

HERITAGE

I N S T I T U T E



GALMUDUG

**MAAMULKA, DOWLAD-DHISKA, ISBEDBEDDELLADA
COLAADDA IYO DIBUHESIINTA**

Maarso 2024

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Ku Saabsan Qorayaasha

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Akhristayaasha waxa lagu dhiirrigalinayaa in ay sii tarmiyaan xogtan, oo ay iskood u daabacaan, balse sinaba ugama ganacsan karaan. Xaqle ahaan, Machadka Heritage waxa uu si xushmad leh uga codsanaynaa cid kasta oo daabacaddan sii badisaa, in ay mahadnaq iyo nuqul daabacaaddeeda ka mid ah noo hibayso. Adeegsiga khadka tooska ah, waxa aan waydiisanaynaa akhristayaasha in ay ku xirnaadaan macluumaadka shabakadda.

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1. Nuxurka Daraasadda

Inkasta oo ay Soomaaliya dhanka dowlad dhiska kaga tallaabsatay horumarka kooban oo wax ku ool ah, haddana weli waxa jira caqabado waaweyn oo wiiqi kara sharcinimada hay'adaha dowliga ah, geeddisocodka hanaqaadka dowladnimada, nabadaynta iyo qaran-dhiska, iyo in ay muwaadiniintu ka qaybgalaan maamulka dowladda. In la iftiimiyo, lana xoojiyo kalsoonida ay muwaadiniintu ku qabaan dhammaan heerarka hay'adaha rasmiga ah ee Galmudug iyo in kor loo qaado awoodda muwaadiniinta, gaar ahaan dhallinyarada iyo haweenka, si loo kobciyo dareenka lahaanshaha iyo masuuliyadda waxa muhiim ah in la qaado tallaabooyin lagu kobcinayo sharcinimada, waxtarka, iyo daahfurnaanta hay'adaha dowladda iyo in halkaas hore looga sii socdo.



Barnaamijka Talo Wadaag waxa looga golleeyahay in ay muwaadinta Galmudug awood u yeeshaan ka qaybgalka maamulka, nabadda, iyo geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska

Iyada oo laga duulayo yoolasha Machadka Daraasaadka Siyaasadda ee Heritage (HIPS) oo ah in la helo Soomaaliya nabad ah oo xasiloon, isla markaana ay hagayaan siyaasado ku dhisan xaqiiqooyin cilmibaadhiseed, wajiga labaad ee barnaamijka Talo Wadaag waxa looga golleeyahay in ay muwaadinta Galmudug awood u yeeshaan ka qaybgalka maamulka, nabadda, iyo geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska.

Daraasaddani waxa ay ku jaango'an tahay qaab-dhismeedka Wajiga II ee Barnaamijka Talo Wadaag. Cilmibaaristani waxa ay u kuurgashay waxyaalaha qaabeeya geeddisocodka hanaqaadka iyo aasaaska dowladda Galmudug. Waxyaalahaas waxa ka mid ah siyaasadda beelaha, arrimaha dhaqaalaha, gadgaddoonka xasaradaha, maamulka, doorashooyinka (kuwa dadban iyo kuwa tooska ah ba), xaaladda barakacayaasha gudaha, amniga iyo hannaannada dibuheshiisiinta. Qoraayada cilmibaaristu waxa ay rejaynayaan in natiijooyinka daraasaddu ay ka caawin doonto nabad-dhiseyaasha, ardayda jaamacadaha, hawl-wadeennada bulshada, iyo bulshooyinka carro-edeg/caalamka ee daneeya arrimaha Soomaaliya, fahamka sooyaalka geeddisocodka dhismihii Galmudug iyo xaaladda ay hadda ku jirto, iyo sida oo kale saadaasha isbeddellada dowlad-dhiska mustaqbalka. Fahanka noocan ahi waxa kale oo uu ka caawinayaa kooxaha bartilmaameedka ah ee kor ku xusan in ay abuuraan siyaasado ku habboon oo xallinaya caqabadihii soo foodsaaray geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska, dibuheshiisiinta, iyo maamulka.

Sida oo kale, natiijooyinkani waxa ay dadka bartilmaameedka u ah daraasadda ka caawinayaan fahamka dareennada ku lifaaqan geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska iyo weliba sida looga falcelin karo ee dhaqan ahaan ku habboon. Waxa jira meelo ay cilmibaaristani ku tafgaaban tahay. Marka koowaad, waxa kaliya oo ay ku tiirsan tahay waa dibu-eegista kaydada xogta, sidaas darteed, ma muujinayso, mana soo bandhigayso aragtida tooska ah ee ay hadda dadku qabaan iyo dareennada ku gadaaman mawduucan sida waraysiyada tooska ah iyo indha-indhaymaha. Mar labaadka, daraasaddan inteeda badan waxa la sameeyay 2023; maadaaba isbeddello door ah oo ku saabsan geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska xilliyadaas kadib dhaceen. Mar saddexaadka, inkasta oo ay qoraayadu isku dayeen in ay dibu-eegaan oo baaraan mawduucan inta ay awoodaan, haddana dhammaan kaydada xogta Galmudug ma ahayn kuwo laga wada salgaaray.

Xogihii aannu ka helnay daraasadihii laga sameeyay Galmudug ayaa muujinaya in markasta oo ay hay'aduhu qaataan siyaasadda iyo habdhaqannada loo dhan yahay, ay tahay mar kasta oo ay sii xoogaystaan hannaannada nabadaynta iyo ka hortagga colaadaha gacan ka hadalka ah. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, marka Soomaaliya la joogo, ee ka hadalka maamul-dhaqameedka loo adeegsado ereyga u dhammaansho (inclusion), waxa markiiba loo qaadanayaa oday beeledyo (rag ah). Si la mid ah dowlad-goboleedyada kale ee faderaalka xubnaha ka ah, waxa ay caadooyinka dhaqanku si weyn u xaddidaya in muwaadiniinta Galmudug ka qaybgalaan mumaamulka rasmiga ah iyo geedisocodka dowlad-dhiska— gaar ahaan haweenka, iyo dhallinyarada. Galmudug, gaar ahaan haweenka ayaa ah kuwo matalaaddoodu hoosayso marka loo eego ka qaybgalka adowladdaha hoose, baarlamaanka iyo golaha wasiirrada, taas oo hoos u dhigi karta hannaanka dhismaha dowlad loo dhan yahay, oo xasilloon.

Sida kor ku xusan, daraasaddani waxa ay dibu-eegaysaa kaydada xogeed ee ku saabsan Galmudug, iyada oo si gaar ah xoogga u saaraysa siyaadaha ku dhisan qabaa'ilka, isbeddelada khilaafaadka, xaaladaha barakacayaasha gudaha, iyo doorka ay muwaadiniintu ku leeyihiin kaqaybgalka hannaanka dibuheshiisiinta iyo dowlad-dhiska, oo ay ku jiraan doorashooyinka dadban ee dowladaha hoose. Daraasaddan ayaa iftiimaysay caqabadaha xaddidaya in haweenku kaqaybgalaan maamulka dowladda hoose iyo dowlad-dhiska. Doorka muhiimka ah ee haweenku ka qaadan karaan dibuheshiisiinta ayaa hoosta laga xariiqayaa. Sida oo kale, qoraalkani waxa uu guudmar ku samaynayaa doorka ay jilayaasha gudaha iyo kuwa dibaddu ku leeyihiin dowlad-dhiska iyo sida oo kale dibuheshiisiinta gudaha Galmudug.

Cilmibaaristan waxa lagu ogaaday in:

- “
Dowladda Faderaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) ayaa gacan weyn ka gaysatay yagleelidda dhismaha dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug”
1. Dowladda Faderaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) ayaa gacan weyn ka gaysatay yagleelidda dhismaha dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug, halka ay beesha caalamku siiyeen taageero dhaqaale iyo mid farsmo oo kali ah. Siyaabo badan ayuu weli maamulka Galmudug ugu tiirsan yahay DFS, waxa se kooban taageerada uu ka helo beesha caalamka. Maaddaama oo aanu Galmudug markii hore ahayn mashruuc gudaha deegaankaas ka soo bilaabmay, dareenka lahaanshaha bulshadaasi ma ahayn mid xooggan; si kastaba ha ahaatee, xilliyadii danbe, lahaanshaha bulshadu waa uu soo xoogaysanayey.
 2. Tan iyo markii ay burburtay dowladdii dhexe 1991, waxa jiray dadaallo badan oo lagu heshiisiinayo qabiillada Soomaalida, kuwaas oo ay taageerayeen bulshada gudaha iyo ururrada caalamiga ahiba. Sidaa darteed, waxa kor loo qaaday awoodda ay reer Galmudug u leeyihiin xallinta khilaafaadka beelaha. Iyada oo ay dibuheshiisiintu si togan uga tarjumi karto waxyaalaha jira iyo dowladaha hoose, waxa cirka isku sii shareereysa xiisadda siyaasadeed ee heer dowlad goboleed, taas oo ay sababtay muddada xilka Madaxweyne Axmed Cabdi Kaariye oo ku eeg dhammaadka 2024. Qalalaasahan siyaasadeed oo ah mid suuragalka ah ayaa uu baahan waxkaqabasho degdeg ah. Iyada oo ay taageerayaan oday-dhaqameedka, madaxda diinta, iyo haweenka waa in ay DFS qaaddo tallaabooyin ay kaga hortagayso xiisadaha colaadeed ee soo yeelyelanaya.



Haddii si toolmoon loo maamulo, dowladaha hoose waxa ay noqonayaan hannaan dibuheshiisiineed oo bulsho

3. Inkasta oo ay jiraan doodo qaba in ay guusha dhismaha dowladdu ka bilaabanto dowladaha hoose, haddana, golayaasha deegaanka Galmudug badan koodu waxa ay ku yimaaddeen magacaabis xukuumadeed ee ma aha kuwo gudaha deegaanka laga soo xushay. Golayaasha deegaanku waa meesha ugu horraysa ee lagala soo xidhiidho dadka caadiga ah ee deegaanka iyo meesha laga soo unko hawlaha masiiriga ah. Hannaankan asaasiga ah ayay muwaadiniinta gudahu ku heli karaan xuquuqahooda, waxaanay kaga qaybgali karaan nolosha guud ee dadweynaha. sida oo kale, waxa ay jidkan kula xidhiidhi karaan dowladooda hoose, kagana qaybqaadan karaan horumarinta maamulka, dowlad-dhiska iyo xallinta khilaafaadka gudaha. Haddii si toolmoon loo maamulo, dowladaha hoose waxa ay noqonayaan hannaan dibuheshiisiineed oo bulsho.
4. Barakacayaasha gudaha ee gobolkan waxa soo foodsaaray xaalado murugo leh oo ay sababeen abaaro, xasilooni darro iyo roobab waaweyn oo muddo todobaadyo ah ka da'ayay Galmudug. Dhiiqada dhulka iyo daadadka xooggan ayaa xaddiday dagaalladii la gula jiray al-Shabaab. Xaaladdan ayaa uga sii dartay barakacayaasha oo ah kuwo aan awood u lahayn in ay noqdaan muwaadiniin dhab ah illaa ay ku soo dabafaylaan beelaha gudaha eek u dhaqan deegankan. Sidaa darteed, barakacayaasha guduhu, gaar ahaan haweenku awood uma laha in ay si wax ku ool ah uga qaybgalaan go'aannada saamaynta ku leh noloshooda maalin laha ah.
5. Galmudug dhaqaale ahaan ayay u sii cakirmaysaa. Marka laga reebo madaarrada diyaaradaha, ilaha dakhli-abuurka dowladdu waa kuwo aad u kooban. Sidaas darteed, badbaadada Galmudug waxa ay ku tiirsantahay DFS iyo taageerada ururrada caalamiga ah. Ganacsatada tujaarta ah ee ka soo jeeda Galmudug ayaa maalgadashaday Muqdisho, halkii ay ahayd in ay maalgashadaan gobolkooda Galmudug, iyada oo ay siyaasiyiinta Galmudug waxtar kooban ku darsadaan dekedda Hobyo oo wakhti dheer la sugayay. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, madaxweynaha Galmudug ee hadda ayaa ku tallaabsaday horumar cusub, isaga oo daahfuray dhismaha dekedda Hobyo 10-kii December, 2023. Sida ku cad heshiiskii taariikhiga ahaa ee Dowladda Galmudug iyo Shirkadda Maalgalinta Hobyo (HICO) oo la saxeexay bishii Diiseember 2023, waxa ay Dowladda Galmudug u qoondaysay dhismaha dekedda dhul dhan 60km² ah, waxa kale oo ay dowladdu u fidinaysaa HICO waxii kale ee dhanka dowladda looga baahdo. Dekedda Hobyo ayaa ku kacaysa lacag dhan 300 oo milyan oo doolarka Maraykanka, oo isugu jirta hawlaha maamulka, maalgalinta iyo horumarinta baahiyaha kale ee dekedda. Baarlamaanka ayaa heshiiskan meelmariyay horraantii 2024.

2. Hordhac

Dabayaaqadii 1991, waxa burburtay dowladdii militeriga ahayd ee Soomaaliya. Sidaa darteed, mashruucada faderaalaynta Soomaaliya waxa loo qaatay si loo xalliyo caqabadaha iyo colaadaha siyaasadaysan ee laga dhaxlay maamul-xumayntii xad-dhaafka ahayd.



Bangiga Adduunka iyo Qaramada Midoobay ayaa sheegay in samaynta hay'ado maamulkoodu daadajisan yahay, oo loo dhan yahay muhiim u tahay ka hortagga khilaafaadka, nabadda iyo xasiloonida

Bangiga Adduunka iyo Qaramada Midoobay ayaa sheegay in samaynta hay'ado maamulkoodu daadajisan yahay, oo loo dhan yahay muhiim u tahay ka hortagga khilaafaadka, nabadda iyo xasiloonida. Galmudug waa mid ka mid shanta maamul-goboleed ee xubnaha ka ah faderaalka. Mabda'a faderaalaynta Soomaaliya waxa la iskula qaatay Shir-qarameedkii Dibuheshiisiinta Soomaaliya oo uu hoggaaminayay Urur Goboleedka IGAD, isla markaana lagu qabtay dalka Kenya muddadii u dhaxaysay 2002–2004. Marka laga reebo Puntland, ku dhaqanka federaalaynta iyo dhismaha dowladaha xubnaha ka ah federaalka waxa si dhab ah loo hirgaliyay wixii ka danbeeyay ansixinta Dastuurka Kumeelgaar ah ee Soomaaliya oo la isku raacay 2012.¹ Dhismaha dowladda Puntland ayaa isagu ka horreeyay asaasitaanka Dowladda Faderaalka Soomaaliya iyo dowlad-goboleedyadii ka danbeeyay.

Dhismaha dowladda Galmudug waxa saamayn ku yeeshay dhowr arrimood oo ay ka mid yihiin jabkii Midawga Maxakamadaha Islaamiga ah, soo ifbixiddii al-Shabaab, iyo soo shaacbixii Ahlu Sunna wal-Jameeca, ku lug yeelashada saamilayda gobolkan oo ah kow iyo tobanka qabiil, iyo hay'ado siyaasadeed oo kala duwan. Sida oo kale, Dowladda Faderaalka Soomaaliya ayaa door weyn ka ciyaartay aasaaska Galmudug. Beesha caalamka ayaa sida oo kale taageero weyn ka gaysatay hawlaha saadka iyo farsamada.² Warbixintani waxa ay isku dayaysaa in ay soo bandhigto xaqiiqooyin cadcad oo ku dhisan aqoon cilmibaariseed oo ka shidaalqaanaysa ilo-xogeedyadii aannu ka helay Galmudug. Inkasta oo ay natiijooyinka cilmibaaristu si guud u iftiiminayaan geedisocodka dowlad-dhiska, ma soo gudbinayaan dhammaan khibradaha gudaha iyo istaraatiijiyadaha loo maray dhismiha dowladda Galmudug. Sidaa darteed, waa lagama maarmaan in la sameeyo daraasado kale oo si qotodheer loogu lafagurayo geedisocodka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug.

3. Ujeedooyinka cilmibaarista

Cilmibaaristani waxa ay u kuurgalaysaa geedisocodka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug laga soo bilaabo horraantii 2000 illaa iyo maanta, waxaanay:

- baaraysaa sida ay siyaasadaha gudaha iyo siyaasadaha heer qaran u saameeyeen maamulka iyo dowlad-dhiska Galmudug
- qeexaysaa isbedbeddellada amniga iyo colaadaha oo ay weheliyaan jilayaashii ugu tunka weynaa ee gudo iyo dibedba ku luglahaa hannaanka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug
- Raadinaysaa muhiimadda ay u leedahay sida caddaaladda leh ee loo qabto doorashooyin dowlad hoose oo dadban, xasilooni, kalsooni bulsho, sharciyad dowladeed iyo diyaargarowga doorashooyinka gobollada iyo faderaalka

1. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.saferworld-global.org/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.

2. Horncenter, (2023). Mapping the foundations of peace in Galmudug state, Somalia: Reconciliation, security and rule of law, state-building, democratization, and decentralization. Horncenter.

- sahaminaysaa caqabadaha xaddidaya in kooxaha la dhayalsadaa/haybsoocaa ka qaybgalaan hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda
- iftiiminaysaa geeddisocodka siyaasadeed iyo hannaanka dibuheshiisiinta bulshada Galmudug illaa iyo horraantii 2000
- u guurgalaysaa dhibaatooyinka ku xeeran barakacayaasha gudaha iyo doorkooda muwaadin ahaaneed ee ay ku leeyihiin maamulka
- faham ka bixinaysaa caqabadaha iyo fursadaha dhaqaale ee Galmudug

4. Habraaca Daraasadda

Warqaddani waxa ay adeegsanaysaa tabaha dibu-eegista ilo-xogeedyada iyo dhigaallada cilmiga, iyada oo loo marayo habraacyo daraaseedka loo yaqaanno habka qeexidda (descriptive method) iyo habka lafagurka (analytical method). Habka qeexitaanka, ayaa qeexaya xaaladda jirta isaga oo adeegsanaya xogaha laga helay mawduucyada kala duwan ee laga hadlayo. Cilmibaaruhu waxa uu cabbirayaa, oo uu soo tabinayaa wixii dhacay iyo waxa dhacaya iyada oo la isticmaalayo kaydanka xogta, hababka isbarbardhigga kooxaha iyo xidhiidh ka dhaxaysiinta doorsoomayaasha iyo waydiimaha xaqiiqa-helidda. Habka lafagurka, waxa ay cilmibaareyaashu adeegsadeen xaqiiqooyin iyo xogo hore loo diiwaangaliyay, iyaga oo si qotodheer u gorfaynaya, isla markaana falanqaynaya xogahaas iyo xaqiiqooyinkaas si ay xaaladda jirta u sharraxaan.³ Warqaddan ayaa adeegsatay habka isu sii marka kaqaybgalayaasha daraasadda, taas oo kaa caawinaysa helitaanka daabacadaha muhiimka ah ee la xidhiidha mawduuca ay rabaan cilmibaareyaashu. Habraaca cilmibaarista waxa xaddiday dibu-eegista kaydanka xogta ee toos u quseeya Galmudug. amniga, siyaasadda, iyo arrimaha la xiriira dhaqaalaha bulshada Galmudug ayaa ah kuwo kobcaya oo marba marka ka danbaysa isbeddelaya. Isbeddeladaas ayaa daraasaddan ku keeni kara tafgaabashooyin.

5. Jiquraafiyadda

Galmudug waa mid ka mid ah shanta maamul-goboleed ee xubnaha ka ah Jamhuuriyadda Faderaalka Soomaaliya, waxaanay dhacdaa bartamaha koonfureed ee dalka. Erayga Galmudug ayaa ah aragti dhowaan soo shaacbaxday oo curatay dabayaaqadii 2000.⁴ Waa magac ka kooban labada gobol ee Galgaduud iyo Mudug oo la isku daray. Jiquraafi ahaan, Galmudug waxa ay ka kooban tahay Galgaduud iyo Koonfurta Mudug.

3. Kothari, C. R. (2004). Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques, 2nd ed.

New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited, p. 2. Accessed, <https://books.google.so/>

https://books.google.so/books?hl=en&lr=&id=hZ9wSHysQDYC&oi=fnd&pg=PA2&ots=1uTfqBh4I8&sig=0B1AJp0T8_tLK4KjGv1vKYRpuIc&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false.

4. Platform, S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished). The Somali Dialogue Platform (Wadahadalada Somaaliyeed) is a programme, implemented by the Rift Valley Institute, that works to facilitate agreement amongst Somalis on contentious political issues. Please check: <https://riftvalley.net/projects/horn-of-africa/somali-dialogue-platform/>

Gobolka Galguduud waxa uu ka kooban yahay degmooyin cusub iyo kuwo hore oo ay ka mid yihiin: Caabudwaaq, Cadaado, Dhuusamarreeb, Balanballe, Ceelbuur, Ceeldheere, Xeraale and Baxdo. Warbixin⁵ la soo saaray 2022, ayaa dadweynaha Galgaduud ku qiyaastay 689,872 oo qof. Gobolka Galguduud waxa ay xuduudo la leeyahay gobollada, Mudug, Hiiraan iyo Shabeellaha Dhexe iyo sida oo kale gobollada Soomaalida Itoobiya iyo Badweynta Hindiya. Dadka deegaanka u ah Galguduud waxa ugu badan beelaha Hawiye, inkasta oo ay degaan beesha Marreexaan iyo beelo kale. Koonfurta Mudug, ayaa sida oo kale ka kooban degmooyin cusub iyo kuwo hore: Koonfurta Gaalkacyo, Hobyo, Xarardheere, Afbarwaaqo, Wisil, Ceelguula, Galinsoor, iyo Bandiiradley. Sannadkii 2022, waxa dadweynaha Mudug lagu qiyaasay 1,317,403 qof, oo ay ku jiraan dadka deggan labada dhinac Galmudug iyo Puntland.⁶ Warbixin soo baxday horraantii 2021, ayaa sheegaysa in dadweynaha Mudug yihiin 717,863.⁷ Caasimadda Mudug waa Gaalkacayo, waxaanay qaybisaa Galmudug iyo Puntland. Gobolka Mudug waxa uu xuduud la leeyahay Galgaduud, Nugaal, Itoobiya, iyo Badweynta Hindiya. Koonfurta Mudug, inteeda badan waxa dega beesha Hawiye, inkasta oo ay degaan qabiillo kale oo ay ka mid tahay beesha Dir.⁸

6. Siyaasadda beelaysan, dowlad-dhiska iyo maamulka

“
Ka hor xorniyaddii 1960-yadii, dhulkii Soomaaliyeed oo uu maamulayay Talyaanigu waxa uu ka koobnaa lix maamul goboleed; kuwaas mid ka mid ah waxa loo yaqaannay Mudug, waxaanu lahaa isla xuduudahan uu hadda Galmudug leeyahay

Qarniyo badan, gobolka Galmudug waxa deganaa qabiillo Soomaaliyeed, waxaana ka talinayay Sandalado, hoggaamiye-dhaqameedyo qabiil ama maammullo diimeed, kuwaas oo xidhiidh wanaagsan la lahaa khaliifadii Cismaaniyada.⁹ Qabiilladii lagu xusay taariikhihii hore ee deegaankan waxa ka mid ahaa Hawiye iyo Mareexaan, oo lagu sheegay sooyaalka la dagaallanka Xabashida.¹⁰ Ka hor xorniyaddii 1960-yadii, dhulkii Soomaaliyeed oo uu maamulayay Talyaanigu waxa uu ka koobnaa lix maamul goboleed; kuwaas mid ka mid ah waxa loo yaqaannay Mudug, waxaanu lahaa isla xuduudahan uu hadda Galmudug leeyahay.¹¹

Maanta, waxa qaabdhismeedka bulshada iyo nidaamka siyaasadda Galmudug jaangooya qabiilka.¹² Nidaamyadaasi waxa ay ku salaysan yihiin awood-qaybsiga kow iyo tobankan beelood: tobanka beelood ee Saleebaan, Sacad, Cayr, Duduble, Marreexaan, Murursade, Dir, Suruur, Wacaysle, iyo Sheekhaal oo lagu daray dhowr qabiil oo yar yar, sida Madhibaan, Tumaal, iyo Haskul, kuwaas oo isku darkooda hal koox loo tixgeliyo. Samayska kow iyo tobankan qabiil ayaa waxoogaa la isku maandhaafsan yahay, waxaanay dadka qaar ku doodaan in uu u adeegayo oo kaliya danaha qabiillo yar oo awood leh.

5. European Union Agency for Asylum. (2023). Somali: Security situation. Accessed, https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2023-02/2023_02_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_Situation_EN.pdf, p.138.

6. European Union Agency for Asylum. (2023). Somali: Security situation. Accessed, https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2023-02/2023_02_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_Situation_EN.pdf.

7. Easo. (2021). Somalia security situation. Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2060582/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_situation.pdf.

8. Ibid.

9. Platform, S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished).

10. Ibid.

11. Paolo Tripodi, P. (1999). Back to the Horn: Italian administration and Somalia's troubled independence, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32/2-3 (1999): p. 367.

12. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.safeworld-global.org/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.



Geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug ayaa ahaa mid kakan oo lagu muransan yahay, waxaanu siyaabo badan tusaale ugu yahay mashruuca federaalka ee dalku qaatay oo ah mid cakiran

Geeddisocodka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug ayaa ahaa mid kakan oo lagu muransan yahay, waxaanu siyaabo badan tusaale ugu yahay mashruuca federaalka ee dalku qaatay oo ah mid cakiran.¹³

Dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug ayaa ka soo dhexbaxay maamullo kala duwan oo leh kuwo heer deegaan, maamul-beeleedyo isku biiray iyo maamullo ay hoggaamiyaan jifooyin gaar ah oo isu tagay.

Dowlad Goboleedka Galmudug waxa ay ka soo baxday maamullo kala duwan oo deegaan, isku dhaf ah oo ay maamulaan beelo, mararka qaarna ay maamulaan beelo wadaag ah. Federaalayntu ma ahayn dawo si fudud loogu maarayn karo bulsho qaybsantay, oo ay ka burburtay siyaasaddii dowladnimo.¹⁴ Balse, waxa loogu talagalay in lagu xalliyo colaadaha dabadheeraaday, xasiloondarrada iyo nidaamka siyaasadeed ee ku dhisan u kala sadburinta qaybaha bulshada, oo ah mid laga dhaxlay nidaamkii burburay ee kalitaliska ahaa.

Sannadkii 2006, ayay xubno ka tirsan beelaha dega koonfurta Gaalkacayo oo metelaya beesha Sacad(Habargidir), Shiikhaal, Dir, Xillabe(Murusade) iyo Madhibaan sameeyeen Maamul-goboleedka Gaalkacayo, iyaga oo madaxweynihii ugu horreeyay u doortay Muxammed Cali Kiimiko, caasimmada gobolkaasna u qoondeeyay Gaalkacayo. Maamulka Xibin iyo Xeeb, ayaa ka mid ah maamullada Galmudug ee qabiilka ku salaysan, kaas oo loo arkay jid loo mari karo xillinta khilaafaadka, waxa samaystay, isla markaana maamula laba jilib oo Saleebaan ah. Ahlu Sunna Wal-Jameeca oo ah kooxo diineed oo suufiyo ah, kana kooban qabiillo badan oo ay ku jiraan beelaha Cayr, Dir, iyo Marreexaan ayaa maamul cusub u sameeyay magaalooyinka Dhuusamareeb, Guriceel, Caabudwaaq, Balanbale iyo Xeraale (oo ay taageeri jirtay Itoobiya) kadib markii ay ka adkaadeen al- al-Shabaab.¹⁵

Sannadkii 2014, ayay heshiis wada jir ah Muqdisho ku kala saxeexdeen maamullada Ximan iyo Xeeb iyo Ahlu Sunna Waljameeca, halkaas oo ay kaga dhawaaqeen Maamulka cusub ee Gobollada Dhexe.¹⁶ Wasiirkii Arrimaha Gudaha ee Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya Cabdillaahi Goodax Barre, ayaa si loo dhiso dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug u magacaabay guddi farsamo oo ka kooban lix iyo labaatan xubnood oo ay ku jiraan afar haween ahi.¹⁷

Maamulkan cusub, waxa markiiba qaaddacday xukuumaddii Puntland ee xilligaas jirtay, iyada oo ku andacoonaysa in sifaha dhismihiiisi lid ku yahay dastuurka kumeelgaarka ah¹⁸, oo dhigaya in dowladaha xubnaha ka ah federaalku ka koobnaadaan ugu yaraan laba gobol,¹⁹ halka ay Galmudug ka ahayd hal gobol oo buuxa, kaas oo ah Galgaduud iyo Koonfurta Mudug. Puntland oo cadaadis kala kulantay beesha caalamka ayaa markii danbe aqbashay dhismihii Galmudug.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Interpeace. (2008). Community based peace processes. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/2008_SomSC_Interpeace_CRD_Community_Based_Peace_Processes_EN.pdf, p. 16.

16. Reliefweb. (2014). SRSG Kay welcomes Himan & Heeb signing of intent to form new administration in central Somalia. Accessed,

<https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/srsg-kay-welcomes-himan-heeb-signing-intent-form-new-administration-central-somalia>

17. United Nations Security Council. (October 19, 2015). Accessed, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2015_801.pdf.

18. Interpeace. (2008). Community based peace processes. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/2008_SomSC_Interpeace_CRD_Community_Based_Peace_Processes_EN.pdf, p.16.

19. Article 48 of the provisional constitution of Somalia states: "Two or more regions may merge to form a federal member state."



Sannadkii 2015, ayuu Madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud shirka maamul-goboleed samaynta ku qabtay magaalada Cadaado, iyada oo kow iyo tobanka beelood ee wax ku leh Galgaduud iyo Koonfurta Mudug, isugu yimaaddeen in ay ka wada xaajoodaan awood-qaybsiga iyo hannaanka dowlad-dhiska. Shirkaasi waxa uu ahaa xilli ku suntan asaaska Galmudug

Sannadkii 2015, ayuu Madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud shirka maamul-goboleed samaynta ku qabtay magaalada Cadaado,²⁰ iyada oo kow iyo tobanka beelood ee wax ku leh Galgaduud iyo Koonfurta Mudug, isugu yimaaddeen in ay ka wada xaajoodaan awood-qaybsiga iyo hannaanka dowlad-dhiska. Shirkaasi waxa uu ahaa xilli ku suntan asaaska Galmudug.²¹ Waxaanay kow iyo tobankan beelood Cadaado ku ansixiyeen Dastuurka Galmudug bishii Jannaayo 2015.

Waxa la isla qaatay in 25 oday-dhaqameedka beelahaas ahi soo magacaabaan 89 xubnood oo maarlamaan ah, kuwaas oo u taagan metelaadda beelaha Galmudug. Baarlaman ayaa doortay guddoomiye baarlamaan, iyo kuxigeennadiisii, iyo madaxweynihii ugu horreeyay oo ahaa Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed iyo kuxigeenkiisii. Madaxweynuhu waxa uu magacaabay golahiisii wasiirrada. Waxa kale oo ay Galmudug leedahay laba guddoomiye goboleed, guddoomiyeyaal degmooyin, golayaal deegaan iyo gole deegaameed odayaal ah oo aan rasmi ahayn, kuwaas oo ka shaqeeya hawlo badan oo ay ka mid yihiin dibuheshiisinta beelaha iyo bulshada, iyo sida oo kale hawlaha garsoorka iyo arrimaha maamulka.²²

Ahlu Sunna WalJameeca (ASWJ), oo haystay qaybo ka mid ah gobolka Galmudug, oo ay ku jirto caasimadda Galmudug ee Dhuusamareeb ayaa qaaddacay hannaankan,²³ iyaga oo sheegay in la duudsiyay doorkii ay ka qaateen la dagaallanka al-Shabaab. Sidaa darteed, ASWJ waxa ay dareemeen in la xaqiray xilligii lagu gudo jiray hannaanka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug.²⁴

Sannadkii 2017, ayuu baarlamaanka Galmudug madaxweyne u doortay Axmed Ducaale Geelle (Xaaf).²⁵ Kaddib wadahadallo ka dhacay Kenya iyo Jabuuti oo ay fududaysay IGAD, ayaa dhaliyay in ASWJ ku biiro dowladda Xaaf, kadib markii la siisay jagada 'Madaxa xukuumadda'.²⁶

Siyaasiyiinta beelaha qaar ayaa ka biyadiiday in hoggaamiya ASWJ, Shiikh Shaakir uu helo xil sidaas u weyn, maadaama isaga iyo madaxweyne Xaaf ka soo wada jeedeen beesha Habargidir, oo ah jilib ka tirsan beesha Hawiye. Waxa ay ku doodeen in jagada cusub ee Shiikh Shaakir kala dhantaashay masuuliyadaha madaxdii la soo doortay, sida madaxweyne kuxigeenka iyo guddoomiyaha baarlamaanka.

Intaas kadib, dowladdu way ka soo guurtay Cadaado, waxaanay muddo xileedkeedii degtay Dhuusamareeb, iyada oo Galmudug ka dhigtay dowladda kali ah ee caasimaddeeda ku hawlgasha; marka laga tago Puntland.

20. Goobjoog. (April 17, 2015). Major developments toward the formation of the Somali Central State. Accessed, <https://goobjoog.com/english/major-developments-towards-the-formation-of-the-somali-central-state/>.

21. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.safeworld-global.org/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.

22. Easo. (2021). Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf, p. 98.

23. United Nations Security Council. (September 11, 2015). Accessed, https://unsom.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg_report_on_somalia_11_september_2015.pdf p. 2.

24. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/>.

25. Interpeace. (2008). Community based peace processes. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/2008_SomSC_Interpeace_CRD_Community_Based_Peace_Processes_EN.pdf.

26. Goobjoog. (December 17, 2017). Ahlu Sunnah to head cabinet in brokered deal with Galmudug state <https://en.goobjoog.com/ahlu-sunnah-to-head-cabinet-in-brokered-deal-with-galmudug-state/>.

Si loo qanciyo beesha Saleebaan, oo ah jilib ka mid ah Hawiye oo Cadaado dega, waxa ay ballanqaadeen labadii madaxweyne ee hore ee Galmudug Cabdikariin Guuleed iyo Axmed Ducaale Geelle (Xaaf) in baarlamanka oo kali ahi (kuma jiraan golaha wasiirradu) ay ka hawlgali doonaan deegaannada ka baxsan Cadaado, inkasta oo aanay ballantan markii danbe oofin.²⁷ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, ASWJ ayaa diidday doorashadii madaxweynaha Galmudug oo lagu doortay Axmed Cabdi Kaariye (Qoorqoor), oo ka guulaystay Xaaf.²⁸ 28 Febraayo 2020, ayay dowladda Xaaf, oo ay taageerayaan ciidamada DFS ka adkaatay ASWJ, waxaanay si buuxda u qabsatay Dhusamareeb.²⁹ Qaybo ka tirsan kooxaha hubaysan ee ASWJ ayaa ku soo biiray ciidamada Soomaaliya iyo ciidamada amniga Galmudug.³⁰ Tallaabo cusub ee hore loo qaaday bishii Juun 2023, ayaa ahayd in ay ASWJ Guriceel dhexdiisa kaga ballanqaadaan in ay DFS ku garab taagan tahay dagaalka lagu la jiro al-Shabaab.³¹ Bishii Sibteember, waxa ciidamada amniga Galmudug oo dagaal kula jiray al-Shabaab ku soo biiray kooxo ka tirsan maleeshiyada ASWJ oo ka soo duulay degmada Wisil.³²

“
xukuumadda
Qoorqoor waxa ay
ku naaloonaysay
xasilooni
siyaasadeed oo
ku filan, taas oo
u saamaxday in
ay door weyn
ka ciyaarto
qalalaasaha
siyaasadda
doorashooyinka
heer qaran

In xuddunta xukuumadiisu noqoto caasimadda Dhuusamareeb, ayaa Qoorqoor fursad gaar ah u siisay in uu dhiso dowlad aanay wax lug ah ku lahayn ASWJ. Inkasta oo uu dhiig ku daatay qabsashada Dhuusamareeb, haddana xukuumadda Qoorqoor waxa ay ku naaloonaysay xasilooni siyaasadeed oo ku filan, taas oo u saamaxday in ay door weyn ka ciyaarto qalalaasaha siyaasadda doorashooyinka heer qaran.

Waa laga dheregsan yahay in hannaanka dowlad-dhiska Galmudug ahaa mid ay hadheeyeen wadahalho aan dhammaad lahayn iyo tijaabooyin ku salaysan xidhiidhada ka dhaxeeya foolaadka dalka, sida masuuliyiinta awoodaha leh, hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadda gobolka iyo DFS.³³ Dhismaha waxa saamayn xooggan ku leh dowladda faderaalka, oo si weyn ugu leg lahayd hannaanka dowlad-dhiska oo ay weheliyaan Ergayga Gaarka ah ee Xoghayaha-Guud (SRSG), Mashruuca Horumarinta Qaramada Midoobay, Sanduuqa Xasilinta Soomaaliya, iyo Gargaarka Kaniisadda Finnishka (Finnish Church Aid). Qaar ka mid ah dadyowga wax gorfeeya ayaa qaba in Galmudug ahayd fagaare ay ku loollamayaan jilayaal siyaasadda ku hirdamaya oo ku sugan Muqisho, halkii ay ahaan lahayd hannaan dibuheshiisiineed oo nabadaynta bulshada Galmudug u taagan. Sidaa darteed, lahaanshaha gudaha iyo ku lugyeelashada bulshada ay metelaanba waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo taag daran.³⁴

27. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/>.

28. VOA. (February 19, 2023). Somalia's Sufi Muslim leaders surrender to government. Accessed, https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_somalias-sufi-muslim-leaders-surrender-government/6185038.html.

29. Garowe Online. (February 29, 2020). Somalia: ASWJ leaders surrender to FGS after intensive gunfight. Accessed, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-aswj-leaders-surrender-to-fgs-after-intensive-gunfight/>.

30. Hiiraan Online. (October 23, 2019). Reconciliation process of Galmudug State: Success factors and lessons learned. Accessed, https://www.hiiraan.com/op4/2019/oct/165911/reconciliation_process_of_galmudug_state_success_factors_and_lessons_learned.aspx.

31. Hiiraan Online. (June 24, 2023). ASWJ pledges support for federal government's anti-al-Shabab operation. Accessed, https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jun/191971/aswj_pledges_support_for_federal_government_s_anti_al_shabab_operation.aspx.

32. Caasimada. (September 13, 2023). Wararkii ugu dambeeyey ciidamada qaranka oo la wareegay degaano dhowr ah. Accessed, <https://www.caasimada.net/wararkii-ugu-dambeeyey-ciidamada-qaranka-oo-la-wareegay-degaano-dhowr-ah/>.

33. Saferworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.saferworld-global.org/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.

34. Barise, Z. (September 2019). Hobyoo peace conference. Accessed, http://www.aminarts.com/link/HOBYO%20PEACE%20CONFERENCE_revised_&_final.pdf.



Dagaalkii Itoobiya ee 1970-aadkii, ayaa lagu hubeeyay beelaha Soomaalida, markii dowladdii militeriga ahayd burburtayna hub aan qiyaas lahayn ayaa soo galay gacmaha shacabka

Maamulka Galmudug ee hadda jooga, ayaa dhowaan qaaday tallaabooyin togan oo lagu xoojinayo amniga, maamulka iyo midnimada. Budhcadbadeedii waa laga ciribtiray Galmudug, al-Shabaabna waa laga saaray qaybo ka mid ah Galmudug. Haddana siyaasaddeeda cakiran, ee ku dhisan qabiilka, ayaa maamul-goboleedkan ka dhigtay mid daciif ah, taag daran, oo u nugul khilaafaadka gudaha. Dagaalkii Itoobiya ee 1970-aadkii, ayaa lagu hubeeyay beelaha Soomaalida, markii dowladdii militeriga ahayd burburtayna hub aan qiyaas lahayn ayaa soo galay gacmaha shacabka.³⁵ Sannadkii 2019, waxa gobolka Galmudug yaallay isbaarooyin badan oo ay haysteen maleeshiyaad kala duwan oo ay mid kastaa urursato cashuuro u gaar ah.³⁶ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, xaaladdu way ka wanaagsanaatay sidii waagaas, isbaarooyinkii badankoodiina waa la baabiiyay.

7. Kooxaha Muuqda

Kooxaha ugu waaweyn waxaa ka mid ah kooxihii Budhcad-badeedda oo hadda meesha ka baxay iyo Ahlu Sunna Waljameeca (oo mar ahayd kooxdii ugu awoodda badnayd ee la dagaalanta al-Shabaab, balse hadda huruda) Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya, Dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug, kow iyo tobankii beelood ee dhista Galmudug, maleeshiyo beeleedkii Macawisley³⁷ iyo al-Shabaab. Qabiil kasta oo kow iyo toban kan ka mid ahi waxa uu leeyahay saami siyaasadeed oo la taaban karo, in kasta oo saddex beelood oo kow iyo toban kan ka mid ahi ay leeyihiin saamayn weyn: Sacad oo Gaalkacyo deggan, Saleebaan oo Cadaado deggan, iyo Beesha Dhuusamarreeb degan ee Cayr. Dhinaca kale, kala daadsanaanta saddexdan beelood ee awoodda badan ayaa udub dhexaad u ah kala qaybsanaanta Galmudug. Haddaba shirkii dibuheshiisinta ee ka socday Hobyo ee Habargidir, waxa uu ahaa in la heshiisiinayo, oo la midaynayo dhammaan beelaha Habargidir.³⁸

Xadka u dhexeeya ciidamada qalabka sida ee gobolka iyo maleeshiyo beeleedyada deegaanka ayaa mugdi ku jira.³⁹



Xadka u dhexeeya ciidamada qalabka sida ee gobolka iyo maleeshiyo beeleedyada deegaanka ayaa mugdi ku jira

35. Dialogue Platform (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished).

36. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/> p. 4.

37. Macawisley is a clan-based non-state actor. It started its armed activities in the Middle Shabelle region of Hirshabelle State in Somalia when al-Shabaab attempted to force the residents of Gulane village to donate money, weapons, and boys to fight against Somalia government. A group of men led by a man called Hibad rejected those efforts and began fighting al-Shabaab. Then the Macawisley style spread into Hirshabelle and Galmudug. Please check: Maruf, H. (October 4, 2022). Ma'awisley' militias in central Somalia mobilizing against al-Shabab. VOA. Accessed, <https://www.voanews.com/a/ma-awisley-militias-in-central-somalia-mobilizing-against-al-shabab-/6776048.html>.

38. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/>.

39. In normal situations, "soldiers" refer to formal army troops recruited by governments. Soldiers receive salaries and rations, are part of a unit, and have chain commanders. In contrast, the term "militia" refers to bands of locals armed by their clans and communities to defend them. In general, militias operate in situations of fragile, failed, collapsed, or disintegrated states such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, South Sudan, Syria, Somalia, Central African Republic, and so on. Thus, militia groups can be organized along narrow political/clan lines, and religious groups—like al-Shabaab—to represent the aspirations of their groups and defend their territory. Please check: Accord. (2016). Understanding civil militia groups in Somalia. Accessed, <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/understanding-civil-militia-groups-somalia/> and also Easo (2021), Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf, p.98.

Galmudug iyo Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa dhawaan al-Shabaabka ka xoreeyay deegaanno badan oo ka tirsan maamulkaasi. Guushaas ayaa loo aaneynayaa in ay ku lug lahaayeen dad rayid ah iyo maleeshiyo beeleedka duubleyda ah ee lagu magacaabo Macawisley, oo ku biiray ciidamada Daraawiishta Galmudug iyo kuwa Xoogagga Dalka Soomaaliya oo dagaal kula jira al-Shabaab.⁴⁰ Deegannada ay wali sida buuxda ama qaybo ka mid ah u maamulaan al-Shabaab, waxa dega beelaha Hawiye ee kala ah: Duduble, Murusade, iyo Wacaysle. Beelahan ayaa ka walaacsan maamulka Habargidir ee dowladda, taas oo ka dhigaysa al-Shabaab la jaal ama garabsi ku habboon marka loo eego aragtidda.⁴¹ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dadka qaar ayaa laga yaabaa in ay ku doodaan in saddexdan beelood ee Hawiye aanay isku mid ka ahayn xidhiidhinta iyo la macaamilka al-Shabaab. Iyada oo beelaha Habargidir ay aad u hubaysnaayeen, si ay isaga difaacaan al-Shabaab, ayaa waxaa lagu doodaan in beelaha kale ee Hawiye sida Duduble, Murusade, iyo Wacaysle laga awood roonaaday, iyaga oo ay maamulaysay al-Shabaab, in ka badan shan iyo toban sano.

Dhanka dibadda, ciidamada amniga ee Itoobiya oo ah kuwo ka shaqeynayay ka hortagga, in ay al-Shabaab ku fidaan xuduudka, ayaa lagu daray shisheeyaha dibadda ee saamaynta ku lahaa Galmudug.⁴² Si kastaba ha ahaatee, doorkooda Galmudug ayaa hoos u dhacay tan iyo markii uu talada dalka qabtay Abiy Axmed. Howlgalka Midowga Afrika ee Soomaaliya (AMISOM)—oo dhawaan loo beddelay howlgalka Ku-meel-gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya (ATMIS), oo ay wakiil ka yihiin ciidamada ammaanka Jabuuti—ayaa ku sugan magaalada Dhuusamareeb, si ay u ilaaliyaan garoonka diyaaradaha, waxa ayna ka mid yihiin kooxaha shisheeye ee ka muuqda Galmudug.

Dhowr ka mid ah ururrada aan dawliga ahayn ee caalamiga ah, oo ay ku jiraan SSF (Sanduuqa Nabadaynta Soomaaliya) iyo haayadaha Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Hawlgalka Kaalmaynta Qaramada Midoobay ee Soomaaliya (UNSOM) iyo UNDP, ayaa ka mid ah hawl-wadeenno kale oo dibadda ah, oo ka shaqeeya geeddi-socodka dowlad-dhisidda Galmudug, waxaana lagu tiriyaa kooxaha ka muuqda Galmudug.⁴³ UNSOM ayaa xafiis ku leh magaalada Dhuusamareeb, waxaana dhawaan la siiyay dhul ku yaalla caasimadda, si ay saldhig u noqoto haayadaha Qaramada Midoobay iyo kuwa kale ee caalamiga ah. Tani waxa ay ka caawin kartaa ururrada aan dawliga ahayn ee caalamiga ah (NGO), in ay ka taageeraan Galmudug horumarinta haayadaha dowladeed iyo xoojinta dibuheshiisinta, nabadda, iyo hannaanka geedisocodka dowlad-dhisidda. Waxa kale oo laga yaabaa in ay kor u qaaddo nidaamka dimuqraadiyadda, doorashooyinka iyo bixinta adeegyada aasaasiga ah ee aadka loogu baahan yahay, gaar ahaan goobihii dhawaan laga saaray al-Shabaab.⁴⁴

40. European Union Agency for Asylum. (2023). Somali: Security situation. Accessed, https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2023-02/2023_02_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_Situation_EN.pdf, p. 140.

41. Easo. (2021). Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf, p. 98.

42. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/> p. 4.

43. Easo. (2021). Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf.

44. UNSOM, (February 11, 2023). United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia. Accessed, <https://unsom.unmissions.org/visit-dhusamareb-un-signs-agreement-establishment-office-galmudug>.

8. Doorashooyinka dowladaha hoose ee dadban

Madaxweynaha Soomaaliya Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, ayaa sheegay in doorashada soo socota ee dalku ay noqon doonto mid lagu galo qof iyo cod, laguna saleeyo nidaamka xisbiyada badan ee siyaasadda, taasi oo meesha ka saaraysa habka cod bixinta dadban, oo marar badan hore u dhaliyay qalalaase.⁴⁵

Dowladaha hoose, si kastaba ha ahaatee, cilmi baadhiso la sameeyay ayaa lagu ogaaday in doorashooyinka dadban ee dowladaha hoose, ay si wanaagsan uga qayb qaadan karaan midnimada.⁴⁶ Daraasad cusub oo diiradda lagu saaray maamulka Koonfur Galbeed, ayaa lagu ogaaday in doorashada dadban ee deegaanka loo arko mid halabuur leh oo dibuheshiinta lagu dardargelinayo, taas oo ka duwan doorashooyinka dadban ee Dowlad Goboleedyada iyo Federaalka oo loo arko in ay hadheeyeen musuqmaasuq, wax-is-dabamarin iyo qalalaase, halkaas oo siyaasiyiintu badanaa ay soo bandhigaan odayaal gacankurimis ah kuwaas oo ay ku sheegaan in ay yihiin madax-dhaqameed.⁴⁷ Doorashooyinka dadban ee hufan ee deegaanku waxa ay fududeeyaan danta guud in laga wada doodo iyo wada hadallo wax-ku-ool ah, oo dhex mara odayaasha dhaqanka ee beelaha, kuwaas oo ku saabsan cabashada ay qabaan, isla markaana fududaynaysa in la ogaado baahiyaha iyo duruufaha ku gedaaman. Tani waxa ay yaraynaysaa cabashooyinka, waxa ayna meesha ka saaraysaa caqabadihii hortaagnaa dhismaha dowladaha hoose, waxa ayna kor u qaadaysaa doorashada xubno matalaad leh oo la ixtiraamo, firfircoon, waxtarna u leh beelaha iyo deegaanka laga soo doortay.⁴⁸

Galmudug, si gaar ah magaalada Cadaado, oo inta badan aanay waxyeello ka soo gaadhin dagaalladii sokeeye ee Soomaaliya, ayaa tusaale nool u ah hoggaamiyeyaasha degmooyinka la soo xulay/doortay. Cadaado waxa ay leedahay maamul maxalli ah oo macno leh, oo ay doorteen ergooyinka deegaanka, kaas oo maamula arrimaheeda hoose.⁴⁹ Kaliya Cadaado iyo Koonfurta Gaalkacyo ayaa lahaan jiray golayaal ka hor 2020.⁵⁰ Dhammaan golayaasha deegaanka ee kale waxaa la dhisay kadib doorashadii 2020 ee Qoorqoor. Inta badan, degmooyinka Galmudug, oo ay ku jiraan dhowr degmo oo qadiimi ah iyo toban degmo oo cusub, ayaan haba yaraatee lahayn golayaal deegaan. Degmooyinka ay ka maqan yihiin golayaalka deegaanku waxaa ka mid ah Hobyo, Xarar-dheere, Gelin-soor, Af-barwaaqo, Wisil, Ceelguula iyo Bandiiradley oo Mudug ka tirsan iyo Ceelbuur, Ceeldheer, iyo Baxdo oo Galgaduud ka tirsan.



Doorashooyinka dadban ee hufan ee deegaanku waxa ay fududeeyaan danta guud in laga wada doodo iyo wada hadallo wax-ku-ool ah, oo dhex mara odayaasha dhaqanka ee beelaha, kuwaas oo ku saabsan cabashada ay qabaan, isla markaana fududaynaysa in la ogaado baahiyaha iyo duruufaha ku gedaaman

45. Citizen Digital. (March 22, 2023). Somalia's President commits to universal suffrage. Accessed, <https://www.citizen.digital/news/somalias-president-commits-to-universal-suffrage-n316565#:~:text=Somalia's%20President%20Hassan%20Sheikh%20Mohamud,in%20more%20than%2050%20years>.

46. Platform. S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process.

47. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (2023). District council formation through indirect election in Southwest State of Somalia: A means to democratization. Accessed,

<https://8v90f1.p3cdn1.secureserver.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Local-council-formation-in-Southwest-state-English.pdf>.

48. Ibid.

49. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement.

Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/> p. 1

50. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.safeworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>, pp. 23–25.

171-ka golayaasha deegaanka ee gobolka, labaatanka iyo lix keliya ayaa dumar ah, una dhigma 15.2% wadarta guud. Doorashadii deegaanka ee dhawaa, saddex iyo labaatanka kursi ee golaha deegaanka ee Cadaado, ayaa loo qoondeeyay haweenka saddex ka mid ah.⁵¹ Degmada Balanbale⁵², kow iyo labaatanka kursi ayaa waxaa u soo baxay haweenka shan ka mid ah kuraasta; halka saddex iyo soddonka degmada Dhuusamareeb⁵³ loo qoondeeyay lix ka mid ah. Degmada Caabudwaaq⁵⁴ saddex iyo labaatanka kursi waxa ay ku yeesheen saddex ka mid ah; halka degmada Xeraale ay ka heleen hal kursi oo ka mid ah kow iyo labaatanka kursi. Degmada Guriceel ayaa saddex iyo labaatanka xubnood laga soo dhex doortay, oo ay saddex haween yihiin.

“
Hab-fikirro ku
salaysan qabiilka
ayaa laga yaabaa
in aanay fursad
siinin qaybo
bulshada ka mid
ah, gaar ahaan
haweenka oo loo
ariko in aanay
munaasib ku ahayn
in ay matalaan
qabiilladooda.

Warbixinta Qaramada Midoobay iyo Bangiga Adduunka ee 2018, ee cinwaanka looga dhigay Tubta Nabadda (Pathways for Peace), ayaa waxa ay ku doodeen, in ka dhigista haayadaha kuwo loo dhan yahay, ay fure u tahay ka hortagga colaadaha, yihiinna hannaanka loo maro nabad-dhisidda.⁵⁵ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, bulshada Soomaaliyeed, xilliga ka mid noqoshada tartamayaasha, waxa hadda iyo horreba saamayn ku leh isku xidhnaanta qabiilka, gaar ahaanna odayaasha waaweyn ee matala qabiilka.⁵⁶ Hab-fikirro ku salaysan qabiilka ayaa laga yaabaa in aanay fursad siinin qaybo bulshada ka mid ah, gaar ahaan haweenka oo loo arko in aanay munaasib ku ahayn in ay matalaan qabiilladooda.⁵⁷ Sababta oo ah siyaasadda ku salaysan haybta ama qabiilka ayaa waxa loo arkayey mid ka mid ah caqabadaha hortaagan ka qaybgalka haweenka ee siyaasadda.⁵⁸ Dhaqanka Soomaalida, haweenka waxaa loo arkaa in ay yihiin wakiillo aan la isku halleyin karin, taas oo ay ugu wacan tahay laba gardaaqnimada ay ka wada tirsan yihiin qabiilka ay ka dhaxaan iyo ka ay u dhaxaan, oo noqon kara qabiil ka duwan ka ay gabadhu ka dhalatay. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, caadooyinka kala mudnaysiinta jinsiga la xidhiidha iyo filashada laga qabo in ay haweenku ka gudbaan, waxa ay u muuqdaan kuwo isbeddeli kara, oo laga gudbi karo waqti ka dib.⁵⁹

Warbixin cusub, ayaa muujisay waajibaadka dhaqan ee bulshada awgeed, sida wanaagga iyo hal abuurnimada leh ee loo soo agaasimay doorashooyinka dadban ee ka dhacay tuulooyinka iyo miyiga ee Dowlad Goboleedka Koonfur Galbeed, ay aad ugu faa'iido badnaayeen in lagu daro haweenka iyo dadka laga tirada badan yahay, marka loo eego xeerarka dastuuriga ah.⁶⁰

51. Mudug24. (August 9, 2022). Galmudug oo soo saartay liiska golaha deegaanka Cadaado (Akhriiso). Accessed, <https://mudug24.com/galmudug-oo-soo-saartay-liiska-golaha-deegaanka-cadaado-akhriiso/>.

52. SNTV. (October 7, 2022). Galmudug oo shaacisay liiska golaha deegaanka balanbale. Accessed, <https://sntv.so/2022/10/07/galmudug-oo-shaacisay-liiska-golaha-deegaanka-balanbale/>.

53. Mogadishu Times. (November 2, 2022). Liiska magacyada golaha deegaanka dhuusamareeb oo la shaaciyay. Accessed, <https://mogtimes.com/articles/55161/Liiska-magacyada-Golaha-Deegaanka-Dhuusamareeb-oo-la-shaaciyay> and also, Radio Muqdisho TV (November 2, 2022). Doorashada golaha deegaanka Dhuusamareeb oo la soo gaba-gabeeyay. Accessed, <https://radiomuqdisho.so/doorashada-golaha-deegaanka-dhuusamareeb-oo-la-soo-gaba-gabeeyay/>.

54. Dalka TV. (October 30, 2022). Liiska cusub ee magacyada xubnaha Golaha deeganka degmada Caabudwaaq. Accessed, <https://www.facebook.com/DalkanewsTv/posts/liiska-cusub-ee-magacyada-xubnaha-golaha-deeganka-degmada-caabudwaaq/1819125311787226/>.

55. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics. (2017). Somali women's political participation and leadership – evidence and opportunity. Accessed, https://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/somali_women_s_political_participation_and_leadership_evidence_29_sept.pdf.

59. Ibid.

60. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (2023). District council formation through indirect election in Southwest State of Somalia: A means to democratization. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/district-council-formation-through-indirect-election-in-southwest-state-of-somalia-ameans-to-democratization/>.

Sida oo kale, waxaa loo baahnaa in lagala tashado waxgaradka deegaanka sida culimada, odayaasha dhaqanka iyo qeybaha kale ee bulshada, maadaama ay garwaaqsadeen doorka muhiimka ah ee haweenku ku leeyihiin waxtarka bulshada.⁶¹ Taas beddelkeeda, degmooyinka sida Xudur, dhaqanka iyo wadatashiga deegaanku yeeshay, waa la iska indhatiray kaalinta dumarka, oo haween lama dooran.⁶² Daraasadda ayaa sida oo kale sharraxday in fursadaha haweenka ee doorashada deegaanka ee dowlad goboleedka Koonfur Galbeed ay qeyb ka tahay ka qeybgalka ergooyinka, haweenka oo 20% ka ahaa ergadii soo dooratay xildhibaanada deegaanka ee meelaha qaar.

Matelaad yarida haweenka ee dowladaha hoose ayaa sida oo kale gaadhay ilaa heer gobol. Sagaal iyo siddeetan xildhibaan oo Galmudug ka tirsan ayaa haweenka ku jiray ahaayeen sideed keliya (oo uu ku jirtay guddoomiye ku xigeenka labaad ee baarlamaanka)⁶³, oo uu soo saaray guddiga farsamada ee maamul u sameynta Galmudug 10-kii Janaayo, 2020. Waxaa ka mid ahaa xubnaha golaha wasiirada⁶⁴ ee uu madaxweynaha Galmudug shaaciyay 23-kii Abril, 2020. Golaha Wasiirada ayaa ka koobnaa saddex iyo labaatan xubnood, oo labo ka mid ah ay ahaayeen haween. Haweenka ayaa aaminsan in ay kuraas badan ku heli doonaan doorasho qof iyo cod ah haddii la qabto. Gabadh da'yar oo ka mid ahayd golahii deegaanka ee dhawaan lagu doortay, doorashadii tijaabada ahayd ee Puntland ka dhacday, gaar ahaanna Qardho, ayaa waxay tidhi:

“Weligay kuma fikirin in la i dooranayo, sababta oo ah dadku waxa ay u tegi jireen oday-beeleed, si uu warqad oggolaansho ah ugu soo qoro, waa uu diidi karayey codsigayga sababta oo ah waxa aan ahay qof dumar ah. Waxa aan ka dhex muuqday bulshada rayidka ah...sidaa darteed [xildhibaan ahaan] wax dhib ah kala ma kulmin. Waxaa la ii soo bandhigay in aan is-sharraxo tan iyo markii aan ka soo dhex muuqday bulshada rayidka ah. Waan ku guulaystay, oo waa la i doortay.”⁶⁵

Daraasada Koonfur Galbeed ayaa muujisay, in doorashada dadban ee deegaanku aanay ahayn mid ay soo rogeen dowlad goboleedyada iyo Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya. Doorashooyinku ma qabsomin ilaa ay beelaha oo dhami ay aqbaleen saami qaybsiga kuraasta, waxa uuna ahaa geedisocod xagga hoose laga soo dhisay, oo aan ahayn mid kor lagaga keenay bulshada.⁶⁶ Natiijo ahaan, doorashooyinkan ayaa loo arkayay in ay suurtoagal tahay in qaab kale oo cusub loo maro, dhaqanka siyaasadeed ee dimuqraadiga ah ee gobolka⁶⁷, tan iyo markii la hindisay in loo diyaar garoobo doorashooyin hal qof iyo hal cod ah, waxa ay u muuqatay mid bilaa natiijo ah.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Hiiraan Online. (January 10, 2020). Liiska xildhibaanada barlamaanka Galmudug oo la shaaciyay. Accessed, https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2020/jan/wararka_maanta10-163096.htm.

64. Goobjoog. (April 24, 2020). Madaxweynaha Galmudug oo magacaabay Golihisa Wasiirada (Akhriiso Liiska: Xildhibaanada caan ah oo ka mida). Accessed, <https://goobjooge.net/madaxweynaha-galmudug-oo-magacaabay-golihisa-wasiirada-akhriiso-liiska-xildhibaanada-caan-ah-oo-ka-mida/>.

65. Daljir Media. (January 12, 2023). Accessed, <https://twitter.com/radiodaljir/status/1613347211869409281>.

66. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (2023). District council formation through indirect election in Southwest State of Somalia: A means to democratization. Accessed, <https://8v90f1.p3cdn1.secureserver.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Local-council-formation-in-Southwest-state-English.pdf>.

67. Ibid.

Xildhibaannada iyo golyaasha deegaanka ee sida xorta ah iyo xalaasha ah loo soo doortay, ayaa laga yaabaa in ay muujiyaan hufnaan iyo shaqo wanaag, taas oo loo adeegsan karo hannaan waxtar u leh dibuheshiisiin iyo ka-hortagga isku dhacyo soo noqnoqda. Daraasad uu dhowaan sameeyay mac’hadka daraasaadka siyaasadda ee Heritage, ayaa lagu ogaaday in doorashadii dadbanayd ee duqa degmada Xudur ee Koonfur Galbeed, iyo doorashooyinkii tooska ahaa ee ka dhacay degmooyinka Qardho, Ufeyn iyo Eyl ee Puntland ay keentay in ay aqbaleen natiijada ka soo baxday bulshada deegaanku. Masuuliyiinta la doortay ayaa soo bandhigay ilahooda dhaqaale iyo sida ay lacagtaasi ku baxday. Waxaa jira cadeymo muujinaya in daahfurnaanta doorashadu ay tahay hab weyn oo looga hortagayo rabshadaha dhaca doorashada ka dib. Taas beddelkeeda, doorashooyin si khaldan u dhacay, oo ku shubasho iyo wax-is-daba-marini ay hadheeyeen ayaa keenay in lagu kalsoonaan waayo natiijada; waxaa ka maqan sharciyadii iyo hufnaantii, taas oo keenta rabshado iyo natiijooyinka oo la isku khilaaf, oo lagu qanci waayo.⁶⁸

Caqabadaha haweenku kala kulmaan helitaanka xilalka dowladda Galmudug

Qaar ka mid ah culimada caanka ah ee Islaamka, ayaa sheegay in diinta Islaamku aanay ka mamnuucin haweenka, in ay ka qeyb galaan xilalka siyaasadeed iyo kuwa danta guud. In haweenka siyaasadda laga mamnuuco ayay culimadani la xidhiidhiyaan caadooyinka dhaqanka, iyaga oo ka beri yeelaya qiyamka Islaamka. Culimo kale oo Islaami ah, oo si adag u fasira Islaamka, ayaa aaminsan in ka qaybgalka haweenka ee siyaasaddu ay tahay mid aan la isku waafaqsanayn Islaamka dhexdiisa. Waxaa muuqata in caadooyinka dhaqanka, iyo ilaa xad fikradaha iyo fasiraadda qaldan ee Islaamka dadka qaari ka qabaan, iyo sida oo kale caqabadaha dhaqaale iyo arrimaha bulshada ay yihiin caqabado waaweyn oo xaddidaya ka qaybgalka haweenka Soomaaliyeed ee siyaasadda iyo guud ahaan nololsha rasmiga ah ee bulshada. Daraasad ay samaysay Saferworld⁶⁹ 2022 ayaa lagu ogaadey in ay xilliyada doorashooyinka haweenka soo foodsaraan caqabadahan soo socda:

1. **Dumarku ma aha oday beeleedyo:** Odayaasha beeshu waxa ay soo xulaan musharixiinta, sidaas darteed fursada haweenka ee lagu soo magacaabi karaa waa mid aad u yar. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, haweenka ka soo jeeda qoysaska hantiileyda ah iyo kuwa caanka ahi waxa ay haystaan fursad wanaagsan oo ay ku saamayn karaan oday dhaqameedyada beelaha, marka loo eego haweenka ka soo jeeda beelaha la haybsooco iyo kuwa danyarta ah.
2. **Dabagalka diinta:** Hab-dhaqanka diineed ee haweenka iyo u hoggaansanaantooda dhaqanka ayaa si cad loo baadhaa ama loo dabagalaa. Tan waxaa u sii dheer dhaqanka ab iyo awow laga soo gaadhka ah, oo diidan ka qaybgalka haweenka ee siyaasadda.

68. Ibid.

69. Saferworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>, pp. 23–25.

3. **Helitaanka kharashaadka oo xaddidan:** Haweenku waxa ay haystaan dhaqaale kooban, si gaar ah na qabiilku uma samaynayaan/aruurinayaan dhaqaale ururinta iyo qaaraanka lagu galo ololaha doorashada.
4. **Haweenka waxaa loo arkaa in ay daciif yihiin:** Dhaqanka ab iyo awow laga soo gaadhka ah ayaa u arka in ay tahay wax liita, in ay dumar metelaan qabiilkooda. Waxaa loo arkayaa, in haddii oday soo magacaabo qof dumar ah, ay qabiilka oo dhan ay ceeb ku tahay, oo loo arkayo in ay iska waayeen rag ku habboon jagadaas, oo metela.
5. **Haweenka waxaa loo arkaa in ay leeyihiin laba haybood:** Haweeneyda waxaa loo arkaa in ay ka tirsan tahay oo ay metesho qabiilka ay ka dhalatay iyo qabiilka ay u dhaxday labadaba. Taasina waxa ay keentay in loo arko in ay tahay qof aan lagu kalsoonaan karin oo labada qolo midkoodna aanu si buuxda u taageerin.

Doorashada soo socota ee federaalka ayaa la qorsheeyey inay dhacdo 2026-ka, waxaana dhawaan Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka Soomaaliyeed ay isku raaceen in laga gudbo nidaamka 4.5, oo loo jiheysto dhanka doorashada xisbiyada badan, heer kasta oo dowladeed, iyada oo ay sii kordheyso niyad jabka shacabka iyo beesha caalamka ee ku aadan nidaamka qabaliga ah. Dowladda ayaa sida oo kale ballan qaaday in codeynta caalamiga⁷⁰ ah lagu dari doono dhul weynaha ballaadhan ee Soomaaliya ka tirsan, oo ay maamusho al-Shabaab. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, heshiis siyaasadeed ayaa loo baahan yahay marka hore, ka hor inta aan la qaban doorashooyinka. Galmudug, waxaa loo baahan yahay daraasado dheeri ah oo ku saabsan suurtagalnimada abaabulka doorasho hal qof iyo hal cod ah, iyo labadan nidaam midkee ku habboon dowladnimada curdinka ah, oo keeni kara isku xidhnaanta iyo xasilloonida bulshada.



mac'hadka cilmi baadhista nabada (PRIO) 2023, ayaa ku dooday in laga bilaabo doorashada dowladaha hoose, oo ka kharash yaraan doonta, kana sahlanaan doonta qabashada doorashooyin hal qof iyo hal cod ah, ee mid dowlad goboleed iyo mid federaal ah

Daraasado uu sameeyay mac'hadka cilmi baadhista nabada (PRIO) 2023⁷¹, ayaa ku dooday in laga bilaabo doorashada dowladaha hoose, oo ka kharash yaraan doonta, kana sahlanaan doonta qabashada doorashooyin hal qof iyo hal cod ah, ee mid dowlad goboleed iyo mid federaal ah. Doorashada degmooyinka ayaa markaa fududayn karta doorashooyinka qaranka, ka dib marka la saxo wixii khalad ah ee jira. Arrimaha doorashada ee heer gobol ama heer federaal waxa ay wiiqi karaan dhammaan nidaamka iyo hannaanka doorashada. Waxa kale oo run ah, in haddii doorashada heer degmo lagu guulaysan waayo, in doorashooyinka maamullada xubnaha ka ah dowladda dhexe iyo kuwa dowladda dhexe ay iyaguna guul-darraystaan.⁷²

70. Caasimada. (March 24, 2023). DF oo sheegtay 'cidda hor-taagan' in dalka ay ka dhacdo doorasho 'qof iyo cod ah'. Accessed, <https://www.caasimada.net/df-oo-sheegtay-cidda-hortaagan-in-dalka-ay-ka-dhacdo-doorasho-qof-iyo-cod-ah/>.

71. Musa, A., Aden, H., Hosrt, S. (2023). Leveraging local elections to advance Somalia's transition to a multiparty democratic system. PRIO. Accessed, <https://www.prio.org/publications/13446>.

72. Ibid.

9. Dibuheshiisiinta iyo nabadaynta

Dowlad-dhisiddo, ka dib colaadaha daba-dheeraada, waxa ay ku lug leedahay in la dhiso xidhiidh iyo is-fahan heer walba oo bulshada dhexdeeda ah, soo celinta kalsoonida bulshada dhexdeeda, iyo siinta dadka rajo weyn oo mustaqbalkooda ah. Waxa kale oo muhiim ah in la dhiso kalsoonida bulshadu ku qabto dowladda iyo haayadeheeda, iyada oo loo marayo doorashooyin xor iyo xalaal ah, wada hadal, iyo ka-qaybgalka hoggaaminta iyo sida oo kale bixinta adeegyada muwaadiniinta. Xidhiidhaha wanaagsan ee noocan oo kale ah ayaa siin doona maamulka sharciyad xoogan, waxa ayna gacan ka geysan doonaan xasiloonida⁷³. Sida oo kale, dayactirka haayadihii burburay, kaabayaasha dadweynaha, ama samaynta haayado cusub oo ka jawaabaya baahiyaha bulshada, ayaa qayb muhiim ah ka ah geeddi-socodka nabadda iyo dowlad-dhiska.⁷⁴

“

in aanay suurtagal ahayn, in lagu guulaysto geeddi-socodka dowlad-dhisidda, haddii aan la helin xal siyaasadeed iyo dibuheshiisiin bulsho oo ka dhex dhacda beelaha wada degan dhexdooda

Inta badan daraasaadka nabadda iyo colaadda ayaa tilmaamaya in aanay suurtagal ahayn, in lagu guulaysto geeddi-socodka dowlad-dhisidda, haddii aan la helin xal siyaasadeed iyo dibuheshiisiin bulsho oo ka dhex dhacda beelaha wada degan dhexdooda. Galmudug waxaa lagama maarmaan ah in dibuheshiisiin laga dhex sameeyo dabaqadaha siyaasadda iyo sida oo kale beelaha kala qaba tabashooyinka laga dhaxlay colaada daba dheeraatay, si loo dhiso dowlad taabogal ah. Si ka duwan dibuheshiisiinta siyaasadeed, Galmudug, tan iyo markii la dhisay, waxa ay la kulmaysay jalafooyin siyaasadeed oo aan fududayn. Tusaale ahaan, 2023-kii Madaxweyne Axmed Cabdi Kaariye (Qoorqoor) iyo Madaxweyne-ku-xigeenka Cali Daahir Ciid waxa dhex maray khilaaf si weyn u muuqday, iyaga oo soo saaray awaamiir is khilaafsan. Madaxweyne ku xigeenka ayaa xilka ka qaaday Wasiirkii Arrimaha Gudaha Galmudug Cabdi Maxamed Waayeel, laakiin madaxwaynaha ayaa si degdeg ah u buriyey xil kaqaadistaas⁷⁵. Sida oo kale Mooshin Kalsooni kala noqosho ah, oo ka dhan ah Madaxweynihii hore ee Galmudug Axmed Ducaale Geelle “Xaaf”, Madaxweyne ku xigeenkiisa Maxamed Xaashi Cabdi “Carrabey” iyo Guddoomiyaha Baarlamaanka Cali Gacal Casir ayaa waxaa isku dayay xildhibaano ka soo horjeeday. Khilaafkan ayaa la xidhiidha dhaqan gelinta heshiiskii awood qeybsiga ee la gaadhay 6-dii Diiseenbar 2017.⁷⁶ In kasta oo Galmudug ay xasiloon tahay oo ay hadda degan tahay, hadana xiisadaha sii xoogeysanaya ayaa sii kordhi kara doorashada illaa dhamaadka 2024-ka.⁷⁷

Waxaa jirey dhowr hannaan oo dibuheshiisiineed, tan iyo markii la dhisay maamulka Galmudug 2015. Qaar waxaa soo abaabushay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya, qaarna waxaa soo abaabulay dowlad goboleedka ama bulshada rayidka oo ay wehliyaan siyaasiyiin deegaanka ah.

73. Banini, D. (May 11, 2023). West Africa has a small weapons crisis – Why some countries are better at dealing with it than others. Accessed, <https://theconversation.com/west-africa-has-a-small-weapons-crisis-why-some-countries-are-better-at-dealing-with-it-than-others-203085>.

74. Interpeace. (2008). Community based peace processes. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/2008_SomSC_Interpeace_CRD_Community_Based_Peace_Processes_EN.pdf.

75. Horn Observer. (September 9, 2023). Power struggle between Galmudug president and deputy sparks crisis. Accessed, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2444/Power-struggle-between-Galmudug-president-and-deputy-sparks-crisis>.

76. Reliefweb. (December 28, 2018). Report of the Secretary-General on Somalia (S/2018/1149). Accessed, <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/report-secretary-general-somalia-s20181149>.

77. International Crisis Group. (2024). Avoiding a new cycle of conflict Somalia's Galmudug State. Accessed, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b193-avoiding-new-cycle-conflict-somalias-galmudug-state>.

Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha, Federaalka iyo dibuheshiisiinta, oo garabsanaysa Xoogaga Federaalka Soomaaliya⁷⁸ ayaa soo qaban qaabisay dibuheshiisiin bulsho oo ka dhacday Galmudug, ka hor inta aan la dooran madaxweynaha hadda xilka haya ee Qoorqoor. Shirka ayaa waxaa ka soo qeyb galay 700 oo ergo ah, oo ka kala socday dhammaan kow iyo tobankii beelood ee dhistay Galmudug.⁷⁹ Beesha Caalamku waxa ay sida oo kale ku yaboohday taageero farsamo iyo mid maaliyadeed ba in ay kaga qayb qaadanayso socodsiinta shirarka. Waxaa sida oo kale soo muuqatay, awoodda Galmudug lafteedu ay kaga heshiin karto colaadaha deegaanka. Tusaale ahaan, dowladu waxa ay heshiisay beelaha Leelkase iyo Sacad, kuwaas oo dagaalamayey shan iyo soddon sannadood. Dibuheshiisiinta deegaanka ee tan la midka ahi waxa ay fududayn kartaa xasilloonida siyaasadeed ee deegaanka.⁸⁰

Dedaalladii kale ee loogu jirey dibuheshiisiinta waxa ka mid ahaa kuwan soo socda:

1. Beesha Ceyr ee Habargidir, ayaa soo qabanqaabisay shirweyne dibuheshiisiin ah, oo ka dhacay magaalada Dhuusamareeb Jannaayo 2015. Waxaa ka soo qaybgalay shirkaas sideed beelood oo ka kala yimid Galgaduud iyo Koonfurta Mudug. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, beelaha kale ee Galmudug, oo ay ku jirto beesha Saleebaan, oo dagta magaalada Cadaado, ayaa diiday in ay yimaaddaan. Cadaado iyo Dhuusamareeb ayaa ku tartamay marti gelinta shirka dibuheshiisiinta oo ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya u qabtay dhismaha Galmudug. Gabagabadii shirkaas ayaa waxaa lagu doortay madaxweynihii ugu horreeyay ee Galmudug Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed.
2. 2-Shir dibuheshiisiin ah oo dhexmaray Madaxweyne Xaaf iyo Ahlu Sunna Waljameeca, oo ay gacan ka gastay IGAD, ayaa lagu qabtay Nairobi iyo Jabuuti.
3. 2019, Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya, waxa ay soo qabanqaabisay shirweyne isku dhaf ah, oo ka dhacay magaalada Dhuusamareeb, kaas oo diiradda lagu saaray dibuheshiisiinta bulshada ee dhinaca siyaasadda, kaas oo loogu diyaar garoobayo doorashada qofkii beddeli lahaa madaxweyne Xaaf. Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya waxa ay samaysay guddi ka kooban laba iyo toban xubnood, oo uu guddoomiye u yahay Professor Cabdiraxmaan Cabdullaahi Baadiyow. Guddiga ayaa casuumay 720 ergo ah, oo kala matalaya dhammaan qeybaha bulshada, oo ka kala socday kow iyo tobanka beelood ee ku heshiiyay dhismaha maamulka Galmudug. Ujeedada ugu weyni waxa ay ahayd in la sameeyo isfaham la wadaago, oo ku saabsan soohdinta xallinta khilaafaadka.

78. Barise, Z. (September 2019). Hobyo peace conference. Accessed, http://www.aminarts.com/link/HOBYO%20PEACE%20CONFERENCE_revised_&_final.pdf.

79. Interpeace. (2021). Galmudug reconciliation: Processes, challenges, and opportunities ahead. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/2021-Galmudug_Report.pdf.

80. Platform. S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished).



Tallaabo dhif iyo naadir ah ayaa siyaasadda Soomaaliya ka dhacday, markii Madaxweyne Qoorqoor uu golihisa wasiirrada ku soo daray rag hormuud u ahaa kooxaha mucaaradka ah; daneeyayaasha deegaanka ayaa sheegay in tani ay siisay Qoorqoor sharciyad iyo kalsooni lagu qabo

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, howshan ayaa waxaa hadheeyay khilaaf u dhexeeya Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya iyo Ahlu Sunna Waljamaaca iyo kooxaha ka soo horjeeda oo dowladda ku eedeeyay in ay wax-is-daba-marin ku sameynayso howshaas, oo ay u xaglinayso murashaxooda. Madaxweyne Axmed Cabdi Kaariye (Qoorqoor) oo ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya taageertay, ayaa markii dambe loo doortay Madaxweynaha Saddexaad ee Galmudug.⁸¹ Tallaabo dhif iyo naadir ah ayaa siyaasadda Soomaaliya ka dhacday, markii Madaxweyne Qoorqoor uu golihisa wasiirrada ku soo daray rag hormuud u ahaa kooxaha mucaaradka ah; daneeyayaasha deegaanka ayaa sheegay in tani ay siisay Qoorqoor sharciyad iyo kalsooni lagu qabo. Qoorqoor oo lagu tilmaami jiray in uu yahay siyaasi waaqici ah, waxa uu wanaajiyay sumcaddiisa iyo mustaqbalka siyaasadeed ee danbe.⁸²

4. Waxaa magaalada Hobyo lagu qabtay shir kale oo dibuheshiisiin ah, oo barbar socday shirkii Dhuusamareeb, waxaana ka soo qeyb galay beelaha Habargidir, ururada bulshada rayidka ah iyo siyaasiyiin. Hobyo waa magaalo xeebeed qadiimi ah, oo ay u badan yihiin Habargidir. Ujeedooyinka ugu muhiimsan ee shirka ayaa ahaa, in laga gudbo khilaafaadyada iyo in la heshiiyo, oo la mideeyo qabiilka ugu ballaadhan gobolka⁸³, iyada oo la horumarinayo nabadda iyo wada noolaanshaha beelaha deriska ah ee gobolka iyo kuwa kale. Shirka ayaa socday muddo labo bilood ah, iyada oo lagu soo gabagabeeyay dhismaha Golaha Hoggaanka Habargidir oo ka kooban 67 xubnood. Waxa kale oo ay taageereen shirkii dibuheshiisiinta ee ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya⁸⁴ fududeysay. Guusha Hobyo ayaa loo aaneynayaa in beesha Habargidir ay howshaas la wareegtay, oo aanay cidna ka amar qaadan. Haweenka ayaa kaalin weyn ka qaatay dhaqaale u ururinta shirka.⁸⁵
5. Dibuheshiisiin kale oo lagu guulaystay ayaa waxa ay ahayd tii dhex martay beelaha Cayr iyo Mareexaan. Qorayaasha warqaddan ayaa helay nuqul ka mid ah heshiiskii la gaaray gabagabada shirka, kaas oo ay soo qabanqaabisay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha Galmudug, laguna qabtay bishii Maarso 2023, Galmudug. Labadan beelood ayaa dagaallamayey muddo dhowr sano ah. Gabagabadii shirka ayaa waxaa la isku afgartay qodobbo ay ka mid ahaayeen:-

- Xabad joojin degdeg ah oo ka bilaabanaysa Maarso, 11, 2023.
- In Dowladda Galmudug fuliso heshiiskan iyo qodobada ka soo baxay.
- Si looga fogaado dagaallo iyo colaad kale, waa in qabiil waliba dhulkiisa ku ekaado.

81. Interpeace. (2021). Galmudug reconciliation: Processes, challenges, and opportunities ahead. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/2021-Galmudug_Report.pdf, p. 18.

82. Platform. S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished).

83. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/>.

84. Interpeace. (2008). Community based peace processes. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/2008_SomSC_Interpeace_CRD_Community_Based_Peace_Processes_EN.pdf.

85. Barise, Z. (September 2019). Hobyo peace conference. Accessed, http://www.aminarts.com/link/HOBYO%20PEACE%20CONFERENCE_revised_&_final.pdf.

- Haddii qof ka soo jeeda beelahaas uu galo dembi ama dil, waa in lagu soo oogo shareecada Islaamka.
 - In dowladda Galmudug ay sameyso guddi xaqiiqo raadin ah, oo soo qiimeeya heerka uu gaadhsiisan yahay khasaaraha ka dhashay dagaal beeleedyada.
6. Dowladda Galmudug oo ay taageerayso Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa xal ka gaadhay colaad dabadheeraatay oo ka taagneyd deegaanka Xeraale-Hurshe, oo u dhaxaysay labo beelood oo Dir ah. Khilaafkan ayaa ahaa midkii ugu murugsanaa ee ka dhaca Galmudug, waxaana uu socday muddo saddex sano ah, waxaana ku dhintay 79 qof. Dowladdu waxa ay u qoondaysay \$5,000, qoys kasta oo cidii ka dhimatay. Intaa waxaa dheer, dowladdu waxa ay ku qancisay beelaha iska soo horjeeda, in ay dib ugu celiyaan dadkii lahaa dhammaan hantidii la kala dhacay intii uu dagaalku socday.⁸⁶

Cilmibaadhis ay samaysay Berghof Foundation ayaa lagu ogaaday in culumada diinta iyo oday beeleedyadu ay yihiin shakhsiyaadka ugu horreeya ee u xilsaaran xallinta khilaafaadka, dibuheshiisiinta, iyo nabadaynta Galmudug.⁸⁷ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, qaar ka mid ah dadweynaha ayaa ku doodaya, in oday dhaqameedyada beeluhu ay si xun ugu lug yeelan karaan colaadaha iyo dirirta u dhaxaysa beelaha. Daraasaduhu waxa ay ogaadeen in haweenka iyo kooxaha dhalinyaradu ay ahaayeen kuwo u ololeeya nabadda, wada noolaanshaha, is-dhexgalka bulshada iyo hawlaha bani-aadanimo. Iyada oo ay taasi jirto, haweenka iyo dhalinyaradu qayb kama aha geedi socodka go'aan qaadashada⁸⁸. Natiijoyinka Berghof iyo waayo-aragnimada kale ee wax ku oolka ahi, waxa ay xaqiijinayaan in inta badan haweenku si firfircoon uga qaybqaataan nabad-dhisidda, ayna sii badanayso suurto-galnimada in nabad lagu gaadho, sababta oo ah haweenka waxa lagu daraa qolooyinka la takooro. Sida laga soo xigtay Michael Keating, Ergeygii hore ee Gaarka u ahaa Xoghayaha Guud ee Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsanaa Soomaaliya, ayaa yidhi: “Soomaaliya ma heli doonto nabad waarta iyo dibuheshiisiin qoto dheer, haddii aanay haweenku helin doorkooda iyo kaalintooda wax-qabad.”⁸⁹

“
Soomaaliya
ma heli doonto
nabad waarta
iyo dibuheshiisiin
qoto dheer, haddii
aanay haweenku
helin doorkooda
iyo kaalintooda
wax-qabad

10. Amniga iyo isbedbeddellada colaadaha

Galmudugta casriga ahi waxa ay soo martay xifaaltanno siyaasadeed oo qadhaadh iyo dagaallo qabali ah oo soo noqnoqday, iyada oo kooxo badani ay sheegteen in ay awooda deegaanka ku gacan-sarreeyaan. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa dhawaanahan jiray horumarro laga arkayay sannadihii ugu dambeeyay, oo uu ka mid yahay heshiiskii dibuxasilinta ee kow iyo tobanka qabiil uga qabsoomay Cadaado 2015.

86. Hiiraan Online. (October 23, 2019). Reconciliation process of Galmudug State: Success factors and lessons learned. Accessed, https://www.hiiraan.com/op4/2019/oct/165911/reconciliation_process_of_galmudug_state_success_factors_and_lessons_learned.aspx.

87. Berghof. (2019). Conflict assessment, Galmudug State: An analysis of local perspectives. Accessed, https://berghof-foundation.org/files/publications/2019_Report_Somalia_Galmudug_EN.pdf.

88. Ibid.

89. The United Nations. (September 13, 2018). Secretary-General's Special Representative hails Somalia's recent progress while cautioning against illusions about future challenges. Accessed, <https://press.un.org/en/2018/sc13503.doc.htm>.



Dibu-qabsashada dhulalkaas laga saaray al-Shabaab ayaa keeni karta caqabad amni oo hor leh. Dagaalladii qabaliga ahaa ee ay al-Shabaab si xoog ah ku muquunisay ayaa iyaguna si dhakhso ah dib uga qarxi kara dhulalka la xoreeyay

Gobollada dhexe ee Soomaaliya oo ay Galmudug dhacdo, waxa ay soo mareen khilaafyo googoos ah oo u dhexeeya qabiillada, kuwaas oo ay sababtay taagdarrada dowladdii xilka haysay.⁹⁰ Galmudug waxa ay yeelatay laba madaxwayne muddo afar sano gudahood ah, mid kastaana waxa uu xidhiidh aan sal-adkayn/fiicnayn la lahaa kuxigeenkiisa iyo guddoomiyaha baarlamanka. Intooda badan jilib-hoosaadyadu waxa ay u diyaarsanaayeen kuwo hubaysan, ama khilaaf siyaasadeed uu kala dhexeeyay midba midka kale.⁹¹ Iyada oo uu amniga guud si tartiib ah oo xasilloon u horumaray, iyo iyada oo Galmudug aanay ku tiirsanayn ciidammada AMISOM/ATMIS in ay ilaaliyaan saraakiisha dowladda⁹², haddana maamulku weli waxa uu wajahayaa khilaafyo qabiil oo gudaha ah, sida oo kale amniga iyo caddaaladda inta badan waxa lagu maamulaa hannaan qabiil.⁹³ Waxa lagu doodi karayaa in beelaha sida aadka ah u hubaysani ay ku badanyihiin Galmudug⁹⁴, taas oo la macne ah, in uu maamulkani ahaa, welina uu yahay mid ka mid ah meelaha ugu iska-hor-imaadyada badan ee waddanka.⁹⁵ Geesta kale waxa uu iska-hor imaad u dhexeeyaa dowladda federaalka ee Soomaaliya iyo al-Shabaab, iyada oo ay xoogagga dowladdu qabsadeen laba magaalo oo waaweyn, Xaradheere iyo Ceeldheer, bishii Jannaayo 2023.⁹⁶ Dibu-qabsashada dhulalkaas laga saaray al-Shabaab ayaa keeni karta caqabad amni oo hor leh. Dagaalladii qabaliga ahaa ee ay al-Shabaab si xoog ah ku muquunisay ayaa iyaguna si dhakhso ah dib uga qarxi kara dhulalka la xoreeyay.

Xaaladda magaalada Gaalkacyo ayaa ah qodob kale oo la xidhiidha khilaafka. Colaadda u dhexaysa labada dhinac/daraf ee Gaalkacayo ayaa ka qayb qaadatay qalalaasaha khilaafka, boogihii dagaalka ayaana ah kuwo weli sii muuqda. Iyada oo ay Gaalkacyo weli qaybsantahay, oo ay leedahay laba maayir/guddoomiye oo kala duwan oo ay soo kala magacaabeen Puntland iyo Galmudug, haddana magaaladu waxa ay samaysatay guddiyo iskudhaf ah oo ka kooban labada dhinacba. Guddiyadaas waxa ka mid ah: guddiga dhallinyarada, guddiga waayeelka(oo ka kooban rag iyo dumarba), guddiga amniga oo loo yaqaanno “iskudhafka ciidamada nabadgelyada”, guddiga ganacsiga iyo guddiga nabad-doonnada. Guddi waliba waxa ay ka koobantahay xubno ka soo kala jeeda labada daamood/dhinac ee Galmudug iyo Puntland ee magaalada.⁹⁷ Guddiyadan waxa loo yagleelay in ay sare u qaadaan hannaanka dibu-heshiisiinta iyo is-oggolaysiinta bulshada ee magaalada gudaheeda iyo wixii ka baxsanba. Marka laga yimaaddo dhammaan dedaalladan Gaalkacayo ka jira, haddana mar qudha si sax ah looma gaadhin halka ay salka ku hayso sababta khilaafkani, colaaduhuna dib ayaa ay u aloosmi karaan haddii aan xal loo helin arrimaha gundhigga ah.⁹⁸

90. Interpeace. (2021). Galmudug reconciliation: Processes, challenges, and opportunities ahead. Accessed https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/2021-Galmudug_Report.pdf.

91. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/>.

92. Barise, Z. (September 2019). Hobyoo peace conference. Accessed, http://www.aminarts.com/link/HOBYO%20PEACE%20CONFERENCE_revised_&_final.pdf.

93. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.

94. Interpeace. (2021). Galmudug reconciliation: Processes, challenges, and opportunities ahead. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/2021-Galmudug_Report.pdf.

95. Easo. (2021). Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2060582/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_situation.pdf.

96. International Crisis Group. (June 13, 2024). CrisisWatch Digest Somalia. Accessed, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/crisiswatch-digest-somalia>.

97. Omar, Y. (November 2, 2022). My reflections on Gaalkacyo city as an emerging peace hub. Accessed, https://www.hiiraan.com/op4/2022/nov/188518/my-reflections_on_gaalkacyo_city_as_an_emerging_peace_hub.aspx.

98. Interpeace. (2021). Galmudug reconciliation: Processes, challenges, and opportunities ahead. Accessed, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/2021-Galmudug_Report.pdf, p.16.

Waxyaabaha uu khilaafkani salka ku hayo waxa ka mid ah: dhulalka lagu muransan yahay ee aan xalka laga gaadhin, ilaha dhaqaalaha ama khayraadka la wadaago iyo daweyn la'aanta aragtiyaha taban ee ka jira koonfurta iyo waqooyiga Gaalkacyo, kuwaas oo ay abuurtay samayntii nidaamka federaalku. La'aanta dibu-heshiisiin dhab/xaqiiqi ah oo labada dhinac ka timaadda, tabar yarida nidaamka dowladeed, iyo naxliga baraha bulshada ayaa iyaguna qayb wayn ku leh in ay xaaladdu sii cakirnaato.⁹⁹

Guddoomiyaha baarlamanka Galmudug ayaa yidhi: “waxa aan Galmudug ku sugnaa saddex sannadood iyo badh, mana ay jirin bil keliya oo nabad noogu bilatay iyo bil qudha oo noogu dhammaatay si nabadgelyo ah.”¹⁰⁰

11. Sababaha khilaafka/dagaalka

“
Tallaabadii loo
qaaday dhanka
federaal-samayntu
waxa ay dabka
ku sii shidday
colaadihii hore ee
qabiillada, ee ku
qotomay dhulka,
kaabayaasha
dhaqaalaha
iyo khayraadka
dhulalka lagu
muransan yahay.
Dhaqangalinta
jagooyinka
siyaasadeed, sida
guddoomiyayaasha-
degmooyinka
iyo golayaasha
degmooyinka
waxa ay keentay
ballanqaadyo
dhaqaale iyo
saamayn, balse
sida oo kale waxa
ay kordhisay
tartanka loogu
jiro xafiisyada
siyaasadeed ee
Galmudug

Sababaha khilaafka dhaliya waxa ka mid ah: murannada dhulka, daaqa, biyaha, siyaasiyiin danahooda oo kaliya ka fikira, iyo hannaanka federaalka. Xuduud-qabiileedyada (gaar ahaan marka ay colaaduhu aloosmaan), dhul-daaqsimeedka¹⁰¹, iyo kala-dhicidda xoolaha ayaa dhammaantood ah sababaha huriya dagaalka iyo sida oo kale isfahanwaa diyo/mag-qaadasho iyo aanooyin salka ku haya dhacdooyin duug ah ama hore. Waxyaabaha kale ee ka qayb-qaata qalalaasaha dagaalka waxa ka mid ah: saboolnimada maamulka dowladeed iyo laamaha dowladda oo aan awoodin in ay maamulaan xifaaltanka siyaasadeed, aqoon-la'aan, abaaro, fakhri iyo shaqo la'aan. Shaqola'aantu, gaar ahaan midda haysata ragga dhallinyarada ah, ayaa baylah uga dhigtay ku-biiritaanka maleeshiyaadka qabiil ama al-shabaab.¹⁰²

Hannaanka federaalku waxa uu wejiyo cusub u abuuray colaadaha qabiillada Galmudug dega iyo kuwa la deriska ahba; gaar ahaan Puntland. Tallaabadii loo qaaday dhanka federaal-samayntu waxa ay dabka ku sii shidday colaadihii hore ee qabiillada, ee ku qotomay dhulka, kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha iyo khayraadka dhulalka lagu muransan yahay. Dhaqangalinta jagooyinka siyaasadeed, sida guddoomiyayaasha-degmooyinka iyo golayaasha degmooyinka waxa ay keentay ballanqaadyo dhaqaale iyo saamayn, balse sida oo kale waxa ay kordhisay tartanka loogu jiro xafiisyada siyaasadeed ee Galmudug. Tani waxa ay horseedday damac kursi-doon ah oo ay siyaasiyiinta qaarkood ku raadinayaan metelaadda tuulooyinka iyo goobo kale, xitaa metelaad heer degmo ah.¹⁰³ Cawaaqibta uu hannaanka federaalku leeyahay ayaa ah in qabiillada yaryari ay isku dayaan in ay ka soo baxaan deegaan-doorashooyinka hore u jiray, si ay u helaan metelaad siyaasadeed. Metelaaddan oo ay hor taagnaayeen reeraha waaweyn ee hoggaamiya rabshadaha iyo colaadaha.¹⁰⁴ Siyaasiyiinta abuura kala-qaybinta bulshada iyo cadaawadda qabiillada dhexdooda ah ayaa sida oo kale qayb ka ah sababaha colaadaha.¹⁰⁵

99. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (December 29, 2016). Gaalkacyo conflict: Drivers, contributors and potential solutions. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/gaalkacyo-conflict-drivers-contributors-and-potential-solutions/>.

100. Platform. S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process, p.22. (Unpublished).

101. Berghof. (2019). Conflict assessment, Galmudug State: An analysis of local perspectives. Accessed https://berghof-foundation.org/files/publications/2019_Report_Somalia_Galmudug_EN.pdf.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. Easo. (2021). Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf

105. Ibid.

Daraasad dhawaan laga sameeyay Galmudug ayaa ku doodaya in ay sida oo kale qabiilladu isku laayaan arrimaha geela iyo haweenka.¹⁰⁶ Marka Soomaaliya la joogo, gaar ahaa deegaannada miyiga dumarku xurmo ayaa ay leeyihiin, waxaana loo tixgeliyaa lama taabtaan ama birmagaydo.¹⁰⁷ Sidaa daraaddeed, haddii gabadh ka soo jeeda qabiil gaar ah ay cid kale waxyeellayso waxa ay sababi kartaa in uu yimaaddo aargoosi iyo dagaal-qabiileed riiq dheeraada.

12. Barakacayaasha Gudaha (IDPs)



Ururka Socdaalka ee Caalamiga ah (International organization for Migration-IOM), ayaa sheegay in ay jiraan 3.8 milyun oo qof oo ku barakacay gudaha Soomaaliya sannadkii 2023. “tirada dadka shacabka ah ee ay gudaha Soomaaliya ku barakiciyeen colaadaha iyo abaaruhu ayaa gaadhay meel aad u sarraysa,” sida uu ku baahiyay bartiisa Tuwiitarka xoghayaha guud ee qarmada midoobay Antonio Guterres.

Warbixin ay soo wada saareen ururka caalamiga ah ee socdaalka iyo shabakadda codka Afrika, bishii Maarso 2020 ayaa sheegtay in maamullada Hirshabeelle iyo Galmudug ay martigaliyeen ugu yaraan 428,000 oo barakacayaasha gudaha ah sannadkii 2019.¹⁰⁸ Warbixin kale ayaa muujinaysa in 262,602 barakacayaal-gudaha ah (246,089 oo ka soo jeeda Galgaduud iyo 16,513 oo ka soo jeeda Mudug) ay barakaceen intii u dhexaysay Luuliyo 2021 ilaa Noofembar 2022.¹⁰⁹ Badankoodu waxay ka yimaaddeen gudaha Galmudug. Horraantii 2021, tirada xeryaha barakacayaasha-gudaha ee ku yaalla Galmudug waxa lagu qiyaasay in ay noqdeen 96,000, oo ay badankoodu ka yimaaddeen gobollada koonfureed ee Soomaaliya.¹¹⁰

106. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.safeworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>.

107. Easo. (2021). Somali targeted profiles: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Targeted_profiles.pdf, p. 84.

108. Africa’s Voices and IOM, UN Migration. (2020). Common social accountability platform: Deploying the common accountability platform in Galmudug on durable solutions.

109. European Union Agency for Asylum. (2023). Somali: Security situation. Accessed, https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2023-02/2023_02_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_Situation_EN.pdf, pp. 144–151.

110. Easo. (2021). Somali actors: Country of origin information report. Accessed, https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf.



Carruurta u dhalata barakacayaasha deggen deegaannadaasi ma heli karaan xuquuq siyaasadeed haddii aanay reerkoodu qayb ka ahayn hirdanka qabiileed ee deegaankaa ka jira

Barakacayaasha looma arako in ay yihiin saamiley siyaasadeed maadaama aanay ka soo jeedin qabiillada deegaanka, taas oo la macne ah in ay ku noolaan karaan nabadgelyo meel kasta oo ay tagaan, laakiin aanay helayn xuquuq muwaaddinnimo oo maamulka ah.¹¹¹ iyada oo laga duulayo xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya haybta siyaasadeed (political identity) iyo deegaanka, barakacayaasha u doola ama guura deegaanno aanay ab iyo awow ku lahayn ama aanay taariikh ahaan ka soo jeedin waxa ay leeyihiin fursado xaddidan oo ay ku heli karaan metelaad siyaasadeed. Carruurta u dhalata barakacayaasha deggen deegaannadaasi ma heli karaan xuquuq siyaasadeed haddii aanay reerkoodu qayb ka ahayn hirdanka qabiileed ee deegaankaa ka jira. Inta ugu badan barakacayaasha mudnaantooda koowaad waa in ay ku noqdaan dhulkoodii, taas oo meesha ka saartay tamartoodii/iskudaygoodii ay kaga qaybgali lahaayeen siyaasadda gudaha iyo sida oo kale dareenkoodii kamid-ahaanshaha bulshada.¹¹² Si ay noqotaba, waxa la sheegay in doorasho qof iyo cod ahi ay kordhin karto fursadaha lagu dooran karo xubno kamid ah barakacayaasha. Tanina waa sababta ay barakacayaashu ugu biiri karaan xisbiyada siyaasadeed, u codeyn karaan, isuna sharrixi karaan. Tusaale ahaan, barakace hore Muxsin Cabdillaahi Xaaji oo ka soo jeeda koonfurta Soomaaliya ayaa loo doortay xildhibaan, doorashooyinkii Puntland ee 2021.¹¹³

13. Arrimaha dhaqaalaha

Horumarinta kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha ee dadweynaha, sida: dekedaha, madaarrada/garoonada iyo waddooyinku waxa ay lafdhabar u yihiin hannaanka dowlad-dhiska, iyada oo u saamaxaysa Galmudug in ay soo uruuriso dakhliyo iyo in ay adeegyo u qabato muwaaddiniinta.

Si ka duwan Puntland iyo Jubbaland, Galmudug ma laha deked ay ka dhaliso dakhli. Sidaa darted, Waxa ay Galmudug dakhli muhim ka samaysaa cashuuro yaryar oo ay ka qaaddo gaadiidka xamuulka ah ee alaabta ka soo qaada dekedda Boosaaso ee Puntland, iyaga oo geeya gobollada dhexe. Waxa kale oo soo jirtay il kale oo ah lacagta ka timaadda dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya si ay ugu taageerto hay'adaheeda.¹¹⁴

Qorshihii ugu waynaa ee shirkii Hobyo ka dhacay waxa uu ahaa in la horumariyo mashaariicda maalgelineed si loo dhiso dekedda Hobyo. Illaa iyo xilligii xoriyad-gaadhsiinta, dhammaan iskudayadii lagu horumarinayay dekeddu waa ay guuldarraysteen.¹¹⁵ Ilaa iyo markii Galmudug la yagleelay sannadkii 2015, madaxwayne kastaa waxa uu isku dayay mashruuca dhismaha dekedda Hobyo, laakiin lagama gaadhin wax natiijo ah oo xaqiiqo ah. si la mid ah, maalgaliyayaal caalami ah oo badan oo ay ka mid yihiin Turki, Qadariyiin, Shiinays iyo Imaaraatiyiin ayaa booqday Hobyo, laakiin kama ay soo bixin wax natiijo ah oo la taaban karo.

111. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.safeworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>

112. Ibid. p. 25.

113. Hiiraan Online. (October 26, 2021). Kaah Party win big in Puntland's first 1PV local election. Accessed, https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2021/Oct/184373/kaah_party_win_big_in_puntland_s_first_1pv_local_election.aspx.

114. Platform. S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished), and also Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (September 19, 2019). The Galmudug crisis: A blueprint for sustainable settlement. Accessed, <https://heritageinstitute.org/the-galmudug-crisis-a-blueprint-for-sustainable-settlement/publications/policy-briefs/>.

115. Barise, Z. (September 2019). Hobyo peace conference. Accessed, http://www.aminarts.com/link/HOBYO%20PEACE%20CONFERENCE_revised_&_final.pdf.



Si ka duwan dekedda la deriska ee Garacad Puntland, taas oo dhismaheedii lagu guulaystay oo ay dhiseen dad ganacsato gaar ah, maalgaliyayaasha iyo ganacsatada u dhashay Galmudug waxa ay awoodda saaraan Muqdisho iyaga oo iska indhatiraya gobolkooda hooyo.

Si ka duwan dekedda la deriska ee Garacad Puntland, taas oo dhismaheedii lagu guulaystay oo ay dhiseen dad ganacsato gaar ah, maalgaliyayaasha iyo ganacsatada u dhashay Galmudug waxa ay awoodda saaraan Muqdisho iyaga oo iska indhatiraya gobolkooda hooyo.¹¹⁶ Si kastaba ha ahaatee, qorayaasha warbixintan ayaa nuqul (copy) ka helay heshiiskii dhexmaray dowladda Galmudug iyo Shirkadda Maalgalinta Hobyo (HICO), oo dhacay 12, Diiseenber, 2023. Sida ku cad heshiiskan, waxa mashuurcan martigalisay dowladda Galmudug, iyada oo dhismaha iyo baahiyaha kale ee dekedda u qoondaysay dhul dhan 60km² ah. Sida oo kale, shirkadda HICO ayaa maamulaysa mashuruucan, iyada oo khibrad iyo waaya-aragnimo u leh dhismaha dekedaha iyo maamulkooda, islamarkaana dekedda Hobyo ku maalgalinaysa lacag dhan 300 oo milyan oo doollar. Dekaddan ayaa ka qaybqaadan doonta horumarka iyo kobaca dhaqaalaha Galmudug, iyada oo abuuraysa fusado shaqo oo qayb weyn ka qaadan doona nabadda iyo xasiloonida Galmudug. Golaha wasiirrada ayaa heshiiskan ansixiyay, iyada oo uu baarlamaanka Galmudug na meelmariyay 18kii Febraayo 2024.¹¹⁷

Wakhti-xaadirkan, cashuuraha madaarrada/garoonnada ayaa ah isha ugu weyn ee uu dakhligu ka soo galo wasaaradda maaliyadda Galmudug. Lix madaar oo shaqeyaa, oo ku kala yaalla Cadaado, Gaalkacyo, Caabudwaaq, Dhuusamareeb, Guriceel iyo Hobyo, ayaa waxa maamula shirkado gaar loo leeyahay oo qandaraas la galay maamulka deegaanka. Kastamada ku yaalla magaalooyinka waaweyn ayaa iyaguna ah il kale oo dakhli ka soo galo maamulka.

Marka la joogo heer degmo, sida la aaminsan yahay cashuuraha waxa laga soo ururiyaa ganacsiyada iyo meheradaha, walow aan qiyaas go'an lagu haynnin sida ay wax u qabsoomaan. Mashaariicda horumarinta degmooyinku waxa la sheegay in ay xoogaa dhaqaale ah ka helaan ururrada caalamiga ah ee aan dawliga ahayn iyo ganacsatada maxalliga ah. Waxa tusaale ah, barnaamijka iskudhafka ah ee maamulka dowladaha hoose ee laga maalgaliyo sanduuqa horumarinta qaramada midoobay, kaas oo awoodda lagu saaro dhisidda waddooyinka iyo iftiiminta jidadka halbawlaha ah.¹¹⁸

14. Falanqayn

Hannaanka federaalka waxa loo sameeyay in lagaga baxo xasilooni-darradii iyo go'doonkii siyaasadeed ee laga dhaxlay nidaamkii hore ee keligii-taliska ahaa. Fekredda yagleelidda Galmudug waxa ay dhalatay dabayaaqadii sannadkii 2000. Juquraafi ahaan, Galmudug waxa ay ka kooban tahay gobolka Galgaduud iyo qaybta koonfureed ee gobolka Mudug. Ugu horrayntii maamulka Puntland ayaa ku dooday in samaynta Galmudug ay jabisay distuurka kumeelgaadhka ah dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya, kaas oo dhigaya in maamul-goboleedka federaalku ka koobnaado ugu yaraan laba gobol.

116. Platform. S.D. (2023). Understanding political settlement dynamics in Galmudug state: A foundation for supporting meaningful and inclusive political process (unpublished).

117. Dowlad Goboleed Galmudug. (December 12th, 2023). Heshiiska dekedda Hobyo: Dowlad Goboleedka Galmudug iyo Shirkadda Maalgashigga Hobyo 'Hobyo Investment Company, HICO'. Also look at An official letter from Galmudug State Office of the President dated February 5th, 2024, and sent to Galmudug Parliament. You can also look at another official letter from the Office of the Speaker of the Parliament of Galmudug dated February 21st, 2024, that confirmed Galmudug Parliament's ratification of the agreement between the Galmudug government and HICO.

118. Safeworld. (June, 2020). Clans, consensus and contention: Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug. Accessed, <https://www.safeworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1257-clans-consensus-and-contention-inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug>, p. 31.

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dowladda federaalka, maamul-goboleedyada, saamilayda siyaasadeed iyo beesha caalamkuba waxa ay u maamul buuxa u aqoonsadeen Galmudug.

“
Awood-qaybsiga,
siyaasadda
qabiilka ku
salaysan ee
ay metelayaan
kow iyo tobanka
saami-qabiil,
iyo nimaadka
dibu-heshiisiinta
ayaa lafdhabar u
ahaa aasaaska
yagleelidda
Galmudug

Si ka duwan yagleeliddii maamul-goboleedka Puntland iyo sida oo kale Jubbaland, samanyta Galmudug waxa si weyn u qaabaysay dowladda federaalka. Awood-qaybsiga, siyaasadda qabiilka ku salaysan ee ay metelayaan kow iyo tobanka saami-qabiil, iyo nimaadka dibu-heshiisiinta ayaa lafdhabar u ahaa aasaaska yagleelidda Galmudug. Wax sababayba, dagaal-qabiileed ayaa ka dhex qarxay labada daraf ee Gaalcakyo markii maamulka la sameeyay. Dhaqaale ahaan, mashruucii lagu samaynayay maamulka waxa maalgalisay beesha caalamka. Falanqeyayaasha qaar ayaa ku doodaya, natiijo ahaan, in dibu-heshiin dhab ah oo deegaanka ah iyo lahaanshuhu ay aad u yaraayeen, awoodda ugu bandanna lagu saaray meelaha magaalooyinka ah.

Waxa lagu dooday in samaynta Galmudug ay astaan u noqotay sida ay u adagtahay in la fahmo nidaamka kakan ee federaalka Soomaaliya. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, marka laga tago Puntland, Galmudug ayaa ah maamul-goboleedka keliya [ee xibnaha ka ah dowladda federaalka] ee ku hawlgala magaalo-madaxdiisa, Dhuusamareeb. Maamulka madaxwayne Qoorqoor ayaa sare u qaaday amniga iyo midawga, iyada oo ay ka caawisay jabkii Ahlu-Sunna-Wal-Jamaaca(ASWJ). Maxaa yeelay ASWJ waa urur mabda'ahaan u xooggan oo taageerayaal badan dhulka ku leh, waxaana suuragal ah in uu dib isu habeeyo oo uu ku soo laabto mustaqbalka qaab sidiisii hore ka beddelan. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dhaqdhaqaaqa ASWJ ayaa wacad ku maray in ay ku garab siinayaan dowladda hawlgallada laga filayo ee wejiga labaad ee dagaalka ay kula jirto Al-shabaab. Wejigii koowaad dagaalka waxa laga xoreeyay al-shabaab dhul badan.

Gurracnaanta siyaasadda qabiilka ku salaysan, hubaynta bulshada ee ka soo bilaabantay xilligii keligii-taliyihii Siyaad, iyo dagaal-qabileedyada googooska ah ee ka jira meelaha miyiga ah ayaa weli ka dhigaya Galmudug mid halis ugu jirta oo uu dib uga qarxi karo khilaaf iyo dagaal. Waxyaabaha ugu badan ee hurinaya colaadaha waxa ka mid ah: murannada dhulka, daaqa, goobaha biyaha, aargoosi ay sababeen aanooyin hore, siyaasiyiin aan daacad ahayn oo bulshada kala qaybinaya, maamul taag daran, iyo nidaamka cusub ee federaalka oo dib u soo kiciyay colaadihii qabiillada ee duugga ahaa.

Jilayaasha ugu waaweyn ee gudaha ka qaabaynaya mustaqbalka Galmudug waxa ka mid ah: dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya, Maamul-goboleedka Galmudug, kow iyo tobanka reer ee Galmudug aasaasay iyo malleeshiyaadka hubaysan ee ku xidhiidhsan qabiillada. Inkasta oo ay Al-Shabaabweli tahay jilaa xooggan, haddana awooddii kooxda waxa wiiqay ciidanka qaranka, xoogagga Galmudug, iyo ciidan-beeleedyada Macawisley, kuwaas oo taageero ka helaya bulshada inteeda badan. Urrurada budhad-badeedda iyo sida oo kalee(ASWJ) ayaa mar ka mid ahaa jilayaasha ugu muhiimsan ee gudaha, balse hadda labaduba meesha waa ay ka baxeen.

Daneeyayaasha ama Jilayaasha dibadeed ee siyaasadda Galmudug waxa ka mid ah: ururrada aan dawliga ahayn, ciidammada nabad-ilaalinta ee AMISON/ATMIS, iyo ciidammada amaanka Itoobiya ee aan sharciyadda haysan, kuwaas oo isku daya in ay ka hortagaan iskuballaadhinta Al-Shabaab ee xuduudahooda.

Galmudug waxa ay tagtadii soo martay dagaal-qabiileedyo aad u daran oo uu dhiig badani ku daatay iyo xifaaltanno siyaasadeed oo qadhaadh, walow ay jiraan astaamo muujinaya horumar dhanka amniga ah tan iyo markii la doortay Qoorqoor, gaar ahaan isufuranka iyo isdhexgalka beelaha. Si walba ha ahaatee, awood-darrada dowladda ayaa ugu wacan in amniga iyo cadaaladda weli lagu maamulo nidaam qabiil. Inkasta oo ay jiraan caqabadahan amni, haddana Galmudug waa maamul-goboleedka keliya ee dhaca koonfurta iyo badhtamaha Soomaaliya, kaas oo aan ku tiirsanayn ciidammada AMISOM/ATMIS si ay u ilaaliyaan saraakiisha dowladda. ATMIS (gaar ahaan ciidammada nabad-ilaalinta ee Jabbuuti) ayaa ay tiro yar oo koobani ka joogaan goobo cayiman, sida madaarka Dhuusamareeb.

Isdiiddada dhex taalla labada daraf ee Gaalkacyo, waxa ay hore u sababtay rabshado dagaal. Imminka Gaalkacyo waa nabad, waxaana ka shaqeeya guddi iskudhaf ah oo labada gobolba ka socda, sidaa darteed nabadgelyadu waa ay horumartay. Maadaama oo aan salka khilaafka la gaadhin, colaaduhu waa kuwo dib u curan kara. Dhaqdhaqaaqyada dibuxoraynta ee ka socda deegannada ku jira gacanta Al-Shabaabayaa sida oo kale keeni kara caqabado cusub oo amni. colaadihii qabiil ee ay al-Shabaab meesha ka saartay ayaa dib u bilaabmi kara, taas oo la macne ah in barnaamijyada xasilinta iyo dibuxoraynta lagu daro tiiraanyabixin bulsheed, khilaaf-xallin iyo dibu-heshiisiin.

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Dad badani waxa ay ku baaqayaan in la qabto doorasho qof iyo cod ah, taas oo ku jirta go'aanka 'Golaha Wadatashi Qaran' oo ah in waddanka laga qabto doorasho xor ah, iyada oo laga bilaabayo doorashooyinka maamullada (LGEs)

Galmudug waxa lagu dhisay heshiis awood-qaybsi qabiileed ah iyo doorashooyin dadban. Dad badani waxa ay ku baaqayaan in la qabto doorasho qof iyo cod ah, taas oo ku jirta go'aanka 'Golaha Wadatashi Qaran' oo ah in waddanka laga qabto doorasho xor ah, iyada oo laga bilaabayo doorashooyinka maamullada (LGEs). Doorashooyinka maamulladu waa tallaabo gundhig ah, dhaqaale ahaan la awoodo, waxaana ay fududayn karaan qabsoomidda doorashooyin guud oo xor ah, heer maamul iyo mid federaalba. Doorashooyinka maamullada ee uu bilaabay maamulka Qoorqoor, ayaa kor u qaadaysa heshiiska iyo wadaxaajoodka bulshada, taas oo keenaysa isu-calool-fayoobida bulshada iyo wadajir nabadgelyo ah.

Hannaanka doorashooyinku waxa uu noqon karaa mid uu musuqu ku yar yahay, haddii ururrada bulshada, xaafadaha, iyo dadka mudanka ah ee bulshadu ay ka qaybqaataan habka loo soo magacaabayo xildhibaanno sharfan oo waxtar leh, kuwaas oo u adeegi doona bulshada. Si walba ha ahaatee, warbixinnadu waxa ay muujinayaan in dumarku ay si weyn uga maqan yihiin doorashooyinka dadban ee maamulka Galmudug, waxaana ugu wacan: caadooyin dhaqan, caqabado dhaqaale, iyo aragtiyaha khaldan ee Islaamka laga aaminay.

Mar ayaa ay Galmudug ahayd maamul-goboleedka ugu qalalaasaha badan. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa jira calaamado muujinaya in dibu-heshiisiinta deegaanka ay ka mid tahay in la horumariyay xalka khilaafaadka qabiil ee soo jiidamayay tobannaanka sano; tan iyo markii uu Qoorqoor xilka qabtay. Ururrada bulshada rayidka ah ayaa qabanqaabiyay shirar dibu-heshiisiineed oo xaasasi ah, oo ay ka mid yihiin shirkii Hobyoo ee lagu heshiisiiyay jilibiyada Habargidir. Waxaana guusha shirka Hobyoo loo sababeeyay lahaanshaha deegaanka. Haweenku waxa ay door weyn ka ciyaareen taageerada dhaqaale ee shirkan, taas oo saamayn wanaagsan ku reebtay xasilloonida siyaasadeed ee Galmudug iyo dhismaha guud ee maamulka.

Oday-dhaqameedyada iyo climo-awdiinku waa hoggaan bulsho oo saamayn ku leh xallinta khilaafaadka, si la mid ah dumarka oo ka ciyaara door muhiim ah balse ka abaabul yar kooda. Marka ay haweenku ka qaybqaataan dibu-heshiisiinta iyo go'aanqaadashada, waxa ay miiska keenayaan codka bulshada aan metelaadda lahayn (sida haweenka, dadka la takooro IWM), iyada oo ay weheliso suurtagalnimada sare ee lagu gaadhi karo isu-caloolfayoobida bulshada, is-oggolaanshaha iyo xasilloonida. Iyada oo ay kaqayb-qaadashooyinkaasi jiraan, haddana haweenku weli waxa ay debedda ka yihiin hannaanka go'aan-qaadashada.

Barakacayaasha gudaha (IDPs) ee Soomaaliya waxa lagu qiyaasay 3.8 milyuun oo ay sababeen qalalaase dagaal iyo abaaro. Lama oga tirada dadka ah ee ku barakacay dagaalkan lagula jiro al-Shabaabee ka socda Galmudug, laakiin waxa la qiyaasay in ay aad u sarrayso. Warbixinnadii ugu dambeeyay waxa ay muujinayaan in ay Galmudug qaabbishay 262,602 barakacayaal-gudeed ah oo ay wadaan amnidarro iyo abaaro. Barakacayaasha looma aqoonsan muwaadiniin, maadama aanay ka dhalan qabiillada deegaanka. Gudaha soomaaliya, waxa jira xidhiidh xooggan oo ka dhexeeya siyaasadda qabiilka ku salaysan iyo deegaanka. Sida maamul-goboleedyada kale, kaqayb-qaadashada siyaasadda, maamulka iyo go'aan-qaadashada ee barakacayaasha Galmudug waa mid aad u xaddidan. Weliba inta badan barakacayaashu waxa ay isku taxallujiyaan in ay ku laabtaan dhulkii ay ka yimaaddeen, halkii ay ka qaybqaadan lahaayeen siyaasadda deegaanka ee ku salaysan xulufaysiga qabiil.

Ilaha dakhliga Galmudug ee aadka u xaddidan waxa ka mid ah: madaarrada, kastamada iyo dhaqdhaqaaqa ganacsiyada guud, oo ay ka mid yihiin baabuurta xamuulka ah ee alaabta u kala qaadda maamullada kale iyo Galmudug, ama Galmudug dhexdeeda. Ilaha dakhli ee xaddidani waxa ay saameeyeen adeegyadii ay dowladdu u fulinaysay muwaaddiniinta. Waxa la sameeyay iskudayo badan oo aan guulaysan si loo dhiso dekedda Hobyo. Qaar ka mid ah dadka ugu qanisan Soomaaliya ayaa ka soo jeeda Galmudug, laakiin waxa ay ula guureen hantidoodii iyo tamartoodiiba Muqdisho, halkii ay maalgashan lahaayeen deegaankooda. Horumar togan oo ah mid cusub ama ugub ah, ayey isku raaceed dowladda Galmudug iyo Shirkadda Maalgalinta Hobyo in ay si wadajir ah u dhisi doonaan dekedda Hobyo. Dowladdu waxa ay bixinaysaa dhulka iyo shuruucda taageersaya dhismaha dekedda iyo waxii kale ee la xiriira, halka shirkadda HICO na ay qaabilsan tahay hawlaha maalgalinta, maamullidda iyo farsamada. Sidaa daraaddedd, si ka duwan Puntland iyo Jubbaland, maamullada Galmudug iyo Hirshabeelle waxa ay aad ugu tiirsan yihiin taageerada dowladda federaalka. Golayaasha degmooyinkuna waxa ay dhaqaalaha ka helaan ururrada aan dawliga ahayn iyo ganacsiyada maxalliga ah.

15. Gunaanad

Cilmibaadhistan ayaa lagu ogaaday in Galmudug ay noqonayso dowlad isku xiran oo siyaasad ahaan xasiloon. Dhismaheeda waxa si weyn u saamaysay DFS. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, kaqaybgalka kow iyo tobanka qabiil ee gobolkan leh ayaa ah waxa ugu weyn ee qaabeeya heshiiska bulshada iyo fahanka. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, ka qaybgalka kow iyo tobanka beelood ee saamiga ku leh gobolkan, ayaa ah qodob lafdhabar u ah heshiiska bulshada iyo faham wadaagga. Hannaanno badan oo loo maray dibuheshiisiinta ku salaysan dhismaha Galmudug ayaa ka madhan lahaanshaha gudaha.

Faderaalaynta waxa looga gollahaa in wax lagaga qabto nidaamkii siyaasadeed ee ku dhisnaa u kala sedburinta bulshada ee laga dhaxlay xukuumaddii meleteriga ee kalitaliska ahayd. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, qaar ka mid ah gorfeeyayaasha siyaasadda ayaa saadaalinaya in iskudhacyo imaan karaan haddii aan doorashooyinka soo socda loo qabannin si wanaagsan oo hufnaan iyo caddaalad ku dhisan. Daraasaddu waxa ay heshay in wax ka yar kala badh degmooyinku leeyihiin guddoomiyeyaal iyo xildhibaano gole deegaan, kuwaas oo badankooda loo soo doortay si dadban. Kuraas aad u kooban ayaa loo qoondeeyay haweenka, oo ah bulsho ay doorkooda raggu shiikhiyeen, isla markaana ay dabreen dhaqannada bulshada ee ka dhashay fahandarrada Islaamka iyo dakhli la'aanta haweenka.

Waxyaalaha huriya colaada bulshadan, waxa ka mid ah khilaafaadka la xidhiidha dhulka, daaqa, ilaha biyaha, siyaasiyiinta aan daacadda ahayn, aargoosiga, dhaca xoolaha, tabashooyin ka dhashay aafuoyin dhacay, la qabsi la'aanta nidaamka cusub ee faderaalka, iyo taagdarrada maamulka. Colaadaha ka dhaca gudaha Galmudug iyo dowlad-goboleedyada kale ba waxa saamayn ku leh abaaraha oo ay ku barakaac dad aad u badani. Inkasta oo barakacayaasha loo ogolaaday in ay si nabad ah ku joogaan Galmudug iyo maamul-goboleedyada kale ba, haddana ma laha matelaad siyaasadeed, sababta oo ah xulufu-beeleed kuma laha qabiillada ay martida u yihiin.

Ugu danbeyn, daraasaddani waxa ay ogaatay in ay Galmudug soo foodsaareen caqabado dhaqaale, oo ka dhashay la'aanta ilo- waxsoosaar oo dakhli leh sida dekedda Hobyo.

16. Talabixinno

- In bulshooyinka colaadaha ka soo doogay ama ka soo kabanaya ay ku guulaystaan hannaanka dowlad-dhiska, waxa u shardi ah in la helo dibuheshiisiin dhab ah. Sidaa darteed, Galmudug waa in ay xoojiso dhaqanka dibuheshiisiinta iyo wadahadalsiinta bulshooyinka iyo beelaha. Tusaale ahaan, Galmudug waa in ay taageerto haweenka, dhallinyarada, ururrada bulshada rayidka ah iyo oday-dhaqameedku in ay helaan adeegyada horumarka, ilaha khayraadka iyo barnaamijyada la xidhiidha tababarrada lagu kobcinayo awoodda ay u leeyihiin nabadda. Waxa aannu ku talinaynaa in ay ururrada caalamiga ahi taageeraan dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug si ay u ugu tallaabsato ka dhabaynta talooyinkan. Tusaale ahaan, dabayaaqadii 2023 iyo horraantii Feebaraayo 2024, ayay koox ka shaqaynaysay fulinta Wajiga labaad ee barnaamijka Talo Wadaag ee Machadka Heritage abaabuleen, kalana hawlgaleen Ururka Haweenka Mudug, ee Gaalkacayo, Galmudug sidii loo kobcin lahaa doorka ay haweenku ku leeyihiin wadahadallada dibuheshiisiinta. Wakiillo ka socda Machadka Heritage ayaa xafiiskooda dayacan ku bookhday haweenka, waxaanay heleen aragtiyaha daahsoon oo ku saabsan waayo-aaragnimada haweenku u leeyihiin xaaladda jirta oo ah in dib loo heshiisiyo haweenkii ay saameeyeen dagaallada qabiilku. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, haweenka Galmudug waxa ay baahi weyn u qabaan in la dhiso awooddooda, sida in loo abuuro deegaan dhiirrigaliya, ku tababaridda xirfadaha dhexdhexaadinta iyo xallinta khilaafaadka. Ururka Haweenka Mudug iyo kuwa la midka ah ayaa u baahan taageero iyo kobcin awoodeed.
- Haweenka ku jira goleyaasha lagu jaangooyo siyaasadda ee ka tirsan golaha wasiirrada iyo baarlamaanka Galmudug, waa in awood la siiyaa si ay u abuuraan qorsheyaal-siyaasadeed oo kor loogu qaadayo awooddaynta haweenka Galmudug si loo kobciyo doorkooda dibuheshiisiinta iyo nabadaynta gudaha deegaankooda. Siyaasadaha noocan oo kale ahi waxa ay caawin karaan Ururka Haweenka Mudug iyo kooxaha kale ee haweenka Galmudug, ee ku lug leh arrimaha dibuheshiisiinta iyo nabadaynta.
- Daraasado badan ayaa muujinaya in haddii kooxaha la dhayalsadaa/xaqiraa si firfircoon uga qaybqaataan dibuheshiisiinta, wadahalada, iyo xillinta khilaafaadku ay kordhinayaan fursadaha lagu gaadhayo heshiisyada. Sidaa darteed, waa in haweenka, dhallinyarada, dadka laga tirada badan yahay, iyo barakacayaasha gudaha lagu daraa hannaanka jaangoynta go'aannada rasmiga ah ee la xidhiidha hindisayaasha dibuheshiisiinta iyo xallinta khilaafaadka.
- Gaalkacyo, oo ahayd xuddunta xiisadaha iyo colaadaha u dhaxeeya Galmudug and Puntland, ayaa dhowaanahan ku naallonaysay nabad buuxda, maadaama ay maamulaan guddi isku dhafan oo ka kooban Galmudug iyo Puntland. Galmudug waa in ay xoojiyaan hindiseyaashan gogosha nabadeed, iyada oo si sax ah wax looga qabanayo arrimaha hurinaya colaadaha gacan ka hadalka ah.

Sida oo kale, guusha laga gaaray shirkii dibuheshiisiinta Habargidir ee Hobyo ayaa lagu sheegay in ay ka dambeysay lahaanshaha deegaanka oo ay dhaqaale ahaan taageerayeen qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshadu sida qurbajoogta. Galmudug waa in ay waxkabarataa casharrada khibradeed oo noocan oo kale ah, oo ay dhaqangaliyaan, kuna maareeyaan colaadaha hadda ka dhex jira bulshada, iyaga oo ku salaynaya xaallada goobta iyo dabeecadda colaadda.

- Degaanno ka tirsan Galmudug ayaa laga xoreeyay al-Shabaab, waxaana jira deegaanno ay weli gacan ku hayntooda sheegato al-Shabaab. Dagaal beeleedyadii ay al-Shabaab bakhtiiyeen ayaa laga yaabaa in ay dib u huraan marka ay al-Shabaab ka baxdo deegaannadaas.
- Galmudug waa in ay mudnaanta siiso barnaamijyada ku salaysan xasilinta ee wax ka taraya baahiyaha degdegga ah ee ay qabaan bulshooyinka ku nool deegaannada laga xoreeyay al-Shabaab, ee ay ka midka yihiin barnaamijyada xoogga saaraya dawaynta nabarrada bulshadu ka dhaxashay cabbudhinta iyo colaadaha, xallinta khilaafaadka, iyo barnaamijyada dibuheshiisiinta.
- Maleeshiya beeledyada hubaysan iyo Macawisleyda waxa ay keeni karaan dhibaatooyin amni daro oo hor leh, kadib marka ay xoreeyaan deegaannada ay hadda haysato al-Shabaab. sidaas darteed, waa in ay dowladda Galmudug abuurtaa qorsheyaal istaraatiijiyadeed si loo maareeyo halis kasta oo amniga wiiqaysa.
- Amni ahaan, Galmudug kuma tiirsana ciidamada AMISOM/ATMIS. Waxa aannu ku talinaysaa in Galmudug bilowdo in ay si buuxda ugu tiirsanaato ciidamadeeda Soomaaliyeed sida ay Puntland samaysay.
- Sababo la xidhiidha habdhaqanka bulshada iyo dhaqaale xumada, ayaa keentay in haweenka aad loogu takooro doorashooyinkii dadbanaa ee dowladaha hoose. Waxa aannu Galmudug ku tirtirsiiyaynaa in ay kobciyaan doorka ay haweenku ku leeyihiin kaqaybgalka nolosha dadweynaha sida siyaasadda, maamulka iyo guud ahaan dowlad-dhiska. Degmooyinka Galmudug badankoodu waxa ay leeyihiin guddoomiyeyaal kali ah oo bilaa gole deegaan ah.
- Taas micnaheedu waxa weeye, golayaasha deegaanku waxay ka dhigan yihiin hannaan hoos-u-dhac ah oo ay muwaadiniinta deegaanku dooran karaan oo ay la falgeli karaan maamulkooda hoose; gutaan xuquuqdooda iyo waajibaadkooda guud ahaan nolosha guud; isla markaana gacan ka geysata hagaajinta maamulka, dowlad-dhisidda, dibuheshiisiinta, iyo xallinta mashaakilaadka deegaanka.

Taasi waxa ay jidaynaysaa in dowladaha hoose abuuraan habraac salka ka soo unkama oo horusocod ah, kaas oo ay muwaadiniintu dooran karaan, isla markaana ku xidhmi karaan maamulladooda gudaha; guud ahaanna heli karaan xuquuqaha iyo masuuliyadaha kaga aaddan nolosha dadweynaha; kagana qaybqaadan karaan horumarinta maamulka, dowlad-dhiska, dibuheshiisiinta iyo xallinta dhibaatooyinka gudaha. Sidaas awgeed, waxa aannu si weyn ugu talinaynaa in dowladda Galmudug aasaasto dowlado hoose, kuwaas oo si toos ah loo soo doorto, haddii ay macquul tahay; qaabkaas waxa laga filaya in uu kor u qaado fursadda ay haweenka iyo kooxaha la dhayalsadaa u haystaan in la doorto.

- Gaadhitaanka iyo adeegsiga isku fillaansho dakhli ama khayraad ayaa si weyn uga qaybqaadan kara maamul wanaagga iyo dowlad-dhiska.
- Khayraad ku filan, oo si sax ah looga faa'idaysto ayaa wax weyn ka tari kara maamul-wanaagga iyo dowlad-dhisidda. Si ay Galmudug u noqoto mid dhaqaale ahaan xasiloon, waa in ay ballaadhiso dariiqyadeeda dakhli soo saarka, iyada oo si gaar ah xoogga u saaraysa hirgelinta dekedda Hobyo.

HERITAGE

I N S T I T U T E