

**UFAHAMU**  
**JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN ACTIVIST ASSOCIATION**

JAMES S. COLEMAN AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024-1130

**EDITORIAL BOARD**

**Editor-in-Chief:** Kier Riemersma

**Production/Circulation Editor:** Yonas Admassu

**Review Editors:** Dennis Heinz Laumann

**Editorial Staff:** Joyce E. Boss, Lloys Frates, Zelda Groener, Dennis H. Laumann, Mary S. Lederer, Patrick Malloy, Linda Murray, Gichingiri Ndigirigi, Otieno Okatch, Susan Wing

**Advisor:** Teshome H. Gabriel

**Former Editors:** Ali Jimale Ahmed, J. Ndukaku Amankulor, I.N.C. Aniebo, Louis D. Armand, Joyce E. Boss, Fassil Demissie, Kandioura Drame, Teshome H. Gabriel, Kyalo Mativo, Angaluki Muaka, Ahmed Nassef, Niko M. Ngwenyama, P. Godfrey Okoth, Edward C. Okwu, Renee Poussaint, Kipkorir Aly Rana, Nancy Rutledge

**CONTRIBUTIONS**

UFAHAMU accepts contributions from anyone interested in Africa and related subject areas. Contributions may include scholarly articles, political-economic analysis, commentaries, review articles, film and book reviews and poetry. Manuscripts must be between 20-30 pages, clearly typed, double spaced, with footnotes on separate page(s). Contributors should keep copies of their manuscripts. The Editorial Board reserves the right to edit any manuscript to meet the objectives of the journal. Authors must submit two copies of their manuscripts and a brief biographical note, including position, academic affiliation and recent significant publications, etc. All correspondence - manuscripts, subscriptions, books for review, inquiries, etc. - should be addressed to the Editor - in- Chief at the above address.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE.

Partial funding for the publication of *UFAHAMU* is provided by the Graduate Students Association of UCLA.

UFAHAMU  
JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN ACTIVIST  
ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XXII NUMBERS 1 & 2  
Copyright © 1994 by the Regents of the University of  
California

CONTENTS

**Contributors**

**Editorial** 1

**Articles**

- The Somali Crisis  
Ruth Iyob.....3
- Daybreak is Near, Won't You Become Sour?  
Ali Jimale Ahmed.....11
- Peace and Stability in Somalia: Problems and Prospects  
Abdi M. Kusow.....25
- Which Way the Horn of Africa: Disintegration or Confederation?  
Daniel Kendie.....41
- The Ethiopian Transition from Military Autocracy to Popular Democracy?: Some  
Major Issues for Consideration in Crossing the Crossroads  
Merera Gudina.....64
- Historical Basis of Southern Sudan's Demand for Self-Determination  
Kenneth Okeny.....89
- Independent Africa and Ethno-Regional Conflicts: The Case of the Sudan  
Mohamed Abbas Mohamedali.....108
- A Critique of Said Samatar's "Somalia: A Nation in Turmoil"  
Ahmed Q. Ali.....119

UFAHAMU

**POETRY** .....130

Untitled

by Yonas Admassu

Lament of the Believers

by Fekade Azeze

Two Poems by Seble Dawit

Treatise

Tuesday

Man: The Jewel of Jewels or The Topaz of Ethiopia

by Marvis Hughes

## Contributors

**Yonas Admassu** is a Ph.D. Candidate in Comparative Literature, University of California, Los Angeles.

**Ali Jimale Ahmed** (Ph.D.) teaches English and African Literature at Queen's College of the City University of New York.

**Ahmed Q. Ali** is a Hydraulic Engineer credited with designing and executing numerous major projects throughout Somalia. He teaches in the U. S. and frequently writes about Somalia.

**Fekade Azeze** (Ph.D.) is Assistant Professor in the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature at Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia.

**Seble Dawit** is Special Assistant to the President, International Women's Health Coalition, New York, New York.

**Merera Gudina** is lecturer and Chair, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia.

**Miss Marvis Hughes** is a prolific poet who has written many works inspired by things African. Of late she has been a regular contributor of poetry to our journal.

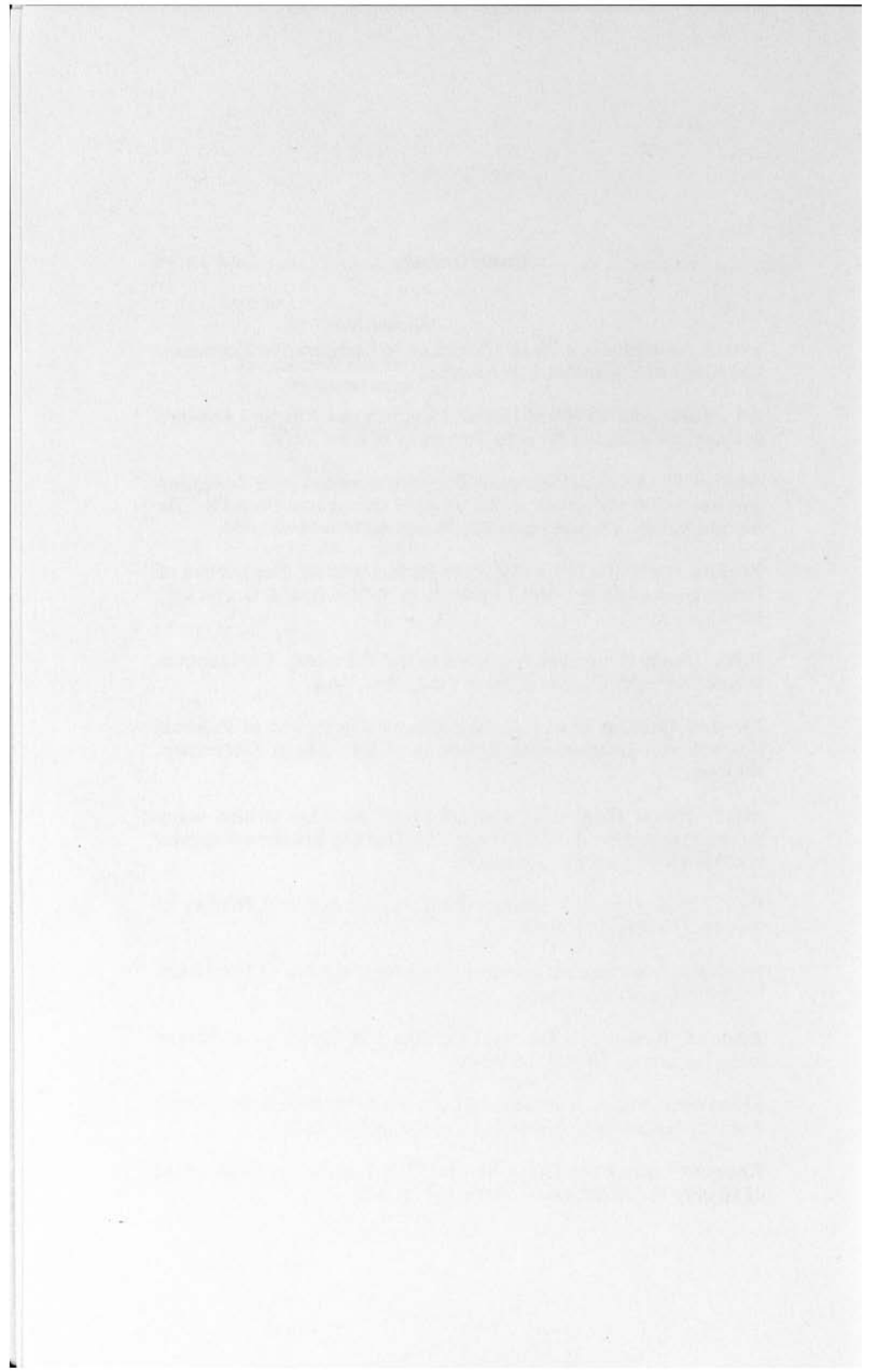
**Ruth Iyob** (Ph. D.), teaches Political Science and History at Asmara University, Eritrea.

**Daniel Kendie** teaches Intellectual History of Ideas at Henderson State University in Arkansas.

**Abdi M. Kusow** is a Doctoral Candidate in Sociology at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

**Mohamed Abbas Mohamedali** is a graduate student in African Area Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles

**Kenneth Okeny** (Ph.D.) is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Salem State College, Salem, Ma.



## EDITORIAL

Over the past several years the events in the Horn of Africa have rapidly brought the region into the spotlight of international scrutiny. The fall of the Mengistu regime and the disintegration of Somalia as a functioning nation-state, in particular, have caught the attention of foreign policy analysts from Washington, D.C. to Beijing, China. Unfortunately, the popular representations of these events have once again motivated foreign powers to exert influence in attempts to shape African political, social, and cultural evolution. Too often the motivations for these interventions have found seed in an ignorance of the realities of situations in the Horn, and have led to disastrously short-sighted decision making. With this "Focus on the Horn" issue *Ufahamu* once again attempts to rectify misperceptions of Africa and work towards establishing an informed discourse between the societies of Africa and their world neighbors.

Articles such as Ruth Iyob's, entitled "The Somali Crisis" and Ali Jimale Ahmed's "Day Break is Near, Won't You Become Sour" help to dispel misinformation that was amassed during and after the U.S. occupation of Somalia, and will perhaps give pause to those who believe pro-active intervention is a viable solution for African problems. In Kenneth Okeny's article, "Historical Basis of Southern Sudan's Demand for Self-Determination," a history which is the basis for the current Sudanese conflict is presented, allowing for an insightful understanding of a situation that appears ever more complex with each passing month. To the outside observer, the articles contained in this issue will inform and educate, and more importantly, hopefully create a foundation from which to question the need for foreign influence in the region. To those from the Horn, the articles will fuel debate and discussion on the true nature of the Horn's politics, history, and society.

As the incoming Editor-in-Chief of *Ufahamu*, I was excited to have had the opportunity of beginning my tenure with an issue so timely and important as this one. My own knowledge of the Horn was greatly enhanced through the work done on in this issue, and I can only believe that our readers will as well find the works of scholarship contained within to be equally informative.

It is clear that this issue would not have been possible without the help of Angaluki Muaka, my well-known predecessor in the position of Editor-in-Chief of *Ufahamu*. It was with Muaka that the idea for a

Horn issue found its genesis, and with whose assistance we were able to complete an issue of such importance.

A word about Muaka. *Ufahamu* would not be the journal that it is today without the leadership given it by Muaka over the past several years. His guidance has brought *Ufahamu* from being a scholarly journal in disarray to becoming a systematically prepared periodical of the highest caliber. His ability to administer, edit, and deal effectively with our sponsors has helped to shore up support for what is still the oldest student-run journal of Africanist scholarship. As many of our readers still are, or were at one time, students, it need not be emphasized that this is no small task. Because of the work done by Muaka, *Ufahamu* will continue to publish rational scholarship on Africa and contribute effectively to the African cause for many years to come. Thank you Muaka.

Kier Riemersma