



Xakamaynta Faafidda Hubka Sharci-darrada ah ee Soomaaliya

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1. Dulucda Warbixinta

16-kii July, 2024, maleeshiyo beeled hubaysan oo ka soo jeeda bartamaha Soomaaliya, gaar ahaan magaalada Caabudwaaq, ayaa ka adkaaday ciidamado ka tirsan kuwa amniga ee dowladda, iyagoo qabsaday labo gaari oo hub siday. Kuwaas oo ay ilaalinayeen ciidamo ka tirsan hay'adda sirfoonka iyo nabadsugidda Qaranka (NISA) xilli ay gawaadhidaasi kasoo tallaabayeen xuduudka Itoobiya. Dhacdan ayaa kaalin mug leh ka qaadatay sii korodhka amnixumada Soomaaliya, gaar ahaan dawlad goboleedka Galmudug. Hubka la bililiqaystay, oo lagu qiyasay in ka badan malaayiin doolar ayaa wejigabax weyn ku noqday Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS), oo bishii Dec, 2023, ku guuleysatey in cunaqabatayntii hubka, ee 30-jirsatey, laga qaado. Galmudug iyo DFS waxa ay ku guuldarraysteen in ay hubkii la dhacay kusoo celiyan gacanta dowladda, taasi waxa ay muujinaysaa arrimo badan oo isku murugsan oo ay ka mid yihiin, jilicsanaanta hay'adaha dawladda, karti-yarida dawladda iyo in ay wax is-dabamarin badani jirto. Dhammaan arrimahani waxay sahlayaan ka ganacsiga sharcidarrada ah ee hubka. Sidoo kale fashilkani waxa uu uga sii daray colaadii daba-dheeraaday ee u dhxeeyay beelaha ku dhaqan Galmudug iyo guud ahaanba dalka; waxayna sii wiiqday kalsoonidii bulshada iyo dawladda dhexdooda oo awalba liidatay.

Korodhka tahriibinta hubka ayaa ku soo beegmaysa xilli ay colado beeled ka aloosan yihiin Galmudug, kuwaas oo isku haya dhul iyo kheyraad. Sidoo kale waxaa jira walaac ah in hubka la dhacay, oo gacanta u galay beesha Mareexaan, uu dhiirrigeliyo in beelaha kala ee ku dhaqan deegaanku ku tartamaan hub urursi si ay uga hortagaan beesha Mareexaan. Taasi waxa ay kor u qaadi kartaa baahida loo qabo hub sharcidarro ah.

Qaybo badan oo hubka la dhacay kamid ahi ma aha hub ay beeluhu hore u isticmaali jireen oo ay si fudud isticmaalkiisa iyo dayactirkiisaba u garan karaan, haddii ay taasi dhacdo waxaa suurtogal ah in beeluhu ay ku qasbanaadaan inay hubka ku iibiyaaan suuqa madow; gaar ahaan wuxuu gacanta u geli karaa kooxaha ku tiirsan hubka yaalla suuqa madow ee sharcidarrada ah sida Al-Shabaab iyo Daacish. Arrintani waxa ay sii xoojin kartaa awoodaysiga kooxahaas, sidoo kalena waxay khatar gelinkartaa guulihii uu dhowaan gaaray maamulka Madaxweyne Xasan Sheikh Maxamuud.

Dhanka kale waxaa dabayaaqada 2025 loo ballansanyahay doorashada Galmudug, arrintaasi waxa ay abuuraysaa walaac ah in hubkaas si khaldan loo adeegsado. Waxaa kale oo walaac laga muujiyey in siyaasiyiinta heir gobol ay hubkan u adeegsan karaan si ay saameyn ugu yeelashaan isudheelitirnaanta awoodaha musharxiinta. Doorashadan oo ay ku loolamayaan maamulka hadda talada haya, musharaxiin tartan kula jira, oo ay qaarkood xulafo la yihiin DFS, oo inta badan isku dayda in ay soo saarto musharaxiin ay xulafo yihiin. Doorashadan halisaha badani ku gedaaman yihiin oo uu weheliyo hubka sharcidarrada lagu soo geliyey, waxay sii kordhin karta xasiloondarida gobolka. Sidoo kale na waxa ay abuuraysaa in 11-ka beelood ee sida xooggan u hubaysan oo Galmudug ku dhaqan kuwo hubkaas isu adeegsada.

Dhacdada Caabudwaaq waxay markale dib usoo celisay dooddii ku saabsanayd in gebi ahaanba Soomaaliya laga qaado cunaqabateynta hubka, maadama xubno ka tirsan baarlamaanka Soomaaliya iyo madaxda Puntland iyo Somaliland-ba ay Federaalka ku eedeyeen dayacaad iyo ku luglahaansho dhacdadaas. Sidaas darteed mar haddiiba malleeshiyaad beeleet ay awood u leeyihiin qabsashada hub sidan u tiro badan, arrintani waxa ay dhalinaysaa su'aalo la xiriira say u shaqayn karto iyo weliba cawaaqibta in Soomaaliya laga qaado cunaqabateynta hubka, taasoo saameyn ku yeelan karta qiimeynaha Golaha Ammaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay ee soo socda.

Warbixin siyaasadeedani waxa ay ka hadlaysaa taariikhiani sida Soomaaliya uu hubku ugu faafay iyo arrimahii dhiirrigelinayey. Sidoo kale waxa ay falanqaynaysaa dhacdadii Caabudwaaq iyo sida ay dalalka jaarku ugu lug lahaan karaan, siiba Itoobiya. Dhanka kale, cilmibaaristani waxa ay indho indheynaysaa saameynata durba ka dhalatay qaadista cunaqabateytii hubka ee Soomaaliya; waxana ay soo jeedinaysaa talooyin dhaqangeli kara, iyada oo dhanka kalena iftiimanaysa baahida degdega ah ee loo qabo in laga shaqeeyo istraatijiyado lagu soo celinayo hubkii la bililiqaystay, iyo in la xoojiyo shuruucda iyo siyaasadka lagu maareynayo hubka iyo rasaasta.

2. **Hordhac**

16-kii Luulyo 2024, koox ka soo jeedda beesha Mareexaan ee deggan magaalada Caabudwaaq iyo nawaaxigeeda, ee gobolka Galgaduud ee dowlad-goboleedka Galmudug ayaa weerar gaadmo ah ku qaaday laba gaadhi oo siday hub iyo rasaas. Gawaadhidaasi waxay markaas ka soo galeen xadka Itoobiya oo ah marin muhiim ah oo muddo tobanaan sano ah ay isticmaalayeen dadka wax tahriibiya, kuwaas oo dalka soo geliya badeecoojin sharci-darro ah sida hubka iyo maandooriyeysaasha.¹ Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) iyo maamulka Galmudug ayaa cambaareeyay dhacdanaas, iyagoo sheegay in hubka la dhacay ay lahaayeen ganacsato, kaas oo ay Hay'adda Sirdoonka iyo Nabab Sugidda Qaranka (NISA) kasoo qabatay xuduudda.² Si kastaba ha ahaatee, ilaa hadda wax faahfaahin ah lagama bixin ganacsatada la sheegay in ay lahaayeen hubkan sharcidarrada ah, sida ay DFS uga war heshay iyo in dalalka jaarka ama saaxiibbada caalamiga ahi ku wargeliyeen xukuumadda iyo in kale.

Tirada hubka la dhacay iyo halka uu kayimd midna weli lama xaqiijin. Hase ahaatee waxaa la aaminsanyahay inay ku jiraan noocyoo kala duwan oo ay ka mid yihiin Dhashiikayaal, BKM-yo, Ak47, Bistoolado, qoryaha melaha fog qarsoodiga waxuga dila (snipers), iyo rasaas. Balse, waxaa cad in tahriibinta tiro intaas le'eg oo hub ah aysan horay uga dhicin suuqa madow ee hub kala iibsiga. Tani waxay dhalinaysaa su'aalo muhiim ah oo ku saabsan lahaanshaha hubka, waxaana la tuhunsan yahay in ay dowladdu lahayd. Haddii arrintaasi run tahay, waxay iftiimineysaa isla xisaabtan la'aanta iyo daahfurnaan li'ida nidaamka dowladda ee iibsashada hubka.³

1. Bahadur, Jay. "The price of civil war: A survey of Somalia's arms markets." GI-TOC-April (2022).

2. HIPS interview, 2024.

3. HIPS interview, 2024.

Dhanka kale waxaa jira walaac sii kordhaya oo ay daneeyeyaasha siyaasadda Galmudug ka qabaan in hubka ay qabsatay beesha Mareexaan uu saameyn taban ku yeesho xasilloonida siyaasadeed ee Galmudug, kaas oo shidaal u noqon kara colaadaha beelaha ka dhex aloosan. Dhacdadani waxay sidoo kale sare u qaaday dhibaatada baaxadda leh ee uu leeyahay hubka sharci-darrada ahi, taas oo ay dabada ka riixayaan arrimo kala duwan oo gudaha iyo debaddaba ka imanaya oo u baahan farogekun degdeg ah oo dhinaca dawladda ka timaadda.

Dhacdadaas kadib waxaa 18-kii July la isugu yimid shir aan caadi ahayn oo lagaga hadlayey arrintan. Golaha Amniga Qaranka ee Soomaaliya ayaa soo saaray amar guud oo lagu mamnuucayo ka ganacsiga hubka sharci-darrada ah, waxayna ku amreen Wasaaradda Caddaaladda iyo Arrimaha Dastuurka inay tallaabo sharci ah ka qaaddo dadka ku lugta leh soo tahriibinta iyo ka ganacsiga hubkaas.⁴ Haseyeeshee ilaa iminka oo warbixintan la qorayo lama qaadin wax tallaaboyin ah oo ka dhan ah cid arrimahaas ku lug leh. Sidoo kale, Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibadda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ayaa soo saartay bayaan ay Itoobiya kaga dalbanayso inay joojiso faragelinta arrimaha Soomaaliya ee gudaha iyaga oo ku eedeyay inay hubeynayso oo ay taageerayso maleyshiyo beeleyedyada. Dhanka kale Itoobiya ayaa eedeyntaas ku tilmaamtay been abuur.⁵

Dhacdada Caabudwaaq waxay dhacday iyadoo ay jireen dhacdooyin isku xiran: waxay ku soo beegantay goor Soomaaliya laga qaaday cunaqabateyntii hubka oo soddon sanno jirsatay, goor la waday hawlgallo dagaal oo lagu qaadayey Al-shabaab oo si weyn ugu tiirsan suuqa madow ee hubka sharcidarrada ah lagu iibiyo, si ay u sii waddo hawlgalladeeda. Dhanka kale waxa ay kusoo aadday xilli xidhiidhka Itoobiya iyo Soomaliya uu sii xumaanayo, kadib markii Itoobiya Somaliland la saxiixatay heshiis la isku weydaarsanayo bad iyo aqoonsi. Somaliland oo ah gobol si iskiis ah ugu dhawaaqay madaxbannaani tan iyo 1991-dii. Arrimahan oo is biirsaday waxay dhaliyeen dood ku saabsan cunaqabateyn ka qaadista soomaaliya. Iyada oo la is waydiinayo in Soomaaliya xilligan u diyaarsaneyd iyo in kale. sidoo kale sida dhacdadani mustaqbalka u saameyn karto go'aankaas.

3. Soomaaliya iyo Faafitaanka Hubka Sharcidarrada ah

Tan iyo 1980-meeyadii waxaa Soomaaliya gudeheeda ku faafayey hubka sharcidarrada ah, xilligaas oo ay Itoobiya, oo deris la ahi, shaacisay dagaallo ay cid kale dabada riixayso. Kadib burburkii dawladdii dhexe iyo dagaalkii sokeeye oo ku lammaanaa ma ay jirin wax xakame ah oo xakameyn karayey hubka soo gelayey dalka. Taasi waxa ay Soomaaliya ka dhigtay mid kamid ah xarumaha ugu waaweyn ee kala iibsiga hubka sharcidarrada ah ee Afrika.⁶

4. A press release from the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Tourism on the 18th of July about the outcome of the emergency meeting session of the NSC.

5. VOA interview with the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia on 23rd of July <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JB0WFGSi2H0>

6. Chiara Gentili, 2024 "Countering the arms race in Somalia." <https://globalinitiative.net/analysis/arms-trafficking-somalia-ocindex/>

Suuqa hubka sharcidarrada ahi waa mid noocyoo badan, oo laga heli karo noocyoo badan oo kamid ah hubka oo isugu jira hubka fudud ilaa iyo qoryaha culculus. Inkasta oo ay Soomaaliya si tartiib ah uga soo kabanayso sannado badan oo dagaal sokeeye ah, hadana dawladda dhexe aad bay uga fogtahay in ay gacanta ku dhigto xakameynta hubka kasoo gelaya xuduudeheeda badeed iyo kuwa dhulkaba.

In uu ganacsigani noqdo mid muddo dheer jira sare umay qaadin oo keliya baahida weyn ee loo qabo hubka, laakiin waxa ay sii shidaalisay faa'idooyinka waaweyn ee uu u leeyahay tahriibiyeyaasha hubka. Tani waxay abuurtay nidaam iskii u taagan oo u dhabar adaygay dhammaan xayiraadihii hubka ee loo sameeyey in lagu xakameeyo. Dhacdooyin dhowr ah ayaa muujinaya baaxadda dhibaatadan oo ay kamid yihiin; Bishii December 2022, ciidanka badda Mareykanka ayaa qabtay markab ku safrahey Gacanka Cummaan oo siday 50 tan oo rasaas ah, kaas oo ay Wadeen ashkhaas Soomaali ah.⁷ Bishii May 2023, Hay'adda Sirdoonka iyo Amniga Qaranka (NISA) ayaa qabatay qalab milatari oo yaallay dekdedda Muqdisho, kuwaas oo dowladda Soomaaliya ku sheegtay in loo waday Al-Shabaab.⁸

Sababaha keenaya faafitaanka hubka sharci-darrada ah ee Soomaaliya waxaa loo kala qaybin karaa labo qeybood: kuwa gudaha ah iyo kuwa dibadda ah. Sababaha gudaha waxay inta badan la xiriiraan kartida Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) ama Dowlad Goboleedyada Federaalka (DGF) u leeyihiiin maaraynta hubka iyo rasaasta ay iyagu leeyhiihn ama ka sida ay wadajir uga hortaggi karaan hubka sharci-darrada ah. Dhanka kale, sababaha ugu muhiimsan ee gudaha waxaa ka mid ah: maqnaanshaha shuruuc iyo siyaasado wax-ku-ool ah, hirgelin la'aanta nidaamyada haatan jira, musuqidda keydadka iyo leexsi dhaca marmarka qaarkood iyo tan ugu muhiimsan oo ah weerarada joogtada ah ee Al-Shabaab ku qaado ciidamada amniga Soomaaliya ama saldhigiyada ATMIS, halkaasoo ay ka geystaan dhaca hubka iyo rasaasta.

Arrimahaani waxay dheeen marar badan intii Al-Shabaab jirtey. Tusaale ahaan, sanadihii 2018 iyo 2019, Al-Shabaab ayaa weeraray labo saldhig oo ay lahaayeen ciidamada amniga Soomaaliya halkaas oo ay ka qaateen qalab milatari, oo ay ku jiraan gaadiid, qoryaha lidka diyaaradaha, iyo rasaas badan.⁹ Waqtii aan sii fogeyn, sannadkii 2023, Al-Shabaab ayaa weerartay saldhig ka tirsan Hawlgalka ku meel gaarka ah ee Midowga Afrika ee Soomaaliya (ATMIS), halkaas oo ay ku dileen ku dhowaad 54 askari oo Yugandhiis ah. Waxayna ka qaateen qalab, inkastoo aysan caddayn waxa la dhacay. Madaxweynaha dalka Ugandha Yoweri Museveni wuxuu weerarkaas ku tilmaamay in uu ahaa mid kamida weeraradii ugu xumaa ee ay Al-shabaab geysato.¹⁰

7. Final report of the Panel of Experts on Somalia, 2023.

8. Sonna, 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/nisa-thwarts-al-shabaabs-attempt-to-receive-military-equipment/>

9. United Nations, Security Council (note 89), S/2019/858, para. 119.

10. <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20230604-more-than-50-ugandan-peacekeepers-killed-in-al-shabaab-attack-in-somalia-president-says>

Weerarrada soo noqnoqday ee lagu qaaday Ciidanka Amniga Soomaaliya iyo ATMIS - oo la filayo in loo beddello Hawlgalka Taageerada iyo Xasiliinta Midowga Afrika ee Soomaaliya (AUSSOM) bisha Janaayo 2025 – aaya waxa ay u muuqdaan in ay noqdeen tabta ugu muhiimsan uguna waxtarka badan ee ay Al-shabaab hubka ka hesho si ay u joogteyso hawlgalladeeda.

Sababaha dibadda ka imanaya waxaa kamid ah xasilloondarrada siyaasadeed ee Yaman, taas oo ah halka uu Soomaaliya inta badan kasoo galaan hubka sharcidarrada ahi. Tusaale ahaan, Guddiga Khubarada ee Soomaaliya ayaa baadhay saddex dhacdo oo la xidhiidhay xammul hub sharci-darro ah oo ay qabteen ciidamada badda ee caalamiga ah¹¹ oo lagu waday maraakiib bilaa calan ah. Inkasta oo aan la hubin meelaha loo waday hubkaas, se waxa uu ka koobnaa noocyoo kala duwan sida, boobayaasha fudud, hubka culus , iyo bambooyinka gacmaha laga tuuro.

Waxa intas dheer, siyaasad goboleedka, gaar ahaan xiriirka Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya oo door muhiim ah ka ciyara hubka sharci-darrada ah ee soo gala dalka. Waxaa tusaale muhiim ah noqon kara korodhka hubka sharci-darrada ah ee soo galay Soomaaliya kadib markii Somaliland iyo Itoobiya wada saxeexdeen heshiis is-afgarasho oo ay Somaliland Itoobiya ugu ogolaanayso Saldhig Ciidan oo ku yaalla Badda Cas, kaas oo ay ku beddelanayso aqoonsi.¹² Arrintani waxa ay dabka kusii shidday in uu xumaado xidhiidhka labada dal.

Dhammaan arrimahan – oo lagu ladhay jilicsanaanta ammaanka xuduudaha, hubka tirada badan ee ku jira gacanta shacabka iyo awoodda xaddidan ee dowladda heer federaal ilaa iyo heer dowlad goboleedba – waxa ay muujinayaan sida dhibaatada hubka sharci-darrada ah u tahay mid aad u murugsan. Sidaas darteed, dowladda Federaalka waa in ay hogamiso dedaallada lagu hirgelinayo siyaasado muhiim ah oo looga hortagayo qulqulka sharci-darrada ah ee hubka.

4. Dhacdadii Caabudwaaq

15-kii Luulyo maleeshiyo beeled ayaa weerar iyo boob u gaystay gaadiid hub siday oo kasoo talaabay xadka Itoobiya, kuwaas oo ay gelbinayeen ciidamo ka tirsan NISA, waxaana ka dhashay khasaare dhaawac iyo dhimasho leh oo gaaray 12 qof oo ay kamid ahaayeen labo kamid ah ciidamada NISA.¹³

Dawladda Federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) iyo maamulka Galmudug ayaa soo kala saaray warbixinno u eg kuwo la isku duway, iyaga oo hubkaas ku tilmaamay mid si sharci darro ah losoo talaabiyay, waxa ayna wacad ku mareen falkaas ciddii ka danbaysay in ay cadaaladda horgayn doonaan. Waxaa jira faahfaahinno kala duwan oo kasoo baxaya lahaanshiyaha hubka la qabtay, halka uu ka yimid iyo sababta loo soo iibiyay iyo waxyaabaha dhiirrigeliyay in la dhaco.

11. United Nations, Security Council (note 88), S/2017/924, paras 108–17.

12. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia-somaliland/stakes-ethiopia-somaliland-deal>

13. HIPS interview, 2024.

Warka ugu muhiimsan ayaa sheegaya in DFS ay hubkan soo gadday, iyada oo adeegsanaysa gacan saddexaad, si ay ugu qalabayso macawisley la doonayey in ay Al-Shabaab la diriraan. Malayshiyadan (macawisley) ayaa gacan ka siisay Ciidanka Xoogga Dalka (CXD) in ay goobo badan ka kiciyaan kooxda Al-Shabaab sida degmooyinka Ceeldheer iyo Galcad.¹⁴

Waxaa sidoo kale jira warar sheegaya in qayb kamid ah masuuliyiinta Galmudug ay u dusiyeen warbixinta hubkan maleyshiyada dhacday. Kuwaas oo cabsi ka qabay in hubkan loo wadey ganacsato iyo siyaasiyiin kasoo jeeda isla deegaanka oo isu diyaarinaya ka qaybgalka doorashada madaxweynenimo ee Galmudug ee uu dib u dhacu ku yimid. Sidoo kale waxaa jira xan sheegeysa in madaxda Galmudug ay ka baqayeen in hubkan loo isticmaalo dagaallo iyaga ka dhan ah xilliga doorashada haddii khilaaf ka dhex dhasho iyaga iyo DFS.¹⁵

Dhacdadan ayaa dood xooggan ka dhex dhalisay siyaasiyiinta DFS. Qayb kamid ah golaha baarlamaanka DFS ayaa bogaadiyay falkii ay ku kaceen maleshiyada Mareexan.¹⁶ Halka qayb kale ay walaac ka muujiyeen dhibaatada kasoo wajiji karta maamulka Galmudug iyo DFS dhaca hubkaas, taas oo sii xumeyn karta xaaladda amni ee deegaanka.

Qayb kamid ah falanqeeyayaasha iyo siyaasiyiintu waxa ay u sababaybayaan dhaca hubka ee maleyshiyada beesha mareexaan gaystay in uu yahay arrin dabo socda hubaynta ay DFS ku wadday macawislayda Galmudug iyo Hirshabeele tan iyo 2023, ee ay ku wajahaysay Kooxda alshabaab. Tani waxa ay abuuray isku dheelitirnaan la'aan dhanka awoodda beelaha ah, iyo cabsi ka dhalatay dhacdadaas maadaama 11-ka beelood ee Galmudug wada degaa uu xiriir colaadeed ama iska hor imaadyo toos ah ka dhexeeyaan.

Waxaa jira aragtiyo xoogan oo ay qabaan qayb kamid ah Beesha Mareexaan taas oo sheegaysa in beeshoodu ay ku dulmantahay CXD iyo Ciidmada Daraawiishta Galmudug. Sidoo kale waxaa la sheegay in beesha Mareexaan aysan ku qanacsanayn sadka ay DFS iyaga siisay marka loo eego hubka ay beelaha kale ee degaanka la yaal siisay. Qayb kamid ah ah beesha Mareexaan ayaa ku adkaysanaysa hubka ay qabsadeen in loo waday jifida Sacad/Habargidir oo colaad ay ka dhex aloosantahay iyaga iyo jifida Wagardhac/Mareexaan.¹⁷ Sacad ayaa ay colaad dhex taalla beesha Leelkase ee Daarood oo ay magaca guud Mareexaan wadaagaan.¹⁸

Dhacdada Caabudwaaq waxa ay tooshka ku ifisay laba arrimood oo muhiim ah. Tan kowaad waa habacsanaanta awoodeed ee Galmudug iyo DFS, maadaama maleeshiyo beeled ay maalin cad dhaceen shixnad oo hub ah. Tan labaadna waa natijada aan la sii saadaalin ee ka dhalatay hubaynta qabiillada ee ay DFS ku hawlantahay iyada oo ujeeddadeedu tahay la-dagaallanka Al-shabaab, taasoo keentay in beeluhu hubka ku tartamaan.

14. HIPS interview, 2024.

15. HIPS interview, 2024.

16. HIPS interview, 2024.

17. HIPS interview, 2024

18. HIPS interview, 2024.

5. Itoobiya iyo Doorkeeda

Itoobiya waxa ay door muhiim ah ka ciyaaraysay qaabaynta siyaasadda gudaha ee Soomaaliya waqtii door ah, iyada oo taageero siyaasadeed iyo mid ciidanba siisa kooxaha dalka ka jira ee danaha Itoobiya ka shaqeeya. Taariikh ahaan, Itoobiya waxay hubaysay oo martigelisay jabhado qabiil oo ugu dambeyntii riday xukunkii milatari ee Siyaad Barre. Sidoo kale, Itoobiya waxa ay sannadkii 2006-dii soo gashay Soomaaliya si ay uga caawiso Dowladdii Federaalka ee Kumeelgaarka ahayd inay ka adkaato Midowgii Maxkamadaha Islaamiga ah. Tan iyo markaasna Itoobiya waxay ku lug lahayd siyaasadda gudaha Soomaaliya.¹⁹

Markii uu Ra'iisul Wasaare Abiy Axmed xilka qabtay, Itoobiya waxa ay qaadatay siyaasad aan faragelin ahayn waxayna si toos ah ula shaqeysay dowladda federaalka intii uu xilka hayay Maxamed Cabdullaahi Farmaajo. Iminka, hannaankaas ayaa u muuqda mid isbeddelay kaddib markii Itoobiya saxiixday heshiis is-afgarad (MOU) oo siinaya marin badeed madax-bannaan oo ay ka hesho Gacanka Cadmeed, heshiiskan ayaa kusoo beegmay bilo kaddib markii uu Ra'iisul Wasaare Abiy si cad ugu ololeeyay in Itoobiya ay hesho marin badeed.²⁰

Waxaa tusaale wanaagsan noqon kara hubka la dhacay oo Itoobiya ka soo galay Soomaaliya ama shixnaddii ugu dambeysay ee hubka ahayd oo ay Itoobiya u dirtay Puntland.²¹ Tani waxay muujineysaa in Itoobiya ay ku laabatay siyaasad mayal-adag oo ku waajahan Soomaaliya, iyada oo ujeedkeedu yahay inay huriso khilaafaadka gudaha, gaar ahaan kuwa qabiilka, oo ay hubeyso dowlad goboleedyada ka soo horjeeda maamulka hadda jira ee Madaxweyne Xasan Shiikh Maxamuud iyo qabiilo gaar ah. Siyaasadda noocan ah ee Itoobiya qaadatay waxa ay wiiqi kartaa xasilloonida Soomaaliya waxayna sii hurin kartaa qalalaasaha gobolka oo markii horeba kacsnaa. Faragelinta noocan ahi waxay fursad u noqon kartaa kooxaha argagixisada sida Al-Shabaab iyo Daacish, iyagoo heli kara ciidamo badan oo ay soo dabtaan.

6. Miraha ka dhalan kara dhacdadii Caabudwaaq

Qabsashada hub aad u badan ay beel kamid ah ku qabsatay gobol colaad beeleydo badan ay ka jiraan ayaa keeni karta cawaaqib gudaha iyo gobolka guudba saameeya. Marka kowaad, halista hub noocan ah ayaa keeni kara sii hurinta colaadaha deegaanka, maadaama beesha Mareexaan dhexdooda colaado ka dhex jiraan, sidoo kalena colaadi kala dhexayso qabaa'ilka kale ee Galmudug la dega. Marka labaad, malaayin dollar oo hub ah oo hal beel u gacan gala waxa ay saamayn ku yeelanaysa isu dheeli tirnaanta awoodeed ee qabaa'ilka gobolka dega.

19. Mesfin, Berouk. "Ethiopia's role and foreign policy in the Horn of Africa." International Journal of Ethiopian Studies (2012): 87-113.

20. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-67858566>

21. <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-accuses-ethiopia-of-shipping-illegal-arms-to-semi-autonomous-region-/7792758.html>

Waxayna door ka qaadan kartaa hubka sifada sharcidaraada ah usoo galaya iyo faafistooda guud ahaan dalka, gaar ahaan degaannada Galmudug. Dhacdadani waxa ay soo dedejin kartaa beelaha sida Saleebaan, Sacad, Dir iyo Cayr oo colaad dheer beesha Mareexaan ay kala dhaxayso in ay tartan u galaan urursiga hub sharci daro ah, si ay isaga caabiyaan Mareexaan.

Sidoo kale dhacadadan waxa ay dhiirrigelin u noqon kartaa isku dayo ay maleeshiyaadka beeluhu u dhacaan hub kasta oo ay arkaan, iyada oo aan u meel dayin cidda iska leh. Tusaale waxa u ah dhacdadii September 2024 ka dhacday gobolka Mudug, ee beelaha degaanku ay isku dayeen in ay qabsdaan gawaadhi hub u siday maamulka Puntland, lakiin maamulku uu markii danbe ku guulaysatay si badqab ah in uu Garowe ku gaadhsiiyo. Nasiibdarradu waa in xaaladan oo kale ay mustaqbalka kordhin karto dagaal beeleydada taasoo dhaxalsiin karta dhimasho badan, hadii DFS iyo Maamallada qaybta ka ah, siiba Galmudug, aanay xal degdeg ah u helin.²²

Qodoka saddexaad, waxaa jirta khatar wayn oo ah in hubku uu galo suuqa madow, inkasta oo ay jirto heshiis aan qornayn oo ka dhex jira jifooyinka Mareexaan oo sheegaya in aysan beeshu iska iibin hubka culus, maadama ay dagaalo ugu yaraan shan joho ah oo jifooyinka iyo qabiilada degaanka la degta ay ku furanyihiin. Lakiin ma jirto wax heshiiskaas aan qornayn xoojinaya, maadama hubku uu aad u tiri badnaa, kooxaha dhacayna ay dano kala duwan leeyihiin, qaar dembiilayaal ahina ay ku jiri karaan. Warar soo baxaya ayaa sheegaya hubka yaryar sida AK47 iyo bastooladaha in durbaba lagu kala iibsanayo suuqa. Tanina waxa ay muujinasaan sahlanaan ah in hubkan uu ku danbeeyo gacmo khatar ah sida Al-Shabaab iyo kooxaha la halmaala, kuwaasoo ciidankooda ku qalabeeya si culusna ugu tiirsan hubka sharcidaraada ah.²³ Xaqiqda jirta waa in Mareexanka ku dhaqan Gobolka Galgaduud ay yihiin bulsho taabacsan dariiqada suufiyada taasoo si adag uga soo horjeedda fikradda Al-Shabaab, taasoo ka baajin karta in kooxda Al-Shabaab ay si toos ah aga iibiyaa hubka. Sidaas oo ay tahay waxaa iyana macquul ah Al-Shabaab in ay helista hubkas usoo adeegsadaan gacan sadexaad.

Tan afarraad, marka la eego korodhka xasilooni darida siyaasaddeed ee gudaha Itoobiya soo wajahday sanadihii u danbeeyay, waxaa macquul ah in hubkaas uu ka talaabo xuduudaha oo uu dib ugu noqdo Itoobiya. Hadii hubkaasi uu galo gudaha Itoobiya, sida gobolada amxaarada iyo oromada waxa uu sii shidaalin karaa kacdoonnada hubaysan, ee ka dhanka ah dawladda, iyo colaadaha qawmiyadaha u dhxeeyaa.

Arrinta murugta usii yeelaysa waa in dhacdadan ay ku beegantay xili burbur diblumaasiyadeed uu ka dhexdhacay Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya, kedib is afgaradkii Itoobiya ay la gashay Somaliland.²⁴ Muqdisho waxa ay u aragtaa isafgaradka MoU-gu in uu yahay isku day khalkhalgelin oo ay Addis Ababa ku wado xasilloonida gudaheeda.²⁵ Tan keliya fursad borobogaando uma abuurayso kooxaha sida Al-Shabaab, balse waxa ay khatar gelinaysaa xasilloonida gobolka.

22. HIPS interview with an academic.

23. HIPS interview with the former mayor of Abudwak.

24. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 2024 “Ethiopia’s MoU with Somaliland: A threat to Somalia’s Sovereignty and Regional Stability” <https://heritageinstitute.org/ethiopias-mou-with-somaliland-a-threat-to-somalias-sovereignty-and-regional-stability/>

25. A leaked letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, dated July 22nd, was sent to its diplomatic corps worldwide.

7. Mustaqbalka Cunaqabataynta Hubka

1992-dii markii uu burburay taliskii milaterigu oo ay bilowdeen dagaalladii sokeeye, Golaha Ammaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay (UNSC) waxa uu Soomaaliya kusoo rogay cunaqabatayn buuxda oo ka dhan ah hubka. Tas oo looga dan lahaa in lagu baajiyo suurtagalnnimada qulqul hub oo xaaladda sii xumeeya in uu dhaco iyo in la helo toobiye gargaar bini'aadannimo loo marin karo dadkii sida baahsan u barakacay.²⁶

2013-kii Soomaaliya waxaa laga khafiifiyay cunaqabataydii saarnayd, iyada oo lagu xidhay in ay soo wargeliso xaddiga hub ee ay lasoo degayso si loo duljoogteeyo.²⁷ Wixii intaa ka danbeeyay, xukuumadihii kala danbeeyay waxa ay si cod sare leh ugu ololeynayeen in si buuxda Soomaaliya looga qaado cunaqabataynta saaran, maadaama la dagaalanka Al-Shabaab iyo xasilinta dalku lagama maarmaan tahay.

2021-kii wada xaajood dheer kadib Golaha Ammaanku waxa uu ogolaaday koox farsamo oo xafiska xoghayaha guud ka socota in loo diro Soomaaliya, si ay qiimayn ugu soo sameeyaan awoodda Soomaaliya u yeelan karto maamulidda hub iyo rasaas.²⁸ Yoolka koowaadna waxa uu ahaa in la helo warbixin uu golaha ammaanku dib u eegista go'aanka cunaqabataynta markale ugu furo. Bishii Luulyo, kooxdii farsamadu waxa ay booqasho ku tageen Muqdisho iyo Baydhabo, waxa ayna soo saareen warbixin dhammaystiran oo ka kooban toban qodob, kuwaas oo ay tahay in loo maro laalidda cunaqabataynta.²⁹ Warbixintan oo lala wadaagay Golaha Ammaanka ayaa u muuqatay talaabo muhiim ah, maadama ay markii u horreysey, tan iyo markii lagu soo rogay, hordhigtay DFS halbeegyo cadcad oo ay tahay in ay fuliso si looga qaado cunuqabateynta hubka.

Mar kale ayaa 2023-dii la diray koox farsamo si ay u soo qiimeeyaan horumarka ay DFS ka samaysay shuruudihii lagu xidhay. Kooxdii farsamo waxa ay soo saareen warbixin faahfaahsan oo ay ku sharaxayaan halka ay wax marayaan iyo horumarka arrintan laga sameeyay.³⁰ Inkasta oo aysan warbixintu si kama danbays ah u go'aamin in Soomaaliya ay u si buuxda ugu diyaargarowday laalidda cunaqabatayntii hubka, hadana waxa ay tilmaamtay in kalsooni lagu qabi karo dedaallada ay Soomaaliya samaynayo sidii si dhammaystiran looga qaadi lahaa cunaqabataynta. Natijadu waxa ay noqotay in bishii 12aad ee sannadkii 2023 Golaha Ammaanku uu soo saaro laba go'aan oo oo kala ah; In la laalo cunaqabatayntii DFS saaranayd.³¹ Tan labaadna waa in cunaqabatayn lagu soo rogay kooxda Al-Shabaab iyo dhammaan kooxaha aan dawliga ahayn.

26. Resolution 733 –paragraph 5, adopted on 23 January 1992.

27. Resolution 2093 – paragraphs 33&34, adopted on 6 March 2013

28. Resolution 2607 – paragraph 42, adopted on 15 November 2021.

29. A letter dated 15 September 2022 from the Secretary-General Office to the President of the Security Council contained the outcome of his team's assessment. Available publicly.

30. A letter dated 15 September 2023 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council containing the outcome of their assessment of the benchmarks set for the total lifting of the arms embargo. Available publicly.

31. Resolution 2714, adopted 1 December 2023.

DFS waxaa loo gudbiyay galka cunaqabatayn ka qaadista, iyada oo shuruud looga dhigay in ay soo gudbiso laba warbixinood (mid dhexe iyo warbixin dhammaystiran) si ay golaha ula wadaagto dhammaan hubka ay soo iibsatay ama loogu deeqay.³² Sidoo kale maamullada Dawladda Federalka qaybta ka ah ayaa la ogaysiiyay in ay soo wargeliyaan wixii hub iyo rasaas ah ee deeq ama iib ahaan kusoo gala. Hannaankan oo ah mid u dhisan in DFS u sahlo ka warqabka qulqulka hub ee dalka soo gelaya iyo in ay si qumman u maamusho hubka ay gacantana ku hayso. Geesta kale waxaa cunaqabateyn lagu soo rogay Kooxda Al-shabaab iyo dhammaan kooxaha kale ee khatarta ku ah nabadjelyada iyo xasilloonida Soomaaliya.³³

Si kasta oo ay ahaatoba dhacdadadii Caabudwaaq waxa ay soo noolaysay dooddii laga qabay go'aannkii uu Golaha Ammaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay (UNSC) uu cunaqataynta uga qaaday Soomaaliya in uu ahaa mid munaasib ah iyo in kale. Somaliland iyo Puntland, oo ka soo horjeeday qaadista xayiraadda, ayaa si degdeg ah u tilmaamay saameyn ta durbaba ka dhalatay go'aankaas.³⁴ Sidoo kale, Puntland oo tan iyo bilowgii ay is hayeen maamulka Federaalka ee hadda jira, ayaa ka codsatay Golaha Ammaanka in uu dib uga firsado go'aankooda.³⁵ Dhacdada Caabudwaaq uma badna inay keento tallaabo adag oo uu Golaha Ammaanku qaado, sida soo celinta cunaqabateyntii uu laalay. Haddana, dhacdoooyinkan waxa barbar socda qiimay farsamo oo weli lagu wado horumarka shuruucdii 2022 loo dejiyay DFS ee qulqulka hubka. sidoo kale Golaha Ammaanku waxa uu codsaday kordhinta kor-joogteynta maamullada Federalka qaybta ka ah. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, Warbixintii la soo saaray 15-kii Oktoobar laguma soo hadal qaadin dhacdadii Caabudwaaq, sidoo kalena tahriibinta hubka sharcidarrada ah lama sooqaadin.³⁶

Taa badalkeeda, warbixintii u danbaysay ee ay soo saareen khubaradii Golaha Ammaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay (UNSC) ee u xilsaarnaa qaraarkii Soomaaliya ee ku asteynsaa tirsiga 2713 oo soo baxday bishii Oktoobar ee sannadkan waxa si faahfaahan loogu lafaguray dhacadadii Caabudwaaq iyo mashaakilka ballaadhan ee ka taagan ka gacansiga hubka sharcidaradda ah. Sida warbixinta lagu xusay dhacdadii Caabudwaaq waxa ay ahayd kiiskii ugu waynaa ee la diiwaangeliyay kaas oo hub leexsi ah oo dhacay tan iyo intii la laalay cunaqabatayntii hubka bishii 12aad, 2023. Iyada oo ay warbixintu sheegtay in ay socoto baadhista lagu hayo asalka ciiddii lahayd hubkan la dhacay iyo ujeedka loo soo iibsadayba, hadana waxa ay hoosta ka calaamadisay inay jiraan arimo aan la dhayalsan karin oo xiriirinayo "soo iibsasho aan caadi ahayn oo hub iyo rasaas loogu soo iibsanayo si ka baxsan xayndaabta nidaamka qaran ee maaraynta hubka iyo rasaasta."³⁷ Si kale hadii loo dhigo, Soomaaliya waxa ay ku guulaysatay in laga qaado cunaqabateyntii hubka, balse weli waxa jira suuq aad u wayn oo sii hodmaya oo ka ganacsiga hubka sharcidarada ah ah.

32. Resolution 2713—paragraphs 36, 37, 38, 39, adopted on 1 December 2023.

33. Ibid.

34. A press release from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation of Somaliland on 16 July 2024. An interview the current Minister of Interior of Puntland, Abdi Farah Said, gave to Bloomberg on 18 July 2024. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-07-18/somalia-region-wants-un-to-reinstate-a-31-year-old-arms-embargo>

35. Ibid, interview with the Minister of Interior.

36. Letter dated 15 October 2024 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4063929?ln=ar&v=pdf>

37. Letter dated 15 October 2024 from the Chair of the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolution 2713 (2023) concerning Somalia addressed to the President of the Security Council, p. 26. <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n24/268/38/pdf/n2426838.pdf>

8. Gunaanad

Faafidda hubka sharci-darrada ah ayaa sii ah caqabad laxaad leh oo ka dhan ah xasiloonida Soomaaliya, sida ku cad dhacdadii dhowaan ee Caabudwaaq iyo hubkii Itoobiya ay siisay Puntland. Dhacdooyinkani waxay muujinayaan murugsanaanta arrinta xakameynta hubka, oo ay weheliyaan amniga xuduudaha oo liita, khilaafaadka qabiillada, iyo saameynaha dibedda ka imanay, oo dhammantood arrimahani waxa ay sii xoojinayaan khatarta ka imanaysa qulqulka hubka aan la xakameeyn. Waxaa jirta baahi loo qabo in dowladda Soomaaliya iyo dawlad goboleedyadu si wadajir ah u abuuraan habraacyo sharci ah iyo siyaasado si loola tacaalo ka ganacsiga hubka sharci-darrada ah iyo in tallaabo u qalanta laga qaado saameynta ballaadhan ee uu leeyahay.

9. Talo Soo Jeedin

Ku Saabsan Hubkii La dhacay:

- Dowlada Federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) waa inay arrintan si taxadar leh u waajahdo maadaama isku day kasta oo ah in hubka xoog lagu soo celiyo ay ka imaan karaan xiisado kale hor leh. In la abuuro kalsooni ka dhaxaysa hay'adaha dowladda, gaar ahaan kuwa amniga, iyo dadka deeganka ayaa muhiim u ah xasiloonida gobolka iyo horumarinta guulihii laga gaaraya intii lagu gudo jiray wajigii koowaad ee la-dagaallanka Al-Shabaab.
- DFS iyo Galmudug waa inay tixgeliyaan in Maleyshiyoo qabiilkeedka dhacay hubka ay ku dhafaan qaybta 21-aad ee Ciidanka Qaranka Soomaaliya ama ciidanka Daraawiish ee Galmudug. Isku-dhafkaasi wuxuu furdaamin karaa in hubka la dhacay lagu hayo gacanta dowladda sida tan Federaalka ama gacanta Galmudug. Taasi waxa ay yareynaysaa khatartii ka iman lahayd in hubka loo isticmaalo khilaafaadka qabiillada.
- DFS waa in ay kaashato odayaasha dhaqanka ee Mareexaan sida Ugaaska, si ay u fududeeyaan wadahadallo ku saabsan in hubka dib looga iibyo dowladda iyada oo mudnaanta koowaad la siinayo hubka culus ee Dashikeyaashu ka mid yihiin, bamboooyinka iyo hubabka aanay maleyshiyaaqoonta u lahayn isticmaakooda. Habkani waxa uu dowladda ka caawinayaan inay soo celiso qaybo kamid ah hubkii la dhacay iyo in ay ka hortagto in hubkaasi uu galo gacmaha kooxaha xagjirka ah sida Al-Shabaab.

Ku Saabsan Hubka Sharci-darrada ah ee sii Faafaya:

- DFS waa inay qaaddo tallaabooyin adag oo ka dhan ah faafidda hubka sharci-darrada ah, iyada oo xidhaysa suuqyada madow ee fududeeya qaybinta hubka. Arrintan waxaa lagu gaadhi karaa iyadoo la xoojiyo nidaamyada sharci ee jira, gaar ahaan in la ansixiyo sharciga hubka, kaasoo weli sugaya in la meel mariyo tan iyo sannadkii hore.

Sharcigani waa inuu dejiyo nidaamyo dhammaystiran oo xakamaynaya lahaanshaha, iibka, iyo isticmaalka hubka dalka gudhiisa. Tallaabadii waxay dowladda ka caawinaysa in ay si hufan u maareyso hubka ay haystaan qabiillada iyo dhinacyada kale, iyadoo la adeegsanayo nidaam adag oo diiwaangelin iyo raadraacba leh.

- Dowladdu waxay u baahan tahay in ay kor u qaaddo daahfurnaanta iyo islaxisaabtanka ku aaddan kharashaadka difaaca iyo hannaanada soo iibsiga hubka. Amarka Golaha Ammaanka Qaranka ee ku saabsan in siyaasadda iibka hubka iyo rasaasta Ciidanka Amniga Soomaaliya loo soo bandhigo Golaha Wasiirrada waxay muujinaysaa tallaabo dhanka horumarka loo qaaday, laakiin hirgelinteedu waa muhiim si looga hortago qaybsanaan iyo maamul-xumo.
- Maadaama hubku si weyn ugu faafay gacmaha shacabka, dowladdu waa in ay horumariso istaraatijiyyad faahfaahsan oo ku hub-ka-dhigiseed iyo mid dib-u-rayidayn oo xaqiqada jirta ka tarjumi kara., taas oo hubka dib looga soo celiyo gacanta qabiillada iyo muwadiniinta kale. Tallaabadii waa inay noqotaa mid looga shaqeeyo si tartiib ah ayna noqoto dedaal qadata waqtii, maadama ay u baahantahay dhaqaale iyo cudud tiro badan.
- DFS waa in ay dejisaa istaraatijiyyad wax ku ool ah oo waafaqsan xaaladda dhabta ah ee taagan si loo xoojiyo ammaanka xuduudaha, iyadoo si dhow ula shaqaynaysa Dowladaha Xubnaha ka ah Dawladda Federaalka ah si looga fogaado khilaafaa siyaasadeed loona furdaamiyo karti yarida, oo ay ku jирто helidda dadkii shaqada qaban lahaa. Sidoo kale Soo celinta iyo maalgelinta Xafisiyada Amniga Gobollada (XAG) waa lama huraan si loo hirgeliyo dedaalladan waa in la abuuraa iskaashi wax ku ool ah.
- Wasaaradaha kala ah Arrimaha Gudaha, Arrimaha Federaalka, iyo Dib-u-heshiisiinta ee DFS iyo Galmudug waa inay mudnaanta siiyaan in gobolka Galgaduud dib-u-heshiisiin iyo nabad waarta laga abuuro. Waxaa tusaale guuleystay u noqon kara Heshiiskii Gaalkacayo ee soo afjaray khilaafkii soo jiitamayay ee u dhexeeyay labada qabil ee magaalada wada dega. Heshiiskaasi wuxuu tusaale iyo bud-dhig asaasi ah u noqon kara hirgelinta dedaallada nabadeyni.
- Abuuritaanka iskaashi heer gobol ilaa heer caalami ah ayaa isaguna muhiim u ah wax ka qabshada faafidda hubka sharcidarrada ah. DFS waa inay ka faa'iideysato hab-maamullada haatan jira oo iskaashi lala yeesho Xarunta Gobolka ee Hubka Fudud (RECSA), si loo xoojiyo iskaashiga gobolka ee ka hortagga qaadashada hubka sharcidarrada ah, taasoo si weyn u kordhisa xasilooni-darrada gobolka.
- Ugu dambeyna waa in beesha caalamku taageertaa hay'adaha Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya (DFS) iyo Dowlad Goboleedyada Federaalka (DGF) ee masuulka ka ah maareynta hubka iyo rasaasta. Taageerada beesha caalamku waa inay isugu jirtaa bixinta khibrad farsamo si loo hormariyo qaab-dhismeedyada sharciga iyo xakamaynta hubka la hayo ee isugu jira; kuwa dadku leeyihiin, kuwa sida sharciga ah loo keenay, iyo kuwa sharci-darrada ku yimid. Sidoo kale kor u qaadista awoodda hay'adahaas si loo ilaaliyo xeebaha Soomaaliya.

HERITAGE

I N S T I T U T E