

**Warbixin ku Saabsan  
Xaaladda Soomaaliya  
W a r b i x i n 2 0 2 2**

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# 1. Nuxurka Daraasadda

Warbixinta “Xaaladda Soomaaliya” oo uu Machadka Daraasaadka Siyaasadda ee Heritage u soo saaro si sannadle ah ayaa sannadkan 2022 diiradda saaraysa waxyaabihii ugu waawaynaa ee xilligaas dalka ku soo kordhay, sida arrimaha la xiriira horumarka, siyaasadda, amniga, dhaqaalaha, adeegyada bulshada iyo hawl-wadeennada shisheeye ee ka qaybgala geeddi-socodka dowladnimada Soomaaliya. Ujeeddada warbixintu waa in sannad kasta la kaydiyo dhacdooyinka muhiimka u ah jihaynta dalka iyo in sida oo kale la lafaguro dhacdooyinkaas, si ay uga faa’iidaystaan hawl-wadeennada siyaasadda, cilmibaarayaasha, iyo bulshawaynta Soomaaliyeed, laguna taageero dadaallada loogu jiro nabadgalyada iyo dowlad-dhiska Soomaaliya.

15-kii bishii May, waxa mar labaad madaxwaynaha dalka Soomaaliya loo doortay Xassan Shiikh Maxamuud, oo ka guulaystay madaxwaynihii markaas xilka hayey, Maxamed Cabdullaahi Farmaajo. Tani waxa ay ahayd doorasho si nabad ah u dhacday, walaw ay muddo soo jiidantay, tartankuna adkaa. Waxa se fiira gaara u baahan in xilwareejintii doorashadaas lagu sifayn karo mid horusocod, iyo waxtar u leh geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiga.

Deeqbixiyayaasha iyo dadwaynaha Soomaaliyeed ba waxa ay ku farxeen, dhicidda doorashada, maadaama uu khilaaf iyo muran siyaasadeed dalka hareeyey bilihii ugu horreeyay sannadkii 2022. Halka sartu ka quruntay ayaa ahayd in la isku mariwaayay habraaca doorashada. Raysalwasaarihii xilligaa Maxamed Xuseen Rooble ayaa is hortaagay xukun-marorsigii iyo muddo-kororsigii uu damacsanaa madaxwayne Farmaajo, taas oo keentay isjiidjiid badan. Farmaajo waxa uu isku dayey in uu xilka ka eryo Rooble, taas oo sababtay in ciidamada amnigu is farasaaraan oo ay la kala saftaan xafiisyada Rooble iyo Farmaajo.

Deeqbixiyayaasha ayaa hakiyey taageeradii ay Soomaaliya siin jireen horraantii Sannadkaas, iyaga oo ku sababeeyey doorasha xilligeedii ka dib dhacday, taas oo joojisey dhammaan hawlihii dowliga ahaa. Dowladda Maraykanka ayaa ku hanjabtay in ay cunaqabatayn saari doonto masuuliyiinta Soomaalida, haddii aanay doorashada si nabad ah u qaban.

Madaxwayne Xassan Shiikh ayaa raysalwasaare u doortay Xamse Cabdi Barre. Xamse waxa uu soo dhisay gole wasiirro ah. Waxa se fiira gaara mudan in golihiisa wasiirrada lagu soo daray Mukhtar Roobaw oo hore u soo ahaan jirey masuul ka tirsan ururka al-Shabaab, kaas oo loo magacaabay wasiirka Arrimaha Diinta iyo Awqaafta. Xamse waxa kale oo uu golaha wasiirrada u badiyey xulufadii Madaxwayne Xassan Shiikh, waxa se laga tagay xulafadii musharraxiintii madaxwaynaha codka siiyay wareegyadii ugu dambeeyey.

Xagga amniga, al-Shabaab waxa ay joogtaysay weerarro ba’an oo ay ku naafaynayso dalka. Weerarkii ugu darnaa waxa ay ku qaadeen Huteelka Xayaad, oo ay go’doomiyeen in ka badan 30 saacadood, kuna dileen illaa 20 qof. Waxa kale oo ay bishii Oktoobar qaraxyo la beegsadeen xafiisyada wasaaradda waxbarasha ee ku yaalla magaala Muqdisho, kuwaas oo ay ku dileen ugu yaraan 100 qof, kuna dhaawaceen illaa 300 oo kale. Tan ayaa ka dhigaysa weerarkii ugu ba’naa ee dalka ka dhaca marka laga reebo weerarkii Soobbe oo isna dhacay Octoobar 2017, kaas oo ay isku meel ku qudh baxeen in ka badan 500 oo qof.

Ciidamada qaranka ayaa dhankooda ka sii wada hawlgallo dagaal oo ay dalka al-Shabaab kaga xoreynayaan, iyaga oo gacan ka helaya, ciidamo beeledyada loo yaqaanno “Macawisley,” kuwaas oo iyagu bilaabay hawlgallada dagaalka, kana soo hooyey guulo la taaban karo, kadib markii ay degmooyin dhowr ah ka xoreeyey al-Shabaab. Macawisleyda waxa dagaalka gacan ka siinayey ciidamada dowladda federaalka, diyaaradaha Maraykanka iyo ciidamada Midawga Afrika.

Ciidamada Afrikaanku waa kuwo muhiim u ah la dagaallanka al-Shabaab, waxaanay dowladda Soomaaliya taageerayeen 15 sannadood. Waxay se hawlgalladoodii ku ekeeyeen bishii Maarso, sannadkii la soo dhaafay. Ciidamada Midawga Afrika ee loo yaqaanno (AMISOM) waxaa loo sameeyay muddo-kordhin, waxaana loo bixiyey (ATMIS), iyaga oo Soomaaliya sii joogi doona illaa sannaka 2024.

Dhinaca xaaladda bini’aadantinimada, dagaalka Yukrayn iyo abaaraha dabadheeraaday ayaa saamayn xoog leh ku wada yeeshay helidda cuntooyinka, waxsoosorka dalka iyo dhoofinta xoolaha. Sida uu sheegay Xafiiska Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Iskuxirka Arrimaha Bini-aadantinimada (OCHA), 7.8 milyan Soomaali ah (ku dhowaad kala bar ka mid ah tirada dadweynaha Soomaaliya) ayey abaaruhu saameeyeen. Tani waxa ay sii kordhisey cabsida laga qabo in dalka macaluuli ka dhacdo.

Guud ahaan dalka, Somaliland ayaa sii xoojisay ololaha ay ugu jirto goonni isu taagga ay ku doonayso in ay kaga go’do Soomaaliya. Dabayaaqadii bishii Diseember, waxa laascaanood oo ah magaalo madaxda gobolka Sool ka billawday kacdoon bulsho. Laascaanood waxa gacanta ku hayey dowlada Somaliland, maamul-goboleedka Puntland na way sheegataa.

Doorashooyinkii baarlamaanka heer federaal ayaa ka bilawday Puntland bishii Jannaayo, waxa aanay socdeen saddex bilood. Xildhibaannada dhammaantood waxa soo xulay madaxwayne Siciid Cabdullaahi Dani oo rabay in uu madaxwayne ka noqdo Soomaaliya. Tani waxa ay abuurtay madmadaw soo kala dhexgala madaxwayne Dani iyo qaybo ka mid ah labeenta bulshada, oo ay ka mid yihiin hogaamiyeyaasha dhaqanka iyo siyaasiinta gobolku.

In kasta oo ay wax isdabamarin iyo gacanbidixayn badani ku gadaannaayeen doorashadii Koofurgalbeed, haddana waxa uu maamulku sameeyey hormar la taaban karo, sida xukun daadajinta iyo taageeridda dismaha dowladaha hoose. Doorashooyin laga qabtay Xudur iyo Bardaale ayaa guul ku soo dhammaaday. Wasaaradda arrimaha gudaha ayaa hadda ku hawllan dhismaha golaha deegaanka Ceelbarde, Buurxakaba iyo Wallaweyn.

Baarlamaanka Galmudug ayaa beddelay dastuurka, waxaanay ku darsadeen hal sano oo dheeri ah. Waxa kale oo ay isna halsano ugu dareen madaxwayne Axmed Cabdi Kariye (Qoorqoor). Walow ay Galmudug tahay maamul-goboleedkii ugu dambeeyay ee ku yaalla koofurta iyo bartamaha Soomaaliya; haddana maamulladu dhammaantood waxa ay samaysteen muddo-kororsi.

Isku dhacyo, khilaafyo iyo amni daro baahsan ayaa hareeyey doorashooyinkii ka qabsoomay Jubbaland sannadkii 2022. Xiriirka u dhaxeeya Kismaayo iyo gobolka Gedo ayaa sii xumaaday. Gedo waxa ay la safnayd madaxwayne Farmaajo.

Bishii Maarso, ayaa Hirshabeelle lagu diley Aamina Maxamed oo xubin sare ka ahayd xisbigii Xassan Shiikh hogaaminayey oo markaas mucaarad ahaa. Aamina ayaa markii la dilay u ololaynaysay in dib loogu soo doorto golaha baarlamaanka Soomaaliya. Al-Shabaab ayaa sheegatay dilka Aamina.

Gobolka Banaadir oo saldhig u ah dowladda federaal Soomaaliya waxa ka dhacay weerarro isdaba joog ah, kuwaas oo sannadkii 2022 lagu diley dad ka badan 600 oo muwaadiniin Soomaaliyeed ah.

## 2. Siyaasadda heer Qaran iyo Doorashooyinkii Federaalka

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*Doorashooyinka waxa hareeyey wax-isdabamarin, musuqmaasuq iyo ismuquunin ay ku kaceen Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku (GWQ), kuwaas oo shaki galiyay xalaalnimda iyo xaqnima doorashooyinkaas.*

Sannadkii 2022, waxa uu ku billawday degganaan la'aan siyaasadeed, taas oo ay keeneen doorashooyinkii heer federaal oo markaas soo foolyeeshay. Siyaasiyiinta Soomaaliya ayaa 17 bishii Sibteember 2020, ku heshiiyey in doorasho dadban la qabto.<sup>1</sup> Lakiin ku dhowaad 12 bilood ayaa tagay iyada oo aan waxba la billaabin. Xildhibaan kii ugu horreeyey ee Aqalka Sare waxa la soo doortay bishii Juun 2021,<sup>2</sup> halka kii Aqalka hoose ugu horreeyeyna la soo doortay Bishii Noofembar.<sup>3</sup>

Doorashooyinka waxa hareeyey wax-isdabamarin, musuqmaasuq iyo ismuquunin ay ku kaceen Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku (GWQ), kuwaas oo shaki galiyay xalaalnimda iyo xaqnima doorashooyinkaas.

1. See “Somali Leaders Agree on Revised Election Model.” Aa.com.tr, September 2020. Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somali-leaders-agree-on-revised-election-model/1977240>.

2. See “Jubbaland Announces Its First Four Senators to Somali Parliament.” The East African, July 2021. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/jubbaland-elects-senators-to-somalia-parliament-3491104>.

3. See “Mahdi Gulaid 1st MP to Be Selected to Somalia's next Parliament,” Hiiraan.com, November 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/Nov/184427/somalia\\_set\\_to\\_kick\\_of\\_lowe\\_house\\_elections.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2021/Nov/184427/somalia_set_to_kick_of_lowe_house_elections.aspx).

Todobaadkii ugu horreeyey bisha Jannaayo, waxa kulmay GWQ iyo Raysalwasaare Maxamed Xuseen Rooble, iyaga oo doonayey in ay xaaladda dajiyaan, iskuna dayey in ay wax saxaan.<sup>4</sup> Kulankaas, oo lagu dardargalinayay doorashada shin-dhaaftay waxa bishii Febraayo ka soo baxay 18 qodob oo laysku waafaqay.<sup>5</sup>

Beesha caalamka ayaa ku boorrisay in dhakhso loo hirgaliyo heshiisyadaas,<sup>6</sup> waxaanay dowladda Maraykanku ku hanjabtay in ay tallaabo ka qaadi doonto cidii isku dayda in ay is hortaagto hirgalinta heshiisyadan.<sup>7</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, GWQ waxa ay muddadii u rareen 15 bisha Maarso.<sup>8</sup> Dowladda Maraynkan oo arrinkaas ka jawaabaysa ayaa ku dhawaaqday in aanay dalkugal siin doonin masuuliyiinta lagu tuhmayo ragaadinta qabsoomidda doorashooyinka.<sup>9/10</sup>

Dibudhaca ku yimid doorashooyinka ayaa abuuray xasarado iyo xiisado colaadeed oo hor leh. Waxa kala jabay golihii wasiirrada, waxaana sii xumaaday amnigii dalka.

Waxaa sida oo kale bilawday isku qabsi awoodeed oo u dhaxeeyey madaxwayne Farmaajo iyo raysalwasaare Rooble. Waxa iska hor yimid ciidamada amniga oo u kala jabay laba garab; kuwo taabacsan Farmaajo iyo kuwo taageersan Rooble.<sup>11</sup> Bishii Jannaayo 2022, waxa wada xaajood todobaad qaatay ka soo baxay in Ciidamada Midowga Afrika ee (AMISOM) lagu xoojiyo, sugidda amniga madaxtooyada. Waxa se bilaabmay iska hor imaad hor leh, kadib markii uu Rooble eryey ergaygii Soomaaliya u qaabilsanaa ururka Midawga Africa (AU), Francisco Madeira. Farmaajo ayaa ka hor yimid eryidda Francisco Madeira.<sup>12</sup>

Farmaajo ayaa Rooble magacaabay 18 Sibteembar 2020, kadib markii ay isaga iyo hogaamiyeyasha maamul-goboleedyadu si faahfaahsan uga doodeen habraaca doorasha. Filashada Farmaajo ayaa ahayd in aanu raysalwasaaraha cusubi marnaba soo faragashaneynin arrimaha doorashooyinka.<sup>13</sup> Farmaajo iyo xulafadiisa siyaasadeed waxa ay u haysteen in uu Rooble yahay biyo-madaadsho ku cusub siyaasadda oo ay sida ay doonaan u raran karaan. Hasayeeshee, Rooble waa uu ka hor miyid qorshihii madaxwayne Farmaajo ee ahaa muddo-kororsiga madaxwaynenimada. Markii uu Farmaajo ogaaday in aanu Rooble ahayn ninkii uu moodayey, waxa uu laba jeer isku dayey in uu ka qaado xilka -wuu se ku hongoobay.<sup>14</sup>

4. See "Somali PM Roble Calls for Talks to Fix Electoral Fraud," KEYDMEDIA ONLINE, December 21, 202. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/news/pm-roble-calls-for-talks-to-fix-electoral-fraud>.

5. See "Somalia: The NCC Meeting Concludes in Mogadishu, Most Issues Solved," Garowe Online, January 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-the-ncc-meeting-to-conclude-in-mogadishu-most-issues-solved>.

6. See "International Community Calls on Somalia's Leaders to Adhere to Electoral Schedule, Avoid Violence," Hiiraan.com, January 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185049/international\\_community\\_calls\\_on\\_somalia\\_s\\_leaders\\_to\\_adhere\\_to\\_electoral\\_schedule\\_avoid\\_violence.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185049/international_community_calls_on_somalia_s_leaders_to_adhere_to_electoral_schedule_avoid_violence.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

7. See "Promoting Sustainable Peace and Responsive Governance in Somalia - United States Department of State," February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.state.gov/promoting-sustainable-peace-and-responsive-governance-in-somalia/>.

8. See "NCC Push Back Somali Elections Again to March 15," Hiiraan.com, February 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Feb/185409/ncc\\_push\\_back\\_somali\\_elections\\_again.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Feb/185409/ncc_push_back_somali_elections_again.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

9. See "US Announces Sanctions for Somali Officials after Election Delays," Al Jazeera, February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/26/us-announces-sanctions-for-somali-officials-after-election-delays>.

10. See "US Expands Number of Somalis Subject to Visa Restrictions," Middle East Monitor, March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220317-us-expands-number-of-somalis-subject-to-visa-restrictions/>.

11. See "Security Forces Loyal to Somalia PM Gather Outside Presidential Palace," Reuters, December 28, 2021. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/us-says-supports-somalian-pms-efforts-rapid-credible-elections-2021-12-28/>.

12. See "Somali Prime Minister Orders African Union Envoy to Leave Country," VOA. Voice of America, April 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-prime-minister-orders-african-union-envoy-to-leave-country/6518735.html>.

13. See "Somali President Names Newcomer Roble Premier as Elections Loom," Reuters, September 2020. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-politics-idUSKBN2683BD>.

14. See "Somalia's President Suspends Prime Minister amid Election Spat," Al Jazeera, December 2021. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/27/somalias-president-suspends-pm-amid-tensions-over-elections>.

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15 May, waxa ay labada Aqal madaxweyne u doorteen Xassan Shiikh Maxamuud oo Farmaajo kaga guulaystay 214-110 cod, wareeggii ugu dambeeyay

Musuqmaasuq, wax-isdabamarin iyo khilaaf siyaasadeed oo dabadheeraaday, kadib waxa la soo gabagabeeyay soo xulista xildhibaannada Aqalka Sare bishii Nofeember 2021, halka kuwa Aqalka Hoose xilka loo dhaariyey 14-kii Abriil 2022.<sup>15</sup> 15 May, waxa ay labada Aqal madaxweyne u doorteen Xassan Shiikh Maxamuud oo Farmaajo kaga guulaystay 214-110 cod, wareeggii ugu dambeeyay.<sup>16</sup> Xassan Shiikh waxa uu Soomaaliya madaxwayne ka soo noqday 2012-2017, taas oo Xasan ka dhigaysa madaxwaynihii ugu horreeyey ee mar labaad la doorto. Soomaalida kurbadii ayaa ka go'day markii ay dorashadii dhammaatay. Waxaana yaraatay khatartii ahayd in dagaal sokeeye dib loogu noqdo.

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Waxa se xusid mudan in ay xil wareejintii madaxtooyadu u dhacday si nabadgalyo ah, taas oo xoojisey hannaaka dimuqraadiyadda Soomaaliya

Waxa se xusid mudan in ay xil wareejintii madaxtooyadu u dhacday si nabadgalyo ah, taas oo xoojisey hannaaka dimuqraadiyadda Soomaaliya. Xasan waxa uu xilka la wareegay bishii Juun 2022<sup>17</sup>, waxaanu raysalwasaare u magacaabay Xamse Abdi Barre. Xamse waxa uu horey u soo noqday xoghayaha guud ee urur siyaasadeedka Midawga Nabadda iyo Hormarka ee magaciisa loo soo gaabiyo (UPD), kaas oo uu Madaxwayne Xassan Shiikh guddoomiye u yahay hadda. Waxa kale oo uu Xamse ahaa xildhibaan balse markii la magacaabay waxa uu korsigii u celiyey reerkii soo doortay.<sup>18</sup> Magacaabistiisii kadib, waxa uu Xamse hortagay golaha baarlamaanka oo siiyey codka kalsoonida.<sup>19</sup> Kadib wadatashi qaatay muddo bil ka badan, waxa uu Xamse soo dhisay xukuumad cusub bishii Ogoosto. Golahiisa wasiirradu waxa ay ku tilmaaman yihiin saddex astaamood: magacaabista Mukhtar Roobaw oo hore u soo ahaan jirey ninka labaad ee ugu xilka sarreeya hoggaanka ururka al-Shabaab, saaxiibada madaxwayne Xassan oo iyagu u badan golaha iyo kamaqnaansha siyaasiintii ka socotay xisbiyada kale.<sup>20</sup>

Xagga amniga, intii lagu guda jirey doorashooyinkii golaha baarlamaanka, al-Shabaab way sii xoojiyeen weerarrada argagixisada, iyaga oo beegsanaya xarumaha dowladda iyo goobaha ay ku shirayaan baarlamaanka cusubi, waxaanay goobahaas ku soo rideen hoobiyeyaal.<sup>21</sup> Waxa kale oo ay al-Shabaab sheegteen masuuliyadda weerarkii lagu diley xildhibaan Aamina Maxamed Cabdi oo dowladdii hore mucaarad ku ahayd, islamarkaana u dhaleecayn jirtay si dhiirran oo aftahanimo ku dheehantahay. In ka badan 40 qof ayaa ku dhintay weerarkaas. Waxaana falalka argagixisada ku dumay isbitaalkii ugu weynaa magaalada Beledweyne.<sup>22</sup>

15. See “New Members of Somalia’s Parliament Sworn In.” VOA News, April 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/new-members-of-somalia-s-parliament-sworn-in-/6529995.html>.

16. See “Somalia’s New President Elected by 327 People,” BBC News, May 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-61438047>.

17. See “New Somali President Inaugurated, Warns of Famine.” VOA News, June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/new-somali-president-inaugurated-warns-of-famine/6610524.html>.

18. See “New Somali President Appoints Prime Minister.” VOA News, June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/new-somali-president-appoints-prime-minister/6618879.html>.

19. See “Somalia Parliament Approves New Prime Minister.” VOA News, June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-parliament-approves-new-prime-minister/6632962.html>.

20. See “Somalia’s Prime Minister Appoints 26-Member Cabinet,” Hiiraan.com, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Aug/187240/somalia\\_s\\_new\\_prime\\_minister\\_names\\_long\\_awaited\\_26\\_member\\_cabinet.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Aug/187240/somalia_s_new_prime_minister_names_long_awaited_26_member_cabinet.aspx).

21. See “Al-Shabab Claims Mortar Attack on Somali Parliament.” VOA News, April 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-claims-mortar-attack-on-somali-parliament/6534121.html>.

22. See “Somalia Twin Attack: Politician Killed in Bomb Blasts.” Deutsche Welle, March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.dw.com/en/somalia-twin-attack-politician-killed-in-bomb-blasts/a-61239115>.

Raysalwasaare Rooble ayaa hay'adda NISA ku eedeeyay dilka Aamina iyo waayidda Ikraan Tahaliil, oo ahayd gabadh da'yar oo ku takhsustay culuumta amniga ee la xiriirta tiknoolajidda casriga ah, una shaqayn jirtay Haayadda Nabadsugiida iyo Sirdoonka Qaranka ee loo yaqaanno (NISA) <sup>23/24</sup> .

Bishii Febraay 2022, ayay al-Shabaab isku dayday in ay qarax ismiidaamin ah la beegsato gaari bas ah oo ay saarraayeen ergooyin u socday goobaha codka bixinta, kuwaas oo ku yaallay agagaarka Xalane ee magaalada Muqdisho. In kasta oo ay badbaadeen rakaabkii basku, waxa ku dhintay lix qof oo shacab ah.<sup>25</sup> Hal todobaad kadib, waxa ay al-Shabaab weerar ismiidaamin ah ka gaysatay magaalada Baledweyne, iyaga oo beegsaday Huteel ay ku shirayeen koox siyaasiyiin ahi, waxaana weerarkaas ku geeriyooday in ka badan 15 qof, oo uu ku jiro guddoomiye kuxigeenkii magaaladu.<sup>26</sup> Bishii Ogoosto, ayey al-Shabaab qabsatay Huteelka Xayaad oo ku yaalla agagaarka madaarka Muqdisho, kaas oo ay ku kulmi jireen qaar ka mid ah ganacsatada iyo shaqaalaha dowladdu. Waxa ay haysteen Huteelkan in ka badan 30 saacadood, waxaana ku dhintay in ka badan 20 qof. Isla bishii Ogoosto, ayuu madaxwaynaha Soomaalia Xassan Shiikh ku dhawaaqay dagaal ka dhan ah ururka al-Shabaab.<sup>27</sup> Xassan Shiikh waxa uu aaminsan yahay in dhaqaalaha iyo fikirka looga baahan yahay in lagaga guulaysto al-Shabaab ay yihiin kuwo u dhigma hawlgallada militari ee muhiimka ah.<sup>28</sup>

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Malleeshiya  
beeledka  
loo yaqaanno  
Macawisley  
ayaa bilaabay  
kacdoonka ka  
dhanka ah al-  
Shabaab

Malleeshiya beeledka loo yaqaanno Macawisley ayaa bilaabay kacdoonka ka dhanka ah al-Shabaab.<sup>29</sup> Dowladda federaalka ayaa taageertay beelaha gobolada dhexe kula dagaallamaya al-Shabaab.<sup>30</sup> Ciidamada qaranka iyo Macawisleyduba waxa ay taageero milletari ka helayeen Maraykanka iyo Midawga Afrika, waxaanay ku guuleysteen in ay xoreeyaan tuulooyin ka tirsan gobolka Hiiraan, intii aanay u gudbin gobolka Galguduud. Dowladda ayaa xaqiijisay in dagaalka al-Shabaab Turkigu ka gaystay adeegsiga diyaaradaha aan duuliyaha lahayn ee looqaanno “drones.”<sup>31</sup>

Axmed Macallin Fiqi, oo ah wasiirka wasaaradda arrimaha gudaha ayaa sheegay in dowladdu saddex todobaad ku xoraysay illaa 40 degaan oo ka tirsan gobolka Hiiraan iyo lix degaan oo ka tirsan gobolka Galgudug.<sup>32</sup>

23. See “PM Roble Says Ikraan Tahliil’s Killers Masterminded MP Amina’s Assassination,” Hiiraan.com, March 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Mar/185672/pm\\_roble\\_says\\_ikraan\\_tahlil\\_s\\_killers\\_masterminded\\_mp\\_amina\\_s\\_assassination.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Mar/185672/pm_roble_says_ikraan_tahlil_s_killers_masterminded_mp_amina_s_assassination.aspx).

24. See “Female Opposition MP among Dozens Killed in Somalia Bombings.” The Guardian, March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/mar/24/female-opposition-mp-among-dozens-killed-in-somalia-bombings>.

25. See “Several Killed in Attack Targeting Somalia Election Delegates.” Al Jazeera, February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/10/car-bomb-targeting-somalia-election-delegates-kills-six>.

26. See “Two Pre-Election Attacks in Somalia Kill at Least 15, Injure Dozens,” Voice of America, February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-beledweyne-suicide-blast/6450369.html>.

27. See “Somalia’s President Vows ‘Total War’ against Al-Shabab.” VOA News, August 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-president-vows-total-war-against-al-shabab/6714508.html>.

28. See “Somali President Says Al-Shabaab ‘Cannot Be Defeated Militarily’ | Somali Guardian, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/somali-president-says-al-shabaab-cannot-be-defeated-militarily/>.

29. See “Somalia’s Men in Sarongs Taking on Al-Shabab Militants.” BBC News, November 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-63486013>.

30. See “Ma’awisley’ Militias in Central Somalia Mobilizing against Al-Shabab.” VOA. October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/ma-awisley-militias-in-central-somalia-mobilizing-against-al-shabab-/6776048.html>.

31. See “Somalia Confirms Turkish TB2 Deployed against Al Shabaab,” Hiiraan Online, September 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/188002/somalia\\_confirms\\_turkish\\_tb2\\_deployed\\_against\\_al\\_shabaab.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/188002/somalia_confirms_turkish_tb2_deployed_against_al_shabaab.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

32. See “Somalia Military Makes Gains in Large-Scale Offensive against Al-Shabab,” Hiraan Online, September 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/188000/somalia\\_military\\_makes\\_gains\\_in\\_large\\_scale\\_offensive\\_against\\_al\\_shabab.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/188000/somalia_military_makes_gains_in_large_scale_offensive_against_al_shabab.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).



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*Al-Shabaab ayaa magaalooyinka iyo tuulooyinka intooda badan iskaga baxday, iyaga oo aan ku dagaallamin*

Al-Shabaab ayaa magaalooyinka iyo tuulooyinka intooda badan iskaga baxday, iyaga oo aan ku dagaallamin. Bishii Diseembar 2022, ayay ciidamada dowladda oo garabsanaya ciidan beeledka Macawisleyda qabsadeen magaalada Aadan Yabaal iyo tuulooyin ku hareeraysan.<sup>33</sup>

Al-Shabaab oo ka falcelinaysa weerarrada dowladda ayaa gubtay tuulooyin iyo ceelal-biyood oo ku yaalla gobollada Hiiraan iyo Galgaduud, waxa kale oo ay burburiyeen xarumo isgaarsiineed.<sup>34</sup> Sida oo kale, waxa ay al-Shabaab weerarro aargoosi ah ka billawday Muqdisho iyo magaalooyin kale.

Bishii Oktoobar, ayay al-Shabaab laba qarax oo isku lammaan la beegsadeen wasaaradda waxbarashada ee ku taalla Muqdisho. Waxa qaraxyadaas ku geeriyooday illaa 100 qof, waxaana ku dhaawacmay ku dhowaad 300 oo qof. Weerarkan ayaa noqonaya kii ugu dhimashada iyo dhaawaca badnaa marka laga yimaaddo qaraxii Soobbe ka dhacay 2017, oo ay hal goob ku qudhubaxeen 500 oo kale.<sup>35</sup> Dhowr todobaad kadib, waxa ay galeen Huteel madaxtooyada ku dheggan oo ay yimaaddaan dadka dowlada u shaqeeya, kaas oo ay ku jireen in ka badan 20 saacadood. Weerarkaas waxa ku dhintay in ka badan 10 qof, waxaana ku dhaawacmay dad kale oo badan, oo uu ka mid ahaa wasiirkii Amniga Gudaha heer federaal Maxamed Axmad Dooddishe.<sup>36</sup>

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*Madaxwaynaha Maraykanka Joe Biden go'aamiyey in ciidamada maraykanku dib uga hawlgalaan Soomaaliya, si ay uga caawiyaan dagaallada ay Soomaaliya kula jirto al-Shabaab*

Bishii May 2022, ayaa uu madaxwaynaha Maraykanka Joe Biden go'aamiyey in ciidamada maraykanku dib uga hawlgalaan Soomaaliya, si ay uga caawiyaan dagaallada ay Soomaaliya kula jirto al-Shabaab. Waxa kale oo uu Biden go'aamiyey in uu Maraykanku kordhiyo duqaymaha lala beegsanayo hogaamiyeyaasha ururka al-Shabaab.<sup>37</sup> Dhiggiisa Soomaaliya ayaa soo dhaweeyey go'aannada uu Biden qaatay.<sup>38</sup>

Dowladda Maraykan ayaa laga soo billaabo sannadkii 2015, tabar siineysay ciidamada kamaandoosta Soomaaliya ee loo yaqaanno Danab. Danab waxa ay qayblibaax ka qaateen weerarrada hadda socda ee al-Shabaab laga xoreynayo dalka.<sup>39</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, weerarrada lagu baacsanayo al-Shabaab waxa ay aad ugu tiirsan yihiin duqaymaha ay fulinayaan ciidamada Maraynkanka ee magacooda loo soo gaabiyo (AFRICOM). Sannadkii 2022, ayay AFRICOM boqolkiiba 30 kordhisey duqaymaha cirka, marka la barbardhigo sannadkii ka horreeyey. Isugayta duqaymaha ay fuliyeen ayaa ah 15 duqaymood oo ay ku dileen 107 ka mid ha dagaalyahamiinta al-Shabaab.

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*AFRICOM boqolkiiba 30 kordhisey duqaymaha cirka, marka la barbardhigo sannadkii ka horreeyey*

33. See “Somalia Forces and Allies Retake Key Town from Al-Shabab.” Al Jazeera, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/12/7/somalia-forces-and-allies-retake-key-town-from-al-shabab>.

34. See “Al Shabaab in Central Somalia Destroy Drinking Wells, Communication Towers,” Hiiraan Online, September 2022. [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/187648/al-shabaab\\_in\\_central\\_somalia\\_destroy\\_drinking\\_wells\\_communication\\_towers.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/187648/al-shabaab_in_central_somalia_destroy_drinking_wells_communication_towers.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

35. See “2 Car Bombs Leave Scores of Casualties at an Intersection in Somalia’s Capital,” October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.npr.org/2022/10/29/1132604501/somalia-mogadishu-car-bombs-civilian-casualties>.

36. See “Somalia Villa Rays Attack: Siege Ends Leaving Eight Civilians Dead” BBC News, November 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-63773425>.

37. See “Biden Approves Plan to Redeploy Several Hundred Ground Forces into Somalia,” The New York Times, May 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/16/us/politics/biden-military-somalia.html>

38. See “Somalia President Welcomes Re-Deployment of US Forces,” Hiiraan Online, May 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/May/186310/somalian\\_president\\_welcomes\\_re\\_deployment\\_of\\_us\\_forces.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/May/186310/somalian_president_welcomes_re_deployment_of_us_forces.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

39. See “Somalia Military Rebuilding Shows Signs of Improvement” VOA News, November 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-military-rebuilding-shows-signs-of-improvement/6856894.html>.

In kasta oo ay ururrada u oloeeya xuquuqda aadamaha iyo baarlamaanka Maraykanku aaminsayihiin in dad rayid ahi ku waxyeelloobaan duqaymahan, haddana ciidanka AFRICOM ayaa sheegay in aanay marnaba dad rayid ah lagu dilin duqaymaha 2022, lama se xaqiijin karo.<sup>40</sup>

Dabayaaqadii bishii Sibteembar, ayaa magaalada Muqdisho lagu soo celiyay dufcaddii ugu horraysay howr kun oo ciidan Soomaaliyeed ah, oo lagu soo tababaray dalka Eleteriya.<sup>41</sup> Tan iyo markii ciidamadan loo qaaday Asmara sannadahii 2019 iyo 2020, waxa xaaladda ciidamadan ku gadaannaa ismaandhaafyo siyaasadeed. Dowladdii Farmaajo waxa lagu eedeeyey in ay ciidamadan u dirtay dagaalkii ay dowladda Itoobiya kula jirtay fallaagada Tigrayga, balse labada dowladodba way beeniyeen.<sup>42</sup>

Ciidamada AMISOM, oo iyagu dalka joogay muddo ka badan 15 sano, ayaa iyaguna qayblibaax ka qaatay saddex qodob oo kala ah: wiiqidda ururka al-Shabaab, taageerada dowladda Soomaaliya, iyo nabadaynta Soomaaliya, balse waxa ay muddadu ka dhammaatay 31 bishii Maarso.<sup>43</sup> Golaha Amniga Qaramada Midoobey ayaa ansixiyey qaraar magaca AMISOM loogu beddelayo ATMIS, kaas oo muddo kordhin loogu sameeyay 1 bishii Abriil.<sup>44</sup> Golaha Amnigu waxa uu go'aankan soo saarey ka dib wadatashi dheer oo uu la yeeshay dowladda Soomaaliya iyo masuuliyiinta Midawga Afrika, waxaana la isla meel dhigay qaabka ay ciidamada ATMIS uga sii hawlgali doonaan dalka Soomaaliya.<sup>45</sup>

Ergeyga joogtada ah ee Soomaaliya u fadhiya Qaramada Midoobay, Abuukar Cismaan, ayaa sheegay in uu aad uga xun yahay in Golaha Amniga ee Qaramada Midoobay iska indhatiray soojeedintii ergada Soomaaliya ee ku saabsanayd qaabka howlgalka loo fulinayo “marka la eego taageerada saadka la qorsheeyay, baahida loo qabo in la mideeyo, lana daadajiyo taliska iyo xakamaynta iyo in laga saaro qaybaha bulshada ee lagu heshiiyey horumarkooda”. Waxa uu sheegay in Soomaaliya ay doonayso howlgal cusub oo “diiradda saaraya fulinta hawlgallo wax ku ool ah, dardar leh, iyo hawlgallo abaabulan.”<sup>46</sup> Taliyaha Midowga Afrika u qaabilsan Arrimaha Siyaasadda, Nabadda iyo Amniga, Bankale Adeoye” oo ka falceliyey arintaas ayaa yiri, “ATMIS waxa loo qaabeeyey in ay ahaato mid feejigan, howlgallo lug ah fulinkarta, una diyaarsan in ay ka falceliso khataraha.”<sup>47</sup>

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40. See “US Airstrikes in Somalia Increased in 2022, Killing More than 100,” Yahoo, September 2022. Accessed at: <https://news.yahoo.com/u-airstrikes-somalia-increased-2022-195251448.html>.

41. See “First Batch of Somali Troops Trained in Eritrea Arrives Home.” VOA News, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/first-batch-of-somali-troops-trained-in-eritrea-arrives-home-/6885944.html#:~:text=FILE%20%2D%20Mothers%20of%20missing%20Somali,%2C%20on%20June%2010%2C%202021..>

42. See “Clandestine Training of Somali Forces in Eritrea Stirs Families’ Concern.” VOA. Voice of America (VOA News), February 2021. Accessed at: [https://www.voanews.com/a/africa\\_clandestine-training-somali-forces-eritrea-stirs-families-concern/6202295.html](https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_clandestine-training-somali-forces-eritrea-stirs-families-concern/6202295.html).

43. See “BBC World Service - Focus on Africa, the End of AMISOM Mandate in Somalia,” March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0byqcqn>.

44. See “Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2628 (2022), Security Council Endorses Decision to Reconfigure Existing Entity into African Union Transition Mission in Somalia” Un.org, March 2022: Accessed at: <https://press.un.org/en/2022/sc14847.doc.htm>.

45. See “African Union, Federal Government of Somalia and Partners Start Second Phase of Technical Discussions on New AU Mission in Somalia - AMISOM,” February 2022. Accessed at: <https://amisom-au.org/2022/02/african-union-federal-government-of-somalia-and-partners-start-second-phase-of-technical-discussions-on-new-au-mission-in-somalia/>.

46. See “Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2628 (2022), Security Council Endorses Decision to Reconfigure Existing Entity into African Union Transition Mission in Somalia | UN Press,” March 2022. Accessed at: <https://press.un.org/en/2022/sc14847.doc.htm>.

47. See “African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) Transitions to African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS)- African Union - Peace and Security Department.” African Union, Peace and Security Department, April 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.peaceau.org/en/article/press-release-african-union-mission-in-somalia-amisom-transitions-to-african-union-transition-mission-in-somalia-atmis>.



*Ciidamada ATMIS oo hadda caawimaad xaddidan siiya howlgallada lagaga soo horjeedo al-Shabaab, ayaa Soomaaliya sii joogi doona illaa dhammaadka 2024, intaas kadib waxa masuuliyadda amniga la wareegi doona Ciidanka Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliya (CXDS)*

Ciidamada ATMIS oo hadda caawimaad xaddidan siiya howlgallada lagaga soo horjeedo al-Shabaab, ayaa Soomaaliya sii joogi doona illaa dhammaadka 2024, intaas kadib waxa masuuliyadda amniga la wareegi doona Ciidanka Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliya (CXDS) sida ku xusan qorshaha kumeelgaarka ah ee Soomaaliya.<sup>48</sup>

Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa qaadday tallaabooyin aan caadi ahayn si ay u joojiso nidaamka ay dhaqaalaha ku hesho al-Shabaab, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin xiritaanka 250 akoon oo ay bangiyo ku lahaayeen kooxda al-Shabaab. Waxa sida oo kale diginin la siiyay ganacsatada siisa lacagta baadda ah, iyada oo wacad loogu maray in tallaabo sharciga waafaqsan laga qaadi doono ciddii baad bixisa.<sup>49</sup> Sida oo kale dowladdu waxa ay dabagal ku samaysey shabakadda lacag ururinta u qaabilsan Dekadda Muqdisho.<sup>50</sup> Al-Shabaab waxa ay dakhli ka soo xaraysaa meelo badan oo ay ka mid tahay dekadda wayn ee Muqdisho.<sup>51</sup> Kooxdu waxa ay sannadkii soo ururisaa dakhli ku dhow \$50-100 malyan oo doollar, waxaanay howlgalladeeda milliteri ku qarashgaraysaa \$25 malyan oo doollar.<sup>52</sup>

Bishii Jannaayo 2023, waxa ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya Muqdisho ku martiqaadday 300 oo wadaad, si ay Dowladda uga taageeraan dadaalka ay ugu jirto dib u xoreynta dalk.<sup>53</sup> Markii uu shirku dhammaaday, waxa ay culimadu cambaareeyeen falalka al-Shabaab iyo ISIS, iyaga oo caddeeyay fikradahooda gurracan ee ku salaysan xakjirnimada, tilmaamayna in aanay ficilladoodu ahayn kuwo diinta islaamka sal iyo raad ku leh, iyo in ay cadow ku yihiin Islaamka iyo dadka Soomaaliyeed-labadaba.<sup>54</sup> Intaas kadib, waxa ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya daahfurtay telefeshin cusub oo loogu talo galay in bulshada lagaga wacyigaliyo fikradaha xagjirnimada ku dhisan, laguna tageero dagaalka ka dhanka ah argagixisada.<sup>55</sup> Sida oo kale waxa la xirey boqollaal warbaahinta baraha bulshada ah oo xiriir la lahaa kooxda al-shabaab.<sup>56</sup>

48. See “African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) Transitions to African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS)- African Union - Peace and Security Department.” African Union, Peace and Security Department, April 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.peaceau.org/en/article/press-release-african-union-mission-in-somalia-amisom-transitions-to-african-union-transition-mission-in-somalia-atmis>.

49. See “Somalia Warns Traders Not to Pay off Islamist Militants,” VOA, October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-warns-traders-not-to-pay-off-islamist-militants/6791421.html>.

50. See “Ports Ministry Investigating al Shabaab Extortion at Mogadishu Port,” Hiiraan.com, October 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Oct/188337/ports\\_ministry\\_investigating\\_al\\_shabaab\\_extortion\\_at\\_mogadishu\\_port.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Oct/188337/ports_ministry_investigating_al_shabaab_extortion_at_mogadishu_port.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

51. See “A Losing Game: Countering Al-Shabab’s Financial System.” Hiraal Institute, October 2020. Accessed at: <https://hiraal institute.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/A-Losing-Game.pdf>.

52. See “United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Res 2610 (July 2022) UN Doc S/2022/547. Accessed at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/S%202022%20547.pdf>

21) Washington Post. Accessed at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/09/18/somalia-political-crisis-shabab/>

53. See “Clerics in Somalia Vow to Counter Al-Shabab.” VOA News, January 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/clerics-in-somalia-vow-to-counter-al-shabab/6937171.html>.

54. See “Somali Clerics Denounce Religious Extremism and Commend the Government on the Offensive against Terror Groups.” African Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS), January 2023. Accessed at: <https://atmis-au.org/somali-clerics-denounce-religious-extremism-and-commend-the-government-on-the-offensive-against-terror-groups/>.

55. See “Somalia Launches Anti-Al-Shabab TV Channel,” Hiiraan.com, November 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188852/somalia\\_launches\\_anti\\_al\\_shabab\\_tv\\_channel.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188852/somalia_launches_anti_al_shabab_tv_channel.aspx).

56. See “Somalia Launches Anti-Al-Shabab TV Channel,” Hiiraan Online, November 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188852/somalia\\_launches\\_anti\\_al\\_shabab\\_tv\\_channel.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188852/somalia_launches_anti_al_shabab_tv_channel.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).



*Dibudhacii doorashooyinka iyo kala qaybsanaantii hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadda ayaa sida oo kale curyaamiyey barnaamijkii dayn cafinta oo ay xukuumadihii kala danbeeyay ee Soomaaliya ku howllanaayeen*

Dhanka dhaqaalaha, Soomaaliya wali waxa ay aad ugu tiirsantahay kaalmada deeqbixiyeyaasha, oo ay ku kala dabarto baahiyaha shaqo. Sannadkii 2022, waxa ay miisaniyadda dowladdu ahayd \$929 malyan, taas oo boqolkiiba 26.5 ka soo xarootay dhakhliga gudaha, halka ay boqolkiiba 73.5 ka timi deeqbixiyeyaasha.<sup>57</sup> Caawimadii deeqbixiyeyaasha waxa horraantii 2022 loo hakiyey sababo la xiriira doorashooyinkii muddo-dhaafay, kuwaas oo hoos u dhigay bixintii adeegyada dowladda.<sup>58</sup> Dibudhacii doorashooyinka iyo kala qaybsanaantii hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadda ayaa sida oo kale curyaamiyey barnaamijkii dayn cafinta oo ay xukuumadihii kala danbeeyay ee Soomaaliya ku howllanaayeen.

Bishii Febraayo 2022, ayay Hay'adda Lacagta Adduunku(IMF) Soomaaliya ugu hanjabtay in ay ka jari doonto dhammaan taageerooyinka ay siiso haddii aanay doorasho ku qaban heshiiskii 17 May.<sup>59</sup>

Hay'adda Lacagta Adduunka iyo Bangiga Adduunka ayaa bartamihii Maarso 2022 aqbalay in ay Soomaaliya u qalanto Nidaamka Dayn Cafinta Dalalka Saboolka ah ee loo yaqaanno (HIPC). Soomaaliya waxa ay sida oo kale figta ka gaartay garwaaqsashada nidaamka dayn cafinta. Haddii ay dowladdu joogtayso nidaamka dibuhabaynta dhaqaalaha oo ay gaarto bar-tilmaameedka HIPC, waxa la filayaa in Soomaaliya laga cafin doono deyn dhan 5.2 bilyan, kuna hari doonto 557 malyan oo doollar marka uu dhammaado sannadka 2023. Taasi waxa ay keentay in ay dowladdu dib u soo celiso la macaamilka hay'adaha dhaqaalaha bixiya ee caalamiga ah, oo ay xayiraadda ka qaaddo maalgalinta dibadaha ee baahida weyn loo qabo, kuwaas oo ay bixiyaan daneeyayaasha horumarinta caalamiga ahi.

Dagaalka Yukrayn iyo abaaraha daran ayaa saamayn ku yeeshay wax soo saarka dalka iyo dhoofinta xoolaha. Beeraha iyo xoolaha nool ayaa waxsoosaarka dalka Soomaaliya ka ah boqolkiiba 70, halka ay boqolkiiba 90 ka yihiin waxyaalaha ay Soomaaliya dhoofiso.<sup>60</sup> Sicirbararka cuntada ayaa kor uga soo kacay boqolkiiba 4.7 sannadkii 2021 isaga oo gaaray 7.8% sannadkii 2022.<sup>61</sup>

Abaaraha iyo dagaalka Yukrayn oo saamayn ba'an ku yeeshay kor u kaca shidaalka dunida ayaa qaaligareeyay qiimaha cuntada, islamarkaana saamayn weyn ku yeeshay sicirbararka korontada dalka.<sup>62</sup> Haddii la is barbardhigo qiimaha korontadu ka marayso Soomaaliya oo uu halkii kilo-waat yahay \$0.65 iyo qiimaha ay ka marayso dalka jaarkeenna ee Kenya oo halkii kilo-waat yahay \$0.20, waxa kuu soo baxaya kala duwanaansha saddex jibbaaran ee u dhaxaysa labada dal.<sup>63</sup>

57. See "APPROPRIATION ACT for the 2022 BUDGET ( ENGLISH VERSION)" Ministry of Finance - Somalia" 2022. Accessed at: <https://mof.gov.so/publications/appropriation-act-2022-budget-english-version>.

58. See "BUDGET STRATEGY for FISCAL YEAR 2023 | Ministry of Finance - Somalia," 2023. <https://mof.gov.so/publications/budget-strategy-fiscal-year-2023>.

59. See "IMF Says Somalia Funding at Risk over Election Delays." Al Jazeera, February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/22/imf-says-somalia-funding-at-risk-over-election-delays>.

60. See "Investing in Social Development in the Federal Republic of Somalia Budget Brief," UNICEF 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.unicef.org/somalia/media/3291/file/Somalia%20Budget%20Brief%20November%202022.pdf>.

61. See "BUDGET STRATEGY for FISCAL YEAR 2023 | Ministry of Finance - Somalia," 2023. <https://mof.gov.so/publications/budget-strategy-fiscal-year-2023>.

62. See "Shirkadaha Korontada Ee Muqdisho Oo Gaaray Heshiis Ka Dhan Ah SHACABKA - Caasimada Online." Caasimada Online, March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.caasimada.net/shirkadaha-korontada-ee-muqdisho-oo-gaaray-heshiis-ka-dhan-ah-shacabka/>.

63. See "Somalia | Power Africa | U.S. Agency for International Development," 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.usaid.gov/powerafrica/somalia>.

Isku xirnaan la'aanta ganacsatada iyo xakamayn la'aanta dowladda oo isbiirsaday ayaa loo aqoonsaday sababta ka danbeysa baaxadda dhibta.<sup>64</sup>

Dhammaadkii bishii Oktoober ayey dowladda federalaka oo kaashanaysa Bangiga Adduunka daahfurtay mashruuc ku salaysan dib u hagaajinta korontada Soomaaliya, kaas oo looga gollahaa in korantada lagu helo qiimo jaban.<sup>65</sup>

Bartamihii Juuley 2022, ayuu madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud dib u codsaday in ay Soomaaliya ka mid noqoto Ururka Bulshada Bariga Afrika (EAC), oo ah urur-goboleed lagu aasaasay magaaladda Caruusha ee dalka Tanzania kaas oo ay ku bahoobeen todobo dal oo ku yaalla Bariga Africa oo kala ah: Burundi, Jamhuuriyadda Dimuqraadiga ah ee Koongo, Kenya, Ruwanda, Koofurta Suudaan, Yugandha, iyo Tansaaniya.<sup>66</sup>

Bishii Agoosto, ayaa Cabdisalaan Hadliye Cumar oo ah khabiir iyo dublamaasi ruugcaddaa ah oo hore u soo noqday wasiirka arrimaha dibadda Soomaaliya iyo Guddoomiyaha Bangiga dhexe, waxa loo magacaabay in uu noqdo ergeyga gaar ah ee hoggaaminaya tartanka ay Soomaaliya ku doonayso ka mid noqoshada Ururka Bulshada Bariga Afrika.<sup>67</sup> Mudda-xileedkiisii hore oo haatan laga joogo 10 sano, Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud waxa uu codsaday in ay Soomaaliya ku biirto Urur-goboleedka Dhaqaalaha.<sup>68</sup> Ka mid noqoshada Ururka Bulshada Bariga Afrika ayaa Soomaaliya u ah fursad labo-geesood ah oo lagaga faa'iidayso karo hormarka iyo koboca dhaqaalaha. Juquraafi ahaan Soomaaliya waxa ay ku taallaa marin-biyood muhiim u ah isku xirka gobolka Bariga Afrika iyo dalalka Carabta. Ganacsatada Soomaaliyeed ayaa ka faa'iidayso doonta isu-socodka xorta ah ee Bulshada Bariga Afrika iyo badeecada u kala gooshaysa gobolka iyo dunida kale, iyo waliba fursado ganacsi oo ka abuurmaya suuqa caalamka. Bishii Jannaayo 2023, ayey ururka Bulshada Bariga Afrika Muqdisho u yimaaddeen xaqiiqo raadin iyo in ay hubiyaan sida ay Soomaaliya ugu diyaarsantahay ku soo biirista Bulshada Bariga Afrika.<sup>69</sup> Inkasta oo ay caqabado badani ku gadaaman yihiin Soomaaliya, haddana aragtida ku salaysan in aanay Soomaaliya u diyaarsanayn hanashada xubinnimada Bulshada Bariga Africa, marka loo eego xasilooni darrada siyaasadda iyo arrimaha amniga, waa aragti aan lagu qanci karin. Jamhuuriyadda Dimuqraadiga Koongo oo ay ka jireen dhibaatooyin la mid ah kuwa Soomaaliya ayaa sannadkii hore loo ogolaaday ku biiridda xubinnimada ururkan.<sup>70</sup>

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Inkasta oo ay  
caqabado badani  
ku gadaaman  
yihiin Soomaaliya,  
haddana aragtida  
ku salaysan  
in aanay  
Soomaaliya u  
diyaarsanayn  
hanashada  
xubinnimada  
Bulshada  
Bariga Africa,  
marka loo eego  
xasilooni darrada  
siyaasadda iyo  
arrimaha amniga  
, waa aragti aan  
lagu qanci karin

64. See “Somalia Plans Lower Electricity Costs as Recovery Project Launched.” The East African, October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-launches-project-to-revamp-electricity-supply-4000780>.

65. See “Somalia encourages foreign investments to fix its energy crisis; 2022; accessed at <https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/somalia-encourages-foreign-investments-to-fix-its-energy-crisis-56727>

66. See “Somalia Plans Lower Electricity Costs as Recovery Project Launched.” The East African, October, 2022. <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-launches-project-to-revamp-electricity-supply-4000780>.

67. See “Overview of EAC,” 2016. Accessed at: <https://www.eac.int/overview-of-eac>.

68. See “Somali President Appoints Special Envoy to EAC,” Hiiraan.com, August 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Aug/187421/somali\\_president\\_appoints\\_special\\_envoy\\_to\\_eac.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Aug/187421/somali_president_appoints_special_envoy_to_eac.aspx)

69. See “We Are Ready to Join the Community, Somalia President Says,” October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/151-international-relations/2624-we-are-ready-to-join-the-community,-somalia-president-says>.

70. See “EAC Officially Launches the Verification Mission to Assess Somalia’s Readiness to Join the Community,” January 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/2711-eac-officially-launches-the-verification-mission-to-assess-somalia-s-readiness-to-join-the-community#:~:text=The%20verification%20team%20comprising%20of,the%20establishment%20of%20the%20EAC..>

“

*In ka badan 50,000 oo barakacayaal ah oo ay ku jiraan kuwa ka soo cararay masiibadda abaaraha ayaa u gudbay dalalka dariskeenna ee Kenya iyo Itoobiya*

Dhanka arrimaha bini-aadannimada, Xafiiska Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Iskuxirka Arrimaha Bini-aadantinimada((OCHA) ayaa sheegay in abaaruhu saameeyeen 7.8 milyan Soomaali ah oo u dhigma (kala bar dadweynaha Soomaliya). Tani waxa ay sii kordhisey cabsida laga qabo in ay dalka ka dhacdo macaluul ba’ani. Ku dhowaad 5.6 milyan ayaa wajahaya cunto yaraan daran. Waxa laga cabsi qabaa in abaartani isu beddesho macaluul ba’an, sida ay sheegeen ururrada ka shaqeeya arrimaha bini-aadantinimada ee maxalliga ah iyo kuwa caalamkuba. Ku dhowaad 1.5 milyan caruur ah oo da’doodu ka hoosayso shan jir ayaa la ildaran nafaqo darro, kuwaas ay ay 386,000 oo ka mid ahi khatar ugu jiraan geeri iyo cuduro.<sup>71</sup> Khilaafadka iyo amni xumada ayaa xudun u ah barakaca bulshada. Sida laga soo xigtay OCHA tirada dadka ku barakacaya gudaha dalka ayaa lagu qiyaasay 2.9 milyan, taas oo ka mid ah barakacayaasha ugu badan marka loo eego barakacayaasha caalamka.<sup>72</sup> In ka badan 50,000 oo barakacayaal ah oo ay ku jiraan kuwa ka soo cararay masiibadda abaaraha ayaa u gudbay dalalka dariskeenna ee Kenya iyo Itoobiya.<sup>73</sup>

Xukuumadda cusubi waxa ay qaadday tallabooyin muhiim ah oo ay qorshaynayso in ay mudda-dhow iyo middada fogba waxkaqabato dhibaatooyinka bini’aadantinimada. Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud ayaa Cabdiraxmaan Cabdishakuur Warsame oo ah hguddoomiyaha xisbiga Wadajir iyo xildhibaan ka tirsan Golaha Shacabka Soomaaliya u magacaabay ergeyga gaarka ah ee Soomaaliya u qaabilsan ka falcelinta abaaraha, si loo xakameeyo dhibaatooyinka abaaraha, la iskuguna dubbarido deeqaha gudaha iyo kuwa caalamkuba.<sup>74</sup> Cabdiraxmaan waxa uu safarro ku kala bixiyey deegaannada ay abaaruhu saameeyeen, oo ay ku jiraan kaamamka barakacayaasha, si uu u soo qiimeeyo xaaladda dalka.<sup>75</sup> Sida oo kale, waxa uu safarro ku kala bixiyey daafaha caalamka, si uu ugu bandhigo dhibaataada waddanka ka jirta, uguna codsado in ay gacan ka siiyaan ka hortagga dhibaataada.

Raysalwasaare Xamse Barre ayaa sameeyay wasaaradda deegaanka iyo cimilada, si loo xalliyo arrimaha Soomaaliya u nuglaynaya isbeddelka cimilada. Khadiija Maxamed Almakhsuuni oo ahayd safirkii Soomaaliya u fadhiyey dalka Ciraaq iyo Bakistaan ayaa wasaaraddaas loo magacaabay.<sup>76</sup> Dhanka kale, waxa ay golaha wasiirradu meelmariyeen sharci dib loogu dhisayo Ha’ayadda Maaraynta Masiibooyinka ee Soomaaliya (SODMA) si ay u kormeerto dadaallada ay dowladdu ku yaraynayso xaaladaha bini’aadantinimo ee waddanka.<sup>77</sup>

71. See “The Democratic Republic of the Congo Joins EAC as Its 7th Member,” March 2022. <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/2402-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-joins-eac-as-its-7th-member>.

72. See “Somalia | World Food Programme,” January 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.wfp.org/countries/somalia#:~:text=WFP%20works%20in%20Somalia%20to,such%20as%20floods%20and%20drought.>

73. See “About OCHA Somalia,” Accessed at: . <https://www.unocha.org/somalia/about-ocha-somalia#:~:text=Somalia%20has%20one%20of%20the,2.9%20million%20people%20in%202022..>

74. See “Somalia: Drought Response and Famine Prevention (15 November - 15 December 2022) - Somalia,” January 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-drought-response-and-famine-prevention-15-november-15-december-2022>.

75. See “Hassan Sheikh Picks Abdirahman Abdishakur as Special Envoy to Tackle Drought,” Goobjoog, May 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/hassan-sheikh-picks-abdirahman-abdishakur-as-special-envoy-to-tackle-drought/>.

76. See “Somali Presidential Envoy Visits Drought-Stricken Dolow, Urges Humanitarian Intervention.” Aa.com.tr, June 2022. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somali-presidential-envoy-visits-drought-stricken-dolow-urges-humanitarian-intervention/2618546>.

77. See “Somalia’s First Environment Minister Aims to Alleviate Suffering from Climate Disasters,” September 2022. Accessed at: <https://theworld.org/stories/2022-09-12/somalia-s-first-environment-minister-aims-alleviate-suffering-climate-disasters>.

Daraasad cusub oo ay soo saartay Qaramada midoobey ayaa sheegaysa in dhibaataada abaarta hadda jirtaa ay ka sahlan tahay tii 2011 ka dhacday Soomaaliya, laakiin ay wali jirto xaalad khatar ahi. Cilmibaaristu waxa ay muujinaysaa in cunto xumada jirta owgeed meelo badan oo waddanka ka mid ahi khatar ugu jiraan macaluul daran bilaha soo socda.<sup>78</sup> Bishii Abril 2022 gargaarkii bini-aadantinnimo ee loo baahnaa oo ahaa 1.5 bilyan waxa la hantay wax ka yar boqolkiiba afar.<sup>79</sup> Dowladda Maraykanka oo si weyn isu xilqaantay ayaa Soomaaliya ugu deeqday \$820 milyan oo kaalmo ah sannadkii 2022.<sup>80</sup>

### 3. Xiriirka dabedda

Shantii bilood ee ugu horreeyay sannadkii 2022, waxa Soomaaliya halisgaliyay muran siyaasadeed oo ka dhashay doorashada. 21 Diseember 2021, waxa dagaal dhexmaray madaxwayne Farmaajo iyo Raysallwaare Rooble, kaas oo gaaray heer uu Farmaajo ku doodo in uu dhimay awoodihii shaqo ee Rooble, waxaanu ka joojiyey isticmaalka saxaafadda qaranka.<sup>81</sup>

Bilahaas khilaafka ba'ani jirey, waxa ay beesha caalamku mashquul ku ahayd sidii loo xakamayn lahaa in dalku burburo iyo in la xaqiijiyo qabashada doorasho nabad ah. Dhammaadkii bishii Jannaayo, waxa Muqdisho yimid safiirka cusub ee Maraykanka danjire Larry Andre.

17 Febraayo waxa sida oo kale Soomaaliya yimid General Stephen Townsend, oo ah taliyihii Maraykanka u qaabbilsanaa Afrika, waxaanu Muqdisho kula kulmay Taliyaha Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliyeed General Odowaa Yuusuf Raage, sida oo kale waxa uu bishii May, diyaarad ciidan ku tagay Kismayo iyo Ballidoole. Xilligaas waxa kale oo ay Andre iyo Townsend booqasho ku tageen Somaliland. Waxa ay booqdeen dekada iyo madaarka Berbera, waxaanay la kulmeen madaxwaynaha Somaliland Muse Biixi Cabdi, iyaga oo ka wadhadlay sidii loo sii xoojin lahaa arrimaha wadashaqaynta, islamarkaana loogu salayn lahaa saaxadda siyaasadda Soomaaliya.<sup>82</sup>

Bishii Febraayo, ayuu xoghayaha Maraykanka Antony Blinken ku dhawaaqay in ay cunaqabatayn saarayaan hoggamiyeyasha curyaaminaya dimuqraadiyadda Soomaaliya- kuwa hadda jooga iyo kuwii horeba.<sup>83</sup> Qaramada midoobey, Midowga Yurub, Midowga Afrika, iyo diblamsiyiinta ugu macquulsan Soomaaliya ayaa soo saaray warmurtiyeed wada jir ah, oo ay ku dalbanayaan in doorashadu xilligeedii ku qabsoonto, si looga baaqsado khilaaf siyaaasadeed.<sup>84</sup>

78. See "Somalia: Prime Minister Hamza Abdi Barre Forms National Committee That Will Direct and Support the Drought Emergency Operations." *Mustaqbal Media*, August 2022. Accessed at: <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-prime-minister-hamza-abdi-barre-forms-national-committee-that-will-direct-and-support-the-drought-emergency-operations/>.

79. See "Famine Averted but Situation 'Catastrophic' in Somalia: UN." *Aljazeera.com*. Al Jazeera, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/12/14/famine-averted-but-situation-catastrophic-in-somalia-un#:~:text=Famine%20has%20been%20narrowly%20averted,other%20experts%20released%20on%20Tuesday>.

80. See "NGOs Warn of Possible Famine In Somalia As Droughts Worsens." Accessed at: <https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/images/countries/somalia/2022/ngos-warn-of-possible-famine-in-somalia-as-drought-worsens/full-letter-and-signatory-list/drought-appeal-letter-to-united-nations-secretary-general--april-2022.pdf>

81. See "Foreignassistance.gov." 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.foreignassistance.gov/cd/somalia/>.

82. See "Somali President Suspends PM over Election and Mismanagement." *VOA. Voice of America*, December 27, 2021. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-president-suspends-prime-minister-/6371056.html>.

83. See "Amb. André and Gen. Townsend met with Muse Bihi" Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/US2SOMALIA/status/1524788760235454467>

84. See "Visa Restrictions on Individuals Responsible for Undermining the Democratic Process in Somalia; Accessed at: State Department; 25 February 2022; <https://www.state.gov/visa-restrictions-on-individuals-responsible-for-undermining-the-democratic-process-in-somalia/>

Sida oo kale, bishii Febraayo, ayay Midowga Afrika, Dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya iyo saxiibbada Soomaaliya wada yeesheen kulan 10 maalmood socday oo lagaga doodayey hawlgalka cusub ee ay Midowga Afrika ku beddelayaan AMISOM. Waa halkan meesha ay sartu ka qudhuntay 2021, marka loo eego arrimaha Soomaaliya iyo Midowga Afrika. Labada dhinac waxa ay si adag ugu kala bayreen saamaynta ay mustaqbalka yeelan doonto isbeddelka AMISOM. Dabayaaqadii 2021, ayay Midowga Africa u qaabilsan howlgaladda Soomaaliya soo saareen warqad aanay waxba kala socon dowladda federaalku, taas oo ay qaaddaceen madaxda Soomaaliya, ayaga oo ku andacoonaya in arrimaha Soomaaliya loo madaxbanneeyo looga danbeeyo dowladda Soomaaliya.

Heshiiska waxa ku jirey in loo dhammaado qorsheyaasha howlgallada, si amniga dalka loo sugo. Documentiga lagu shaaciyey qorshe-hawleedka AMISOM ku guulaysan karto, waxa ku qeexan xilliga, qaabka, xaddiga iyo qaabdhismeedka ku meelgaarka ah. Waa in tixgalin la siiyo Qorshaha Kumeelgaarka ah ee Soomaaliya, oo dhigaya sida ay dowladdu u rabto dhimista ciidamada Midowga Afrika ee 15 sano nabad-ilaalinta u joogay Soomaaliya, islamarkaana joogitaankoodu ku eegyahay 2024.

31 bishii Maarso, ayuu Golaha Amniga iyo Nabadda Midowga Afrika aqoonsaday in AMISOM lagu beddelo Hawlgalka Kumeelgaarka Midowga Afrika (ATMIS) laga bilaabo 1 Abriil.

31 Maarso, ayuu Golaha Amniga Qaramadda Midoobey soo saaray agolaansho lagu xaqiijinayo in ay ATMIS hawlgalladeeda ka bilowdo Soomaaliya. Safirka Soomaaliya u fadhiya Qaramada Midoobey, Abukar Cismaan, ayaa sheegey in “go’aankani hoos u dhigayo taageerada ay helaan Ciidanka Amniga Soomaaliya<sup>85</sup>, islamarkaana ay tahay in la kordhiyo taageerada ciidanka dalka.

Horraantii bishii Abriil, ayuu xafiiska Raysalwasaaraha Soomaaliya ku dhawaaqay in uu 24 saacadood gudahood dalka kaga baxo ergayga Soomaaliya u jooga Midowga Afrika, Francisco Madeira. Madaxwayne Farmaajo ayaa ka soo horjeestay arintaas, laakiin way fushey. Waxaa shaqadii Madeira si kumeelgaar ah ula wareegay kuxigeenkiisa. Bishii Sibteember ayuu Guddoomiyaha Guddiga Midowga Afrika xilkaas u magacaabay Danjire Mohammed El-Amine Souef oo ka tirsan Midowga Comoros.<sup>86</sup>

Bishii May, ayay al-Shabaab werarkii ugu cuslaa tan iyo 2019 ku soo qaaday saldhig ay ciidanka ATMIS ku leeyihiin Ceelbaraf oo ka tirsan Shabeellaha Dhexe. Waxa ay ku dileen in ka badan 30 askari oo ciidanka Burundi ka tirsan, tiro badanna way dhaawaceen. Muddo ayeyna kooxda argagixisadu saldhiggan haysatay.<sup>87</sup>

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85. See “UNSOM PRESS STATEMENTS. Accessed at: <https://unsom.unmissions.org/press-statements?page=3>

86. See “Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2628 (2022), Security Council Endorses Decision to Reconfigure Existing Entity into African Union Transition Mission in Somalia” Un.org, March 2022: Accessed at: <https://press.un.org/en/2022/sc14847.doc.htm>.

87. See “AU Commission Chairperson Appoints Mohammed El-Amine Souef as New Special Representative to Somalia and Head of the AU Transition Mission | African Union” September 2022. Accessed at: <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20220901/chairperson-appoints-mohammed-el-amine-souef-new-special-representative>.



25 July, ayuu guddoomiyaha Wakaaladda Caalamiga ah ee Horumarinta u qaabilsan Maraykanka (USAID) soo booqdey magaaladda Muqdisho, waxaanu ku dhawaaqay in dowladda Maraykanku Soomaaliya siinayso 707 milyan oo doollar oo kaalmo ah sannadka 2022.<sup>88</sup>

Bishii Agoosto, ayuu General Micheal.E. Largley, oo beddelay Townsend oo hore u ahaa taliyaha ciidanka Maraykan ee Afrika, Soomaaliya booqasho ku yimi wakhti uu loollan adagi ka dhex jiro Shiinaha iyo Maraykanka. Soomaaliya ayaa xilligaas soo saartay warqad ay ku leedahay “dowladda Soomaaliya waxa ay caddaynaysaa in ay taageersan tahay midnimada iyo Jamhuuriyadda dadka Shiinaha, oo ay difaacayso madaxbannaanida dhuleed ee Shiinaha, isla markaana ixtiraamayso qaab-dhismeedka iyo siyaasadda dalka Shiinaha, ayada oo Taywan u aqoonsan qayb ka mid ah dalka Shiinaha.”<sup>89</sup>

12 Agoosto, ayuu afhayeen u hadlay wasaaradda arrimaha dibadda ee Shiinuhu ka falceliyey arrintaas, waxaanu sheegay in ay Somaliland u aqoonsan yihiin qayb ka mid ah Soomaaliya. Waxaannu qiraynaa isgarabtaagga dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya iyo dadaalkeeda ay ku ilaalinayso midnimada, amniga iyo xasiloona Soomaaliya.<sup>90</sup>

Laga soo bilaabo bishii Juun ilaa dhammaadkii sannadkaas waxa uu madaxwayne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud sameeyey safarro isdabajoog ah oo uu ku kala bixiyey dalalka dariska, Bariga Dhexe iyo meelo kale. Madaxwaynuhu waxa uu labo jeer booqdey Imaaraadka Carabta, sida oo kale, labo jeer ayuu booqdey Eleteriya. Waxa kale, oo uu u safray Turkiga, Kenya, Masar, Sacuudiga, Jabuuti, Itoobiya, Yugandha, Tansaaniya iyo Maraykanka.

“  
Waxa uu ergaygu  
waydiistay in  
ay UNSOM  
joogtayso  
joogista iyo  
garab istaagga  
Soomaaliya,  
lana shaqayso  
dowladda

Bishii Oktoober, ayuu Golaha Amnigu kordhiyey Hawlgalka Kaalmaynta Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Soomaaliya (UNSOM) isaga oo ku muddeeyay illaa 31 Oktoober 2023. Waxa uu ergaygu waydiistay in ay UNSOM joogtayso joogista iyo garab istaagga Soomaaliya, lana shaqayso dowladda. Marka laga yimaaddo dhammaadka qorshaha UNSOM, waxa uu Safiirka Soomaaliya u qaabilsan Qaramadda Midoobey, Abukar Cismaan, sheegey in aanu caddayn qorshaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya ka leedahay hawlgallada kalaguurka ah, waxaanu walaac ka muujiyey sida ay Soomaaliya ugu hoosayso shaqaalaysiinta UNSOM.<sup>91</sup>

Bishii Nofeember, ayey Golaha Amniga ee Midowga Afrika Soomaaliya ka aqbaleen in dib loo dhigo daadguraynta 2000 oo askari oo oo ka tirsan ciidamada ATMIS, kuwaas oo qayb ka ahaa qorshaha bixitaanka ciidamada ATMIS. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxba lagama beddelin qorshaha bixitaanka ATMIS oo ku ekaa 31 Diseember 2024.<sup>92</sup>

88. See “Crisis Watch Digest May 2022” Accessed at: <https://icg-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/somalia-may-2022.pdf>

89. See “USAID Chief Visits Mogadishu, Meets With Somalia’s President; VOA Somali; 25 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/usaid-chief-visits-mogadishu-meets-with-somalia-president/6672637.html>

90. See “Somalia supports China amid rising tensions on Taiwan” Anadolu Agency; 6 August 2020. Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/somalia-supports-china-amid-rising-tensions-on-taiwan/2655345>

91. See “Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Wang Wenbin’s Regular Press Conference” August 12, 2022. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People’s Republic of China. Accessed at: [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/202208/t20220812\\_10742529.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/202208/t20220812_10742529.html)

92. See “Somalia: Vote on UN Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) Mandate Renewal” Security Council Report; 30 October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/whatsinblue/2022/10/somalia-vote-on-un-assistance-mission-in-somalia-unsom-mandate-renewal-3.php>

## 4. Somaliland

Somaliland waxa ay sannadkii 2022 dadaal adag u gashay sidii ay uga miradhalin lahayd mabaadiideeda ku dhisan ka go'itaanka Soomaaliya. 8 Jannaayo, ayay xoghayihii gaashaandhiga Ingiriiska iyo Gavin Williamson oo ah xubin ka tirsan baarlamaanka Ingiriisku miiska saareen soo jeedin ay ku dalbanayaan in baarlamaanka Ingiriisku aqoonsado Somaliland, ayada oo aan cod la galin. Wasiir dawlhooda Vicky Ford ayaa iyaduna soo jeedisay in dowladda Somaliland iyo dowladda federalka Soomaaliya ay iyagu go'ansadaan mustaqbalkooda.<sup>93</sup>

24 Jannaayo, ayey Somaliland joojisey wadhadalladii ka dhaxeeyay Soomaaliya, ayada oo u cuskatay in aan wax dheef ah laga gaadhin muddo toban sano ah oo ay socdeen wadhadalladu.<sup>94</sup>

Bishii Maarso, ayuu madaxwaynaha Somaliland safar ugu baxay magaaladda Washinton ee dalka Maraykanka si uu u dardargaliyo dadaalka ay Somaliland ugu jirto ka go'itaanka Soomaaliya. Sarkaal sare oo ka tirsan dowladda Maraykanka ayaa isna bartiisa tuwiitarka ku qorey, “waxaannu maanta soo dhowaynney Muse Bixi oo aannu ka wadhadallay xoojinta xiriirka u dhaxeeya Maraykanka iyo Somaliland, annaga oo ku shaqaynayna jaangooyada siyaasadda Soomaali mid ah.”<sup>95</sup>

17 Maarso, ayuu Muuse Biixi la kulmay guddida Aqalka Hoose ee Maraykanka u qaabilsan arrimaha dibadda.<sup>96</sup> Sanatarrada ayaa meelmariyey xeerka Iskaashiga Maraykanka iyo Somaliland, oo laga rebo in ay tahay in waaxda dowladdu u gudbiyaan koongareeska Maraykanka ee wadashaqayntu ka dhaxayso Somaliland. Inkasta oo aan dowlad ahaan la aqoonsanayn Somaliland, haddana waxa ay Maraykanku sharciyeyeen in taageero ciidan iyo caawimo kalaba la islagabtaago Somaliland.<sup>97</sup>

Bishii Abriil, ayuu dab aad u xooggani baabiiyey suuqii ugu weynaa Hargaysa.<sup>98</sup> Khasaaraha ka dhashay waxa lagu qiyaasay 1.5 bilyan ilaa 2 bilyan oo doollar.<sup>99</sup> Dowladda federalka Soomaaliya oo khasaaraha gacan ka gaysanaysa ayaa Somaliland u fasaxday \$11.7 milyan oo ahaa qoondo ay Somaliland hore uga heshay lacagaha lagu kaalmeeyo horumarka Soomaaliya, taas oo muddo u xannibnayd arrimo siyaasadeed.<sup>100</sup>

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93. See “AU delays pull-out of additional forces from Somalia” Goobjoog News, 24 November 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/au-delays-pull-out-of-additional-forces-from-somalia/>

94. <https://twitter.com/vickyford/status/1483498901973909505?lang=en>

95. See “Somaliland suspends talks with Somalia” 24 January 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.somaliland.com/news/somaliland/somaliland-suspends-talks-with-somalia/>

96. See “Bureau of African Affairs” 14 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/AsstSecStateAF/status/1503494667530346498>

97. See “President Bihi Meets with Members of the U.S. Senate” Goobjoog, March 17, 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/president-bihi-meets-with-members-of-the-u-s-senate/>

98. See “US President Biden signs act allowing Somaliland to ‘participate in US military programs’” Horn Diplomat; 24 December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.horndiplomat.com/2022/12/24/us-president-biden-signs-act-allowing-somaliland-to-participate-in-us-military-programs/>

99. See “Somaliland Market Fire Losses between 1.5 Billion-\$2 Billion (Preliminary Report)” Africanews, April 4, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.africanews.com/2022/04/04/somaliland-market-fire-losses-between-1-5-billion-2-billion-preliminary-report/>

100. See “Somaliland market fire losses between 1.5 billion-\$2 billion (preliminary report)” Africa News; 4 April 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.africanews.com/2022/04/04/somaliland-market-fire-losses-between-1-5-billion-2-billion-preliminary-report/>

Bishii May, ayuu taliyaha Ciidanka Maraykanka u qaabilsan Afrika booqdey Dekadda Berbera iyo madaarka militariga Berbera oo uu midowgii suufeeti dhisey 1970. Maraykanku waxa uu meelmariyey in la helo goob laga ilaaleeyo “howlgaladda joogtada ah ee Maraykanka, si loo qiimeeyo goobaha muhiimka ah ee suuragalinaya in awood loo yeesho u diyaargarawga howlaha degdegga ah, heeganna loogu ahaado ka facelinta baahiyaha hawlaha maliteri ee muhiimka u ah Maraykanka.”<sup>101</sup>

Bishii Juun, ayaa calanka Somaliland laga taagay munaasabad uu ka soo qaybgalay madaxwaynaha Kenya. Danjirihii Soomaaliya u fadhiyey Kenya oo goobta joogay, ayaa xanaaqay oo munaasabadda iskaga baxay, isaga oo qoray warqad uu ku dhaleecaynayo falkaas. Kenya oo raalligalin ka bixinaysa arrintaas ayaa tiri, “annaga oo ixtiraamayna midnimada dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya, waxaannu caddaynaynaa in Kenya aqoonsan tahay jiritaanka hal dowlad oo Soomaaliyeed oo federaal ah.”<sup>102</sup>

Bishii Agoosto, ayuu muran weyni ka dhashay muddo-kororsiga madaxwayne Muuse Biixi, murankaasi waxa uu keeney muddaharaadyo dhaliyey dhimasho iyo dhawac shacab. Golaha Guurtida, oo iyaga laftoodu muddo xileedkoodi dhammaaday ayaa bishii Noofeember Muuse Biixi u kordhiyey muddo laba sano ah, taas oo keentay in ay hogaamiyeyaasha xisbiyada muraacadku si cad u sheegeen in aanay Muuse u aqoonsanayn madaxwayne sharci ah.<sup>103</sup>

“

*Bishii Diseember, ayay dowladda Norway iyo Turkigu dib u bilaabeen wada hadalladii diblomaasiyadeed ee u dhaxeeyay Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland, iyaga oo kulan u qabtay madaxda labada dhinac*

Bishii Diseember, ayay dowladda Norway iyo Turkigu dib u bilaabeen wada hadalladii diblomaasiyadeed ee u dhaxeeyay Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland, iyaga oo kulan u qabtay madaxda labada dhinac. Somaliland ayaa bilowgiiba todobo shardi ku xirtay wadahadalladda, kuwaas oo ay ka mid ahaayeen in ay Soomaaliya fuliso qodobadii ka soo baxay heshiisyadii hore iyo in la helo dhexdhexaadin caalami ah.<sup>104</sup>

Dabayaaqadii bishii Diseember, ayay mudaharaadyo xooggani ka curteen magaaladda Laascaanood ee gobolka Sool. Dadka deegaanka ayaa Somaliland ku eedeeyay dilal qarsoon oo muddo dheer la la beegsanayay haldoorka reer Laascaanood.<sup>105</sup> Dad badan oo gobolkan u dhashay ayaa ka soo horjeeda goonni-goosadka ay Somaliland u darban tahay. Ugu danbeyn, kacdoonkii waxa uu isu beddelay mid lagu diiddan yahay goonni- goosadka Somaliland rabto, laguna taageerayo midnimada Soomaaliya.

Bishii Jannaayo, ayay shirkadda Ganel oo ah shirkad shidaal oo Taywan laga leeyahay ku dhawaaqday in ay Soomaalilaan ka qodayso ceelal shidaal.<sup>106</sup>

101. See “The Somali Prime Minister orders the release of \$11.7 million in response to the Hargeisa market blaze” 3 April 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Apr/185715/somali\\_prime\\_minister\\_orders\\_release\\_of\\_funds\\_to\\_response\\_hargeisa\\_market\\_fire.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Apr/185715/somali_prime_minister_orders_release_of_funds_to_response_hargeisa_market_fire.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)

102. See “US military may get access to strategic Somaliland port, airfield” South China Morning Post, 18 May 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3178257/us-military-may-get-access-strategic-somaliland-port-airfield>

103. See “Somali Envoy Walks out of Uhuru Kenyatta’s Diplomacy Meeting,” Hiiraan.com, June 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jun/186601/somali\\_ambassador\\_walks\\_out\\_of\\_uhuru\\_kenyatta\\_s\\_diplomacy\\_meeting.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jun/186601/somali_ambassador_walks_out_of_uhuru_kenyatta_s_diplomacy_meeting.aspx). See also: “Kenya apologizes to Somalia over Somaliland flags” 15 June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/news/kenya-apologises-to-somalia-over-somaliland-flags>

104. See “At Least Five People Killed, 100 Hurt in Somaliland Protests” Reuters, August 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/least-five-people-killed-100-hurt-somaliland-protests-2022-08-12/>

105. See “Opposition Leaders in Somaliland Declare Bihi Government ‘Illegitimate,’” Hiiraan.com, November 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188696/opposition\\_leaders\\_in\\_somaliland\\_declare\\_bihi\\_government\\_illegitimate.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188696/opposition_leaders_in_somaliland_declare_bihi_government_illegitimate.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)

106. See “Somaliland oo toddoba shardi ku xirtay wada-hadallada dowladda federaalka” VOA Somali, 8 December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/somaliland-oo-toddoba-shardi-ku-xirtay-wada-hadallada-dowladda-federaalka-/6867578.html>

Dowladda Soomaaliya oo aan ogolayn go'itaanka Somaliland ayaa heshiiskaas ku tilmaantay mid aan waxba ka jirin oo been abuur ah, islamarkaana waxa ay dowladda Taywan ugu baaqday in ay joojiso dadaallada ka dhanka ah xasiloonida Soomaaliya.<sup>107</sup>

## 5. Puntland

Guddoomiyaha Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee kumeelgaarka ah, Guuled Saalax, ayaa is casilay 2 Jannaayo, xilli ay Guddiga Doorashooyinka Puntland ee kumeelgaarka ahi si toos ah u kormeerayeen doorasho ka socotay saddex degmo: Eyl, Qardho iyo Ufayn. Guuleed ayaan xusin “sababta” uu isu casilay, hase ahaatee, saxaafadda ayaa sheegtay in uu iscasilay ka dib markii ay kala aragti duwanaadeen hoggaanka Puntland.<sup>108</sup>



*Guud ahaanba  
37 xildhibaan ee  
Puntland waxaa  
soo xushay  
madaxwayne  
Saciid  
Cabdullaahi  
Deni, oo u  
halgamaya sidii  
uu uga miradhalin  
lahaa tartanka  
uu ugu jiro  
xaqiiqinta guusha  
doorashada  
madaxweynenimo*

Doorashooyinka Baarlamaanka dalka waxa ay bilaabmeen bishii Jannaayo, waxaanay socdeen saddex bilood. Dufcaddii ugu horraysay doorashada oo ka koobnaa toddoba xildhibaan ayaa la doortay 22 Jannaayo.<sup>109</sup> Guud ahaanba 37 xildhibaan ee Puntland waxaa soo xushay madaxwayne Saciid Cabdullaahi Deni, oo u halgamaya sidii uu uga miradhalin lahaa tartanka uu ugu jiro xaqiiqinta guusha doorashada madaxweynenimo. Xubnaha cusub ee baarlamaanka waxa ku jiray xildhibaanno heer gobol ah, wasiirro, barasaabyo, iyo saraakiil kale oo dowladeed, iyo sida oo kale Sacdiyo Yaasin Xaaji Samatar oo noqotay haweenaydii ugu horraysay ee Guddoomiye Ku-xigeenka ka noqota Golaha Shacabka Soomaaliya.<sup>110</sup>

Deni iyo hoggaanka dhaqanka beelaha Cumar Maxamuud iyo Islaan Bashiir Islaan Cabdullaahi oo ah Islaanka beel ka mid ah Cumar Maxamuud ayaa ku guuldarraystay in ay isku raacaan ka go'aan qaadashada laba kursi oo beeshoodu lahayd.<sup>111</sup>

15 Juun, ayay baarlamaanka Puntland yeesheen kalfadhigoodii 10-aad.<sup>112</sup> Waxyaalihii lagaga hadlay kalfadhigaas waxa ugu mudnaa, doorashii lagu kala qaybsamay, Deni oo aan tartankii madaxweynimada kala soo guryanoqonnin wax guul ah, xaaladda dowladda, islaxisaabtanka, abaaraha, arrimaha amniga iyo colaadaha beelaha.

Bishii Juuley, ayay baarlamaanku diideen in ay ansaxiyaan garsooreyaal loo magacaabay Maxakamadda Sare iyo hindisayaal dowladdu wadatey.<sup>113</sup> Deni ayaa isla maalintiiba dib u magacaabay garsooreyaashii baarlamaanku kalsoonida u diideen, balse baarlamaanka ayaa saddex maalmood ka dib mar kale soo qaaddacay ansaxinta garsoorayaashaas.<sup>114</sup>

107. See “More than 20 ‘pro-greater Somalia’ protesters killed in Lasanod” Garowe Online; 29 December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/more-than-20-pro-greater-somalia-protesters-killed-in-lasanod>

108. See “Genel plans drilling on Somaliland block” 25 January 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.africa-energy.com/news-centre/article/genel-plans-drilling-somaliland-block>

109. See “Somalia says Taiwan’s oil deal with Somaliland ‘null and fake’” Hiiraan Online 28 February 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Feb/185439/somalia\\_says\\_taiwan\\_s\\_oil\\_deal\\_with\\_somaliland\\_null\\_and\\_fake.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/Feb/185439/somalia_says_taiwan_s_oil_deal_with_somaliland_null_and_fake.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)

110. See “TPEC Chairman Resigns” Puntland Post, January 3, 2022. Accessed at: <https://puntlandpost.net/2022/01/03/tpec-chairman-resigns/>.

111. See “Five Members of Parliament Elected in Garowe” January 22, 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/five-members-of-parliament-elected-in-garowe/>.

112. See “Puntland oo Maanta soo geba-gabeysay doorashada Golaha Shacabka” Radiio Markabley; 18 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://radiomarkabley.com/2022/03/18/puntland-oo-maanta-soo-geba-gabeysay-doorashada-golaha-shacabka/>

113. See “Isimada Beesha Cumar Maxamuud Oo Ka Horyimid Doorashada Kuraasta Hop#198 Iyo Hop#199” Puntland Post, March 16, 2022. Accessed at: <https://puntlandpost.net/2022/03/16/isimada-beesha-cumar-maxamuud-oo-ka-horyimid-doorashada-kuraasta-hop198-iyoo-hop199/>.

114. See “Ajandaha Kalfadhiga 50-aad ee baarlamaanka Puntland oo la shaaciye manta” Radio Daljir; 18 June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.facebook.com/RDaljir/photos/pcb.5381233838609062/5381233675275745/?type=3&theater>

Wasiirka Caddaaladda iyo iyo Arrimaha Diinta ayaa dhiggiisa DFS ku eedeeyay musuqmaasuq iyo boob uu kula kacay saammiga Xajka Puntland.<sup>115</sup> Bishii Luulyo, warbaahintu waxa ay soo tebinaysay kalsooni darro ka dhex dhalatay Deni iyo koox ka mid ah hawl-wadeennadiisa siyaasadda maxalliga ah, kuwaas oo Deni ka caawiyay in uu ku guuleysto doorashadii Puntland ee 2019.<sup>116</sup>

Bishii Luulyo, ayuu Deni safar aan hore loo sii shaacin ku tagay dalka Itoobiya<sup>117</sup>, waxaana bartamihii bishii Agoosto Garoowe yimid saraakiil sarsare oo ka tirsan ciidamada Itoobiya.<sup>118</sup> Laba todobaad ka dib, waxa Garoowe soo gaaray Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud oo kulammo albaabadu u xiran yihiin saddex cisho ugu jiray wanaajinta xiriirka ka dhaxeeya Puntland iyo dowladda federaalka.<sup>119/120</sup>

Bishii Sebteembar, ayuu Khilaafka u dhaxeeye Deni iyo xulafadiisii hore ee siyaasadda bannaanka u soo baxay. Deni waxa uu beddalay wasiirro xulafo la ahaa urur siyaasadeed garab siiyay doorashadii 2019. Khilaafkaas ayaa horseed u noqday eryidda Xasan Shire Abgaal, oo ahaa wasiir awood badan kana tirsanaa gaashaanbuurta Deni. Xasan Shire ayaa xilligaas qabtay shirjaraa'id oo uu ku sheegay in Puntland laga badbaadiyo Deni oo doonaya in uu dalka ku hoggaamiyo fikirkiisa oo kaliya, kaas oo caqabad ku noqday geeddi-socodka iyo hirgalinta doorasho qof iyo cod ah, isla markaana uu uga gollahaa xeelad muddo-kororsi.<sup>121</sup>

Isla Sebteembar, ayuu Deni u magacaabay Cabdi Faarax (Juxa) wasiirka arrimaha gudaha ee masuulka ka ah arrimaha dimuqaraadiyaynta. Juxa waxa uu hore u soo noqday wasiirka arrimaha gudaha ee dowladda federaalka. Juxa waxa uu ku dhawaaqay in mudnaanta la siinayo qabashada doorashooyin qof iyo cod ah, iyada oo loo marayo dhabbihii dagmooyinka Eyl, Ufeyn, iyo Qardho. Hase ahaate, mucaraadka ayaa qorshahaa shaki ka muujiyay.

Bishii Octoobar, ayay wafdi ballaaran oo ka socda saaxiibada caalamka ee Soomaaliya oo ay ka mid yihiin ergayga Qaramada Midoobey u qaabilsan Soomaaliya, danjirayaasha Ingiriiska, Maraykanka iyo Midowga Yurub booqasho ku yimaaddeen Garowe, iyaga oo la kulmay dowladda, mucaaradka iyo bulshada rayidka. Shir jaraa'id oo uu qabtay Ergeyga Gaarka ah ee Xoghayaha Guud ee Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Soomaaliya, James Swan, ayuu ku sheegay "in geeddi-socodka doorashada Puntland lagu saleeyo wadatashi ballaaran."<sup>122</sup>

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115. See "Deni oo dib u magacaabay xubnaha maxkamadda sare ee la diiday" Shabelle Media Network; 4 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/saciid-deni-oo-dib-u-magacaabay-xubnaha-maxkamadda-sare-ee-puntland/>

116. See "Baarlamaanka Puntland oo Markale diiday meel marinta xubnaha Maxkamada sare ee Deni Soo Magacaabay" Gedo Times, 7 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.gedotimes.com/2022/07/07/baarlamaanka-puntland-oo-markale-diiday-meel-marinta-xubnaha-maxkamada-sare-ee-deni-soo-magacaabay/>

117. See "Puntland oo Wasiir katirsan Xukuumadda Soomaaliya ku eedeesay Xatooyo iyo Musuq maasuq" AllBanaadir; 6 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.allbanaadir.org/?p=226161>

118. See "Addis-Ababa: Shirka Madaxweyne Siciid Deni & Kooxda AARAN-JAAN!" Horseed Media; 12 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://horseedmedia.net/adis-ababa-shirka-madaxweyne-siciid-deni-kooxda-aaran-jaan-369374>

119. See "Madaxweynaha Puntland Siciid Deni oo magaalada Addis Ababa kula kulmay madaxda dawladda Itoobiya qaarkood" Qaranimo Online, 14 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.qaranimo.com/2022/07/14/madaxweynaha-puntland-siciid-deni-oo-magaalada-addis-ababa-kula-kulmay-madaxda-dawladda-itoobiya-qaarkood/>

120. See "Saraakiil Itoobiyaan ah oo ka degay Garoowe xilli Abiy uu cadaadis ku hayo Xasan" Daily Somalia; 12 August 2022. Accessed at: <https://dailysomalia.com/saraakiil-itoobiyaan-ah-oo-ka-degay-garoowe-xilli-abiy-uu-cadaadis-ku-hayo-xasan>

121. See "Somali president embarks on Puntland trip to 'fix cooperation'" KEYDMEDIA 25 August 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/news/somali-president-embarks-on-puntland-trip-to-fix-cooperation>

122. See "President Mohamud due to leave Garowe after meeting with Deni" HOL; 28 August 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Aug/187601/president\\_mohamud\\_due\\_to\\_leave\\_garowe\\_after\\_meeting\\_with\\_deni.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Aug/187601/president_mohamud_due_to_leave_garowe_after_meeting_with_deni.aspx)



15 Sebteember, ayay Puntland soo saartay warsaxaafadeed culus oo ay ku sheegayso in ay ka soo horjeedo hawlaha ay waddo waaxda shidaalka ee dowladda federaalku

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, khilaafka u dhaxeeya dowladda federaalka iyo maamulka Puntland ayaan marnaba damin oo sii hulaaqayay. 15 Sebteember, ayay Puntland soo saartay warsaxaafadeed culus oo ay ku sheegayso in ay ka soo horjeedo hawlaha ay waddo waaxda shidaalka ee dowladda federaalku.<sup>123</sup> Wasiirka Kalluumaysiga Puntland ayaa dhiggiisa federaalka weydiistay in uu ka noqdo war uu ku sheegay in ay Puntland ka soo horjeedo federaalnimada, iyo sida oo kale heshiisyadii hore ee ku saabsanaa xaqa ay dowlad-goboleedyadu u leeyihiin bixinta shatiga kalluumaysiga.<sup>124</sup>

Marka la eego xagga amniga, 20 qof ayaa ku dhintay dagaal beeleedyo horraantii bishii Jannaayo ka dhacay xadka u dhexeeya Nugaal iyo Sool. Odayaasha dhaqanka oo ay ka mid yihiin Islaan Ciise iyo siyaasiyiin uu ka mid yahay madaxweyne kuxigeenka Puntland Axmed Karaash<sup>125</sup> ayaa howlgallo dhexdhexaadin ah u tagay gobolka, waxaanay isimada kale ee Puntland codsadeen in colaadda la soo afjaro.<sup>126</sup>

Bishii Febraayo, waxa sii xumaatay xiisadda amni ee magaalo xeebeedda Boosaaso oo markii hore ba cilladaysnayd; ka dib markii uu dagaal dhexmaray ciidamada dowladda Puntland iyo ciidamada PSF ee uu Maraykanku tababaray. Bishii Maarso, ayuu Deni dib u soo celiyay taliyihii PSF ee shaqada uu ka eryay kadib wadhadallo aad u xoog badan oo toddobaadyo socday oo ay la yeesheen dhinacyada odayaasha dhaqanka ee gobolka Bari.<sup>127</sup> Waqtigaas, waxa ay ahayd arrin qarsoon oo lama ogayn in uu Deni qorshaynayo in uu u tartamayo madaxweynaha federaalka Soomaaliya sannadka 2022, waxaanu u baahnaa in uu heshiis la noqdo jilayaasha siyaasadda Puntland wixii macquul ah.

19 Febraayo, ayaa uu weerar argagixiso ka dhacay makhaayad ku taalla Boosaaso, waxaana halkaas ku dhintay laba oday-dhaqameed oo la socday Wasiirkii Qorsheynta Dowladda Federaalka Jamaal Xasan oo halkaasi u joogay ololaha dibu-doorashadiisa. Dhammaan kuraastii 16-ka ahayd ee lagu soo doortay Boosaaso waxa taageerayaashiisa ku buuxsaday madaxweyne Deni, waxaana halkaas ka dhacday doorasho maalingalinked ku qabsoontay oo ay dhaliileen mucaaradka iyo goobjoogayaal madaxbannaani, kuna tilmaameen in ay ahayd doorasho ku shubasho ah.<sup>128</sup>

21 Febraayo, ayaa qarax qorshaysan lala beegsaday kolonyo uu Deni hoggaaminayay, iyaga oo sii gelaya Boosaaso, waxaana ku dhintay laba askari. Al-Shabaab ayaa sheegatay masuuliyadda qaraxa.<sup>129</sup>

123. See “Xasan Shire Abgaal: Waxaan ku baaqayaa in Puntland laga badbaadiyo madaxweyne Deni” Hiiraan Online; 29 September. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/sept/wararka\\_maanta29-182491.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/sept/wararka_maanta29-182491.htm)

124. See @UNSOMATwitter; 18 October 2022. Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/UNSomalia/status/1582336243349667840?s=20>

125. See “Puntland Government Strongly Opposes the Federal Government Of Somalia’s Current Activities On Petroleum” Idil News; 15 September. Accessed at: <https://www.idilnews.com/2022/09/15/puntland-government-strongly-opposes-the-federal-government-of-somalias-current-activities-on-petroleum/>

126. See “War saxaafadeed; Puntland Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resource” 22 September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.oodweynemedia.com/2022/09/23/puntland-oo-ka-hor-timid-goaan-ka-soo-baxay-dowladda-federaalka/>

127. See “Puntland oo baaq nabadeed kasoo saartay dagaal beeleedka Sool & Nugaal- Video” JANUARY 2, 2022. Accessed at: Horseed Media; <https://horseedmedia.net/puntland-oo-baaq-nabadeed-kasoo-saartay-dagaal-beeleedka-deegaannada-saax-maygaag-iyo-sanga-jabiye-359901>

128. See “Issimada Puntland oo baaq Nabadeed kasoo saaray dagaalada ka dhacay Sool & Nugaal- Video” JANUARY 2, 2022. Accessed at: Horseed Media; <https://horseedmedia.net/issimada-puntland-oo-baaq-nabadeed-kasoo-saaray-dagaalada-ka-dhacay-sool-nugaal-video-359923>

129. See “President Deni reinstates sacked PSF commander” Garowe Online 5 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-president-deni-reinstates-sacked-psf-commander-in-puntland>

Horraantii bishii Abriil, ayey dowladda Puntland oo uu hogaaminayo madaxweyne kuxigeenka Axmed Karaash si rasmi ah nabadayn u kala dhex dhigtay beelo ku dagaallamay tuulooyinka Saaxa-meygaag iyo Sangejabiye oo ku yaalla xudduudda gobolada Nugaal iyo Sool. Khilaafkaas ayaa u dhaxeeyay beelaha Majeerteen (Ciise Maxamuud) iyo Dhulbahante (Xassan Ugaas). Labadan beelood ayaa saamayn ballaaran ku leh siyaasadda Puntland; maadaama beesha Ciise Maxamuud tahay beesha ugu badan caasimadda Puntland, halka Dhulbahante ku leeyihiin 17 xildhibaan oo go'aamiya madaxtinimada doorashada Puntland.<sup>130</sup> Colaad kasta oo ka dhex dhacda labadaas beelood haddii aan degdeg loo joojin, waxa ay xasilooni darro ku keeni kartaa caasimadda Puntland.

27 Abriil, ayay ciidamada Puntland ee ku sugan magaalada Galkacyo weerareen guri uu degganaa wasiirkii arrimaha dibadda Soomaaliya Cabdi-saciid Muuse Cali. Cabdi-saciid waxa uu ahaa musharrax u taagan mid ka mid ah kuraasta baarlamaanka ee uu Deni isku-dubbaritay (waxaanu kursiga musharraxan siiyay mid ka mid ah taageerayaashiisa). Deni ayaa ka soo horjeeday rabitaanka oday-dhaqameedka beesha Cabdi-saciid. Intii uu socday weerarku, waxa ku dhaawacmay mid ka mid ah oday dhaqameedka oo lagu magacaabo Yaasiin Cabdisamad, arrintaasina waxa ay uga sii dartay xiisaddii ka dhex taagnayd madaxweynaha iyo beesha Cumar Maxamuud oo ku xooggan magaalada Gaalkacayo.<sup>131</sup> Madaxweyne ku xigeenka Puntland Axmed Karaash ayaa cambaareeyay weerarkaasi, isaga oo magacaabay guddi baaritaanno badaxbannaan soo samaysa, isla markaana ballanqaaday in dambiilayaasha dacwad lagu soo oogi doono.

11 Luulyo, ayay diyaarad sidday guddoomiye kuxigeenka koowaad ee Golaha Shacab JFS Sacdiya Yaasiin Xaaji Samatar ka degtay Boosaaso, si ay gacan uga gaysato xiisadda taagan. Iska horimaad dhex maray labada ciidan ee Puntland – ciidamada PSF iyo ciidamada PMPF (oo qaabilsan amniga madaarka diyaaradaha),<sup>132</sup> ayaa sababay dhimasho iyo dhaawac, waxaana sii xumaaday xiriirkii awalba liitay ee u dhexeeyey dowladda federaalka iyo Puntland. Sacdiya ayaa lagu eedeeyey hurinta khilaafkaas iyada oo lagu canbaareeyay in aanay dowladda Puntland ku soo wargelinnin qorshaha imaatinkeeda Boosaaso.<sup>133</sup> Xildhibaanaddu eedaymahaas waa ay iska bariyeeshay.

Bishii Sebteember ayuu qof isa soo miidaamiyay shan qof ku dilay tuulada Milxo oo u dhow Laasqorey, kana tirsan gobolka Sanaag oo ay maamulkeeda wada sheegtaan Puntland iyo Somaliland. Qaraxan ayaa ahaa midkii ugu horreeyay ee ismiidaamin ah ee ka dhaca Sanaag, in kasta oo ay al-shabaab qabsadeen magaalada Laasqorey muddo kooban, sannadkii 2020.<sup>134</sup>

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130. See “Puntland polls team announces elections for 16 seats in Bosaso” Goobjoog 16 February 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/puntland-polls-team-announces-election-of-16-seats-in-bosaso/>; See also: “Wow! Bosaso set a new record, I think: The election of 16 seats concluded in half a day!” Harun Maruf, 5 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/harunmaruf/status/1500063806692728837>

131. See “Qarax miino oo lagu weeraray Kolonyo galbineysay Madaxweynaha Puntland Saciid Deni” Hiiraan Online 21 February 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/feb/wararka\\_maanta21-180367.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/feb/wararka_maanta21-180367.htm)

132. See “Puntland oo Ku Guulaysatay Heshiisiinta Beelo Dagaalamay” Goobjoog; 7 April 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/puntland-oo-ku-guulaysatay-heshiisiinta-beelo-dagaalamay/>

133. See “Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibadda Somaliya oo lagu weeraray Magaalada Gaalkacyo” Universal TV, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.universaltvsomali.net/topics/news/somali/35573>

134. See “Puntland: Dagaal dhex-maray ciidamada PSF iyo PMPF” VOA Somali 11 November 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/puntland-dagaal-dhex-maray-ciidamada-psf-iyo-pmpf-/6653513.html>



*Dabayaaqadii bishii Diseember, ayuu kacdoon shacab oo xooggani ka curtay magaalada Laascaanood oo xarun u ah gobolka Sool, kaas oo ay maamusho Somaliland, balse ay sheegato Puntland*

31 Oktoober, ayey ciidamada Somaliland la wareegeen magaalada Boocame ee gobolka Sool oo ka mid ah xuduudda lagu muransan yahay. Magaaladan kamay dhicin wax dagaal ahi, maadaama ay iskaga bexeen ciidamada Puntland. Magaaladan, ayaa ka mid ahayd magaalooyinka tirada yar ee ay gobolkaas ka taliso Puntland, waxaanay Puntland hore u qorsheysay in ay ka qabato doorashada deegaanka.

Dabayaaqadii bishii Diseember, ayuu kacdoon shacab oo xooggani ka curtay magaalada Laascaanood oo xarun u ah gobolka Sool, kaas oo ay maamusho Somaliland, balse ay sheegato Puntland. Kacdoonkan ayaa ka dhashay dilal qarsoon oo dhowr ah, kuwaas oo ka dhacay magaalada, islamarkaana dadka deegaanku ku eedeeyeen in ay ka dambayso xukuumadda Somaliland. Madaxweyne kuxigeenka Puntland Axmed Cilmi Cismaan Karaash oo ka soo jeeda beelaha Laascaanood, wasiirro iyo xildhibaan ayaa soo saaray warsaxaafadeed ay ku taageerayaan kacdoonka Laascaanood, waxaanay cambaareeyeen wax ay ku tilmaameen “haysashada Somaliland” iyaga oo dowladda federaalka ku dhaliilay in aanay wax taageero ah siinnin shacabka ka soo horjeeda goonni-goosadka.

19 Maarso, ayuu Deni kulan uu la yeeshay 48 xildhibaan oo ka tirsan Aqalka Sare iyo wasiirrada federaalka ee ka soo jeeda Puntland ka dhex shaaciyey in uu u sharraxan yahay madaxweyne qaran. Tan ayaa ahayd arrin la filayay, maadaama uu markii hore Deni sii gacanbidixey doorashada xildhibaan kasta. 1 Abriil, ayay haldoorka siyaasiyiinta Puntland oo uu ka mid yahay raysalwasaare hore Cumar Sharma’arke, Deni ugu baaqeen in uu xilka ku wareejiyo Karaash, maadaama uu doonayo in uu u tartamo madaxweyne qaran.<sup>135</sup> 31 Maarso, ayuu Deni Maxakamadda Sare u magacaabay Guddoomiye, guddoomiye-kuxigeen iyo xubno kale.<sup>136</sup> Maxakamadda Sare may shaqaynaynin wixii ka danbeeyay 2019, xilligaas oo uu dhintay guddoomiyaheedi. Waxa kale oo uu Deni isku shaandheeyay golaha wasiirradiisa isaga oo wasiirro cusub u magacaabay todoba kursi oo wasiirradoodi noqdeen xildhibaan federaal ah.<sup>137</sup>

Markii uu madaxweyne Deni ku dhawaaqay in uu sharraxan yahay, ayuu Karaash codsaday in uu ka tanaasulo xilka oo uu isaga ku wareejiyo madaxweynaha Puntland. Deni codsigaas wuu ku gacansaydhay, waxaanu 21 Abriil Karaash ku dhawaaqay in uu yahay ku simaha maxweynaha Puntland.<sup>138</sup> 25 Abriil ayuu Karaash oo cuskanaya dastuurka Puntland bilaabay in uu magacaabo saraakiil dowladeed<sup>139</sup> balse Deni ayaa magacaabistaas ku tilmaamay mid aan waxba ka jirin.<sup>140</sup> 5 Maarso, waxa uu Karash xilka ka qaaday wasiirradii taageersanaa Deni oo kala ahaa wasiirka maaliyadda, wasiirka arrimaha gudaha iyo wasiirka amniga.<sup>141</sup>

135. See “Gaas Iyo Faroole oo Xildhibaan Sacdiyo ku eedeeyay Mas’uulliyada Dagaalkii Boosaaso” AwadalMedia, 13 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://awdalmedia.com/amwp/gaas-iyoo-faroole-oo-xildhibaan-sacdiyo-ku-ee-deeyay-masuulliyada-dagaalkii-boosaaso/>

136. See “Contested area of northern Somalia witnesses rare suicide bombing; Long War Journal” 12 September. Accessed at: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2022/09/contested-area-of-northern-somalia-witnesses-rare-suicide-bombing.php>

137. See “Cumar Cabdirashiid iyo siyaasiyiin kale oo reer Puntland ah oo madaxweyne Deni ugu baaqay inuu iscasilo” Hiiraan Online; 2 April 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/apr/wararka\\_maanta2-180793.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/apr/wararka_maanta2-180793.htm)

138. See “Siciid Deni Oo Magacaabay Guddoomiyaha Maxkamada Sare Puntland Iyo Xubno Kale” Jowhar; 31 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.jowhar.com/news/siciid-deni-oo-magacaabay-guddoomiyaha-maxkamada-sare-puntland-iyoo-xubno-kale.html>

139. See “Deni oo isku shaandheyn ku sameeyay golaha wasiirrada Puntland” VOA Somali; 31 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/deni-oo-isku-shaandheyn-ku-sameeyay-golaha-wasiirrada-puntland-/6508982.html>

140. See: Axmed Karaash “Xilka Madaxweynaha Puntland Anaa La Wareegay” Puntland Post; 21 April 2022. Accessed at: <https://puntlandpost.net/2022/04/21/axmed-karaash-xilka-madaxweynaha-puntland-anaa-la-wareegay/>

141. See “Puntland: Karaash Oo Magacaabay Xilalkii Ugu Badnaa” Horseed Media. 25 April 2022. Accessed at: <https://horseedmedia.net/puntland-karaash-oo-magacaabay-xilalkii-ugu-badnaa-365508>



15 May, ayay doorashada madaxweynaha federaalka oo ay ku tartamayeen 35 musharrax ka dhacday Muqdisho. Wareegii kowaad, Deni waxa uu helay 65 cod halka Farmaajo oo ay isku xigeen ka helay 59 cod. Xasan oo markii danbe guulaystay wareeggan waxa uu helay 52 cod.<sup>142</sup> Deni wuu ku guuldarraystay doorashadaas, laakiin waxa uu rejaynayay in loo magacaabo raysalwasaare, oo ah jagada uu hantay Xamse Cabdi Barre oo ka soo jeeda Jubbaland.

Dhanka dhaqaalaha, bishii Febraayo ayuu Deni ku dhawaaqay in ay Puntland dib ula xaajootay shirkadda DP World kadib heshiis 30 sano ahaa ooo muran badan dhaliyay, kaas oo ku soo gabagaboobay in ay DP World oo xarunteedu tahay Dubey maamusho dekedda Boosaaso. Heshiiska cusub ayaa ah mid ku salaysan in dowladda Puntland wax soosaarka dekedda ku leedahay rubuc.<sup>143</sup> 22 Octoobar ayay madaxweynaha dowladda federaalka iyo madaxweynaha Puntland daahfureen wajigii kowaad ee mashruuca dekedda Garacad oo loo qoondeeyay lacag dhan \$60 milyan doollar, taas oo bilaabantay 2018, una adeegi doonta boqolka milyan ee Itoobiyaanka ah, oo ah kuwo aan bad lahayn.

Bishii Dinseember, ayay Puntland iyo DP World kala saxeexdeen heshiis cusboonaysiinaya isla markaana horumarinaya dekedda Boosaaso oo bilaabmaya 2023.<sup>144</sup> Waa mashruuc 12 bilood soconaya oo lagu dhisayo 150-mitir oo cusub, laguna dayactirayo 215-mitir ee hadda dhisan. Kaabayaasha kale waxa ka mid ah in la sameeyo barxad cusub oo koontiinnaarada lagu xareeyo, taas cabbirkeedu dhan yahay 3,000 oo mitir oo laba jibbaaran iyo barxad kale oo koontiinnarada guuraya lagu guuliyo oo cabbirkeedu dhan yahay 4,000 oo mitir oo laba jibbaaran. Agagaarka kadinka dekedda ayaa sida oo kale la cusboonaysiinayaa si loo hagaajiyo xakamaynta gelitaanka.<sup>145</sup> Sannadkii 2018, ayay baarlamaanka federaalku ka mamnoocan in ay shirkadda DP World ka shaqeyso Soomaaliya, kaddib markii shirkaddu heshiis muran badan dhalisay la gashay Somaliland, oo ah dowlad iskeed madaxbannaani ugu dhawaaqday.<sup>146</sup>

Xagaagii, ayey dowladdu mudnaan gaar ah siinaysay abaarta, balse dabayaaqadii bishii Juley, ayuu Deni la kulmay hay'ado heer qaran ah iyo kuwo caalami ah, waxaanay bishii Agoosto Puntland xiriir la lahayd ergayga gaarka ah ee uu dhowaan madaxweynaha dowladda federaalku u magacaabay abaaraha. Saaxiibada kale ee caalamiga ah oo uu ku jiro Ergeyga Gaarka ah ee Xoghayaha Guud ee Qaramada Midoobay Danjire James Swan ayaa sida oo kale booqday Garoowe bishii Juley.<sup>147</sup>

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142. See "Madaxweyne Deni oo ka horyimid masuuliyiin uu magacaabay ku xigeenkiisa Axmed Karaash" Hiiraan Online, 25 April 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/apr/wararka\\_maanta25-181022.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2022/apr/wararka_maanta25-181022.htm)

143. See "Madaxweyne Karaash oo ka takhalusey wasiiradii ugu cuslaa xukuumadda Puntland" Horseed Media; 5 May 2022. Accessed at: <https://horseedmedia.net/madaxweyne-karaash-oo-ka-takhalusey-wasiiradii-ugu-cuslaa-xukuumadda-puntland-366055>

144. See "Natiijada wareegga koowaad ee doorashada madaxweynaha" VOA Somali; 15 May 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/natiijada-horudhaca-ah-ee-wareegga-koowaad-ee-doorashada-madaxweynaha-/6574195.html>

145. See "Puntland Renegotiates DP World Concession to Manage Bosaso Port" Puntland Post; 21 February. Accessed at: <https://puntlandpost.net/2022/02/21/puntland-renegotiates-dp-world-concession-to-manage-bosaso-port/>

146. See "DP World and Puntland Government sign construction agreement to upgrade Port of Bosaso" DP World Website; 8 December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.dpworld.com/news/releases/dp-world-and-puntland-government-sign-construction-agreement-to-upgrade-port-of-bosaso/>

147. Ibid.

## 6. Koofurgalbeed

Sannadkii 2022, gobolka Koofurgalbeed waxa soo foodsaaray caqabado tirabadan, oo ay ka mid yihiin dhibaatooyin amni oo ay gaysatay al-Shabaab, kuwaas oo go'doomiyey qaar ka mid ah degmooyinka iyo istabaha ku yaalla waddooyinka waaweyn ee dalka intiisa kale iyo gobolka isku xira. Tan ayaa hakisay dadaallada bini'aadantinimada iyo isu socodka xorta ah ee dadka iyo duunyadaba– dhibaataada ugu weyn ee gobolka ka jirta ayaa ah , in gargaar bini'aadantinimo oo degdeg ah lala gaaro dadkii abaartu saameeyeen.<sup>148</sup>

Sannadkii hore, ayay Ciidamada Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliyeed (CXDS), oo kaashanaya ciidamada gobolka Koofurgalbeed iyo ciidamada daneeyayaal kale dib u qabsadeen deegaanno dhowr ah oo ay hore u haysatay al-Shabaab, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin Bayaale, Caliyow Dooyow, Xaawo Dhaysiile, Boorame, Karanoy iyo Daawuudow.<sup>149</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, al-Shabaab waxa ay dib u qabsatay qaybo ka mid ah deegaannadii laga qabsaday oo ay ku jiraan Deynuuney iyo Goofgaduud Buurey oo 30 kiilomitir u jira Baydhabo.<sup>150</sup> Magaalada Baraawe, al-Shabaab waxa ay hoobiyeyaal ku garaacday xarun doorasho oo ay ka socotay deegaan doorashada labaad ee Koofurgalbeed. Afar qof ayaa weerarkaas ku dhimatay shan kale na way ku dhaawacantay.<sup>151</sup>

Bishii Juley, ayay al-Shabaab u gudubtay dalka aynnu jaarka nahay ee Itoobiya, waxaanu iyaga iyo ciidamada Dowlad Deegaanka Soomaalida Itoobiya ee loo yaqaanno Liyuu Boolis dagaal ku dhexmaray gobolka Afdheer iyo dagmooyinka xuduudka ku hareeraysan ee gobolka Bakool.<sup>152</sup> Markii dagaalku saddex cisho socday waxa al-Shabaab ka dhintay in ka badan 100 dagaalyahan.<sup>153</sup> Al-Shabaab waxa ay sheegatay in ay iyaduna dishay 87 askari oo ka tirsan ciidamada Liyuu booliska.<sup>154</sup> Duulaanka lagu qaaday dhulka Itoobiya ayaa yimid hal maalin kadib markii ay al-Shabaab weerar ku qaaday laba magaalo oo ka tirsan gobolka Bakool islamarkaana u dhow xadka Itoobiya, oo la kala yiraahdo Yeed iyo Aato.<sup>155</sup>

Siyaasad ahaan, gobolka Koofurgalbeed waxa uu dadaallo muhiim ah ka gaystay xukun daadajinta iyo horumarinta dhismaha dowladaha hoose ee degmooyinka Waajid, Diinsoor, Xudur, Bardaale iyo Baraawe.

“  
Siyaasad  
ahaan, gobolka  
Koofurgalbeed  
waxa uu dadaallo  
muhiim ah ka  
gaystay xukun  
daadajinta iyo  
horumarinta  
dhismaha  
dowladaha hoose  
ee degmooyinka  
Waajid, Diinsoor,  
Xudur, Bardaale  
iyo Baraawe

148. See “Somalia bans Dubai ports operator DP World, says contract with Somaliland null” Reuters; 13 March 2018. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-ports-idUSKCN1GP10E>

149. See “Somalia special envoy for drought to travel to Garowe” 13 July 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/July/186987/somalia\\_special\\_envoy\\_for\\_drought\\_to\\_travel\\_to\\_garowe.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/July/186987/somalia_special_envoy_for_drought_to_travel_to_garowe.aspx)

150. See “James Swan today ended a two-day visit to Garowe” Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/UNSomalia/status/1549004018097291264>

151. See “Somali Troops Still Vulnerable to Al-Shabaab Outside Mogadishu, Pentagon Says.” The Defense Post, February 2020. Accessed at: <https://www.thedefensepost.com/2020/02/12/somalia-operation-badbaado-shabaab-mogadishu-shabelle/>.

152. See “Somali Forces, Local Militia Recaptured Villages in Bay Region,” Hiiraan Online, September 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/187984/somali\\_forces\\_local\\_militia\\_recaptured\\_villages\\_in\\_bay\\_region.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Sept/187984/somali_forces_local_militia_recaptured_villages_in_bay_region.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

153. See “Al-Shabaab Retakes Strategic Towns in Southern Somalia,” Garowe Online, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-regains-strategic-towns-in-somalia>.

154. See “Al-Shabaab Shelling Kills Four in Somalia’s Barawe on Election Day,” Garowe Online, February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-shelling-kills-four-in-somalia-s-barawe-on-election-day>

155. See “Somalia’s Al-Shabab Militants Launch Attack in Ethiopia; Heavy Casualties Reported.” VOA, July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-al-shabab-militants-launch-attack-in-ethiopia-heavy-casualties-reported/6669872.html>

Laba ka mid ah golayaasha shanta degmo (Xudur iyo Bardaale) ayaa dhammaystay afartii sano ee muddo-xileedkooda sannadkii 2022. Wasaaradda arrimaha gudaha ee gobolka ayaa doorasho guul ku soo dhammaatay ka qabatay labadan degmo ee Xudur<sup>156</sup> iyo Bardaale.<sup>157</sup> Xilligan waxa ay wasaaraddu ku hawllantahay u gogolxaaridda doorashada golaha deegaanka ee laga qaban doono degmooyinka Ceelbarde, Buurhakaba iyo Wallaweyn.<sup>158</sup>

“  
Bishii Diseenber,  
ayay rabshado  
ka dhaceen  
magaalada  
Baydhabo oo  
ah caasimadda  
kumeelgaarka  
ah ee gobolka  
Koofurgalbeed

Bishii Diseenber, ayay rabshado ka dhaceen magaalada Baydhabo oo ah caasimadda kumeelgaarka ah ee gobolka Koofurgalbeed, kadib markii ciidamada amniga ee daacadda u ah madaxweynaha Koofurgalbeed Cabdicasiis Xasan Laftagareen weerareen guriga Maxamed Aadan Ibraahin (Farkeeti), oo dowladda federaalka hore uga soo noqday wasiirka maaliyadda, ahna musharrax madaxweyne oo Koonfurgalbeed ah<sup>159</sup> Ugu yaraan 10 qof ayaa halkaas ku dhintay markii ay muddo afar saacadood ah israsaasaynayeen malleeshiyaadka Farkeeti taageersan iyo ciidamada Koofurgalbeed.<sup>160</sup>

Kacdoonkaas waxa isku casilay wasiiru dowlaha wasaaradda isgaarsiinta Ilyaas Cali Nuur oo ay isku beel yihiin Farkeeti. Ilyaas ayaa muuqaal uu soo dhigay bartiisa faysbuugga ku sheegay in uu isku dayayay in uu xal nabadeed ka gaaro xaaladda taagan, iyada oo maleeshiyaad ka tirsan mucaaradka ay ku hareeraysan yihiin hoyga Farkeeti, oo ay soo weerareen ciidamada ka amarqaata Laftagareen. “Dhiigga daadanaya waa la baajin karayay, oo wada hadal baa lagu dhameyn karayey waxa la kala tirsanayo. Dowlad goboleedku namay ixtiraamin,” ayuu yiri Ilyaas.<sup>161</sup>

Arrintan ayaa ka dhalatay isku dhac siyaasadeed oo ka dhex aloosmay murashaxiintii u tartamayay madaxweynaha Koofurgalbeed iyo laftagareen oo muddo-korodhsi samaystay. 2021, xildhibaannada gobolku waxa ay meelmariyeen mooshin iswaafajinaya muddo-xilheedka madaxweynaha iyo muddo-xileedka baarlamanka, oo dhammaanaya 2024.<sup>162</sup>

Musharaxiinta madaxweynaha ayaa qaaddacay mudda-korodhsiga, waxaanay codsadeen in doorashada la qabto 2022. Guddoomiyaha Golaha Shacabka Shiikh Aadan Nuur Madoobe ayaa dhinacyada is haya ugu baaqay shir dibuheshiisiin ah si xiiisadda loo dajiyo. Labada dhinacba way soo dhaweeyeen baaqa guddoomiyaha.<sup>163</sup>

156. See “Al-Shabab Fighters ‘Destroyed’ in Ethiopian Incursion, Somali State Media Reports.” Voice of America (VOA News), July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-fighters-destroyed-in-ethiopian-incursion-somali-state-media-reports/6671176.html>

157. See “Somalia Militants Claim to Have Killed 87 Ethiopian Police in Somali-Ethiopian Border Area,” July 2022. Accessed at: <https://hornobserver.com/articles/1674/Somalia-militants-claim-to-have-killed-87-Ethiopian-police-in-Somali-Ethiopian-border-area>

158. See “Al-Shabaab Attacks Somali Towns close to Ethiopian Border.” Voice of America (VOA News), July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-attacks-somali-towns-close-to-ethiopian-border-/6667670.html>

159. See “Hudur Elections” September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.facebook.com/100069203890176/posts/pfbid0Je4hhcRXELg2W2z4rsx9HouNzYKGYULfvzcVYqgJzQveoh3T5ojEnRBvWWvgwLgil/?mibextid=UUgoR4>

160. See “Bardale District Council Elections” November 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.facebook.com/100069203890176/posts/pfbid0ikAxNAYJDfDeK9R1HzTWakMdvUwmxSjSPZpRQbitMx5n3CR7rsU3ojWNjmH7RTZl/?mibextid=UUgoR4>

161. See “El-Berde is Next On SWS District Formation” November 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.facebook.com/100069203890176/posts/pfbid0LTLriyzGBQGQcoMcLEiBqxeULTtL4YisUC81tqCLGEEZRfCaDXykwWQeoTT26qrl/?mibextid=UUgoR4>

162. See “Somalia: Gvt Terms Political Violence in Baidoa Unfortunate, Urges All Political Parties to Resolve Their Differences through Dialogue.” Mustaqbal Media, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-gvt-terms-political-violence-in-baidoa-unfortunate-urges-all-political-parties-to-resolve-their-differences-through-dialogue/amp/>

163. See “Calm Returns to Baidoa after State Security Forces Clash with Fighters Loyal to Opposition Candidates,” Hiiraan.com, December 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189206/calm\\_returns\\_to\\_baidoa\\_after\\_state\\_security\\_forces\\_clash\\_with\\_fighters\\_loyal\\_to\\_opposition\\_candidates.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189206/calm_returns_to_baidoa_after_state_security_forces_clash_with_fighters_loyal_to_opposition_candidates.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)



*Madaxweynaha  
dowladda  
federaalka  
Xasan Shiikh  
Maxamuud ayaa  
ka qaybgalay  
wajiga kowaad  
ee xafadii  
furitaanka shirka  
dibuheshiinta  
ah, oo Baydhabo  
ka qabsoontay  
dabayaaqadii  
Jannaayo 2023*

Madaxweynaha dowladda federaalka Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud ayaa ka qaybgalay wajiga kowaad ee xafadii furitaanka shirka dibuheshiinta ah, oo Baydhabo ka qabsoontay dabayaaqadii Jannaayo 2023.<sup>164</sup> Wajiga kowaad ee shirka ayaa daarnaa dhibaataadii ka dhalatay isku dhacyadii dabayaaqadii Diseember dhacay iyo magdhowga dadkii ku dhintay iyo kuwii ku waxyeeloobay dagaalkaas.<sup>165</sup>

Bishii Febraayo 2023, ayuu Xasan ku soo laabtay Baydhabo si uu u sii anbaqaado wajiga labaad ee shirka dibuheshiinta.<sup>166</sup> Hogaamiyayaasha ayaa isla meel dhigay in doorashada golayaasha baarlamaanka la qabto inta u dhaxaysa bilaha Noofeembar illaa Diseember 2023, iyo in doorashada guddoomiyaha golaha shacabka iyo madaxweynahana la qabto bisha Jannaayo 2024. Wasaaradda arrimaha gudaha ayaa kormeeraysa habsami-socodka hawlahaas.<sup>167</sup>

Laftagareen, ayaa sida hoggaamiyayaasha dowlad-goboleedyada iyo kuwa dowladda federaalka uga faa'iidaystay doorashada dadban in uu saaxiibadii keeno labada gole ee baarlamaanka. Inkasta oo ay jireen heshiisyo laga gaaray arrimaha doorashada, kuwaas oo ay madaxda Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku go'aamiyeen in ay musharaxiinta oo dhammi xaq iyo xuquuq siman u leeyihiin tartanka kuraasta baarlamaanka, haddana musharixiinta badan oo u tartamayay kuraasta baarlamaanka ayaa loo diiday in ay u safraan degaannadii ay kuraastoodu taallay ee laga soo dooran lahaa. Waxa musharaxiintaas ka mid ahaa, madaxweynihii hore ee Koofurgalbeed Shariif Xasan Shiikh Aadan, Guddoomiyihii hore ee Golaha Shacabka Maxamed Shiikh Cismaan Jawaari, iyo Guddoomiye kuxigeenkii hore ee Golaha Shacabka Cabdiweli Shiikh Muudey.<sup>168</sup>

Dhinaca dhaqaalaha, sannadkii 2023 waxa uu baarlamaanka koofurgalbeed ansaxiyey miisaaniyaddii ugu badnayd tan iyo markii maamulka lasaasay oo ahayd \$43 milyan.<sup>169</sup>

Xaaladda bini'aadantinimo ee Koofurgalbeed ayaa ah mid weli cakiran. Masiibooyinka dabiiciga ah sida roob la'aan afar sano oo xiriir ah ka jirtay gobolka ayaa kumannaan kun oo qof noloshooda ku yeeshay saamayn halis ah, maadaama nolol maalmeedka bulshada gobolkaasi si weyn ugu tiirsan tahay beeraha iyo xoolaha oo ay labaduba biyo iyo baad ku nool yihiin. Isku dhacyada iyo isdaba-wareegga doorashada oo daba dheeraaday ayaa jarahabaabiyey in diiradda la saaro gargaarka bini-aadantinimada oo ah ka baahida ugu weyn loo qabay.

164. See "Southwest State Information Minister Resigns in Protest after Bloody Gun Battle in Baidoa," Hiiraan.com, December 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189214/southwest\\_state\\_information\\_minister\\_resigns\\_in\\_protest\\_after\\_bloody\\_gun\\_battle\\_in\\_baidoa.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189214/southwest_state_information_minister_resigns_in_protest_after_bloody_gun_battle_in_baidoa.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

165. See "Somalia Stares at Old Problem on Term Limits for State Leaders." The East African, December 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-stares-at-old-problem-on-term-limits-4065452>.

166. See "Laftagareen and Southwest Opposition Leaders Agree to a Reconciliation Meeting on January 5," Hiiraan.com, December 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189289/laftagareen\\_and\\_southwest\\_opposition\\_leaders\\_agree\\_to\\_a\\_reconciliation\\_meeting\\_on\\_january\\_5.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189289/laftagareen_and_southwest_opposition_leaders_agree_to_a_reconciliation_meeting_on_january_5.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

167. See "President Mohamud to Open Baidoa Reconciliation Conference," Hiiraan.com 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jan/189511/president\\_mohamud\\_to\\_open\\_baidoa\\_reconciliation\\_conference.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jan/189511/president_mohamud_to_open_baidoa_reconciliation_conference.aspx).

168. See "Southwest State and Opposition Leaders Reach Settlement over Baidoa Clash," Hiiraan.com 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jan/189705/southwest\\_state\\_and\\_opposition\\_leaders\\_reach\\_settlement\\_over\\_baidoa\\_clash.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jan/189705/southwest_state_and_opposition_leaders_reach_settlement_over_baidoa_clash.aspx).

169. See "President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud Arrives at Baidoa to Participate in the 2nd Phase of the South West Reconciliation Conference." -Mustaqbal Media, February 2023. Accessed at: <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/president-hassan-sheikh-mohamud-arrives-at-baidoa-to-participate-in-the-2nd-phase-of-the-south-west-reconciliation-conference/>.

Sidaas darteed, ku dhowaad hal milyan oo qof ayaa gobolkaas ka soo barakacay, waxaana jira 498 degsiimo oo ay deggan yihiin barakacayaal. Degsiimooyinkaasi waxa ay ku yaallaan agagaarka Baydhabo, isla markaana waxa ku nool ku dhawaad 596,931 oo qof, kuwaas oo ka soo cararay amni darrada iyo xaaladaha abaareed ee ka jira gobollada Baay iyo Bakool. Sida oo kale waxa la saadaalinayaa in ay Baydhabo iyo Buurhakaba ka dhici doonto macluul darani marka la gaaro bisha Juun 2023, sida lagu sheegay warbixin ay dhowaan soo saartay OCHA.

## 7. Galmudug

Wararkii laga soo tabiyey Galmudug sannadkii 2022 ayaa u badnaa kuwo ku saabsan doorashooyinka, dibuheshiisiinta iyo halista amni ee bulshada kaga imanaysa al-Shabaab, Ehlu Sunna Waljamaaca iyo qabiilladada colaaduhu u dhaxeeyaan.

21 Janneeyo ayay Galmudug ku dhawaaqday in todoba kursi oo Dhuusamareeb ku hadhsanaa, islamarkaana la isku khilaafay dib loogu tartamayo.<sup>170</sup> Wadar ahaan, 37 xildhibaan iyo siddeed sanator ayaa laga soo doortay Galmudug. 26 ka mid ah waxa laga soo doortay Dhuusamareeb, halka 11 xildhibaan laga soo doortay Gaalkacayo, halkaas oo ay doorashooyinku ka bilaabmeen 6 Maarso.<sup>171/ 172</sup>

Isla bishii Jannaayo, waxa ay al-Shabaab weerar ku qaaday Baxdo iyo Caddakibir, waxaanay halkaas ku dishay saraakiil ka tirsan Ciidanka Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliya.<sup>173</sup> Bishii Maarso, waxa warbaahinta dowladda Soomaaliya laga sheegay in Galmudug lagu dilay in ka badan 200 oo argagixisada al-Shabaab ah, kuwaas oo lagu weeraray dayaaradaha aan duuliyaha lahayn ee Maraykanka.<sup>174</sup> 17 bishii Juun ayay al-Shabaab mar kale weerar ku soo qaaday Baxdo; xilligaas oo ay dowladda federaalka, maamul-goboleedka Galmudug iyo beelaha gobolkaasi abaabulayeen weerar ka dhan ah al-Shabaab. Sida laga sheegay warbaahin tirabadan, dagaalkaas waxa lagu jabiyey kooxaha argagixisada ah, waxaana laga dilay in ka badan 70 dagaalyahan. Al-Shabaab waxa ay dhaawacyadoodii u qaadeen Ceelbuur, halkaas oo ay la wareegeen cusbitaalkii dowladda, si ay ugu daawaystaan 100 dagaalyahan oo ka dhaawacmay.<sup>175</sup>

Kooxda hubaysan ee Suufiyiinta ah ayaa bishii May soo weeraray xarumaha badankoodu ku mashquulsanaayeen doorashada madaxweynaha oo ka dhacaysay Muqdisho.

“  
Kooxda hubaysan ee Suufiyiinta ah ayaa bishii May soo weeraray xarumaha dowladda ee Dhuusamareeb, xilligaas oo ay siyaasiyiinta Soomaaliya badankoodu ku mashquulsanaayeen doorashada madaxweynaha oo ka dhacaysay Muqdisho

170. See “What Was the Outcome of the South West Reconciliation Conference in Baidoa?” Mustaqbal Media, February 2023. Accessed at: <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/what-was-the-outcome-of-the-south-west-reconciliation-conference-in-baidoa/>.

171. See “Somalia: Ex-Regional Leader Blocked from Boarding a Flight at Mogadishu Airport,” Garowe Online, March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-ex-regional-leader-blocked-from-boarding-a-flight-at-mogadishu-airport>.

172. See “South West State of Somalia’s Parliament Approves The Largest Budget” December 2022. Accessed at: <https://fb.watch/iphficPXc9/?mibextid=UUgoR4>

173. See “‘Time to Act Is Now,’ Says UNICEF Emergency Director on Visit to Somalia,” September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.unicef.org/somalia/stories/time-act-now>.

174. See “CCCM Cluster Somalia - Baidoa Town Verified IDP Sites” July 2022. Accessed at: <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/94414>.

175. See “Somalia: Drought Response and Famine Prevention (15 November - 15 December 2022) - Somalia,” January 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-drought-response-and-famine-prevention-15-november-15-december-2022>.

Jabhadda Suufiyada waa la jabiyey, waxaana booliiska Galmudug lagu wargaliyey in ay gacan bir ah ku qabtaan cidkasta oo ka tirsan dagaalyahanka iyo hooggaamiyayaasha Suufiyada.<sup>176</sup> Madaxweynaha dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa 2 bishii Juun booqasho ku tagay Dhuusamareeb, waa uun todobaadyo ka dib guushiisii 15 May.<sup>177</sup> Madaxweynaha ayaa sheegay in ay booqashadiisu daaran tahay arrimaha dibuheshiisiinta iyo u kuurgalka xaaladda Galmudug iyo abaaraha ka jira.

Bishii Ogoosto ayay labada beelood ee Wagardhac iyo Saleemaan ku dagaallameen dhuldaaqsiimeed u dhow magaalada Dhabbad, waxaana halkaaa ku dhintay 20 qof, dad badanina way ku dhaawacmeen.<sup>178</sup> Labadan qabiil oo ay u dhaxayso colaad 40 jirsatay, ayaa heshiis nabadeed oo ay dhaxdhaxaadinayso dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug kala saxeexday bishii October.<sup>179</sup>

Bishii Sebteember, ayuu baarlamaanka Galmudug wax ka beddel ku sameeyay dastuurka dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug, waxaanay muddo kordhin hal sano oo ah ugu dareen Axmed Cabdi Kaariye (Qoorqoor) iyo golahooda baarlamaanka. Galmudug ayaa ah maamul-goboleedkii afraad ee ugu danbeeyay bartamaha iyo koofurta Soomaaliya oo madaxweynaha u sameeyay muddo kordhin.<sup>180</sup>

Bilihii Sebteember, October iyo Noofeember ayay ciidamada dowladda iyo malleeshiya beeledyo isku lammaani u heshiiyeen in ay al-Shabaab ka sifeeyaan gobolka Galmudug. Al-Shabaab ayaa arrintaas kaga falcelisay laynta dad shicib ah, burburinta ceelal biyood iyo jajabinta qalab isgaarsiineed yaallay tuulooyin ay ka mid yihiin Wabxo, Qaayib, Baxdo iyo Caddakibir.<sup>181</sup>

## 8. Jubbaland

Dowlad-goboleedka Jubbaland dhibaatooyinka waa weyn ee hareeyey sannadkii 2022 waxaa ka mid ahaa isqabqabsi siyaasadeed oo la xiriira doorashada, caqabado waa weyn oo la xiriira arrimaha aadanimada iyo amni darrada.

Sannadku waxa uu la kowsaday ismariwaa u dhexeeya madaxweyne Axmed Madoobe oo xarunta maamulkiisu tahay Kismaayo iyo kacdoonno kaga imanayay gobolka Gedo oo xuduud la leh Itoobiya iyo Kenya. Dowladda Federaalka, gaar ahaan Farmaajo oo beeshiisu u badan tahay gobolka Gedo, ayaa soo dhisay maamulkii deegaankaas oo uu isagu ahaa taliyahiisa rasmiga ah. Dowladda Farmaajo ayaa u diidday in uu Madoobe ka taliyo maamulka Jubbaland, balse waxa uu sheegay in uu sii joogi karo ilaa bartamaha sannadka 2021. Madoobe ayaa ku adkeystay in uu dhammaysanayo muddo-xileedkiisa oo ku ekaa bartamaha sannadka 2022.

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176. See “Galmudug, Somaliland Announce Lower House Elections” Hiiraan.com, January 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2022/Jan/185124/galmudug\\_somaliland\\_announce\\_lower\\_house\\_elections.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2022/Jan/185124/galmudug_somaliland_announce_lower_house_elections.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

177. See “Tirada Xildhibaanada lagu doortay Galmudug iyo caqabadaha weli horyaala” Universal TV; 8 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.universaltvsomali.net/topics/news/somali/35322>

178. See “Galmudug to Hold Elections for Five Seats in Galkayo Today” March 6, 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/galmudug-to-hold-elections-for-five-seats-in-galkayo-today/>.

179. See “Al-shabaab oo dishay taliyihii guutada 13-aad ee Ciidanka Xoogga Dalka” VOA Somali 9 January 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/6389123.html>

180. See “Al Shabaab oo la sheegay induqayn looga diley 200 oo dagaalame” Garowe Online 15 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-oo-la-sheegay-in-duqeyn-looga-dilay-200-dagaalame>

181. See “Al-Shabaab Seizes Hospital in Central Somalia, Admit Injured Fighters” Garowe Online, June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-seize-hospital-in-central-somalia-admit-injured-fighters>.

Bishii Jannaayo, ayay Jubbaland ku dhawaaqday in ay qabanayso doorashada 13 kursi oo ka harsanaa 43-kii kursi ee baarlamaanka.<sup>182</sup> Heshiis hore oo ay gaareen madaxda federaalka iyo kuwa maamul-goboleedyadu ayaa lagu sheegay in dowlad-goboleed kastaa yeelan doonto labo magaalo oo loo qoondeeyay doorashada baarlamaanka federaalka ee 2021/2022.<sup>183</sup>

Magaalada Garbahaarrey oo xarun u ah gobolka Gedo, ayaa sida oo kale loo doortay in ay martigeliso doorashada kuraasta Jubbaland. Laakiin bishii Febraayo, ayay siyaasiyiin ka soo jeedda Jubbaland, gaar ahaan kuwii gobolka Gedo ee la safnaa xukuumadda, walaac ka muujiyeen in ay Garbahaarrey ka dhici karto doorasho, iyaga oo ku sababeeyay arrimo amni.<sup>184</sup>

Guddi ka kooban 7 xubnood oo u kuurgalaysa suuragalnimada ay doorasho kaga dhaci karto magaalada Garbahaarrey ayuu magacaabay Raysalwasaare Maxamed Xuseen Rooble.<sup>185</sup> Bishii Maarso 5-teedii, ayuu maamulka Gado oo la safnaa xukuumadda Farmaajo qaaddacay guddidii uu raysalwasaaruhu soo diray, waxaanay u diideen booqashada Garbahaarrey.<sup>186</sup> 14 Abriil, ayay guddida doorashooyinka federaalka ee xulafada la ah Rooble ku dhawaaqeen in ay doorashada 16-ka xildhibaan ee Gedo u rari doonaan degmada Ceelwaaq oo ay maamusho dowladda Jubbaland.<sup>187</sup>



22 Abriil ayay taageerayaashii farmaajo ee ka midka ahaa guddida doorashooyinku 16-kii xildhibaan ee Gedo doorasho ugu qabteen Garbahaarrey, iyada oo sida oo kale codayntu ka dhacday Ceelwaaq

22 Abriil ayay taageerayaashii farmaajo ee ka midka ahaa guddida doorashooyinku 16-kii xildhibaan ee Gedo doorasho ugu qabteen Garbahaarrey, iyada oo sida oo kale codayntu ka dhacday Ceelwaaq. Farmaajo ayaa isna ku dhawaaqay in aanay waxba ka jirin labada doorasho. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, 25 Abriil, ayuu guddoomiyihii cusbaa ee baarlamaanka Soomaaliya muddeeyay xafladda dhaarinta xildhibaannadii laga soo doortay degmada Ceelwaaq.<sup>188</sup> Ciidamadii amniga ee daacadda u ahaa Farmaajo ayaa hawshaas joojiyay, inkasta oo ay xafladda dhaartu mar danbe ka qabsoontay Huteel ku yaalla agagaarka madaarka Muqdisho.<sup>189</sup> 9 May, ayuu guddoomiyaha Golaha Shacabku soo saaray qoraal uu ku sheegayo in xildhibaannadii lagu soo doortay degmada Ceelwaaq yihiin wakiillada sharciga ah ee gobolka Gedo.<sup>190</sup>

182. See “Galmudug oo shaacisay liiska xubno ka tirsan Ahlu Sunna oo la baadi goobayo” Shabelle Media Network; 18 May 2022. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/galmudug-oo-shaacisay-liiska-xubno-ka-tirsan-ahlu-sunna-oo-la-baadi-goobayo/>

183. See “President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud Arrives in Dhusamerab Town, Galmudug State to Assess the Drought Situation and Foster Peace” Radio Dalsan, June 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/74955/2022/06/president-hassan-sheikh-mohamud-arrives-in-dhusamerab-town-galmudug-state-to-assess-the-drought-situation-and-foster-peace/>

184. See “Clan Conflict over Grazing Leaves 20 Dead in Galgaduud,” August 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Aug/187604/clan\\_conflict\\_over\\_pasture\\_leaves\\_20\\_dead.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Aug/187604/clan_conflict_over_pasture_leaves_20_dead.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)

185. See “Reported by VOA Journalist; Yassin Wardere @YWardhere” 1 October 2022; Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/YWardhere/status/1576233939404230657>

186. See “Dhuusamareeb: Baarlamaanka Galmudug oo muddo kordhin u sameeyey Madaxweyne Qoor Qoor” SEPTEMBER 13, 2022. Accessed at: <https://horseedmedia.net/dhuusamareeb-baarlamaanka-galmudug-oo-muddo-kordhin-u-sameeyey-madaxweyne-qoor-qoor-373137>

187. See “Al-Shabaab destroyed communication Mast, wells in Qayyib town in Galgudud region” Mustaqbal Media, 26 October 2022. Accessed at: <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/al-shabaab-destroyed-communication-mast-wells-in-qayyib-town-in-galgudud-region/>; Also See: “Somalia retakes key town controlled by al-Shabaab for over 15 years” Anadolu; 11 September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somalia-retakes-key-town-controlled-by-al-shabaab-for-over-15-years/2733687>

188. See “Jubbaland Electoral Commission announces election of 13 seats in Federal parliament” HiiraanOnline, 17 January 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185086/jubbaland\\_electoral\\_commission\\_announces\\_election\\_of\\_13\\_seats\\_in\\_federal\\_parliament.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185086/jubbaland_electoral_commission_announces_election_of_13_seats_in_federal_parliament.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)

189. See “Nooca doorashada Soomaaliya oo laga heshiiyay; BBC Somali” 17 November 2020. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/war-54193509>

190. See “Anti-Jubaland Leader Protest Held in a Somali Border Town” February 28, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/news/anti-jubaland-leader-protest-held-in-a-somali-border-town>

Bishii Juley, ayay dowladda Jubbaland ku dhawaaqday dagaal ka dhan ah al-Shabaab oo ay la kaashanayso dowladda federaalka.<sup>191</sup> Bishii Noofember, ayuu wasiirka difaaca Soomaaliya, oo ay weheliyaan taliyeyaasha CXDS booqday Kismaayo, waxaanay halkaas kula kulmeen madaxweyne Axmed-madoobe oo dhoolatus mileteri u samaynayay ciidamada Jubbaland.<sup>192/ 193</sup>

Bishii Diiseember ayuu Adan Ducaale oo ahaa wasiirka difaaca Kenya (Soomaali ah), booqdasho ku yimi Kismaanyo, waxaanu la kulmay Madoobe iyaga oo ka wada hadlay amniga xuduudaha iyo dagaalka ka dhanka ah al-Shabaab.<sup>194</sup>

## 9. Hirshabeelle

“

25 Jannaayo, ayay malleeshiyaadku la wareegeen qaybo ka mid ah magaalada Beledweyne, si ay uga hortagaan socdaalka Madaxweynaha Hirshabeelle Cali Guudlaawe oo qorsheynayay in uu yimaaddo magaaladaas oo ay mucaarad xooggan kala kulmeen siyaasiyiinta Beesha Xawaadle

2 Jannaayo, ayay malleeshiyada beesha Xawaadle gudaha u soo galeen magaalada Beledweyne, waxaanay halkaas rasaas isku waydaarsadeen guddoomiye Cali Jayte.<sup>195</sup> 25 Jannaayo, ayay malleeshiyaadku la wareegeen qaybo ka mid ah magaalada Beledweyne, si ay uga hortagaan socdaalka Madaxweynaha Hirshabeelle Cali Guudlaawe oo qorsheynayay in uu yimaaddo magaaladaas oo ay mucaarad xooggan kala kulmeen siyaasiyiinta Beesha Xawaadle.<sup>196</sup> 26 Jannaayo, ayaa cutubyo ka tirsan militariga iyo booliiska CXDS laga soo daabbulay Muqdisho oo la geeyey Baledweyne. Taliyaha CXDS jenaraal Odowaa Raage ayaa ku adkaystay in ciidamada Baladweyne la geeyay ay sugayaan amniga magaalada, maadaama lagu wado in laga soo doorto 25 xildhibaan. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa ay warbaahintu shaacisay in ciidamada la soo daabbulay lagu difaacayey Guudlaawe.<sup>197</sup> 6 Febraayo, ayuu Guudlaawe tagay Baladweyne<sup>198</sup> iyada oo ay xiisaddu aad u kacsan tahay, balse 8-dii Febraayo ayay odayaal ka tirsan beesha Xawaadle iyo Guudlaawe shir jaraa'id qabteen, waxaanay ku dhawaaqeen heshiis laba geesood ah.<sup>199</sup>

191. See “Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Hussein Roble Appoints a 7 Member Committee to Look into and Evaluate the Situation in Garbaharey Town, Gedo Region” Radio Dalsan, February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/en/73058/2022/02/somali-prime-minister-mohamed-hussein-roble-appoints-a-7-member-committee-to-look-into-and-evaluate-the-situation-in-garbaharey-town-gedo-region/>.

192. See “Press statement by Gedo Administration” 5 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/202236637821238107023527-1.jpg>

193. See “FEIT Announces Election for 16 Gedo Seats Moved from Garbaharey to Elwaq” Hiiraan.com, April 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Apr/185840/fiet\\_shifts\\_the\\_election\\_of\\_16\\_seats\\_to\\_elwaq\\_town\\_in\\_gedo\\_region.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Apr/185840/fiet_shifts_the_election_of_16_seats_to_elwaq_town_in_gedo_region.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

194. See “President Farmajo Issues Decree On Parallel Elections In Gedo Region” @TheVillaSomalia Twitter, April 2022. Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/TheVillaSomalia/status/1517471121473474562/photo/1>; Also see:

“Farmajo Calls Parallel Elections in Garbaharey and Elwak Illegal, Calls on NCC to Convene,” Hiiraan.com, April 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Apr/185933/Farmaajo\\_calls\\_parallel\\_elections\\_in\\_garbaharey\\_and\\_elwak\\_illegal\\_calls\\_on\\_ncc\\_to\\_convene.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Apr/185933/Farmaajo_calls_parallel_elections_in_garbaharey_and_elwak_illegal_calls_on_ncc_to_convene.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

195. See “Interim parliament speaker says Elwak MPs attacked by Somali police before being sworn in; Hiiraan Online, 25 April 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/apr/185966/interim\\_parliament\\_speaker\\_says\\_elwak\\_mps\\_attacked\\_by\\_somali\\_police\\_before\\_being\\_sworn\\_in.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/apr/185966/interim_parliament_speaker_says_elwak_mps_attacked_by_somali_police_before_being_sworn_in.aspx)

196. See “Lower House Speaker validates MPs elected from Gedo region” Goobjoog, 9 May 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/lower-house-speaker-validates-mps-elected-from-gedo-region/>

197. See “Jubaland and the feds launch joint offensive against Al Shabaab” Somali Dispatch; 9 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.somalidispach.com/latest-news/jubaland-and-the-feds-launch-joint-offensive-against-al-shabaab/>

198. See “Tweet by Garowe Online, 27 November 2022. Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/GaroweOnline/status/1596782567856181249>

199. See “Photos of troops and military equipment” Accessed at: <https://twitter.com/HShPrez2Ware/status/1597196086548271105>



Haddii aynnu dheehanno dhanka amniga, 11 Jannaayo ayay al-Shabaab ku dhawaaqday in ay qabsatay Qalimow, oo ah magaalo u dhaxaysa Balcad iyo Jawhar, islamarkaana dhacda Shabeellaha Dhexe ee Muqdisho u dhow.<sup>200</sup> CXDS ayaa sheegay in ay 28 dagaalyahan oo ka tirsan al-Shabaab ku dileen tuulooyinka ku dhow degmada Balcad ee gobolka Shabeellaha Dhexe, taas oo 40 KM u jirta magaalada Muqdisho.<sup>201</sup> Sida oo kale Dagaal Beledweyne ku dhexmaray Ciidamada Booliska Baladweyne iyo Ciidamada Booliska Dowladda Federaalka ee la geeyay halkaas ayuu ku dhintay Taliyihii Ciidamada Booliska ee Muqdisho.<sup>202</sup>

13-kii Febraayo, ayay guddida doorashooyinka Hirshabeelle ku dhawaaqday in dufcaddii ugu horreeyay 13-ka kursi ee baarlamaanka lagu dooranayo Beledweyne, kuwaas oo uu ku jiray kursi uu ku tartamayay Fahad Yaasiin oo ahaa gacanta midig ee Farmaajo.<sup>203</sup> Codsii ka yimi Raysalwasaare Rooble ayay guddida doorashadu ku xannibeen codka kursigii uu u tartamayay Fahad Yaasiin.<sup>204/205</sup>

18 Febraayo, ayay laba diyaaradood oo codbixiyeyaal iyo ilaalo amni u siday Fahad Yaasiin u duuleen Beledweyne. Fahad waxa uu xukuumaddii Farmaajo ka soo qabtay laba xil oo kala ahaa agaasimaha madaxtooyada iyo agaasimaha Haayadda Nabadsugidda iyo Sirdoonka Qaranka (NISA). 19 Febraayo, ayaa laba weerar oo argagixiso ka dhaceen Beledweyne, iyada oo halkaas lagu dilay 15 qof, laguna dhaawacay tobannaan qof oo kale.<sup>206</sup> Sida uu qorshuhu ahaa, waxa doorashada la qabtay maalintaas maalintii ku xigtay. Iyada oo ay magaaladu Bandow ku jirto, ayaa la soo agaasimay doorasho been abuur ah, waxaana ku guulaystay Fahad iyo tobaneeyo qof oo kale.

Bishii Maarso, ayuu khilaaf soo kala dhexgalay madaxweyne Guudlaawe iyo madaxweyne ku-xigeenkiisii Yuusuf Dabageed. Dabageed, oo ka soo jeeda beesha Xawaadle, ayaa isku dayay in uu doorashada ku soo saaro musharaxiintii uu danaynayay in ay ku guulaystaan kuraasta baarlamaanka. Guudlaawe gashaanka ayuu u daruuray qorshaha madaxweyne ku-xigeenkiisa. Ugu danbeynna, Guudlaawe ayay guushii doorashadu raacday, waxaana kuraastaas ku tartamay beesha Xawaadle oo kaliya iyada oo aan lagu samaynin wax isdabamarin ah. 20 Maarso, ayuu Guudlaawe xilka ka qaaday hogaamiyihii guddiga doorashada ee gobolkaas, kaas oo uu saameeyay khilaafka u dhexeeya madaxweynaha iyo madaxweyne ku xigeenku.

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200. See “Kenya’s defense minister visits Jubaland state of Somalia” 25 December 2022. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/kenyas-defense-minister-visits-jubaland-state-of-somalia/>

201. See “Xaaladda Baladweyne oo kacsan” KeydMedia 2 January 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/so/news/xaaladda-baladweyne-oo-caawa-kacsan>

202. See “PM Roble Orders Withdrawal of Troops Deployed in Beletweyne” Hiiraan.com, January 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185178/pm\\_roble\\_orders\\_withdr](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185178/pm_roble_orders_withdr)

203. See “PM Roble Orders Withdrawal of Troops Deployed in Beletweyne” Hiiraan.com, January 2022, Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185178/pm\\_roble\\_orders\\_withdrawal\\_of\\_troops\\_deployed\\_in\\_beletweyne.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185178/pm_roble_orders_withdrawal_of_troops_deployed_in_beletweyne.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

204. See “Gudlawe ‘Safely’ Lands in Beletweyne over a Year since His Election amid Tensions,” Hiiraan.com, February 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/feb/185262/gudlawe\\_safely\\_lands\\_in\\_beletweyne\\_over\\_a\\_year\\_since\\_his\\_election\\_amid\\_tensions.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/feb/185262/gudlawe_safely_lands_in_beletweyne_over_a_year_since_his_election_amid_tensions.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

205. See “Cali Guudlaawe iyo Beesha Xawaadle oo heshiis kugaaray Baledweyne+SAWIRRO” Wardoon; 8 February 2022. Accessed at: <http://wardoon.net/so/cali-guudlaawe-iyo-beesha-xawaadle-oo-heshiis-kugaaray-baledweyne/>

206. See “Al-Shabaab oo shaacisay inay dagaal kula wareegtay deegaan u dhow Balcad” Caasimada; 11 January 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.caasimada.net/al-shabaab-oo-dagaal-kula-wareegtay-deegaan-u-dhow-balcad/>



*Aamina Maxamed oo ka tirsan xildhibaannada baarlamaanka federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa hay'adda NISA ku eedeysay dilka Ikraan Tahliil oo markii la waaayay ka tirsaneyd Hay'adda Nabadsugidda iyo Sirdoonka Qaranka (NISA)*

Aamina Maxamed oo ka tirsan xildhibaannada baarlamaanka federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa hay'adda NISA ku eedeysay dilka Ikraan Tahliil oo markii la waaayay ka tirsaneyd Hay'adda Nabadsugidda iyo Sirdoonka Qaranka (NISA).<sup>207</sup> Aamina, oo xubin sare ka ahayd xisbigii mucaaradka ahaa ee uu hoggaaminayay Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, ayaa bishii Maarso lagu dilay qarax loogu xiray gaarigeeda, iyada oo xilligaas u ololeyneysay in mar kale la doorto. inkasta oo ay al-Shabaab sheegatay masuuliyadda dilka Aamina, haddana waxa uu Rooble sheegay in uu aaminsan yahay in ay dilka aamina ka danbeeyaan hay'adda NISA iyo siyaasiyiinta mucaaradka ku ah isaga. Rooble ayaa yiri “Waan hubaa, in isla dadkii dilay Ikraan Tahliil ay sida oo kale dileen Aamina, waxaan diyaar u ahay in aan ku dhinto howlgalladda aan caddaaladda ugu raadinayo Ikraan iyo Aamina.”<sup>208</sup>

5 May, ayay al-Shabaab weerartay degmada Ceelbaraf oo ku taalla Shabeellaha Dhexe, waxaanay halkaas ku dishay in ka badan 30 askari oo ka tirsan ciidamada Burundi, waxaanay dhaawaceen askar badan oo kale. Ciidamada al-Shabaab ayaa dhowr maalmood gacanta ku hayay magaaladaas.<sup>209</sup> Markii ay ciidamada dowladda iyo kuwa macawisleydu kala goyn waayeen dagaalka ay kula jiraan al-Shabaab, ayay malleeshiyada al-Shabaab bilaabeen burburinta ceelal biyoodyo ku kala yaalla todoba tuulo oo ka tirsan degmada Mahaas.<sup>210</sup> 17 Juley, ayay al-Shabaab baabuur laga soo buuxiyey walxaha qarxa la beegsatay Huteel u dhow xafiiska madaxweynaha. Laba wasiir ayaa ku jiray dadkii halkaas ku dhintay.<sup>211</sup> 3 Sebteember ayay al-Shabaab gubtay todoba gaari, waxaanay meel Beledweyne u dhow ku laysay 20 qof oo shacab ah.<sup>212</sup>

Bishii Oktoober, ayay al-Shabaab soo weerartay xarun dowladeed, waxaanay Beledweyne ku dhex dileen 20 qof, oo ay ku jiraan wasiirro iyo saraakiil dowladeed.<sup>213</sup> 19 Oktoober, ayaa weerar khasaara badan dhaliyay lagu soo qaaday degmada Jalalaqsi; iyada oo gaari walxaha qarxa laga soo buuxiyay lala beegsaday istab u dhow buundada, waxaana goobtaas ku qudhubaxay duqii magaalada iyo guddoomiyihii degmada.<sup>214</sup>

Muddadii u dhaxaysey Juun illaa Noofeember ayaa weerarro badan oo cirka ah lala beegsaday xubno al-Shabaab ka tirsan oo ku sugnaa Hirshabelle, kuwaas oo ay ku jiraan saddex weerar oo maalin gudaheed lagu qaaday 10 Agoosto.<sup>215</sup>

207. See “Turkish Trained Haram’ad Forces Shot Dead Beledweyne Police Chief” Hiiraan.com, February 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Feb/185343/turkish\\_trained\\_haram\\_ad\\_forces\\_shot\\_dead\\_beletweyne\\_police\\_chief.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Feb/185343/turkish_trained_haram_ad_forces_shot_dead_beletweyne_police_chief.aspx).

208. See “Somali Military Kills 28 Al-Shabaab Terrorists in 48 Hours” Hiiraan.com, January 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185191/somali\\_military\\_kills\\_28\\_al\\_shabaab\\_terrorists\\_in\\_48\\_hours.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Jan/185191/somali_military_kills_28_al_shabaab_terrorists_in_48_hours.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

209. See “Hirshabelle electoral commission announces polls for 13 seats in Beledweyne” Hiiraan Online 13 February 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Feb/185315/hirshabelle\\_electoral\\_commission\\_announces\\_polls\\_for\\_13\\_seats\\_in\\_beledweyne.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Feb/185315/hirshabelle_electoral_commission_announces_polls_for_13_seats_in_beledweyne.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

210. See “Farmaajo’s Henchman Fahad Yasin Locked out as PM Roble Hints at Fresh Poll” April 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/farmaajos-henchman-fahad-yasin-locked-out-as-pm-roble-hints-at-fresh-poll/>.

211. See “Somalia: Elections of HOP#086 Seat to Be Suspended” Mustaqbal Media. February 15, 2022. Accessed at: <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somaliaelections-of-hop086-seat-to-be-suspended/>.

212. See “Two Pre-Election Attacks in Somalia Kill at Least 15, Injure Dozens” VOA News; 19 February 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-beledweyne-suicide-blast/6450369.html>

213. See “Khilaafka Guudlaawe & Dabageed oo Meel Xun Gaaray” Muqdisho Online, March 8, 2022. Accessed at: <https://muqdisho.online/khilaafka-guudlawe-dabageed-oo-meel-xun-gaaray/>.

214. See “Farmajo Is ‘Impediment’ to Probe into Ikraan Tahliil’s Murder - MP” KEYDMEDIA ONLINE, October 10, 2021. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/news/farmajo-is-impediment-to-probe-into-ikraan-tahlils-murder-mp>.

215. See “Somali PM: I received a threatening text message before MP Amina killed” KeydMedia; 31 March 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.keydmedia.net/news/somali-pm-i-received-threatening-text-message-before-mp-amina-killed>



*Ciidamada dowladda iyo kuwa macawislayda oo iskaashanaya ayaa al-Shaab ka sifeeyay degmooyin iyo tuulooyin badan oo ku yaalla gobolka Shabeellaha Dhexe, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin Adan Yabaal iyo Masaajidka Cali-Gaduud)*

## 10. Baanadir

Bishii Sebtembar, ayay diyaaradaha Mareykanka ee aan duuliyaha lahayni Buuleberde ku dileen in ka badan 27 dagaalyahan oo ka tirsan al-Shabaab.<sup>216</sup> Ciidamada macawisleyda oo ka garab dagaallamaya dayaaradaha Maraykanka ayaa door muhiim ah ka qaatay in al-Shabaab laga saaro gobolka Hiiraan.<sup>217</sup>

Ciidamada dowladda iyo kuwa macawislayda oo iskaashanaya ayaa al-Shaab ka sifeeyay degmooyin iyo tuulooyin badan oo ku yaalla gobolka Shabeellaha Dhexe, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin Adan Yabaal iyo Masaajidka Cali-Gaduud. 22 Diisember, ayay CXDS tuulada Ruunrigood oo ahayd tan kaliya ee gacanta al-Shabaab kaga harsanayd Shabeellaha Dhexe dib uga qabsadeen al-Shabaab. Boqol iyo konton ka mid ah dagaalyahamiinta al-Shabab ayaa halkaas lagu dilay.<sup>218</sup>

Loollan siyaasadeed oo la xiriira tartanka doorashooyinka oo dhexmaray hoggaamiyeyaasha qaranka ayaa ka qarxay Muqdisho 2022. Doorashada labada gole ee baarlamaanka matalaya Somaliland ayaa sida oo kale ka dhacay magaalada Muqdisho. Dhammaadkii 2022, ayaa duq cusub loo magacaabay magaalada Muqdisho.<sup>219</sup> Laba bilood ka dib, ayaa sida oo kale maayir kuxigeenno loo magacaabay caasimadda.<sup>220</sup>

Caasimadda iyo gobolka Banaadir ayaa 2022 bartilmaameed u ahaa weerarrada al-Shabaab.

- Bishii Jannaayo, ayaa qarax gaari lala beegsaday agagaarka 21 Oktoober/Afasyoone ee Muqdisho, iyada oo looga gollahaa in lagu khaarajiyo kolanyo saraakiil ah oo ka tirsan ciidamada dowladda. Waxa weerarkaas lagu dilay, laguna dhaawacay dad ka badan 20 qof.<sup>221</sup>
- 16 Febraayo, ayay goor habeennimo ah al-Shabaab soo weerartay xarumo ciidan oo ku yaalla degmooyinka Kaxda iyo Daarusalaam oo ku yaalla kooneyaasha Muqdisho.<sup>222</sup> Sida oo kale, waxa ay al-Shabaab weerar ku qaadday madaarka Muqdisho oo amnigiisa si weyn loo sugay, iyada oo halkaas ku dishay todoba qof oo ay ku jiraan shan ka mid ah ciidamada AMISOM.<sup>223</sup>

216. See “Al Shabaab claimed they killed over 170 Burundian soldiers” Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-claims-scores-killed-in-attack-on-au-troops-in-somalia>

217. See “Al-Shabaab sets 7 villages on fire, blows up wells in Hiran region” Goobjoog; 8 August 2022. Accessed at: <https://goobjoog.com/english/al-shabaab-sets-7-villages-on-fire-blows-up-wells-in-hiran-region/>

218. See “Warar dheeraad ah oo ka soo baxaya Qarax is-miidaamin ah oo ka dhacay goor dhawayd Jowhar” Qaranimo Online; 17 July 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.qaranimo.com/2022/07/17/warar-dheeraad-ah-oo-ka-soo-baxaya-qarax-is-miidaamin-ah-oo-ka-dhacay-goor-dhawayd-jowhar/>

219. See “Photos of the carnage” Accessed at: [https://twitter.com/Mo\\_Abdikani/status/1566059475613663232](https://twitter.com/Mo_Abdikani/status/1566059475613663232)

220. See “Minister among 20 people killed in three explosions in central Somalia” hiiraan Online; 3 October 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Oct/188088/minister\\_among\\_20\\_people\\_killed\\_in\\_three\\_explosions\\_in\\_central\\_somalia.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Oct/188088/minister_among_20_people_killed_in_three_explosions_in_central_somalia.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront)

221. See “Al-Shabab Attacks Key Bridges in Somalia, Kills at Least 21 People” VOA News; 19 October 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-attacks-key-bridges-in-somalia/6797032.html>

222. See “U.S. forces kills four Al-Shabaab fighters in Somalia airstrikes” Shabelle Media Network; 10 August 2022. <https://shabellemedia.com/u-s-forces-kills-four-al-shabaab-fighters-in-somalia-airstrikes/>

223. See “U.S. says it kills 27 al-Shabaab militants in Somalia air strike; Reuters; 22 September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-says-it-kills-27-al-shabaab-militants-somalia-air-strike-2022-09-21/>

- 19 Ogoosto, ayey al-Shabaab beegsatay Huteelka Xayaat. Ciidamada dowladda oo dagaal xooggan ku qaaday ayey ku qaadatay in ay goobtaas kaga saaraan al-Shabaab 30 saacadood, waxaana goobtaas ku qudhbaxay 21 qof, iyada oo ay ku dhaawacmeen in ka badan 100 qof.<sup>224</sup>
- 20 Sibteember, ayaa Farxaan Qaroole oo ahaa taliyihii ciidamada booliska Muqdisho lagu dilay qarax miino, xilli uu koonaha magaalada Muqdisho ka fulinayay hawlgallo ciidan oo ka dhan ah al-Shabaab.<sup>225</sup>
- 29 Oktoober, ayaa qarax weyn lala beegsaday xafiisyada wasaaradda waxbarashada ee Muqdisho ee u dhow isgooska Soobbe, waa isla halkii ay al-Shabaab 2017 ka fulisay qaraxii lagu hoobtay ee ay ku dhinteen, laguna dhaawacay dad ka badan 1000 qof. Waxa la sheegay in ay weerarkan ku dhinteen in ka badan 100 qof, kuna dhaawacmeen 300 oo kale.<sup>226</sup>
- Waxa ay al-Shabaab weerar argagixiso la beegsatay Huteelka Villa Rays, oo ay ku shirayeen wasiirka amniga qaranka iyo xildhibaanno. Wasiirka iyo dad kale ayaa ku dhaawacmay, waxaana lagu soo badbaadiyey dagaal socday 20 saacadood.<sup>227</sup>

## 11. Gunaanad

Sannadkii 2022 waxa uu Soomaaliya u ahaa mid hadimooyin badan, marka loo eego dhinacyada siyaasadda, amniga iyo gargaarka binu-aadantinimada. Khilaafyo doorasho oo lafjab ah, ayaa sigay in ay hay'adaha qaranka oo markii hore ba taag daran dhulka la simaan, waxaana dowlad-goboleedyada oo dhan ka dhacday doorashooyin lagu shubtay oo si weyn loo musuqmaasuqay. xaaladdu faraha ayay ka baxday illaa ay gaartay heer madaxweynaha iyo raysalwasaaraha uu midiba midka kale xilkaqaadistiisa ku dhawaaqay. Beesha caalamka, gaar ahaan Maraykanka ayaa liiska cunaqabataynta ku daray siyaasiyiin aan si gaar ah loo cayimin.

Weerarro lagu hoobtay oo soo noqnoqday iyo amni darro baahsan ayaa sannadkii 2022 hareeyay Muqdisho. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, markii madaxweyne loo doortay Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud ayay xaaladdu isbeddeshay. Dabayaaqadii 2022, waxa ay xukuumadda Xasan la kowsatay abaabulka malleeshiya beeleedyo ka hanaqaaday Hirshabeelle iyo Galmudug, kuwaas oo guntiga u xirtay sidii ay al-Shabaab uga saari lahaayeen deeggaannadooda.

224. See "Deegaanada ay illaa hadda Macawiisleyda ka qabsadeen maleeshiyada Al-Shabaab" Qaranimo Online 20 September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.qaranimo.com/2022/09/20/deegaanada-ay-illaa-hadda-macawiisleyda-ka-qabsadeen-maleeshiyada-al-shabaab/>

225. See "Somali Military Takes Al-Shabab's Last Stronghold in Middle Shabelle." VOA. Voice of America, December 22, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-military-takes-al-shabab-s-last-stronghold-in-middle-shabelle-/6887466.html>.

226. See "Somali President Fires Mayor of Mogadishu, Appoints Replacement" VOA News. September 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-president-fires-mayor-of-mogadishu-appoints-replacement/6735094.html>

227. See "President Mohamud Appoints Deputy Governors and Secretary General for Banadir Region," Hiiraan.com, November 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188798/president\\_mohamud\\_appoints\\_deputy\\_governors\\_and\\_secretary\\_general\\_for\\_banadir\\_region.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Nov/188798/president_mohamud_appoints_deputy_governors_and_secretary_general_for_banadir_region.aspx).

Khilaafyada la xiriira doorashooyinka ayaa si weyn u hareeyay guud ahaan dhulka Soomaalida–laga soo bilaabo Somalilandta go’day oo dhacda waqooyiga Soomaaliya, ilaa laga gaaro Jubbaland oo ku taalla koofurta Soomaaliya. Sida oo kale, abaaro lagu riiqday ayaa guud ahaan dalka naafeeyay, inkasta oo ay ugu darnaayeen bulshooyinka ku nool gobolka Koofurgalbeed ee Soomaaliya.

Xiriirradii arrimaha dibedda Soomaaliya ayaa xasilay, waxaana saldhig u noqday halkudheggii madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud ee ahaa “Soomaali heshiis ah, dunidana heshiis la ah”. Maadaama ay 2024 ku eegtahay joogitaanka ciidamada ATMIS, waxa ay dowladda Soomaaliya ku baraarugsan tahay masuuliyadda kaga soo aaddan hanashada amniga dalkeeda. Madaxweynaha Soomaaliya ayaa xoojiyay xiriirka uu la leeyahay dalalka Gacanka ee ku yaalla Geeska Afrika iyo sida oo kale Masar iyo Mareykanka, kuwaas oo dhammaantood ballan qaaday in ay Soomaaliya ka taageerayaan howlgallada ka dhanka ah al-Shabaab.



*Sannadkii 2022 waxa uu ku bilaabmay isqabqabsi iyo jaahwareer siyaasadeed, waxaanu ku dhammaaday degganaansho iyo xasilooni siyaasadeed oo heer qaran ah iyo sida oo kale xiriirka caalamiga ah ayaa soo roonaaday*

Sannadkii 2022 waxa uu ku bilaabmay isqabqabsi iyo jaahwareer siyaasadeed, waxaanu ku dhammaaday degganaansho iyo xasilooni siyaasadeed oo heer qaran ah iyo sida oo kale xiriirka caalamiga ah ayaa soo roonaaday. In kasta oo aan si buuxda looga soo kabanannin dhibaatooyinka ku salaysan arrimaha bini’aadantinimada iyo caqabadaha amniga, haddana Muddadii ay jirtay xukuumadda Xasan Shiikh, waxa abuurmay rejooyin badan oo la filayo in lagu tallaabsado sannadka 2023; kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin horumarinta istaraatiijiyadaha qaranka iyo taageerooyinka caalamiga ah ee ku salaysan dadaallada loogu jiro nabadda iyo dowlad-dhisidka Soomaaliya.

# HERITAGE

I N S T I T U T E