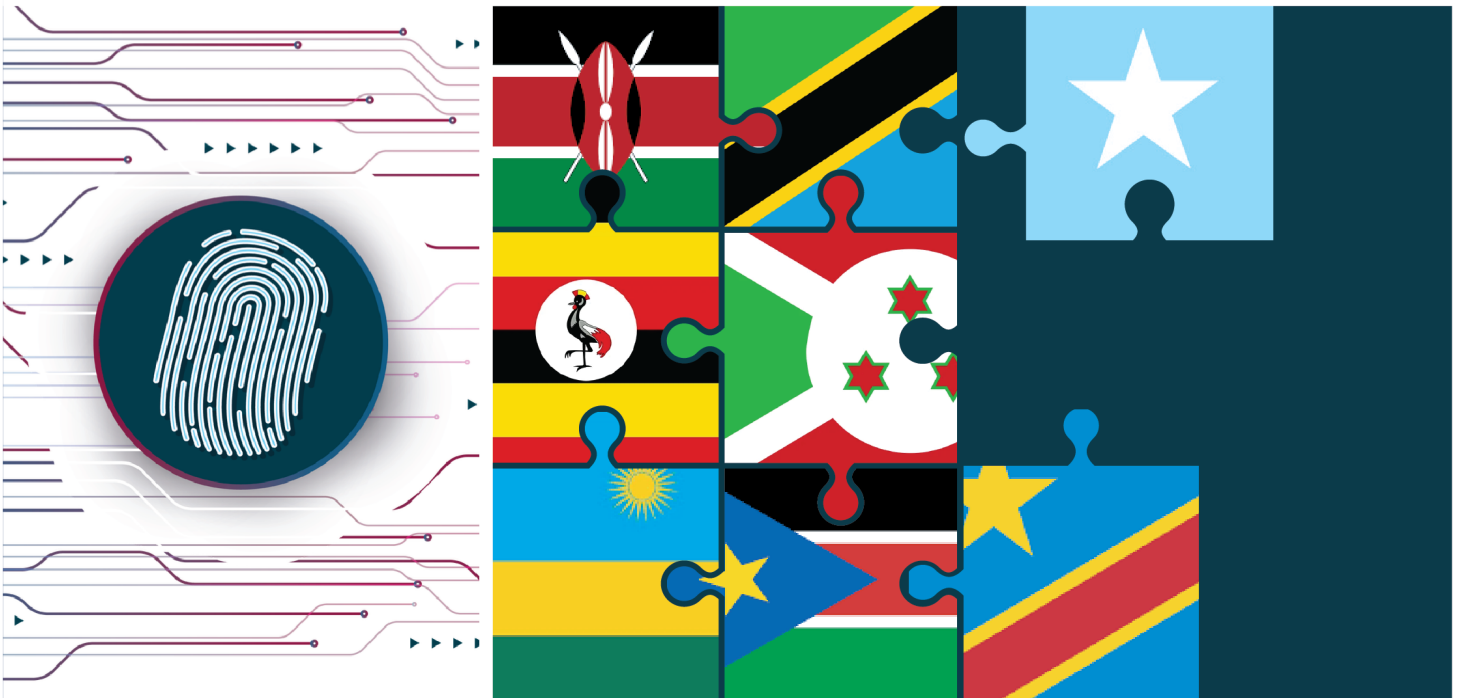


# HERITAGE

I N S T I T U T E

## WARBIXINTA XAALADDA SOOMAALIYA (2023)



# Tusmadda

<b>1</b>	Nuxurka Daraasadda	3
<b>2</b>	Horumarka Gudaha	5
<b>3</b>	Banaadir	16
<b>4</b>	Galmudug	18
<b>5</b>	Hirshabeelle	19
<b>6</b>	Jubbaland	22
<b>7</b>	Puntland	24
<b>8</b>	Soomaalilaan	30
<b>9</b>	Koonfurgalbeed	37
<b>10</b>	Gunaanad	40

# 1. Nuxurka Daraasadda

Warbixinta Xaaladda Soomaaliya 2023 waxa ay diiradda saareysaa tallaabooyin horumar iyo isbeddelada ugu weyn ee la xiriira siyaasadda, amniga, dhaqaalaha, adeegyada bulshada iyo doorkii ay daneeyayaasha shisheeye ku lahaayeen Soomaaliya sannaddkii 2023. Warbixintan sannadlaha ahi waxa ay diiwaangelisaa dhacdooyinka muhiimka ah ee sannadkaas oo dhan jaangooya arrimaha Soomaaliya, waxaanay lafagur iyo xog buuxda siisaa jaangooyeyaasha siyaasadda, aqoonyahanka iyo guud ahaan bulshada Soomaaliyeed, si ay uga taageerto arrimaha la xiriira nabadaynta iyo dowlad-dhiska Soomaaliya.

Sannaddkii 2023, waxa uu Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku heeshiis ku gaaray in dibuhabayn lagu sameeyo nidaamka siyaasadda Soomaaliya. Heshiisku waxa uu dhigayay in laga guuro nidaamka baarlamaaniga ah, lana aado nidaam madaxweyne iyo in sidoo kala laga guuro nidaamka awood-qaybsiga ee 4.5, lana aado doorasho qof iyo cod. Arrimahan ayaa loo qorsheeyay in ay ku billaabmaan doorashooyin dowladaha hoose oo la qabanayo bisha Juune 2024, kuna xigayaan doorashooyin heer goboleed iyo heer faderaal. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, go'aankani kama uu marnayn isdiidooyinka siyaasadeed. Puntland oo ka maqnaayd shirka Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ayaa qaaddacday sharcinimada heshiiskaas. Sidoo kale, dhalleecayn badan ayaa ku timi muddo kordhintii sannadka ahayd ee ay Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku u sameeyeen madaxda gobollada. Inkasta oo ay golaha wasiiraddu meelmariyeen 31 bishii diiseembar, haddana looma gudbinnin baarlamaanka si ay u ansixiyaan. Shaki kama taagna in arrintani door weyn ka ciyaari doonto ismaandhaafyada siyaasadeed ee dalka.

Sannadkii 2023, waxa Dowladaha Xubnaha ka ah dowladda faderaalka Soomaaliya soo foodsaaray isbedbeddello siyaasadeed oo ay xuddun u yihiin murannada doorashooyinka, awood-qaybsiga iyo khilaafka ka dhexeeyay hoggaamiyeyaasha siyaasadda. Xiisadaha Puntland ayaa cirka isku shareeray kadib markii la soo jeediyey dibuhabayn doorasho oo ku salaysan doorasho qof iyo cod ah, kaas oo lagu aadayay nidaam doorasho oo qof iyo cod ah sannadka 2024. Hirshabeelle waxa soo foodsaaray muranno siyaasadeed la xiriira hannaanka awood-qaybsiga dowladda, oo ka dhashay qanaaco darro ay ka qabeen beelaha Xawaadle. Sidoo kale Galmudug waxaa hareeyay muranno siyaasadeed oo u dhaxeeyay madaxweyne Axmed Cabdi Kaariye(Qoorqoor) iyo madaxweyne kuxigeenkiisa Cali Daahir Ciid. Sidaa si la mid ah, madaxweynaha Jubbaland, Axmed Maxamed Islaam waxa ku kacay mucaarad xooggan oo kaga yimid gobolka Gedo. Waxa ay qaaddaceen maamulkii cusbaa ee uu Gedo u soo magacaabay, iyada oo ay ku kaceen kooxo ay abaabuleen maamulka Gedo. Koofurgalbeed, waxa ka dhalatay xasilooni siyaasadeed, kadib markii uu guddoomiyaha baarlamaanka faderaalka Shiikh Aadan Maxamed Nuur Madoobe dhexdhexaadiyay mucaaradka iyo dowladda. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, kooxaha mucaaradku kuma qanacsana xilliga ay dhacayso doorashada ay soo jeediyeen Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku.

Dhinaca dhaqaalaha waxa ay Soomaaliya kaga tallaabsatay guulo wax ku ool ah, gaar ahaan dayn cafinta iyo ku xiranka hay'adaha maaliyadeed ee caalamiga ah. Guul weyn ayay Soomaaliya gaadhay bishii Diisember 2023, iyada oo xaqiijisay in ay hay'adaha maaliyadeed ee caalamiga ahi ka cafiyaan deyn dhan \$4.5 bilyan oo doollarka Maraykanka ah. Kadib wadahallo socday muddo dhowr bilood ah waxa ay Soomaaliya ku biirtay Bulshada Bariga Afrika, taas oo u furayso waddooyin cusub oo ganacsi goboleed iyo iskaashi dhaqaale. Bangiga Ziraat Katilim, ee Muqdisho laga furay, oo u leedahay dowladda Turkiye, ayaa ku suntay dibu soo laabashada bangiyada shisheeye, oo tobannaan sano ka maqnaa Soomaaliya. Xaaladda banii-aadanninimo ee Soomaaliya ayaa ahayd mid halis ku sii sugan sannadkii 2023. Dad lagu qiyaasay 4.3 milyan oo qof ayaa weli la daalaadhacaya nafaqo darro iyo cunto yaraan daran, kuwaas oo salka ku haya masiibooyinka cimilada iyo colaadda joogtada ah. Xaaladda waxa uga sii daray roobab mahiigaan ahaa oo da'ay bilihii Oktoober iyo Diisember, kuwaas oo dhaliyay daadad xooggan oo barakiciyay dad lagu qiyaasay 1.2 milyan oo qof. Hay'adda Cunnada Adduunka, ayaa sheegtay in nafaqo darri ba'ani soo foodsartay 1.5 milyan carruur ah.

Dagaalladii qorshaysnaa ee ay Soomaaliya ku qaadday al-Shabaab bishii Ogoosto 2022, ayaa sii socday sannadkii 2023 oo dhan, waxaana ka soo baxayay natiijooyin kala duwan. Guulihii dagaalka waxaa ku yimid hoos u dhac marka la barbardhigo billowgii, sababo la xiriira arrimaha saadka, dhaqaaleddarri, colaado beeled oo dib u soo cusboonaaday iyo goobihii la xoreeyay oo loo waayay awood lagu sii haysto. Sidaas darteed, waxa ay al-Shabaab dib ula wareegtay goobo istaraatiijiyadeed oo muhiim ah sida Cowsweyne, Ceeldheer iyo Galcad. Ciidamada dowladda waxa soo gaaray dhimasho xad-dhaaf ah, waxaana dadkii dagaaladaas lagu malgay ka mid ahaa Gaashaanle Xasan Maxamed Cismaan (Xasan Tuure), oo ahaa taliye kuxigeenkii ciidamada Danab. Guulaha ugu waaweyn ee ay Soomaaliya gaartay waxaa ka mid ahaa in Golaha Amniga Qaramada Midoobay ka qaaday bishii Diiseembar cunaqabatayntii hubka ee muddada soddonka sannadood saarnayd Soomaalia. Tani waxa ay si weyn kor ugu qaaddi kartaa awoodda ciidamada dowladda iyo dadaallada mustaqbalka fog fallaagada looga hortagayo.

Bishii Jannaayo waxa lagu tallaabsaday horumarro qorshaysan oo lagu dhimayo Hawlgalka Kumeelgaarka Midowga Afrika ee Soomaaliya (ATMIS), halkaas oo markii ugu horraysay Saldhig Hawlgal oo Furin ah lagala wareegay ciidamada ATMIS. Masuuliyadaha Madaxtooyada Soomaaliya, iyo qasriga madaxweynaha, waxa bishii Diisember la wareegay oo gacanta ku haya ciidamada amniga Soomaaliya.

## 2. Horumarka Gudaha

### Siyaasadda

Waxaa sii socday kala qaybsanaanta siyaasadda gudaha ee ku salaysan heer faderaal iyo heer dowlad-goboleed. Kulanno ay isugu yimaaddeen Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, oo ah gole ka kooban madaxweynaha faderaalka, raysalwasaaraha, raysalwasaare kuxigeenka, madaxda dowlad-goboleeddada iyo duqa magaalada Muqdisho, oo uu midkood ka dhacay Baydhabo bishii Maarso, kuwo kalena ka dhaceen Muqdisho bishii May, ayaa muujinaya caqabadaha qaranka ku gadaaman. Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ayaa shir Baydhabo ka dhacay 18 Maarso, ka gaaaray heshiis arrimo muhiim ah, kuwaas oo ay ku jiraan dhammaysirka qaabdhismeedka amniga qaranka, aasaaska mabaadi'da miisaaniyad-sannadeedka faderaalka iyo abuuridda hay'adaha muhiimka ah sida Maamulka Dakhliga Qaranka.<sup>1</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, madaxweynaha Puntland oo shirkan ka maqnaa ayaa ku yeeshay saamayn taban. 9 Jannaayo, ayay Puntland shaacisay in ay "hadda laga bilaabo u shaqayn doonto sidii dowlad madaxbannaan," iyada oo ku andacoonaysa in aanay dowladda faderaalku tixgelinin habraaca dastuuriga ah oo ah mid ku dhisan is-afgarad, taasina ay burburinayso hannaanka federaalka.<sup>2</sup>

Sioo kale, shirkii Muqdisho ee ay bishii May ku kulmeen Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku waxa lagu heshiiyay in dibuqaabayn lagu sameeyo nidaamka siyaasadda dalka.<sup>3</sup> Hoggaamiyeyaashu waxa ay dhammaan isku raaceen in nimaadka baarlamaanka ee hadda jira looga guuro nidaam madaxweyne, halkaas oo si toos ah loo soo dooranayo madaxweynayaasha iyo madaxweyne kuxigeennada. Waxa kale oo ay madaxda Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku isku raaceen in horraanta 2024 la qabto doorashooyin qof iyo cod ah, taas oo meesha ka saaraysa nidaamka hadda jira ee 4.5 oo ah mid qabiil ku salaysan. Qorshahan cusub ee la soo gudbiyay waxa sharcinimadiisa ku gadaaman madmadow, waxaana hareeyay isdiidooyin ku salaysan awoodda lagu kordhinayo muddo-xileedyada madaxda dawlad-goboleedyada. Madax sarsare oo uu ku jiraan madaxweynayaal iyo raiisulwasaareyaal hore ayaa si weyn u qaaddacay heshiishyada ay gaareen Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku.<sup>4</sup> Puntland oo shirka ka maqnayd ayaa diidday natiijada kulanka, iyada oo ku tilmaantay mid aan la gala tashan. Tani waxa ay sii xoojisay tabashooyinka la xiriira qabyada wadar-oggolka iyo u dhammi la'aanta go'aan-gaarista Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka.<sup>5</sup>

---

1. See "Somali Leaders Reach Agreements on National Security and Fiscal Federalism Principles," Hiiraan Online, March 18, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Mar/190379/somali\\_leaders\\_reach\\_agreements\\_on\\_national\\_security\\_and\\_fiscal\\_federalism\\_principles.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Mar/190379/somali_leaders_reach_agreements_on_national_security_and_fiscal_federalism_principles.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

2. See "Somalia: Puntland State Dissociates Itself from Mogadishu." Africanews, January 11, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.africanews.com/2023/01/11/somalia-puntland-state-dissociates-itself-from-mogadishu/>.

3. See "Somali Leaders Reach Landmark Political Agreement" VOA, May 28, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-leaders-reach-landmark-political-agreement/7112409.html>

4. See "Former Somali Leaders Reiterate Rejection of NCC's Political System Reform Agreements," Hiiraan Online, October 19, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193443/former\\_somali\\_leaders\\_reiterate\\_rejection\\_of\\_ncc\\_s\\_political\\_system\\_reform\\_agreements.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193443/former_somali_leaders_reiterate_rejection_of_ncc_s_political_system_reform_agreements.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

5. See "Somalia: Puntland Rejects Result of the NCC Forum in Mogadishu," Garowe Online, May 30, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-puntland-rejects-result-of-the-ncc-forum-in-mogadishu>.



Mucaaradnimadan xooggan ayaa curyaamin karta heshiiska Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, marka la gaaro heerka ansixinta golaha xeerdjinta. Inkasta oo ay Golaha Wasiirradu meelmariyeen heshiiskan<sup>6</sup>, haddana waxa ka dhiman tallaabooyin muhiim ah oo ah in ay xeerdjintu ku ansaxiso, jadwalkiisuna ma ahayn mid la hubo dabayaaqadii 2023.<sup>7</sup>

2 bishii May, waxa ay soomaaliya ku dhawaaqday tirakoobkii ugu horreeyay ee lagu diiwaangalinayo tirada dadweynaha Soomaaliya oo ay ugu danbaysay muddo laga joogo 50 sano. Tirakoobkan, oo bilaabmi doona Oktoober 2024, ayaa la filayaa in uu qaato muddo laba sano ah.<sup>8</sup> Tirakoobkan ayaa muhiimad weyn leh marka la eego soo jeedinta Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka oo ah in loo guuro doorashooyin qof iyo cod ah.

Saxnaanta matalaaddu waxa ay ku xiran tahay runnimada natiijada tirakoobka, taas oo aasaas u noqon doonta in ay Soomaaliya u gudubto hannaan doorasho oo dimoqraaddi ah, islamarkaana loo dhan yahay, gaar ahaan haddii ay soo jeedinta Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku ka gudubto hannaanka ansixinta xeerdejiinta.

## Amniga

Sannadkii 2022, ayay dowladda faderaalku bilowday wajigii kowaad ee dagaallada culus ee ay kula jirto al-Shabaab, oo ku xoogganayd Galmudug iyo Hirshabeelle<sup>9</sup>, iyada oo maleeshiyaadka al-Shabaab laga qabsaday in ka badan 215 goobood oo ay ka mid yihiin degmooyin, tuulooyin iyo daabiyado.<sup>10</sup> Dowladda waxa taageerayay maleeshiyaadka loo yaqaanno Macawisleyda iyo sidoo kale Ciidamada Cirka ee Maraykanka iyo Turkiye, oo qiyaastii boqolkiiba lixdan fuliyay hawlgalladii ugu cuslaa ee lagu riiqay al-Shabaab.<sup>11</sup>

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, inkasta oo guulo wax ku ool ah lagu tallaabsaday billowgii dagaalka, haddana waxa markiiba soo shaacbaxay caqabado. Dhibaatooyin dhanka saadka ah, goldaloolooyin dhaqaale oo wiiqay maalgalinta hawlgallada, colaado ka soo cusboonaaday beelaha dhexdooda iyo in awood loo waayay sii haysashada goobihii la qabsaday ayaa ugu waaweynaa caqabadaha la waajahay.<sup>12</sup>

Al-Shabaab oo fursaddan ka faa'iidaydaysanaya ayaa dagaallo rogaalcelin ah oo istaraatiijiyadaysan ku qabsatay goobo muhiim ah oo ay ka mid yihiin Wabxo, Cowsweyne, Budbud<sup>13</sup>, Ceeldheere iyo Galcad.<sup>14</sup>

---

6. See "Somali Council of Ministers Approves NCC's Election Agreement amidst Opposition," Hiiraan Online, June 8, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/06/08/191705/somali\\_council\\_of\\_ministers\\_approves\\_ncc\\_s\\_election\\_agreement\\_amidst\\_opposition.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/06/08/191705/somali_council_of_ministers_approves_ncc_s_election_agreement_amidst_opposition.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

7. See "Baarlamaanka Soomaaliya Oo Loo Gudbiyay Heshiiskii Golaha Wadatashiga Qaran." Jowhar News, June 11, 2023. Accessed at: <https://jowhar.com/baarlamaanka-soomaaliya-oo-loo-gudbiyay-heshiiskii-golaha-wadatashiga-qaran/>.

8. See "Somalia Launches First Census in Nearly 50 Years." Voice of America, May 2, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-launches-first-census-in-nearly-50-years/7075678.html>.

9. See "Somalia's President Vows 'Total War' against Al-Shabab." Voice of America, August 24, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-president-vows-total-war-against-al-shabab/6714508.html>.

10. See "Somalia: Counterinsurgency Operation Gains Regional Support in Phase Two as al-Shabaab Attacks and Political Differences Persist," ACLED, April 2023. Accessed at: <https://acleddata.com/2023/04/21/somalia-situation-update-april-2023-counter-insurgency-operation-gains-regional-support-in-phase-two-as-al-shabaab-attacks-and-political-differences-persist/>

11. Ibid.

12. See "A year on, Somalia is keen to wrap up 'all-out' offensive against Al-Shabaab in Galmudug," Somali Signal, August 3, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somalisignal.com/a-year-on-somalia-is-keen-to-wrap-up-all-out-offensive-against-al-shabaab-in-galmudug/>

13. See "Galmudug frontline is collapsing: Al-Shabaab recaptured Wabho," The Somali Digest, August 28, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/galmudug-frontline-is-collapsing-al-shabaab-recaptured-wabho/>

14. See "Al-Shabaab Captured El Dher and Gal'ad." The Somali Digest, August 28, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/breaking-al-shabaab-captures-el-dher/>.

Caqabadahan ayaa muujiyay nugaylka taagta dowladda iyo sida ay baylahda ugu tahay ka hortagga weerarrada lama filaanka ah ee ay soo qaadaan argagixisadu, taasina waxa ay dibudhac ku keentay wajigii labaad ee dagaalka kulul, ee loo bixiyay Hawlgalka Libaaxa Madow, oo ay ahayd in uu billaabmo Juun 2023. Waxa looga gollaha in lagu ballaariyo hawlgallada militari ee al-Shabaab lagaga xoraynayo Jubbaland iyo Koofurgalbeed, iyada oo lala kaashanayo dalalka Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Itoobiya.<sup>15</sup> Inkasta oo ay dowladdu bartilmaadeedsatay goobo gaar ah oo ku yaalla bartamaha gobollada Mudug iyo Galguduud, kuwaas oo weli ku jira gacanta al-Shabaab, ayuu madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud si kumeelgaar ah ugu guurey dhuusamareeb, si uu u korjoogteeyo hawlgallada, islamarkaana u soo nooleeyo taageerada beelaha.<sup>16</sup>

Golaha Amniga ee Qaramada Midoobay ayaa bishii Diiseember ku dhawaaqay in Soomaaliya laga qaaday cunaqabaytii hubka, oo saarnayd tan iyo 1992.<sup>17</sup> Go'aankan waxa soo dhoweeyay madaxda dowladda faderaalka, iyaga oo ku tilmaamay tallaabo wax ku ool ah oo loo qaaday jidka horumarinta awoodaha amniga iyo dadaallada ku wajahan la dagaallanka argagixisada.<sup>18</sup> Maamulka madaxbannaanida ku dhawaaqay ee Soomaalilaand ayaa ka digtay tallaabadan, iyada oo ku tilmaantay "halis ku soo korodhay amniga Soomaalilaand, gobolka Geeska Afrika iyo guud ahaan beesha caalamka."<sup>19</sup> Sidaas oo kale, wasiirka arrimaha gudaha Puntland Cabdi Faarah Juxa, ayaa sheegay in ka qaadista Soomaaliya cunaqabatayntu tahay "gef dhabarjab ah."<sup>20</sup>

Horraantii 2023, ayay Dowladda Faderaalka Soomaaliya 9,000 askari tababbar ugu dirtay dalalka Iritereya, Itoobiya, Masar iyo Yugaandha, iyada oo dowladdu sheegtay in ay u qorshaysay in ay tababbarto 15,000 askari sannadka 2023.<sup>21</sup> Hindisahan ayaa lafdhabar u ah diyaarinta ciidamada qaranka Soomaaliya, si ay masuuliyadda amniga ugala wareegaan ciidamada ATMIS, oo bixitaankoodu qorshaysan yahay Diiseembar 2024.<sup>22</sup> Ciidamada ATMIS ayaa si tartiib-tartiib ah u wareejinayay saldhigyada howlgallada, iyaga oo raacaya Qorshaha Kumeelgaarka ah ee Soomaaliya, waxaanu qorshahan wajigiisii kowaad dhammaaday bishii Juun, halkaas oo ay ciidamada amniga Soomaaliya la wareegeen Xaaji Cali, Mirtiquo, Cadalle, Albao, Gherille, iyo al-Jazeera 1.<sup>23</sup> Saddex saldhig oo kale, oo kala ah Bio Cadale, Raga Ceel, iyo Qorilow ayay ATMIS wareejisay bilihii Sibtember, Oktoober iyo Diiseember, sida ay u kala horreeyaan.<sup>24</sup> Bishii Diiseembar ayay sidaas oo kale ATMIS ku wareejisay ciidamada Soomaaliya masuuliyadda amniga qasriga madaxweynaha iyo baarlamaanka faderaalka oo ay hore gacanta ugu haysay, iyada oo 16kii sano ee la soo dhaafay maamulaysay amniga xarumaha hay'adaha Dowladda Faderaalka Soomaaliya.<sup>25</sup>

15. See "Somalia Relaunches Efforts to Eliminate Al-Shabab," Voice of America, November 9, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voaafrica.com/a/somalia-relaunches-efforts-to-eliminate-al-shabab/7348240.html>.

16. See "Hassan Sheikh returns to central Somalia as clans mobilize against Al-Shabaab," Garowe Online, August 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/hassan-sheikh-returns-to-central-somalia-as-clans-mobilize-against-al-shabaab>

17. See "Security Council Lifts Arms Embargo on Federal Government of Somalia, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2714 (2023)" UN Press, December 2023. Accessed at: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15511.doc.htm#:~:text=Recognizing%20the%20benchmarks%20reached%20on,the%20Federal%20Government%20of%20Somalia>.

18. See "Somalia Celebrates as UN Security Council Lifts Decades-Long Arms Embargo," Hiiraan Online, December 2, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Dec/193996/somalia\\_celebrates\\_as\\_un\\_security\\_council\\_lifts\\_decades\\_long\\_arms\\_embargo.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Dec/193996/somalia_celebrates_as_un_security_council_lifts_decades_long_arms_embargo.aspx).

19. See "Somalia gains on arms purchase pose new burden on EAC peers," December 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-gains-on-arms-purchase-pose-new-burden-on-eac-peers-4455652>

20. See "Reactions to the Lifting of Somalia's Arms Embargo," December 2, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/reactions-to-the-lifting-of-somalias-arms-embargo/>

21. See "Exclusive: Somalia Sends Thousands of Army Recruits Abroad for Training," Voice of America, January 31, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/exclusive-somalia-sends-thousands-of-army-recruits-abroad-for-training-/6941868.html>.

22. See "Update on the Situation in Somalia and Activities of ATMIS," Amani Africa, September 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://amaniafrica-et.org/update-on-the-situation-in-somalia-and-activities-of-atmis/>.

23. See "ATMIS Officially Hands Over Forward Operating Bases To The Federal Government Of Somalia," July 9, 2023. Accessed at: <https://atmis-au.org/atmis-officially-hands-over-forward-operating-bases-to-the-federal-government-of-somalia/>

24. See "ATMIS hands over Qorilow military base to Somali Security Forces," December 20, 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/atmis-hands-over-qorilow-military-base-somali-security-forces#:~:text=Before%20the%20pause%20two%20Forward,over%20six%20Forward%20Operating%20Bases>.

25. See "Somali Army Assumes Security of Presidential Palace after 16 Years of ATMIS Protection," Somali National News Agency, December 17, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/somali-army-assumes-security-of-presidential-palace-after-16-years-of-atmis-protection/>.

Soomaaliya waxa ay inta badan taageerada amniga ka heli jirtay, marka loo eego saadadka meliteri kuwa dilaaga ah iyo kuwa aan dilaaga ahaynba dalalka saaxiibbada la ah Soomaaliya ee ay ka midka yihiin Maraykanka, Qaramada Midoobay, ATMIS, UK, Turkiye, Midowga Yurub, Qatar,iritereya, Jabuuti iyo Isutagga Imaaraatka Carabta.

Maraykanka ayaa taageero militeri oo cirka ah siiyay militeriga Soomaaliya, oo ay ku jiraan duqayn cirka ah oo lagu xoojinayo ciidamada Danab, khuburo ciidan oo lagu daro ciidanka Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo uu soo tababaray Maraykanku.<sup>26</sup> Tirada weerarrada cirka iyodiyaaradaha dooranta ee lala beegsaday al-Shabaab ayaan marnaba isbeddelin (18, 2022 iyo 19, 2023).<sup>27</sup> Duqaymahan ayaa lala beegsaday goobo ay ku dhuumaalaysanayeen kooxa al-Shabaab iyo madaxda argagixisadu, sidaoo kale waxa ay ka falceliyeen weerarro culus oo ay soo qaadeen al-Shabaab, waxaanay taageero siiyeen weerarrada ciidamada XDS.<sup>28</sup> Daroonnada Turkiye ayaa dhanka cirka ka taageerayay howlgallada culus ee Soomaaliya qaadday, waxaanay ciidamada Gorgor ee uu Turkiye tababaray ka qaybqaateen duullaanno culus oo lagu galay tuulooyin badan.<sup>29</sup>

## Dhaqaalaha

Sannadkii 2023, waxa ay Soomaaliya ku tallaabsatay guulo la taaban karo kana gaartay dadaalladeeda dib u soo noolaynta dhaqaalaha, sida dhammaystirka dayncafinta ee hoos tagta hindisayaasha barnaamijka Dalalka Daynta la Ciirciraya ee Saboolka ah (HIPC), xaqiijinta gelitaanka Bulshada Bariga Afrika (EAC), iyo sare u qaadidda xoojinta dakhliga gudaha.

Marka loo eego xaaladda miisaaniyadeed ee guud, Soomaaliya waxa ay kor u qaadday waxsoosaarka dakhliga gudaha 2.8% sannadkii 2023, halka uu 2.4% kororku ahaa ka ahaa sannadkii 2022. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, kobocani waxa uu intii markii hore la saadinayey ka hoos maray 0.25%, kaas oo ka dhashay sababo la xiriira abaaraha isdabajoogga ah iyo hoos u dhaca lacagaha la soo xawilo.<sup>30</sup> Sannadkii 2023, Waxsoosaarka Dakhliga Gudaha dalka (GPD), waxa lagu qiyaasay \$8.7 milyan, kaas oo caadi ahaan ka soo xerooda waxyaalaha sida shaqiga ah loo isticmaalo, xawaaladaha, iyo deeqaha rasmiga ah. Marka la barbardhigo dalalka deriska, koboca Waxsoosaarka Dakhliga Gudaha Soomaaliya wuu ka hooseeyaa kuwa Itoobiya (5.3%), Kenya (5.5%) iyo Jabuuti (3.7%).<sup>31</sup>

---

26. See "Sustaining Gains in Somalia's Offensive against Al-Shabaab." Crisis Group, March 21, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b187-sustaining-gains-somalias-offensive-against-al-shabaab>.

27. See "Context Assessment: Heightened Political Violence in Somalia." ACLED, March 3, 2023. Accessed at: <https://acleddata.com/2023/03/03/context-assessment-heightened-political-violence-in-somalia/>.

28. See "The Three Kinds of Declared U.S. Strikes in Somalia in 2023," New America, January 4, 2024. Accessed at: <https://www.newamerica.org/future-security/blog/the-three-kinds-of-declared-us-strikes-in-somalia-in-2023/>.

29. See "PM Hamza Inspects TurkSom Military Academy, Praises Contributions to Somalia's Security" Radio Dalsan, August 2, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/pm-hamza-inspects-turksom-military-academy-praises-contributions-to-somalias-security/>.

30. See "Somalia: Fifth Review under the Extended Credit Facility Arrangement, Requests for Waiver of Nonobservance of a Performance Criterion, Modification of Performance Criteria and Indicative Target, and Interim Assistance—Debt Sustainability Analysis." IMF Staff Country Reports 2023, no. 187 (May 31, 2023). Accessed at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2023/05/31/Somalia-Fifth-Review-Under-the-Extended-Credit-Facility-Arrangement-Requests-for-Waiver-of-533980>

31. AFDB, 2023. East Africa Economic Outlook. Access at <https://www.afdb.org/en/documents/east-africa-economic-outlook-2023>



Jidkii ay Soomaaliya u mari lahayd koboc dhaqaale oo micno leh waxa wiiqay: Bii'ada ganacsi oo liidata, dhibaatooyinka soo noqnoqda ee cimilada ka dhasha iyo amnidarrada iyo qalalaasaha siyaasadda. Dhaqaalaha Soomaaliya waxa ka maqan kala duwanaanshaha, inta bandanna waxa uu ku tiirsan yahay beeraha maciishadda oo ah kuwo dalaggoodu xaddidan yahay iyo waaxda adeegyada oo ah mid dhexdhexaad ah, taas micnaheedu waa in aanu weli dhicin isbeddel-qaabeed dhaqaale oo kobocsani. Caqabadaha curyaamiyay xaalladda dhaqaalaha-guud, waxa ka mid ah saboolnimada baahsan, iyada oo ay bulshada Soomaaliyeed 54.4% weli ku nool yihiin heerka saboolnimada ka hooseeya.<sup>32</sup>

Soomaaliya waxa ay muddo dheer la ildarnayd caqabado maaliyadeed oo lafjab ah, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin hoosayn miisaaniyadeed oo joogto ah, taas oo salka ku haysa dakhliga gudaha oo ah mid hooseeya, oo ay ku lifaaqan tahay cashuur ururinta oo iyaduna ah mid hoosaysa iyo kharashaadka oo sarreeya, soona noqnoqda. Sannadii 2023, DFS dakhligeeda guduhu waxa uu gaaray \$329 milyan, isaga oo kor uga soo kacay \$263 milyan oo uu ahaa 2022.<sup>33</sup> Kor u kaca dakhligan ayaa yimid kadib markii ay dowladda faderaalku dibuhabayn degdeg ah ku samaysay habraacyada cashuuraha, sida golaha wasiirrada oo ansixiyay qiime midaysan iyo qawaaniinta shati bixinta waaxda korantada.<sup>34</sup> Bishii Juuley, waxa ay dowladdu soo saartey xeerka qoondada cashuurta, iyada oo la abbaarayo ganacsiyada yar yar ee dhakhligooda sannadlaha ahi ka hooseeyo \$50,000.<sup>35</sup>

Cashuurta waxa laga qaadayaa saddexdii bilood ba mar, iyada oo qaddar dhan \$150 ku waajibayso ganacsiga faa'iidadiisu tahay \$10,000, sida oo kale 1.5% cashuur ah ayaa ku waajibaya ganacsiyada dhakhligeedu u dhexeeyo \$10,000 illaa \$50,000. Marka laga yimaaddo habraacyada cashuuraha ee qaaddimiga ah, waxa kale oo ay dowladdu u kuurgalaysaa istaraatiijiyado hal-abuurleh oo lagu ballaarinayo ilaha dakhliga. Tusaaleyaasha nool waxa ka mid ah waaxda duullimaadyada oo muujisay koboc dakhli oo wax ku ool ah, kadib markii ay horumarisay arrimaha hawada. Horumarkan ayaa isbeddel ku sameeyay socdaalka hawada, iyada oo ay duullimaadyada maalinlaha ahi kor u dhaafeen 500 diyaaradood, taas oo door weyn ka qaadatay kobocinta dakhliga.<sup>36</sup>

Iyada oo uu hoos u dhac koobani ku yimid bartilmaameedka dakhligii 2022, oo ahaa \$15.74 milyan, haddana dakhliga socdaalka hawadu waxa uu sare u kacay 34.2%, isaga oo gaaray \$15.11 milyan marka la barbardhigo dakhligii 2021.<sup>37</sup> Kororka socdaallada iyo horumarinta maamulka hawada, ayaa abuuraysa rejo ah in uu kor u kaco dakhliga waaxda duulista Soomaaliya, sannadaha soo socda.

---

32. See "SOMALIA POVERTY REPORT 2023" Somalia National Bureau of Statistics, December 2023. Accessed at: <https://nbs.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Somalia-Poverty-Report-2023.pdf>.

33. See "Somalia Financial Governance Report, 2023. Harnessing Financial Governance for Economic Development and Statebuilding. Ministry of Finance, March 6, 2024. Accessed at: <https://mof.gov.so/sites/default/files/Publications/Somalia%20FGR%20%28English%29%20-%20FINAL%20Small.pdf>

34. See "Tariff and Licensing -Regulations." Ministry of Energy & Water Resources. July 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://mof.gov.so/index.php/publications/somalia-financial-governance-report-2023>; [https://moewr.gov.so/ova\\_doc/tariff-and-licensing-regulations/](https://moewr.gov.so/ova_doc/tariff-and-licensing-regulations/).

35. See "XEER-NIDAAMIYAHA CANSHUURTA GEDIS-LAYDA' (TURNOVER TAX)" Ministry of Finance, July 23, 2023. Accessed at: <https://mof.gov.so/publications/xeer-nidaamiyaha-canshuurta-gedis-layda-turnover-tax>.

36. See "Somalia's Air Traffic Revenue Soars after Class A Airspace Upgrade." Radio Dalsan, May 21, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somalias-air-traffic-revenue-soars-after-class-a-airspace-upgrade/>.

37. See "Federal Government of Somalia Ministry of Finance End-Year Budget Fiscal Performance Report for Fiscal Year 2022" March 2023. Accessed at: [https://mof.gov.so/sites/default/files/Publications/2022%20End-Year%20Budget%20Performance%20Report\\_1.pdf](https://mof.gov.so/sites/default/files/Publications/2022%20End-Year%20Budget%20Performance%20Report_1.pdf).

Inkasta oo ay kor u qaadista cashuur ururintu kobcisay dakhliga gudaha sannadkii 2023, haddana si buuxda uma daboolin kharashaadka baahiyaha DFS, waxaana la bixin kari waayey kharashkii dowladdu ku bixin lahayd horumarinta waxbarashada, caafimaadka, qalabka waaweyn, iwm. Kharashaadka maamulka iyo mushaharaadka adeegyada dadweynaha ayaa shiikhiyay miisaaniyadda guud ee dowladda, xaddi kooban ayaana lagu kharashgareeyaa arrimaha horumarinta dhaqaalaha bulshada. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, xubnaha baarlamaanka Soomaaliya ayaa u codeeyay in mushaarkooda billaha ah kor loo qaado, oo laga dhigo \$5,300 taas oo la isku maandhaafay, iyada oo lagu dhaleeceeyay in ay si qaldan uga faa'iidaysteen masuuliyaddooda.<sup>38</sup>

Marka loo eego halbeegga, Cabbirka Qiimaha Maciishadda CPI), xaddiga sicir bararka Soomaaliya, waxa bishii Jannaayo lagu qiyaasay 6.9%, halka uu Diiseember hoos ugu soo dhacay boqolkiiba 6.6. Qiimaha cuntada iyo cabbitaannada moorka ah (aan aalkolada ahayn) ayaa hoos ugu soo dhacay 2.24%, taas oo gacan ka gaysatay in uu sicirbararku sannadba sannadka ka dambeeya hoos u soo dhaco 2.11%. Taas lidkeeda, qiimaha guryaha, biyaha, korantada iyo shidaalka ayaa kor u kaca sannadba-sannadka ka danbeeya, kuwaas oo muujinaya sicirbarar gaarsiisan 15.98%, halka aanu qiimahoodu isbeddelin bilba-bisha ka danbaysa ee uu yahay mid xasiloon. Waxyaalaha sicirbararka ka qaybqaatay waxaa ugu waaweyn isgaarsiinta, tubaakada, jaadka, kirada guryaha, iyo korantada. Qiimaha cuntada iyo kuwa cabbitaannada moorka ah ayaa uu saamayn weyn oo taban ku yeeshay sixirbararku.<sup>39</sup>

inkasta oo ay liidato xaaladda dhaqaale ee Soomaaliya, waxa ay bishii Diiseembar ku tallaabsatay horumar lama illaawaan ah, iyada oo xaqiijisay heshiiskii dayncafinta taariikhiga ah oo lagaga dhaafay 4.5 bilyan oo dayn ah. Kolkaas laga billaabo, waxa ay Soomaaliya fursad u heshay hanashada maalgelin cusub oo dibadeed sida daynqaadasho, maalgashi shisheeye iyo amaahda lacagaha muddada-dheer si ay ugu maalgaliso qorshayaasheeda horumarka. Waxa kuwaas ka mid ah maalgashiga waaxaha bulshada iyo horumarinta kaabayaasha, oo muhiim u ah wanaajinta hab-nololeedka, yaraynta saboolnimada iyo dardargalinta koboca dhaqaalaha Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo door weyn ka qaadanaaya in amni iyo xasilooni mustaqbalka lagu naalloodo. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, in tan muhiimaddeeda la aqoonsado ayaa fure u ah in lagu tallaabsado ficillo miroo dhal ah, sida ku cad Warbixinta Xaalladda Dhaqaalaha oo lagu daahfuray shirkii Golaha Dhaqaalaha Qaranka ee dayncafinta Soomaaliya, kaas oo diiradda saaraya xoojinta maamulka miisaaniyadda, abuuridda qaabdhismeed suuragalinaya horumarinta dhaqaalaha iyo ka feejignaanta dabarrada daymaha mustaqbalka.<sup>40</sup>

---

38. See "Somali MPs Approve Over \$5,000 Monthly Salaries Amidst Humanitarian Crisis." Radio Dalsan, December 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-mps-approve-over-5000-monthly-salaries-amidst-humanitarian-crisis/>.

39. See "Consumer Price Index (CPI) December 2023." Somali National Bureau of Statistics, January 15, 2024. Accessed at: <https://nbs.gov.so/consumer-price-index-cpi-december-2023/>.

40. See National Economic Council (2023). State of the Economy Report 2023 - Volume 1. NEC Publications, Federal Republic of Somalia. Accessed at: [https://nec.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/State-of-the-economy-13-Dec-23\\_.pdf](https://nec.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/State-of-the-economy-13-Dec-23_.pdf).

Bishii Diseembar 2023, ayay Hay'adda Lacagta Adduunka (IMF) ansixisay hannaan saddex-sano ah oo lagu Ballaarinayo Xarunta Deymaha (ECF), taas oo miisaaniyadda DFS-ka ka noqonaysa lacag dhan \$40 milyan oo doollar.<sup>41</sup> Gaar ahaan, sannadkii 2023 waxa ay miisaaniyadda Soomaaliya korodhay boqolkiiba 10.8, taas oo kor uga soo kacday \$973.9 milyan oo ay ahayd sannadkii 2022, isla markaana gaadhay \$1.079 bilyan. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa uu dalku si weyn ugu tiirsan yahay kaalmada shisheeyaha, taas oo miisaaniyad sannadeedka Soomaaliya ka noqonaysa 73%, waana dhib joogto ah. Ku tiirsanaantan kaalmada shisheeye ayaa dalka u nuglaysay kacdoonnada siyaasadeed iyo isbedbeddelka kala mudnaysiinta deeqbixiyayaasha, waxaana taas sii weheliya dakhliga Soomaaliya ee gudaha oo liita, kaas oo lagu qiyaasay in uu 27% oo kaliya ka yahay miisaaniyad-sannadeedka 2022.<sup>42</sup>

Bishii Maarso 2023, ayuu Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya hirgaliyay lanbarrada Akoonnada Bangiyada ee Caalamiga ah, si uu u fududeeyo isu-socodka lacagaha Bangiyada, isaga oo adeegsanaya nidaamka lacagbixinta.<sup>43</sup>

Bangiga laga leeyahay Turkiye ee Ziraat Katlim ayaa Oktoober laan ka furtay Muqdisho,<sup>44</sup> kadib markii uu Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya siiyay shatiyo bangiga Ziraat Katlim iyo bangiga Banque Misr oo Masar laga leeyahay, arrinta shati bixinta bangiyadan aan Soomaalida ahayn ayaa hirgashay bishii Juleey 2022.<sup>45</sup> Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya ayaa dajiyay siyaasadda madaxbannaanida waaxda maaliyadda, taas oo la rejaynayo in ay sahasho dib uga qaybqaadashada suuqyada lacagaha adduunka iyo bixinta adeegyada bangi ee Soomaaliya, gaar ahaan bixinta amaah ganacsi iyo in ay saaxiibbada caalamka u sahasho xawilaadda lacagta.<sup>46</sup>

Bishii Sebtembar, ayay DFS si rasmi ah u daahfurtay markii ugu horraysay kaarka aqoonsiga qaranka.<sup>47</sup> Aqoonsiga cusub, ayaa dowladda fursad weyn u siinaya kobcinta amniga, taageeridda hindisayaasha dimuqraaddiyadda, iyo fududaynta bixinta adeegyada dowladda. Waxa intaas dheer, saamaynta aqoonsiga dhijitaalka ahi waxa ay caawin doontaa waaxda maaliyadda iyada oo adeegsanaysa shuruudaha aqoonsiga macaamiishaada iyo yaraynta lacag dhaqidda iyo maalgalinta argagixisada. Madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud ayaa ballan ku qaaday in uu la dagaallamayo musuqmaasuqa iyo maamulxumida miisaaniyadda dowladda. Dowladdu waxa ay bilowday olole ay ku soo xidhidhay saraakiil dowladeed oo magac leh, iyada oo ku eedaystay musuqmaasuq, kadibna saartay Maxakamadda Gobolka Banaadir.

41. See "IMF Executive Board Approves US\$100 Million under a New Extended Credit Facility (ECF) Arrangement for Somalia," IMF, December 19, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2023/12/19/pr23463-somalia-imf-executive-board-approves-usd100-million-under-new-ecf-arrangement>.

42. See "Central Bank of Somalia (CBS) Policy Brief: May 2023 Mogadishu – Somalia" Accessed at: <https://centralbank.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CBS-Policy-Brief-0032023-.pdf>.

43. See "IBAN adoption signals Somalia's reentry into global financial system." Hiiraan Online, March 28, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Mar/190543/iban\\_adoption\\_signals\\_somalia\\_s\\_reentry\\_into\\_global\\_financial\\_system.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Mar/190543/iban_adoption_signals_somalia_s_reentry_into_global_financial_system.aspx)

44. See "Türkiye's Ziraat Bank 1st International Bank to Open Branch in Somalia in 50 Years." Anadolu News Agency, October 30, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkiye-s-ziraat-bank-1st-international-bank-to-open-branch-in-somalia-in-50-years/3038148>.

45. See "Somalia - Licensing of First Two Foreign Banks since 1970." UNCTAD, Investment Policy Hub, July 3, 2022. Accessed at: <https://investmentpolicy.unctad.org/investment-policy-monitor/measures/3996/licensing-of-first-two-foreign-banks-since-1970#:~:text=On%203%20July%202022%2C%20the,the%20board%20endorsed%20their%20applications>.

46. See "Somalia: Fifth Review under the Extended Credit Facility Arrangement, Requests for Waiver of Nonobservance of a Performance Criterion, Modification of Performance Criteria and Indicative Target, and Interim Assistance—Debt Sustainability Analysis." IMF Staff Country Reports 2023, no. 187 (May 31, 2023). Accessed at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2023/05/31/Somalia-Fifth-Review-Under-the-Extended-Credit-Facility-Arrangement-Requests-for-Waiver-of-533980>

47. VOA, 2023. Somalia's Digital ID Revolution: A Journey from Standstill to Progress. Accessed at <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-digital-id-revolution-a-journey-from-standstill-to-progress/7271250.html>

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, musuqmaasuqa ayaa ah mid sii baahaya. Siyaasiyiinta iyo saraakiisha dowladda ayaa si xun u maamula lacagaha dowladda ee loogu talagalay adeegyada bulshada. Hay'adda Daahfurnaanta Caalamiga ah ayaa sheegtay in ay Soomaaliya darajada ugu hoosaysa (180-aad) ka gashay dalalka ugu musuqmaasuqa ba'an dunida, taas ku heshay darajada 11/100, isla markaana muujinaysa in muqusmaasuq baahsani ka jiro xarumaha dowladda.<sup>48</sup>

## Arrimaha bannii-aadannimo

11 Abriil, Xoghaya-guud ee Qaramada Midooday António Guterres ayaa booqasho ku tagay magaalada Baydhabo, oo ah caasimadda kumeelgaarka ah ee maamul-goboleedka Koofurgalbeed, si wacyigelin looga sameeyo dhibaatooyinka bani-aadannimo ee dalka ka jira, waxaanu codsaday taageero weyn oo caalami ah, si looga hortaggo macaluusha halista ah ee soo aaddan.<sup>49</sup> Booqashadan ayaa timid kadib markii la siidaayay warbixin ay si wadajir ah usoo saareen Qaramada Midoobay iyo dowladda Soomaaliya, oo lagu sheegay in ay abaarihii dhacay 2022 ay galaafteen in ka badan 43,000 oo qof, oo ay kala bar carruur ahaayeen.<sup>50</sup>

Macaluushaas waa la maareeyay<sup>51</sup> balse roobab mahiigaan ah ayaa Soomaaliya ka da'ay bishii Oktoobar. Warbixin ku salaysan arrimaha bani-aadannimada oo ay soo saartay hay'adda Sanduuqa Carruurta ee Qaramada Midoobay (UNICEF) ayaa lagu yiri, "Soomaaliya waxa haleeshay abaar ba'an oo qarka u saartay macaluul, taas oo loo tixgaliyay tii ugu darnayd ee tobannaansano soo marta, sidoo kale dhowr bilood kadibna waxa soo foodsaaray daadadkii ugu xoogganaa ee abid soo mara."<sup>52</sup> Hay'adda Maaraynta Masiibooyinka Soomaaliya ayaa sheegtay in ay tirada dadka abaaruhu saameeyeen tahay, "2.48 milyan, oo ay ku jiraan 1.2 milyan oo ka barakacay guryahoodii iyo ku dhowaad 118 qof oo dhimasho ah." Meelaha ay abaartu saamaynta ugu weyn ku yeelatay ayaa ah goobo aan la tagi karin, oo u baahan in diyaarado helicopter ah iyo doomo loo adeegsado, si loo badbaadiyo dadka ay daadadku qaateen.<sup>53</sup>

Hay'adda Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Arrimaha bani-aadannimada ee OCHA ayaa sheegtay in ay bishii Diiseember gargaar bani-aadannimo u baahnaayeen 8.25 milyan oo qof;<sup>54</sup> halka cunto yaraan ba'ani ka soo foodsaartay dad tiradooda lagu qiyaasay 4.3 milyan oo qof, iyada oo ay nafaqo darro haleeshay 1.5 carruur ah.<sup>55</sup>

48. See "Somalia" Transparency.org, January 30, 2024. Accessed at: <https://www.transparency.org/en/countries/somalia>.

49. See "Activities of Secretary-General in Somalia", United Nations, April 19, 2023. Accessed at: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sgt3348.doc.htm#:~:text=United%20Nations%20Secretary-General%20Ant%C3%B3nio,of%20Somalia%2C%20Abshir%20Omar%20Jama>.

50. See "Somalia Drought May Have Killed 43,000 in 2022, Half under 5: UN." Al Jazeera, March 20, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/20/somalia-drought-may-have-killed-43000-in-2022-half-under-5-un#:~:text=Somalia%27s%20ongoing%20record%20drought%20may,government%20and%20United%20Nations%20agencies>.

51. See "Somalia: The Cost of Inaction, July 2023 - Somalia," ReliefWeb, July 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-cost-inaction-july-2023>.

52. See Somalia HNRP 2024 | Humanitarian Action," February 23, 2024. Accessed at: <https://humanitarianaction.info/plan/1180/article/somalia-hnrp-2024#:~:text=In%202023%2C%20Somalia%20walked%20back,the%20worst%20floods%20in%20generations.rp-2024#:~:text=In%202023%2C%20Somalia%20walked%20back,the%20worst%20floods%20in%20generations>.

53. See "Somalia: Helicopters and Boats Bring Life-Saving Aid amid Devastating Floods" ReliefWeb, December 11, 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-helicopters-and-boats-bring-life-saving-aid-amid-devastating-floods>.

54. See "Somalia: Humanitarian Dashboard, January - December 2023," ReliefWeb, January 30, 2024. <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-humanitarian-dashboard-january-december-2023#:~:text=The%202023%20Somalia%20Humanitarian%20Response,of%20humanitarian%20assistance%20in%20Somalia>.

55. See "WFP Somalia Country Brief, November 2023," ReliefWeb, December 26, 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/wfp-somalia-country-brief-november-2023>.

Masiibooyinka cimilada ka dhasha, colaadaha, amni darrida ayaa ka mid ah waxyaalaha lafdhabarta u ah barakaca. Warbixin ay soo saartay Hay'adda Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Qaxootiga ee UNHCR ayaa lagu sheegay in ay guud ahaan dalka Soomaaliya ka barakaceen 2.9 milyan oo qof, oo ay sababeen daadad (57%), colaado iyo amni darro(22%) iyo abaaro(18%).<sup>56</sup>

Colaadda iyo amni darrida ayaa sida oo kale sababay xaalad bani-aadantinimo oo waxyeellaysay gobollada qaar, iyo sida oo kale magaalada Laascaanood.<sup>57</sup>

Cusbitaal Laascaanood ku yaalla ayaa diiwaangaliyay 299 dhimasho ah, 1,913 dhaawac ah iyo in ka badan 200,000 oo barakacayaal ah.<sup>58</sup> Sida oo kale, dhul ballaaran oo ay maamusho al-Shabaab<sup>59</sup>, ayaan la awoodin in la gaadhsiiyo gargaar bini-aadantinimo, taas oo dadkii deegaannadaas degganaa ku qasabtay in ay qaxaan, iyaga oo raadinaya gargaar bini-aadantinimo.

Bishii Sibteember, ayay xarunta soosaarta wararka caalamiga ah ee Devex shaacisay warbixin sir ah oo ay Qaramada Midoobay ku sheegayaan in xatooyo lagula kaco gargaarka Soomaaliya. Waxa ay hoosta ka xarriiqday, in leexsashada gargaarku tahay mid "baahsan oo qorshaysan," Shabaab<sup>60</sup> gaar ahaan, waxa la lunsadaa lacagaha caddaanka ah ee la sii mariyo jilayaasha gudaha sida mulkiilayaasha kaamamka, maamullada gudaha, shaqaalaha hay'adaha banii-aadannimada, iyo qaar ka mid ah ciidamada amniga. Midowga Yurub ayaa hakiyay maalgalintii ay ku lahaayeen Hay'adda Cunnadda Adduunka (WFP). Lacagta caddaanka lagu bixiyaa waa saddexmeelood-meel dhammaan gargaarka ay bixiso Hay'adda Cunnadda Adduunka, oo ah hay'adda ugu weyn ee bixisa gargaarka bini-aadannimada.<sup>61</sup> Agaasimaha WFP ayaa bartiisa X soo dhigay: "Soomaaliya, waxa WFP cadaadis lagu saaray in ay joojiso gargaar naf-badbaadin ah oo samatabixinaya dad gaadhaya 2.6 milyan oo qof. Tani waa micnaha dhabta ah ee loogu yeedhi karo Masiibo Maal la'aaneed: Lacag la'aani, waa cunto la'aan."<sup>62</sup>

Saddex bilood ka hor, lunsii gargaar oo baahsan oo laga sheegay Itoobiya, ayaa sababay in ay gargaarka cuntada ka hakiso USAID. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, masuul ka tirsan hay'adda USAID ayaa leexsiga mucaawinooyinka Itoobiya ku tilmaamay mid ka duwan kan Soomaaliya, isla markaana aysan u qorshaynayn in ay joojiyaan gargaarka cunnada.<sup>63</sup> Dowladda Soomaaliya ayaa sheegtay in ay baaritaan ku samayn doonto natiijada ka soo baxday Qaramada Midoobay, balse waxa ay xustay in nidaamka haatan lagu bixiyo gargaarka uu ku shaqeeyo jidad ka baxsan nidaamka dowladda.

---

56. See "East and Horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes Region October" UNHCR, December 2023. Accessed at: <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/106870>

57. See "Conflict in disputed Las Anod dims Somaliland's diplomatic dreams" Al Jazeera May 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/5/10/conflict-in-disputed-las-anod-dims-somalilands-diplomatic-dreams>

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. See Reuters Exclusive: EU temporarily holds back food aid in Somalia after UN finds widespread theft. Accessed: <https://www.reuters.com/world/eu-temporarily-holds-back-food-aid-somalia-after-un-records-widespread-theft-2023-09-18/>

61. See Reuters Somalia aid theft - a daily reality for country's most vulnerable. Accessed: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalia-aid-theft-daily-reality-countrys-most-vulnerable-2023-09-19/>

62. See ftl Somalia" WFP Stops Life-Saving Aid for over 2.6 Million Somalis

63. See Reuters Exclusive: EU temporarily holds back food aid in Somalia after UN finds widespread theft. Accessed: <https://www.reuters.com/world/eu-temporarily-holds-back-food-aid-somalia-after-un-records-widespread-theft-2023-09-18/>



## Xiriirka Dibedda

Bishii May 2022, markii dib loo doortay Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud waxa uu sheegay in siyaasaddiisa arrimaha dibeddu ahmiyad siineysaa sidii kor loogu qaadi lahaa wadashaqeynta saaxiibbada gobolka iyo kuwa caalamiga ah ee Soomaaliya ka taageeraya dadaallada ka dhanka ah argagaxisada.<sup>64</sup> Arrintan ayaa tusaale u ah dib u soo noolaynta xiriirka Midowga Imaaraadka Carabta<sup>65</sup> oo xumaaday 2018, kadib markii ay madaxda Soomaaliya Muqdisho ku qabteen ku dhawaad 10 milyan oo doollarka Maraykanka, taas oo lagu keenay diyaarad ay leeyihiin Imaaraadku. Sababtaas ayuu Imaaraadku u joojiyay wadashaqeyntii iyo howlgalladiisii militeri ee uu ku gargaarayay Soomaaliya. Xilligaas waxa ay Soomaaliya sheegtay in loogu talagalay in lagu duufsado siyaasiyiinta, laguna khalkhalgaliyo amniga dalka, halka uu safiirkii Imaaraadka u fadhiiyay Muqdisho ku sheegay mushaaroonin loo wado ciidanka Soomaaliya.<sup>66</sup> Isku daygan oo uu Xasan Shiikh dib ugu soo cusboonaysiiyay xiriirkii ay Soomaaliya hore ula lahayd dalalka Gacanka, ayaa ku soo dhammaaday heshiis amni oo la saxeexay bishii Juley.<sup>67</sup>

Soomaaliya, waxa ay ilaalisay xiriirka ay la leedahay dalka Qadar, oo u maalgalinaysay dhisidda waddooyinka Mogadishu-Jawhar iyo Mogadishu-Afgooye,<sup>68</sup> sida oo kale na Soomaaliya ka taageerta arrimaha bini-aadannimada iyo arrimaha kale ee horumarka la xiriirka.<sup>69</sup>

Dalal badan oo Yurub ah iyo kuwo kale ayaa safiirro cusub u soo magacaabay Soomaaliya, oo ay ku jiraan Faransiiska, Netherlands, Slovakia,<sup>70</sup> UK,<sup>71</sup> iyo Talyaaniga<sup>72</sup>, iyo waliba sidaa oo kale Jabuuti iyo Kanada. Midowga Yurub ayaa danjire cusub u soo dirtay Soomaaliya. Xiriirka Kuubba oo xumaaday dagaalkii Ogaadeeniya ee dhexmaray Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya 1987, ayaa la soo celiyay Abril 2023, kaas oo gogoshiisa la dhigay Addis Ababa.<sup>73</sup>

Marka aynnu milicsanno xiriirka Soomaaliya ee heer gobol, waxa uu leeyahay laba waji oo kala ah xiriir iskaashi iyo muran siyaasadeed. Inkasta oo uu soo wacnaanayo xiriirka ay Soomaaliya la leedahay maamulka hadda ka jira Kenya, haddana weli waa mid cakiran yahay.<sup>74</sup>

64. See "PILLAR 6: SOMALIA at PEACE with the WORLD" Office of the Prime Minister of Somalia, December 27, 2022. Accessed at: <https://opm.gov.so/en/pillar-6-somalia-at-peace-with-the-world/>.

65. See "Return of the Sheiks: What next for Somalia and the United Arab Emirates? - The Africa Report, June 24, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.theafricareport.com/215018/return-of-the-sheiks-what-next-for-somalia-and-the-united-arab-emirates/>.

66. See "Somalia Seizes Nearly \$10M from UAE Plane in Mogadishu." Voice of America, April 8, 2018. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-united-arab-emirates-money-seizure/4337888.html>.

67. See "Somalia, UAE Strike Security Deal in Push to Mend Fences." Aa.com.tr, January 5,

2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somalia-uae-strike-security-deal-in-push-to-mend-fences/2780549>.

68. See "The Peninsula Qatar." The Peninsula Newspaper, May 22, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thepeninsulaqatar.com/editorial/22/05/2023/qatar-somalia-ties>.

69. See "Qatar is our true friend, says Somalia PM Hamza Abdi Barre," Garowe Online, September 11, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/qatar-is-our-true-friend-says-somalia-pm-hamza-abdi-barre>

70. See "President Mohamud receives credentials from newly appointed ambassadors to Somalia," Hiiraan Online, January 15, 2023. Accessed at: [https://hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Jan/189500/president\\_mohamud\\_receives\\_credentials\\_from\\_newly\\_appointed\\_ambassadors\\_to\\_somalia.aspx](https://hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Jan/189500/president_mohamud_receives_credentials_from_newly_appointed_ambassadors_to_somalia.aspx)

71. See "Change of His Majesty's Ambassador to Somalia: Michael Nithavrianakis," April 17, 2023, GOV.UK. Accessed at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/change-of-his-majestys-ambassador-to-somalia-michael-nithavrianakis#:~:text=17%20April%202023-,Mr%20Michael%20Nithavrianakis%20MVO%20has%20been%20appointed%20His%20Majesty's%20Ambassador,his%20appointment%20during%20May%202023.>

72. See "President Hassan Sheikh Receives Credentials of New Italian Ambassador to Somalia," SONNA, December 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/president-hassan-sheikh-receives-credentials-of-new-italian-ambassador-to-somalia/>

73. See "Somalia, Cuba Resume Diplomatic Relations after 46 Years." VOA News, April 4, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-cuba-resume-diplomatic-relations-after-46-years/7035852.html>.

74. See "Somalia President Visits Kenya amid Recent Tensions." Voice of America, July 15, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-president-visits-kenya-amid-recent-tensions-/6660729.html>.

Bishii Luulyo, ayay soo baxeen warar sheegaya in uu madaxweynaha Kenya, William Ruto danaynayo in la dhexdhexaadiyo labada dal ee Soomaaliya iyo Keyna, si ay suuragal u noqoto in dib loo eego go'aankii muranka badda ee dhexmaray labada dal, kaas oo ay Maxkamadda Caddaaladda ee Caalamiga ahi (ICJ) soo saartay Oktoobar 2021. Hindisahan waxa qaaddacday Soomaaliya oo ku adkaysatay go'aankeedii ku aaddanaa xukunkii ay soo saartay Maxkamadda Caddaaladda ee Caalamiga ahi, kaas oo xoojinaya madaxbannaanida Soomaalida.<sup>75</sup>

Sannadkii 2023, ayay labada dalka ku heshiiyeen in dib loo furo saddex magaalo oo uu xuduudku maro: Baladxaawo- Mandheera, Libooye-Gaarisa iyo Raaskambooni-Lamu, kuwaas oo illaa iyo 2011 u xidhnaa sababo la xiriira weerrarrada al-Shabaab.<sup>76</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, qorshahan waxa dhiciseeyay weerarro ay al-Shabaab fulisay 13 Juun, oo ay la beegsatay Gaarisa iyo goobo kale, oo ay ku jirto Lamu, kuwaas oo kala danbeeyay wax ka yar toban cisho, ayaa lagu dilay siddeed sarkaal oo ka tirsan askarta Kenya.<sup>77</sup>

Sannadkii 2023, ayay labada dowladood iswaydaarsadeen danjireyaal/safirro, iyada oo ay Soomaaliya u magacowday Jibriil Cabdulle danjiraha Soomaaliya u fadhiya Kenya, sida oo kale na Kenya u magacowday Kiringo Kubai danjiraha Kenya u fadhiya Soomaaliya.<sup>78</sup> Diyaaradaha Kenya ayaa ku dhawaaqay in ay dib u furayaan duullimaadyadii tooska ahaa ee Nayroobi iyo Muqdisho, oo ay bilaabayaan 14 Febraayo 2024.<sup>79</sup> Tallaabadan, waxa ku xigay heshiis laba geesood ah oo ay labada dal ku kala saxiixdeen in duullimaadyadii hawada ee tooska ahaa dib loo furayo bisha Ogoosto.<sup>80</sup>

Isdhexgalka Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya ayaa markii kowaad u muuqday mid rajo leh, kadib markii la sameeyay Guddida isku-dhafaan ee Wasiirrada Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya, iyada oo ay kala saxiixdeen heshiisyo ganacsi oo faa'iido u leh labada dhinac, gaar ahaan ganacsatada Soomaaliyeed oo helaya suuqa weyn ee Itoobiya.<sup>81</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, war kutirikuteen' ah oo ay Itoobiya ku sheegtay in aybad ku doonayso wadahal ama xoog-hadba kii ay ku hesho, ayaa shaki iyo khilaaf cusub ka dhaliyay gobolka, sida Soomaaliya.<sup>82</sup>

Bishii Nofeember, ayay madaxda dowladda oo ku sugnaa shir ka dhacay magaalada Caruusha ee dalka Tansaaniya, ku dhawaaqeen in ay Soomaaliya si toos ah ugu biirtay Bulshooyinka Bariga Afrika (EAC).<sup>83</sup>

---

75. See "Maritime Dispute: Somalia Rejects Mediation Offer." *The East African*, July 25, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/maritime-dispute-somalia-rejects-mediation-offer-4315018>.

76. See "Kenya Agrees to Reopen Somalia Border after 12-Year Closure." *The East African*, May 15, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/kenya-agrees-to-reopen-somalia-border-after-12-year-closure-4235656>.

77. See "Kenya Delays Reopening Border with Somalia: All the Details." *Al Jazeera*, July 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/6/kenya-delays-reopening-border-with-somalia-all-the-details>.

78. See "Jabril Ibrahim Abdulle Presents Credentials as Somalia's New Ambassador to Kenya," *Hiiraan Online*, December 7, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Dec/194095/jabril\\_ibrahim\\_abdulle\\_presents\\_credentials\\_as\\_somalia\\_s\\_new\\_ambassador\\_to\\_kenya.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Dec/194095/jabril_ibrahim_abdulle_presents_credentials_as_somalia_s_new_ambassador_to_kenya.aspx).

79. See "Kenya Airways to Resume Direct Flights to Mogadishu in February 2024," *Hiiraan Online*, November 29, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Nov/193950/kenya\\_airways\\_to\\_resume\\_direct\\_flights\\_to\\_mogadishu\\_in\\_february\\_2024.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Nov/193950/kenya_airways_to_resume_direct_flights_to_mogadishu_in_february_2024.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

80. See "Somalia Kenya Sign Aviation Agreement to Boost Connectivity." *The Somali Digest*, August 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/somalia-kenya-sign-aviation-agreement-to-boost-connectivity/>.

81. See "First Ethiopia-Somalia Joint Ministerial Commission Meeting Held in Mogadishu," *Garowe Online*, September 8, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/first-ethiopia-somalia-joint-ministerial-commission-meeting-held-in-mogadishu>.

82. See "Ethiopia PM Abiy seeks to quell neighbours' concerns over invasion," *Reuters*, October 26, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/ethiopia-pm-abiy-seeks-quell-neighbours-concerns-over-invasion-2023-10-26/>.

83. See "Somalia Officially Joins East Africa Trade Bloc." *Al Jazeera*, November 24, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/24/somalia-officially-joins-east-africa-trade-bloc>.

Bulshooyinka Bariga Afrika, ayaa ah urur-goboleed kor u qaadaya isdhexgalka dhaqaalaha, kaas oo ay hadda ku midaysan yihiin siddeed dal: Burundi, Jamhuuriyadda Dimuqraadiga ah ee Koongo, Kenya, Ruwaandha, Koofurta Suudaan, Yugaandha, Tansaaniya, iyo Soomaaliya. Muqdisho ayaa noqotay xubintii siddeedaad ee caadi ugu biirta urur-goboleedkan, iyada oo Heshiiska ku Biiritaanka ku saxiixday madaarka Entebbe, ee dalka Yugaandha, bishii Diiseember 2023.<sup>84</sup>

Xiriiraada diblumaasiyadeed ee u dhaxeeya Soomaaliya iyo Ereteriya oo dib u soo cusboonaaday 2018, ayaa horseeday in ay Soomaaliya markii ugu horraysay danjiraha Ereteriya u fadhiya u magacowdo Cumar Idiris.<sup>85</sup>

Tan iyo markii dib loo doortay, dhowr goor ayuu Xasan Shiikh tagay Ereteriya, si uu u soo kormeero ciidamada Soomaaliya ee ay tababarto Ereteriya, maadaama ay dowladda faderaalka Soomaaliya u tafaxaydatay in ay kordhiso ciidamadeeda si ay ugu tallaabsato qorshihii bixitaanka ATMIS, oo ku muddaysan Diiseember 2024.<sup>86</sup> Dedaallada isdabajoogga ah ee ay Jabuuti u hurto Soomaaliya, waxa ku suntay Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle, oo fududeeyay wadahadalladii Soomaaliya iyo Soomaalilaand ee bishii Diiseember.<sup>87</sup>

### 3. Banaadir

Amniga Muqdisho ayaa si weyn uga soo reeyey sannadkii 2023, kadib markii ay DFS dagaal xooggan ku riixday al-Shabaab, iyada oo ka saartay gobollada u dhow caasimadda sida Hirshabeelle. Si kastaba ha noqotee, weli waxa ay caasimaddu la daalaadhacaysaa caqabo amni. Bishii Jannaayo, ayay al-Shabaab weerartay Xarunta Maamulka Gobolka Banaadir, halkaas oo ay qarax la beegsadeen, kadibna duullaan ku qaadeen. Weerarkan ayaa galaftay ugu yaraan noloshu shan qof oo shacab ah, isaga oo dhaawacay 16 kale.<sup>88</sup>

Bishii Abriil, ayaa uu Xasan Shiikh ku dhawaaqay amar lagu mamnuucayo in hubka culus lagu dhex qaato goobaha dadweynaha iyo in gaadiidka sida hubka culus lagu dhex kaxaysto Muqdisho. Go'aankan ayaa daaha ka qaaday hannaan toolmoon oo lagu sugayo amniga qaranka, kaas oo ku lug leh kor u qaadista dareenka amniga iyo xasiloonida caasimadda, iyada oo la xaddiday muujinta hubka noocaan oo kale ah, inkasta oo ay jiraan hanjabaado ka imaanaya al-Shabaab.<sup>89</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, fulinta qorshahan waxa ka hor yimi caqabado. Taliyaha ciidanka booliska Banaadir Cabdi Xasan Axmed ayaa sheegay in siyaasiyiintu fulin waayeen amarkan.<sup>90</sup>

---

84. See "Somalia Joins East Africa Trade Bloc." Voice of America, December 16, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-joins-east-africa-trade-bloc/7401027.html>.

85. See "Somalia Appoints First Ever Envoy to Eritrea." Garowe Online, November 19, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-appoints-first-ever-envoy-to-eritrea>.

86. See "President Hassan Sheikh Visits Somali Forces Training in Eritrea." Somali National News Agency, October 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/president-hassan-sheikh-visits-somali-forces-training-in-eritrea/>.

87. See "Historic Dialogue Initiated between Somalia and Somaliland with Djibouti as Mediator." Somali National News Agency, December 29, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/historic-dialogue-initiated-between-somalia-and-somaliland-with-djibouti-as-mediator/>.

88. See "At Least Five Killed in Bomb, Gun Attack in Somalia's Mogadishu." Al Jazeera, January 22, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/1/22/several-injured-after-blast-at-mayors-office-in-mogadishu>.

89. See "Somalia Bans Guns from Streets of Mogadishu." Voice of America, April 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-bans-guns-from-streets-of-mogadishu/7041505.html>.

90. See "Banadir Police Chief Accuses Politicians of Ignoring Somali President's Weapons Ban," Hiiraan Online, April 15, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190852/banadir\\_police\\_chief\\_accuses\\_politicians\\_of\\_ignoring\\_somali\\_president\\_s\\_weapons\\_ban.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190852/banadir_police_chief_accuses_politicians_of_ignoring_somali_president_s_weapons_ban.aspx).

Bishii Juun, waxa Muqdisho ka dhacay weerar xun oo lala beegsaday hoteelka Pearl Beach, oo ah goob caan ka ah xeebta Liido. Sagaal qof ayaa lagu dilay 10 kalena way ku dhaawacmeen.<sup>91</sup> Laba todobaad uun ka dib, ayaa mar kale qaraxyo waaweyn lala beegsaday degmada Heliwaa, iyo goobo kale oo u dhow Madaarka Caalamiga ah ee Aadan Cadde.<sup>92</sup> Bishii Juley, ayay 25 askari ku dhimatay, 70 kalena ku dhaawacmeen qarax ismiidaamin ah oo lala beegsaday Akadamiyadda Milliteriga Jaalle Siyaad. Basaas al-Shabaab ah oo askari isku soo ekaysiiyey ayaa weerarka fuliyay. Guddoomiyaha baarlamaanka ayaa falalkan amniga lidka ku ah ku tilmaamay kuwo gudaha laga soo abaabulay.<sup>93</sup> Afar iyo toban askari ayaa loo xidhay falkan, iyaga oo lagu eedeeyay in ay weerarka fududeeyeen.<sup>94</sup>

Hay'adda Nabadsugidda iyo Sirdoonka Qaranka ee NISA, ayaa amar ku bixisay in kamaraddaha qarsoon lagu xiro goobaha ganacsiga cammيران ee caasimadda. Al-Shabaab ayaa rabshadaha iyo qaraxyada la beegsata ganacsiyada fuliya awaamiirta dowladda.<sup>95</sup>

Dadaallada ay dowladdu ku nabadeynayso magaalada ayaa socday ilaa 2023. Bishii Sebteembar, ayaa la sameeyay ciidamo roondo ah oo howlgalla habeenkii,<sup>96</sup> kadib markii ay soo bateen dhibaatooyinka ay dhallinyarada tuugada ahi ka gaystaan meelo ka mid ah magaalada.

Waxa kale oo ay dowladdu hawlgelisay ciidan cusub oo boolis ah, kuwaas oo loo xilsaaray in ay ka hortagaan halisaha al-Shabaab, balse sida oo kale ka hortagaya khataraha kooxaha dhallinyarada ah ee loo yaqaanno “Ciyaal Weero.”<sup>97</sup> Shuftadani waxa ay argagax ku beereen dadkii deegaanka, iyaga oo ka dhigay wax ay dhacaan, waxa ay baadaan iyo wax ay u gacan qaadaan.<sup>98</sup>

Marka laga yimaaddo arrimaha amniga, waxa kale oo ay dowladdu hirgalisay qorshe lagu maamulayo ciidamada jidadka, si wax looga qabto ciriiriga waddooyinka magaalada. Waxa qorshahan qayb ka ahaa, in bishii Maarso la mamnuucay soo dajinta qalabka Bajaajta iyo Mootooyinka.<sup>99</sup> Maamulka Gobolka Banaadir ayaa Bajaajtii hore ee tagaasida ahayd u sameeyay sharciyo kale oo maalinle ah, kuwaas oo lagu kala habaynayo isu socodka gaadiidka.<sup>100</sup>

---

91. See “9 Killed in Militant Attack on Beachfront Hotel in Somalia.” Voice of America, June 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/killed-in-militant-attack-of-beachfront-hotel-in-somalia/7131440.html>.

92. See “Somalia: Blasts in Mogadishu on June 25,” Crisis24, June 25, 2023. Accessed at: <https://crisis24.garda.com/alerts/2023/06/somalia-blasts-in-mogadishu-on-june-25>.

93. See “Somali Parliament Speaker Suspects ‘Traitors’ May Have Facilitated Bombing.” Voice of America, July 25, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-parliament-speaker-suspects-traitors-may-have-facilitated-bombing/7195982.html>.

94. See “Somalia’s Govt Arrests 14 Soldiers, Officers Accused of Facilitating Suicide Attack” Somali Guardian, July 29, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/somalias-govt-arrests-14-soldiers-officers-accused-of-facilitating-suicide-attack/>.

95. See “Mogadishu Businesses Face Terrorism Threats over CCTV Camera Installation.” Halqabsi News, December 5, 2023. Accessed at: <https://halqabsi.com/2023/12/businesses-face-terrorism/>.

96. See “Security Forces Conduct Night Operations to Fortify Mogadishu.” Halqabsi News, September 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://halqabsi.com/2023/09/security-forces-conduct-night-operations-to-fortify-mogadishu/>.

97. See “New Batch of Uganda-Trained Somali Soldiers to Bolster Mogadishu Security.” SomaliSignal, April 8, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somalisignal.com/new-batch-of-uganda-trained-somali-soldiers-to-bolster-mogadishu-security/>.

98. See “Mogadishu Is Now Safer than Ever due to the Security Developments.” Somali National News Agency, September 19, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/mogadishu-is-now-safer-than-ever-due-to-the-security-developments/>.

99. See “Somali Government Bans Importation of Bajaj Auto-Rickshaws and Motorcycles,” Hiiraan Online, March 31, 2023. Accessed at: <https://hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Mar/190601/somali-government-bans-importation-of-bajaj-auto-rickshaws-and-motorcycles.aspx>.

100. See “Maamulka G/Banadir Oo Laba Qeyb Ka Dhigay Bajaajta Muqdisho Iyo Bajaajley La Xiray” Goobjooge.net, April 23, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.goobjooge.net/maamulka-g-banadir-oo-laba-qeyb-ka-dhigay-mooto-bajaajta-muqdisho-iyo-bajaajley-la-xiray/>.

## 4. Galmudug

Sannadkii 2023, waxa xaaladda Galmudug si weyn wax uga beddelay dedaalladii amniga ee ka dhanka ahaa al-Shabaab. Dowladda Soomaaliya ayaa xoojisay ololaha dagaal ee ka dhanka ah Al-Shabaab, iyada oo ballaadhisay howlgallada ay ka wadaan deegaannada Galmudug.<sup>101</sup> Bishii Agoosto, waxa uu duullaanka Galmudug yeeshay waji cusub, iyada oo uu Madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud u guuray magaalada Dhuusamareeb. Waxa keenay in go'aankan la qaato caqabado yimid horraantii sannadkan, oo ay ka mid ahaayeen khilaafyo u dhexeeya beelaha oo dib u soo cusboonaaday iyo wada shaqayn la'aan ka dhex jirtay dowladda dhexe iyo maamul-goboleedyada.<sup>102</sup> Guuritaanka madaxweyne Xasan ayaa looga gol lahaa in lagu dardargeliyo wejiga labaad ee duullaanka milateriga iyo in kor loogu qaado iskaashiga laba-geesoodka ah. Intaa kadib, Raysalwasaare Xamsa Cabdi Barre, ayaa ku dhawaaqay wejiga labaad ee dagaalka, isaga oo ku dhowaad 10,000 oo askari u diray gobollada dhexe oo ay Galmudug ku jirto si ay al-Shabaab uga sifeeyaan deegaannadaas.<sup>103</sup>

Waa la mahadiyay labadii bilood ee uu Xasan joogay Dhuusamareeb. Ciidamda Soomaaliya, maleeshiya-beeleedka iyo kuwa saaxiibada caalamiga ah oo iskaashanaya ayaa guulo waa weyn ka soo hooyay in hore loogu socdo deegaannadii ay al-Shabaab gacanta ku haysay. Guulahan waxa ka mid ahaa qabshashadii magaalooyin muhiim ah oo ay ka mid tahay Xarardheere, oo ah magaalo xeebeed istaraatiiji ah, oo markii hore ahaa gobolkii ugu danbeeyay ee ay ku xoogganayd al-Shabaab. Waxa intaas dheer, qabsashadii Galcad oo sii dhabqiyey hawlgalladii kooxda xagjirka ah iyo shabakadahoodii saadka.<sup>104</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, guushii ugu weyneyd ayaa timid ka dib markii la gala wareegay CeelBuur, oo ahayd xaruntii ugu weyneyd ee ay maleeshiyadu ku lahayd Gobollada Dhexe.<sup>105</sup> Guulahan, ayaa ka suntan kuwo taariikhi ah, marka loo eego ololihii al-Shabaab lagaga xoraynayay gobolka Galmudug.

15 Sebteember, ayaa weerar ismiidaamin ah oo loo adeegsaday gaari lagu soo xiray walxaha qarxa lagu weeraray xero ku taalla deegaanka Laas-Gacameey ee gobolka Mudug, iyada oo si toos ah loola beegsaday madaxweynaha Galmudug Axmed Cabdi Kaariye “Qoor-Qoor” iyo masuuliyiin kale oo sarsare. Al-Shabaab ayaa sheegatay masuuliyadda weerarkaas, oo sababay dhimashada dhowr qof oo ay ku jiraan ilaalada madaxtooyada Galmudug, kuwaas oo naftooda u huray, islamarkaana joojiyay gaadhigii waday walxaha qarxa, iyaga oo ku hor gooyay gaadhigii ay wateen. Sidaa oo kale, qaraxan waxa ku dhaawacmay laba qof oo ka tirsan baarlamaanka faderaalka Soomaaliya.<sup>106</sup>

101. See “Somalia Situation Update: March 2023 | Conflict Expands to Galmudug State.” ACLED, March 24, 2023. Accessed at: <https://acleddata.com/2023/03/24/somalia-situation-update-march-2023-conflict-expands-to-galmudug-state/>.

102. See “Avoiding a New Cycle of Conflict in Somalia’s Galmudug State.” Crisis Group, September 25, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b193-avoiding-new-cycle-conflict-somalias-galmudug-state>.

103. See “Somalia Launches Second Phase of Anti-al Shabab Operations in Galmudug, Hirshabelle,” Hiiraan Online, August 6, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192519/somalia\\_launches\\_second\\_phase\\_of\\_anti\\_al\\_shabab\\_operations\\_in\\_galmudug\\_hirshabelle.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192519/somalia_launches_second_phase_of_anti_al_shabab_operations_in_galmudug_hirshabelle.aspx).

104. See “Somali Forces Capture Two Towns from Militants.” VOA News, January 16, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-forces-capture-two-towns-from-militants/6920089.html>.

105. See “Somali Forces Capture Major al Shabaab Militia Stronghold.” Reuters, August 25, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somali-forces-capture-major-al-shabaab-militia-stronghold-2023-08-25/>.

106. See “Somalia’s Galmudug President Escapes Unhurt, Lawmakers Injured in Car Bomb in Mudug Region,” Hiiraan Online, September 15, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/193028/somalia\\_s\\_galmudug\\_president\\_escapes\\_unhurt\\_lawmakers\\_injured\\_in\\_car\\_bomb\\_attack\\_in\\_mudug\\_region.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/193028/somalia_s_galmudug_president_escapes_unhurt_lawmakers_injured_in_car_bomb_attack_in_mudug_region.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).



In ay markiiba si degdeg ah al-Shabaab dib ula wareegto magaalada Cowsweyne oo ka tirsan Galmudug, kadib markii laga xoreeyay muddo yar ka hor ayaa muujinaysa caqabaha jira ee ah in aanay dowladdu lahayn awood ay ku sii haysato goobohii al-Shabaab laga xoreeyay. Sidaa si la mid ah, kooxaha xagjirka ahi waxa ay la wareegeen magaalooyinka Ceeldheer iyo Galcad, oo ah kuwo istaraatiiji ah, una dhow Ceelbuur, ayaa muujinaysa xeeladdeeda awoodeed.<sup>107</sup>

Gaar ahaan, dibuqabsashada Galcad, ma ahayn oo kaliya fashil istiraatiijiyadeed, balse waxa ay ahayd guul darro weyn oo wiiqday hoggaankii iyo khibradii la dagaallanka al-Shabaab. Dibuqabsashadan ayaa sababtay in uu geeriyoodo Taliye ku xigeenkii Ciidanka Danab, Gaashaanle Xasan Maxamed Cismaan (Xasan Tuure).<sup>108</sup> Iyaga oo qiraya geesinimada Tuurre, waxa ay millatariga Soomaaliya ugu magac dareen xarunta tababarka Danab.<sup>109</sup>

Ciidamada dowladda Soomaaliya ayaa 28 Ogoosto, iskaga baxay deegaanka Wabxo oo u dhow magaalada Ceelbuur. Dibuqabsashada goobtani al-Shabaab uma lahayn faa'iido istaraatiijiyadeed oo kaliya, balse waxa ay halis toos ah ku ahayd ciidamada dowladda ee ku sugan Ceelbuur.<sup>110</sup> Dowladda Soomaaliya ayaa xidhxidhay saraakiil badan oo ka tirsan ciidamada xoogga dalka Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo lagu soo eedeeyay in ay masuul ka ahaayeen in ciidamada laga soo saaro furimaha hore ee dagaalka, taas oo dibudhac u keentay istaraatiijiyadda duullaanka. Waxa lagu dhawaaqay shuruuc lagu doonayo in lagu hubiyo isla xisaabtanka iyo darajooyinka ciidanka.<sup>111</sup>

## 5. Hirshabeelle

### Siyaasadda

Sannadkii 2023, maamul-goboleedka Hirshabeelle, waxa soo foodsaaray muranno siyaasadeed oo gudaha ah iyo caqabado amni oo joogto ah. Shirkii wadatashiga ahaa ee ay beesha Xawaadle ku qabsatay Nayroobi bishii Febraayo ayaa shaaca ka qaaday in aysan ku qanacsaneyn qaabka awood qaybsiga Hirshabeelle ee hadda jira.<sup>112</sup> Qanaacad darrada ay muujisay beesha Xawaadle, ka mid ah beelaha ugu badan gobolka Hiiraan, ayaa salka ku haysa dhismihii maamulka iyo isbeddelladii siyaasadeed ee ka danbeeyay. Hirshabeelle oo la aasaasay 2016, isla markaana ah maamul goboleedkii ugu dambeeyay maamullada xubnaha ka ah dowladda faderaalka Soomaaliya, waxaa markii ugu horraysayba ka cagajiiday qaar ka mid ah beelaha deegaankaas, gaar ahaan beelaha deggan Hiiraan oo ah mid ka mid ah labada gobol ee isku biiray, ee uu ka kooban yahay Hirshabeelle.

107. See "Al-Shabaab Captured El Dher and Gal'ad." The Somali Digest, August 28, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/breaking-al-shabaab-captures-el-dher/>.

108. See "Danab Deputy Commander Killed in al Shabaab Attack in Gal'ad District," Hiiraan Online, January 20, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jan/189565/danab\\_deputy\\_commander\\_killed\\_in\\_al\\_shabaab\\_attack\\_on\\_gal\\_ad\\_district\\_military\\_base.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jan/189565/danab_deputy_commander_killed_in_al_shabaab_attack_on_gal_ad_district_military_base.aspx).

109. See "Danab Training Facility Renamed Hassan Ture Academy in Honour of Fallen Commander," Hiiraan Online, February 8, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/189850/danab\\_training\\_facility\\_renamed\\_hassan\\_ture\\_academy\\_in\\_honour\\_of\\_fallen\\_commander.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/189850/danab_training_facility_renamed_hassan_ture_academy_in_honour_of_fallen_commander.aspx).

110. See "Al-Shabaab Militants Reclaim Wabho District after Somali Government Troop Withdrawal." Radio Dalsan, August 29, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/al-shabaab-militants-reclaim-wabho-district-after-somali-government-troop-withdrawal/>.

11. See "President Mohamud Takes Action: Military Officers Face Court over Frontline Retreat in Galgaduud Region," Hiiraan Online, September 6, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/192919/president\\_mohamud\\_takes\\_action\\_military\\_officers\\_face\\_court\\_over\\_frontend\\_retreat\\_in\\_galmudug.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/192919/president_mohamud_takes_action_military_officers_face_court_over_frontend_retreat_in_galmudug.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

112. See "Hawadle Clan Concludes Conference in Nairobi, Issues Communiqué on Country's Situation," Hiiraan Online, February 18, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/189980/hawadle\\_clan\\_concludes\\_conference\\_in\\_nairobi\\_issues\\_communique%C3%A9\\_on\\_country\\_s\\_situation.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront..](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/189980/hawadle_clan_concludes_conference_in_nairobi_issues_communique%C3%A9_on_country_s_situation.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront..)

Gobolka kale waa Shabeellaha Dhexe. Geedisocodka dowlad-dhiskii gobolka oo ahaa mid degdeg ah, loogana gol lahaa in lagaga qaybgalo doorashadii 2016, ayaa dhidibbo nugul u taagtay dowladnimada Hirshabeelle marka loo eego maamulka iyo xasiloonida. Dhibaatooyinka la xidhiidha awood-qaybsiga ayaa ah kuwo aan la xallinin, taas oo keentay xasarado joogto ah.<sup>113</sup>

17 Juun, kolkii uu madaxweynaha Hirshabeelle Cali Guudlaawe xilka ka qaaday guddoomiyihii gobolka Hiiraan, Cali Jeyte Cismaan ayaa sii xoojisay xiisadaha taagan.<sup>114</sup> Xil kaqaadistan ayaa timid kadib markii Jeyte uu bishii Abriil diiday soo jeedintii ahayd in ay wasaaradda maaliyadda Hirshabeelle noqoto xarunta canshuur ururinta Hiiraan. Guddoomiyaha ayaa daliishadey arrimo la xiriira sida loo qoondeeynayo dhaqaalaha la gula dagaallamayo al-Shabaab.<sup>115</sup> Cali Jeyte, ayaa bishii Juun ku dhawaaqay in ay Hiiraan ka go'day Hirshabeelle,<sup>116</sup> tallaabadaas oo taageero ka heshay qaar ka mid ah xildhibaannada federaalka iyo kuwa deegaanka ee ka soo jeeda gobolka Hiiraan.<sup>117</sup>

Inkasta oo aanay dowladda federaalku si rasmi ah u aqoonsannin, haddana Jeyte waxa doortey wakiillo ka socda bulshada ku dhaqan Hiiraan, oo ay ku jiraan xildhibaanno ka tirsan dowladda federaalka, sidaasna waxa uu ku noqday madaxweynaha kumeelgaarka ah ee maamulka cusub ee lagaga dhawaaqay Hiiraan.<sup>118</sup> Dowladda Federaalka ayaa la sheegay in ay isku dayday in ay wadahalallo abaabusho, si xaaladda loo xalliyo, balse dadaalladaas waa lagu guul darraystay.<sup>119</sup> Bishii Oktoobar ayay beesha Xawaadle iskaga baxday maamulka golaha deegaanka degmada Jowhar, iyada oo ka cabanaysa in aan metelaad u qalanta laga siinnin golahaas.<sup>120</sup> Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud oo garwaaqsan baahida jirta, ayaa dhammaadkii bishii Oktoobar tagay Jowhar oo xarun u ah Hirshabeelle, si uu u xalliyo khilaafka siyaasadeed.<sup>121</sup>

## Amniga

Bishii Abriil, ayay ciidamada dowladda Soomaaliya oo ay wehelinayaan maleeshiyo beeleedyo uu hoggaaminayo Jayte Hiiraan ka bilaabeen wejigii labaad ee dagaalka la gula jiro al-Shabaab, waxaanay beegsadeen magaalada ku taalla dhanka koofutreed ee Beledweyne.<sup>122</sup>

---

113. See "Hirshabelle's Political Settlement: Opportunities for Meaningful and Inclusive Political Processes." Rift Valley Institute, 2023. Accessed at: <https://riftvalley.net/publication/hirshabelles-political-settlement-opportunities-for-meaningful-and-inclusive-political-processes/>.

114. See "Hirshabelle Leader Dismisses Hiiraan Governor, Raising Concerns about the Anti-Al-Shabab Efforts," Hiiraan Online, June 17, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/jun/191850/hirshabelle\\_leader\\_dismisses\\_hiiraan\\_governor\\_raising\\_concerns\\_about\\_the\\_anti\\_al\\_shabab\\_efforts.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/jun/191850/hirshabelle_leader_dismisses_hiiraan_governor_raising_concerns_about_the_anti_al_shabab_efforts.aspx).

115. See "Hiiraan Governor Opposes Hirshabelle Centralized Tax Collection Plan," Hiiraan Online, April 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190799/hiiraan\\_governor\\_opposes\\_hirshabelle\\_centralized\\_tax\\_collection\\_plan.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190799/hiiraan_governor_opposes_hirshabelle_centralized_tax_collection_plan.aspx).

116. See "Hirshabelle Governor Ousted: Ali Jeyte Declares Hiiraan an FMS and Bans Hirshabelle Officials," Hiiraan Online, June 18, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/jun/191860/hirshabelle\\_governor\\_ousted\\_ali\\_jeyte\\_declares\\_hiiraan\\_an\\_fms\\_and\\_bans\\_hirshabelle\\_officials.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/jun/191860/hirshabelle_governor_ousted_ali_jeyte_declares_hiiraan_an_fms_and_bans_hirshabelle_officials.aspx).

117. See "Xildhibaano Ka Tirsan Baarlamaanka Soomaaliya Oo Ku Taageeray Cali Jeyte Dhismaha Maamulka Hiiraan State," Hiiraan Online, June 19, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/jun/wararka\\_maanta19-184638.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/jun/wararka_maanta19-184638.htm).

118. See "Former Hiiraan Governor Ali Jeyte Osman Elected Interim President," Hiiraan.com, June 27, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/jun/192009/former\\_hiiraan\\_governor\\_ali\\_jeyte\\_osman\\_elected\\_interim\\_president.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/jun/192009/former_hiiraan_governor_ali_jeyte_osman_elected_interim_president.aspx).

119. See "Former Hiran Governor Declines Mogadishu Talks Invitation: Somalia," Radio Dalsan, June 29, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/former-hiran-governor-declines-mogadishu-talks-invitation-somalia/>.

120. See "Hawadle Community Elders in Middle Shabelle Region Oppose Jowhar Local Council Formation Process," Hiiraan Online, October 28, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193543/hawadale\\_community\\_elders\\_in\\_middle\\_shabelle\\_region\\_oppose\\_jowhar\\_local\\_council\\_formation\\_process.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193543/hawadale_community_elders_in_middle_shabelle_region_oppose_jowhar_local_council_formation_process.aspx).

121. See "Somalia's President Arrives in Jowhar Town amid Escalating Rift between Local Officials," Somali Guardian, July 18, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/somalias-president-arrives-in-jowhar-town-amid-escalating-rift-between-local-officials/>.

122. See "Governor Jeyte Leads Campaign against Al-Shabaab in Southern Somalia," Hiiraan Online, April 6, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190697/governor\\_jeyte\\_leads\\_campaign\\_against\\_al\\_shabaab\\_in\\_southern\\_somalia.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190697/governor_jeyte_leads_campaign_against_al_shabaab_in_southern_somalia.aspx).

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, in kasta oo ay rejo fiican lahaayeen guulihii bilowga ahaa, horusocodkii waxa ku yimid gaabis, waxaana sababay dhowr arrimood oo isku sidkan, sida in ciidan loo waayay goobihii la xoreeyay, colaado ka dhex qarxay beelaha, iyo caqabado dhanka saadka ah. Bishii Sibteember ayay al-Shabaab soo qaadday weerarro aargoosi ah, oo uu ka mid yahay gaadhi xammuul ah oo lagu qarxiyay magaalada Beledweyne, kaas oo gaystay qasaare lixaad leh, isla markaana galaftay nolosha ugu yaraan 18 qof, sida oo kalena dhaawacay in ka badan 40 qof.<sup>123</sup> 30 Oktoobar, ayaa uu Maxamuud, Jeyte u magacaabay taliyaha ciidamo-beeleedka difaaca ah ee loo yaqaan Macawiisley.<sup>124</sup> Magacaabista Jayte ayaa u muuqata in looga gollaha in laga faa'iidaysto khibraddiisa dagaal, xiriirrada uu la leeyahay beeshiisa iyo tayadiisa hoggaamineed, si uu u dardargaliyo xoojinta hawlgallada deegaanka. Intaas waxa dheer, kulannadii uu Xasan la qaatay hoggaanka beesha Xawaadle, oo sababay in heshiis muhiim ah laga gaadho xoojinta hawlgallada malleteri ee laga fulinayo gobolka Hiiraan.<sup>125</sup>

5 Noofeember ayaa guddoomiyaha baarlamaanka Hirshabelle, Luqmaan Xaaji Muxammad, lagu soo weeraray meel u dhow madaarka Jowhar, iyada oo la sheegay in ciidamada dowladda iyo ciidamada Danab u xilsaarnaayeen sugidda amniga goobta.<sup>126</sup> Weerarkaas oo gaystay khasaare badan, waxa ku dhaawacmay xildhibaanno, waxaana ku dhintay qaar ka mid ah ciidamadii amniga.

## Xaaladda Bani'aadannimada

Hirshabelle waxa soo foodsaray caqabado bini-aadantinimo oo daran, kadib markii ay daadad xooggani saamayn ku yeeshen deegaanka. Webiga shabelle oo fatahay ayaa saamayn taban ku yeeshay nolosha bulshada, habnololeedkooda iyo kaabayaasha deegaanka. Hay'adda Maaraynta Masiibooyinka Soomaaliyeed (SoDMA) iyo hay'adaha Qaramada Midoobay sida hay'adda Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan arrimaha bini-aadannimada (OCHA) ayaa sheegtay in ay dad gaaraya rubuc milyan qof ka barakaceen guryahoodii. SoDMA iyo OCHA ayaa diray qayladhaan si wax looga qabto barakaca xad-dhaafka ah ee ka dhashay fatahaadda daadadka.<sup>127</sup> Hay'adda Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Cunnada iyo Beeraha ee loo yaqaanno FAO iyo dowladda Hirshabelle ayaa ku baaqay gargaar degdeg ah, si wax looga qabto baahiyaha aasaasiga ah ee ay ka midka yihiin biyaha, cuntada, iyo hoyga iyo in laga hortago cudurrada faafa.<sup>128</sup> Roobab waaweyn oo madaarka Ugas Khalif ee Beledweyne biyo fadhiisiiyay, ayaa 20 Oktoober hakad galiyay dhammaan duulimaadyadii Beledweyne.<sup>129</sup> Warbaahinta gudaha ayaa sheegtay in ay roobabku galaafteen ugu yaraan siddeed qof.<sup>130</sup>

123. See "Deadly Truck Explosion Hits Checkpoint in Central Somali Town." Al Jazeera, September 23, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/23/deadly-truck-explosion-hits-checkpoint-in-central-somali-town>.

124. See "President Hassan Sheikh Appoints Ali Jeyte as Chief Liaison in the Office of the President." Somali National News Agency, October 29, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/president-hassan-sheikh-appoints-ali-jeyte-as-chief-liaison-in-the-office-of-the-president/>.

125. See "Somali President and Hawadle Community Leaders Agree to Re-Start Anti-Al-Shabab Operations," Hiiraan Online, September 6, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/192920/somali\\_president\\_and\\_hawadle\\_community\\_leaders\\_agree\\_to\\_re\\_start\\_anti\\_al\\_shabab\\_operations.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/192920/somali_president_and_hawadle_community_leaders_agree_to_re_start_anti_al_shabab_operations.aspx)

126. See "Danab Forces Fight HirShabelle Forces," The Somali Digest, November 5, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/danab-forces-fight-hirshabelle-forces/>

127. See "Somalia: Floods Force Nearly Quarter of a Million to Flee." Deutsche Welle, May 17, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.dw.com/en/somalia-floods-force-nearly-quarter-of-a-million-to-flee/a-65664839>.

128. See "Urgent Assistance Is Needed to Help Communities Affected by Historic Shabelle River Flooding in Somalia." FAO in Somalia, May 19, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.fao.org/somalia/news/detail-events/en/c/1639951/>.

129. See "Beledweyne Airport Shuts down due to El Niño Heavy Rains," Hiiraan Online, October 20, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193456/beledweyne\\_airport\\_shuts\\_down\\_due\\_to\\_el\\_ni%C3%B1o\\_heavy\\_rains.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193456/beledweyne_airport_shuts_down_due_to_el_ni%C3%B1o_heavy_rains.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

130. See "Shabelle River Flooding Kills Eight People in Beledweyne," Hiiraan Online, November 15, 2023. Accessed at: [https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Nov/193744/shabelle\\_river\\_flooding\\_kills\\_eight\\_people\\_in\\_beledweyne.aspx](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Nov/193744/shabelle_river_flooding_kills_eight_people_in_beledweyne.aspx).

## 6. Jubbaland

Sannadkii 2023, maamulka Jubbaland waxa soo wajahay caqabado siyaasadeed iyo xaalado amnidarro, taas oo ay u dheerayd dhibaatooyin bani-aadantinnimo. Bishii Agoosto 2023, ayuu dhammaaday muddo-xileedkii madaxwayne Axmed-Madoobe. Arrintan ayaa walaac ku abuurtay dadka wax naqdiya, gaar ahaan kuwa ka tirsan mucaaridka Jubbaland, taas oo ku saabsan suuragalnimada jagadan bannaanaatay, oo sii fogayn karta kala qaybsanaanta gudaha iyo khalkhalgelinta dowladnimada.<sup>131</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka, ayaa soo saaray jadwal doorasho oo dibu-eejis lagu sameeyay. Jadwalkan dib loo cusboonaysiiyay ayaa waxa uu xambaarsanaa muddo-kordhin hal sano ah oo loo oggolaaday dhammaan madaxweynayaasha maamul-goboleedyada, marka laga reebo Puntland; taas oo kordhinaysa muddo-xileedka Axmed-Madoobe ilaa sannadka 2024<sup>132</sup> Bishii juun, maamulkii cusbaa ee uu Axmed-Madoobe u soo magacaabay Gedo ayaa fashilmay.<sup>133</sup> Diidmo ka dhalatay magacaabistaa cusub ee Axmed-Madoobe ayaa maamulka garoonka diyaaradaha ee magaalada Gedo, oo xarun u ah gobolka Garbahaarray, uu is hor taagay in ay soo degto diyaaraddii sidday masuuliyiinta uu madaxweynuhu soo magacaabay.<sup>134</sup> Barasaabka gobolka Gedo, Axmed Buulle Garaad, oo ay dhiirrigelisey hubanti-la'aanta siyaasadeed, isaga oo xitaa ka dhawaajiyey sheegashada madaxweynaha Jubbaland, taas oo sii xumeysey xiriirkooda.<sup>135</sup>

Musharxiinta u taagan xilka madaxweynaha Jubbaland ayaa magaalada Nayroobi ka yagleelay madal ay ku midaysan yihiin, oo ay uga gol lahaayeen in ay ku mucaaridaan maamulka Axmed-Madoobe, oo ay ku jirto magacaabistiisa maamulka cusub ee Gedo.<sup>136</sup> Waxa ay isku magacaabeen Midowga Musharxiinta Madaxweynaha, waxaana ay ku eedeeyeen Axmed-Madoobe iyo dowladda federaalkaba in ay ku kaceen sifo sharci-darro, oo ay maroorsadeen siyaasadda gobolka Gedo, isla markaana ay ku cadaadiyeen masuuliyiinta gobolka Gedo in ay la shaqeeyaan maamulka cusub ee loo magacaabay. Dowladda faderaalka ayaa ku hanjabtay in ay mushaharka ka hakinayso cidda diidda in ay la shaqayso maamulka cusub ee gobolka Gedo loo magacaabay.<sup>137</sup> Iyada oo ay walaacyadii hore quseeyeen saamaynta daran ee ay Midowga Musharxiinta Madaxweynuhu ku yeeshen dedaallada la dagaallanka argagixisada,<sup>138</sup> haddana waxa ay bishii Diiseembar la kulmeen Madoobe, iyaga oo u ballanqaaday in ay gacan ka siin doonaan dagaalka ka dhanka ah al-Shabaab.<sup>139</sup>

131. See "Jubaland Presidential Candidates Addressed Urgent Election Issues." The Somali Digest, September 14, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/jubaland-presidential-candidates-address-urgent-election-issues/>.

132. See "Somali Leaders Reach Landmark Political Agreement." VOA News, May 28, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-leaders-reach-landmark-political-agreement/7112409.html>.

133. See "Jubaland President Names New Governor for the Disputed Gedo" Shabelle Media Network. June 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/jubaland-president-names-new-governor-for-the-disputed-gedo/>.

134. See "Two Planes Forced to Turn from Garbaharey after Shots Fired for Ignoring Landing Prohibition." Halqabsi News, June 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://halqabsi.com/2023/06/two-planes-forced-to-turn-from-garbaharey-after-shots-fired-for-ignoring-landing-prohibition/>.

135. See "Gedo Governor, Federal Lawmakers Oppose Appointment of New Gedo Region Administration," Hiiraan Online. June 9, 2024. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jun/191714/gedo\\_governor\\_federal\\_lawmakers\\_oppose\\_appointment\\_of\\_new\\_gedo\\_region\\_administration.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jun/191714/gedo_governor_federal_lawmakers_oppose_appointment_of_new_gedo_region_administration.aspx).

136. See "Jubaland Politicians Form Union of Presidential Candidates in Nairobi," Hiiraan Online. July 9, 2024. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192166/jubaland\\_politicians\\_form\\_union\\_of\\_presidential\\_candidates\\_in\\_nairobi.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192166/jubaland_politicians_form_union_of_presidential_candidates_in_nairobi.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

137. See "Jubaland Politicians Form Union of Presidential Candidates in Nairobi," Hiiraan Online. July 9, 2024. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192166/jubaland\\_politicians\\_form\\_union\\_of\\_presidential\\_candidates\\_in\\_nairobi.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192166/jubaland_politicians_form_union_of_presidential_candidates_in_nairobi.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

138. See "Opinion: Unresolved Political Impasse in Jubbaland Politics a Recipe for Cross-Border Conflict," Talk Africa, February 11, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.talkafrica.co.ke/opinion-unresolved-political-impasse-in-jubbaland-politics-a-recipe-for-cross-border-conflict-and-spike-in-insurgency/>.

139. See "Opposition Unites with President Madobe in Jubaland's Fight against Al-Shabaab." Radio Dalsan, August 22, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/opposition-unites-with-president-madobe-in-jubalands-fight-against-al-shabaab/>.

Labadi Maarso, ayuu Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud ku dhawaaqay in uu bilaabay wejigii labaad ee dagaalka ka dhanka ah al-Shabaab, kaas oo ay qayb ka tahay Jubbaland.<sup>140</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dibuqabsashadii al-Shabaab ee saldhigga Jannaay Cabdalle oo ay bilo ka hor la wareegeen ciidanku, ayaa muujiyay awoodda weerar-celinta ee kooxda argagixsada.<sup>141</sup>

Bishii Julaay, ayay al-Shabaab mar kale qabsatay xerada ciidamada Giriley ee Gedo, taas oo muujineysa taagdarrada xoogagga dowladda<sup>142</sup> iyo walaaca sii kordhaya ee ku aaddan bixitaanka ciidamada ATMIS, iyo cabsida laga qabo in uu tegitaankoodu bannaynayo fursad ay al-Shabaab ka faa'iidayaan karaan.<sup>143</sup>

Iyada oo ay dowladda Soomaaliya, oo taageero ka heleysa maleeshiyo-beeleedyo iyo saaxiibbo caalami ah, ku guulaysatay in al-Shabaab laga saaro qaybo badan oo ka mid ah Galmudug iyo Hirshabelle, ayay Jubbaland qaadday jid gaar ah. Waxa ay si adag u diidday in la abaabulo maleeshiyo-beeleedyo, iyada oo sabab uga dhigtay werwerka laga qabo khataraha amniga iyo xasiloondarrada ay keeni karaan.<sup>144</sup>

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Raysalwasaare Xamse Cabdi Barre ayaa booqashadii ugu dambaysay ee uu ku tagay magaalada Kismaayo bishii Noofeembar, ku guubaabiyay dadka deegaanka in ay dhexda u xirtaan sidii ay isu garabtaagi lahaayeen dedaalka ay dowladdu ugu jirto xoraynta deegaannada ay ku hadhay al-Shabaab.<sup>145</sup> Bishii Diiseembar, maalmo uun kadib booqashadii uu Raysalwasaaruhu ku tegey Kismaayo, ayaa uu wasiirka amniga Jubbaland shaaciyay qorshayaal ay weerar ku maaggan yihiin.<sup>146</sup> Haddaba wayddiintu waxa ay tahay; miyaa ay Jubbaland mustaqbalka abaabuli doontaa maleeshiyo-beeleedyo ku wajahan weerarrada ka dhanka ah al-shabaab, mise waxa ay sii wadi doontaa hannaankeedan digtoonida leh.

Dhinaca bani-aadantinnimada, Jubbaland waxa ay la kulantay caqabado waaweyn oo ka dhashay isbeddelka cimilada, gaar ahaan roobab lixaad leh oo da'ay, kuwaas oo sababay fatahaado iyo barakac ballaaran oo ka dhacay gobolka Gedo. Sida lagu xusay warbixinta xaaladda Soomaaliya ee ka soo baxday Sanduuqa Dadweynaha ee Qaramada Midoobay (UNFPA) bishii Maarso, in ka badan 140,000 oo qof ayaa barakacay, gaar ahaan degmada Baardheere ee gobolka Gedo.<sup>147</sup> Raysalwasaaraha ayaa bishii Noofeembar hor kacay wafdi caalami ah oo ku wajahnaa Baardheere, si ay u soo qiimeeyaan xaaladda dadkii ay fatahaaduhu saameeyeen.<sup>148</sup>

---

140. See "Somalia Launches Final Decisive Offensive to Crush Al-Shabaab in Southwest and Jubbaland States." Somali National News Agency, March 2, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/somalia-launches-final-decisive-offensive-to-crush-al-shabaab-in-southwest-and-jubbaland-states/>.

141. See "Somalia's al-Shabaab Recaptures Base It Lost to Military Offensive." Reuters, March 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalias-al-shabaab-recaptures-base-it-lost-military-offensive-2023-03-07/>.

142. See "Updated: Al-Shabaab Captures Giriley Military Base in Gedo Region." The Somali Digest, July 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/breaking-al-shabaab-captures-giriley/>.

143. See "Concerns Mount over ATMIS Withdrawal as Al-Shabaab Attacks Giriley Base." The Somali Digest, July 5, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/concerns-mount-over-atmis-withdrawal-as-al-shabaab/>.

144. See "Somalia: Jubaland Rejects Use of Clan Militia in Al-Shabaab War," Garowe Online, March 21, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-jubaland-rejects-use-of-clan-militia-in-al-shabaab-war>.

145. See "Somali Prime Minister Calls for Support in Ongoing Anti-Al-Shabab Operations," Hiiraan Online, November 28, 2024. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Nov/193925/somali\\_prime\\_minister\\_calls\\_for\\_support\\_in\\_ongoing\\_anti\\_al\\_shabab\\_operations.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Nov/193925/somali_prime_minister_calls_for_support_in_ongoing_anti_al_shabab_operations.aspx).

146. See "Jubbaland Security Minister Announces Offensive against Al-Shabaab," Hiiraan Online, December 11, 2024. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Dec/194157/jubbaland\\_security\\_minister\\_announces\\_offensive\\_against\\_al\\_shabaab.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Dec/194157/jubbaland_security_minister_announces_offensive_against_al_shabaab.aspx).

147. See "Somalia Situation Report - March 2023," UNFPA Somalia, April 22, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somalia.unfpa.org/en/publications/somalia-situation-report-march-2023>.

148. See "PM Hamza Arrives in Kismayo to Inspect the Humanitarian Situation." Somali National News Agency, November 26, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/pm-hamza-arrives-in-kismayo-to-inspect-the-humanitarian-situation/>.



Waxa taa u sii dheer xaaladda daran ee bani-aadantinnimo, iyada oo qaybo ka mid ah Jubbaland oo ay fatahaaduhu halligeeni ay gacanta ugu jiraan al-Shabaab, taas oo caqabad weyn ku noqotay in ay dowladda iyo hay'adaha samafalku gaaraan. Qiyaastii 60,000 oo ah dhibbanayaal ay fatahaaduhu waxyeelleeyeen oo ku sugan degmada Saakaw gobolka jubbada dhexe ayaa ay la soo deristay dhibaato hor lihi, taas oo ay keentay xannibaadaha taakulo iyo xaddidnaanta ilaha ay wax ka heli karaan.<sup>149</sup>

Dhinaca horumarka marka aynnu jalleecno, raysalwasaare Xamse ayaa intii uu ku sugnaa Jubbaland waxa uu yagleelay saddex mashruuc-horumarineed oo uu midawga Yurub maalgeliyay, kuwaas oo loo garan ogyahay; XALDOON, NEGAAD iyo SEPDOWN. Mashaariicdan ayaa looga gol-leeyahay in lagula dagaallamo saamaynta isbeddelka cimilada iyo saboolnimada ee Jubbaland iyo Koofur-galbeed, iyo in diiradda lagu saaro sidii loo yarayn lahaa caqabadaha ay wajahayaan dadka gudaha ku barakacay, koru-qaadista xasilloonida iyo laqabsiga cimilada, iyo in sare loo qaado ka-qaybgalka haweenka ee horumarka dhaqan-dhaqaale.<sup>150</sup>

## 7. Puntland

### Siyaasadda

Sannadkii 2023 ayaa ahaa mid udubdhexaad uga dhigan Puntland, waxaana uu ku astaysnaa buuq siyaasadeed, ismaandhaafyo doorasho, caqabado amni iyo horumarro dhaqaale oo la taaban karo. Waxa gobolka soo wajahay khilaaf gudaha ah, iyada oo la filayay in muddo-xileedka madaxweynaha iyo baarlamanku ay idlaato; taas oo la qorsheeyay 8 Jannaayo 2024. Sida runta ah, sannadka oo idili waxa uu ku bilaabmay kuna gebageboobay olaleyaal doorasho iyo doodo ku saabsan hannaanka doorashada madaxtooyada iyo baarlamanka ee lagu muransan yahay. Kooxaha mucaaridka ayaa ku eedeeyay Madaxweyne Siciid Cabdullaahi Deni in uu qorsahaynayo muddo-korodhsi iyo in uu ku shuban karo doorashada. Si kastaba ha ahaatee Deni ayaa ku adkaystay in doorasho toos ah loo dareero. Dhanka kale, mucaaridka iyo goobjoogayaasha kale ayaa sheegay in aan le heli doonin wakkhti ku filan oo lagu diyaariyo doorasho qof iyo cod ah, maadaama oo uu Deni hawshan bilaabay xilli dambe oo ah bilo uun ka hor inta aanay dhammaannin muddadii xilka loo igmaday. Mucaaridka ayaa dhanka kale ku adkaystay in si looga baaqdaso muddo-korodhsi, loo baahan yahay in xukuumadda Puntland iyo baarlamanku ay ku dhawaaqaan in hannaanka doorashada dadban la adeegsan doono isbeddelka siyaasadeed ee soo socda. Ugu dambayn dhammaadka bishii Diiseembar ayaa uu madaxweynaha Puntland oggolaaday doorashada dadban.

---

149. See "Rapid Assessment for Flash Flooding Situation in South West State, Somalia (Duration: 12 to 15 November 2023)" ReliefWeb. November 24, 2023. Accessed at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/rapid-assessment-flash-flooding-situation-south-west-state-somalia-duration-12-15-november-2023>.

150. See "PM Hamza Unveils Three Key Projects in Jubbaland, Southwest States." Somali National News Agency, November 27, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/pm-hamza-unveils-three-key-projects-in-jubbaland-southwest-states/>.

Waxkabeddelka dastuurka Puntland, doodaha khuseeya xeerarka doorashooyinka iyo doorka baarlamaanka Puntland, ee ku saabsan muddo-kordhinta xilkooda iyo midda xukuumadda, ayaa dhammaantood hoosta ka xarriiqay caqabadaha sharci iyo kuwa dastuur ee Puntland ka jiray sannadkii 2023. Dedaallo kala duwan oo wada-xaajood ah ayaa la sameeyay, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin qaar ay hoggaaminayeen kooxaha kala duwan ee oday-dhaqameedyada,<sup>151</sup> saaxiibbada caalamiga ah,<sup>152</sup> iyo aqoonyahanka kale ee diinta, siyaasadda iyo mudanka bulshada rayidka ah. Kuwaas oo looga-gol lahaa in lagu xalliyo ismariwaaga doorashada iyo xaqiijinta kala-duwanaan siyaasadeed oo nabdoon.

Sida oo kale sannadkii 2023, waxa Puntland ka dhacay dagaallo siyaasadeed oo beelo loo kala saftay, kuwaas oo ay ka mid ahaayeen iska-hor-imaadyo u dhexeeyay ciidamada dowladda iyo siyaasiyiinta mucaaridka ah, iyo kuwo bishii Juun Garoowe ku dhex maray unugyo ka tirsan ciidamada millatariga oo gadooday iyo maleeshiyo-beeleedyo, dirir taas oo sababtay dhimashada 26 qof iyo dhaawaca soddon kale; iyo weliba amni-darrada oo sii korodhay.<sup>153</sup> Iska-hor-imaadyadan is xigxigay iyo cabsida laga qabo qalalaasaha doorashada ayaa sababay barakacyo googoos ah.<sup>154</sup>

Sida oo kale, hubanti-la'aanta doorashada iyo murannada jira ayaa wiiqay awoodda guud ee dowladda, marka la iska taago dhanka ciidamada amniga. Mucaaridka inta ugu tunka weyn oo hubaysan iyo ciidammo gadoodsan, oo uu hoggaaminayay jeneraal, ayaa fadhiisimo ka samaystay magaalada Garoowe, iyaga oo markii ay doonaan xidhayey waddooyinka qaybtii dambe ee sannadkii 2023. Gudaha magaalada Boosaaso ee xarunta ganacsiga ee maamulka, Daacish ayaa waxa ay lacago baad ah ka gurteen ganacsatada, iyaga oo gubay goobahoodii ganacsi. Ciidamada ammaanka ee Puntland ayaa gacanta ku dhigay in ka badan 20 xubnood oo shisheeye (ajaanib) ah oo ka tirsan Daacish.<sup>155</sup>

Bishii Jannaayo waxa Puntland si weyn looga saadaalinayay in la isku hirdiyo doono doorashada la qorsheeyey 2024. Musharrixiinta mucaaridka ayaa si cad u shaaciyay damacooda ah in ay u tartamayaan doorashada soo aaddan.<sup>156</sup> Baaqyadan qaylahaanta ah oo dhacay toddobaadkii koowaad ee Jannaayo, ayaa ahaa tallaabo istaraatiijiyadeed oo looga gollaha in lagu dardargeliyo xoojinta iyo sal u dhigidda xaaladda gobolka oo ay sannadkaas ku gadaannaayeen xiisado iyo muranno siyaasadeed. Iyada oo laga jawaabay dhaqdhaqaaqyadan siyaasadeed ee isa soo taraya, dowladda Puntland ayaa mamnuucday shirar aan la fasixin oo ka dhacay gobolka Bari 3 Jannaayo.<sup>157</sup>

151. Suldaan Siciid Maxamed Garaase "Nugaal yaan laga shaqayn wax keena ku fiddii"; 17 June 2023; <https://www.facebook.com/100063872297271/videos/suldaan-siciid-maxamed-garaasenugaal-yaan-laga-shaqayn-wax-keena-ku-fiddii/2316795528524211/>.

152. On First Garowe Visit, New UN Special Representative Hails Recent 'One Person, One Vote' District Elections in PUNTLAND; 10 June 2023; <https://unsom.unmissions.org/first-garowe-visit-new-un-special-representative-hails-recent-one-person-one-vote-district>

153. Dozens killed in Somalia's Puntland after parliament debate; 20 June 2023; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/20/fight-erupts-in-somalias-puntland-region-after-parliament-debate>.

154. See "Somalia: Tension Rises in Puntland as President Mobilizes Troops," Garowe Online, November 20, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-tension-rises-in-puntland-as-president-mobilizes-troops>.

155. ISIS leaders captured in Somalia's Puntland; 27 June 2023 <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/isis-leaders-captured-in-somalia-s-puntland>.

156. YouTube; DEG; Garowe oo logu dhawaaqay midowga musharaxiinta Puntland, Saciid Deni oo digniin lodiray; 3 January 2023; [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O\\_suYvnm6qc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_suYvnm6qc).

157. Maamulka Gobolka Bari Oo Mamnuucay Shirar Aysan Dowladdu Fasixin; 3 January 2023; <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/01/03/maamulka-gobolka-bari-oo-mamnuucay-shirar-aysan-dowladdu-fasixin/>

Tallaabadan oo u muuqata mid lagu xaqiijinayo nabadgelyada guud, ayaa ay musharrixiintu u arkaan iskuday la rabo in lagu horjoogsado codkooda, isla markaana ay muujinayso bilawga olole ka dhan ah mucaaridka. Qaar ka mid ah mucaaridka ayaa bilaabay in ay is hubeeyaan, qaar kalena waxa ay ciidamada ammaanka ku dareen rag tolkooda ah. Siyaasiyiinta mucaaridka ah ayaa bilaabay in ay si dhow u wadashaqeyaan, si ay isaga caabbiyaan Deni.

Iyada oo lagu jiro jowigan cakiran, ayaa siyaasadda 'qof iyo cod' waxa ay barnaamij-siyaasadeed oo udubdhexaad ah u noqotay hoggaamiyaha xilka haya ee Deni.<sup>158</sup> Badhtamihii Jannaayo, doodaha iyo xiisadaha ku gedaaman nidaamyada iyo habraacyada doorashada soo aaddan iyo sida oo kale baahida loo qabo in dibuhabayn lagu sameeyo doorashada (ama la'aanteedaba) ayaa hoosta ka xarriiqday kala-qaybsanaan xooggan, taas oo aan keliya ku koobnayn dabaqadda siyaasadeed ee Puntland, ee sida oo kale ka dhex jirta oday-dhaqameedyada, muwaadiniinta iyo siyaasiyiinta dowladda federaalka ee ka soo jeeda Puntland.<sup>159</sup>

Siyaasaddan oo loo soo qaabeeyay in ay kor u qaaddo gaadhitaanka hannaan doorasho oo dimuqraaddi ah, isla markaana loo dhan yahay, ayaa waxa shaki xooggan kala kulmay kooxaha ka walaacsan saamaynta ay ku yeelan karto loollanka siyaasadeed ee gobolka. Khilaafka ku hareeraysan siyaasaddan ayaa iftiimayay caqabadaha ka jira hirgelinta dibuhabaynta doorashada, iyada oo lagu salaynayo siyaasad qabiil oo kakan iyo loollan soojireen ah.

Horraantii bishii Feebaraayo, magacaabistii Deni ee uu Axmed Taaran u magacaabay xeer-ilaaliyaha guud ee qaranka ayaa xuddun u noqotay murannada siyaasadda.<sup>160</sup> Magacaabistan ayaa lagu tijaabiyay saamaynta ay ku yeelan karto maamulka caddaaladda iyo sharciga, iyada oo bartanka lagaga jiro xiisad siyaasadeed oo sii kordhaysa; gaar ahaan sannadka doorashada oo loo baahan yahay shaqaale dawladeed oo dhexdhexaad ah. Sida oo kale digniino la soo saaray dabayaaqada bishii Feebaraayo, oo ku saabsanaa hannaanka diiwaangelinta heer degmo ayaa sii xoojisay jowigan cakiran, taas oo sare u qaaddey walaaca laga qabo hufnaanta iyo xaqsoorka doorashada soo socota ee dawladda hoose iyo maamulka sareba.

Mushaar la'aanta shaqaalaha dowladda iyo in aan la bixin biilashii hay'adaha amniga ayaa la soo weriyay bishii Maarso. Dibudhaca dhawrka bilood ah ee ku yimi mushaar-bixinta ayaa waxa ka dhashay gadood iyo jidgooyo ay sameeyeen ciidamada millateriga Puntland.<sup>161</sup> Puntland ayaa bishii Maarso soo saartay war-saxaafadeedyo xiriir ah oo ay ku diidayso tallaabooyin ay qaadday dowladda federaalku, kuwaas oo ay ka mid tahay diidmada awaamiir la xiriirtay kalluumaysiga ee dowladda federaalka Soomaaliya soo saartay.<sup>162</sup>

158. Opinion: President Deni's Ambitious Goal Faces Roadblocks and Controversy; 19 June 2023; <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2274/Opinion-President-Deni-Ambitious-Goal-Faces-Roadblocks-and-Controversy>.

159. Although elections in Puntland are always charged, this year things were more tense as the incumbent, who also managed and dominated a federal election, sought reelection and had many politicians with axes to grind.

160. Axmed Taaran Oo Loo Magacaabay Xeer Ilaaliyaha Guud Ee Puntland; 26 February 2023; <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/02/06/axmed-taaran-oo-loo-magacaabay-xeer-ilaaliyaha-guud-ee-puntland/>.

161. Xukuumadda Puntland Oo Ku Fashilantay Bixinta Mushaharka Shaqaalaha Iyo Ciidamada; 8 January 2023; <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/01/08/xukuumadda-puntland-oo-ku-fashilantay-bixinta-mushaharka-shaqaalaha-iyo-ciidamada/>; Also see: Soldiers stage mutiny in Somalia's Puntland state Soldiers seize security checkpoint and close key highway connecting Garowe and Bosaso over unpaid salaries, says official; 9 May 2023; <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/soldiers-stage-mutiny-in-somalia-s-puntland-state/2893047>.

162. Puntland oo ka hortimid in hay'adaha caalamiga ah ay deyn siiyaan dowladda Soomaaliya; 15 March 2023; [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/mar/wararka\\_maanta15-183889.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/mar/wararka_maanta15-183889.htm); Also see: Puntland State contradicts Somalia's blue economy strategy; 14 March 2023; [https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/puntland-rejects-somalia-blue-economy-policy-4158242#google\\_vignette](https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/puntland-rejects-somalia-blue-economy-policy-4158242#google_vignette).

Puntland ayaa bishii Abriil bilawday in ay ka hor timaaddo cashuuraha ay dowladda federaalku ku soo rogtay shirkadaha isgaadhsiinta.<sup>163</sup> Ishortaaggani keliya ma ahayn oo keliya in la isku siyaasadda dhaqaalaha, balse waxa uu ahaa war-murtiyeed ku saabsan rabitaanka ballaaran ee ay Puntland u qabto ka madaxbannaani ay ku dhex hesho xayndaabka federaal ee Soomaaliya. Weerar argagixiso oo ka dhacay Boosaaso 6 Abriil 2023, ayaa sababay dab xooggan oo baabi'iyay bakhaar la yidhaado AL-MACRUUF oo alaabta jumlada ah lagu iibiyo, iyo goobo ganacsi oo xidhmay, kooxda Daacish ayaana la sheegay in ay ka dambaysay.<sup>164</sup> Kooxdan argagixisada ah ayaa la sheegay in ay doonayeen in ay lacago baad ah ka qaadaan ganacsatada,<sup>165</sup> taas oo muujinaysa halisaha argagixiso ee ka jira gobolka.

Bishii May, cambaaraynta ay dadweynuhu u jeedinayaan madaxda dowladda federaalka iyo madaxwaynaha Puntland ayaa qabsatay warbaahinta, iyada oo raysalwasaare Xamse C. Barre iyo madaxwaynaha federaalku ay dagaal afka ah la galeen Deni.<sup>166</sup> Odayaasha dhaqanka ee Puntland, qaybaha bulshada rayidka ah, iyo dadyow kale oo Muqdisho ku sugan ayaa sii waday baaqyada dhexdhexaadinta ah ee ku aaddan Puntland iyo dowladda federaalka, iyo Puntland gudaheedaba. Sidaa oo kale Puntland ayaa ku eedaysay madaxda dowladda federaalka in ay faragelin ku hayaan, khalkhalgelinayaan, isla markaana ay baritaarayaan mucaaridka hubaysan iyo musharrixiinta madaxwayne; welibana ay siyaasadaynayaan deeqaha.<sup>167</sup> Muranka ayaa waxa uu salka ku hayay wax-ka-beddelka distuurka Puntland ee uu soo gudbiyay Deni. Bulshada rayidka ah iyo siyaasiyiinta ayaa si isku mid ah ganafka ugu dhuftay dhaqdhaqaaqyadiisa dhinaca u janjeera ee la sheegay in lagu jajuubayo daneeyayaasha siyaasadda.<sup>168</sup>

Dabayaaqadii bishii May, markii ugu horraysay tan iyo 1969, waxa 33 ka mid ah degmooyinka Puntland ka furmay doorashada golayaasha deegaanka.<sup>169</sup> Doorashada saddex degmo oo ay ku jirto caasimadda Puntland ee Garoowe ayaa dib loo dhigay sababo la xiriiira dhanka amniga dartood, iyada oo mucaaridka hubaysani ay wacad ku mareen in ay ka hor tagayaan doorashada.<sup>170</sup> Bishii Juun ayaa waxa sii xoogaystay xiisadaha siyaasadeed ee ka taagan Puntland iyo gobolka, iyada oo degmooyinka inta badan ay ka dhacday doorasho gole deegaan oo qof iyo cod ah, taas oo qarka u saaran in la gaadho ebyoon doorasho. Horraantii bishaas waxa magaalada Garoowe ku dagaallamay maamulka Puntland, musharrixiinta u beretamaysa xilka madaxtinnimo iyo ciidammo huwan ah oo gadoosan.

---

163. Puntland oo ka hortimid khidmado dowlada Soomaaliya ku soo rogtay shirkadaha Isgaarsiinta; 3 April 2023; <https://www.somaliaonline.com/community/topic/251178-puntland-oo-ka-hortimid-khidmado-dowlada-soomaaliya-ku-soo-rogtay-shirkadaha-isgaarsiinta/>.

164. Somalia: Daesh terror group closes down businesses in Bosaso over extortion money; 13 April 2023; <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2088/Somalia-Daesh-terror-group-closes-down-businesses-in-Bosaso-over-extortion-money>.

165. ISIS Extortion Threats Force Business Closures in Bosaso, Somalia; 18 June 2023; <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/isis-extortion-threats-force-business-closures-in-bosaso-somalia>.

166. Ra'iisul Wasaare Xamza oo si kulul u dhaliilay Puntland; 9 May 2023; <https://www.voasomali.com/a/ra-iisul-wasaare-xamza-oo-si-kulul-u-dhaliilay-puntland-/7084720.html>; also see: Puntland oo ku eedeysay madaxweyne Xasan Sheikh inuu abaabulay weerar xalay ka dhacay Garowe; 16 May 2023; [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/May/wararka\\_maanta16-184366.htm?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=WararkaMaantaFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/May/wararka_maanta16-184366.htm?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=WararkaMaantaFront).

167. Puntland Minister accused Somali government of politicizing aid; 10 August 2023; <https://thesomalidigest.com/puntland-minister-accused-somali-government-of-politicizing-aid/>.

168. War ay wada jir u soo saareen Cabdiweli Cali Gaas iyo Cumar Cabdirashiid; Xalka Khilaafka Puntland; 11 July 2023; <https://horseedmedia.net/war-ay-wada-jir-u-soo-saareen-cabdiweli-cali-gaas-iyo-cumar-cabdirashiid-xalka-khilaafka-puntland-380434>.

169. 33 degmo oo katirsan Puntland oo saakay looga dareeray doorashooyin qof iyo cod ah; 25 May 2023; [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/may/wararka\\_maanta25-184443.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/may/wararka_maanta25-184443.htm).

170. See "Puntland Election Commission Postpones Voting in Three Districts due to Security Concerns," Hiiraan Online, May 24, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/May/191466/puntland\\_election\\_commission\\_postpones\\_voting\\_in\\_three\\_districts\\_due\\_to\\_security\\_concerns.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/May/191466/puntland_election_commission_postpones_voting_in_three_districts_due_to_security_concerns.aspx).

Dagaalka oo socday muddo laba maalmood ah ayaa ka dhashay isbeddelka uu baarlamaanku ku sameeyay dastuurka, oo sheegaya in madaxwaynaha lagu soo dhisayo cod dadweyne. Kaas oo ka soo hor jeeda nidaamkan hadda jira ee ay 66 xubnood ee baarlamaanka deegaanka ahi ku dooranayaan madaxwaynaha maamulka.<sup>171</sup>

Bishii Julaay, khilaafka doorashada ee u dhexeeyay siyaasiyiinta Puntland ayaa sii xoogaystay, markii ay dowladdu meelmarisay xeerka doorashada, baarlamaanka oo la safanina uu beddelay dastuurkii 25 Julaay;<sup>172</sup> si loo fududeeyo doorasho dadweyne oo ay muwaadiniintu ku doortaan madaxwaynaha iyo madaxwayne-kuxigeenka dowladdooda. Janaraal Jimcaale Jaamac Takar oo ka soo hor jeeday madaxwaynaha, isla markaana taageersanaa mucaaridka Garoowe, ayaa ku dhawaaqay in ay dhammaatay xabab-joojintii halka dhinac ahayd.<sup>173</sup> Madaxda Puntland ayaa ku dhawaaqday in ballaarinta dekedda Boosaaso ee DP WORLD ay soo gebageboobi doonto dhammaandka sannadka 2023.<sup>174</sup> Sannadkii 2017 ayaa ay shirkadda reer Dubai ee maamusha dekeduhu la gashay heshiis 30 sano oo kiro ah, waxaana la sheegay in lacag ka badan 360 milyuun ay ku maalgelisay ballaarinta dekedda. Sida oo kale bishii Ogoosto, Puntland ayaa waxa ay dhistay golaha horumarinta dhaqaalaha Puntland ee (PDEC), kaas oo loo igmaday ilaalinta mashaariicda ay maalgeliyeen hay'adaha caalamiga ah, soo-jiidashada maalgelinaha tooska ah ee debedda, iyo kobcinta kalsoonida deeq-bixiyayaasha; iyada oo si hufan oo sax ah loo maamulayo qandaraasyada mashaariicda ay bixiyeen deeq-bixiyayaashu.<sup>175</sup>

Intii lagu gudajirey bishii Sibteembar, hubanti la'aanta ka jirta doorashada ayaa sii jiitameysey. Falanqeyayaasha arrimaha siyaasadda iyo warbaahinta maxalliga ahi ay si joogto ah u iftiiminayeen isfahanla'aanta ama caddaan la'aanta ku aaddan khariiradda doorashada. Horraantii Sibteembar, baarlamaanka ayaa ku dhawaaqay guddi doorasho,<sup>176</sup> kuwaas ay musharrixiinta mucaaridku bishii Diiseembar ku eedeeyeen inay dhinac yihiin.<sup>177</sup> Xiriirka Puntland iyo dowladda federaalka ayaa sii xumaaday, ka dib markii ay wasaaradda maaliyadda ee Puntland joojisay wadashaqayntii kala dhexaysay dowladda federaalka ee ahaa hababka isku-dhafka ah ee dawliga ah, sida midaynta cashuuraha iyo abaabulka dakhliga, kuwaas oo ahaa shuruudaha deyn-cafinta Soomaaliya.<sup>178</sup>

Bishii oktoobar, Puntland ayaa waxa ay yaqiinsatay in ay si weyn u dhexgashay khilaafyo siyaasadeed iyo kuwo doorasho, iyada oo uu gobolku ku sii siqayo 8 Jannaayo 2024, oo ah maalinta doorashada loo muddeeyay.

---

171. Dozens killed in Somalia's Puntland after parliament debate Clashes broke out after opposition groups accused Puntland's leader of seeking constitutional changes to extend his term in office; 20 July 2023; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/20/fight-erupts-in-somalias-puntland-region-after-parliament-debate>.

172. Qodobada wax laga beddelay dastuurka Puntland oo faahfaahsan; 25 July 2023; <https://horseedmedia.net/qodobada-wax-laga-beddelay-dastuurka-puntland-oo-faahfaahsan-380860>.

173. Puntland's political landscape heats up as Danab Command ends unilateral cease-fire; 1 August 2023; [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192459/puntland\\_s\\_danab\\_command\\_ends\\_unilateral\\_terminate\\_terminate\\_threatens\\_response\\_to\\_regional\\_leader\\_s\\_actions.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192459/puntland_s_danab_command_ends_unilateral_terminate_terminate_threatens_response_to_regional_leader_s_actions.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

174. Dubai's DP World Will Finish \$366 Million Somali Port Expansion This Year; 17 August 2023; <https://news.yahoo.com/dubai-dp-world-finish-366-095004317.html>.

175. Puntland Government Establishes Economic Development Council to Manage International Grants and Projects; 8 August 2023; <https://horseedmedia.net/puntland-government-establishes-economic-development-council-to-manage-international-grants-and-projects-381318>.

176. Baarlamaanka Puntland Oo Maanta Ansixiyay Xubnaha Guddiga Doorashooyinka Pec; 5 September 2023; <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/09/05/baarlamaanka-puntland-oo-maanta-ansixiyay-xubnaha-guddiga-doorashooyinka-pec/>.

177. Mucaaradka Puntland oo kalsoonida kala noqday Gudiga Xalinta Khilaafaadka doorashada Puntland; 28 December 2023; <https://radiorisaa.com/mucaaradka-puntland-oo-kalsoonida-kala-noqday-gudiga-xalinta-khilaafaadka-doorashada-puntland/>

178. Puntland suspends intergovernmental processes, citing failure of dialogue with FGS; 1 September 2023; <https://thesomalidigest.com/puntland-suspends-intergovernmental-processes-citing-failure-of-dialogue-with-fgs/>



Horraantii bisha ayaa dowladdu waxa ay soo bandhigtay habraacyada doorashada ee hoggaanka golyaashii deegeenka (Duqa degmada) dhowaan la doortay.<sup>179</sup> Wasiirka qorshaynta ee Puntland ayaa saddexdii Oktoobar ku eedeeyay madaxwaynaha federaalka in uu qalqaalinayo dagaal-beeleedyo ka dhaca Mudug, taas oo qalinka ku sii duugtay xiriirka sii xumaanaya ee dowladda federaalka iyo Puntland.<sup>180</sup> Sidaa oo kale, madaxwaynaha Puntland ayaa ku adkaystay go'aankiisa ah in la qabto doorasho qof iyo cod ah, taas oo muujinaysa in aanu dan ka lahayn in loo tanaasulo mucaaradka iyo odayaasha oo dhammaantood ku baaqay in la adeegsado hannaanka soojireenka ah ee doorashada dadban. Waxa u caddaatay goobjoogayaashii madaxa bannaanaa in aanay jirin wakhti iyo hanti loogu talagalay codbixin dadweyne, maadaama aanay diyaargaraw farsamo iyo habraac sharci midina oollin.

Bishii Noofeembar ayaa madax-dhaqameedku ku tallaabsadeen faragelin toos ah oo ku aaddan khilaafka doorashada, iyaga oo go'aaminaya hannaanka doorashada dadban. 2 Noofeembar, ayaa isimmo (oday-dhaqameedyo) soo saareen go'aanno.<sup>181</sup> Sida oo kale labadii bilood ee ugu dambeeyay sannadkii 2023, ayaa la arkayay ku lug lahaanshaha beesha caalamka ee hawshan, iyada oo safirka Biritan uu booqday Garoowe horraatntii Diiseembar, si uu u fududeeyo wada-xaajoodka iyo xallinta caqabadaha doorashada.<sup>182</sup>

Inkasta oo ay dedaalladaasi jireen, haddana jowiga siyaasadeed waxa uu ahaa mid weli cakiran, iyada oo maamulku walaac ka muujiyay faragelinta dowladda federaalku ku hayso arrimaheeda siyaasadda ee gudaha. 14 Noofembar, ayaa mucaaridku waxa ay la gole-yimaaddeen jadwal doorasho oo hal dhinac ah, taas oo sii cakirtay muuqaalkii siyaasadeed, waxa aanay daaha ka faydday kala qaybsanaanta xooggan ee ka jirta saaxadda siyaasadeed ee Puntland.<sup>183</sup>

Bishii Diiseembar ayaa waxa yimi horumarro la taaban karo, iyada oo uu madaxwaynuhu ku dhawaaqay in loo dareero doorasho dadban.<sup>184</sup> Dhawaaqan oo uu weheliyo go'aankii lama filaanka ahaa ee uu baarlamanka Puntland ku kororsaday labada sannadood,<sup>185</sup> ayaa shaaca ka qaaday xaaladda cakiran ee ka taagan qorshaha doorashada ee gobolka, waxaana ay wayddiimo iska soo tarayaan in ay doorashadu si nabad ah ku qabsoomi doonto. Doodaha dhanka sharciga iyo dastuurka ayaa gaaray figta ugu sarraysa, ka dib markii maxkamadda dastuuriga ah ee Puntland ay laashay go'aankii baarlamanka, taas oo banka keentay xurguftii siyaasadeed ee u dhexaysay laamaha kala duwan ee dowladda.

---

179. Puntland Ministry clarifies local council procedures; 2 October 2023; <https://thesomalidigest.com/puntlands-ministry-clarifies-local-council-procedures/>.

180. Puntland accuses President Mohamud of inter-clan fighting in Mudug; 3 October 2023; [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Oct/193244/puntland\\_accuses\\_president\\_mohamud\\_of\\_inter\\_clan\\_fighting\\_in\\_mudug.aspx?utm\\_source=hiiraan&utm\\_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/4/2023/Oct/193244/puntland_accuses_president_mohamud_of_inter_clan_fighting_in_mudug.aspx?utm_source=hiiraan&utm_medium=SomaliNewsUpdateFront).

181. Qaar Kamid Ah Isimada Puntland Oo Go'aanno Ka Soo Saaray Doorashada PUNTLAND EE 2024; 2 November 2023; <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/11/02/qaar-kamid-ah-isimada-puntland-oo-go'aanno-ka-soo-saaray-doorashada-puntland-ee-2024/>.

182. UK Steps in to Resolve Puntland Election Dispute, Ambassador Nithavrianakis Leads Talks; 2 December 2023; <https://halqabsi.com/2023/12/uk-steps-in-to-resolve-puntland/>.

183. Mucaaridka Puntland Oo Shaaciyay Jadwal Doorasho Oo Hal Dhinac AH; 14 November 2023; <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/11/14/mucaaridka-puntland-oo-shaaciyay-jadwal-doorasho-oo-hal-dhinac-ah/>.

184. Puntland President Announces Shift to Indirect Elections; 6 December 2023; <https://thesomalidigest.com/puntland-president-announces-shift-to-indirect-elections/>.

185. See "Baarlamaanka Puntland Oo Sameystay Muddo Kororsi Hal Sano Ah Xili Maanta Lagu Waday in Lakala Diro," Hiiraan Online, December 7, 2023. [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Dec/wararka\\_maanta7-185985.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Dec/wararka_maanta7-185985.htm).

Sannadkii 2023, waxa lagu asteeyay isdhexgal adag oo siyaasadeed iyo muranno sharci oo ka dhex oognaa dowladda Federaalka iyo maamul-goboleeddada, caqabado amni iyo hindisayaasha dhaqaalaha. Maadaama oo uu gobolka soo maray khilaafyo doorasho, caqabado maamul, iyo dedaallo lagu kobcinayo horumarinta dhaqaalaha; waxa la shirrabay hay'adihiisa mid rasmi ah iyo mid aan rasmi ahaynba (odayaasha oo kale), iyo Sida oo kale ammaanka. In kasta oo sannadku uu ku dhammaaday doorasho si nabad ah ku qabsoontay, haddana natiijooyinka wejiyada badan ee ka dhashay caqabadahan ayaa beretenkooda lagu arki doonaa sannadka 2024.

Waxyaabaha kale ee xusidda mudnaa waxa ka mid ahaa aasaaskii golaha horumarinta dhaqaalaha,<sup>186</sup> si ay u maamulaan deeqaha iyo mashaariicda caalamiga ah oo ay barbar socdaan maalgashiga mashaariicda waaweyn ee kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha, sida ballaarinta dekedaha iyo dhismaha waddooyinka, taas oo loogu talagalay in lagu xoojiyo cududda dhaqaale ee gobolka. Sida oo kale sannadkan ayaa la arkayay Puntland oo la daalaa-dhacaysay xaalado bani-aadantinnimo, oo ay ka mid yihiin fatahaado Gaalkacyo ku dhufatay oo keenay gurmada degdeg ah, kuwaas oo hoosta ka xarriiqay u nuglaanshaha gobolka ee dhibaatooyinka cimilada iyo deegaanka.<sup>187</sup>

## 8. Somaliland

### Siyaasadda

Sannadkii 2023, waxa ay Somaliland, oo ah gobol goonni isu taag ku dhawaaqay, balse aan weli helin aqoonsi caalami ahi ku waabariistay laba caqabadood oo waaweyn oo gudaha ah: Khilaaf la xiriira doorashada oo ka dhex taagan xisbiyada siyaasadda, kaas oo sababay muran iyo khilaaf gudaha ah;<sup>188</sup> iyo caqabad weyn oo ah colaad, kacdoon, iyo xaaladdii bini'aadantinimo oo faraha ka baxay, iyo guuldarro ciidan oo ka dhacay gobolka Sool, ee bariga Somaliland.

Colaadda, oo ay ku xigtay goosashadii gobolka Sool, oo ka tirsanaa Somaliland, ayaa ka bilaabantay magaalada Laascaanood oo ah caasimadda gobolkaas, taas oo ay markii hore ka dhici jireen dilal qorshaysan oo muddo soo taxnaa, iyada oo dhammaadkii Diiseembar 2022 lagu dilay ganacsade/Siyaasi caan ah. Dilkan ayaa dhaliyay dibadbaxyo joogto ah oo muddo socday. Waxa ay dhakhaatiirtii goobtaas ku sugnaa sheegeen in ay qalalaasahaas ku dhinteen 10 qof, 50 kale na ku dhaawacmeen.<sup>189</sup>

Qaybo ka mid ah beelaha Dhulbahante iyo Fiqishinni ee dega Laascaanood ayaan sidaa oo kale ku faraxsanayn in Soomaaliya laga go'o. Intaa waxa dheer, beelaha Dhulbahante waxa ay isku hayb yihiin beelaha Daarood ee Puntland dega. Puntland ayaa hore u maamuli jirtay Laascaanood, oo ay Somaliland ka qabsatay, kala na wareegtay bishii Oktoobar, 2007.<sup>190</sup>

186. Puntland Government Establishes Economic Development Council to Manage International Grants and Projects; 8 August 2023; <https://horseedmedia.net/puntland-government-establishes-economic-development-council-to-manage-international-grants-and-projects-381318>.

187. See "Somalia Floods: Bodies Unearthed and Bridges Swept Away," BBC News, November 16, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-67426065>.

188. See "Somaliland's Renewed Stalemate: The Consequence of Extensions," Horn Diplomat, June 5, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.horndiplomat.com/2022/06/05/somalilands-renewed-stalemate-the-consequence-of-extensions/>.

189. See "Ethnic Clashes Hit Somaliland ahead of This Year's Elections," The East African, January 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/ethnic-clashes-hit-somaliland-ahead-of-this-year-elections-4078772>.

190. See "What's Driving Conflict in the Disputed Somali City of Las Anod?" Al Jazeera, February 20, 2023. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/2/20/whats-driving-conflict-in-the-disputed-somali-city-of-las-anod>.

Kadib rabshado maalmo qaatay, oo dhex maray shacabka magaalada iyo ciidamada amniga Somaliland, waxa ay madaxda Somaliland ku dhawaaqeen in ay magaalada ka saareen ciidamadii amniga, oo ay fureen in ay degaan oo saldhig ka dhigtaan buuraha magaalada ku teedsan.<sup>191</sup>

8 Jeennaayo, waxaa magaalada Laascaanood shir ku yeeshay madaxdhaqameedka beelaha Dhulbahante iyo Fiqishinni, waxaanay ka dalbadeen Somaliland in ay ka baxdo gobolka Sool, iyaga oo ku baaqay shirweyne loo dhan yahay oo ay bulshada deegaanku isugu yimaaddaan.<sup>192</sup> 23 Jeennaayo ayuu Garaad Jaamac Garaad Cali, oo ah Garaadka ugu sarreeya beelaha Dhulbahante, isla markaana 15 sano ka maqnaa gobolka, dib ugu soo laabtay Laascaanood.<sup>193</sup> 6 Feebaraayo, kadib laba toddobaad oo wadatashi ah oo Laascaanood uga socday, waxa ay odayaasha beelaha gobolka Sool ku dhawaaqeen in ay ka madaxbannaan yihiin Somaliland, waxaanay soo magacaabeen gole deegaan oo ka kooban 45 xubnood, oo hoggaamin doona maamulka cusub ee ay ku dhawaaqeen odayaashu.<sup>194</sup> Dagaal gacan ka hadal ah oo dhex maray bulshada iyo ciidamada Somaliland isla maalintaas, ayaa sababay dhimasho iyo burbur lixaad leh.<sup>195</sup>

Horraantii bishii Maarso, in ka badan 200 oo qof ayaa ku dhintay dagaalkan, ku dhowaad 700 oo kale na waa ay ku dhaawacmeen, sida uu sheegay maayarkii Laascaanood oo ku biiray shacabkii isdifacayey, waxaanu maayirku dowladda Somaliland ku eedeeyay in ay geysatay xasuuq iyo barakicin.<sup>196</sup>

Somaliland ayaa ku eedaysay Puntland iyo al-Shabaab in ay qayb ka yihiin kacdoonka ka socda Laascaanood<sup>197</sup>, waxaanay beesha caalamku marar badan ku baaqday in la joojiyo colaadda, isla markaana nabad iyo wadahal lagu dhammeeyo waxa la isku hayo, oo maamulka Somaliland iyo beelaha deegaanku ay wada xaajoodaan.<sup>198</sup>

Xilligii ay dagaalladu socdeen ee bilihii Feebaraayo iyo Maarso, waxa warbaahinta buuxdhaafiyay oo si isdaba joog ah loo baahinayey baaqyada ku saabsan soo afjaridda dagaalka iyo qayladhaanta uurxumada leh ee ka soo yeedhaysa dadka rayidka ah. Xabbad joojin ayaa lagu baaqay, iyada oo ay aqbaleen dhinacyadii dagaallamayay, balse may hirgelin. Guddoomiyaha baarlamaanka Somaliland oo ka soo jeeday Khaatumo-SSC, ayaa xukuumadda ku eedeeyay in ay dambiyo dagaal ka gashay shacabkeeda.<sup>199</sup>

---

191. See "Somaliland Withdraws Troops from Disputed Town to Halt Violence." Voice of America, January 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somaliland-withdraws-troops-from-disputed-town-to-halt-violence/6907540.html>.

192. See "Elders Want Somaliland Troops out of Sool" Somali Dispatch, January 9, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/elders-want-somaliland-troops-out-of-sool/>.

193. See "Garaad Jaamac: Soomaaliland Dhulkayaga Hanagoo Baxaan Innagaa U Tashanayna," Hiiraan Online, January 23, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Jan/wararka\\_maanta23-183452.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Jan/wararka_maanta23-183452.htm).

194. See "SSC-Khatumo Elders and Leaders Declare Autonomy from Somaliland." SomalilandCurrent.com, February 6, 2023. SSC-Khatumo is the name the new administration assumed; Accessed at: <https://www.somalilandcurrent.com/ssc-khatumo-elders-and-leaders-declare-autonomy-from-somaliland/>.

195. See "Dozens Killed in Eastern Somaliland Clashes." Voice of America, February 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/dozens-killed-in-eastern-somaliland-clashes/6952345.html>.

196. See "Somalia: Death Toll in Las Anod Conflict Surpasses 200 amid Calls for Ceasefire," Garowe Online, March 2, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-death-toll-in-las-anod-surpasses-200-amid-calls-for-ceasefire>.

197. See "Somaliland Claims Victory in Clash with SSC-Khatumo Forces on Las Anod Outskirts," Hiiraan Online, March 2, 2023.

Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Mar/190150/somaliland\\_claims\\_victory\\_in\\_clash\\_with\\_ssc\\_khatumo\\_forces\\_on\\_las%2%A0anod%2%A0outskirts.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Mar/190150/somaliland_claims_victory_in_clash_with_ssc_khatumo_forces_on_las%2%A0anod%2%A0outskirts.aspx).

198. See "International Partners Joint Statement on the Situation in Laascaanood and Somaliland Elections," EEAS, April 17, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/somalia/international-partners-joint-statement-situation-laascaanood-and-somaliland-elections\\_en?s=153](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/somalia/international-partners-joint-statement-situation-laascaanood-and-somaliland-elections_en?s=153).

199. See "Somaliland Army Accused of War Crimes in Las Anod, Says Parliament Speaker," Hiiraan Online, February 26, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/190095/somaliland\\_army\\_accused\\_of\\_war\\_crimes\\_in\\_las\\_anod\\_says\\_parliament\\_speaker.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/190095/somaliland_army_accused_of_war_crimes_in_las_anod_says_parliament_speaker.aspx).

Sida oo kale, inta badan siyaasiyiinta ka soo jeeda gobolka Sool, gaar ahaan maayirka Laascaanood iyo xildhibaannada golaha deegaanka ee magaalada ayaa mawqif adag iska taagay sidii ay beeshooda ula dareen noqon lahaayeen.<sup>200</sup>

Somaliland ayaa sheegtay in Soomaaliya, Puntland, al-Shabaab iyo Ismaamulka Soomaalida ee Itoobiya, ay ka maleegayaan shirqoollo Laascaanood, ayna si wadajir ah dagaalka u wadaan.<sup>201</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Qaramada Midoobay waxa ay sheegtay in 185,000 oo qof ay ku barakaceen dagaalka Laascaanood.<sup>202</sup> Dhinaca kale, Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda ee Maraykanka, ayaa 30kii Maarso 2023, waxay soo saartay bayaan dheer oo ay cinwaan uga dhigtay “Deganaansho la’aanta iyo Dibudhaca Dimuqraadiyadda ee Somaliland”, waxa ayna ku baaqday xabbladjojin iyo in gargaar bin’aadannimo loo furo dadka rayidka ah ee dhibaataysan.<sup>203</sup>

2 Abriil, Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed u magacowday ergeyga gaarka ah ee dalka u qaabilsan wada hadallada Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland. Madaxweynaha Somaliland ayaana soo dhaweeyay magacaabista ergaygan.<sup>204</sup> 20 Abriil, Amnesty International ayaa bayaan ay soo saartay ku sheegtay: “In ka badan 100 qof in la dilay, in ka badan 600 qofna la dhaawacay, tobannaan kun oo kalena barakaceen. Duqeymaha aan loo meel dayin ayaa sababay burbur xooggan oo soo gaadhay guryaha, cusbitaallada, dugsiyada iyo masaajiddada.”<sup>205</sup> Maalmo yar ka hor, xilli ay ku beegnayd 17 Abriil, ayaa dublamaasiyiin ka kala socday shan iyo toban dal oo reer Galbeed ah, oo ay ku jiraan Maraykanka iyo Qaramada Midoobay ay la kulmeen Muuse Biixi; hoggaamiyaha Somaliland, waxa aanay u sheegeen in si degdeg ah oo bilaa shuruud ah loo joojiyo colaadda iyo in ciidamada is-horfadhiya la kala qaado.<sup>206</sup> Ka dib toddobaadyo ay hakad ku jireen dabayaaqadii Abriil, dagaalku waxa uu dib u soo cusboonaadey todobaadkii labaad ee bishii May.<sup>207</sup> Bishii Juun, Golaha Ammaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay ayaa cambaareeyay dagaalladii dadku ku dhintay ee Laascaanood, waxaanay ugu baaqeen Somaliland: in ay ciidamadeeda kala baxdo magaalada.<sup>208</sup> Sida oo kale, bishii Juun, guddoomiyihii baarlamaanka Somaliland ayaa isaga tegay Somaliland, waxa uuna ku biiray maamulka SSC-Khaatumo.<sup>209</sup> Xeer ilaaliyaha guud ee qaranka Somaliland ayaa ku hanjabay in uu guddoomiyaha baarlamaanka ku soo oogi doono faldambiyeed khiyaamo qaran ah.<sup>210</sup>

---

200. See “Las Anod Mayor Demands Somaliland Withdrawal as Fighting Enters Third Consecutive Day,” Hiiraan Online, February 8, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/189844/las\\_anod\\_mayor\\_demands\\_somaliland\\_withdrawal\\_as\\_fighting\\_enters\\_third\\_consecutive\\_day.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Feb/189844/las_anod_mayor_demands_somaliland_withdrawal_as_fighting_enters_third_consecutive_day.aspx).

201. See “Somaliland and Ethiopia Faceoff over Las Anod Jeopardizes Regional Cooperation,” Ethiopia Insight, March 20, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.ethiopia-insight.com/2023/03/20/somaliland-and-ethiopia-faceoff-over-las-anod-jeopardizes-regional-cooperation/>.

202. See “185 Thousand Somalis Flee Home: OCHA Report,” VOA Africa, February 17, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voaafrica.com/a/thousand-somalis-flee-home-ocha-report-/6967149.html>.

203. See “Instability and Democratic Backsliding in Somaliland” United States Department of State, March 30, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.state.gov/instability-and-democratic-backsliding-in-somaliland/>.

204. See “President Muse Bihi Welcomes the New Envoy for the Talks between Somalia, Somaliland,” Somali National News Agency, April 3, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/president-muse-bihi-welcomes-the-new-envoy-for-the-talks-between-somalia-somaliland/>.

205. See “Somaliland: Urgent Investigation Needed as Fighting Takes Heavy Toll on Civilians in Las Anod,” April 20, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/somaliland-urgent-investigation-needed-fighting-takes-heavy-toll-civilians-las-anod>.

206. See “International Partners Joint Statement on the Situation in Laascaanood and Somaliland Elections,” EEAS, April 17, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/somalia/international-partners-joint-statement-situation-laascaanood-and-somaliland-elections\\_en?#153](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/somalia/international-partners-joint-statement-situation-laascaanood-and-somaliland-elections_en?#153).

207. See “Somaliland: Deadly Clashes Resume in Las Anod,” Somalidispach.com, May 16, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somalidispach.com/latest-news/somaliland-deadly-clashes-resume-in-las-anod/>.

208. See “Security Council Press Statement on Situation in Somalia,” UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, June 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15313.doc.htm>.

209. See “Somaliland Parliament Speaker Resigns, Joins SCC-Khatumo Administration,” Hiiraan Online, June 12, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jun/191756/somaliland\\_parliament\\_speaker\\_resigns\\_joins\\_scc\\_khatumo\\_administration.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Jun/191756/somaliland_parliament_speaker_resigns_joins_scc_khatumo_administration.aspx).

210. See “Somaliland: Attorney General Issues Prosecution Notice of Former Speaker to Chief Justice,” SomalilandSun, June 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somalilandsun.com/2946745-2/>.

Dagaalku waxa uu socday ilaa bishii Julay, waxaana la dhisay maamulkii SSC-Khaatumo. Todobaadkii ugu horreeyey bishii Ogoosto, ayaa ay odayada beeluhu ku soo dhiseen golaha dhexe iyo golaha fulinta ee ismaamulka SSC-Khaatumo.<sup>211</sup> 16 Ogoosto, abwaan Jaamac Kadiye Cilmi ayaa ku dhintay weerar madaafic ah oo ay Somaliland ku garaacday Laascaanood, taas oo keentay in ay falkaas si weyn u cambaareeyaan dhammaan dadka soomaalida ahi.<sup>212</sup> 26 Ogoosto, SSC-Khaatumo waxa ay soo qaaday weerar rogaal celis ah oo ka dhan ah ciidamada Somaliland iyaga oo ka saaray Laascaanood.<sup>213</sup>

## Khilaafaadka Doorashada Somaliland

Marka laga tago kacdoonnada siyaasadeed iyo kuwa nabadgelyo ee Somaliland ka soo waajahay gobolladeeda Bari, waxa kale oo jira khilaaf doorasho oo u dhexeeya xisbiyada iyo ururrada siyaasadda ee Somaliland ka jira 2023.<sup>214</sup>

Marka loo eego muddo-xileedka madaxweynaha iyo saddexda Xisbi siyaasadeed oo uu sharcigu dhigayo in liisankooda la cusboonaysiiyo 10 sannadoodba hal mar, waxa uu wakhtigu ka dhammaaday bilihii Noofeenbar iyo Diiseenbar, sida ay u kala horreeyeen. Madaxweyne Muuse Biixi Cabdi waxa markii ugu horreysay la doortay 21 Noofeenbar 2017, muddo shan sanno ah, iyada oo ay muddo-xileedkiisu ku eekayd bishii Noofeenbar 2022.

Sida caadiga ah, Somaliland waxa ka jira saddex xisbi qaran. Sannadkii 2023, waxa ay ahaayeen Kulmiye oo ah xisbiga talada haya iyo xisbiyada mucaaradka ah ee Waddani iyo UCID. Xagaagii 2022, Biixi iyo komishanka doorashooyinku waxa ay u muuqdeen kuwo isku dubbaridaya muddo kordhinta xukuumadda, iyaga oo xisbiyada ku qasbaya in ay galaan doorashada ururrada, taas oo ay ka soo horraysiinayeen doorashada madaxtooyada. Mucaaridku kuma faraxsanayn, maadaama bishii Juun, ee 2021 ay ku guulaysteen aqlabiyadda kuraasta baarlamaanka iyo kuwa dawladaha hoose, oo ay filayeen in ay tartanka doorashada madaxtooyada ee soo socda kaga adkaan doonaan xisbiga talada haya ee Kulmiye.<sup>215</sup> Haddii xisbiyada lagu khasbo in ay qabtaan doorashooyinka ururrada, oo ay ku tartamayaan ilaa labaatan urur siyaasadeed, oo cusubi, mucaaradka jira waxa laga yaabaa in aan dib loogu soo dooran xisbi ahaan—iyada oo lagu muquuninayo xeelad dawladeed. Kooxo kala duwan oo ay ka mid yihiin guddi ay soo saareen culimada iyo guddi ka kooban ganacsatada waaweyn ee Somaliland ayaa isku daydey in ay dhex dhexaadiyaan, oo ay soo bandhigaan in la isu tanaasulo, oo meel dhexe la isugu yimaaddo.<sup>216</sup>

---

211. See “Somalia: SSC Council Elects Chairman of Executive Council in Las’anod” Horseed Media, August 5, 2023. Accessed at: <https://horseedmedia.net/somalia-ssc-council-elects-chairman-of-executive-council-in-lasanod-381212>.

212. See “Somali Politicians Unite in Condemning Killing of Celebrated Somali Poet in Las Anod Mortar Attack,” Hiiraan Online, August 17, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192655/somali-politicians\\_unite\\_in\\_condemning\\_killing\\_of\\_celebrated\\_somali\\_poet\\_in\\_las\\_anod\\_mortar\\_attack.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192655/somali-politicians_unite_in_condemning_killing_of_celebrated_somali_poet_in_las_anod_mortar_attack.aspx).

213. See “The Fall of Goojaadde and the Victory of SSC-Khatumo Forces.” Kormeeraha Magazine, August 27, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.kormeeraha.com/2023/08/26/the-fall-of-goojaadde-and-the-victory-of-ssc-khatumo-forces/>.

214. See “Somaliland: opposition warns of further violence if elections are delayed.” Somali Dispatch, March 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/somaliland-opposition-warns-of-further-violence-if-elections-are-delayed/>.

215. See “Somaliland: Freedom in the World 2023 Country Report.” Freedom House, 2023. Accessed at: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/somaliland/freedom-world/2023>.

216. See “Somaliland, Government, Opposition Agree to Open Dialogue.” SomTribune, August 30, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somtribune.com/2022/07/06/somaliland-government-opposition-agree-to-open-dialogue/>.



Si kastaba ha ahaatee, xisbiyada mucaaradka ah ayaa soo abaabulay mudaharaadyo kala duwan, oo ka dhacay guud ahaan magaaloyinka Somaliland xagaagii 2022. Xukuumadda Biixi, ayaa awood u adeegsatay in ay caburiso, mudaharaadkaasina waxa uu isu beddelay mid rabshado wata, oo dhimasho iyo dhaawac gaystay.<sup>217</sup>

Bishii Jannaayo, muranno doorasho oo ay weheliyaan rabshado ayaa ka dhacay Hargeysa iyo magaaloyinka kale ee Somaliland ee ay degaan beelaha Isaaq iyo xisbiyadooda siyaasadeed (Kulmiye, Wadani iyo UCID). 5 Febraayo, mudaharaad ka dhan ah Xukuumadda Somaliland ayaa laga dhigay Ceelafweyn, kaas oo sababay dhimasho. Xildhibaanada Somaliland ee kasoo jeeda Sanaag ayaa xukuumadda ku dhaliilay in ay awood xad-dhaaf ah adeegsatay.<sup>218</sup> Xaalada ayaa faraha ka sii baxday xagaagii 2023, kadib, markii ciidammo hubaysan iyo maleeshiyo beeleed ka soo jeeda beelaha Garxajis (oo ay intooda badani tageeraan labada xisbi ee mucaaradka ah) oo muddaharaadka ku lug lahaa, isla markaana xidhay waddooyinka buuralayda Gacan Libaax, ayuu dagaal dhex maray ciidamada dowlada.<sup>219</sup>

Arrintan oo saamaynteeda awoodeed lahayd ayaa dhacday markii ay socdeen colaaddii u dhaxaysay Somaliland iyo SSC-Khaatumo. Laba toddobaad uun kadib dagaalkii Gacan Libaax, waxa 25 Ogoosto dagaal xooggan lagu jabiyay ciidamadii Somaliland ee ku sugnaa gobolka Sool, waa dagaalkii foosha xumaa ee ka dhacay Goojacadde; halkaas oo maxaabiis ahaan looga qabsaday ilaa 400 oo askari oo uu ku jiro Jeneraal Faysal Cabdi Bootaan, oo hor kacayay go'doomintii magaalada Laascaanood, bilihii hore.<sup>220</sup>

27 Ogoosto, odayaasha Habarjeclo oo ka mid ah beelaha waaweyn ee Isaaq, oo uu Biixi taaageeradooda tirsanayey, ayaa si iskood ah u go'aamiyey in doorashada ururrada siyaasadda iyo tan madaxtooyada oo isku lammaani qabsoomaan 13 Noofeenbar 2024, isla markaana saddexda xisbi ee jira oo keliya ay u tartami karaan doorashada madaxweynaha.<sup>221</sup>

Biixi iyo qaar ka mid ah ururada siyaasadda, ayaa soo dhaweyay go'aankan.<sup>222</sup> Beesha Habarjeclo ayaa loo malaynayey in ay taageersan tahay oo ay isbahaysi leeyihiin madaxweynaha dagaalku haysto, kaas oo wasiirkiisa daakhiliga ee awoodda badani ka soo jeedo. Go'aankan ka soo baxay beesha Habarjeclo ayaa ka caraysiisay dhowr iyo toban urur siyaasadeed u hanqal taagayey in ay u gudbaan xisbiyo.<sup>223</sup>

---

217. See "Somaliland: Freedom in the World 2023 Country Report." Freedom House, 2023. Accessed at: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/somaliland/freedom-world/2023>.

218. See "Protest against Separatist Authorities Erupt in Second Somaliland Town." Somali Guardian, February 5, 2023. Accessed at: <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/protest-against-separatist-authorities-erupt-in-second-somaliland-town/>.

219. See "Somaliland Forces and 'Garhajis Militia' Clashed Again in Togdheer." The Somali Digest, August 1, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/somaliland-garhajis-militia-bihi/>.

220. See "The Fall of Goojaadde and the Victory of SSC-Khatumo Forces." Kormeeraha Magazine, August 27, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.kormeeraha.com/2023/08/26/the-fall-of-goojaadde-and-the-victory-of-ssc-khatumo-forces/>.

221. See "Hoggaanka Beesha Habar-Jeclo Oo Go'aan Kasoo Saaray Jabhada Buurta Gacanlibaax," Hiiraan Online, August 27, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Aug/wararka\\_maanta27-185202.htm](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Aug/wararka_maanta27-185202.htm).

222. See "Somaliland Political Associations Express Support for Electoral Commission's Revised Election Timelines." Somaliland.com, July 18, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somaliland.com/news/somaliland-political-associations-express-support-for-electoral-commissions-revised-election-timelines/>.

223. See "Hillaac Rejects the Bullying of Chieftains & Their Proposed Joint Election," SII, August 31, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sii1991.org/hillaac-rejects-the-bullying-of-chieftains-their-proposed-joint-election/>.

Bishii Sibteenbar, dowladda Somaliland ayaa cafis u fidsay maleeshiyada Gacan Libaax oo dagaalka joojisay.<sup>224</sup> Dhanka kale, iyada oo khilaafkii gudaha ka jiray ee ka dhashay muddayn la'aanta doorashada guud ahaan la xalliyay, Somaliland waxa ay xoogga saartay xakameynta iyo dib isu-habaynta guuldaradii ka soo gaadhay gobolka Sool. Ciidamo badan ayaa la geeyey jiidaha cusub ee u dhexeeya Somaliland iyo SSC-Khaatumo, iyada oo Oog ay noqotay jiidaha hore ee Somaliland saldhigga u ah, halka Guumeysina ay u tahay SSC-Khaatumo.<sup>225</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, SSC-Khaatumo waxa ay noqdeen kuwo aad u xamaasadaysan, waxaanay deegaanka ku soo dhaweeyeen dad qiiraysan oo ay ku jiraan nabaddoonno, saxafiyiin iyo xataa diyaarado siday wasiirro iyo xildhibaanno ka tirsan dowladda Federaalka.<sup>226</sup>

1 Oktoobar, ayay baarlamaanka Somaliland ansixiyeen doorashada madaxweynaha iyo ta ururrada siyaasadda oo isku lammaan<sup>227</sup>, waxaana Muqdisho yimid madaxda Khaatumo oo doonayay in Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya aqoonsato SSC-Khaatumo.<sup>228</sup> Maamulka Somaliland ayaa cambaareeyay tallaabada ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya maamul kumeelgaadh ah ugu aqoonsatay SSC-Khaatumo, oo mustaqbalka noqonaysa mid ka mid ah dowladaha xubnaha ka ah faderaalka.<sup>229</sup> Dhanka kale, dhaqdhaqaaqyo siyaasadeed ayaa ka bilaabmay gobolka Awdal, oo dhaca galbeedka Somaliland, kaas oo jaar la ah Jabuuti iyo Itoobiya. U dhaqdhaqaaqayaasha arrimaha bulshada, rag hubaysan, waxgarad qurbajoog ah, iyo siyaasiyiin ka tirsan Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya, ayaa dhowr iyo toban sano ku baaqayay in aanay beelaha gobolkani, gaar ahaan Beelaha Samaroon/Gadabuursi, taageersanayn goonni u isutaagga Somaliland, laakiin ay yihiin bulsho goonni isutaagga dusha uun lagaga keenay.<sup>230</sup> Dadka reer Awdal diidmadoodu mararka qaar way gamaaraysay, mararka qaarna kor bay u soo kacaysey. Dhanka kale, xagaagii oo dhan, Raysalwasaaraha Itoobiya Abiy Axmed, waxa uu si dulkaxaadis ah u sheegayey fikradda ah in Itoobiya ay u baahan tahay marin badda ah, isaga oo 13 Oktoobar khudbad uu u jeediyay xildhibaannada Itoobiya, ku sheegay Saylac iyo Awdal in ay ka mid yihiin dekedaha uu isha ku hayo.<sup>231</sup>

29 Diseembar, madaxda Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland waxa ay ku kulmeen Jabuuti. Wada hadal laba maalmood qaatay, oo uu dhexdhexaadinayey Madaxweynaha Jabuuti Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle, ayaa laga soo saaray qorshe dhammaystiran oo loo marayo wada hadallada Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland.<sup>232</sup>

---

224. See "Somaliland Government Grants Amnesty to Armed Militia in Ga'an Libah Mountains." Somaliland.com, September 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somaliland.com/news/somaliland-government-grants-amnesty-to-armed-militia-in-gaan-libah-mountains/>.

225. See "Somaliland Deploys More Forces to Oog, Announces Military Action against SSC-Khaatumo," Horn Observer, September 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2437/Somaliland-deploys-more-forces-to-Oog-announces-military-action-against-SSC-Khaatumo>.

226. See "Federal Delegation Visits Las Anod to Assess the Situation and Promote Unity," Somali National News Agency, September 15, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/federal-delegation-visits-las-anod-to-assess-the-situation-and-promote-unity/#:~:text=The%20delegation%20visited%20the%20homes,and%20stability%20in%20the%20region>.

227. See "Somaliland Parliament Approves Election Law Ending Months-Long Electoral Dispute," Hiiraan Online, October 1, 2024. Accessed at: <https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193217/somaliland-parliament-approves-election-law-ending-months-long-electoral-dispute.aspx>.

228. See "Somali Prime Minister Receives SSC-Khaatumo Leader in Mogadishu," Shabelle Media, October 7, 2023. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-prime-minister-receives-ssc-khaatumo-leader-in-mogadishu/>.

229. See "Somaliland Objects to Mogadishu's SSC-Khaatumo Recognition." The Somali Digest, October 20, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/somaliland-objects-to-mogadishus-ssc-khaatumo-recognition/>.

230. See "Awdal State Movement: Communiqué." WardheerNews, September 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://wardheernews.com/awdal-state-movement-communication/>.

231. See "Feature: 'A population of 150 million can't live in a geographic prison' – PM Abiy Ahmed." Addis Standard, October 14, 2023. Accessed at: <https://wp.me/p7BpQh-a0b>.

232. See "Historic Dialogue Initiated between Somalia and Somaliland with Djibouti as Mediator." Somali National News Agency, December 29, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/historic-dialogue-initiated-between-somalia-and-somaliland-with-djibouti-as-mediator/>.

## Dhaqaalaha

Bishii Maarso ayay shirkadda DP World, oo laga leeyahay dalka Imaaraadka Carabta, iyo xukuumadda Somaliland daahfureen Aagga Dhaqaalaha Berbera, oo ah xuddun isku xidhaysa badda, saadka iyo warshadaha ah, taas oo u dhow dekedda Berbera.<sup>233</sup> Imaaraadka ayaa hore saammi ugu lahaa dekedda Berbera.<sup>234</sup> Bishii Maarso ayay masuuliyiin ka socda dalka Taiwan wadaxaajood ku saabsan iskaashiga shidaalka iyo macdanta ah la yeesheen masuuliyiinta wasaaradda Macdanta Somaliland.<sup>235</sup> Labada dhinac ayaa kala saxiixday heshiis iskaashi oo laba-geesood ah, sannadkii 2022.<sup>236</sup> Bishii Abriil 2023, golaha wasiirrada Somaliland may qaadannin mushaaraadkoodii, iyaga ku taageeray dadaallada loogu jiro dagaalka Laascaanood.<sup>237</sup> Bishii Abriil ayay SSC-Khaatumo mamnuucday xiriirkii ganacsi ee ay la lahayd Somaliland iyaga oo jaray waddada isku xidha dekedda Berbera iyo Soomaaliya inteeda kale, gaar ahaan jidka mara Laascaanood.<sup>238</sup> Canshuurta iyo tacriifadda laga qaado dekedda Berbera ayaa ka jaban dekedda Boosaaso ee waqooyiga Puntland, sidaas darteed, waxa ay Somaliland xiriir ganacsi oo mug leh la lahayd Soomaaliya inteeda kale; Laascaanoodna waxa ay ahayd marinka isku xira badeecadahaas iyo sida oo kale xoolaha laga dhoofinayo dekedda Berbera.

Bishii May, Somaliland waxa ay ku dhawaaqday in shirkadda Genel Energy oo laga leeyahay dalka Ingiriiska, ay shidaal qodis ka bilowday gobolka Togdheer.<sup>239</sup> Bishii Diiseembar 2022, Soomaaliya waxa ay meesha ka saartay bixinta liisanka qodista shidaalka Somaliland, iyada oo waxba kama jiraan ku tilmaantay heshiiskaas.<sup>240</sup> Bishii Ogoosto ayay shirkadda Dahabshiil \$100 milyan oo doolar ku maalgalisay xarun kaydisa shidaalka oo ay Berbera ka furatay, taas oo loogu talo galay in ay maraakiibtu ku shubaan saliidda iyo shidaalka, oo uu ku jiro shidaalka diyaaradaha gobolka iyo kuwa dunida kaleba.<sup>241</sup> Bishii Sibteembar ayuu Mulkiilaha World Remit ku eedeeyay Baanka Dhexe ee Somaliland in uu daabacayo lacag cusub. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, maamulka Somaliland ayaa beeniyay in bangigu suuqa soo geliyay lacago cusub oo sixirbarar dhaliyey.<sup>242</sup> Bishii Oktoobar, wasiirka xannaanada xoolaha Somaliland ayaa ku dhawaaqay in Sucuudigu joojiyay xoolihii laga dhoofin jiray Somaliland. BBC-da ayaa ku warrantay in Sacuudiga uu Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya uga baahan yahay ruqsadda dhoofinta xoolaha.<sup>243</sup>

233. See “DP World and Somaliland Government Open Berbera Economic Zone.” DP World, March 3, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.dpworld.com/news/releases/dp-world-somaliland-open-berbera-economic-zone/>.

234. See “DP World Signs Deal with Ethiopia to Develop Berbera Port.” Port Today, March 5, 2018. Accessed at: <https://port.today/dp-world-signs-deal-ethiopia-develop-berbera-port/>.

235. See “Taiwan and Somaliland Hold First Joint Energy & Mineral Resources Cooperation Working Group Meeting.” Taiwan Representative Office in the Republic of Somaliland, March 16, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.roc-taiwan.org/smd\\_en/post/824.html](https://www.roc-taiwan.org/smd_en/post/824.html).

236. See “Somaliland and Taiwan Sign a Two Point Agreement to Develop Petroleum, Minerals and Energy Sectors.” Somaliland Current, May 23, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.somalilandcurrent.com/somaliland-and-taiwan-sign-a-two-point-agreement-to-develop-petroleum-minerals-and-energy-sectors/>.

237. See “Somaliland Cabinet Ministers Take Pay Cuts amid Economic Woes over Las Anod Conflict,” Hiiraan Online, April 10, 2023. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Apr/190760/somaliland\\_cabinet\\_ministers\\_face\\_salary\\_cuts\\_amid\\_economic\\_struggles\\_and\\_lasanood\\_conflict.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Apr/190760/somaliland_cabinet_ministers_face_salary_cuts_amid_economic_struggles_and_lasanood_conflict.aspx).

238. See “Somalia: SSC-Khaatumo Announces Ban on Somaliland,” Garowe Online, April 12, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia-ssc-khatumo-announces-ban-on-somaliland>.

239. See “Somaliland Ministry of Energy Unveils the Drilling of Oil Well TOOSAN 1 in Xood District.” Horn Diplomat, May 10, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.horndiplomat.com/2023/05/10/somaliland-ministry-of-energy-unveils-the-drilling-of-oil-well-toosan-1-in-xood-district/>.

240. See “Somalia Rejects Genel Energy’s ‘Illegal Claim’ to Oil Permits.” Reuters, December 28, 2022. Accessed at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalia-rejects-genel-energys-illegal-claim-oil-permits-2022-12-28/>.

241. See “Somaliland: Dahabshiil Oil Terminal Opens in Berbera to Serve Horn of Africa.” SomTribune, August 22, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.somtribune.com/2023/08/22/somaliland-dahabshiil-oil-terminal-opens-in-berbera-to-serve-horn-of-africa/>.

242. See “World Remit Founder Accuses Central Bank of Somaliland of Currency Devaluation.” BNN, September 27, 2023. Accessed at: <https://bnbreaking.com/finance-nav/currencies/world-remit-founder-accuses-central-bank-of-somaliland-of-currency-devaluation/>.

243. See “Sidee Ayay Somaliland U Saameynaysaa Hakinta Dhoofka Xoolaha Ee Sacuudiga?” BBC News Somali, October 4, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/articles/c6p5zljgdno>.

## 9. Koonfurgalbeed

### Siyaasada

Sannadkii 2023 waxa uu ku bilaabmay Guddoomiyaha Golaha Shacabka Federaalka, Shiikh Aadan Maxamed Nuur (Madoobe) oo ku baaqay in la qabto shir dibuheshiisiin ah, oo dhexmara Madaxweyne Cabdicasiis Laftagareen iyo mucaaradka dowlad goboleedka inta ugu itaalka roon.<sup>244</sup> Iska hor imaad rabshado wata ayaa toddobaadyo ka hor dhex maray dowladda iyo mucaaradka. Dibuheshiisiinta ayaa soo bilaabantay dabayaaqadii bishii Jannaayo, iyada oo Madaxweyne Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud uu ka qeyb galay furitaanka wajiga koowaad.<sup>245</sup> Wajigii hore ee dib-u-heshiisiinta ayaa waxaa udub dhexaad u ahaa xallinta arrimihii ka dhashay dagaalladii Diiseenbar, oo ay ku jirto in magdhow la siiyo qoysaskii ay dhibaataadu saamaysay.<sup>246</sup>

Bishii Feebaraayo, Maxamuud ayaa ku laabtay Baydhabo, si uu u kormeero wajiga labaad ee shirka dib u heshiisiinta.<sup>247</sup> Madaxda dowlad goboleedyada ayaa ku heshiiyey in doorashada goleyaasha dowlad goboleedyadu ay dhacaan bilaha Noofeenbar iyo Diisember; sida oo kale doorashada afhayeenka aqalka sare iyo madaxweynuhu in ay dhacaan Jannaayo 2024. Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha ayaa loo wakiishay kormeeridda iyo fududeynta hannaanka doorashada.<sup>248</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, bishii Maarso ayay madaxda Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranku soo bandhigtay jadwalka iyo habraaca doorashada oo dibu-eegis lagu sameeyay, kaas oo qeexaya in hal sano loo kordhiyay mudo-xileedkii madaxweynayaasha maamul-goboleeddada oo dhan, marka laga reebo Puntland. Jadwalkan cusub waxa lagu xusay doorashooyinka golaha deegaanka oo dhacaya 30 Juun, 2024<sup>249</sup>, oo ay ku xigaan doorashooyinka baarlamaanka iyo madaxweynayaasha maamul-goboleedyada oo dhacaysa 30 Noofambar 2024. Isbeddelkan ayaa keenay in laga guuro waqtigii horey loogu heshiiyey shirkii dibuheshiisiinta. Iyaga oo ka jawaabaya, hoggaamiyayaasha mucaaridku waxa ay qaadeen tallaabooyin ka hor deg ah, si ay ugu riixayaan doorashooyinka madaxtinimo ee gobollada in loo qabto sida ku qeexan heshiiskii Feebaraayo ee 2023. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, dadaalkooda kumay guuleysan in ay wax ka bedelaan jadwalka doorashada.<sup>250</sup>

Koonfurgalbeed waxa ay sii waddey dadaalkeeda ku aaddan daadejinta xukunka iyo xoojinta maamulka deegaanka. Sanadkii 2022, waxaa la sameeyay horumar la taaban karo oo lagu dhisayo golyaasha degmooyinka gobollo kala duwan, sida Waajid, Diinsoor, Xudur, Bardaale, iyo Baraawe.

---

244. See “Laftagareen and Southwest Opposition Leaders Agree to a Reconciliation Meeting on January 5,” Hiiraan.com, December 2022. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189289/laftagareen\\_and\\_southwest\\_opposition\\_leaders\\_agree\\_to\\_a\\_reconciliation\\_meeting\\_on\\_january\\_5.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/Dec/189289/laftagareen_and_southwest_opposition_leaders_agree_to_a_reconciliation_meeting_on_january_5.aspx).

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

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

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

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

249. See “Somali Leaders Reach Landmark Political Agreement.” VOA News, May 28, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-leaders-reach-landmark-political-agreement/7112409.html>.

250. See “Opposition Leaders of South West State Push for Regional Elections.” The Somali Digest, September 26, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/opposition-leaders-of-south-west-state-push-for-regional-elections/>.

Dadaalkan ayaa soo gaadhay ilaa 2023, iyada oo horumar la taaban karo laga sameeyay degmada Buur-Hakaba ee gobolka Baay, halkaas oo dhismaha golaha deegaanka degmada uu si rasmi ah u bilaabay Laftagareen bishii Juun.<sup>251</sup>

## Amniga

Al-Shabaab ayaa khatar weyn weli ah. Weerrarrada muhiimka ah ee wajiga labaad ee dowladda, oo bilaabmay bishii Maarso, ujeeddaduna ahayd in al-Shabaab laga ciribtiro gobollada koofureed oo ay ku jirto Koofurgalbeed, ayaa diiradda lagu saaray gobollada dhexe.<sup>252</sup> Ku tiirsanaantii maleeshiyo beeledka ayaa wejigii koowaad guulo la taaban karo ka keenay Hirshabeelle iyo Galmudug. Iyada oo la ogyahay in aanu habkani uusan ka shaqeyn karin Koofurgalbeed iyo Jubbaland, dowladda federaalku waxa ay bedeshay xeeladdii wejiga labaad, maadaama ay ballan-qaadyo ka heshay dowladaha safka hore kaga jira la dagaallanka al-Shabaab, sida Jabuuti, Itoobiya, iyo Kiiniya oo in ka badan 30,000 oo ciidammo ah ka joogaan soomaaliya, si ay wax uga qabtaan labada baahiyood ee amniga iyo dhibaatooyinka qabiilka.<sup>253</sup> Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa weli welwel ka taagan yahay saameynta mustaqbalka fog ee ku tiirsanaanta ciidamada shisheeye.<sup>254</sup> Waxaa xusid mudan, in si ka duwan qiimeyntii hore, dadka deegaanka ee ku nool gobollada Baay iyo Bakool ay si weyn ugu soo baxeen ciidamada ammaanka, iyaga oo si cad u muujinaya sida ay gobolka uga go'an tahay cidhibtirka al-Shabaab.<sup>255</sup>

Bishii Julaay, Baydhabo waxa ay wajahday mashaakil, markii ay maleeshiyada al-Shabaab bilaabeen in ay go'doomiyaan.<sup>256</sup> Xayiraadda ayaa lagu soo warramayaa in ay jawaab u tahay xadhigga maamulayaasha dugsiyada, ee ay xireen ciidamada Booliska Koofurgalbeed. Barayaasha waxa ay al-Shabaab ku casuuntay tuulada Buulo-fuulaay, oo lagu ogaa maxkamadaha guurguura ee al-Shabaab ee gobollada Baay iyo Bakool.<sup>257</sup> Go'doomintan ayaa si ba'an u hakisay isu socodkii badeecadaha daruuriga ah ee magaalada Baydhabo. Gawaadhi fara badan oo sida raashin iyo sahay muhiimka ah ayaa ku xannibmay inta u dhaxeysa degmooyinka Wanlaweyn iyo Afgooye. Cawaaqib xumada ka dhalatay go'doomintaas waxaa ka mid ahaa kor u kac xooggan oo ku yimi qiimihii cuntada, sicir-barar iyo saameyn dhaqaale oo baaxad leh oo ay magaalada ku yeelatay. Go'doominta ayaa si lama filaan ah ku soo idlaatay, iyada oo ay ugu wacan tahay iska hor imaadyo al-Shabaab gudeheeda ah, oo sababay isku dhacyo, iyo khasaare dhimasho iyo dhaawacba leh.<sup>258</sup>

---

251. See "District Council Formation in Burhakaba, Somalia Launched with Emphasis on Inclusion," Finn Church Aid, June 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.kirkonulkomaanapu.fi/en/latest-news/news/district-council-formation-in-burhakaba-somalia-launched-with-emphasis-on-inclusion/>.  
252. See "Hassan Sheikh returns to central Somalia as clans mobilize against Al-Shabaab," Garowe Online, August 6, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/hassan-sheikh-returns-to-central-somalia-as-clans-mobilize-against-al-shabaab>.  
253. See "Somalia's Neighbours Commit to Send More than 30,000 Additional Troops to Combat Al-Shabaab," Hiiraan Online, March 2, 2024. Accessed at: [https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Mar/190155/somalia\\_s\\_neighbours\\_commit\\_to\\_send\\_30\\_000\\_additional\\_troops\\_to\\_combat\\_al\\_shabaab.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news/2023/Mar/190155/somalia_s_neighbours_commit_to_send_30_000_additional_troops_to_combat_al_shabaab.aspx).  
254. See "Somalia Situation Update: April 2023 | Counter-Insurgency Operation Gains Regional Support in Phase Two," ACLED, April 21, 2023. Accessed at: <https://acleddata.com/2023/04/21/somalia-situation-update-april-2023-counter-insurgency-operation-gains-regional-support-in-phase-two-as-al-shabaab-attacks-and-political-differences-persist/>.  
255. See "Southwest State Leader Signals Intensified Operation against Al-Shabaab in Graduation Ceremony," Radio Dalsan, October 7, 2024. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/southwest-state-leader-signals-intensified-operation-against-al-shabaab-in-graduation-ceremony/>.  
256. See "Al-Shabab Imposes Blockade on Baidoa Town in Somalia," VOA News, July 18, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-imposes-blockade-on-baidoa-town-in-somalia-/7185165.html>.  
257. See "Crisis Unfolds in Baidoa as Al-Shabaab Enforces Comprehensive Blockade," The Somali Digest, July 11, 2023. Accessed at: <https://thesomalidigest.com/crisis-unfolds-in-baidoa-as-al-shabaab-enforces/>.  
258. See "Baidoa Blockade Ends as Commercial Supplies Arrive Following Internal Disputes among Al-Shabaab Militants," Radio Dalsan, July 22, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.radiodalsan.com/baidoa-blockade-ends-as-commercial-supplies-arrive-following-internal-disputes-among-al-shabaab-militants/>.



Waxaa xusid mudan in dowladda Koofurgalbeed ay beenisay, in ay ku lug leedahay wada xaajood lagu sii dayn lahaa gaadiidka xamuulka ah ee go'doonsan, in kasta oo ay warbaahinta guduhu ay sheegeen in odayaasha gobolku ay ka qeyb qaateen.<sup>259</sup>

Magaalada Baraawe waxaa 12 Juun ka dhacay dagaal xooggan oo dhexmaray Ciidamada Xooga Dalka Soomaaliya ee fadhigoodu yahay magaalada iyo kuwa booliska ah ee loo yaqaan Daraawiish.<sup>260</sup> Qaybta 60aad ee ciidanka Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliya ayaa kaalin muhiim ah ka qaatay amniga Baraawe tan iyo markii magaalada laga saaray al-Shabaab sannadkii 2014. Cutubyo ka tirsan Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliya, ayaa u xilsaaran ilaalinta iyo koontaroolka goobaha muhiimka ah ee laga galo magaalada iyo isbaarooyinka waaweyn ee magaalada dhexdeeda. In kasta, oo aan si rasmi ah loo xaqiijin karin, haddana xiisadda ka taagan Baraawe ayaa keensatay doodo ballaaran oo ku saabsan maamulka iyo nidaamka amni ee federaalka, taasina ay ka dhalatay iyada oo aanay kala qeexanayn doorarka, xilalka iyo mas'uuliyadaha dawladeed, taasina ay sababtay xiisadda taagan.<sup>261</sup>

## **Xaaladda Dhaqaalaha iyo Bini'aadannimada**

Bishii May, Laftagareen iyo Guddoomiyaha Golaha Shacabka Baarlamaanka Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka Soomaaliya, Aadan Madoobe, ayaa daahfuray dhismaha deked cusub oo laga dhisayo magaalada caasimadda ah ee Baraawe. Mashruucan ayaa la sheegay in ay maalgelinayaan ganacsato Soomaaliyeed, waxaana la filayaa in uu taageero ganacsatada wax soo dejisa iyo kuwa wax dhoofiya, uuna badiil u noqdo dekedda Muqdisho.<sup>262</sup> Bishii Sibteenbar, Laftagareen iyo Guddoomiyaha Bankiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya, Cabdiraxmaan Maxamed Cabdillaahi, ayaa furay Xarunta Bangiga Dhexe ee Baydhabo. Horumarkan, oo qayb ka ah qorshe-weyne dalka oo dhan ah, ayaa Soomaalida ka caawin doona in ay helaan adeegyada maaliyadeed ee uu bixiyo Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya, kaas oo qayb ka noqonaya nidaamka bangiyada qaranka.<sup>263</sup>

Dhanka bini'aadannimada, Koofurgalbeed ayaa la daalaa dhacaysay dhibaataadii ka dhalatay roobabkii mahiigaanka ahaa ee dalka ka da'ay bishii Oktoobar. Daadadku waxa ay geysteen khasaare dhimasho, barakac, iyo kala go'a isku socodka muhiimka ah ee Baydhabo iyo Muqdisho, taas oo keentay khataro cunto yari iyo sicir barar. Kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha oo aan ku filnayn, agabka oo xadidan, iyo caqabadaha amniga ee joogtada ah, ayaa sii xoojiyay baylahdan.<sup>264</sup> Koofurgalbeed ayaa sameysay Guddiga ka Falcelinta Elnino-da, si wax looga qabto dhibaatooyinka degdega ah, sida burburka waddada isku xidha Baydhabo iyo Muqdisho, taas oo keeni karta cunno yari iyo qiimaha maciishadda oo kordha.<sup>265</sup>

261. See "Muxuu Salka Ku Hayaa Dagaalka Baraawe?" BBC News Somali, June 13, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.bbc.com/somali/articles/clex8l6zg97o>.

262. See "Somali House Speaker Lays Foundation Stone for New Barawe Port." Shabelle Media Network, May 30, 2023. Accessed at: <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-house-speaker-lays-foundation-stone-for-new-barawe-port/>.

263. See "Southwest State President, Central Bank Chairman Cut the Rippon of New Branch." SONNA, September 2, 2023. Accessed at: <https://sonna.so/en/southwest-state-president-central-bank-chairman-cut-the-rippon-of-new-branch/>

264. See "Somalia Situation Report, 31 Oct 2023," UNOCHA, October 31, 2023. <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/somalia/somalia-situation-report-31-oct-2023>.

265. See "Somalia's Southwest State Launches El Nino Response Committee amidst Rains Crisis." Halqabsi News, November 5, 2023. Accessed at: <https://halqabsi.com/2023/11/sw-forms-committee-to-tackle-el-nino/>.

## 10. Gunaanad

Sannadkii 2023, waxa ay Soomaaliya ku tallaabsatay guulo waaweyn oo heer caalami ah, kuwaas oo ay ka mid yihiin xaqiijinta deyn-cafinta, ku biiritaanka Bulshooyinka Bariga Afrika iyo in Qaramada Midoobay ka qaadday cunaqabatayntii hubka ka saarnayd Soomaaliya.

Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Soomaaliya waxa soo food saaray caqabado gudeed oo joogto ah. Heshiiskii Golaha Wadatashiga Qaranka ee ku salaysnaa dibuhabaynta nidaamka siyaasadeed ee dalka, gaar ahaan in laga guuro nidaamka baaarlamaanka, lana aado nidaam madaxweyne iyo sida oo kale in laga digarogto nidaamka awood-qaybsiga beelaha ee 4.5, loona guuro doorasho qof iyo cod ah, taas oo ah tallaabo horumar balse la isku maandhaafsan yahay. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, sii wadidda dadaalladan waxa curyaamiyay maqnaanta daneeyayaal muhiim ah oo ay ka mid tahay Puntland, taas oo taageeradeedu lagama maarmaan u tahay miro-dhalka dibuqaabaynta siyaasadda dalka.

Xaaladda amniga ayaa weli cakiran, iyada oo ay dagaallada lagula jiro al-Shabaab yeesheen natiijooyin isku dhafan. Inkasta oo guulo lataaban karo laga gaadhay hanashada xuduudaha, gaar ahaan in wajigii kowaad ee ka fuley badhtamaha Soomaaliya, haddana halista kooxaha argagixisada ahi waa mid weli daran. Waxa intaas dheer, dhibaatooyinka bini-aadannimada oo ay uga sii dareen colaadaha iyo masiibooyinka cimilada ee ay ka midka yihiin daadadka xooggan, kuwaas oo barakiciyay boqollaal kun oo qof, isla markaana sii kordhiyay cunto-yaraan kadis ah, oo haleeshay malaayiin Soomaali ah.

# HERITAGE

I N S T I T U T E