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I N S T I T U T E

Warbixin ku Saabsan Xaaladda Soomaaliya



SOS2021
WARBIXIN SANNADEED

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1. Nuxurka daraasadda

Warbixintan oo la diyaariyey muddadii u dhaxaysay bishii Jannaayo ee sannadkii 2020-kii ilaa bishii Diseember ee 2021-kii, ayaa soo bandhigaysaa falanqayn lagu sameeyay horumarka ugu weyn ee uu dalku ku tallaabsaday muddadaas sannadka ah, waxaanay si gaar ah diiradda u saaraysaa dhinacyada siyaasadda, amniga, dhaqaalaha, arrimaha binu'aadantinimada iyo kaalinta beesha caalamka. Machadka daraasaadka siyaasadda ee Heritage ayaa daabacay warbixintan oo uu ka lahaa ujeedooyinkan soo socda: (I) in la weeleeyo, lana falanqeeyo dhacdooyinkii muhiimka ahaa iyo saamaynta ay Soomaaliya ku yeeshen sannadkaas oo dhan(II) in siyaasiinta, aqoonyahanka iyo dadweynaha loo soo bandhigo xaaladda dalka ka jirta iyo habsami socodka hawlaha shaqo.(III) in la taageero dedaallada loogu jiro nabadaynta iyo dawlad dhiska Soomaaliya, iyada oo si xeeldheer loo dhuganayo dhacdooyinkii ugu muhiimsanaa ee dalka ka dhacay.

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Waxa lagu heshiiyey in uu madaxweynuhu masuuliyadda doorashooyinka iyo isku xirka amniga dalka ku wareejiyo raysalwasaaraha Soomaaliya Maxamed Xuseen Rooble. Heshiiskaasi waxa uu horseeday in la sameeyo Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka

Sannadkii 2021-kii, waxa kululaatay saaxadda siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya. Doorashooyinkii faderaalka ayaa cirka ku sii shareeray loollanka u dhaxeeya dawlada faderaalka, dawlad-goboleedyada iyo Midawga Musharraxiinta Madaxweynaha. Markii uu dhammaaday muddo xileedkii labada aqal ee baarlamaanka, iyo madaxweynaha iyo xukuumaddiisa, waxa dhacday in Maxamed Cabdullaahi Farmaajo iyo hoggaanka golaha shacabku ku tallaabsadeen muddo korodhsi la isku maandhaafay. Tallaabadaas qar iska tuurka ah, ayaa bishii Abril 2020-kii, Muqdisho ka hurisay qulqulatooyin iyo isku dhacyo ciidan. Isku dhacaas waxaa laga dhaxlay in lagu dilo tobannaan qof, boqolaal kun oo kale na lagu barakiciyo.¹ Markii muddo korodhsiga labada sano ah ay ku gacansaydheen afar ka mid ah shanta dawlad-goboleed, musharraxiinta madaxeynaha, raysalwasaaraha iyo dhammaan beesha caalamku,² ayey hoggaanka dawladda faderaalka iyo dawlad-goboleedyadu gaadheen heshiiskii 27-ka May. Waxa lagu heshiiyey in uu madaxweynuhu masuuliyadda doorashooyinka iyo isku xirka amniga dalka ku wareejiyo raysalwasaaraha Soomaaliya Maxamed Xuseen Rooble.³ Heshiiskaasi waxa uu horseeday in la sameeyo Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka. Golahan oo ka kooban madax sare, waxa ku jira, raysalwasaaraha, madaxweyneyaasha dawlad-goboleedyada iyo guddoomiyaha gobolka Banaadir.⁴ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, caqabado faro badan ayaa soo foodsaaray hirgalinta heshiiskii 27-ka May, kuwaas oo salka ku haya go'aannada ay hadoorka siyaasaddu ku marinhabaabinayaan natiijooyinka doorashada. Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka oo lagu tijaabiyey sidii ay u hoggaamiyeen doorashooyinkii dadbanaa, ayaa si weyn ugu ceeboobay xildhibaannadii dhawaan la doortay.

1. See “Gunfire erupted in Somalia’s capital on Sunday between soldiers loyal to the government and others angry at the country’s leader” (April 2021) Accessed at: <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20210426/p2g/00m/0in/073000c>

2. See “Somalia’s opposition welcomed President’s move to drop a controversial two-year extension” (April 2021) Accessed at: https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_somali-opposition-welcomes-president-dropping-term-extension/6205170.html

3. See “Somalia’s Prime Minister Mohamed Hussein Roble has accepted the new role to lead the election” (April 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somali-pm-mohamed-roble-new-role-in-elections-3385598>

4. See “Political leaders in Somalia agreed on a framework for long-delayed national elections” (May 2021) Accessed at: https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_somalia-leaders-agree-hold-election-within-60-days/6206295.html

Bishii Diseember, ayuu raysalwasaare Rooble shaqada ka eryay todoba xubnood oo ka tirsan Guddida Xallinta Khilaafaadka Doorashooyinka.⁵ Madaxweyne Farmaajo oo rumaysan in ay taageerayaashiisa ahaayeen xubanaha la eryay, ayaa arrintaas kaga falceliyey tallaabooyin aan maaquul ahayn oo uu ku burinayo heshiiskii 27-ka May, isaga oo Rooble ku eedaynaya in uu ku guuldarraystay hirgalinta wixii lagu heshiyyey.⁶ Madaxweynuhu waxa uu xannibay awoodaha raysalwasaaraha⁷, isaga oo qaaday tallaabo aan dastuuri ahayn. Tallaabooyinka yoooyotanka ahi waxa ay mar kale qalaase cusub ka huriyeen magaalada Muqdisho. Rooble waa uu qaaddacay go,aankii Farmaajo, waxa aanu sheegay in uu sii wadi doono kormeerka doorashada iyo amniga.⁸

Sida oo kale dawlad-goboleedyada ayaa ku kala qaybsamay qilaafyadii 2021-kii. Khilaafka ugu weyni waxa uu ka dhacay Puntland oo xasilooni ku naalloonaysay 23-kii sano ee ugu danbeeyay. Ciidammo hubaysan ayuu bishii Diseember 2021-kii dagaal ku dhex maray magaalada Boosaaso, ka dib markii uu madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Siciid Deni xilka ka qaaday taliyaha Ciidamada Amniga Puntland oo saamayn weyn ku leh bulshada dhexdeeda.⁹ Inkasta oo la isla qaatay xabbad joojin ay odayaasha dhaqanku gadhwadeen ka yihiin,haddana iminka oo warbixintan la qorayo, wali lama xallin sababihii khilaafka dhaliyey.

Ahlu Sunna Wal-Jameeca, oo ah malleeshiyaad hubaysan ayaa qabsaday Guriceel iyo tuulooyinka ku hareeraysan oo ka tirsan gobolka Galmudug.¹⁰ Maamulka gobolka oo taageero ka helaya dawladda faderaalka ayaa falkaas kaga falceliyey dagaal, waxaanay dib ula wareegeen qaybo ka mid ah deegaankii hore looga qabsaday.¹¹ Dhawr todobaad oo uu dagaalku socday waxa ku dhintay tobannaan qof, oo ay ku jiraan, taliyihii deegaanka ee ciidamada Danab, ciidammo kamaandoos ah oo tababarro sare qabay iyo tababareyaal ay qalabeeyeen Maraykanku.¹²

5. See “Prime Minister Mohamed Hussein Roble on Saturday dismissed seven Electoral Disputes Resolution Committee officials” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/somali/pm-roble-dismisses-7-dispute-committee-officials/>

6. See “President Mohamed Farmaajo had accused his Prime Minister Mohamed Roble of failing to deliver his election mandate and called for a national conference” (December 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Dec/184927/farmaajo_accuses_pm_roble_of_failing_to_deliver_elections_mandate_hints_at_his_removal_from_elections_management.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront

7. See “President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed of Somalia on Monday suspended the powers of the prime minister” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-12-27/somali-president-suspends-prime-minister-amid-corruption-probe>

8. See “Somali prime minister refuses leave office” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/somali-prime-minister-refuses-leave-office-deepening-political-crisis-198687>

9. See “Seven killed in clashes between pro-government security forces” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/seven-killed-clashes-between-pro-government-somali-forces-2021-12-21/>

10. See “Ahlu Sunna Waljama’a (ASWJ) have taken control of Guriel town” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/somali/aswj-fighters-take-control-of-guriel-town/>

11. See “Galmudug regional forces claim to have captured Guriel town” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/somali/galmudug-forces-claim-recapturing-guriel-town-from-aswj-group/>

12. See “At Least 20 Killed as Somalia Troops Battle Moderate Islamist Militia” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-troops-battle-moderate-islamist-militia/6282882.html>

Gobollada Jubbaland iyo Hirshabeelle ayaa wali si xooggan ugu kala loollanka beelaha waaweyn oo loollan ugu jira awood-qaybsiga dawladda. Gobolka Gedo, oo ka tirsan Jubbaland, ayey si buuxda dawladda faderaalku maamulkiisa gacanta ugu haysaa, taas oo keentay in ay isku dhacaan ciidammo hubaysan oo la kala safan dawladda Jubbaland iyo dawladda faderaalka Soomaaliya.¹³ Hirshabeelle, waxa caado ka noqotay khilaafyada ka dhex oogan beelaha isku haysta awood-qaybsiga. Dhanka amniga, waxa Gobolka Hiiraan ku gacansarraysa dawladda faderaalka. Sidaas darteed, madaxweynaha Hirshabeelle Cali Guudlaawe oo muddo sannad ah xilka hayey ayaan awood u lahayn in uu tago gobolkaas, taasna waxa sababay aanoooyin qabiil.¹⁴

Dhinaca amniga, al-Shabaab waxa ay ka faa'iidaystay xasilooni darrada siyaasadda dalka. Markii warbixintan la qorayey, kooxdan ayaa qabsatay dhul hor leh oo ka tirsan Galmudug, Hirshabeelle, Jubbaland iyo Koonfur Galbeed, halka ay ka soo weerartay Muqdisho, oo ay ka samaysatay dhufaysyo.¹⁵ Al-Shabaab waxa ay qorshaheedii mallatari u beddeshay xakamaynta marin jideedyada muhiimka u ah isu socodka saadka, taas oo ay uga golleeyihiin in ay ballaariyaan dakhligooda, una cashuuraan dadka iyo badeecada u kala gooshaya dalka.¹⁶

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Hay'adda Qaramada Midoobay ayaa ku dhawaaqday in ay cunto yaraani soo foodsaartay jeex ka mid ah 15-ka milyan ee Soomaalida ah, dadkaas eyey saddex-meeloodow meel ka mid ahi macaluul daran wajahayaan haddii aan gargaar degdeg ah lala soo gaadhin.

Waxa intaas dheer, kacdoonnada siyaasadda iyo amniga deegaanka oo ka sii daraya. Xaaladaha aadamenimo ayaa aad usii xumaaday xilligii warbixintan la diyaarinayey. Hay'adda Qaramada Midoobay ayaa ku dhawaaqday in ay cunto yaraani soo foodsaartay jeex ka mid ah 15-ka milyan ee Soomaalida ah, dadkaas eyey saddex-meeloodow meel ka mid ahi macaluul daran wajahayaan haddii aan gargaar degdeg ah lala soo gaadhin.¹⁷ Tirada barakacayaasha ayaa kor u kacay tobankii sano ee u danbeeyay, taas oo ka dhalatay baahitaanka rabshada siyaadda iyo dagaallada u dhaxeeya beelaha.¹⁸ Waxa kale oo dalka sii ragaadiyey masiibada cusub ee Karoonaha iyo hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadda ee ku macaasha sii socoshada qalalaasha siyaasadda.¹⁹

13. See "At least 11 people were killed on Monday after fighting broke out between the Somali federal army and Jubbaland state forces in the Gedo region" (January 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-somalia-security-idUSKBN29U1RQ>

14. See "Hawadle clan demands greater role in the power-sharing arrangements in Hirshabelle" (June 2021) Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/situation-somalia-report-secretary-general-s2021723#:~:text=On%2012%20June%2C%20the,Huud%20and%20the%20Administration>

15. See "Regional turmoil and political infighting create space for the Islamist terror group to gain ground" (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.ft.com/content/9a820013-fa81-4314-9441-0d4f93c2539c>

16. See UN report on Somalia (October 2021) Accessed at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/S_2021_849_E.pdf

17. See "an estimated 7.7 million Somalis will require humanitarian assistance and protection" (DEC.2021) Accessed at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/12/1108302#:~:text=While%20these%20are,internally%20displaced%20communities>.

18. See "Crisis in Somalia: Aid workers hampered as needs arise" (JAN.2022) Accessed at: <https://www.rescue.org/article/crisis-somalia-aid-workers-hampered-needs-rise>

19. See "Health cluster bulletin" (DEC.2021) Accessed at: https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/hc_bulletin_nov_dec_2021.pdf



Dhanka siyaasadda arrimaha debedda, Soomaaliya waxa ay xiriir wanaagsan la leedahay Itoobiya, Erateriya, Turkiga iyo Gadar. Dhanka ka kale, Muqdisho ayaa ririir liita la leh Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Imaaraadka. Balse Muqdisho waxa ay xiriir wanaagsan la leedahay dunida inteeda kale, sida Maraykanka, Ingiriiska iyo Midawga Yurub

Dhanka siyaasadda arrimaha debedda, Soomaaliya waxa ay xiriir wanaagsan la leedahay Itoobiya, Erateriya, Turkiga iyo Gadar.²⁰ Dhanka ka kale, Muqdisho ayaa ririir liita la leh Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Imaaraadka.²¹ Balse Muqdisho waxa ay xiriir wanaagsan la leedahay dunida inteeda kale, sida Maraykanka, Ingiriiska iyo Midawga Yurub. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, xiriirka ka dhaxeeya dawladda faderaalka, AMISOM iyo UNSOM ayaa xumaaday, ka dib markii uu Farmaajo ku cadaadiyey in ciidamada nabad ilaalinta u jooga Soomaaliya dalka laga saaro, ee uu xaqiray hay'adaha Qaramada Midoobay.²²

Marka laga yimaaddo sawirkaas guud ee foosha xun, waxa jira horumarro dhiirrigalin mudan oo dhawr ah. Soomaalilaan oo ka go,day Soomaaliya ayaa horumar weyn ka samaysay dhinacyada dawladdnimada iyo dhaqaalaha. 16 sano ayey dawladda Soomaalilaan qabanaysay doorashooyinka baarlamaanka.²³ Xisbiyada mucaaradka ayaa guulo waaweyn ka soo hooyey doorashooyinkii sannadkan ee golayaasha baarlamaanka iyo deegaanka, iyaga oo magaalooyinka waaweyn ee Hargaysa ku jirto ku guulaystay.²⁴ Soomaalilaan waxa Sumcadda dimoqraaddiyaddeeda sii xoojiyey doorashooyinkii ugu danbeeyay, kuwaas oo si weyn loogu aqoonsaday doorashooyin xor iyo xalaal ah.²⁵

Waxa kale oo ay Soomaalilaan ballaarisay dekedda Berbera, oo ah xuddunta dhaqaalaha ee ugu weyn, iyada oo kaashanaysa shirkadda DP World.²⁶ Ballaarinta dekedda Berbera oo ah mashruuc la isu bahaystay ayaa si weyn kor ugu qaaday dakhliga dawladda Soomaalilaan.²⁷ Sida oo kale, kobaca dhaqaalaha Berbera waxa uu qayb ka yahay himilooyinka lagu doonayo in dhaqaalaha Soomaalilaan dib loogu soo kabo.²⁸

Dawladda Puntland ayaa iyaduna ku guulaysatay in ay saddex gobol ku tijaabiso doorashada golaha deegaan, iyada oo loogu gogol xaarayo in sannadaha soo socda gobolka oo dhan laga hirgaliyo doorashooyin qof iyo cod ah.²⁹ Sagaal urur siyaasadeed ayaa ka qaybgalay tartanka doorashada, kuwaas oo ujeeddadoodu ahayd in Puntland laga hirgaliyo nidaamka xisbiyada badan ee dimuqraadiga ah.³⁰

20. See “How the Cushitic Alliance, Antagonistic Diplomacy, and Divergent Strategic Interests in Somalia Have Botched Kenya-Ethiopia Relations | (2021) Geopolitics Press,” Geopolitics Press. Accessed at: <https://geopolitics.press/cushitic-alliance-kenya-ethiopia-strategic-alliance-jubbaland/>

21. See “Africa in the News: Kenya-Somali Relations Sour, Cyclone Eloise Hits Mozambique, and Tensions in and around Ethiopia Escalate,” (JAN.2021) Accessed at: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2021/01/30/africa-in-the-news-kenya-somali-relations-sour-cyclone-eloise-hits-mozambique-and-tensions-in-and-around-ethiopia-escalate/>

22. See “Somalia and African Union Discuss Future of AMISOM” (NOV.2021) Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-and-african-union-discuss-future-of-amisom/6307832.html>

23. See “Polls Open in Somaliland’s Local and Parliamentary Elections” (May 2021) Accessed at: https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_polls-open-somalilands-local-and-parliamentary-elections/6206427.html

24. See “Somaliland elections: Opposition parties win the majority of seats” (June 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/6/somaliland-opposition-wins-first-parliamentary-polls-since>

25. See “Joint statement on Somaliland Parliamentary and Local Council Elections” (June 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/joint-statement-on-somaliland-parliamentary-and-local-council-elections>

26. See “DP World and Somaliland open new terminal at Berbera Port” (June 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.seatrade-maritime.com/ports-logistics/dp-world-and-somaliland-open-new-terminal-berbera-port>

27. See “Somaliland gears up for ‘healthy’ battle of ports” (September 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.ft.com/content/f928ecda-2c96-4957-ae3c-94be56385fcf>

28. See “DP World To Transform Berbera To A World Class Centre” (July 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.busiweek.com/dp-world-to-transform-berbera-to-a-world-class-centre/>

29. See “Local elections kick off in Puntland’s Eyl, Qardho & Ufeyn” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/war-59035063>

30. See “Amid fading democratic space in Somalia, Puntland prepares for 1st direct elections” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/featured/amid-fading-democratic-space-in-somalia-puntland-prepares-for-1st-direct-election>

Maaddaama oo ay ku guulaysatay qabashada doorashooyin qof iyo cod ah, koritaanka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland waxa ay tusaale cad oo ku dasho mudan u tahay qaybaha kale ee dawladda faderaalka. Waxa kale oo ammaan gaar ah mudan horumarka ay Puntland ku dhammaystirtay dekedda Garacad ee gobolka Mudug, taas oo ay gabi ahaan maalgaliyeen shacabka deegaanka iyo ganacsatadu.³¹ Inkasta oo ay kooban tahay, haddana waxa mudnaan gaar ah leh in ay bulshada deegaanku maaligalisay dekeddan. Dakaddan cusub waxa adeegsan doona bulshada reer Mudug. Inkasta oo ay dekaddani saamayn ku yeelan doonto dakhliga dawlad-goboleedka Puntland, haddana waxa ay bulshooyinka deegaannada kale ku dhiirrigalinaysaa in ay dhistaan dekado ay shacabku maalgashadaan.

Marka aynnu jalleecno dhinaca dawladda faderaalka, Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya ayaa soo bandhigay nidaam bangiyada dalka ku yaalla oo dhan isku xiraya, una sahlaya in ay isu diraan lacagaha.³² Arrintani waxa ay muhiim u tahay horumarka ganacsiga waxa aanay meesha ka saaraysaa caqabadihii ganacsi ee Soomaaliya ka dhex jiray. Nidaamkan samayntiisu waxa ay qaadatay dhawr sannadood, waxaanay ka mid ahayd u jeeddooyinka fog ee uu lahaa Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya.

2. Qalalaasaha Doorashooyinka Faderaalka

Laga soo bilaabo sannadkii 2021-kii, Soomaaliya waxay ay ku jirtay qalalaase siyaasadeed oo ka dhashay doorashooyinka faderaalka, kuwaas oo xilligoodii dib uga dhacay muddo sannad ah.

17-kii Sebteembar 2020-kii, ayey dawladda faderaalka iyo dawladaha xubnaha ka ah faderaalku heshiis ku gaareen in lix bilood gudahood lagu qabto doorashooyin dadban. Sida oo kale, madaxweynaha iyo hoggaanka baarlamaanka ayaa isku raacay muddo korodhsi laba sannadood ah. Daneeyeyaal badan oo ay ka mid yihiin, raysalwasaare Rooble, mucaaradka, bulshada rayidka ah, saaxiibada caalamka iyo dawlad-goboleedyada ayaa diiday muddo korodhsiga la isku maandhaafsan yahay.³³ Muddo korodhsigu waxa uu dhaliyey in ciidamo hubaysani ku dhex dagaallamaan magaalada Muqdisho, ka dib markii ay Ciidamada Qaranka Soomaaliya la soo kala safteen qaar ka mid ah hogaamiyeyaasha ku loollamaya siyaasadda.³⁴ Sida ay sheegeen hay'adaha Qaramada Midoobay, tobannaan qof ayaa Muqdisho lagu dilay, kumannaan kalena waa lagu barakiciyey.³⁵

31. See "Gara'ad project is what Africa needs" (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/opinion/article/2001432936/garacad-project-is-what-africa-needs>

32. See "Somalia re-launches payments system after three decades of absence" (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.centralbanking.com/central-banks/financial-market-infrastructure/7866471/somalia-re-launches-payments-system-after-three-decades-of-absence>

33. See "Somalia President Extends Term by Two Years, Drawing Condemnation" (2021). New York Times. Accessed at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/world/africa/somalia-president.html>

34. See "Somali opposition fighters 'cordon off parts of Mogadishu'" (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/26/somali-opposition-fighters-cordon-off-parts-of-tense-capital>

35. See "UN says fighting displaces up to 100,000 people in Mogadishu fighting" (April 2021). Xinhua. Accessed at: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-04/28/c_139912642.htm#:~:text=MOGADISHU%2C%20April%2028%20\(Xinhua\),of%20violence%20on%20April%2025](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-04/28/c_139912642.htm#:~:text=MOGADISHU%2C%20April%2028%20(Xinhua),of%20violence%20on%20April%2025)



Bishii May, ayaa uu raysalwasaare Rooble soo qabanqaabiyey shir ay wada yeesheen daneeyayaasha muhiimka ahi, oo qaatay hal todobaad, shirkaas waxa ka soo baxay heshiiskii taariikhiga ahaa ee 27-ka May 2021. Labada aqal ee baarlamaan ayaa heshiiskaas ansixiyey

Madaxweyne Farmaajo iyo guddoomiya aqalka hoose ee baarlamaanka Maxamed Mursal ayaa ka laabtay, raalligalinna ka bixiyey muddo koroshsigii ay isku dayeen, ka dib markii uu culays badani kaga yimi dalka iyo debedda.³⁶ Arrintan ayaa u gogol xaartay in ay xaaladdan ka wadaxaajoodaan daneeyayaasha muhiimka ah, ee ay ka midka yihiin, dawladda faderaalka, dawlad-goboleedyada iyo Golaha Murrashaxiinta Madaxweynaha. Bishii May, ayaa uu raysalwasaare Rooble soo qabanqaabiyey shir ay wada yeesheen daneeyayaasha muhiimka ahi, oo qaatay hal todobaad, shirkaas waxa ka soo baxay heshiiskii taariikhiga ahaa ee 27-ka May 2021. Labada aqal ee baarlamaan ayaa heshiiskaas ansixiyey. Madaxweyne Farmaajo ayaa isna xeer ku meelmariyey, isaga oo awoodo muhiim ah siiyey Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, oo ka kooban hoggaamiyayaasha dawlad-goboleedyada iyo raysalwasaare Rooble.³⁷

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, ayaa aad u musuqmaasuqay doorashada Aqalka Sare.³⁸ Xildhibaannada aqalka sare oo ka koobnaa 54 mudane, waxa tartan dhab ah ku soo baxay 15 xubnood oo intooda badani tahay xildhibaannada Hirshabeelle iyo kuwa beesha Dir-Waqooyi oo ay doorashadoodu ka dhacday magaalada Muqdisho.³⁹

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, madaxweynayaasha dawlad-goboleedyada badankoodu waxa ay aqalka sare keensadeen saaxiibadood oo aan tartan doorasho soo galin.⁴⁰ Doorashadii aqalka hoose, ayaan iyaduna waxba dhaamin ta aqalka sare, maaddama ay hoggaamiyayaasha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku u marin habaabiyeen heshiiskii 27-ka May, si ay saaxiibadood u keensadaan kuraasta aqalka hoose.

Laba dhacdo oo aad u saamayn badan ayaa saxaafadda qabsaday. Waa doorashadii Col. Yaasiin Cabdullaahi Farey, oo ah Ku-simaha Agaasimaha Hay'adda nabadsugidda iyo Sirdoonka Qaranka, ayaa ku guulaystay kursiga tirsigiisu yahay (HoP 067) ee Galmudug. Sidaa si la mid ah, guddoomiyihii hore ee golaha shacabka Maxamed Cismaan Jawaari ayaa loo diiday in uu u tartamo kursigii uu ka degay ee dawlad-goboleedka Koonfur Galbeed.⁴¹ Labadan dhacdaba, musharaxiintu way diideen in ay aqbalaan go'aannadaas, waxaanay cabasho u gudbiyeen Guddida Xallinta khilaafaadka Doorashooyinka. Guddidu waxa ay ku raacday go'aannadii ay soo saareen guddida doorashooyinka dawlad-goboleedku, waxaanay sheegeen in la raacay habraacyo sax ah.⁴²

36. See "Somalia's lower house members have today discarded their previous decision to grant themselves and President Mohamed Farmaajo a controversial two-year term extension" (May 2021) Accessed at: <https://hornobserver.com/articles/871/Somalias-lower-house-annuls-Farmaajos-term-extension>

37. See "Somalia's PM commits to free, fair polls after an impasse over elections resolved" (May 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalias-political-leaders-sign-agreement-resolving-impasse-out-elections-2021-05-27/>

38. See "Somali lawmakers vote for the country to hold indirect elections" (May 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/1/somali-lawmakers-vote-to-hold-indirect-elections>

39. For a detailed treatment, see "The Dangers of Rigged Indirect Elections" (November 2021) Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. Accessed at: <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Election-Brief-English-Nov-24-2021.pdf>

40. See "Somalia's Sham Election May Trigger Post-Election Violence" (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.jowhar.com/article/somalias-sham-election-may-trigger-post-election-violence.html>

41. Ibid.

42. See "Acting intelligence chief elected MP in Galmudug" (November 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/Nov/184653/acting_intelligence_chief_elected_mp_in_galmudug.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront

Midawga Musharraxiinta Madaxweynaha ayaa diiday go'aankii Guddida Xallinta khilaafaadka Doorashooyinka.⁴³ Taasina waxa ay dhalisay in raysalwasaare Rooble culays kala kulmo qabashada iyo dardargalinta doorashooyinkan laba bogleynaya. Raysalwasaare Rooble ayaa bishii Diseember eryay todoba xubnood oo ka tirsan Guddida Xallinta khilaafaadka Doorashooyinka, kuwaas oo ku guuldarraystay in ay raacaan shuruudaha iyo habraacyada nidaamka doorashooyinka.⁴⁴ Maalmo yar ka dib, xubno ka tirsan Guddida Hirgelinta Doorashooyinka Heer Federaal ayaa ku dhawaaqay in ay xilkii ka qaadeen guddoomiyahoodii Maxamed Xasan Cirro. Cirro, go'aankaas waa uu qaaddacay, isaga oo raysalwasaare Rooble ku eedeeyay in uu ka danbeeyo kacdoonka xil ka qaadistiisa.⁴⁵ Xeeladaha la xidhiidha doorashooyinka ayaa gabi ahaanba jaahwareer ku riday hannaankii iyo habsami-socodkii arrimaha doorashada, waxaana dib u soo cusboonaaday khilaafkii u dhaxeeyay Madaxweyne Farmaajo iyo Raysalwasaare Rooble.

2.1 Loollanka Siyaasadda

Raysalwasaare Rooble ayaa bishii Diseember, isugu yeedhay Guddida Qabanqaabada Doorashada, oo ah cidda masuulka ka ah habsami-socodka doorashada,⁴⁶ si loo saxo qaladaadkii hore loogu arkay hannaanka doorashada.⁴⁷ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, madaxweyne Farmaajo ayaa shirkaas u arkay tallaabo kale oo uu qaaday raysalwasaare Rooble, taas oo lagu mijoxaabaniyo qorshii uu soo maleegayey dhawrka sano ee ahaa in mar kale dib loo doorto.

26-kii Diseember, oo ahayd maalintii ka horraysay shirkii ay isugu yimaaddeen Guddida Qabanqaabada Doorashooyinka, ayuu hadlay Madaxweyne Farmaajo, isaga oo jeediyey qudbad uu ku eedaynayo Rooble, waxaanu sheegay “in raysalwasaare Rooble ku guuldarraystay hoggaaminta doorashooyin lagu wada kalsoonyahay”, waxaanu ku baaqay, “wadahal qaran oo cusub, oo ku saabsan doorashooyinka,” kaas oo meesha ka saaraya heshiiskii 27 May.⁴⁸ Maalin ka dibna, madaxweyne Farmaajo xaalka wuu uga sii daray, waxaanu ku dhawaaqay in uu laalay awoodihii raysalwasaaraha illaa iyo inta baadhitaan lagu samaynayo musuqmaasuqa jira.⁴⁹ Marka loo eego dastuurka kumeelgaarka ah, Aqalka Hoose ee baarlamanka oo kaliya ayaa xilka ka qaadi kara raysalwasaaraha.⁵⁰

43. See “Former speaker prof. Jawaari barred from running for the seat he occupied in the departing house” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.jowhar.com/news/proff-jawaarigogol-nin-gob-ah-oo-oday-ah-wax-ka-soo-doontay-meeshaan-ma-taalo.html>

44. See “Dispute Resolution Committee Validates Yasin Farey’s Election” (December 2021). Hiiraan Online. Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Dec/184837/dispute_resolution_committee_validates_yasin_farey_s_election.aspx

45. See “Midowga Musharraxiinta oo beesha caalamka ugu baaqay in si degdeg ah usoo faro galiyaan doorashada” (November 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/Nov/wararka_maanta30-179523.htm?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=WararkaMaantaFront

46. See “Somalia PM sacks election committee members amid crisis” (December 2021) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-s-pm-robble-sacks-election-committee-members-amid-crisis>

47. See “FIET members axed poll agency boss” (December 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Dec/184929/fiet_members_axe_poll_agency_boss.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront

48. See “FEIT members axe poll agency poll” (December 2021) – Hiiraan Online. Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Dec/184929/fiet_members_axe_poll_agency_boss.aspx

49. See “Somali PM calls for consultative talks to speed up the electoral process” (December 2021) Accessed at: http://www.news.cn/english/2021-12/22/c_1310386615.htm

50. See “STAKEHOLDERS TO “ADDRESS” IRREGULARITIES IN THE SOMALI ELECTORAL PROCESS” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://puntlandpost.net/2021/12/28/stakeholders-to-address-irregularities-in-the-somali-electoral-process/>

Daneeyayaasha dalka iyo kuwa dibedda ayaa dhammaantood ka soo horjeestay go,aannadii Farmaajo. Sidii la filayey, hoggaamiyayaasha Puntland iyo Jubbanland ayaa iyaguna sheegay in ay raysalwasaare Rooble u aqoonsan yihiin guddoomiyaha Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, waxaanay sheegeen in ay imanayaan shirka Muqdisho.⁵¹ Hoggaamiyayaasha Galmudug iyo Hirshabelle ayaa iyaguna shirka yimi, inkasta oo ay ka gaabiyeen in ay ku dhawaaqaan dhinaca ay taageersan yihiin.⁵² Si kastaba ha ahaatee, hoggaamiyaha Koonfur Galbeed ayaa taageeray go'aanka madaxweynaha.⁵³

Saaxiibada caalamka ayaa si cad u taageeray kulanka uu raysalwasaare Rooble ugu baaqay Guddida Wadatashiga Qaranka, waxaanay qaaddaceen isku daygii madaxweynaha ee dib u noqodka ahaa. Waaxda Arrimaha Debedda ee Mareykanka ayaa sheegtay in “isku daya shaqo ka joojinta [Rooble] tahay wax laga naxo, waxa aanay taageertay dedaalka uu Raysalwasaare ugu jiro in laqabto doorasho degdeg ah oo lagu kalsoonaan karo.”⁵⁴ Waxa kale oo ay beesha caalamka ugu baaqeen in ay xiisadda qaboojiyaan, waxaanay teegeereen baahida loo qabo shirka Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, iyaga oo si toos ah ula saftay raysalwasaare Rooble.⁵⁵

Sannadkii 2021-ku waxa uu ku dhammaaday qalalaase siyaasadeed oo la xiriira doorashooyinka. Mar kale, Soomaaliya waxa u bilaabmay sannad cusub, waa sannadka 2022-ka, balse qabashada doorashada iyo jihada loo socdaba waxa wali ku hareeraysan jaahwareer siyaasadeed. Kulankii Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waxa uu qabsoomay horraantii bisha Jannaayo ee 2022-ka, waxaana ka soo baxay 18-qodob oo ku saabsan sixitaanka arrimaha la xidhiidha doorashooyinka. Madaxweynaha iyo mucaaradka ayaa soo wada dhaweeyey heshiiskaas, oo hoos u dhigay xiisaddii kacsanayd. Afar qodob ayaa mudan in halkan lagu xuso: ta kowaad, heshiiska waxaa ka mid ahaa in la hubiyo in dhammaan musharixiinta daneynaya in ay u tartamaan kursigaas loo ogolaan doono. Ta labaad, waxa ay ku baaqday in la xoojiyo sharciyeynta beelaha. Ta Saddexaad, heshiisku waxa uu meesha ka saaray lacagtii khidmadda ahayd ee laga rabay ergada. Ugu dambeyn, heshiiska ayaa lagu sheegay in AMISOM ay kordhiso ilaalinta amniga madaxtooyada.

“
Mar kale,
Soomaaliya waxa
u bilaabmay
sannad cusub, waa
sannadka 2022-ka,
balse qabashada
doorashada
iyo jihada loo
socdaba waxa wali
ku hareeraysan
jaahwareer
siyaasadeed.

50. See “STAKEHOLDERS TO “ADDRESS” IRREGULARITIES IN THE SOMALI ELECTORAL PROCESS” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://puntlandpost.net/2021/12/28/stakeholders-to-address-irregularities-in-the-somali-electoral-process/>

51. See “Statement on Elections Directions” (2021) Villa Somalia. Accessed at: <https://villasomalia.gov.so/en/statement-on-elections-directions/>

52. See “Presidential Order: Prime Minister Mohamed Hussein Roble.” (December 2021) Villa Somalia. Accessed at: <https://villasomalia.gov.so/en/presidential-order-prime-minister-mohamed-hussein-roble/>

53. See “Article 69. The Powers of the House of the People of the Federal Parliament” Accessed at: <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/Somalia-Constitution2012.pdf>

54. See “Prime Minister Roble meets with Jubbaland and Puntland presidents in Mogadishu” (December 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Jan/wararka_maanta1-179833.htm?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=WararkaMaantaFront

55. See “Jubbaland iyo Koonfur Galbeed oo taageero u kala muujiyay madaxweyne Farmaajo iyo Raysal wasaare Rooble” (December 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/Dec/wararka_maanta26-179775.htm?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=WararkaMaantaFront

“

Arrinta ugu khatarta badani waa natiijada ka dhalatay khilaafyada siyaasadeed ee dabadheeraaday, ee u dhaxeeya madaxweynaha iyo raysalwasaaraha Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo jaahwareer ku riday hay'adaha amniga. Khilaafkan ayaa salka ku haya carqaladihii ka dhashay isku daygii lagu doonayey muddo kordhinta

2.2 Jaahwareerka ka dhex jira hay'adaha amniga

Arrinta ugu khatarta badani waa natiijada ka dhalatay khilaafyada siyaasadeed ee dabadheeraaday, ee u dhaxeeya madaxweynaha iyo raysalwasaaraha Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo jaahwareer ku riday hay'adaha amniga. Khilaafkan ayaa salka ku haya carqaladihii ka dhashay isku daygii lagu doonayey muddo kordhinta. Arrinta murugada leh ee maqnaanshaha Ikraan Tahliil, oo ahayd sirtoon da'yar oo falanqaysa arrimaha amniga warbaahinta, isla markaana ka tirsanayd Hay'adda Sirtoonka iyo Nabadsugidda Qaranka (NISA) ayaa la afdubay 26-kii Jannaayo, arrintaasina waxa ay dhalsay kacdoonno bulsho.⁵⁶

Markii dhawr todobaad la la'aa Ikraan Tahliil ayey Hay'adda Nabadsugidda iyo Sirtoonka Qaranku sheegtay in ay al-Shabaab afdubatay oo ay dishay.⁵⁷ Eedayntan waxa diidday oo iska bariyeeshey al-Shabaab, taas oo noqotay dhacdo ugub ah, maadaama oo al-Shabaab lagu yaqaannay in ay ku soo haliilaan sheegashada dilka qof ka tirsan saraakiisha sirtoonka.⁵⁸

Markii kacdoon bulsho ka dhashay waayitaankii Ikraan Tahliin, ayuu raysalwasaare Rooble xilkii ka qaaday Fahad Yaasiin, oo ahaa agaasimaha NISA.⁵⁹ Madaxweyne Farmaajo ayaa ka soo horjeestay xil ka qaadista Fahad Yaasiin.⁶⁰ Sida oo kale, raysalwasaaraha Rooble ayaa xilkii ka qaaday wasiirkii amniga gudaha, Xasan Xundubay Jimcaale, waxaanu ku beddelay Cabdullaahi Maxamed Nuur oo ahaa xubin ka tirsan Aqalka Hoose ee baarlamaanka. Madaxweyno Farmaajo ayaa mar labaad diiday magacaabistaas.⁶¹ Ugu danbey, Madaxweynaha iyo Raysalwasaaraha ayaa xalliyay khilaafkii u dhaxeeyay ee ku saabsanaa masuuliyadahooda. Madaxweynahu waxa u uu ku-simaha agaasimaha NISA u magacaabay Yaasiin Cabdullaahi Farey, halka uu raysalwasaarahu meelmariyey in uu Cabdullaahi Maxamed Nuur noqdo wasiirka cusub ee amniga gudaha Soomaaliya.⁶²

56. See “Koonfur Galbeed Kama Soo Qaybgaleyso Shirka uu Iclaamiyey Raiisul Wasaaraha”. (2021) Radio Kulmiye. Accessed at: <https://radiokulmiye.net/lafta-gareen-kgs-kama-qeybgalayso-shirka-uu-iclaamiyay-raiisul-wasaaraha/>

57. See Twitter message from the state department. Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/AsstSecStateAF/status/1475545405966491650?s=20>

58. See “International Partners Urge Restraint and Dialogue and Renewed Focus on Elections.” (December 2021) UNSOM. Accessed at: <https://unsom.unmissions.org/international-partners-urge-restraint-and-dialogue-and-renewed-focus-elections>

59. See “Case of missing spy aggravates tensions among fractious Somali leadership” (September 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/sep/08/case-of-missing-spy-aggravates-tensions-among-fractious-somali-leadership>

60. See “Somalia’s spy agency says its missing female agent was abducted and killed by Al-Shabaab” (September 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Sept/183781/somalia_s_spy_agency_says_its_missing_female_agent_was_abducted_and_killed_by_al_shabaab.aspx

61. See “How Intelligence Officer’s Disappearance has Ripped the Government Apart.” (September 2021) Washington Post. Accessed at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/09/18/somalia-political-crisis-shabab/>

62. See “Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Roble has sacked national intelligence chief, Fahad Yasin, over the death of female intelligence officer Ikraan Tahliil.” (September 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/somali/pm-roble-dismisses-nisa-chief-fahad-yassin/>

Sannad ka dib, taliyaha ciidamda badda jeneraal Cabdixamiid Maxamed Dirir, ayaa raysalwasaaraha ku eedeeyay in uu xaday dhul ay leeyihiin ilaalada xeebahu.⁶³ Waa arrin ugub ah, in taliye sare eedaymo u soo jeediyo raysalwasaare xilka haya. Laakiin dulucda siyaasadeed ee tallaabadani waxa ay caddaaday markii uu madaxweyne Farmaajo eedayntaas u adeegsaday in uu shaqada kaga joojiyo raysalwasaare Rooble 27-kii Diseenber 2021-kii⁶⁴, tallaabadaas oo uu raysalwasaaruhu ku tilmaamay” isku day afganbi, ka dhan ah dastuurka”.⁶⁵

29-kii bishii Diseenber, ayaa taliyaha Ciidamada Qaranka Soomaaliyeed Jeneraal Yusuf Odowaa uu kulan degdeg ah isugu yeeray dhammaan taliyeyaasha ciidamada, waxa aanu u sheegay in ay ka fogaadaan, dhexdhexaadna ka noqdaan loollanka siyaasadda, si loo ilaaliyo kalsoonida ciidanka. Intaa ka dib, taliyeyaasha booliska iyo NISA ayaa si wada jir ah u shaaciyey in ay hay’adahoodu ka fogaanayaan arrimaha siyaasadda.⁶⁶ Kaaliyaha Xoghayaha Mareykanka u Qaabilsan Arrimaha Afrika Marwo Molly Phee, ayaa iyaduna madaxweyne Farmaajo u sheegtay in uu ilaaliyo dhexdhexaadnimada ciidamada amniga.⁶⁷

3. Dhaqaalaha

Bangiga adduunka ayaa warbixin ku sheegay in “Dhaqaalaha Soomaaliya uu ka soo kabanayo ‘caqabadihii saddex geesoodka ahaa ee dalka ragaadiyey sannadkii 2020-kii. Safmarka Koraanaha, daadadka xad dhaaf ah iyo ayax ku degay dalka oo dhan ayaa xaaladda ka dhigay mid cakiran. Koboca dhabta ah ee dhakhliga waxsoosaarka gudaha ayaa la saadaalinayey in uu sannadkii 2021-kii kordho boqolkiiba 1.4. Kor u kaca kobocan dhaqaale ayaa la rajaynayaa in uu si dhexdhexaad ah u sii socdo, isla markaana uu sannadka 2023-ka gaaro heerkii uu ahaa Karoonaha ka hor oo ahayd 3.2.”⁶⁸ Dhaqaalaha dalka ayaa hoos u dhacay wax ka yar sidii la filayey, waxaana saameyntii ugu darneyd ku yeeshay caqabaha saddex-geesoodka ah, kuwaas oo saamayntooda lagu yareeyay “gargaarka uu dalku helay oo ka sarreeya intii la filayey, waxaanay dawladda Federaalka Soomaaliya dajisay siyaasad maaliyadeed oo lagu caawinayo ganacsiga, laguna daboolayo baahiyaha qoysaska nugul, sida oo kale lacagaha xawaaladaha ayaa ka sarreeya sidii la filayay.”⁶⁹

63. See “President Farmajo reinstates Fahad Yasin, declares PM sacking ‘illegal’ (September 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2021/Sept/183815/president_farmajo_reinstates_fahad_yasin_declares_pm_sacking_illegal.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront

64. See “Somalia’s security minister fired as wrangles between PM and farmajo escalate” (September 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-s-security-minister-as-wrangles-between-pm-and-farmaajo-escalate>

65. See “Somali president suspends premier’s power to hire, fire officials” (September 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somali-president-suspends-premier-s-power-to-hire-fire-officials/2366676>

66. See “Somalia President Farmajo, PM Roble mend fences” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-president-farmaajo-pm-roble-mend-fences-3591986>

67. See Abdi Latif Dahir, “Somalia’s President Suspends Prime Minister Over Corruption Allegations” (December 27, 2021). Accessed at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/27/world/africa/somalia-prime-minister-suspended.html>. See also “Somalia’s PM Accused of Land Grabbing Amid Renewed Rift with President” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://somaliguadian.com/news/somalia-news/somalias-pm-accused-of-land-grabbing-amid-renewed-rift-with-president/>

68. See “Somalia’s President Suspends Prime Minister Over Corruption Allegations” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/27/world/africa/somalia-prime-minister-suspended.html>

69. See “Somalia’s PM Accuses President of ‘Coup Attempt’ After Power Suspended” (December 2021) Reuters. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalias-president-suspends-prime-minister-over-corruption-probe-2021-12-27/>

“

Saaxiibbada caalamku waxa ay inta badan xasuusiyaan siyaasiyiinta Soomaaliya in haddii wixii ka horreeya bisha Maarso, la xallin waayo qalalaasaha siyaasadeed, aanu dalku dhinaca gargaar cafinta ka gaari dooninin horumar la taaban karo, taasina dib ucelin karto horumarkii la sameeyay

Sannadkii 2020-kii, Bangiga Adduunka iyo Hay'adda Lacagta Adduunka (IMF) ayaa oggolaaday codsigii Soomaaliya ee ahaa cafinta deymaha lagu leeyahay, iyada oo loo marayo barnaamijka Wadamada Saboolka ah ee Deymaha badan lagu leeyahay (HIPC), tanina waa guushii ugu weynayd ee ay DFS gaarto afartii sano ee la soo dhaafay.⁷⁰ Sida oo kale Soomaaliya waxa ay gaartay “ xariiqda go'aan qaadashada” oo ay kaga libkeentay geeddi-socodkii adkaa ee deyn cafinta oo ay si wadajir ah uga hawlgaleen Bangiga Adduunka iyo I Hay'adda Lacagta Adduunka (MF).⁷¹ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Soomaaliya waxa ay u baahan tahay in ay gaarto” xarriiqda dhammaystirka), oo ah in dhammaan daynta laga dhafo, dalkuna uu awood u yeesho in uu helo deyn cusub. Sannadkii 2021-kii dawladda faderaalka Soomaaliya waxa ay awoodi wayday in ay dayn cafinta ka gaarto horumar la taaban karo, taas oo ay ugu wacan tahay qalalaasaha siyaasadeed ee curyaamiyay hay'adaha dawladda. Saaxiibbada caalamka ayaa marar badan ka digay in xiisadda siyaasadeed ee sii socotaa dib u celin karto guulihii laga gaaray habka deyn cafinta. Saaxiibbada caalamku waxa ay inta badan xasuusiyaan siyaasiyiinta Soomaaliya in haddii wixii ka horreeya bisha Maarso, la xallin waayo qalalaasaha siyaasadeed, aanu dalku dhinaca gargaar cafinta ka gaari dooninin horumar la taaban karo, taasina dib ucelin karto horumarkii la sameeyay.

4. Xaaladda Aadanimada

Sida lagu sheegay warbixin la isugu tagay oo ay Qaramada Midoobay ka samaysay xaaladda bini-aadantinimada ,ayaa xaaladda bini'aadantinimo ee Soomaaliya aad uga dayrisay kuna tilmaantay in ay aad uga sii dartay sannadkii 2021-kii. Dhibaataada ugu weyn waxa sababay safmarka Karoonaha, xaalufinta ayaxa, fatahaado xooggan iyo khilaafka siyaasadeed ee joogtada noqday.⁷²

Dadka ku nool Soomaaliya oo lagu qiyaaso 15 milyan, ku dhawaad kala badh ayaa u baahan gargaar, halka ay saddex-meelood hal meeli ka wajahayso cunto la'aan,baahidan ayaa kor u sii kacday sannad ka hor.⁷³ Sida ay warbaxin ku sheegtay Qaramada Midoobay sannadkii 2021-kii, “dalku waxa uu galay xiisado siyaasadeed oo kacsan, taas oo mararka qaar keentay rabshado ka dhashay dibudhaca geeddi-socodka doorashada iyo loollanka awoodeed ee u dhaxeeya hoggaanka siyaasadda. Koonfurta iyo Badhtamaha Soomaaliya waxa cirka isku shareeray khilaaf iyo ammaan darro, keenay barakacyo joogto ah, qulqulatooyin ku yimi isku socodka maciishadda, caqabado ragaadiyey ganacsiga iyo la'aanta adeegyada muhiimka u ah bini-aadantinimada. Kor u kaca tartanka loogu jiro khayraadka dabiiciga ah iyo ilaha dhaqaalaha ayaa abuuray isku dhacyada maxalliga ah iyo kuwa qabiillada.”⁷⁴

70. See “Somalia’s military, spy, police chiefs seek to steer clear of the political row” (DEC.2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somalias-military-spy-police-chiefs-seek-to-steer-clear-of-political-row/2462153>

71. See Twitter message: <https://twitter.com/AsstSecStateAF/status/1476280618673741830?s=20>

72. See “Somalia Economy Recovering from ‘Triple Shock’”. (2021) World Bank. Accessed at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2021/09/14/somalia-s-economy-rebounding-from-triple-shock>

73. Ibid.

74. See “IMF and World Bank Consider Somalia Eligible for Assistance Under the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative” (February 2020). Accessed at: <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/02/13/pr2048-imf-and-wb-consider-somalia-eligible-for-assistance-under-the-enhanced-hipc-initiative>

Barakaca gudaha ayaa aad kor ugu kacay tobankii sanno ee u danbeeyay, sababta oo ah waxa aad u baahay rabshadaha siyaasadda iyo khilaafyada siyaasadeed ee aan dhammaadka lahayn. Ku dhawaad 413,000 oo qof ayaa guud ahaan dalka ka barakacay, oo ay ku jiraan 207,000 oo qof oo bishii Abriil Muqdisho ka barakacay, ka dib markii ay bilaabmeen rabshadihii la xiriiray doorashooyinku.⁷⁵

Warbixintani waxa ay hoosta ka xarriiqday in “ barakaca la xidhiidha doorashooyinka ay kor u kacday bishii Abriil 2021-kii, iyada oo tirada ugu badani ka barakacday magaalada Muqdisho, taas oo tusaale cad u ah xaddiga barakaca ee la xidhiidha khilaafyada doorashada, waxaana laga yaabaa in xaaladdaasi mar kale soo noqoto, haddii aan la xallin qalalaasaha siyaasadeed ee haatan taagan.”⁷⁶

Abaaro isdaba joog ah ayaa halakeeyey Soomaaliya inteeda badan. Abaarahu waxa ay aad u saameeyeen gobollada koonfureed, taas oo keentay in aan waxba la beeran, xoolo badanina dhintaan.⁷⁷ Soomaaliya waxa ay safka hore kaga jirtaa dalalka isbeddelka cimiladu saameynta weyn ku yeelatay, waxaana sababay bogcadda ay Soomaaliya dunida kaga taallo iyo qaab-dhismeedka dhulkeeda. Marka loo eego dalalka Geeska Afrika, Soomaaliya waa dalka ugu heerkulka sarreeya.⁷⁸ Isbeddelka cimiladu ma aha masiibo deegaan oo kaliya, balse dadka jilicsan ayey u nuglaysaa kulaylka iyo khataraha ka dhasha isbeddelka cimilada, waxaanay halis galisaa sugnaanta cuntada iyo gaadhista yoolasha horumarka waara. Isbeddelka cimilada iyo saboolnimadu waa laba si weyn iskugu sidkan, maxaa yeelay isbeddelka cimiladu saamayn taban ayuu ku leeyahay dadka saboolka ah ee dhaqaalahoodu hooseeyo iyo dalalka soo koraya, sida Soomaaliya. Bulshada reer miyaga ahi waxa ay sannadkii oo dhan heshaa roob aan ku fillayn. Sidaa darteed, kor u kaca abaaraha daran ee soo noqnoqday oo uu keenay isbeddelka cimiladu ayaa sababi kara saboolnimo lagu riiqdo. Tusaale ahaan, marka aanu roob ku filani helin, xoolahu aad bay u dhintaan, seero-roobeedku ma soo baxaan, waxaana xigta in bulshadu noqoto mid ku tiirsan caawimooyinka bini'aadantinimada.

Warbixin dhawaan laga qoray sugnaanta cuntada Soomaaliya, ayaa lagu sheegay in dad lagu qiyaasay 2.6 milyan oo qof ay wajahayaan cunto yaraan ba'an,⁷⁹ taas oo ay sababeen afar waxyeello oo is huwani: roob yaraan, fatahaado, duullaanka ayaxa deegaanta xaalufiyey iyo saamaynta uu dhaqaalaha bulshada ku yeeshay Karoonahu(Covid-19). Marka loo eego caafimaadka bulshada, haddii uu safmarkani adduunka sii galalafu, saamaynta uu caafimaadka iyo fayoqabka bulshada Soomaaliyeed ku yeeshay waa in si weyn loo dhugto, wax laga qoro, lana falanqeeyo.

75. See “Somalia to Receive Debt Relief under the Enhanced HIPC Initiative” (March 2020) Accessed at: <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/03/25/pr20104-somalia-somalia-to-receive-debt-relief-under-the-enhanced-hipc-initiative>

76. See “Somalia: Situation Overview” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://reports.unocha.org/en/country/somalia/card/4ha9XmMN3m/>

77. See “2022 Somalia Humanitarian Needs Overview” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/2022-somalia-humanitarian-needs-overview>

78. See “World Bank Climate Change Knowledge Portal” (2020) Accessed at: <https://climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org/country/somalia/climate-data-historical>

79. Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit – Somalia. (July 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.fsnaui.org/node/1857>

5. Xiriirka Arrimaha Debedda



Sannadkii 2021-kii, ayey Soomaaliya xiriir wanaagsan oo sugan la samaysay bulshooyinka dunida intooda badan. Muqdisho ayaa xiriir wanaagsan la yeelatay Turkiga, Gadar, Itoobiya iyo Erateriya, waxaanay qaboojisay khilaafyadii ka dhaxeeyay iyada iyo Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Isu-tagga Imaaraadka

Sannadkii 2021-kii, ayey Soomaaliya xiriir wanaagsan oo sugan la samaysay bulshooyinka dunida intooda badan. Muqdisho ayaa xiriir wanaagsan la yeelatay Turkiga, Gadar, Itoobiya iyo Erateriya, waxaanay qaboojisay khilaafyadii ka dhaxeeyay iyada iyo Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Isu-tagga Imaaraadka.

Marka laga yimaaddo ismaandhaafyadii doorashada la xiriiray, sannadkii 2021-kii, Soomaaliya waxa ay sii wadday wadashaqayntii ay la lahayd saaxiibadeeddi hore. Sannad kasta, deeq bixiyeyaasha ayaa boqollaal milyan oo caawimo ah Soomaaliya u siiya si dadban iyo si daalacanba, iyaga oo u soo mariya ururrada caalamiga ah iyo hay'adaha maaliyadda ee caalamiga ah. Muddo dheer ayey Soomaaliya si gaar ah xiriir wanaagsan ula lahayd Maraykanka, Ingiriiska iyo Midawga Yurub, kuwaas oo dadka Soomaaliyeed oo dhan siiya deeqaha aadamanimada iyo kuwa horumarka.⁸⁰ Waxa kale oo ay Soomaaliya ilaalisay xiriirka diblumaasiyeed ee ay la leedahay dalalka kale ee ay ka midka yihiin Sucuudi Carabiya, Masar, Shiinaha iyo Norway.

Maraykanka, Ingiriiska iyo Yurub ayaa ah deeqbixiyeyaasha ugu waaweyn ee ay Soomaaliya leedahay. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, saddexdan deeqbixiye ee muhiimka ah ayaa hoggaamiyeyaasha Soomaaliya madaxbannaani weyn u siiyay siyaasaddooda. Sannadkii 2021-kii intiisa badan Maraykanku muu lahayn danjire Muqdisho u fadhiya, wixii ka danbeeyay markii uu ka tagay Donald Yamamoto, oo ahaa diblumaasi rug caddaa ah. Bishii Diseember 2021-kii ayuu Aqalka Sare ee Maraykanku u soo magacaabay Larry Andre Jr danjiraha u fadhiya Soomaaliya, waxaana la filayey in uu yimaaddo horraantii 2022-ka. Maraykanku waxa uu muhiimadda ugu weyn siiyaa in uu awooddiisa ku handado, kuna cunaqabateeyo hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadda- waa hanjabaad isbeddel ku keeni karta dhaqannada siyaasadda- waana sidii uu sameeyay dhacdadii bishii Diseember 2021-kii, markii ay Washington cadaadis ku saartay madaxweyne Farmaajo isku daygii uu raysalwasaare Rooble shaqada kaga joojiyey.⁸¹

Waxa intaa dheer, xiriirka dhaw ee ay Soomaaliya la leedahay Turkiga, Gadar, Itoobiya iyo Erateriya ayaa xoogaystay muddadii warbixintani socotay. Dalalkaasi waxa ay Soomaaliya toos uga taageeraan dhinacyada amniga iyo dhaqaalaha. Tusaale ahaan, Turkigu waxa uu ciidamada Soomaaliya siiyaa miisaaniyad dhaqaale iyo tababarro ciidan. Tobankii sano ee u danbeeyay waxa kor u kacay xaddiga ganacsi ee Turkigu la leeyahay Soomaaliya, waxaanu gaadhay 500 oo milyan sannadkii 2021-kii. Waxa kale oo Turkigu noqday goob ay haldoorka Soomaaliyeed u tagaan waxbarasho, dalxiis iyo caafimaad. Dayaaradaha Turkiga ayaa iyaguna si maalinle ah duullimaadyo uga sameeya Muqdisho. Qadar ayaa taageero ku bixisay dhisitaanka waddooyinka sida jidka isku xira Muqdisho iyo Afgooye. Waxa kale oo la sheegay in Qadar taageero dhaqaale siiso Soomaaliya.⁸² Diyaaradda Qadar Airways ayaa todobaadkiiba saddex cisho duullimaadyo ka samaysa Muqdisho.

80. See "Aid flow in Somalia" (May 2019) Ministry of planning. Accessed at: <http://mop.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Aid-Flows-in-Somalia-2019-ENGLISH.pdf>

81. See Tweet from US State Department, accessed at: <https://twitter.com/AsstSecStateAF/status/1475545405966491650?s=20>

82. See "Somalia | Financial Tracking Service" (2021) UNOCHA Accessed at: <https://fts.unocha.org/countries/206/flows/2021?f%5B0%5D=destinationOrganizationIdName%3A8600%3ACARE%20Somalia&f%5B1%5D=destinationOrganizationIdName%3A1418%3AQatar%20Charity>

Gobolka Geeska Afrika, Soomaaliya waxa ay qayb ka tahay iskaashiga saddex-geesoodka ah ee ay la wadaagto Itoobiya iyo Erateriya. Sida oo kale, Soomaaliya ayaa Itoobiya si xooggan ugu taageertay dagaalka ay kula jirto jabhadda Tigrayga. Dayaaradaha Itoobiya ayaa maalin kasta duullimaadyo ka sameeya dhawr magaalo dalka ah. Waxa kale oo la sheegay in ay Soomaaliya kumannaan askari oo tababar u joogay dalka Erateriya u dirtay Itoobiya, si ay uga garab dagaallamaan ciidanka Itoobiya ee la dagaallamaya qoomiyadda Tigrayga. Waxa jiray warar sheegaya in ciidamada la soo tababaray soo guryo noqonayaan bilaha ugu soo horreeya 2022-ka,⁸³ balse xogta arrintan laga hayaa waa mid kooban.

Dhanka kale, Soomaaliya ayaa xiriir aan wanaagsanayn la leh Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Isu-tagga Imaaraadka. Marka loo eego Kenya, xiriirka liita ee u dhaxeeya labada dal waxa uu salka ku hayaa muranka ku saabsan xuduudaha badda. Xukuumaddii hore ee uu Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud madaxweynaha ka ahaa ayaa kiiska badda u gudbisay Maxakamadda Caddaaladda Adduunka. Kenya ayaa Soomaaliya ku cadaadisay in kiiska debadda looga saaro maxakamadda, balse madaxweyne Farmaajo ayaa diiday in uu dacwaddaas ka laabto. Bishii Actoobar, ayey Maxakamadda Caddaaladda Adduunka Soomaaliya u xukuntay baddii lagu muransanaa inteeda badan. Kenya ayaa diiday xukunkii maxakamadda, waxaanay sheegtay in go'aankeedu "halis ku yahay nabadgalyada, siyaasadda iyo isu socodka dadka iyo ganacsiga gobolka iyo wixii ka baxsanba."⁸⁴ Bishii May, ayey Soomaaliya iyo Kenya dib soo celiyeen xiriirkoodii diblamaasiyeed, ka dib markii ay si weyn u dhexdhexaadisay Qadar.⁸⁵ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, xiriirka labada dal u dhaxeeyaa ayaa ah mid weli qallafsan, maadaama ay gobolka ku tartamayaan, kana leeyihiin qorsheyaal lid isku ah.

Intaa waxa dheer, xiriirka liita ee Jabuuti iyo Soomaaliya ayaa bilaabmay ka hor 2021-kii, waxaana loo aanaynayaa in uu salka ku hayo heshiiskii saddex-geesoodka ahaa ee ay Soomaaliya dhawaan ku biirtay. Balse, warbixintii Guddiga Xaqiiqo Raadinta IGAD ee ku saabsanayd baarista cabashada Soomaaliya ee la xiriirta faragalinta ay Kenya ku heyso arrimaha gudaha Soomaaliya, ayaa kicisay khilaafka baahay. Waftidii Jabuuti ayaa ku garnaqday in aanay Soomaaliya la iman caddeymo ku filan oo taageeraya sheegashadeeda.⁸⁶ Soomaaliya ayaa ku gacansaydhay natiijadii Jabuuti, waxaanay ku eedaysay in ay Kenya la safatay.⁸⁷ Jabuuti, ayaa iyaduna dafirtay eedaymaha ay Soomaaliya u soo jeedisay.⁸⁸ Xurguftaas ayaa xumaysay xiriirkii labada dal ee sannadkii hore wanaagsanaa. Jabuuti ayaa ka mid ah dalalka ay ciidamadu ka joogaan Soomaaliya, waxaanay ciidamadeedu ka howlgalaan gobolka Hiiraan.⁸⁹

83. See "Somali soldiers training in Eritrea set for return amid pressure from opposition." (2021) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somali-soldiers-training-in-eritrea-set-for-return-amid-pressure-from-opposition>

84. See "Aid flow in Somalia" (May 2019) Ministry of planning. Accessed at: <http://mop.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Aid-Flows-in-Somalia-2019-ENGLISH.pdf>

85. See Tweet from US State Department, accessed at: <https://twitter.com/AsstSecStateAF/status/1475545405966491650?s=20>

86. See "Somalia | Financial Tracking Service" (2021) UNOCHA. Accessed at: <https://fts.unocha.org/countries/206/flows/2021?f%5B0%5D=destinationOrganizationIdName%3A8600%3ACARE%20Somalia&f%5B1%5D=destinationOrganizationIdName%3A1418%3AQatar%20Charity>

87. See "Somali soldiers training in Eritrea set for return amid pressure from opposition." (2021) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somali-soldiers-training-in-eritrea-set-for-return-amid-pressure-from-opposition>

88. See "Top UN Court Sides with Somalia in Sea Border Dispute with Kenya." (2021) – Al Jazeera. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/10/12/un-court-icj-somalia-kenya-maritime-border-dispute-ruling>

89. See "Somalia and Kenya Restore Diplomatic Ties." (2021) – VOA News. Accessed at: https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_somalia-and-kenya-restore-diplomatic-ties/6205519.html

Xiriirka u dhaxeeya Soomaaliya iyo Imaaraadka ayaan hagaagin sannadkii 2021-kii. Xiriirka labada dal oo ah mid liita ayaa salka ku haya qulqulatooyinkii Gacanka ee sannadkii 2017-kii. Wixii ka horreeyay 2017-kii Imaaraadku xiriir wanaagsan ayuu la lahaa dawladda faderaalka Soomaaliya. Waxa kale oo ay xiriir wanaagsan la lahayd Soomaalilaan iyo Puntland.⁹⁰ Dawladda Soomaaliya ayaa aamminsana in Imaaraadku faragalin ku hayo arrimaheeda gudaha, sidaas darteed ayey Soomaaliya u mamnuucay dayaaradaha Dubai.⁹⁵ Ka dibna, Soomaaliya ayaa ku dhawaaqday in ay dhexdhexaad ka tahay qulqulatooyinkii Gacanka ee 2017-kii. Imaaraadka ayaa rumaysan in Soomaaliya la safantahay Qadar.⁹¹ Iyada oo arrimahaas laga duulayo, markii ay Soomaaliya gashay jaahwareerka siyaasadeed ee ka dhashay dibudhaca doorashada sannadkii 2021-ka, ayuu Imaaraadku soo saaray bayaan u dowladda Soomaaliya ku sifeynayo ‘maamul kumeelgaar ah.’ Dawladda Imaaraadka ayaa Cabdullaahi Maxamed Al-Naqbi u soo magacawday agaasimaha xafiiska ganacsiga ee Soomaalilaan.⁹² Ka dibna Soomaaliya ayaa Imaaraadka ku eedaystay in ay hurinayso qalalaase siyaasadeed. Dhammaadkii 2021-kii, ayuu raysalwasaare Rooble kulankii ugu horreeyay la yeeshay danjiraha Imaaraadka u fadhiya Muqdisho, tan iyo markii uu xumaaday xiriirka u dhaxeeya labada dal. Balse, tani may bogsiihin khilaafkii jiray.⁹³

Iyada oo lagu ixtiraamayo Ciidamada Nabad Ilaalinta Midowga Afrika, ayey golaha amniga ee Qaramada Midoobay saddex bilood ku kordhiyeen muddadii joogitaanka AMISOM – waxaanay ka dhigeen ilaa iyo dhammaadka bisha Maajo 2022-ka- waa muddo kordhintii ugu yarayd ee abid loo sameeyo Ciidamada Nabad Ilaalinta Midowga Afrika.⁹⁴ Sababta loo sameeyay muddo kordhintan kooban ayaa ah in dowladda Federaalku ku adkeysaneyso in AMISOM ku jaango’an tahay qorshaha Kumeelgaarka ah ee Soomaaliya, kaas oo dhigaya in ciidamada AMISOM la saarayo dhammaadka 2023-ka.

Guddida Nabadda iyo Ammaanka ee Midowga Afrika ayaa dadaal ugu jirta sidii loo cusboonaysiin lahaa shaqada AMISOM, iyada oo inta badan laga duulayo habraacyada hadda jira. Sida uu qorshahani dhigayo, Golaha Ammaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay ayaa muddada iyo khayraadkaba jaangoynaya, sida oo kale Midawga Afrika ayaa u xilsaaran istaratijiyada hawlgallada. Bishii Nofeembar, ayey DFS Muqdisho ka cayrisay sarkaalkii labaad ee AMISOM. Diblamaasi u dhashay Uganda Simon Mulongo ayaa lagu eedeeyay “dhaqan aan habboonayn.”⁹⁵

90. See “IGAD says no evidence that Kenya interfered in Somalia’s affairs” (January 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/en/news/igad-says-no-evidence-that-kenya-interfered-in-somalias-affairs>

91. See “Press Release” (January 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.mfa.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/IGAD.pdf>

92. See “Djibouti Denies Somalia Claims that IGAD Favored Kenya” (January 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.ftl.com/djibouti-denies-somalia-claims-that-igad-favored-kenya/>

93. Djibouti - AMISOM. (2016) <https://amisom-au.org/fr/djibouti/>

94. See “What UAE’s growing presence in Somaliland means for its Horn of Africa strategy” (MARCH 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/03/what-uaes-growing-presence-somaliland-means-its-horn-africa-strategy#ixzz7rql3rtI>

95. See “Somalia bans Dubai ports operator DP World, says contract with Somaliland null.” Reuters, Accessed at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-ports/somalia-bans-dubai-ports-operator-dp-world-says-contract-with-somaliland-null-idUSKCN1GP10E>

5.1 Soomaalilaan

1991-kii ayey Soomaalilaan ku dhawaaqday in ay gaar uga go'day Soomaaliya.⁹⁶ Illaa iyo markaas, Soomaalilaan waxa ay asaasaastay nimaad dawladeed oo shaqaynaya, waxa aanay ku naallootay nabad iyo xasilooni buuxda, taas oo ay dalka intiisa kale kaga roon tahay.⁹⁷ Soddon sano ayey Soomaalilaan si gaar ah u maamulanaysay arrimaheeda siyaasadda, nabadgalyada iyo dhaqaalaha oo ay dalka intiisa kale ka soocnayd. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Soomaaliya iyo Soomaalilaan ayey illaa iyo 2012-kii wadhadallo u socdeen. Soomaaliya ayaa danaynaysa wadhadalka, sababta oo ah waxa ay rabtaa in ay Hargaysi dib ula midawdo Muqdisho.⁹⁸ Dhanka kale, Soomaalilaan ayaa wadhadallada u aragta fagaare dhiirrigalinaya madaxbannaanideeda.

“
Muddadii
warbixintan
la qorayey,
Soomaalilaan ayaa
qabatay doorashadii
Aqalka Hoose ee
baarlamaanka oo
dibudhacyo iyo jiitan
ku yimid dartood
ku qabsoontay
16 sano ka dib,
waxaana sababay
khilaafyo ka dhex
aloosmay xisbiyada
siyaasadda

Soomaalilaan ayaa sannadkii 2022-kii guulo la taaban karo ka gaadhay dhinacyada dawladdnimada iyo dhaqaalaha ah. Muddadii warbixintan la qorayey, Soomaalilaan ayaa qabatay doorashadii Aqalka Hoose ee baarlamaanka oo dibudhacyo iyo jiitan ku yimid dartood ku qabsoontay 16 sano ka dib, waxaana sababay khilaafyo ka dhex aloosmay xisbiyada siyaasadda.

Xisbiyada Mucaaradka ee Waddani iyo UCID ayaa ku guuleystay aqlabiyadda 82-ka kursi ee Aqalka Hoose, iyaga oo kaga guuleystay xisbiga talada haya ee Kulmiye.⁹⁹ Sida oo kale, xisbiyada mucaaridka ayaa ku guulaystey maayarnimada caasimadda Hargeysa iyo magaalooyin kale oo badan.¹⁰⁰ Doorashada Madaxweynaha ayaa ku muddaysan in ay dhacdo dhammaadka sannadka 2022-ka. Sida oo kale xisbiyada mucaaradka ayaa sameystay isbaheysi ka dhan ah xisbiga talada haya ee Kulmiye, si ay u maamulaan Aqalka Hoose ee Baarlamaanka, iyo golayaasha deegaanka ee magaalooyinka waaweyn.

Inkasta oo ay haween caan ahi iska soo sharraxeen dhowr deegaan, haddana hal gabari kumay guulaysan kuraasta Aqalka Hoose ee doorashooyinka Soomaalilaan. Arrintan ayaa dhalisay su'aalo xasaasi ah oo ku saabsan caqabadaha la xiriira qaab-dhismeedka bulsho, kuwaas oo ay haweenku dhib kala kulmaan marka ay doonayaan in ay ka qaybgalaan saaxadda siyaasadda.¹⁰¹ Kooxda Xasaradaha Caalamigan ah, oo arrimahan ka hadlaya, ayaa qoray, “doorashadii Soomaalilaan ka dhacay 31-kii May, waxa ay shaaca ka qaaday heerka ay gaadhsiisan tahay awoodda ay Soomaalilaan u leedahay ku dhaqanka dimuqraadiyadda iyo caqabadaha hortaagan dedaallada ay ugu jirto in lagu soo daro saaxadda siyaasadda degaanno aan markii hore matalaad ku lahayn heerka sare ee siyaasadda. Haweenka ayaa hadda ka maqan golaha baarlamaanka.”¹⁰²

96. For the background of the poor relations between Somalia and the UAE, see “Somalia and the Gulf Crisis”, Report No. 260, International Crisis Group. (2018). available at <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/260-somalia-and-gulf-crisis>

97. See “Somaliland President receives credentials of Director of UAE Trade office in Somaliland.” (MARCH 2022) Accessed at: <https://wam.ae/en/details/1395302918982>

98. See “Somalia Accuses UAE of Promoting Political Standoff and Violent Protest” (FEB.2021) Accessed at: https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_somalia-accuses-uae-promoting-political-standoff-and-violent-protest/6202411.html

99. See “PM Roble meets with UAE Ambassador to Somalia” (DEC.2021) Accessed at: <https://radiomuqdisho.so/pm-roble-meets-with-uae-ambassador-to-somalia/>

100. See “Security Council Reauthorizes African Union Mission in Somalia for Three Months” (2021) UN. Accessed at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2021/sc14746.doc.htm>

101. See “Somalia Expels Ugandan Diplomat” (2021) – The Monitor. Accessed at: <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/somalia-expels-ugandan-diplomat--3608522?view=htmlamp>

102. See “Somaliland profile” (December 2017) Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14115069>

Codadkii la yaabka lahaa ee ay ku guulaysteen Barkhad Batuun iyo Cabdikariin Axmed Mooge ayaa ahaa wacdarhii ugu saamaynta badnaa doorashada. Batuun oo ka soo jeeda beel la haybsooco, ayaa codka ugu badan ku hoggaaminaya xildhibaannada Aqalka Hoose ee baarlamaanka, waxaana uu ka soo baxay xisbiga mucaaradka ah ee Wadani.¹⁰³ Mooge, oo isna ka soo baxay xisbiga Waddani ayaa noqday tartamihii ugu codka badnaa musharraxiintii doorashooyinka isku sidkan ee goleyaasha baarlamaanka iyo deegaanka, taas oo u gogol xaartay in uu noqdo maayirka caasimadda Hargeysa.¹⁰⁴

Sannadka cusub ee 2022-ka ayaa Soomaalilaan ugu bilaabmay doodaha ka taagan muddada doorashada madaxtooyada oo ku beegan 23 November 2022.¹⁰⁵ Madaxweyne Muuse Biixi, ayaa doonaya in uu qabto doorashada xisbiyada oo ka soo horreysa ta madaxweynaha.¹⁰⁶ Xisbiyada mucaaradka ayaa qaaddacay go'aanka Biixi, iyaga oo ku doodaya in ay soo horrayso doorashada madaxtooyadu.¹⁰⁷ Sida uu dhigayo dastuurka Soomaalilaan, tobankii sanaba hal mar ayaa la furayaa doorashada xisbiyada, waxaana xisbiyo qaran noqonaya saddexda xisbi ee ugu codka bata, marka loo codadka eego.¹⁰⁸ Xisbiyada Waddani iyo UCID ayaa ku hanjabay in ay qaadayaan tallaabooyin ay ku muquuninayaan Biixi, haddii ay doorashadu dib uga dhacdo muddadeeda, balse madaxweyne Biixi ayaa iska dhego maray doodda xisbiyada mucaaradka.¹⁰⁹ Waxa xusid mudan, in dhammaan madaxweynayaashii Soomaalilaan soo maray ay muddo-xileedkoodii ku darsadeen dhawr sano, waxaana dad badani filayaan in madaxweyne Biixina falayo sidii ay faleen madaxweynayaashii ka horreeyay.



Wadahadalladii u dhaxeeyay Soomaalilaan iyo Soomaaliya oo si firfircoon u socday sannadkii 2020-kii, ayaa gebi ahaanba joogsaday. Sababaha ay wadhadalladu u joogsadeen waxa qayb ka ah muddo-xileedka Madaxweyne Farmaajo ee dhammaaday iyo loollanka siyaasadeed ee ka dhaxeeya labada madaxweyne.

Xiligii warbixintani socotay, wadahadalladii u dhaxeeyay Soomaalilaan iyo Soomaaliya oo si firfircoon u socday sannadkii 2020-kii, ayaa gebi ahaanba joogsaday. Sababaha ay wadhadalladu u joogsadeen waxa qayb ka ah muddo-xileedka Madaxweyne Farmaajo ee dhammaaday iyo loollanka siyaasadeed ee ka dhaxeeya labada madaxweyne. Waxa habboon in la bilaabo wadahadalladii u socday labada dhinac, marka ay Muqdisho iyo Hargeysiba, doortaan madaxweynayaashooda cusub sannadka 2022-ka. Sababta oo ah labada dhinacba waxa ay isla qirsan yihiin in jidka kaliya ee xal lagu gaadhayaa yahay in si dhab ah loo wadahadlo.

103. See “Somaliland: 30 Years of De Facto Statehood, and No End in Sight” (May 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publicazione/somaliland-30-years-de-facto-statehood-and-no-end-sight-30363>

104. See “Somalia-Somaliland: A Halting Embrace of Dialogue” (August 2020) Accessed at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/somalia-somaliland-halting-embrace-dialogue>

105. See “Somaliland elections: Opposition parties win the majority of seats” (June 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/6/somaliland-opposition-wins-first-parliamentary-polls-since>

106. See “Somaliland Opposition Win Majority in First Parliamentary Vote since 2005” (June 2021) Accessed at: https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_somaliland-opposition-win-majority-first-parliamentary-vote-2005/6206698.html

107. See “Somaliland elections: Opposition parties win majority seats” (June 2021) Al Jazeera. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/6/somaliland-opposition-wins-first-parliamentary-polls-since>

108. See “Building on Somaliland’s Successful Elections” (August 2021) Crisis Group. Accessed at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somaliland/b174-building-somalilands-successful-elections>

109. Ibid, p. 4

Bishii Actoover, ayey xukuumadda Soomaalilaan ka raafay magaalada Laascaanood ku dhawaad 7,000 oo qof, iyada oo ku eedaysay in ay qalalaase galinayaan nabadgalyada gobolka. Dadka la raafay oo ay badankoodu ka soo jeedaan koonfurta Soomaaliya, ayaa tobannaan sano ku noolaa Soomaalilaan. Dawladda Soomaaliya ayaa canbaaraysay raafista shacabkaas aan waxba galabsan, sida oo kale daneeyayaasha caalamka ayaa ku tilmaamay “ficol ka dhan ah bini’aadantinimada”.¹¹⁰ Dadka la raafay, waxa si diirran u soo dhawaysay dawlad-goboleedka Puntland, oo ay Soomaalilaan jaar yihiin.¹¹¹ Dawladda Koonfur Galbeed ayaa iyaduna diyaarado u soo dirtay dadkeeda doonaya in ay ku soo laabtaan deegaankii ay ka soo jeedeen.¹¹²

Dhanka koboca dhaqaalaha, dawladda Soomaalilaan waxa ay garoonka madaarka diyaarada Berbera ku soo kordhisay qayb cusub, oo muhiimad weyn u leh baaxadda dekadada. Dawladda Soomaalilaan oo kaashanaysa shirkadda DP World, ayaa sida oo kale dhagax-dhigtay Aag- Dhaqaalaha Berbera, oo la filayo in uu qayb ka noqdo Jid-dheeraha Berbera (Berbera Corridor), oo ah waddo ganacsi iyo mid dhaqaale oo isku xiraysa Dekedda Berbera iyo Bariga Itoobiya.¹¹³ Warsaxaafadeed ay soo saartay shirkadda DP World ayey ku tiri “Aagga dhaqaaluhu waxa uu noqon doonaa xarun ganacsi oo ujeeddadeedu tahay shaqo abuur iyo soo jiidashada maalgashiyada, taas oo bar-tilmaameedsanaysa ilaha-waxsoosaarka ee ay ka midka yihiin, bakhaarrada, loojistikada, ganacsatada, warshadaha iyo waaxaha kale ee la xidhiidha. Tani waxa ay abuuraysaa in soosaarayaasha, qeybiyayaasha, iyo macaamiishuba ay ku shaqeeyaan jawi ku habboon oo ay ku tartami karaan maalgashiga iyo ganacsiguba.”¹¹⁴

6. Horumarka heer Federaal iyo ka heer dawlad-goboleed

Dastuurka federaalka ee kumeelgaarka ah ayaa odorosaya in maamul-goboleedyada xubnaha ka ah dawladda federaalka ay ka koobnaan doonaan laba gobol iyo waxii ka badan, gobolladaas oo ah 18-kii gobol ee ay ka tagtay dawladdii militariga ahayd. Dowladda Federaalka ayaa aqoonsan shan dowladood oo xubno ka ah federaalka, kuwaas oo kala ah Puntland, Jubbaland, Koonfur Galbeed, Galmudug iyo Hirshabeelle. Soomaalilaan kuma jirto, oo waxa ay goonni u goosatay 1991-kii. Gobolka Banaadir, oo ah caasimadda, ayaa ah gobol weli toos u hoos yimaadda maamulka DFS.

110. See “Building on Somaliland’s Successful Elections” (August 2021) Crisis Group. Accessed at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somaliland/b174-building-somalilands-successful-elections>

111. See “Abdikarim Mooge: The man of the moment in Somaliland’s history” (June 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/featured/abdikarim-mooge-the-man-of-the-moment-in-somaliland-s-history>

112. See “Kulmiye Spokesman “Presidential Election Will Not Be Held In 2022” (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.somalidispach.com/latest-news/kulmiye-spokesman-presidential-election-will-not-be-held-in-2022/>

113. See “Somaliland President Bihi reserves decision to open political parties” (February 2020) Accessed at: <https://somalilandstandard.com/breaking-news-somaliland-president-bihi-reserves-decision-to-open-political-parties/>

114. See “Why is opening political parties crucial for Somaliland?” (January 2022) Accessed at: <https://somalilandchronicle.com/2022/01/21/why-is-opening-political-parties-crucial-for-somaliland/>

6.1 Puntland

Marka dhinac la iska dhigo Soomaalilaan, Puntland ayaa ah dawlad-goboleedka ugu faca weyn, ugu nabdoon, uguna horumarsan dalka intiisa kale.¹¹⁵ Tan iyo markii la aasaasay 1998-kii waxa ay ku tallaabsatay horumar la taaban karo. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa Puntland soo foodsaaray caqabado tiro badan.

Muddadii warbixintani socotay, waxa Puntland soo foodsaaray caqabado xasilooni darro weyn abuuray. Dhawr cisho oo ka mid ahaa bishii Dinseenber, ayuu magaalo xeebeedda Boosaaso dagaal ku dhex maray Ciidamada Joogtada ah ee Puntland oo la safan madaxweyne Deni iyo ciidammo la safan hoggaankii hore ee Ciidamada Amniga Puntland (PSF), oo ah cutub ka tirsan ciidamada Mareykanku taageero, kuwaas oo loo sameeyay in ay la dagaallamaan Al-Shabaab.

24-kii Nofeembar, ayaa uu madaxweyne Saciid Cabdullaahi Deni xilka ka qaaday taliyihii Ciidamada Amniga Puntland, Jeneraal Maxamuud Cismaan Diyaano.¹¹⁶ Diyaano ayaa diiday in uu u hogaansamo amarka Madaxweynaha, waxaana uu boqolaal ka mid ah ciidamadiisa isugu geeyay saldhig ay Ciidamada Amniga Puntland ku leeyihiin magaalada Boosaaso.¹¹⁷ Tobaneeyo qof ayaa ku dhintay dagaalka, kumannaan qof oo kalena waa ay ku barakaceen. Dagaalkan ayaa ahaa kii ugu xoogganaa ee Puntland soo mara muddo toban sano ah.

Markii dagaalku dhawr maalmood socday, ayuu Madaxweyne Deni ku dhawaaqay xabbad joojin hal dhinac ah, waxaanu ugu yeeray odayaasha dhaqanka Puntland iyo sida oo kale madaxdii hore ee deegaanka in ay dhexdhexaadiyaan laba dhinac ee dagaallamaya.¹¹⁸ Iminka, oo aan warbixintan qorayo, wafdigu waxa ay ku sugan yihiin magaalada Boosaaso, waxaanay rajaynayaan in ay ku guuleystaan xallinta colaadda iyo wax ka qabashada sababaha keenay khilaafka. Xubnaha dhexdhexaadinta horkacaya waxa ka mid ah Cabdiweli Gaas (Raysalwasaarihii hore ee dawladda Federaalka iyo Madaxweynihii hore ee Puntland), Cabdiraxmaan Faroole (Madaxweynihii hore ee Puntland), Cumar Cabdirashiid Sharma'arke (Raysalwasaarihii hore ee Federaalka) iyo oday dhaqameed badan.¹¹⁹

115. See "Somaliland: Is clan-based politics inevitable?" (January 2019) Accessed at: <https://www.horndiplomat.com/2019/01/08/somaliland-is-clan-based-politics-inevitable/>

116. Abdirahman Irro, the leader of the Wadani party, threatened that Somaliland will have multiple presidents if presidential elections are delayed. See "Walaahi baan madaxweynayaal badan la sameyneyn. Ururada waa la furayaa" Madaxweyne Buuse Biix." (2021) Somaliland Post. Accessed at: <https://somalilandpost.net/walaahi-baan-madaxweynayaal-badan-la-samayn-ururrada-waa-la-furayaa-madaxweyne-muuse-biixi>

117. See "UN: Over 7,000 forcibly evicted from Las Anod, north of Somalia" (2021) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/un-over-7-000-forcibly-evicted-from-las-anod-north-of-somalia>

118. See "Puntland resettles at least 700 evictees from Las'anod" (October 2021) Accessed at: https://hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Oct/184134/puntland_resettles_at_least_700_evictees_from_lasa_anod.aspx

119. See "Southwest to airlift residents from Las'Anod" (October 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Oct/184190/south_west_to_airlift_residents_from_las_anod.aspx

Colaadda ka aloosan Boosaaso ayaa leh weji siyaasadeed. Diyaano, waxa ay walaalo yihiin Asad Diyaano oo mar soo noqday taliyaha Ciidamada Amniga ee Puntland(PSF), isla markaana ka mid ahaa musharaxiintii u tartamayey doorashadii madaxweynaha Puntland ee ugu dambaysay. Aabbahood ayaa sida oo kale ahaan jiray taliyaha Ciidamada Amniga ee Puntland, iyada oo ay madaxweynayaal badan oo Puntland soo maray soo dhaweeyeen masuuliyiintan. Dhowrkii sano ee la soo dhaafay waxa xumaaday xiriirka Madaxweyne Deni iyo Madaxweyne Farmaajo. Madaxweyne Deni ayaa aaminsan in Asad Cismaan Diyaano uu saaxiib dhow la yahay Madaxweyne Farmaajo. Maamulka Puntland ayaa xitaa sheegay in uu Farmaajo soo diray ciidamo ka tirsan dowladda Federaalka oo taageeraya qoyska Diyaano.¹²⁰

Sida oo kale, Puntland ayaa caqabado dhanka ammaanka ah kala kulantay ciidamada xagjirka ah ee ka howlgala buuraha Galgala. Bishii Maajo, al-Shabaab waxa ay gudaha u gashay xabsiga weyn ee Boosaaso, waxaana ay jeelka kala baxday ku dhawaad 400 oo maxbuus oo xagjir ah— hawlgalkan ay al-Shabaab ku jabsatay xabsiga ayaa ah kii ugu ballaarnaa ee ay abid kooxdani ku kacdo tan iyo markii la aasaasay 15 sano ka hor.¹²¹ Inta la xaqiijiyay 7 askari oo ka tirsan Ciidanka Asluubta ayaa la dilay, waxaana la burburiyey gaadiid iyo saad ciidan oo badan.¹²² Ugu dambeyn, sida qaybaha kale ee dalka ayey Puntland soo martay colaado beelo u dhaxeeya, gaar ahaan gobollada Nugaal iyo Mudug.



Dhinaca siyaasadda, Puntland waxa ay qabatay doorasho deegaan oo qof iyo cod ah. Doorashadan oo tijaabo ahayd, ayaa bishii Oktoobar ka dhacday saddex degmo oo kala ah Qardho, Eyl iyo Ufeyn.

Dhinaca siyaasadda, Puntland waxa ay qabatay doorasho deegaan oo qof iyo cod ah. Doorashadan oo tijaabo ahayd, ayaa bishii Oktoobar ka dhacday saddex degmo oo kala ah Qardho, Eyl iyo Ufeyn.¹²³ Siddeed urur siyaasadeed ayaa ku tartamay golayaasha deegaanka, waxaana is diiwaangeliyay in ka badan 40,000 oo qof, sida ay sheegtay Guddida Kumeelgaarka ah ee Doorashada Puntland(TPEC).¹²⁴ Doorashadan oo ahayd mid tijaabo ah ayaa loogu talagalay in loogu gogol xaaro doorasho qof iyo cod ah, taas oo ka qabsoonta Puntland oo dhan sannadka 2022-ka. Labo madaxweyne oo hore isugu dayay in ay qabtaan doorashadan ayaa ku guuldarraystay, balse madaxweyne Saciid Deni ayaa ku suntay sooyaal siyaasadeed. Marka dhan walba laga eego, tijaabadani waxa ay ahayd guul weyn oo taariikhi ah. Saaxiibada caalamka ayaa doorashadan bogaadiyey kuna tilmaamay guul weyn oo la gaadhay.¹²⁵

120. See “Budd Group to Offer Services at Africa’s Expanded Berbera Port” (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.maritime-executive.com/features/budd-group-to-offer-services-at-africa-s-expanded-berbera-port>

121. See “DP World and Somaliland Open New Terminal” (2021) DP World Accessed at: <https://www.dpworld.com/news/releases/dp-world-and-somaliland-open-new-terminal-at-berbera-port-announce-second-phase-expansion-and-break-ground-for-economic-zone/>

122. Somaliland controls parts of Sool and Sanaag and lays claim to the rest. Galmudug controls parts of Mudug.

123. See “Puntland president fires PSF director” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/puntland-president-fires-psf-director/>

124. See “Clashes between two rival factions of the security forces in a port city in northeast Somalia have forced hundreds of families to flee their homes” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/25/clashes-northeast-somalia-security-forces-thousands-flee>

125. See “Somali Officials Announce Cease-Fire in Bosaso” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-officials-announce-cease-fire-in-bosaso/6365860.html>

Arrinta ugu muhiimsan ee sida gaarka ah u suurogalisay guusha ay Puntland ka soo hoysay doorashada deegaanka, ayaa ah in Puntland ogolaatay in muwaadiniinta ka soo jeeda gobollada kale ee Soomaaliya, isdiiwaangeliyaan oo ay codkooda dhiibtaan. Boqollaal Soomaali ah ayaa codkooda ka dhiibtay magaalada Qardho oo ay ku noolaayeen dad barakacayaal ahi. Arrinta kale ee lagu ammaanay ayaa ahayd in doorashadu jidka u xaartay in ururradii tartamay noqdaan ururro siyaasadeed oo si buuxda loo aqoonsan yahay, marka loo eego sharciga doorashooyinka Puntland. Doorashooyinku waxa ay kala sooceen xisbiyada xoogga badan iyo kuwa itaalka daran, taas oo bar bilow fiican u ah nimaadka dimuqraadiyadda axsaabta badan ee Puntland.

Waxa xusid mudan in aanu xisbiga Kaah ee Madaxweyne Deni soo hoynin guulihii uu filayey. Inkasta oo uu saddexda degmoba ka helay codad tiro badan, haddana waxa ku adkaatay hogaaminta golayaasha deegaanka. Magaalooyinka Qardho iyo Ufeyn ayey xisbiga Mideeye iyo xisbiga Caddaaladda iyo Sinnaantu codadka ugu badan ka heleen golayaasha deegaanka, waxaanay hore u xuseen in ay qorshaynayaan isbahaysi. Degmada Eyl, xisbiga Kaah waxa uu taageero cod ka helay mid ka mid ah xisbiyada yar yar, si uu u hoggaamiyo golaha deegaanka.¹²⁶

Marka loo eego heer federaal, baarlamaanka Puntland ayaa 11 xubnood u soo xulay Aqalka Sare ee baarlamaanka federaalka.¹²⁷ Sida gobollada kale, waxa hannaanka doorashada la soo mariyey musharraxiin uu soo xushay Madaxweyne Deni. Dhammaan 11-ka kursiba waxa ay ahaayeen musharraxiin la soo xulay oo “malxiisiin ah”- ‘malxiis’ waa erey naanays ah oo ay haldoor ka Soomaalidu ku tilmaansadaan hab-dhaqanka caadada noqday ee ay dawlada ku soo xushaan musharrax hankiisu liito, oo shaqadiisu tahay in uu soo xulo oo kaliya hadba musharraxa uu talisku doorbidayo.

“

Dekaddan ayaa si weyn u fududaysay ganacsiga u dhaxeeya bulshooyinka Puntland, iyo ka u dhaxeeya Puntland iyo gobollada dariska la ah sida Galmudug, oo ku xiran dekada guud ee Boosaaso

Haddii aynnu halacsanno dhinaca dhaqaalaha, bishii Nofeenber ayuu markabkii ugu horreeyay ku soo xidhay dekada Garacad ee gobolka Galmudug. Guud ahaan Soomaaliya, waa dekadadii ugu horreeyay ee ay bulshadu maalgashato.¹²⁸ Dekaddan ayaa si weyn u fududaysay ganacsiga u dhaxeeya bulshooyinka Puntland, iyo ka u dhaxeeya Puntland iyo gobollada dariska la ah sida Galmudug, oo ku xiran dekada guud ee Boosaaso. Waxa la yiri, maamulka Puntland iyo shirkadda gaarka loo leeyahay ee dhistay dekedda Garacad weli iskumay afgaran arrimaha cashuuraha iyo maamulka kastamka. Arrintan ayaa u baahan in ay labada dhinac dhawaan ka gaaraan go'aan muhiim ah. Dhanka kale, si ay u ballaarisno dekedda Boosaaso waxa ay Puntland wadahadal kula jirtaa shirkadda DP World ee laga leeyahay Dubai.

126. See “Delegates arrive in Garowe in response to Deni’s call for peace in Bosaso” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/delegates-arrive-in-garowe-in-response-to-deni-s-call-for-peace-in-bosaso>

127. See “Somalia: Puntland Security Force [PSF] director defiant after dismissal” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-puntland-president-s-move-to-fire-psf-boss-sparks-munity>

128. See “Puntland oo sheegtay in Ciidamada Gorgor ay Qayb ka Yihiin Dagaalka Boosaaso” (2021) Caasimadda Online. Accessed at: <https://www.caasimada.net/puntland-oo-sheegtay-in-ciidamada-gorgor-ay-qeyb-ka-yihiin-dagaalka-boosaaso/>

6.2 Jubbaland

Wixii ka danbeeyay doorashadii madaxtweynaha ee lagu murmay 2019-kii, Jubbaland waxa soo foodsaaray caqabado siyaasadeed iyo kuwo amni oo aad u weyn, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin loollan ku salaysan kala riixashada awoodaha ee u dhaxeeya labada beelood ee waaweyn, kuwaas oo wada dega saddexda gobol ee maamulka Jubbaland: Ogaadeen iyo Mareexaan.¹²⁹ Sida Koonfur Galbeed, ayey DFS isku dayday in ay beddesho Madaxweynaha Jubbaland, Axmed Maxamed Islaan “Madoobe”. Madaxweyne Madoobe waxa uu DFS kaga adkaaday gaar u maamulashada nidaamkiisa dawliga ah. Markii ay DFS ku fashilantay iskudaygaas, Muqdisho ayaa la wareegtay gacan ku haynta Gobolka Gedo, waxa aanay isku dayday in ay madaxweyne Madoobe sharci ahaan uga wareejiso Gobolka Gedo. Gobolka Gedo ayey labadii sano ee u dambeeyey si toos ah gacanta ugu hayeen ciidamada DFS. Horraantii sanadkii 2021-kii ayaa dagaal xooggani ka dhacay degmada Beled Xaawo, oo dhacda xadka ay wadaagaan Soomaaliya iyo Kenya. Arintan ayaa keentay in uu Madoobe maamulo qaybo kamid ah gobolka Jubbada Hoose oo ay ku jirto Kismaayo. Gobolka Jubbada Dhexe ayaa gabi ahaanba ku jira gacanta al-Shabaab.

Madaxweyne Farmaajo ayaa Bishii Juun 2020-kii, Axmed Madoobe u aqoonsaday “Madaxweyne kumeelgaar ah” waxaanu ka codsaday in uu soo abaabulo doorasho cusub oo ku qabsoonta laba sano gudahood—qorshahan waxaa diiday maamulka Jubbaland.¹³⁹

Heshiiskii doorashada ee 27-kii May, ayaa dhigayay in dib u heshiisiin gaar ah loo sameeyo gobolka Gedo oo uu madaxweyne Madoobe soo gudbiyo labo magac oo laga xulo maayirka magaalada Garbahaarrey, isla markaana ay soo ansixiyaan odayaasha beelaha deegaanku, ka dibna uu magacaabo Raysalwaasaare Rooble.¹⁴⁰

Ujeeddadu waxa ay ahayd in la helo maayir ay raalli ka wada yihiin dhammaan dhinacyada kormeeraya doorashooyinka federaalka ee magaalada Garbahaarrey. Bishii Luulyo, ayuu Raysalwaasaare Rooble booqasho ku tagay Garbahaarrey, si uu u dhammeystiro heshiiska,¹⁴¹ balse kuma guuleysan. Dhammaadkii 2021-kii, waxa uu maamulka Jubbaland gacanta ku hayay magaalada Kismaayo iyo dhowr degmo oo kale oo ka tirsan gobolka Jubbada Hoose, balse gobolka Gedo ayaa weli hoos taga ciidamada DFS.

129. See “Al-Shabaab militants storm Somali jail, seven soldiers killed.” (March 2021). Reuters. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-violence-idUSKBN2AX188>

139. See “FGS Recognizes Madobe as “Interim President”, invites FMS Leaders to a Meeting” (2020) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-fgs-recognises-madobe-as-interim-president-invites-fms-leaders-to-meeting>

140. See “Somali leaders sign revised electoral deal, elections to be held within two months” (May 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somali-leaders-sign-revised-electoral-deal-elections-to-be-held-within-two-months>

141. See “Somalia PM Roble Heads to Garbaharey as Part of His Jubbaland Tour” (2021) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-pm-robles-heads-to-garbaharey-without-jubbaland-s-consent>

Al-Shabaab ayaa saldhigyada ugu xooggan ku leh Jubbaland. Jubbada Dhexe waa gobolka kaliya ee ka mid ah 18-kii gobol ee Soomaaliya ee ay si joogta ah gacanta ugu hayso al-Shabaab muddo toban sano ah. Al-Shabaab ayaa sida oo kale hadda dhaqdhaqaaqyo ka wadda Kismaayo iyo nawaaxigeeda. Bishii Luulyo, ayey kooxdani sheegatay masuuliyadda qarax ismiidaamin ah oo ay ku dhinteen 20 ciyaartoy oo kubbadda cagta ahi, kuwaas oo u socday tartan dalka gudihisa ah.¹⁴³ Sida oo kale, bishii Diseembar ayey kooxdu sheegtay in ay qabsatay tuulada Yaqrar oo u dhow garoonka diyaaradaha ee Kismaayo, balse arrintaas weli lama xaqiijin.¹⁴⁴

Markii ay soo dhawaatay doorashadii federaalku, waxaa soo shaacbaxday in madaxweyne Madoobe la xulufo yahay madaxweyne Deni. Labadan masuul ayaa dhowr jeer kulammo bookhasha ah wada yeeshay sannadkii la soo dhaafay, xitaa waxa ay samaysteen guddiyo isku dhafan oo arrimaha siyaasadda iyo amniga ka shaqeeya.¹⁴⁵ Inkasta oo aanu waligii Madaxweyne Deni si rasmi ah ugu dhawaaqin in uu yahay musharrax u taagan xilka madaxweynaha Soomaaliya, haddana waxa muuqata in uu ku xisaabtamayo taageerada maamulka Jubbaland oo uu u arko jid si cad u geynaya madaxtooyada Soomaaliya (Villa Somalia). Deni iyo Madoobe waxa ay wada maammulaan ku dhawaad 100 kursi oo ka mid ah 329-ka kursi ee baarlamaanka federaalka ah.¹⁴⁷

6.3 Koonfur Galbeed

Sannadkii 2021-kii, maamulka Koonfur Galbeed waxa soo wajahay caqabado la xiriira amniga, siyaasadda, dhaqaalaha iyo binu'aadantinimada. Al-Shabaab ayaa wali khataro waaweyn ku haysa dhammaan waddooyinka saadka ee ay gacanta ku hayso. Maadaama Koonfur Galbeed aanay lahayn deked, waxa saadku u soo maraa oo ay ku tiirsan tahay dekedaha Muqdisho iyo Kismaayo. Labada dhinacba, badeecaddu waxa ay u soo martaa meelaha ay al-Shabaab maamusho, waxaana la isku weydaarsadaa badeeco badan oo ay al-Shabaab cashuurto.¹⁴⁸

Hawlgalkii Badbaado 1, ee ay DFS hormuudka ka ahayd, waxa ay ujeeddadiisu ahayd xoreynta buundooyinka muhiimka ah ee gobolka Shabeellaha hoose, kaas oo toos isugu xira Muqdisho iyo Shabeellaha hoose, oo hakad ku yimid, taasna waxa sababay dhaqaale la'aanta iyo qalalaasaha siyaasadeed ee Muqdisho ka jira.¹⁴⁹

143. See "Kismayo based Somali Premier League club lost 20 players in a terrorist attack targeted their bus." (July 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/07/breaking-newly-promoted-somalia-club-jcci-fc-lose-20-players-to-terrorist-attack-bombing/>

144. See "The militant group Al-Shabaab claimed Monday morning that it captured a locality near the Kismayo Airport." (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/al-shabaab-reportedly-captures-area-near-kismayo-airport/>

145. See "A TURBULENT RUN-UP TO ELECTIONS IN SOMALIA" (April 2021) Accessed at: <https://acleddata.com/2021/04/07/a-turbulent-run-up-to-elections-in-somalia/>

146. See "Puntland, Jubbaland Accuse FGS of Sabotaging Electoral Talks" (March 2021) Hiiraan Online. Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Mar/182153/puntland_jubaland_accuse_federal_government_of_sabotaging_electoral_talks.aspx

147. See "A TURBULENT RUN-UP TO ELECTIONS IN SOMALIA" (April 2021) Accessed at: <https://acleddata.com/2021/04/07/a-turbulent-run-up-to-elections-in-somalia/>

148. See "The AS Finance System" (July 2018) Accessed at: <https://hiraalinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/AS-Finance-System.pdf>

149. See "UNSG, Situation in Somalia" (May 2021) Accessed at: https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2021_485_.pdf

Hawlgalka Badbaado 1, ayaa markii hore laga soo hooyey guulo la taaban karo, balse markii dambe waa lagu guul darreystay, waxaana sababay kala daadsanaanta nidaanka ciidamada DFS oo si weyn u soo shaacbaxday.¹⁵⁰

Sannadkii tagay, ayey DFS iyo al-Shabaab isku soo qaadeen dhowr iyo toban weerar oo rogaal celis ah, dagaalladaas oo guud ahaanba ka dhacay maamulka Koonfur Galbeed.¹⁵¹ Howlgallada DFS oo ay inta badan ku lammaan yihiin AMISOM ayey xeeladdoodu dhaafi weyday ku dhufo oo ka dhaqaaq aan lahayn awood istaraatiijiyadeed oo xooggan, maadaama aanay ciidamada dowladdu lahayn awood ay ku hantaan dhulka ay qabsadaan.¹⁵² Taasi waxa ay keentay in al-Shabaab xoogga saarto qabsashada waddooyinka waaweyn ee saadku maro, kuwaas oo dakhli faro badani uga soo xaroodo.¹⁵³ Al-Shabaab ayaa xitaa qaaday tallaabo amakaag leh oo ay ku gubtay raashin loo siday magaalada Waajid ee gobolka Bakool, ka dib markii ay ganacsatadu isku dayeen in ay magaaladaas diyaarad ku geeyaan cunto. DFS ayaa cambaareysay tallaabadaas, kuna tilmaantay “fal arxandarro ah” waxaanay wacad ku martay in ay xoreyn doonto jidkan oo ah dhuun saadku maro.¹⁵⁴

“

Maamulka Koonfur Galbeed ayaa sannadkii tagay xoogga saaray sidii gole deegaan loogu samayn lahaa degmooyin la soo xulay.¹⁵⁵ Ilaa hadda waxaa laga fuliyey magaalada Baraawe, oo ah caasimadda rasmiga ah ee maamul-goboleedka (waxay ka tirsan tahay gobolka Shabeellaha Hoose), Waajid iyo Ceel-Barde (Gobolka Bakool)

Maamulka Koonfur Galbeed ayaa sannadkii tagay xoogga saaray sidii gole deegaan loogu samayn lahaa degmooyin la soo xulay.¹⁵⁵ Ilaa hadda waxaa laga fuliyey magaalada Baraawe, oo ah caasimadda rasmiga ah ee maamul-goboleedka (waxay ka tirsan tahay gobolka Shabeellaha Hoose), Waajid iyo Ceel-Barde (Gobolka Bakool). Samaynta maamulka deegaanka waxaa ka hareeyay khilaafyo siyaasadeed oo qoto dheer, kuwaas oo u dhaxeeya beelaha wada dega deegaankaas. Xaalad kasta oo jirta, waxa u dhabar adaygay maamulka Koonfur Galbeed oo ku bixiyay dhaqaale badan oo siyaasadeed, si looga dhabeeyo hirgalka dhismaha golayaasha deegaanka.

Bishii Oktoobar, ayey wasaaradda arrimaha guduhu bilowday in ay maamul u samayso degmada Baraawe. Ka dibna, koox hubaysan ayaa weerar ku soo qaaday huteel ay ka socotay xulista golayaasha deegaanku.¹⁵⁶ Waxa intaas dheer, Muran culus oo hareeyay kuraastii loo qoondeeyay beelaha “aan u dhalan deegaankan” oo u badan qabiillo ka tirsan beelaha Hawiye.¹⁵⁷

150. For more information on Operation Babaado 1, see “Structural Impediments to Reviving Somalia’s Security Forces” (April 2021) – Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, page 17. Accessed at: <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Structural-Impediments-to-Security-English-version-April-17-Final-.pdf>

151. See “Somali National Army (SNA) killed 25 Al-Shabaab fighters in operation conducted in Lower Shabelle and Middle Shabelle regions” (March 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/somali/somali-military-kills-25-al-shabaab-fighters-in-operation/>

152. See “Al-Shabaab recaptures El-dhere town in central Somalia” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/al-shabaab-recaptures-el-dhere-town-in-central-somalia/>

153. See UN report on Somalia (October 2021) Accessed at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/S_2021_849_E.pdf

154. See “The Somali government condemned al Shabab’s barbaric action of burning food supplies to civilians in Wajid district” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.jowhar.com/news/dowlada-soomaaliya-oo-cambaareysay-fal-ay-alshabaab-ku-gubeen-hanti-iyo-rahshin.html>

155. See “Knowledge Management Central in Advancing Inclusive Local Governance in Somalia” (2021) Accessed at: <https://www.kirkonulkomaanapu.fi/en/latest-news/articles/knowledge-management-central-in-advancing-inclusive-local-governance-in-somalia/>

156. See “Armed militia attack a hotel in Barawe during the local council elections.” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.caasimada.net/maleeshiyo-weerartay-hotel-ay-ka-socotay-doorashada-golaha-deegaanka-baraawe/>

157. See “Controversy over local council formation in Barawe of Southwest.” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.keymedia.net/news/muxuu-yahay-buuqa-ka-taagan-golaha-degaanka-baraawe>

Beelaha Digil iyo Mirifle ayaa diiday tirada kuraasta ee beelaha Ogaadeen iyo Hawiye looga qoondeeyay golaha deegaanka. Taasina waxa ay sababtay in uu hakad ku yimaddo geeddi-socodkii golaha deegaanka ilaa iyo inta uu gobolku la imanayo hannaan cusub.

Koonfur Galbeed ayaa soo gabagabaysay doorashada 8-da kursi ee ay Aqalka Sare ku leedahay. Hal kursina laguma tartamin, maadaama uu madaxweyne Cabdicasiis Laftagiriin gacmaha soo qabtay saaxiibadii.¹⁵⁸ Dhowr masuul oo xilal haya ayaa loo diiday in ay u tartamaan kuraastooda.

Guddida doorashada maamul goboleedka Koonfur Galbeed ayaa doorashadii Aqalka Hoose ku duudsiday guddoomiyihii hore ee baarlamaanka federaalka, Maxamed Cismaan Jawaari, oo ah siyaasi ruug caddaa ah, si weynna loo ixtiraamo. Markii Jawaari loo diiday in uu u tartamo kursiga uu ku fadhiyo, waxa bilaabmay khilaaf heer qaran ah.¹⁵⁹ Guddida Xalinta Khilaafaadka ayaa markii hore hakisay ansaxinta kursigan, waxay se markii dambe ku soo gabagabaysay in aanay jirin wax qalad ah oo lagu sameeyay, waxaanay caddaysay in uu si dhameystiran ansax u yahay.¹⁶⁰ Dawlad goboleedka Koonfur Galbeed ayaa leh tirada ugu badan ee golaha baarlamaanka: kuwaas oo wadartoodu dhan tahay 77 kursi oo labada aqal ah, taas ayaa Koonfur Galbeed ka dhigaysa mid ka mid ah dawlad-goboleedyada ugu muhiimsan doorashada.¹⁶¹

6.4 Galmudug

2021-kii ayey dawlad-goboleedka Galmudug dib ugu laabatay dhibaatooyinkii hore u soo raagadiyey. Ururka Ehlu-Sunna Wal-Jameeca oo xilligii muranka doorashada madaxweynaha ee sannadkii 2020-kii lagu qasbay in ay ka baxaan gobolka, ayaa si lama filaan ah u soo rogaal celiyeen sannadkii 2021-kii, waxaanay gabqasadeen magaalada Guriceel, oo ah ta ugu weyn marka loo eego dadka ku nool. Todobaaddadii ay dagaallada xooggani socdeen waxa halkaas lagu dilay in ka badan 120 qof, waxaana lagu barakiciyey dad tiradoodu gaadhayso 100,000 qof.¹⁶²

Ciidamada Nabad Sugidda Galmudug iyo Boqolaal ka tirsan Ciidamada Federaalka ayaa la dagaallamay Ururka Ehlu-Sunna Wal-Jamaaca. Dagaalkaas waxa lagu dilay taliyihii gobolka ee ciidanka Danab, ciidankan oo ah cutubyo uu Mareykanku tababaray, ayaa loo aasaasay in ay la dagaallamaan al-Shabaab.¹⁶³

158. See “Federal state bosses set for kingmaker role in Somalia’s presidential election” (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/federal-bosses-set-for-kingmaker-role-in-somalia-s-election-3502596>

159. See “Ex-House Speaker Jawari Fights Back Amid Vote Rigging Claims in Somalia” (November 2021) Garowe Online. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/ex-house-speaker-jawari-fights-back-amid-vote-rigging-claims-in-somalia>

160. See “Somalia’s election standoff intensifies, raising risk of political violence” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/12/27/somalia-farmajo-roble-crisis/>

161. See “Hannaanka Doorashada” Accessed at: <https://doorashada2021.so/hannaanka-doorashada/>

162. See “UN: More than 100,000 Somalis Displaced by Fighting in Central Galmudug Region” (October 2021) VOA News. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/un-more-than-100-000-somalis-displaced-by-fighting-in-central-galmudug-region-/6286249.html>

163. See “At Least 20 Killed as Somalia Troops Battle Moderate Islamist Militia” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-troops-battle-moderate-islamist-militia/6282882.html>

Hoggaamiyeyaasha Ururka Ehlu-Sunna Wal-Jamaaca, oo ka murugaysan jabka ku dhacay ayaa ayaa heshiis xabfad joojin ah la gula galay Guriceel. Ehlu-Sunna Wal-Jamaaca waxa ay dib ugu gurteen magaalada Bohol oo 40 kiiloomir u jirta caasimadda gobolka ee Dhuusamareeb.¹⁶⁵

Qodobbada uu khilaafkani salka ku hayo ayaa la xiriira doorashadii madaxweynaha ee lagu muransanaa sannadkii 2020-kii, taas oo lagu doortay Madaxweyne Axmed Qoorqoor, oo aan cidii la tartamin, isla markaana DFS u abuurtay fursado aad ugu saamaxaya in uu guuleysto.¹⁶⁶ Wax ka badan toban sano ayey Ehlu-Sunna kula dagaallamaysay gobollada dhexe ee Soomaaliya xoogagga al-Shabaab, waxaanay filayeen in lagu abaal mariyo halgankii adkaa ee ay la galeen al-Shabaab. Marka loo eego hab-dhaqankoodii hore, waxa suurogal ah in ay markale soo rogaal celiyaa haddii ay helaan fursad ku habboon.

“

Loollanka siyaasadda Galmudug ee 2021-kii ayaa ku salaysnaa doorashada federaalka. Sida dawlad-goboleeddada kale, dhammaan kuraasta Aqalka Sare waxaa loo qoondeeyay xulufada Madaxweyne Qoorqoor

Loollanka siyaasadda Galmudug ee 2021-kii ayaa ku salaysnaa doorashada federaalka. Sida dawlad-goboleeddada kale, dhammaan kuraasta Aqalka Sare waxaa loo qoondeeyay xulufada Madaxweyne Qoorqoor.¹⁶⁷ Guddida doorashada dowlad -oboleedka ayaan xitaa isku hawlin tirinta codadka sanduuqyada ku jira, balse siddeedda kursiba waxa lagu go'aamiyay oo lagu guddoomay sacab iyo alalaas, daqiiqaddii u danbeysayna waxa is casilay musharraxiintii “caruusiinta ahaa”.¹⁶⁸ Waxa kale oo aan loo ogolaanin in lagu tartamo xulista kuraasta Aqalka Hoose. Kiisaska muranka ugu badan dhaliyey waxaa ka mid ah kiiska Yaasiin Farey oo ah ku-simaha agaasimaha NISA. Waxa kursigii ku fadhiistay askari sarkaal ah , iyada oo uu heshiiskii 27-ka May dhigayey in shaqaalaha dawladdu saddex toddobaad ka hor iska casilaan shaqada ay hayaan inta aanay u tartamin xafiis kale oo siyaasadeed.¹⁶⁹ Dhab ahaantii, musharraxiintii ku tartamayey ayaa kiiskan u adeegsaday in uu caddayn u yahay caddaalad darrada ka dhex jirta hannaanka doorashada oo dhan.¹⁷⁰ Madaxweynaha Galmudug mudane Qoorqoor ayaa saaxiib dhow la ah Madaxweyne Farmaajo, balse waxa uu cadaadis weyni kaga yimid siyaasiyiinta iyo bulshada deegaankiisa, maadaama raysalwasaare Rooble iyo qaar badan oo kamid ah musharraxiinta madaxweynaha ay ka soo wada jeedaan Galmudug.¹⁷¹

165. See “Xoogaga Ahlu Sunna oo isku uruursanaya deegaanka Bohol” (October 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.universaltvsomali.net/topics/news/somali/34693>

166. For more information, see our 2019 policy brief “Galmudug Crisis: A Blueprint for Sustainable Settlement” (2019). Accessed at: <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Galmudug-Policy-Brief-2019.pdf>

167. See “Somalia’s Sham Election May Trigger Post-Election Violence” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.jowhar.com/article/somalias-sham-election-may-trigger-post-election-violence.html>

168. See “Doorashada aqalka sare Soomaaliya oo la soo afmeeray” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/maxaa-laga-filayaa-doorashadda-galmudug>

169. See “Dispute Resolution Committee validates Yasin Farey’s election” (December 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/Dec/184837/dispute_resolution_committee_validates_yasin_farey_s_election.aspx

170. See “Farmaajo top spy Yasin Farey elected MP in Galmudug” (2021) – Goobjoog. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/farmaajos-top-spy-yasin-farey-elected-mp-in-galmudug/>

171. See “Somalia: Opposition candidates reject Qoorqoor’s dinner invitation” (December 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-opposition-candidates-reject-qoorqoor-s-dinner-invitation>

Al-Shabaab ayaa maamusha qaybo gobolka ka mid ah oo ay ku jiraan Ceel-Dheer, Ceel-Buur, Galhareeri iyo Xarardheere.¹⁷² Sida oo kale, waxay al-Shabaab weerar ku qaaday bartilmaameedyo ku dhow caasimadda iyo magaaloyin kale. 2021-kii ay al-Shabaab dib u qabsatay Bacaad-weyn iyo Camaara.¹⁷³ In kasta oo ay dhawr bilood socdeen hawlgallo ay iska kaashadeen ciidamada federaalka iyo kuwa Galmudug, oo taageero xagga cirka ah ka helayay Maraykanka, haddana wali al-Shabaab waxa ay awood buuxda ku leedahay gobolka Galmudug iyo guud ahaan Soomaaliya.

6.5 Hirshabeelle

Maamulka Hirshabeelle waxa uu ka kooban yahay Hiiraan iyo Shabeellaha Dhexe. Gobolku waxa uu la kulmay caqabado la kawsaday curashadiisii, kuwaas oo soo salka ku haya qulqulatooyinkii siyaasadeed ee dalka ka dhacay 2016-kii. Madaxweyne Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud ayaa ku degdegay nidaamka, iyada oo aan la samaynin dibuheshiisiin dhab, sida oo kalena aan taageero ballaaran la siin dawladda cusub. Hiiraan waxa ay ka mid ahayd gobolladii asalka ahaa ee jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliya samaysay 1960-naadkii.¹⁷⁵ Marka taariikhdaas loo noqdo, waxa jiray baqyo dhaadheer oo Hiiraan la gula doonayo in ay ilaaliso maqaam-goboleedkeeda sharciga ah, isla markaana ay noqoto gobol federaal ah, inkasta oo uu dastuurku si cad u sheegayo in ay laba gobol iyo wixii ka badani noqon karaan dawlad-goboleed.¹⁷⁶ 2016-kii ayey DFS dhistay dowlad goboleedka Hirshabeelle.¹⁷⁷

Noofambar 2020-kii ayuu Cali Guudlaawe Madaxweyne noqday.¹⁷⁸ Doorashadiisu waxay wax ka beddeshay heshiiskii awood qaybsiga ee u yaallay siyaasiyiinta Abgaal iyo Xawaadle, kaas oo lafdhabar u ahaa aasaaskii maamulka.¹⁷⁹ Inkasta oo maamulkiisu ka shaqeeyo, haddana Cali Guudlaawe looma ogola in uu tago gobolkaas tan iyo markii uu madaxweyne noqday.¹⁸⁰ Dedaallo bada oo la doonayey in lagu xalliyo ismariwaagan ayaa lagu guuldarraystay, oo laba loogu kala qaybsamay. Sida oo kale, kala qeybsanaantan ayaa saameyn ku yeelatay doorashada federaalka, gaar ahaan doorashada Aqalka Hoose, oo la rabay in ay bilaabanto dayrtii 2020-kii, balse aan wali bilaaban.

172. See "Letter from the Chair of the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolution 751 (1992) concerning Somalia addressed to the President of the Security Council" (October 2021) Accessed at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/S_2021_849_E.pdf

173. See "Al-Shabaab militants have retaken Ba'adweyn and Amara localities in Mudug region barely a week after Somali forces wrested control of the two areas" (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/amara-baadweyne-towns-fall-back-to-al-shabaab-after-forces-pull-out/>

174. See "Hirshabele parliament elects a president" (October 2016) Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/war-37678040>

175. See "Somalia Regions" (2015) Accessed at: <http://www.statoids.com/uso.html>

176. See "Article 48 of the provisional constitution" (2012) Accessed at: <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/Somalia-Constitution2012.pdf>

177. See "Odayaasha reer Hiiraan iyo Raiisal Wasaaraha oo ku kala kacay kulankii Baledweyne" (March 2016) Accessed at: <https://www.universaltvsomali.net/topics/news/somali/11636>

178. See "Hirshabelle parliament elects Ali Guudlaawe as the new president" (November 2020) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2020/Nov/180667/hirshabelle_parliament_elects_ali_guudlaawe_as_new_president.aspx

179. See "Siyaasiyiinta beesha Abgaal oo bilaabay inay isu sharxaan xilka madaxweyne ku xigeenka Hirshabelle" (October 2016) Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.net/siyaasiyiinta-beesha-abgaal-oo-bilaabay-inay-isu-sharxaan-xilka-madaxweyne-ku-xigeenka-hirshabelle/>

180. See "Xildhibaanada beesha Xawaadle oo isugu tegay Beledweyne iyo ujeedka" (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.caasimada.net/xildhibaanada-beesha-xawaadle-oo-isugu-tegay-beledweyne-iyo-ujeedka/>

Beledweyn ayaa ah magaalada ugu weyn Hirshabeelle, waxaana ay kuraas badan ku leedahay magaalada Jowhar ee xarunta dowlad-goboleedka Hirshabeelle.¹⁸¹ Ku dhawaad saddex-meelood labo-meel ayaa kuraasta maamulka ku sugan Beledweyn, taas oo ka dhigaysa mid aad muhiim ugu ah siyaasiyiinta damaca leh.

Hirshabeelle ayaa soo dooratay xildhibaannadeeda Aqalka Sare oo ay intooda badani tartan ku soo baxeen.¹⁸² Madaxweyne Guudlaawe ayaa soo kormeeray habsami socodkii howsha, waxaanu kasbaday bogaadinta daneeyayaasha gudaha iyo saaxiibada caalamkaba.¹⁸³ Hirshabeelle weli ma bilaabin doorashada Golaha Shacabka. Arrintan ayaa inta badan salka ku haysa kala qaybsanaanta qotada dheer ee gobolka jirta iyo in aanu madaxweynahu awood u lahayn in uu kormeero doorashada gobolka Hiiraan. Dhanka kale, waxa meesha ka maqan kaalintii ay lahayd Villa Soomaaliya, taas oo iska indha tiraysa in ay la shaqayso Madaxweyne Guudlaawe, balse si dhow ula shaqaynaysa Madaxweyne ku xigeenkiisa Yuusuf Hagar.

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Dhanka amniga, waxa jira cabashooyin ka dhashay khilaafka awood qaybsiga ee gobolka, kuwaas oo dhaliyay rabshado siyaasadeed xagaagii 2021-kii. Bishii Ogoosto, ayey magaalada Beledweyn ku kala qaybsantay dagaallo dhex maray ciidamada amniga ee federaalka iyo maleeshiyo beeleed.

Dhanka amniga, waxa jira cabashooyin ka dhashay khilaafka awood qaybsiga ee gobolka, kuwaas oo dhaliyay rabshado siyaasadeed xagaagii 2021-kii. Bishii Ogoosto, ayey magaalada Beledweyn ku kala qaybsantay dagaallo dhex maray ciidamada amniga ee federaalka iyo maleeshiyo beeleed.¹⁸⁴ Dagaalka waxa huriyey guddoomiyihii hore ee maamulka Hirshabeelle Yuusuf Dabageed, kaas oo uu isku dayay in magaalada Beledweyn shir ugu qabto golaha wasiirada Hirshabeelle, si uu u muujiyo awooddiisa.¹⁸⁵ Hase ahaatee maleeshiyo beeleedka Abuukar Xuud oo u badan beesha Xawaadle ayaa carqaladeeyay shirkaas.¹⁸⁶ Wixii maalintaas ka dambeeyay, shaqada maamulka Hirshabeelle waxa ay ku kooban tahay caasimadda. Madaxweyne ku xigeenku waxa uu joogto ku yahay caasimadda, maadaama oo ay caasimadda ku sugan yihiin masuuliyiin ka tirsan dowlad-goboleedyada kale iyo dowladda federaalku, waxa se weli taagan khilaafkii ka dhashay dhismaha maamulka iyo awood qaybsigiisa.

Marka laga yimaaddo qalalaasaha siyaasadeed, dawlada waxa ka go’an oo ay sii waddaa dagaalka ay kula jirto al-Shabaab, kaas oo leh dhinacyo badan. Sida dawladd-goboleedyada kale, ayey al-Shabaab maamushaa dhul ballaaran oo ku yaalla gobolka, gaar ahaan dhulka miyiga ah iyo waddooyinka waaweyn ee saadku maro. Inta badan masuuliyiinta dawladd-goboleedyada iyo kuwa dowladda dhexe ayaa diyaarado kaliya ku tagi kara magaalooyinka gobolkan. Sida oo kale, waxa diyaarado uun ku tagi kara cid kasta oo diidda in ay daacad u noqoto al-Shabaab. Inkasta oo ay AMISOM ilaaliso magaalada iyo garoonka diyaaradaha, bishii Sibteenbar 2021-kii, ayey al-Shabaab markii labaad burburisay dhisme yar oo terminaal ah, oo ku yaallay garoonka diyaaradaha ee degmada Buulo Burde.¹⁸⁶

181. See “Hannaanka Doorashada” Accessed at: <https://doorashada2021.so/hannaanka-doorashada/>

182. See “Hirshabelle announces highly competitive Senate candidates list” (2021) Keydmedia. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/en/news/hirshabelle-announces-list-of-senate-candidates>

183. See “Somalia’s Sham Election May Trigger Post-Election Violence” (November 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.jowhar.com/article/somalias-sham-election-may-trigger-post-election-violence.html>

184. See “Khilaafka Hiiraan: Waa kuma Janaraal Xuud-ka dagaalka ka wada Beledweyne?” (August 2021) Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/57705524>

185. See “Waa Kuma Janaraal Xuud-ka Dagaalka Ka Wada Beledweyne?” (2021) BBC SOMALI. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/57705524>

186. See “Al-Shabaab militants bombed Bulo-Burte Airport in Hiiraan region destroyed a section of it” (September 2021) Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/photos-al-shabaab-bomb-bulo-burte-airport-in-hiiraan-region/>

Bishii Diseember, ayey haddana al-Shabaab muddo kooban kula wareegtay magaalada Matabaan oo ku taalla dhinaca Waqooyi ee gobolkaas, isla markaana dhacda xuduudka Galmudug. Isla bishii Diseember ayey al-Shabaab gudaha u soo gashay magaalada Balcad oo ah degmada ugu xigta dhanka Koonfureed, isla markaana 30 KM u jirta Muqdisho. Waxa ay dileen toddobo qof, waxaanay bililiqeysteen saldhigyadii booliiska ee deegaanka ku yaallay, iyaga oo qaatay saanad ciidan iyo baabuur hubaysan.¹⁸⁷ Kala qeybsanaanta siyaasadeed ee ka dhex jirta dawlad-goboleedyada iyo madaxda federaalka ayaa lugaha qabatay howlgallada amniga ee lagu doonayo in lagu xoreeyo maamulkaas. Howlgalka Badbaado 2, oo loogu ballamay in kooxdaas laga saaro waddooyinka waaweyn iyo dhulka miyiga ah ee Hirshabeelle ayaan marnaba dhaqan gelin.

6.6 Banaadir

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Inkasta oo uu gobolka Banaadir dhul ahaan yar yahay, haddana dadka ku nool ayaa ka badan inta ku nool dowlad goboleedyada badankooda. 189 Waa gobolka kaliya ee ay DFS si buuxda u maamusho. Dastuurka kumeelgaarka ah ayaa yiri

Gobolka Banaadir waxa uu ka mid yahay sideeddii gobol ee asalka ahaa, ee ay samaysay Jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliya.¹⁸⁸ Dawladdii milateriga ahayd ayaa gobolkii hore ee Banaadir u kala qaybisay saddex gobol, oo kala ah: Shabeellada Dhexe, Shabeellada Hoose iyo Banaadir (Muqdisho). Muqdisho waxa ay noqotay caasimadda, oo ay illaa iyo hadda tahay. Inkasta oo uu gobolka Banaadir dhul ahaan yar yahay, haddana dadka ku nool ayaa ka badan inta ku nool dowlad goboleedyada badankooda.¹⁸⁹ Waa gobolka kaliya ee ay DFS si buuxda u maamusho. Dastuurka kumeelgaarka ah ayaa yiri, “Maqaamka caasimadda Soomaaliya waxa lagu samayn doonaa dibu-eegista dastuuri ah, waxaana sharci gaar ah ka soo saari doona labada aqal ee Baarlamaanka Federaalka Soomaaliya, iyada oo laga duulayo go’aaminta meeqaamka caasimadda”.¹⁹⁰

Markii 2016-kii la dhisay gobolka Hirshabeelle oo ah maamulkii ugu danbeeyay shanta dowlad ee xubnaha ka ah federaalka, ayaa dadka reer Muqdisho bilaabeen olole ay gobolka Banaadir ugu aqoonsanayaan gobol xubin ka ah federaalka. Laakin hindisaahas ayaa ah qorshe siyaasadaysan oo aan weli hirgalin. Waxa intaa dheer, madaxda DFS, kuwa hadda jooga iyo kuwii ka horreeyay ayaa ka soo horjeeda in Gobolka Banaadir laga dhigo dawlad-goboleed gaar u taagan, maadaama ay dowladdu sidaas ku waayi doonto awoodo badan oo ay leedahay.

187. See “Somalia’s Al-Shabaab Fighters Kill at Least 7 in Attack Near Capital” (2021) VOA News. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-al-shabaab-fighters-kill-at-least-7-in-attack-near-capital/6375614.html>

188. See “Somalia Regions” (2015) Accessed at: <http://www.statoids.com/uso.html>

189. See “Banaadir Regional Administration” Accessed at: <https://bra.gov.so/about-banaadir/>

190. See Article 9 of the Federal Republic of Somalia Provisional Constitution, 2012. Accessed at https://parliament.gov.so/images/Downloads/Dastuurka_ku_meelgaarka_SOM_03092012-1_2.pdf

Madaxweynaha DFS ayaa magacaabay Badhasaabyo iyo kuxigeenno dhawr ah, si ay u kala socodsiiyaan hadba waxa looga baahdo arrimaha siyaasadda, dhaqaalaha iyo amniga. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, amniga caasimadda Muqdisho ayaa ah mid aan weli xasilloonayn.¹⁹¹ Bishii Diseenbar 2021-kii oo kaliya, ayey ciidamada ammaanka ee DFS ‘shilal kala duwan’ ku dileen dhawr qof oo rayid ah, kuwaas oo aan wali la gala xisaabtamin.¹⁹²

7. Gunaanad

Sannadkii warbixintani socotay oo ahaa (2021-kii) ayaa lagu sifeeyay, laguna suntay sannad ay kacdoonno siyaasadeed oo qoto dheeri dhaceen, isla markaana sababeen dibudhac doorasho. Bishii Abril, waxa Muqdisho ka dhacay rabshado, waxaana la filayaa in ay rabshadahaasi soo cusboonaan doonaan sanadka 2022-ka, kuwaas oo ka sii daraya haddii aan la xallinin. Dhinaca heerarka dowlad goboleedyada, waxa jira dhowr dawlad-goboleed oo ka cabanaya kala qaybsanaan iyo khilaaf hoose oo qoto dheer, gaar ahaan Hirshabeelle, Jubbaland iyo Galmudug.

Al-Shabaab oo ka faa’ideysanaya qalalaasaha siyaasadeed ee ka dhashay doorashooyinka, ayaa maamulkeeda ku kala bixisay qaybo badan oo dalka ah. Qorshaheeda ugu weyn ayaa ah in ay qabsato dhulka miyiga ah ee aan gacanta ugu jirin maamulka ciidamada DFS iyo AMISOM, iyo sida oo kale waddooyinka waaweyn ee saadku maro. Al-Shabaab ayaa canshuur ka qaadda badeecadda dalka u kala gooshaysa. Hawlgalladii millateri ee lagu doonayay in deegaannada Koonfur Galbeed iyo Hirshabeelle lagaga saaro kooxda al-Shabaab ayey intoodii badnayd dhicisawday.

Jawiga cakiran ee siyaasadda iyo amniga ayaa saamayn toos ah ku yeeshay xaaladaha binu-aadantimimo ee ka sii daraya. Ku dhawaad kala badh ayey cunto yaraani soo foodsaartay dadka Soomaaliyeed, waxaana gudaha ka barakacay dadkii ugu badnaa ee la arko muddo toban sano ah, xaaladda ayaa waxa sababay colaadaha u dhaxeeya qabiillada iyo khilaafyada siyaasadda ee baahsan.

Daneeyayaasha debedda oo hawlo firfircoon ka wada Soomaaliya, ayaa danaynaya in ay natiijo fiican ka soo dhalaaliyaan arrimaha siyaasadda ee lagu muransan yahay. Balse taas lidkeeda waxa ay qayb ka noqdeen xaaladda sii xumaanaysa. Kaalinta ay daneeyayaasha debeddu ku leeyihiin Soomaaliya ayaa u muuqata mid sii kordhaysa sannadka 2022-ka, maadaama oo aynnu qarka u saarannahay doorashooyinka.

191. See “Two SNA soldiers arrested for allegedly shooting dead of two siblings in Mogadishu” (December 2021) Accessed at: https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Dec/184734/two_sna_soldiers_arrested_for_allegedly_shooting_dead_of_two_siblings_in_mogadishu.aspx

192. See “Dilkii Muqdisho: “Ciidamo Rasaas ku Furanaya Waddada ayaa Dilay Sakariye and Sowdo” (2021) BBC Somali. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/war-59515857>

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