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# THE UN IS BACK IN SOMALIA WITH A NEW POLITICAL MISSION: A SIGN OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY?

Andrea de GUTTRY\*

## Abstract

The recent United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2102(2013) which established the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) represents a major step in the relations between Somalia and the United Nations (UN). These relations have been very troubled and difficult in the last 20 years, especially after the failure of the two previous field operations deployed by the UN in Somalia: the United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM 1) in 1992 and United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) in 1993-95. This contribution aims to present the more general framework in which the decision to deploy UNSOM was taken and focuses attention on its nature, on its institutional architecture and on its mandate. Finally a few comments will be made on the challenges the mission will face. In the opinion of the present author, UNSOM represents a unique opportunity to support the ongoing efforts in Somalia to consolidate security and the rule of law and to give new hope to the local populace who suffered the terrible consequences of the prolonged civil war. This will be possible provided that the Mission implements its ambitious mandate in a careful manner, paying heed to lessons learnt from previous (not all of them very successful) United Nations (UN) Missions in Somalia.

## The General framework of the relations between the UN and Somalia

The United Nations has been fully involved in the history of Somalia for several decades. In 1950, the UN decided to create the Italian Trusteeship Administration in a territory called Italian Somaliland ( the southern part

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# THE UNITED STATES' STRATEGIC SHIFT TOWARDS THE PACIFIC: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Róbert ONDREJCSÁK\*

## Abstract

The goal of this paper is to analyze the global trend of America's strategic shift toward the Pacific and East Asia. This development will be one of the most important in international relations in the foreseeable future, and will determine the state of the global security environment. While it has been referred to as a new development in media discussions since the release of the new U.S strategic guidance in January 2012, this is not the case. The most significant driving forces behind this change started to emerge at least two decades ago. Europe's "Eurocentric worldview" was temporarily overwhelmed by events in their neighborhood and by U.S engagements in Europe's conflicts (wars in southeastern Europe being the most prominent example). But the rest of the globe realized this shift some time ago. Moreover, the Obama administration's steps toward the Pacific and East Asia are to a large extent based on changes initiated or realized by previous administrations, particularly that of George W. Bush. From that point of view, Obama's "Pacific shift" is a combination of both continuity and new elements based on long-term historical and strategic trends. Thus, on the whole, the shift represents more of an evolution in US policy than a revolution.

## Historic and Strategic Trends

The United States possess both an Atlantic and a Pacific vector in its global strategy. The primacy of the Atlantic vector in foreign policy and strategy- with European allies as its most important partners in world affairs- was based on the " Europe first" mindset, a product of World War II . That way

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# ECOWAS' THREAT OF "USE OF LEGITIMATE FORCE" IN COTE D'IVOIRE – REVISITING THE INTERNATIONAL LAW GOVERNING RECOURSE TO FORCE

Emmanuel Yaw BENNEH\*

## Abstract

On 28 November 2010, presidential elections were held in Cote d'Ivoire. This followed several years of civil strife based on ethnic divisions and attempts by the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to promote peace and stability in that country. After the elections, a tense security situation arose from the failure to resolve the impasse between incumbent President Gbagbo and veteran opposition leader, Alassane Ouattara, as to who won the elections. Confronted by this situation, on 24 December 2010, at an Extraordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government on the situation in Cote d'Ivoire, ECOWAS leaders again issued a *Communique* which, among others, "reiterated their position of 7 December 2010, especially on the status of Mr. Alassane Ouattara as the legitimate President of Code d'Ivoire which is non-negotiable.....and demanded the immediate and peaceful handover of power by Mr. Laurent Gbagbo to Mr. Alassane Ouattara, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Ivorian people". The *Communique* then expressed the following: "In the event that Mr. Gbagbo fails to heed this immutable demand of ECOWAS, the Community would be left with no alternative but to take other measures, including the use of legitimate force to achieve the goals of the Ivorian people". ECOWAS did not carry out this threat of "use of legitimate force" to oust Gbagbo. Rather, on 3 April 2011, French military forces, together with UN security forces, launched an offensive against Gbagbo's forces which led ultimately to Gbagbo's ouster. ECOWAS' issuance of the threat of "use of legitimate force" was quite unprecedented in the years it had been in existence, and, it is this that invites us to revisit the international law governing recourse to force. The task is to assess ECOWAS' threat within the normative paradigm for the use of force contained in the United Nations Charter as well as the corresponding duty of non-intervention in international law.

# CONTAINING TRANSNATIONAL THREATS TO WEST AFRICA: A PEACE EDUCATION APPROACH

Ken AHORSU\*

## Abstract

This article is concerned with how to secure West Africa given the challenges posed by its enduring structural weaknesses and contemporary transnational security threats. The paper calls for the enlarging of the West African security public by bridging the gulf between the formal and informal sectors, and the urban centres and countryside of West African societies by bringing peace, security and development issues directly to the people through Peace Education. It is designed to educate and unite the people around common goals. It is a cost effective and efficient approach built on enlightened consciousness, vigilance and collaboration among West African people and governments. The strength of the Peace Education approach is that it has the potential of improving social cohesion among West Africa's people, encourage better articulation between state and society, guarantee peace and security, and promote sustainable development. The dividends are, however, not self evident but dependent upon the efficient planning, resources, good leadership, and political will to stay the course.

## Introduction

Economic, political and social instability have been the main bane of post-colonial West African societies. The volatility that characterised state-building manifested in crises of governance, civil strife, elite malfeasance, and development failure. It was, equally, a crisis of survival of the individual, group and the state. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, these antecedents snowballed into a flourish of civil wars that bedevilled the

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# PRESS FREEDOM IN GHANA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE NKRUMAH AND KUFUOR ADMINISTRATIONS

Etse SIKANKU\*

## ABSTRACT

Democracy continues to grow in many countries in Africa and Ghana is no exception. This paper, based within the theoretical framework of the four theories of the press, compares and contrasts press freedom in Ghana from two eras: Dr Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966) and John Kufuor (2001-2008) using qualitative content analysis. The evidence from this study suggests that while press freedom under the Nkrumah era was a blend of both the authoritarian and soviet communist theory, the Kufuor era is best characterized by a synthesis of the libertarian and development theory of the press.

## Introduction

The main concern of this paper is to compare and contrast press freedom in Africa in the post-colonial and post-cold war period using as a case study, the Nkrumah and Kufuor administrations in Ghana and, to find out the kind of press system that existed under both dispensations. In order to fully address these issues this paper begins by offering an overview of Ghana's political and press history. Next, it grounds the concept of press freedom within the theoretical framework of the four theories of the press. It then proceeds to engage in a critical analysis of press freedom during the two periods by examining documents such as the constitution, published speeches and content analyzing newspapers.

In 1957, Ghana became the first Sub-Saharan country in Africa to gain independence from British colonialists in 1957. The inaugural Nkrumah regime was comprehensively socialist and aligned itself with the eastern bloc. Since then, the country has gone through fourteen major civilian and military regime changes. However since 1992 Ghana has

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