amended only four times-namely, to accommodate the expansion of the Security Council and ECOSOC. The role and procedures of the U.N, however, have continually evolved through interpretation and usage as the organization adapts to the needs and desires of its members.

1.8.4 **The United Nations Security Council**

The Charter vests primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Security Council. It has a small membership, is in continuous session, and can convene anywhere in the world. Yet the council is in a better position, and empowered with greater authority, than the General Assembly when it comes to playing international peacemaker and policeman.

Five of the 15 countries represented on the council, namely: China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United states, are permanent members. The other 10 are elected by the assembly for a two-year term. Competition among a growing UN membership for nonpermanent seats led to the council's expansion from 11 to 15 members in

1965. The presidency of the council rotates each month in English alphabetical order among the members.

The distinction between permanent and non-permanent members is reflected in the council's voting procedures. Procedural decisions simply require the affirmative votes of nine or more members. On substantive matters, at least nine affirmative votes are again required, but they must include the concurring votes of all five permanent members. The principle of great-power unanimity is embodied in Article 27 and is commonly referred to as the "VETO". Substantive matters include the admission of new members and the election of the secretary-general but not the selection of members of the ICJ.

Security Council actions to uphold international peace and security take two general forms. The first is the peaceful settlement of disputes under chapter VI of the charter. Like the General Assembly, the council may recommend methods of settlement contained in the charter or institute other procedures such as the interposition of UN peacekeeping forces. However, unlike the assembly, the council has the right to investigate any situation to determine whether it constitutes a threat to the peace. Parties to a dispute who

are not members of the council may participate, without a vote, in the debate, while council members who are parties must abstain from voting on peaceful settlement recommendations.

The second approach involves the use of enforcement measures, outlined in Chapter VII of the charter, to protect and restore international peace and security. In carrying out these measures the Security Council may act on the organization's behalf in that the general membership is obliged to carryout the council's decisions. Enforcement measures include the severance of diplomatic relations, economic embargoes, and military sanctions ranging from demonstrations of force to actual armed combat.

The intense and pervasive conflict between the East and West (during Cold War era) largely explains why enforcement procedures have been employed so sparingly. Vetoes have been cast not only to protect the vital interests of permanent members but also to defend the actions of their friends or to frustrate their opponents.

1.8.5 **United Nation Membership**

Designed to be a universal organization, the UN has grown more than three-fold from its original members. Membership is open to all “peace-loving states” that accept the provisions of the charter and, in the judgment of the organisation, are willing and able to carry out the obligations of membership. Admission is by two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Because membership signifies international recognition and bestows a certain amount of legitimacy upon the regime representing a member-state, admission has at times become a political issue (between East and West). While some question the ability of microstates to fulfill their obligations, virtually all independent states belong to the U.N except Switzerland, by choice, and the two Koreas. No provisions are made in the charter for withdrawal. However, a member state can be suspended or expelled upon the recommendation of the Security Council for failing to meet its responsibilities.

1.8.6 **Financing**

The expenses of the UN are met by the membership in two ways: assessed and voluntary contributions. The regular biennial budget, which was roughly 1.5 billion dollars for 1982 – 83, covers administrative and other costs for the six principal organs. These organs are ***the General Assembly often referred to as the "parliament of the global community of sovereign states", the Security Council, Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship council*** (which has now become redundant following the virtual end to the process of decolonization), ***the International Court of Justice (ICT) and the Secretariat.***

Assessments are based primarily on a member's national income, with the maximum contribution being 25% of the budget, which only the U.S. pays, and the minimum 0.01%. About 60% of the members contributes 0.03% or less, while 18 states are assessed 1% or more. Voluntary contributions are used to finance a broad array of activities ranging from the U.N Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the UN Fund for Population Activities to Peacekeeping forces. The

expenses supported by voluntary contributions now exceed those in the regular budget.

1.8.7 **Organizational Structure**

The United Nations is composed of many organisations that are either part of the parent structure or autonomous specialized and related agencies within the UN framework. Three of the six principal organs mentioned above, the general Assembly, Security Council and ECOSOC can create subsidiary bodies to focus on specific issues ranging from industrial development to disarmament. In addition, there are 15 specialized and related agencies that have their own decision-making and administrative institutions and financial resources. The UN is headquartered in New York City, with offices and headquarters of various agencies located around the world.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 THE IMPERATIVE FOR UN REFORM

Since four decades ago, there have been persistent demands from several quarters for the reform of the United Nations. Such calls have taken varied forms. For example, in 1973, Japanese government officials mounted pressure on President Nixon's Administration in the United States to support the amendment of the UN Charter to allow Japan's entry into the Security Council as a permanent member **(Adamu S.H. 2005).** Also in 1995, a colloquium assembled by the European parliament in Brussels to discuss the future of the UN was canvassed to recommend a reform of the Social and Economic Council (ECOSOC) to enable it deal more effectively with poverty, unemployment, disease and other causes of conflict in the world. More recently, however, fierce debates have arisen over the composition of the Security Council and the right of Veto, with many states calling for a thoroughgoing reform to bring the Council into the 21st Century. Specifically, many have expressed the wish to see an expanded, more representative and accountable body.

In the light of these persistent demands, Secretary General Kofi Annan, soon after taking office in 1997, announced a plan for a thorough overhaul of the management and operations of the United Nations system. Shortly after, in September 2000, the Secretary General presented a proposal for more far-reaching systemic reforms, which the General Assembly adopted as the **Millennium Declaration.** That declaration outlined eight Millennium Development Goals for the UN, which were to be either completely, or substantially, achieved by the year 2015. In a March 2005 report to the 59th General Assembly in September 205, titled: **In Larger Freedom,** Kofi Annan made an assessment of the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals and concluded that more serious and far-reaching reforms were necessary if the goals were to be achieved.

More than ever, the United Nations needs strengthening to serve effectively in an internal system in which governments increasingly organized their political and economic relations through a highly decentralized complex of multilateral arrangement.

The following are the reasons for the UN Reform:

- The need to reform the Security Council to reflect as wide a geographical distribution as possible:
- The need for the United Nations to address the problem of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- The need to develop a system for financing global programmes through corporate taxation which would empower the United Nations and at the same time ensure its impartiality;
- The need for human rights issues, political as well as economic and social, to constitute the global agenda in this millennium;
- The need for the United Nations to rise to the challenge of governance and to support a culture of tolerance and diversity.

2.1 **The Millennium Goals:**

Kofi Annan emphasized in his report that the most important objective of his agenda for what he termed, “the most far-reaching reforms in the history of the United Nations”, was to attempt to restore global public confidence in the organisation through the making of “measurable progress towards peace, security, disarmament, human rights,

democracy and good governance". Such progress involved, among other things, the implementation of the following eight concrete, time-bound, goals:

- ***Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger*** by halving between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of those earning less than a dollar a day and also reducing by 50% the number of people suffering from hunger;
- ***Achieving universal primary education*** by ensuring that all children, all over the world, were able to receive full primary education by 2015;
- ***Promoting gender equality and empowering women*** through the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education not beyond 2015;
- ***Reducing child (under-five) mortality rate*** by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015;
- ***Improving maternal*** health by reducing the maternal mortality ratio by three quarters by 2015;
- ***Combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases*** by halving, by 2015, and beginning to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and also by halting, and beginning to reverse

the incidence of Malaria and other major diseases by 2015;

- ***Ensuring environmental sustainability through:***

(a) Integrating the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reversing the loss of environmental resources;

(b) Halving, by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation, and

(c) Achieving a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers y 2020, and

- ***Developing a global partnership for development*** through:

(a) The entrenching of an open, rule-based, predictable, non- discriminatory trading and financial system which was also committed to good governance, development and poverty reduction – both nationally and internationally;

(b) The addressing of the special needs of the least developed countries, including tariff – and quota-free access for least developed countries' exports; enhanced programme of debt relief for heavily indebted

poor countries and cancellation of official bilateral debt and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction;

(c) Addressing the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing states;

(d) Dealing comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debts sustainable in the long term;

(e) Developing and implementing strategies for decent and productive work for youth;

(f) Providing access, in cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries and

(g) Making available, in cooperation with private sector, the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications.

2.2 Problems Militating Against the Full Realization of the UN Objectives

As earlier outlined in Chapter One, the primary objectives of the United Nations are faced with serious problems

militating against their full realization. These problems are explained thus:

i. The end of the cold war further dramatized questions about the capacity of the UN that had been raised in the mid – 1980s. Hampered, at the time, by the convergence of both East – West and North – South antagonisms, the organization had become stalemated and seemed increasingly incapable of mobilizing any collective response to important world problems. The dilemma was recognized by the Secretary General in his report to the General Assembly in 1986, when he wrote that ***"regrettably …… the United Nations is subjected to a crisis challenging its solvency and viability".***

ii. The annual session of the General Assembly where the developing countries carry a majority under the formula of one state - one vote has been reduced to meaning less and repetitive debate as the industrialized counties concentrate decisions on economic growth and stability in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund where they retain effective control;

iii. The United Nations still has to deal with disparities in development , the legacies of imperialism, threats of environmental deterioration and human rights violations while taking on the added burdens of an expanded role in maintaining international peace and security;

iv. When the General Assembly met in September, 1986, attention was focused on a mundane issue entitled : "*Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations" .* The issue had long been hovering over the organization. It was now force on the agenda by the threat of the United States to reduce its contribution unless voting procedure would be change to give greater weight to major contributors. The United States' action was more than a challenge to the financial status of the UN and was particularly significant both because the United States, assessed at 25 percent of the regular budget, is the largest contributor to the United Nations and because any change in the method of voting threatened the principle of the sovereign equality of all members states, embedded in the one - state one- vote formula;

v. The unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council which is perceived not necessarily as a return to the principles of the Charter but rather as evidence that the great powers are determined to dominate the international system and use the United Nations as an instrument of their own national interest.

It is therefore , at this juncture, instructive to note that there is urgent need to have a Security Council that is representative and subject to the rule of law, a council with renewed legitimacy and which must be responsive to the wishers of the international community.

It is also to have a reform of the Council to correct the injustices of the past and make the world body truly democratic, representative in the current global realities. The 53 African States make up the largest single continent- based group in the United Nations. African Sates, with the one – State, one – vote system characteristic of international Institutions, cast nearly a third of the ballots in the United General Assembly. Sometimes Africa votes as a unit in the United Usually with the Asian group on such matters as economic develop and the termination of colonial rule.

As a formal entity, the African Union exceeds any other regional organisation both in membership and in territorial extent (about one - fourth of the world's land surface), yet no African – State is a member of the United Nations Security Council.

According to Nobutaka Machimura, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Japan, he said in his keynote speech at the opening of a two-day regional hearing on "The United Nations in the Twenty- First Century (September, 1999) in Tokyo that "The United Nations should introduce International public order in much broader areas, in which national interest must yield to international public interest".

I am however satisfied with the views of the above – reviewed literature in that the United Nations could be strengthened by allowing the General Assembly to play the important role it was meant to as a representative of all people. The key issue was how the United Nations was to reform itself by incorporating new ideas and initiatives.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

In the conduct of this research, data was gathered from various sources so as to make the research findings very reliable. As such, a great deal of data is collected from secondary sources of data. However, this source of data must be used with caution as it may contain errors and false documents.

Data gathered through the secondary sources were analyzed and interpreted to suit the research work before being utilized considering the sensitive nature of this work. All the authors of such works are acknowledged and the websites sited for easier access to them.

3.1 Reform of the Security Council

Side by side with the Millennium Development proposals, the Secretary General put forward certain suggestions to the 59th General Assembly for the reform of the intergovernmental organs of the United Nations, namely, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship council. Of these

organs, however, it was the Security Council, which Kofi Annan singled out for more concrete reform.

According to Osuntokun (2005), the motivation to seek to reform the Security Council has been informed and influenced by:

(i) The changed configuration of power at the international level in the aftermath of the cold war; the two defeated nations of Germany and Japan in 1945 are now the third and second largest contributors to the UN budget. Furthermore Japan is the second biggest economy in the world while Germany is the third. Ironically, he defeated powers of 1945 are two of the most powerful countries today economically.

(ii) The need to realign the exercise of that power away from considerations that are solely military to include economic and political capacity as well as other parameters; the increased membership of the United Nations from 51 states in 1945, to 191 as at today;

(iii) The need to ensure transparency, efficiency and accountability, in its working methods; the use or abuse of the veto by the permanent members;

(iv) The prevailing international climate of relative global peace and disposition of member states to wish to reform the council in order to redress and correct the observed imbalances and anomalies.

Presently, the Security Council is made up of 15 members, of which the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and China, hold permanent seats. The ten other members are non-permanent, and are elected by the General Assembly to a two-year term that may not be renewed. The non-permanent seats rotate on a geographical basis, with five elected from Asia, Africa, and Middle East; two from Western Europe and one from Eastern Europe. The presidency of the council is occupied for one month at a time by each of the members, in English alphabetical order by country.

For a resolution to pass, nine affirmative votes must be cast. However, this is the case only in procedural decisions. On substantive matters – such as those concerning deployment of forces, and breaches of peace-the negative vote of any of the five permanent members would prevent the adoption of any resolution, irrespective of whether or not nine votes had been cast in favour. This negative vote is what is

known as the ***right of veto*** of the great powers, which has been a matter of great controversy since the establishment of the UN.

Kofi Annan also reported that he had accepted the recommendations of the ***HIGH-LEVEL-PANEL ON THREATS, CHALLENGES AND CHANGE,*** which he had set up concerning the reforms of the Security Council, to the effect that the changes be made should:

(a) Increase the involvement in decision-making of those who contribute most to the United Nations financially, militarily and diplomatically, specifically in terms of contributions to United Nations assessed budgets, participation in mandated peace operations, contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations objectives and mandates. Among developed countries, achieving or making substantial progress towards the internationally agreed level of 0.7 percent of GNP for ODA should be considered an important criterion of contribution;

(b) Bring into the decision-making process countries more representative of the broader membership, especially of the developing world;

(c) Not impair the effectiveness of the Security Council, and

(d) Increase the democratic and accountable nature of the body.

3.2 Secretary General's Proposed Models

Based on these broad criteria mentioned above, the Secretary General went ahead to propose two models, A and B, for the enlargement of the Security Council. Both models suggest an enlargement of the Council to 24 members. Under model 'A', there would be an addition of six permanent seats, with no veto, and three new two-year term, non-permanent seats, divided among the world's regions as presented in the table below:

Table 1: Security Council Reform: Secretary General's proposed Model 'A'

Regional Area	No. of States	Permanent Seats (Continuing)	Proposed New Permanent Seats	Proposed Two-Year Seats (Non-Renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	1	2	6
Americas	35	1	1	4	6
Totals	**191**	**5**	**6**	**13**	**24**

Source: ***In Larger Freedom,.,,*** **Report of the Secretary General (Mr. Kofi Annan), 21st March, 2005, P.43.**

Model B, on the other hand, makes no provision for permanent seats or veto rights, but creates a new category of eight, four-year renewable seats and one new two-year, non-permanent and non renewable seat, divided among the regions as follows:

Table 1: Security Council Reform: Secretary General's proposed Model 'A'

Regional Area	No. of States	Permanent Seats (Continuing)	Proposed New Permanent Seats	Proposed Two-Year Seats (Non-Renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	2	1	6
Americas	35	1	2	3	6
Totals	**191**	**5**	**8**	**11**	**24**

Source: ***In Larger Freedom,,.,*** **Report of the Secretary General (Mr. Kofi Annan), 21st March, 2005, P.43.**

Africa has reached a consensus on the models proposed by choosing model 'A' in accordance with the decision of the Heads of State and Government in their mid-term summit in Abuja in January 2005. Since its adoption in Addis Ababa on March 8 2005, the consensus has become the official African position on the reform of the Security Council. This view has already been presented to the UN Secretary-General by the Council of 15 African Foreign Ministers mandated by the African Union. The decision of which

two countries will represent Africa on the UN Security Council is yet to be made which greatly informed this research work.

3.3 Justification for Nigeria's suitability to represent Africa in the Reformed Un Security Council

Nigerian's suitability for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council as one of Africa's representative are hereby assessed in the context of her: Contributions to global peace and security; leadership and commitment to peace, democracy and good governance on the continent of Africa, promotion of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and national interests, among others, as discussed below:

In his inaugural speech delivered at the plenary session of the General Assembly in New York on October 8, 1960 the Late Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of blessed memory asserted that "Nigeria would participate actively in the work of the United Nations Organization and uphold the principles upon which the United Nations organization is founded". This is not only for the international legitimacy that membership confers on states, but also the opportunity that it affords for new and poor states to engage

in multilateral diplomacy and contribute to global peace and security.

Only a few weeks after this famous speech of the Prime Minster, Nigeria was inducted into global politics when the world body asked the country to contribute and deploy a contingent of its national troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo for peacekeeping under the United Nations auspices. This request provided the first unmistakable indication that Nigeria was already fully accepted as a credible member of the world community, and was expected to assume a decisive role in African affairs – a role which was to taken for granted because of her size and population. It also confirmed the deep-seated belief among Nigerians that their country was manifestly destined to play a leading role in African Affairs for being faithful to the ideals of the UN Nigeria did not join other radical African states who withdrew their troops after the Congolese Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, was murdered. Nigerians troops served in the Congo operations from 1960 to the end of the operations in 1964 with Nigeria's Major General JTU Aguiyi-Ironsi eventually becoming the overall commanding officer of the UN forces.

Nigeria successfully utilized the platform of this world body to effectively pursue its dreams of decolonization of other African countries and particularly the eradication of apartheid and racism from the continent of Africa arising from this commitment, Nigeria organized and hosted the first United Nations conference for action against apartheid in Lagos in 1977, and subsequently chaired the UN Anti-Apartheid Committee from 1970 until that Committee was dissolved in 1994. Nigeria has also availed itself to the UN to press other issues of global concern such as trade, debt relief and forgiveness, etc. Nigeria has successfully represented Africa on three occasions in the Security Council, and has also had the honour of guiding the activities of the General Assembly when General Joe Garba served as president of the 44th Session.

As prominent member of the international community Nigeria continues to play a very active role in global governance in different international organization and bodies such as the Common Wealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, the G-77, Organization of Petroleum exporting Countries (OPEC), etc. At the global level Nigeria has chaired the Non-Aligned Movement, the G-77 and is the current chair of

the Commonwealth, while it has also headed several UN committees, among them the UN special committee on peacekeeping operations. Nigeria has represented Africa creditably as a non-permanent member at the Security Council on three different occasions (1966-1967, 1978-1979 and 1994 – 1995) And in terms of the maintenance of global peace and Security, hundreds of thousands of Nigeria solders, policemen and civilians have taken part in peacekeeping operations, truce supervisions, monitoring and observer missions in diverse regions from Africa to Asia and the Middle East. This is aside from scores of Nigerians who have served in various UN bodies and other international organization and specialized commissions including the likes of Professor Adebayo Adedeji as Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UN/ECA) for fourteen years, Chief Emeka Anyaoku as Commonwealth Secretary-General, and Professor Ibrahim Gambari a current Under-Secretary General of the United Nations and Adviser to the Secretary – General on African Affairs.

It was Nigeria that organized and spearheaded the 18 – month long EEC-ACP negotiations in 1973 to ensure that the small and poor African, Caribbean and Pacific states got a

good bargain in their economic and trade relations with the developed states of Western Europe.

Nigeria's contributions to the U.N. and global governance in peace and Secrutiy, have, understandably, been most prominent at the continental level. For instance, Nigeria is founding member of and an acknowledged powerhouse inside the organization of Africa Unity, and was in the forefront of this recent transformation into the African Union; the formation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); the decolonization of countries like Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and Anti-Apartheid activism; peace-making, peacekeeping and conflict mediation in Africa; continental economic development and integration, to mention just a few. It was in recognition and appreciation of its unparalleled commitments towards the eradication of the insidious settler-colonialism and racism in Africa that Nigeria was, in the mid-1970s, conferred with the prestigious status of a "Frontline State" by the Southern African States. Nigeria chaired the OAU two times in the organization's first thirty years of existence, was the moving force behind the formation of

ECOWAS which it has chaired several times since its inception in 1975. Nigeria is currently the chair of both African Union and the Steering and Implementation Committee of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Nigeria was also invited to mediate and mount a unilateral peacekeeping in Chad in 1982, was the moving force behind the formation of Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and its operations to restore peace and normalcy in the West African sub-region and actively negotiated return of peace to the war-torn Sudan in the early 1990s. Nigeria has been in the forefront of current international efforts to bring peace to Sudan's Darfur region similarly, Nigeria also successfully mediated the restoration of democratic rule in Sao Tome and Principe after a military coup that country's elected civilian government, and took a firm strand against Faure Gnasingbe's undemocratic seizure of power in Togo after his father's sudden death in February 2005.

With the final winding down of the cold War by the end of the 1980s decade, it was already clear to all that United Nations would eventually have to undergo drastic reforms

and changes if it was to remain relevant for the demands of the 21st Century. Its structure and functions were determined by the victorious allied power after WW II, but there is no doubt that it could not continue that way with less than sixty member states at its inception in 1945, the organization has today grown into a truly universal organization with 191 members. Since the majority members' states gained independent after the organization had come into existence, it now has to adapt to emerging geopolitical and geo-strategic changes in the world. To remain static would render it insensitive and irrelevant to the wishes and aspirations of the vast majority of states and peoples today.

The Security Council till now remains the exclusive preserve of the great powers, but then several other states have since risen to the status of global economic and technological great powers and whose contributions to global politics can only be ignored at considerable risk. For example, it remains indefensible that the African continent with 53 member states, and by far the largest regional bloc in the United Nations, is not represented in the Security Council, while Europe, with far less number of states, has

three veto-wielding members. Latin America is also severely marginalized.

Those that contribute very appreciably to the work of the United Nations must now be rewarded with greater involvement in global governance as the way to correct the injustices of the past and make the world body truly democratic, representative in the current global realities. In short, the institutional and structural inadequacies of the UN must be overhauled to enable the organization face the challenges and collective threats of the 21st Century. The threats and challenges that face the world today, according to the High Level Panel, and which require collective efforts are classified into six clusters as:

- Economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious diseases and environmental degradation
- Inter-state conflict
- Internal conflict, including civil wars, genocide and other large-scale atrocities
- Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons
- Terrorism
- Transnational organized crime.

The High-Level Panel recognizes that the international society in the 21st Century faces myriad challenges and threats that are clearly beyond the capacity of even the most powerful states to address alone. Since collective action is thus a sine qua non to addressing these problems, reforming the UN and expanding the membership of some of its principal organs to be more inclusive has become inevitable, consequently, if Africa's voice is not to remain permanently silenced, then the Continent has to be accommodated in the envisaged reforms.

3.4 Challenges for Nigeria and other aspiring member states

Although Nigeria's immense qualifications for permanent seat at the Security Council, and its track record of services to the African continent, and the global community at large, have been highlighted, the reality is that a continent of 53 states would not lack several other qualified candidates to fill the African slots when such slots are created. The five geopolitical sub-regions, into which the continent is divided, can each produce a credible candidate for a permanent seat in the council. This implies that Nigeria's own aspiration will have to contend with other credible regional challenges.

(Jibrin D. Chinade 2005). Thus far, the two other prominent regional contenders that have been identified are Egypt in North Africa, and South Africa in southern Africa. Although South Africa was only admitted into the UN in 1994, Post-apartheid South Africa is undoubtedly a continental economic, political and military power to reckon within Africa.

Like Nigeria, it also has considerable clout in world affairs. Besides, it is more likely to have the support of most Southern African states that are largely dependent on it for survival. Nigeria cannot hope to garner considerable support within West Africa because of the divisive factor of Anglophone-Francophone dichotomy, which has been at the root of sub-regional disagreements since independence. Nigeria experienced stiff opposition from French-speaking west African states over the formation of ECOWAS in the early 1970s, while its peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts in Liberia in the 1990s were largely thwarted by the Francophone states of Cote D'Ivoire and Burkina Faso.

We must also bear in mind that the choice of Africa's representatives at the enlarged Security Council is not solely an African Affair; other powers outside Africa are interested in the countries that will represent the continent. Such major

powers that bankroll the United Nations cannot be ignored in the realities and dynamics of world politics. The implication however, is that Nigeria must have to engage in aggressive bilateral and multilateral diplomacy and campaign in and outside Africa to woo to its side the extra-African countries that may influence African states decisions. For example, Nigeria must not ignore France as a major factor in African politics.

The consensus of global opinion at the 2004 UN General Assembly is that the G4 (Japan, Germany, India and Brazil) should become members while waiting for the two African States nomination. Japan seems to have run into brick wall of China's opposition for geo-political reasons arising from struggle for dominance in East Asia and as part of the legacies of unresolved historical antipathies going back to the period before and during the Second World War. India's candidature is opposed by Pakistan, which also is a nuclear power in South Asia. Pakistan sees itself as deserving of a seat on the UNSC as a representative of the voice of Islam.

Some countries, particularly Australia seem to feel that Indonesia deserves a seat on the Security Council as the

most populous Islamic country in order to avoid the appearance of the worlds being afflicted by the virus of a clash of civilizations. Even Germany's case is not settled. It is not clear if Britain, France and Russia would be happy with Germany on the UNSC. Italy and Spain are openly against Germany's membership. There are some people who feel that the European Union should have only one seat and not three if Germany were to be a member. But the reality of a changing world situation is that Germany is the biggest economy in Europe and the third largest contributor to UN budget. But within Germany herself there are ideological forces opposed to Germany's membership on the grounds that anything that smacks of big power status for Germany is anathema and dangerous, bearing in mind, recent German history. Brazil seems the only country whose nomination seems to be without much opposition. Argentina that could have bidded for a seat is in sorry financial situation and Mexico is not thought to be a serious contender.

Nigeria's case to me seems solid she has borne the burden of Africa's liberation in the past. She was officially designated a frontline state against the apartheid regime in south Africa during the years of Africa's struggle. She could

> easily have remained aloof from this struggle, after all she was geographically distant from it. She sacrificed good will of the west and her own development to see the end of the apartheid regime and colonialism in Southern Africa, particularly in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and South Africa itself. All these countries owe Nigeria some debt and it is pay back time. Nigeria during the heady days of "Oil boom" committed funds to the ADB – (The Nigerian fund) to assist Poor African countries and no other African country has since emulated this worthy example. Nigeria continues to share the expertise of her people with countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific Islands by Sending technical aid to them under the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) at great cost to the Nigerian exchequer.

Apart from India, no country has participated in UN peace keeping or peace observing operations as Nigeria. This has caused the lives of her young men and women who had to be put in harm's way for the cause of humanity. Nigeria has no less been forth coming in the struggle for a nuclear free world particularly a nuclear free Africa. Ten years ago when the idea of an African country on the UNSC was first mooted, Nigeria by a wide margin was seen as the natural choice having just fought for an Egyptian to be secretary-general of the UN albeit as a consensus African candidate, after Obasanjo-here own candidate appeared unsuccessful. The exemplary role of Nigeria

made Nelson Mandela at that time to suggest that if there was a reform of the UNSC and there was a seat for Africa, Nigeria was the Natural choice.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY,CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.0 Summary

This research has tried to discuss the historical background of the United Nations Organisation as an umbrella body for all sovereign and independent nations of the world for the promotion of global peace and advance socio-economic cooperation among members.

We have seen in the first chapter, the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objective of the study, significance and scope of the study. In addition the review of relevant literature on the study is discussed. The chapter further explains the origins of the United Nations, the UN charter, the Security Council, the UN membership, its financing and organizational structure.

Subsequent chapters examine the imperative for the UN Reform, the Millennium Goals, the UN Security Council Reform, the Secretary general's proposed models, the justification for Nigeria's suitability to represent Africa and the challenges for Nigeria and other aspiring member-states.

4.1 **Conclusion**

In conclusion when all is said and done, African states would have to ask themselves before making their choice what has each of the countries done for Africa in the past? Does service deserve its rewards? Which is the most authentically African of these countries? From past record which of the countries appear to be capable of making sacrifices for Africa in the future? Which of these countries have sacrificed her interest so as to redeem Africa from oppression? What are the future potentialities of each of the countries? Even on the question of stability, which of the countries have overcome the African problem of fissiparous tendencies in the past? Which of the countries have been tested and passed the test of survival? Which of the countries have demonstrated the capacity and tolerance to permit the cohabitation of the two monotheistic religions of Islam and Christianity? The answers to these questions for Nigeria are in the affirmative.

In view of all that have been discussed in this work, it is worthy to express that Nigeria is eminently qualified to represent Africa in the reformed and enlarged UN Security Council. Financially, Nigeria has maintained a track record in meeting its financial obligations to the UN. It has consistently

contributed to the organisations assessed budgets and has even gone to the extent of helping some poorer African nations financially to also meet their financial obligations to the UN.

Even though Nigeria is ranked among one of the poorest nations in the World, it has consistently made major financial commitment to sister African countries in the spirit of African brotherhood. According to the Facts Sheets on Nigeria published by the presidency (2005) to support this bid, Nigeria spent US 61 billion dollars on the liberation struggles of Southern Africa between 1961 – 94. it single handedly organized, fined and led the ECOMOG to arrest the political and humanitarian crises in Sierra Leone. It has consistently contributed significantly to humanitarian assistance especially in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Southern and Central Africa and Dafur. Besides, Nigeria has continued to assist needy ACP countries by sending them highly skilled scientific and technical man power, training their students and military, granting them loans as well as supplying power, oil and other forms of help. Militarily, Nigeria has sent more troops for peacekeeping to more countries in the World than any other African nation. Nigeria is ranked the 5th largest

contributor to the UN Peace keeping operations. So far it has participated in 26 military and police peace mission and 8 observer missions. Infact, a Nigerian, General Aguiyi Ironsi commanded one of the first UN Peace keeping operation in Africa. Nigeria's military is ranked the 46th largest Armed Force in the World, while the UN ranks Nigeria 7th in the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa **(Fact Sheet, Presidency 2005)**.

Diplomatically, Nigeria has remained a unifier and peacemaker in Africa. It championed the establishment of OAU/AU, the ECOWAS and has mediated in several disputes between and within African nations, sometimes to the dismay and charging of her citizens.

Economically, Nigeria is the largest domestic market in Africa it is Africa biggest and Worlds 6th largest producer of oil. Besides oil, Nigeria is endowed with immense natural and mineral resources and has great tourist potential. Therefore, it is economically viable to meet and sustain any financial obligations that a permanent seat at the UN Security Council may generate.

In terms of representative ness, Nigeria is the largest black nation in the World. It is often regarded as the heartbeat and pride of the

black race. With a population of 130 million, Nigeria represents 20% of the total population of sub-Saharan African and it is an accepted fact that one out of every 4 Africans is a Nigerian **(Facts Sheet Presidency 2005)**.

4.2 Recommendations

While the bold initiative taken by the Secretary General to reform the UN was fully supported by all, I however suggest that the reform agenda should be reformulated to ensure the following:

(i) That all new permanent seats to be created in the UNSC be made to have the right of veto. This will clearly confirm the acknowledged sovereign equality of all members in the global politics;

(ii) That the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation, being UN institutions which have assumed leadership in the field of global economic policy, be more effectively subjected to the supervision of the Economic and Social Council, as well as made more democratic, representative, transparent and accountable, and be transformed from

their present role of representing richer states' interests over poor countries' growth and development.

(iii) That Africa be allocated more than two seats on the enlarged Security Council, as this will enhance the possibility of other key African states to join Nigeria in the council;

(iv) That all new members of the reformed and enlarged Security Council be either accorded the right to develop and own nuclear weapons or the world nuclear powers be made to agree to an immediate programme of disarmament in order to ensure global peace.

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