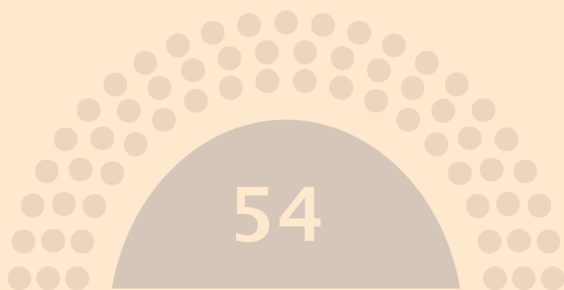
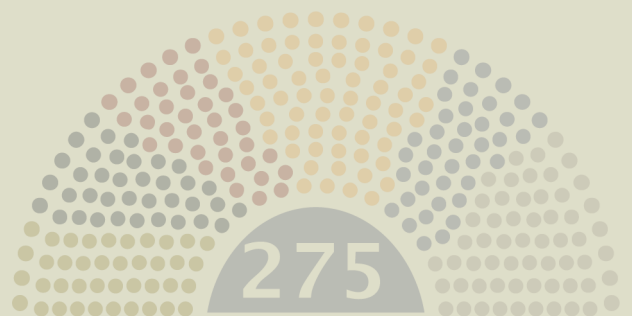


# KHATARAHA KA IMAN KARA KU SHUBASHADA DOORASHADA DADBAN EE SOOMAALIYA



AQALKA SARE



AQALKA HOOSE



*Sannadkan, dibudhaca xeeladaysan ee ay ku kaceen kuwa hoggaaminaya geeddi-socodka doorashooyinka, xildhibaannada aqalka sare ee madax ka taabashada lagu soo xushay, iyo heshiisyada iyaga uun u danaynaya ee ay gaadheen ayaa keenay natiijooyinka lagu muransan yahay iyo xasilooni darrada siyaasadeed ee dalka ka jirta*

## Hordhac

Inkasta oo ay doorashooyinka dadban ee Soomaaliya yihiin kuwo ka fog caddaaladda iyo xornimada, haddana labaatankii sano ee la soo dhaafay, waxa ka soo baxay natiijooyin ay si weyn ugu qanceen saammilayda siyaasadda iyo shacabka intooda badani. Sannadkan, dibudhaca xeeladaysan ee ay ku kaceen kuwa hoggaaminaya geeddi-socodka doorashooyinka, xildhibaannada aqalka sare ee madax ka taabashada lagu soo xushay, iyo heshiisyada iyaga uun u danaynaya ee ay gaadheen ayaa keenay natiijooyinka lagu muransan yahay iyo xasilooni darrada siyaasadeed ee dalka ka jirta. Si kale haddii aynnu u dhigno, haddii musuqmaasuqa iyo wax isdaba marinta ay siyaasiyiintu ku hayaan doorashada dadbani, ku sii socoto mid aan la hubin, waxa laga yaabaa in uu fashil ku danbeeyo mashruuca dawlad-dhiska Soomaaliya.

## Gogoldhig Kooban

Dhibaataada hadda jirtaa waxa ay ka dhalatay in ay dawladda faderaalka ee Soomaaliya ku guuldarraysatay in ay muddo xileedkeedii oo ahaa 2017-2021 ku qabato doorasho qof iyo cod ah, taas oo ay ahayd in ay ka dhacdo (degmooyinka, gobollada iyo guud ahaan dalka).<sup>1</sup> Sidaa darteed dawladda faderaalka iyo dawlad-goboleedyada waxa lagu qasbay in ay ku wada xaajoodaan heshiisyo siyaasadeed oo taxane ah, kuwaas oo lagu soo afmeeray heshiiskii doorashooyinka dadban ee qabsoomay 17-kii Sebtember 2020, iyada oo raysalwasaare Maxamed Xuseen Rooble loo xilsaaray in uu hoggaamiyo geeddi-socodka doorashada iyo hirgalinta go'aannada la isla qaatay.<sup>2</sup>

Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, ayaa gaaray heshiiskii labaad ee doorashooyinka dadban bishii May 27-keedii 2021 waa uun bil ka dib markii uu dhammaaday muddo-xileedkii baarlamaanku bishii Desember 2020 iyo sida oo kale markii ay dhammaatay muddo-xileedkii madaxweynuhu 8-dii Febraayo 2020. Isku day muddo korodhsi laba sannadood ah oo ay sameeyeen madaxweyne Maxamed Cabdullaahi Farmaajo iyo hoggaanka baarlamaanka Aqalka Hoose ayaa magaalada Muqdisho ka dhaliyey isku dhacyo rabshado wata bilihii Abril iyo May 2021. Buuq ka aloosmay gudaha dalka iyo culays kaga yimi beesha caalamka ayaa madaxweynaha iyo Aqalka Hoose ba ku qasbay in ay ka laabtaan muddo-korodhsigii ay ku walfeen.

Si loo dadajiyo geeddi-socodka doorashada, loona ilaaliyo hufnaantii hore u dhaawacantay, Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waxa ay bilaabeen in ay ka shaqeeyaan dhammaystirka nidaamka doorashada dadban. Golahani waxa uu ka kooban yahay shanta madaxweyne ee dawlad-goboleedyada (Galmudug, Koonfurgalbeed, Hirshabelle, Jubbalan iyo Puntiland) iyo raysalwasaare Rooble oo ah guddoomiyahooda.

1. The Heritage Institute for Policy Studies (HIPS) has published two reports on the election. To understand the development of the election debate, please read the following: See Somalia: In Search of Workable 2020 Election Model, available at <https://heritageinstitute.org/somalia-in-search-of-a-workable-2020-electoral-model/>; Also see Expanded Participation Model, available at <https://heritageinstitute.org/expanded-participation-model-alternative-for-somalias-2020-one-person-one-vote-plan>.

2. See Abdi Sheikh, Reuters, Somali president names newcomer Roble premier as elections loom, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-politics-idUSKBN2683BD>

“

*Ka dib markii uu gorgortanku daba-dheeraaday, ee la dhex-muquuray mawjadaha badweynta kacsan iyo mawqifyo aan tanaasul lahayn, ayey daneeyayaasha siyaasaddu go'aansadeen in khibradihii hore ee doorashada dadban loo noqdo si loogu adeegsado qorshe-hawleedkan, waxa aanay isla qaateen isfahan ku dhisan halbeegyada muhiimka u ah hannaanka doorashada dadban*

2020-kii ilaa 2021-kii hoggaamiyeyaasha dawladda faderaalka iyo kuwa dawlad-goboleedyadu waxa ay kulmeen dhawr jeer, kulamadaas oo ay intooda badani qabsoomeen jawi kacsan oo xamaasad leh. Madaxweyne Farmaajo, labada madaxweyne ee Puntland iyo Jubbalan, hoggaanka Aqalka Sare, kooxaha mucaaradka ah ee fadhigoodu yahay Muqdisho iyo musharraxiinta u tartamaya jagada madaxweynaha ayaa dhammaantood ismaandhaafay oo isku murgay. Ka dib markii uu gorgortanku daba-dheeraaday, ee la dhex-muquuray mawjadaha badweynta kacsan iyo mawqifyo aan tanaasul lahayn, ayey daneeyayaasha siyaasaddu go'aansadeen in khibradihii hore ee doorashada dadban loo noqdo si loogu adeegsado qorshe-hawleedkan, waxa aanay isla qaateen isfahan ku dhisan halbeegyada muhiimka u ah hannaanka doorashada dadban. Intaa ka dib, raysalwasaaraha iyo madaxda shanta dowlad-goboleed ayaa 22-kii Agoosto 2021, soo saaray war-murtiyeed lagu faahfaahiyey qaabka ay u dhacayso doorashada Aqalka Sare iyo ta Aqalka Hoose ee 2021.

## Dibudhigista Xeeladaysan ee Siyaasiyiinta

Madaxweynaha dawladda faderaalka iyo hoggaamiyeyaasha dawlad-goboleedyada ayaa markii hore isku raacay in la qabanqaabiyo doorasho dadban 17-kii Sebtember 2020. Guddida doorashaduna waxa ay shaqaynayeen in ka badan hal sano. Arrinta xiisaha lihi waxa weeye in geeddi-socodka xulista Aqalka Sare uu Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ku qaatay muddo ka badan afar bilood, iyada oo ay hadda bilaabantay doorashadii dadbanayd ee xubnaha golaha shacabku.

Saddex arrimood ayaa inta badan loo aaneeyaa in ay gaabis ka dhigeen hannaanka doorashada. Tan kowaad, waa isqabqabsiga awoodeed ee u dhaxeeya madaxweynaha iyo raysalwasaaraha ee salka ku haya maamulka hay'adda sirtoonka iyo kiiska sarkaaladda la la'yahay ee Ikraan Tahliil. Ta labaad, waa hoggaamiyeyaasha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka oo aan soo bandhigin rabitaankooda siyaasadeed ee ku aaddan hirgalinta doorashooyinka dadban. Dhab ahaantii, inta badan hoggaamiyeyaasha dawlad-goboleedyadu waxa ay dib u dhigaan geeddi-socodka doorashada, sababta oo ah waxa ay doonayaan in wax laga beddelo laba qodob oo ka mid ah qodobadii lagu heshiiyey 17-kii Sebtember, kuwaas oo qaba in goobaha doorashada oo ahaa laba magaalo, laga dhigo hal magaalo iyo in la dhimo ergada codaynaysa oo halkii ay ka ahaayeen 101-da ergay laga dhigo 51 ergay. Dibu-eegis badan oo lagu sameeyo heshiiskii 17-ka Sebtember 2020, ma aha kuwo wax ku ool ah xilligan lagu jiro-waxaanay abuuri doonaan dhibaatooyin ka badan inta ay xallinayaan. Ugu danbayn, hoggaamiyeyaasha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ayaa qilaafka iyo kala qaybsanaanta u arkay jid ay ku kasban karaan taageerada maaliyadeed ee ay bixiso beesha caalamku.

## Soo xulista Aqalka Sare

Dastuurka ku meelgaarka ahi waxa uu dhigayaa in ay jiraan laba aqal oo baarlamaan, kuwaas oo ka kooban aqalka hoose oo ah 275 xildhibaan (Golaha Shacabka) iyo 54 xildhibaan oo Aqalka Sare ah ( Golaha Guurtida). Qodobka 72-aad ee dastuurka ayaa si cad u qeexaya in “Aqalka sare lagu soo doorto doorasho toos ah, oo qarsoodi ah, taas oo ay shacabka dawlad-goboleedyadu ugu codeynayaan si xor iyo xalaal ah, tiro ahaan waa in aanay ka badan 54 xubnood, waana in lagu saleeyaa 18-kii gobol oo hore uga jirey Soomaaliya ka hor 1991-kii.”<sup>3</sup>

Dawladda Soomaaliya ayaa ku guuldarraysatay in ay qabato doorasho toos ah sannadkii 2016-kii, sidaas darteed, Madasha Hoggaanka Qaranka ayaa xilligaas isku raacay nidaam doorasho oo dhigaya in ay baarlamaannada dawlad-goboleedyadu si dadban u soo doortaan 54-ka xildhibaan ee Aqal Sare. Heshiiskii siyaasadeed ee la gaadhay 2016-kii waxa ka soo baxay in kuraasta Aqalka Sare loo qaybiyo dawlad-goboleedyada, iyada oo afar dawlad-goboleed oo kala ah Galmudug, Hirshabeelle, Koonfur Galbeed iyo Jubbaland loo qoondeeyay mid iyo siddeed kursi, halka Somaliland (Dir Waqooyi) iyo Puntland midkiiba laga siiyey 11 kursi. Maaddaama ay Soomaaliland goonni isu-taagtay 1991-kii, Madasha Hoggaanka Qaranku waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay guurtida matalaysa beelaha Dir-Waqooyi soo doortaan koox aday-dhaqameed ah iyo ergo beeled ku sugan Muqdisho, halka guurtida matalaysa qabiilka Dhulbahante ee ka tirsan beesha Daarood iyo guurtida Warsangali lagu soo doorto Puntland.<sup>4</sup> Xubnaha guurtida ayaa markii ugu horreysay la doortay 2016-kii.



*Intooda badan xubnaha ku fadhiistay kuraasta Aqalka Sare may soo marin wax tartan ah oo lagu kalsoonaan karo, sidaa darteed in wixii dhacay doorasho lagu sheegaa, waxa ay noqon kartaa qalad iyo meel ka dhac*

Sida ku cad heshiiskii 17-ka Sebtember 2020-kii, oo dhigaya hannaan cusub<sup>5</sup> oo doorashada loo galayo, ayaa isna tirada iyo qaybsiga xubnaha Aqalka Sare ka dhigaya si la mid ah habkii lagu xusay heshiiskii hore ee 2016-kii, iyada oo lagu sheegay in baarlamaannada dawlad-goboleedyadu ay soo dooranayaan xubnaha Aqalka Sare.<sup>6</sup> Imminka oo qoraalkan gacanta lagu hayo, waa la doortay xildhibaanadii Aqalka Sare. Intooda badan xubnaha ku fadhiistay kuraasta Aqalka Sare may soo marin wax tartan ah oo lagu kalsoonaan karo, sidaa darteed in wixii dhacay doorasho lagu sheegaa, waxa ay noqon kartaa qalad iyo meel ka dhac. Hoggaamiyeyaasha dawlad-goboleedyada ayaa hannaankii doorashada maamulay oo cunaha iskaga duubay, iyaga oo soo xushay xulafadoodii siyaasadda, saaxibbadood, iyo xataa qoysaskooda qaar ka mid ah. Baarlamaannada gobollada ayaa canbaareeyay shaqsiyaadka ay madaxweynayaashoodu si badheedh ah hore ugu sii xusheen. Nasiib darro, marka laga yimaaddo kuraas kooban oo Hirshabeelle iyo Somaliland ah, ma jirin tartan ah oo loogu loollamay kuraasta Aqalka Sare.<sup>7</sup>

3. See the Federal Constitution of Somalia, article 72. Available at [https://www.parliament.gov.so/images/Downloads/Dastuurka\\_ku\\_meelgaarka\\_SOM\\_03092012-1\\_2.pdf](https://www.parliament.gov.so/images/Downloads/Dastuurka_ku_meelgaarka_SOM_03092012-1_2.pdf)

4. See the NLF agreement on senate seats, available here: [https://unsom.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/final\\_communique\\_12\\_april\\_2016.pdf](https://unsom.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/final_communique_12_april_2016.pdf). See most of the 2016 indirect election documents at <http://doorashada2016.so/framework/#>

5. See the 15 points that the Somali leaders agreed on 17 September, 2020. Available at <https://somaliguards.com/news/somalias-federal-and-regional-leaders-strike/>

6. Ibid.

7. We consider that here is a competitive process when candidates are not denied the right to compete in a given seat.

## Heshiisyo Cid Gaar ah u Adeegaya

Heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto 2021, oo qeexaya hannaanka doorashada Aqalka Hoose iyo Aqalka Sare ayaa awood aan hore loo arag siinaya xubnaha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka. Heshiiskaas waxa lagu qeexay in 101-da ergay ee ka kala imanaya qabiillada Soomaaliya ay dooranayaan xubnaha baarlamaanka (2017-kii waxa ay ahaayeen 51 ergay). Codbixintu waxa ay ka dhici lahayd laba magaalo oo ka tirsan dawlad-goboleed kasta; halka ay sidii hore oo kale uga dhacday hal magaalo. Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waxa ay ansixiyeen kooxo isugu jira heer qaran iyo heer gobol oo maamulaya doorashada, isla markaasna ah guulwadayaal ay soo magacaabeen qoorweynta ugu cadcadi, iyaga oo u qorsheeyay in ay kormeeraan hirgelinta doorashada dadban. Isfahan ayaa laga gaaray qodobbo la isku maandhaafsanaa oo ay ka mid yihiin qaabkii loo maamulay doorashada gobolka Gedo; bal yaa maamuli lahaa soo xulista codbixiyayaasha soo dooranaya xildhibaannada metalaya ‘Somaliland’ (doorashadu waxa ay ka dhici lahayd Muqdisho); yey se noqon lahaayeen codbixiyayaashaasi. Qabanqaabada amniga doorashada ayaa la sameeyay, waxaana mar kale la isku raacay hab-dhaqankii caadiga ahaa ee loo adeegsaday doorashooyinkii hore.<sup>8</sup>

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto waxa ka buuxay qodobbo dhibaato badan oo loogu talagalay in ay u adeegaan danaha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka.

- Odoyaasha oo kaliya ayaa uu dowlad-goboleed kasta u aqoonsan yahay in gacan ka geysan karaan soo xulista 101-da oday-beeleed ee u codeynaya kursi kasta oo aqal hoose ah;
- Kooxda Hirgelinta Doorashada Dawlad-goboleedyada, oo ay soo xushaan madaxweynayaasha dawlad-goboleedyadu, ayaa go’aan ka gaaraya xubnaha ka imanaya bulshada rayidka ah ee odayaasha ka caawinaya soo xulista 101-ka ergay;
- Ma jiraan wax shuruuc ah oo loogu talo galay in lagu hubiyo in kuraasta haweenka la ilaaliyey ama boqolkiiba soddonka kursi ee kootada u ah aan lagu tagrifalin
- Musharaxiinta iyo codbixiyayaashu waa in ay shahaado danbi la’aan ah ka sitaan booliska degmada- arrintan waa la siyaasadayn karaa

---

8. Politicians have also reached two more agreements on 27 May 2021, available at [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/May/wararka\\_maanta27-177704.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/May/wararka_maanta27-177704.htm) and 22 August.2022.



*guddida xallinta khilaafaadka awood looma siin in ay qaataan doorka hubinta ee kaga aaddan odayaasha ay soo gudbiyaan dawlad-goboleedyadu*

- Doorkii kooxda hirgelinta doorashada federaalka waxaa lagu soo koobay waxyaabo aan badneyn sida shahaado siinta xildhibaannada cusub ee laga soo doorto heer gobol; sida oo kale guddida xallinta khilaafaadka awood looma siin in ay qaataan doorka hubinta ee kaga aaddan odayaasha ay soo gudbiyaan dawlad-goboleedyadu.
- Waxa kale oo uu Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku yareeyay tirada kooramka codbixiyeyaasha, iyaga oo isku raacay haddii 67 codbixiye oo qudhi ka yimaadaan 101-da ergay in doorashadu hirgalayso. Dawlad-goboleedyadu waxa ay si fudud u diidi karaan ama u eryi karaan codbixiye kasta oo aysan rabin in uu joogo goobta doorashada.

Waxa laga yaabaa in qof ku doodi karo in arrinta kor ku xusani tahay qaabkii ugu foosha xumaa, oo aanay hoggaamiyeyaasha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku afduubi karin nidaamka doorashada. Waannu kaa diidnay. Waxa jira caddaymo buuxa oo walaac muujinaya. Hogaamiyeyaashani waxa ay hore u marin habaabiyeen nidaamkii doorashada Aqalka Sare. Waxa kale oo ay si badheedh ah u geliyeen qodobbada sare ku xusan heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto si ay hawsha u maroorsadaan, ulana soo baxaan natiijooyin qaldan oo hore loo sii qoondaystay. Haddii aan arrintan si degdeg wax looga qaban, wax isdabamarinta badheedhka ahi waxa ay wax u dhimi doontaa hannaanka doorashada oo dhan.



*Bilowgii hore muddo-kordhinta lama ogolayn. Maadaama oo uu dalku ka soo doogay xaalado colaadeed, marka ay dhammaato muddo-xileeddu, haddii doorasho toos ah la qaban kari waayo daneeyayaasha siyaasadda ayaa ka wada xaajoon jiray oo ku heshiin jiray nidaam ka duwan kii hore*

## Falaqaynta iyo Saamaynta

Mid ka mid ah waxyaabaha ugu muhiimsan ee ay ilaa iyo hadda jamhuuriyaddii saddexaad ee Soomaaliya salka u dhigtay waa in afartii sanaba hal mar doorasho la qabto. Waxa jiray heshiisyo badan oo ku salaysan xeerarka doorashooyinka dadban; kuwaas oo la gaadhay sannadihii 2000, 2004, 2009, 2012 iyo 2017-kii. Bilowgii hore muddo-kordhinta lama ogolayn. Maadaama oo uu dalku ka soo doogay xaalado colaadeed, marka ay dhammaato muddo-xileeddu, haddii doorasho toos ah la qaban kari waayo daneeyayaasha siyaasadda ayaa ka wada xaajoon jiray oo ku heshiin jiray nidaam ka duwan kii hore. Marxalad kasta, dadaallo ayaa loo huray sidii loo hagaajin lahaa nidaamka doorashada, tallaabo kastana waxa loo qaaday sidii loo heli lahaa hannaan ay raalli ku yihiin inta ugu badan saammilayda siyaasaddu. Waxaana marxalad kasta oo doorasho ku soo baxayey madaxweyne cusub iyo hoggaan baarlamaan.

Qabiilooyinka ayaa door muhiim ah ka ciyaaray soo xulista cidda metalaysa. Sannadkii 2000, hal hoggaamiye dhaqameed(ugaas/suldaan) ayaa inta uu la tashaday beeshiisa magacaabay 225 xildhibaan.Sannadkii 2012-kii, 135 oday dhaqameed ayaa soo xulay dhammaan 275-ka xildhibaan. Sida oo kale doorashadii dadbanayd ee 2017-kii, 51 ergay beeled (oo ay soo xuleen oday dhaqameedku) ayaa doortay xildhibaanada. Sannadkan 2021-ka, 101 ergay beeled ayaa loo xilsaaray in ay doortaan xildhibaan kasta. Madaxda qaranka (xildhibaanada iyo madaxweynaha) ayaa sida oo kale lagu soo xulay/doortay doorashooyin xor ah oo aan rabshad lahayn, waxaana la abuuray hay'ado si weyn loogu heshiiyey, si kastaba ha ahaatee, kuwo itaal daran ayey noqdeen.

Machadka Heritage ayaa 2019-kii sii gartay in aanay xukuumadda Farmaajo qaban karin doorasho qof iyo cod ah. Waxa aanu Machadku soo jeediyay afar doorroone, isaga oo qiimayntaas ku jaangooyey todobada halbeeg, ee ay ka midka yihiin; 'in dhib la'aan la qabto', in tartiibtartiib loo kobco si loo gaadho doorasho qof iyo cod ah, in la badiyo tirada dadka codaynaya iyo in la isla qaato go'aan ay ku midaysan yihiin saammilayda siyaasaddu.<sup>9</sup>

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, sannadkan 2021-ka waxa doorashadii ku yimi dibudhac iyo xil-fidsasho ka duwan wixii hore. Haykalka siyaasadda qaran ee Soomaaliya waxa boqonteeda heeray cadaawad iyo kala qaybsanaan. Intii uu madaxweyne Farmaajo xilka hayey (2017 – 2021), isaga iyo hoggaamiyeyaasha dawlad-goboleedyadu waxa ay isku noqdeen dab iyo dhagax aan dirirtoodu gamaarin. Madaxweyne Farmaajo waxa uu beddelay hoggaamiyeyaasha saddex maamul-goboleed, oo uu u arkay in ay caqabad ku yihiin hiraalka uu ka leeyahay Soomaaliya. Dedaallo badan oo siyaasad iyo dhaqaale ba leh ayaa ku baxay in xilalka laga qaado, oo lagu beddelo xulufo siyaasadeed oo la jaal ah ah xukuummada. Dhaleecaynta ka soo yeedhaysa gobollada loollanka adagi ka dhaxeeyo ee (Jubbaland iyo Puntland) iyo sida oo kale mucaaradkii fadhigoodu ahaa Muqdisho – oo ay ku jiraan labadii madaxweyne ee hore oo u tafoxaydan soo laabasho siyaasadeed – ayaa laga dheefay is-maandhaafka siyaasadeed iyo isku dhac ciidan, oo ay wehelinayeen rabshado marar dhawr ah ka dhacay magaalada Muqdisho.

“  
*Waxa nasiib darro ah, in aanay hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasaddu waxba ka baran taariikhdeenna, taas oo inna baraysa in ku shubashada doorashada iyo xukun jacaylka indho la'aanta ahi horseedi karaan oo kaliya isku dhac iyo rabshado colaadeed*

Waxa nasiib darro ah, in aanay hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasaddu waxba ka baran taariikhdeenna, taas oo inna baraysa in ku shubashada doorashada iyo xukun jacaylka indho la'aanta ahi horseedi karaan oo kaliya isku dhac iyo rabshado colaadeed. Machadka Heritage waxa uu daraasadihiisii hore ee sannadihii 2019-kii iyo 2020-kii, kaga digay cirib xumada ka dhalan karta muddo kordhinta iyo musuqmaasuqa doorashada.<sup>10</sup>

9. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 2019, Somalia: In Search of Workable 2020 Electoral Model. Available at: [http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/HIPS\\_report\\_english\\_version.pdf](http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/HIPS_report_english_version.pdf)

10. See the previous Heritage Institute reports on election at Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 2019, Somalia: In Search of Workable 2020 Electoral Model. Available at: [http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/HIPS\\_report\\_english\\_version.pdf](http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/HIPS_report_english_version.pdf); Also see Expanded Participation Model, available at <https://heritageinstitute.org/expanded-participation-model-alternative-for-somalias-2020-one-person-one-vote-plan/>



*Sidii aynnu hore u soo sheegnay, Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ayaa magacaabay xildhibaannada Aqalka Sare badankooda, waxaanay isu arkeen in ay leeyihiin awoodda magacaabista 275 xildhibaan, iyaga oo adeegsanaya xubno magac u yaal ah oo isu soo eekaysiyey odayaal, dad firfircoon oo rayidka ah iyo ergo beeleedyo*

Ilaa iyo markii ay xukuumaddu ku guuldarraysatay in ay dhammaystirto hawlaha lagama maarmaanka u ah qabashada doorasho hal qof iyo hal cod ah, Machadka Heritage waxa uu soo bandhigayey qodobbo muhiim ah, waxaana uu ku baaqay in la hagaajiyo nidaamka doorashada dadban, si loo muujiyohorumarka lagu sii tallaabsanayo ee ku aaddan doorasho qof iyo cod ah.<sup>11</sup>

Sidii aynnu hore u soo sheegnay, Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ayaa magacaabay xildhibaannada Aqalka Sare badankooda, waxaanay isu arkeen in ay leeyihiin awoodda magacaabista 275 xildhibaan, iyaga oo adeegsanaya xubno magac u yaal ah oo isu soo eekaysiyey odayaal, dad firfircoon oo rayidka ah iyo ergo beeleedyo. Heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto ayaa oday beeledyadii la aqoonsanaa afka ciidda u galiyey. Taa beddelkeeda, kooxda hirgelinta doorashada ee dawlad-goboleedyada (SEIT), oo ah hay'ad ay gacanta ku hayaan Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku ayaa soo xulan doona koox isugu jira odayaal iyo hoggaamiyeyaal rayid ah. Odayaashan iyo xubnahan rayidka ah ayaa iyaguna soo xuli doona 101-ka ergay ee dooranaya xildhibaan kasta oo baarlamaan ah.

Aad ayey Soomaaliya ugu nugushahay damaca siyaasiyiinta ma dhargeyaasha ah. Dhawr jilyaal oo muhiim ah ayaa mar hore ugu baaqay Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku in ay dibu-eegis ku sameeyaan habraacooda. Ururrada bulshada rayidka ah kuwooda ugu waaweyn iyo oday dhaqameeddada laga haybadaysto iyo waliba qaar badan oo ka mid ah kooxaha siyaasadda ayaa ka soo horjeestay, isla markaana si adag uga hadlay heshiiskii 22-ka Ogoosto.

Waqtiyadii hore, beesha caalamka ayaa inta badan madaxda Soomaalida ku cadaadin jirtay, gacanna ka siin jirtay sidii ay laba maamul u kala beddeli lahaayeen. Waxa xiise gaar ah leh, marka laga yimaaddo soo saarista warmurtiyeedyada muddaysan, beesha caalamku waxa ay u muuqataa in ay xaaladdan kaga gaabsatay siyaasad ah “balaayada indho iyo dhego toonna uma lihi”. Sababo aan caddayn ayey beesha caalamku u isticmaali waayeen awoodahooda. Mararka qaar, awood la'aanta sharciga ee ka dhalatay habraacyada xakamaha lahayn iyo hormuudka siyaasadda ee aan lahayn go'aanno lagu kalsoonaan karo oo dhibaataada wax lagaga qabto marka ay doorashadu timaaddo, taas oo niyad-jabisay deeq-bixiyeyaasha, kana dishay xiisihii ay u qabeen mashruucaas oo dhan. Beesha Caalamka, dooddeedu waxa ay daaran tahay, in aan rajo laga qabin sii taageeridda xaaladdan cakiran ee aan lahayn dagaalka, nabadda, horusocodka iyo dibusocodka arrintan oo ay dabaqadda siyaasaddu abuurtay 20-kii sano ee u dambeeyay.

11. Ibid.



Magacaabistii xildhibaannada Aqalka Sare oo aan loo meel dayin, dibudhacyo dabadheeraaday iyo heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto, ayaa shaaca ka qaaday in madaxda Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku afduubeen gabi ahaanba hannaankii doorashada dadban, taas oo wax u dhimeysa xasiloonaada mustaqbalka fog iyo mashruuca dhismaha dowladnimada. Waxa aannu aaminsannahay in natiijada doorashada lagu shubtay ay sii fageyn doonto uun kala qeybsanaanta bulshada iyo siyaasadda umadda Soomaaliyeed.

Tani waxa ay u badan tahay in ay soo celin doonto dhacdooyin yeelan doona afar saameynood:

Ta koowaad, ka dib markii ay dhaceen rabshadihii Abriil 2021, Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, oo uu hoggaamiyo raysalwasaaruhu, ayaa la filayey in ay kormeeraan hannaan doorasho oo dhammaantood aqbali karaan saammilaydu. Nasiib darro, waxaa caddaatay in raysalwasaaruhu uusan wax awood ah ku lahayn madaxda dawlad-goboleedyada. Habkii uu Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku u maareeyay kal-fadhigii golaha guurtida iyo doorashadii golaha shacabka ee loo maray heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto ayaa caqabad ku ah sharcinimada natiijada. Haddi ay hawshani ku sii socoto sidan ay hadda tahay, way adkaan doontaa in Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku sii ilaaliyaan kalsoonida dhinacyada kala duwan. Arrintanina waxa ay keeni kartaa dhibaato ugub ah.

“

*Marka loo ogolaado dhammaan musharrixiinta hanka leh in ay u tartamaan aqalka sare, ayey madaxda dawlad-goboleedyadu samatabixin karaan hufnaanta geeddi-socodka doorashada*

Ta labaad, inkasta oo aanay xubnaha xildhibaannada dawlad-goboleedyada ahayn kuwo ay soo doorteen dadka deegaannadaas deggan, haddana doorashadii Aqalka Sare waxa ay sii kordhisay iskhilaafsanaanta sharciga. Halkii ay hay'adahaas ka tayeyn lahaayeen, madaxda dawlad-goboleedyadu waxa ay soo magacaabeen musharrixiin ay iyagu leeyihiin, waxaanay ku dhuftaan shaanbadda xildhibaannimada. Waxa la lumiyeey fursad aad u weyn. Marka loo ogolaado dhammaan musharrixiinta hanka leh in ay u tartamaan aqalka sare, ayey madaxda dawlad-goboleedyadu samatabixin karaan hufnaanta geeddi-socodka doorashada, waxaanay kor u qaadi kartaa sharcinimada baarlamaannada gobollada iyo soo ururinta dhaqaalaha loo baahan yahay in lagu shaqeeyo.



*Siyaasadda ay aragtideedu ku dhisan tahay in dagaal cir iyo dhul ah lagu qaado cidkasta oo siyaasaddaada lid ku ah ayaa keentay in ay haldoorka siyaasaddu galaan wareegyo aargoosi oo aan dhammaad lahayn*

Ta saddexaad, hannaanka geeddi-socodka doorashooyinka oo si xun loo maamulay ayaa keenaysa dhaqanka siyaasiga ah ee burburka iyo curyaaminta ku salaysan, taas oo ah waxa dalka maanta halkaas dhigay. Siyaasadda ay aragtideedu ku dhisan tahay in dagaal cir iyo dhul ah lagu qaado cidkasta oo siyaasaddaada lid ku ah ayaa keentay in ay haldoorka siyaasaddu galaan wareegyo aargoosi oo aan dhammaad lahayn. Haddii uu xaalku sidan iska beddeli waayo doorashooyinka soo socda ka dib, hoggaamiyeyaasha dawlad-goboleedyada badankoodu waxa ay ku dhibtoon doonaan sidii ay talada u sii hayn lahaayeen. Sidan si la mid ah ayaa dhacday doorashadii madaxweynaha ee 2017-kii. Sannadkii 2016-kii dhammaan hoggaamiyeyaashii dawlad-goboleedyada ee kormeerayay doorashooyinka baarlamaanka ayaa xilligaas si aan qarsoodi ahayn ugu qasbay musharaxiinta in ay xafiiska ka tagaan, taas oo ay fuliyeen tartamayaashii maxalliga ahaa iyo kuwii qaranku, sababta ugu weynina waxa ay ahayd sida ay u maareeyeen doorashooyinka.

Ugu danbayn, muhiimmadda ugu weyni waxa ay tahay, doorashooyinka la musuqmaasuqay ayaa markii hore keenay in laga tanaasulo xalaalnimada natiijada doorashooyinka. Doorashadii baarlamaanka ee dhacday 1969-kii ayaa ahayd meesha ay sartu ka qudhuntay. Waxa dhacday doorasho aad loo musuqmaasuqay, oo caddaaladdu ka fog tahay, taas oo keentay in qaybo bulshada ka mid ahi ku kacaan rabshado iyo qalalaase. Waana arrinta soo dadajisay in uu dumo nidaamkii cusbaa ee dimuqraadiga ahaa, soona baxdo dawladdii militariga ee kalitaliska ahayd, taas oo dalka u horseeday dagaal sokeeyo oo foolxun. Marka loo eego sida ay wax u dhaceen, waxa macquul ah in natiijada sannadkan si weyn loogu murmi doono. Dadku waa ay hubaysan yihiin, waxaana jira cabashooyin beelaysan oo qoto dheer. Haddii aan arrintan si taxadir leh loo xallinin, waxa laga yaabaa in ay doorashada ka dhashaan kacdoonno halis leh iyo rabshado beelaysan, taas oo gabi ahaan ba dhaawacaysa geeddi-socodka dhismaha dawladdnimada.

## Gunaanad

Labaatankii sano ee u danbeeyay, Soomaaliya waxa ay ku hawllanayd dhismaha hay'ado curdina, oo dimuqraaddi ah. Laga soo bilaabo 2000 ilaa 2017-kii, waxa la qabanayey doorashooyin dadban, xilwareejjintuna waxa ay ku dhacaysay nabadgalo buuxda. Waana sababta keentay in doorashooyinka dadban ee Soomaaliya ay noqdaan dimuqraaddi-xigeen si weyn loogu qanco. Wixii ka danbeeyay rabshadahii dhacay bishii Abril 2021, ee ka dhashay muddo korodhsigii aan muhiimka ahayn ee sharci darrada ahaa, ayaa Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka oo uu hoggaamiyo raysalwasaaruhu loogu igmaday in ay kormeeraan habsami-socodka doorasho dadban oo xalaal ah si ay u dhacdo doorasho ay raalli ku yihiin dhammaan saammilayda siyaasaddu.

Ayaan darro, qaabkii ay Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku u maamuleen hawlihii Aqalka Sare iyo qorshihii loo dajiyey in lagu qabanqaabiyo doorashada dadban ee Golaha Shacabka, iyada oo laga duulayo Heshiiskii 22-kii Ogoosto, ayaa dhaawacaya sharcinimada natiijooyinka. Haddii aan la saxin hannaanka doorashooyinka loo qabanayo, waxa hubaal ah in ay doorashada ka dib dhacaan rabshado, waana cabsi jirta. Hoggaamiyeyaasha Soomaaliya waa in ay joojiyaan dhagarta iyo danaha gaarka ah ee ay ka leeyihiin arrimaha siyaasadda. Cid kasta dan baa ugu jirta in ay dhacdo doorasho xor iyo xalaal ahi.

## Talobixin

- Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waxa ay ku gguuldarraysteen in ay ogolaadaan in si caddaalad ah loogu tartamo kuraasta 54-ka xildhibaan ee Aqalka Sare. Waa in aan laga aqbalin in ay musuqmaasuqaan 275-ka xildhibaan ee Aqalka Hoose, oo ah arrinta muhiimadda ugu weyn leh. Waa in si degdeg ah dibuhabayn loogu sameeyaa heshiiskii 22-ka Agoosto. Arrinta ugu muhiimsan nidaamka doorashada, haddana meesha ka maqani waa caddaalad. Hoggaamiyeyaasha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waxa ay u diideen xuquuqihii aasaasiga ahaa ee ay lahaayeen musharixiin badan oo u qalma, diyaarna u ah in ay u tartamaan kuraasta Aqalka Sare. Doorashada xildhibaanada Aqalka Hoose ayaa ka xasaasad badan ta Aqalka Sare, sababta oo ah beelaha ayaa isu arka in ay kuraastan iyagu leeyihiin. Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waa in ay ogolaadaan sharcinimada odayasha dhaqanka, hoggaamiyeyaasha ganacsatada, bulshada rayidka ah, dhallinyarada iyo haweenka si ay uga mid noqdaan ergada dooranaysa xubin kasta oo ka mid ah 101-da xildhibaan.
- Heshiiskii 22-ka Ogoosto waxa uu sheegaya: in kursi kasta, saddex oday iyo laba qof oo rayid ah, oo ka socda jifo-qabiileed kasta ay dooran doonaan 101-da codbixiye- kuwaas oo u codaynaya xildhibaan kasta. Si looga feejignaado, loogana fogaado colaad beeled, beel kasta, ama qabiil iyo hay'ad madaxbannaan oo lagu heshiis yahay, waana in ay aqoonsato hab-raaca caddaaladda ah si loo go'aamiyo qofka xubinta ka ah bulshada rayidka ah. Waa in ay jiraan shuruudo la isla qaatay oo lagu soo xulanayo xubnaha rayid ka ah, ee caawinaya ama ku lammaan odayaasha beelaha si loo doorto 101-da codbixiye.
- Qorshe cad, oo la dhaqangalin karo oo hubinaya in boqolkiiba soddonka ay haweenku kootada u leeyihiin waa in la sameeyaa. Fikradda odhanaysa waa in hoggaamiyeyaasha dawlad-goboleedyada iyo kaaliyeyaashooda loo qoondeeyaa kuraasta haweenka xildhibannada ah, iyada oo looga golleeyahay musuqmaasuq iyo kalitalisnimo cad ayaa abuurii doonta isku dhacyo aan loo baahnayn, waana in laga fogaadaa.

- Ururrada bulshada rayidka ah, sida ganacsatada, ururrada haweenka, wadaaddada iyo oday-dhaqameedku waa in ay culays badan saaraan siyaasiyiinta, waana in ay sii wadaan muujinta dareenkooda, iyaga oo hoggaanka Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ka dalbanaya hannaan lagu kalsoonaan karo.
- Ururrada bulshada rayidka ah ee dalka ugu waaweyni waa in ay sameeyaan guddi talobixineed oo daacad ah, taas oo warbixin soo saarta marka ay doorashadu dhacdo.
- Beesha caalamka waxa ka saaran masuuliyad aadamenimo in ay si cad uga soo horjeesato heshiisyada cido gaar ahi ku dangaadhayaan iyo sida oo kale xeeladaha siyaasiyiinta ee dib loogu dhigayo doorashada iyo wax isdaba marinta. Maadaama beesha caalamku ay amniga dammiin ka yihiin (iyaga oo ay wakiil uga tahay AMISOM), sida oo kale na ay yihiin maalgeliyaha dowladda Soomaaliya, waxa habboon in ay isticmaalaan saamaynta ay leeyihiin si ay u caawiso, una ilaaliso caddaaladda iyo daacadnimada habkan mar hore lagu xadgudbay. Siyaasiyiinta muhiimka ah ee gacanta ku haya geeddi-socodka doorashada waa in laga diido in ay xasaanaddooda-awoodeed u adeegsadaan in ay hay'adaha dawliga ah ee Soomaaliya xasaanadda sharciyeed ka xayuubiyaan, sida oo kale na waa in laga diido in ay sidii hore oo kale awood ku muquunin ugu guulaystaan.

THE DANGERS OF  
**RIGGED**  
INDIRECT ELECTIONS IN SOMALIA

**HERITAGE**  
I N S T I T U T E