

Nigeria and the United Nations Security Council

Nanna Charlotte Lord-Mallam, PhD

Department of Political Science and Defence Studies
Nigerian Defence Academy Kaduna
Nigeria

Abstract

This article is a study of hip hop dance as a cultural trend in growth in young and their impact on contemporary societies. It has been constructed by participant observation, encounters with young people that practice Hip Hop dance, bibliographical reviews. Took as theoretical basis some authors, in support of the object of study and dig deeper inner aspects of the experience of young people who practice hip hop dance from everyday life. The methodology used was an interpretive qualitative approach, focused on the significance of the interactions of cultural practices urban artists. Their connections with their physical and social environment, their actions, values, beliefs, and the roles they play in their daily life.

Keywords: Hip Hop dance; Cultural practices, identity, urban artists

1. Background

The land area today referred as Nigeria came under British influence and control in the 19th century. It got its independence in 1960 after a series of constitutions at the end of the WWII. Nigeria, with a population of 146,255,312 (*World Fact Book, 2008*) is Africa's most populous state with the largest concentration of black people in the world (Akinterinwa, 2007:282). It is endowed with such natural resources as natural gas, petroleum, tin; iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc, arable land and so on. Over the years since independence, Nigeria has sought to exercise leadership in Africa and on African issues at extra-African fora. Nigeria joined the UN as its 99th member and at this point did not leave the world in doubt that it would not be neutral on African issues no matter who was on the opposite side. Its foreign policy goals from the onset clearly indicated that. They were:

- Respect for political independence and territorial integrity of all states;
- Total liquidation of all forms of colonialism and imperialism, including white minority regimes in Southern Africa;
- Respect for fundamental human rights;
- Promotion of international peace and security, as well as measures aimed at reducing world tensions;
- Re-unification of all dividend lands through peaceful negotiations;
- General and complete disarmament; and
- The establishment and strengthening of the UN agencies concerned with multilateral economic aid and equitable trade terms (Zabadi, 2007).

Thus since independence, Nigeria has been uncompromising on issues of Africa's freedom and the dignity of the black man. It was in this light that Nigeria opposed France over its continued colonisation of Algeria and also threatened to strain her diplomatic relations when France carried out nuclear tests in the Sahara in 1960. Nigeria also opposed Portugal over its continued colonial occupation of parts of Africa. It waged a relentless war against South Africa over its racist policy of apartheid which enslaved black people in their own state. This ensured South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth in 1961. Nigeria also supported liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde; and also in Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa (Zabadi, 2007). Despite all these achievements, Nigeria is hobbled by political instability, corruption, inadequate infrastructure and poor macroeconomic management. In Human Rights records and particularly the issue of good governance, Nigeria has performed below expectation. Nigeria's internal or domestic credentials should reflect her external credentials.

Nigeria compromises internal security for international security. Yet, Nigeria bears the wealth of the region - Gulf of Guinea (being the most attractive gulf when compared to the Caspian and Persian Gulf's). However, Nigeria's ability to secure the Gulf is in question. As Nigeria puts up infrastructure to secure the entire gulf, it is better equipped to represent Africa as Africa's permanent member at the UNSC. As Brazil today commands a place of respect in the world because of its rich 'ethanol' economic strength (an alternative energy source) Nigeria can do same with its crude and also with its contribution towards Peace Support Operations (PSOs) generally if it can put its acts together. Otherwise, the politics in the international system will disqualify Nigeria. As it is, progress is slowed down in Nigeria because of corruption and misgovernment. Looking at the other contestants, Egypt even though does not have a democracy, is in the good book of the US. South Africa also, is richer and technologically more advanced than Nigeria. To say the least, Nigeria's current government (Yar'adua/Jonathan's, 2007- 2011) is not regarded by the European Union. However in spite of these, Nigeria still stands tall when compared with the other contestants (Egypt and South Africa) on the continent owing from Nigeria's role in global peace and security which is the main objective of the UN. Indeed, no state in the international system has contributed as Nigeria has in Peace Keeping Operations; not even the US per capita. Again, even if Nigeria has not been able to translate the credentials mentioned above, in the near future Nigeria will make good if it can convert the use of its role in PKOs and its rich crude deposit into positive and quality use.

Unsc and the Need for Reform

The changes in contemporary international system (the UN inclusive) no doubt have created both positive and negative impacts on the system. Such changes as the unification of East and West Germany, the defeat of Iraq by the coalition forces, the inclusion of new members into the UN – North and South Korea, are pointers to the positive aspects. On the other hand, the wanton rise in ethnic nationalism resulting in conflicts, internally displaced persons, refugee problems, terrorists attacks, poverty and hunger, have created the possibilities for disorder in the international system. These no doubt have created the need for a restructured UNSC to include regions with such vulnerabilities. In the past, economic and military might played such important roles in determining the membership of the UNSC but now factors such as regional representation in a democratising world as ours must be viewed as crucial and inevitable. Since the inception of the UN the globe has undergone several structural changes. For instance more independent states (mostly non-European) have joined the UN. This is a departure from its dominance by European states at inception - 1945. The increase in the number of members of UN coming from diverse geo-political regions makes the inclusion of such states/regions into the SC a necessity. This will reflect a balanced representation in the international organisation. The present constitution of the UNSC is Euro-American and grossly unrepresentative of the international system. Worse still Africa with its large number representing over a quarter (fifty-three states out of one hundred and ninety-two states) of the membership of the UN, is the only region not represented on the most powerful organ of the UN. The UNSC - the highest decision making organ which at the same time wields the most authority (vested with the power and responsibility to ensure global peace and security - the reason behind the formation of the UN) does not have an African representation. It is only fair that all regions of the world be represented in such an organ but off course, like we all know, morality from a realist viewpoint comes in only if to serve as a means to an end in the international system.

The international system being dynamic now heralds democracy alone as the acceptable system of governance. It is expected that the UN system reflects this in its workings. Africa currently is the only continent left out of the SC and this makes the SC slow in responding to Africa's problems. This anomaly is similar to what caused the Second World War (WWII) – the exclusion of the Axis Powers from the membership of the League of Nations. It is thus hoped that when the Council is well represented geo-politically, Africa will have an effective voice in the SC and by extension the international community. The United States (US) Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the UN established by the US Congress in 1987 captured the need for equal representation in the UNSC. Thus it called for adequate regional participation in the council. The Commission stated in its final report in 1993 that even though reaching a consensus may be difficult on major issues in an expanded council, it still supported the need for a permanent seat for Africa, South East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean Islands. Similarly, the Non- aligned Movement (NAM) also called for an increase in both permanent and non-permanent membership in the Council based on economic and political considerations, regional representation and population. Hence such states as Japan, Germany, Brazil, India, Nigeria and South Africa should be the first to be considered.

This obviously can be understood as their unique contributions in Peace Support Operations and in the funding of the UN are glaring. Recognising the increased pressure to reconsider the composition of the SC, the UN in 1992 put up the issue for deliberation in the GA (Resolution 47/62). Later on, in September 2003 the then Secretary General (SG) Kofi Annan announced to the General Assembly his appointment of a High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change to identify what the key threats were to international peace and security and make recommendations towards the reform of the UN. The Panel's report, "A More Secured World: Our Shared Responsibility" was issued in December 2004 (Weiss, 2005). The Panel suggested ways in which to improve the Security Council including a two-tier structure with six additional permanent seats and three elected seats. This panel's recommendations which to the eyes of many are laudable have not seen the light of day.

Considerations for Nigeria's Bid For a Permanent Seat on the Unsc

As part of Nigeria's strategy as a leading regional power in the community of nations is her bid to represent Africa on the SC permanently and with veto wielding power. In respect with the UN Security Council reform and as one of the underlying principles, the promotion and the reward of a nation for its economic competence, technological effectiveness, industrial creativity, financial dynamism, overall productivity, and commitment to progress, states should be rewarded for their contribution. However, states with negative models cannot possibly have a position in the UN Security Council because of just a pathetic birth rate growth. The reasons for Nigeria's bid are not far-fetched. Nigeria with its large population and regional leadership role is a member of the Group of 77, Group of 15, D-8, African Petroleum Producers Association, and African Economic Community to mention a few. Through these organisations, Nigeria has been able to champion the interests of the developing world (Akinterinwa, 2007: 288). This untiring devotion in time and money to political community building in Africa through mutually beneficial regional and continental integration, should count in her favour in the quest to secure a permanent seat at the UNSC. In this wise too, the country was not only instrumental in the formation of the defunct OAU in 1963 and the ECOWAS in 1975, but has also been in the driving seat of these organisations by playing pivotal roles in their funding. In this new millennium, Nigeria is a major force behind the New African Initiative (NAIs) aimed at fostering peace, unity and development on the continent and also a member of the African Union (AU) which succeeded the OAU, and the New Partnership For Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Emeh, 2005). Others reasons are:

1. LOCATION - Nigeria because of its location (heart of Africa) on the continent is the only African state that can be said to be truly African among contending states. Others are at the far ends of the continent (Egypt to the north and South Africa to the extreme south). Because of its location, Nigeria is a member of the Gulf of Guinea which now has become the most sort after gulf in the world. The kind of crude oil available in this gulf in large quantity is referred to as "sweet crude" and is better than those of both the Persian and Caspian gulfs.
2. AFFILIATION - Again these states - Egypt and South Africa are affiliates of the Middle East and Europe respectively. Egypt is more of Arab than black and stands as the hegemon in the Middle East. Egypt is often referred to as the Arab Republic of Egypt and being closer to the Middle East, prefers to relate with it. The question however is, why contest for Africa's representation? Similarly, South Africa because of its kind of colonialism (settler colony) and its location (extreme end thus more accessible to Europe) is tied to Europe's apron string. Nigeria stands aloof; without affiliation not even to her coloniser - Britain.
3. FOR BALANCE AND RACISM - Deriving from the reason above, for the UN to maintain balance and ensure that all races are represented in its SC, Nigeria stands out among the other competitors in Africa.
4. POPULATION - Another reason put forward for Nigeria is its large population. Nigeria has a population of 146,255,312 (*World Fact Book, 2008*) hence Africa's most populous state. And as the saying goes, in every four blacks seen anywhere in the world, one is a Nigerian. This by implication means that Nigeria's large population affects the globe and going by the reasons recommended by the NAM, Nigeria qualifies to have a seat on the UNSC.
5. ROLE IN GLOBAL PEACE SUPPORT - The active participation of Nigeria in Peace Support Operations as discoursed above makes strong reason for its permanent membership on the SC. Nigeria has invested so much personnel and materials to maintain peace in the world. This consideration should supersede all other considerations since the UN was established to ensure global peace and security. To therefore appreciate Nigeria for its effort in PSOs over the years, recognition must be accorded it.

6. **DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS** - The lack of democracy in the UNSC is one of the reasons why this research was embarked upon. Democracy has become the preferred system of governance globally and thus should be reflected both at the state and the international levels. It thus becomes mandatory for the global organisation - the UN to encourage it. Nigeria fortunately is a democratic state. This should be seen as an added qualification that qualifies Nigeria. It has also been able to Nigeria's advantage; export same to her neighbours i.e. Sierra-Leone and Sao Tome and Principe.

6. **MAJOR CRUDE PRODUCER** - Nigeria's large mineral endowment particularly its being a major producer of crude (second largest now after Angola on the continent) makes it the more relevant on the UNSC. Nigeria's rich oil deposit is an added credential that could make a strong case for it in the most powerful organ of the UN – the UNSC.

7. **REGIONAL SUPER-POWER** – Supporting the realist position on states' capability, Nigeria within the African region is super-power. On the basis of this, Nigeria must come on board the UNSC as Africa's super-power. These reasons above and perhaps more, make Nigeria more qualified than any other African state to have a seat on the UNSC.

Table 1: Graphic representation of the research findings

	EGYPT	SOUTH AFRICA	NIGERIA
CIVILISATION	Ancient civilisation. Endowed of old to be super-power	Very recent civilisation yet technologically more advanced. It is been prepared by Europe to be the test ground for the new world order	Recent and disadvantaged. Her coloniser does not even relate well with her
AFFILIATION	Middle East	Europe	None-aligned
LOCATION	Extreme North	Extreme South	Central (heart of Africa)
POPULATION	81,527,172	40, 782, 756	146, 255,312
PARTICIPATION IN PSOs	Not so active	Not active	Most active on the continent
NATURAL ENDOWMENT	Petroleum, Natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, Manganese, lime stone, gypsum, talc, asbestos, lead, zinc.	Gem Diamonds /Gold, Tin, Natural gas, Copper,Coal, Uranium,	Natural gas, Tin, Coal, petroleum, iron ore, lead, limestone, niobium, zinc, arable land and so on.
COLOUR	Neither white nor black (Arab)	Mixture of blacks and white minority settlers	Black
DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS	Undemocratic	Democratic	Democratic

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Challenges to Nigeria's Bid for Unsc Seat

Nigeria, a country of vast natural capital is greatly enriched by cultural diversity and endowed particularly with black gold. However, Nigeria has been ridden with corruption and conflict through the conduct of elections, ethno-religious conflicts, the Niger-Delta crisis, and misgovernment. Often, these crises arise as a result of uneven distribution of resources - for instance over the control of oil and its operations; hence the majority of its people suffer in the midst of this plenty. As economic prospects improve in parallel with the price of oil, the state has greatly damaged its democratic credentials through mismanagement. Nigeria continues to face the daunting task of reforming a petroleum based economy whose revenues have been squandered through corruption and mismanagement.

Among the over two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups in Nigeria are the three (3) main ethnic groups - Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo with their languages and religions (Akande, 2008). These numerous tribes suffer poverty and exclusion from land and other rights with perceived grievances against their neighbours and the government.

Inter-ethnic strife in Nigeria does not lend itself to easy analysis as political freedom has allowed ethnic and religious groups to express their frustration and on many occasion this has been done violently, thereby leading to conflict situations. The introduction of Sharia law in some northern states has been a source of great friction between the Moslem and the Christian communities who co-habit. In all these conflicts, the government lacks the means and motive to investigate criminal acts and root out the perpetrators of violence.

In the Niger-Delta, the local government revenues in Rivers state (a major oil producing state) alone, has quadrupled since 1999 (Akande, 2008) yet these have not been converted into improved services for millions of increasingly angry poor people. Pressure groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND) on account of kidnappings and vandalism of oil installations, have applied pressure on the government for fair developmental and environmental justice.

Looking at Nigeria's Human Rights record, the long period of military dictatorship had numerous violations which went unchallenged. The transition to civilian rule has reduced this but not completely eliminated human rights abuses; for instance the use of torture by police has been labeled as systemic by the UN Special Rapporteur for Torture (Akande, 2008). As if to further affirm that, the IZOM-EBE Oil Producing Communities Forum (IOPCM) said the disqualification of Nigeria by the United Nations from its bid for a membership seat in the UNSC seat was in order, given the country's incompetence in handling its own internal security challenges and complexities particularly in the Niger-Delta. The group argued thus:

The Niger Delta, a political zone in Nigeria, has been a reference point in the world, experiencing insecurities from the on-set when oil was discovered in Oloibiri in Bayelsa State. The worst form of this insecurity was climaxed in 1996/97, generating from Warri crises to Kaiama declaration in 1998 and to the present situation (Amaize, 2009). Although there are indications that the government is showing respect for the rule of law in its adherence to decisions made by the courts even when these are unfavourable, there remains reluctance on the part of the federal government to bring to justice the perpetrators of past abuses. Also, the domestic environment gives rise to much concern. There is violence against women, child labour and human trafficking which are very much tied to poverty and illiteracy. The listing of Nigeria among terrorist states for Abdul Mutallab's attempt bombing of an American Aircraft in December 2009 is an issue that has reduced Nigeria's chances of securing a UNSC seat. Senator Yerima's recent marriage to an Egyptian minor can be considered child abuse; more so an offence as he happens to be a current (2010) serving legislator of Nigeria's upper house of legislation. These abuses among others, social unrest and insecurity are as a result of political neglect, economic exploitation and marginalisation, environmental degradation and others. And these have forced the people out of frustration to adopt diverse forms of struggle, including violence exhibited in the forms of vandalism of oil pipelines and facilities, kidnapping of oil workers, journalists and others, hostage taking and engaging in a military warfare with the military deployed to protect oil facilities. These activities spread so fast that the international community in which Nigeria bids to be a member of the Security Council is aware, as lots of their members were victims.

The expectation is that the Nigerian government would be proactive and calculative enough to put in place corrective and preventive measures aimed at solving the problems from when they surfaced, rather it ignored and allowed it to escalate. This does not happen only in the Niger Delta, Nigerian government has not been able to bring about peace and security in other parts of the country as well; South-West, South-East, North East and North West regions. All these regions have witnessed one form of insecurity or the other, including kidnapping. A ridiculous event took place in the North recently when a mysterious Ukrainian plane landed at the Kano airport. This aircraft was loaded with ammunitions and other things purported to have been going to Equatorial Guinea following technical problems. Nigeria until now has failed to investigate the source of the ammunitions circulating in the country.

On the continent of Africa, Nigeria's role did not always go unchallenged. As early as 1962, the broad Casablanca and the Monrovia groups headed by Ghana and Nigeria respectively had varied opinions about African unity. The Maghreb region mostly belonging to the Casablanca group, demonstrated competitive spirit against Nigeria with regards to its leadership in Africa. Thus, Nigeria's high population which is meant to be an asset to it, could be a liability if not properly utilised. It is the quality of this population that will determine whether population will play in Nigeria's favour. Furthermore, given the internal contradictions in Nigeria, its population may not play well. These challenges render Nigeria helpless as it forges its way to the UNSC as a veto wielding permanent member. Also, the resolution of the Nigerian question in this wise becomes crucial since domestic policy reflects global power equation.

The national question is a product of nationalities that are unable to develop the material conditions to become economically self-reliant states. Such states with their nationalities that are unable to progress into nations, are hindered by internal and external oppressive relations and inequalities instigated by imperialism and their local cohorts. The national question is an outcome of the cleavages arising from national disunity occasioned by economic disarticulation, underdevelopment and backwardness. Its resolution therefore, is the realisation of freedom from oppression, striving for self-determination to overcome oppressive material relations for independent economic, social and political development. The resolution of the national question or the unity project must reflect the following:

- Development as security
- Leadership question in the development process

How the foregoing (shortcomings) hamper the Nigerian global power equation and the national security or the unity project clearly expose Nigeria's incapacitation. These shortfalls are being put in place by Africa's other contenders in the UNSC seat bid. The absence of these in Nigeria renders the national question irresolvable (Tedheke, 2008). Also, the issue of scientific and technological question finds Nigeria lacking behind. This is so since the dominant trend in the UN from inception has been scientific and technological transformation and indeed military might. Nigeria is both scientifically and technologically backward when compared to other African contenders for the UNSC seat. More so, Nigeria's population if properly utilised; its Peace Keeping records in the community of nations; its role in bringing about unity on the continent of Africa and such other credentials as its location, affiliation, colour, and democratic system of governance, all give Nigeria an edge over South Africa and Egypt.

As shown in table 2 above, Nigeria's over-role credentials, knocked against those of its oppositions' are in its favour. Thus, if Nigeria can put its acts together through development and good governance thereby eradicating economic crisis, it will receive as much support from the US and others as Egypt and South Africa are receiving. It is only then that Nigeria can become more confident of its bid to secure a UNSC permanent seat. However, the argument in chapter five that even where a state is able to acquire these credentials and much more, there is no guarantee that the membership of the UNSC is automatic should be taken seriously as seen in states as Germany, Japan and Brazil who are yet outside the UNSC. Thus, only arguing through the eye of regional representation and the need to extend democracy to the global organisation, can Africa and by extension Nigeria be able to come on board.

Nigeria and Peace Support Operations

In a changing world as ours, the persistence of armed conflict and its internationalisation through various avenues indicate that military power is essential component to security. In any state the military is a major tool for the pursuit of Foreign Policy objectives as it provides a background of assurance and stability for the conduct of diplomacy. The international system generates a variety of strategies for protecting world peace and security. The Concert of Europe, the League of Nations, the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are some of the efforts aimed at securing the peace of the globe. There have been efforts also at the levels of international law and the state. It is at all these levels that Nigeria became relevant in international politics.

For about six decades, Nigeria's military besides others, has kept the peace and secured the globe from another scourge of war. Nigeria under the auspices of the UN, the AU and the ECOWAS and on a few occasions under bilateral arrangements sought to achieve some important elements of her FP objectives. These include the protection of Nigeria's national interest, the promotion of friendship and cooperation among states and the maintenance of international peace and security. Fortunately, Nigeria's role in various PSOs is commendable (Gbor, 2004: 227).

Nigeria has been in peacekeeping even before independence when the Nigerian Regiment which was to become the Nigerian Army was deployed to Ghana to contain a widespread disturbance by the Ex-Service Union in Accra in March 1948 (Gbor, Et al, 2004). Then and at independence, Nigeria played very prominent role in PSOs both at the international level and particularly in the sub-region of West Africa. In all these operations, Nigeria's participation has either been in full or at observer level (Adesina, 2004). With Nigeria's admission into the UN, contributions to Peacekeeping began formally during the First Republic.

Between her experience in the Congo peacekeeping operations in the early 1960s up till the year 2007, Nigeria's Armed Forces kept peace in over thirty (30) states of the globe and in twenty-five (25) out of fifty-one (51) UN peacekeeping efforts to maintain world peace and security (Ogomudia, 2007: 258). At the regional level, Nigeria was part of the only peacekeeping operation organised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU) to Chad between 1981 and 1982. At the sub-regional level, Nigeria has participated in peacekeeping in Liberia under the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). This effort led to the formation of the ECOWAS monitoring group (ECOMOG) which maintained and later enforced peace in Liberia between 1990 and 1997 (Ogomudia, 2007:258). At a bilateral level, Nigeria has been involved in peace missions in friendly nations one of which is Tanzania (Tanganyika) in 1964. Another is in Liberia in 1998, in Sierra-Leone in 1998 and in Central African Republic. Under the auspices of the UN, Nigerian contingents were deployed to Congo (ONUC) in 1960-64, Lebanon in 1978-82, Iraq-Iran (UNIMOG) in 1988-91, Iraq-Kuwait (UNIKOM) in 1991-till date, Angola (UNAVEM) in 1991-95, Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) in 1992-96, Somalia (UNOSOM) in 1993-95, and Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) in 1999-till date.

On the whole Nigeria, on account of her success in PSOs, set the framework for subsequent PSOs in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan and in other trouble spots around the globe such as in Rwanda, Cote D'Ivoire and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (Ogomudia, 2007:259). At various levels of the different PSOs, Nigeria sometimes provides the leadership of the Peacekeeping Force Commanders and Chief Military Observers. In terms of manpower, Nigeria at the peak of the Liberian operation deployed over twelve thousand (12,000) officers and men to Liberia in March 1998. In the area of costs, over one hundred million naira was spent in Chad and over nine billion dollars in Liberia and Sierra Leone (Pogoson, 2007:259) for the maintenance of peace and security. In the last fifty years, Nigeria has committed more material and personnel in Africa and beyond towards PSOs than any other African state. The various PSOs of Nigeria are pointers of her commitment to world peace and security and since the UNSC was established to foster peace and security, Nigeria's role must be acknowledged. In view of this, in the present drive to reform the UN system as a whole, Nigeria has made moves at securing a permanent seat at the UNSC. Her bid therefore for a permanent seat in the council should be viewed in the light of these achievements and considerations is made by the international system to have Nigeria represent Africa in the UNSC.

Challenges to Nigeria's Effective Participation in Psos

Successive Nigerian leaders by virtue of Nigeria's foreign policy stance, her size, population and natural resources, have demonstrated the will to lead Africa particularly in the area of peacekeeping. Nigeria has gained international acceptance in playing prominent roles in PSOs. This has added to Nigeria's ability to participate more in PSOs and thereby contribute to the over-all peace and security of the globe. General Babangida in Onoja (1996) 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 may at times involve certain contractual military 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 unpreparedness. Others are:

- The lack of proper funding of any PSO is a serious detriment to the success of peace missions. In the case of Nigeria and as it is for all third world states, her poor funding of PSOs is not all-together detached from the fact of her foreign owed debt. Nigeria owes the Bretton Woods system so much as can affect her effective role in PSOs. A suggested writing - off of all third world debts would enhance global peace and security as debts are a threat to global peace and security.
- The lack of adequate re-deployment strategies in PSOs render Nigeria's contingents weary and also to an extent destroys their moral standards as many out of boredom either married or kept steady relationships to the detriment of their families in Nigeria.
- The regular redeployment of personnel and for specific periods (between six and one year) is necessary for enhanced performance in PSOs. This is because the most fundamental starting point for peace is the home front.
- The lack of pre-planned options for emergencies in any PSO is indeed a challenge. Despite Nigeria's involvement in many non-combatant evacuation operations and peacekeeping, there is no pre-planned option for emergencies especially outside its shores. Nigeria should be combat ready at all times.

- Finally, the absence of regular ‘joint’ training for its military and other related bodies in PSOs such as the Police, Journalists and so on, leaves the Nigerian contingent destabilised in the field of conflict. For a state which desires to be reckoned with at the sub-regional, regional and even at the global level, there is a need for proper co-ordination to present itself worthy of its position as a leading regional power. There is thus a need to set aside funds for the periodic joint training of Nigeria’s armed forces and others involved in PSOs to make for better performance in the field.

Summary

The challenges faced in UN PSOs in Africa when compared with Europe and America can be attributed to the lack of Africa’s representation on the UNSC. This perhaps explains the conflict of interest and lack of consensus between the members of the SC and the third world. This is a basic threat to global peace and security. As far as Nigeria and Peace Keeping is concerned, despite her short-comings, Nigeria has demonstrated so much interest in the peace of the world and thus remains an active participant in the maintenance of international peace and security through PSOs. This should give her an edge over other contestants for permanent seats in the UNSC on the continent. This in other words, is to say that when there is acceptance and consensus over views in the international system where no region or group is aggrieved, international peace and security can be better sustained. Thus revitalisation by member states of the Military Staff Committee of the UN to meet Article 45 commitments of providing a force able to perform peacemaking and peace enforcement under the legitimacy of the United Nations flag is suggested by the researcher. The leadership must be from the third world and most likely Nigeria. The reason for this is not far-fetched; Nigeria has occupied the Chair of the UN Committee on Peacekeeping also known as C34 for a period of over thirty (30) years (Akinterinwa, 2007: 295). This goes to say that Nigeria has proven leadership role not just in Africa but in the world.

References

- Adesina, R.A. (2004), “Impact of Peace Support Operations on Nigerian Army 1960” in Ogomudia, A. (2007), Peace Support Operations, Command and Professionalism: Challenges for the Nigerian Armed Forces in the 21st Century and Beyond. Gold Press Ltd, Ibadan Nigeria.
- Akande, D. (1998), The Competence of International Organisations and the Advisory Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, 9 E J I L437.
- Akinterinwa, B.A. (ed) (2007), Nigeria’s National Interests in a Globalising World: Further Reflections on Constructive and Beneficial Concentricism. Vol. 3. Nigeria’s Interests Beyond Nigeria. Bolytag International Publishers, Ibadan.
- Amaize, E (2009), Security Council Seat - UN Right in Stopping Country - Izon Forum ,Champion newspaper allAfrica.com 29 June 2009.
- Emeh, O. (2005), Nigeria’s bid for UN’s SC. Daily Champion. Ogomudia, A. (2007), Peace Support Operations, Command and Professionalism: Challenges for the Nigerian Armed Forces in the 21st Century and Beyond. Gold Press Ltd, Ibadan Nigeria.
- Gbor, J.W. (2004), The Nigerian Army under Bilateral Arrangements. Longmans Nigeria Ltd.
- Gbor, W.T, Efevokhan, M.A & Abdulrahman, S.A. (2007), “The Nigerian Army in Peace Support Operations: A worthy contribution to World Peace”, In Ogomudia, A. (2007), Peace Support Operations, Command and Professionalism: Challenges for the Nigerian Armed Forces in the 21st Century and Beyond. Gold Press Ltd, Ibadan Nigeria.
- Onoja, L.A (1996), Peacekeeping and International Security in a changing World. Mono Expressions, Jos, Plateau State.
- Pogoso, I. (2004), “Peace Support Operations and the Nigerian Armed Forces: Projections for the 21st Century and Beyond”, in Ogomudia, A. (2007), Peace Support Operations, Command and Professionalism: Challenges for the Nigerian Armed Forces in the 21st Century and Beyond. Gold Press Ltd, Ibadan Nigeria.
- Tedheke, M.E.U. (2008), A Political Economy of the Nigerian Civil War: An Alternative Explanation. A PhD dissertation, Department of Political Science, ABU Zaria, Nigeria.
- Weiss, TG. (2005), Security Council Reform: Problems and Prospects. An excerpt from Overcoming the SC Reform Impasse: The Implausible versus the Plausible. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005. Occasional Paper No. 14.
- World Fact Book, CIA (2008). <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/download-2008>
- Zabadi, I. (2007), “Nigeria’s Interest in the UN Permanent Seat and the Arab Maghreb; Complementarity or Competition?” In Akinterinwa, B.A. (ed) (2007), Nigeria’s National Interests in a Globalising World: Further Reflections on Constructive and Beneficial Concentricism. Vol.3.Nigeria’s Interests beyond Nigeria. Bolytag International Publishers, Ibadan.