

KALA-MAAN

BILOWGII IYO BURBURKII WADAHADALLADA
SOOMAALILAAND IYO SOOMAALIYA

Muxumed Maxamed Muxumed
(Khadar)

الإسلام في الصومال



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WADAHADALLADA SOOMAALILAAND
IYO SOOMAALIYA

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ANFAC PUBLISHING
Hargeisa, Somaliland.
2018

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Kala-Maan: Bilowgii iyo Burburkii
Wadahadallada Soomaalilaand iyo
Soomaaliya / by Muxumed Maxamed
Muxumed (Khadar)

Cover Design by Eng. Buuni Adam

ISBN 978-1-5136-3682-5

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Maabka Soomaaliland iyo Soomaaliya

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*Bachelor of economics, MS in economics, MA in political
science and international relations.*

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HIBEYN

*Buuggan waxa aan u hibeeyey hooyo Xaliimo Axmed Jaamac
iyo Aabbo Maxamed Muxumed Baadil.*

MAHADNAQ

Ugu horrayn mahad oo dhammi Ilaahay ayey u sugnaatay oo nimcooyinka uu nagu mannaystay aan la koobi karin. Buuggani waxa uu ka dhashay buug-qalinjabineed loo diyaariyey dhammaystirka shahaadada sare ee maasterta culuumta siyaasadda iyo xidhiidhka caalamiga ah, Jaamacadda Istanbul Aydin ee ku taal magaalada Istaanbuul ee dalka Turkiga oo ciwaankiisu ahaa “*Somaliland-Somalia Talks: Historical Background, Process and Prospects*”. Buugga waxa aan difaacay, oo la ansixiyey, 16 Noofembar 2017. Waxa aan aad ugu mahadnaqayaa lataliyahaygii/kormeerahaygii intii aan cilmi baadhista waday **Prof. Dr. Hatice Deniz Yökseker** oo ka tirsan Jaamacadda Istanbul Aydin oo si hagar la’aan ah iila shaqaysay. Waxa aan sidoo kale u mahadnaqayaa xubnihii kale ee ka tirsanaa guddidii difaaca buugga: **Assis. Prof. Dr. Gökhan Duman** oo ka tirsan Jaamacadda Istanbul Aydin iyo **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ateş Uslu** oo ka tirsan Jaamacadda Istanbul. Waxa aan sidoo kale abaal weyn u hayaa Xarunta Cilmi Baadhista Tiknoolajiyadda iyo Sayniska ee Turkiga (TUBITAK) oo iyadu bixisay deeqda waxbarasho ee aan Turkiga ku joogay.

Waxa aan u mahad celinayaa **Dr. Sacad Cali Shire**, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda ee Soomaalilaand, iyo guud ahaan shaqaalaha wasaaradda oo si wanaagsan ii garab istaagay, xogtii aan u baahnaana ila wadaagay intii aan cilmi baadhista waday. Sidoo kale, taageero tan la mid ah waxa aan ka helay Xafiiska Qaramadda Midoobay u Qaabilsan Taakulaynta Soomaaliya (UNSOM), gaar

ahaan **Daahir Maxamed Daahir** oo ka tirsan xafiiska Hargeysa.

Waxa aan sidoo kale u mahadnaqayaa asxaabta nuqullada hordhaca ah ee buugga soo akhriday, isla markaasna talooyin, toosin, iyo tusaalaynba ku darsaday buugga, oo aanu la'aantood buuggu qiimaha iyo qaayaha uu leeyahay yeesheen, kuwaas oo kala ahaa **Maxamed Baashe Xaaji Xasan, Cabdiqani Xasan Ismaaciil, Cabdillaahi Xasan Jaamac, Cali Cabdiraxmaan Maxamuud, Cabdiraxmaan Khadar Yoonis, Maxamed Cabdillaahi Ibraahim (Maxamed Xirsi), Cabdiqaadir Maxamuud Yoonis (Buureed), Cabdiraxmaan Cawl iyo Cabdiraxmaan Axmed Aadan (Shire)**. Waxa iyaguna mahad iska leh asxaabta igu dhiirri gelisay, iguna garab istaagtay in aan buuggan qoro oo aanan halkan ku wada xusi karin.

HORDHAC

Goosashada iyo aayo-ka-tashigu ma aha dhacdooyin cusub waxase ay caan ka dhex noqdeen culuumta siyaasadda caalamiga ah burburkii Midowga Soofiyet ka dib. Midowgii Soofiyet ee Jamhuuriyadaha Hanti Wadaagga ahi waxa uu u kala qaybsamay dawlado badan. Jamhuuriyaddii Yuguslaafiya ee hore ayaa iyaduna la kulantay goosashooyin soo noqnoqday, waxaana ay keligeed u kala qaybsantay toddoba dawladdood¹. Maanta waxa dunida ka jira dawlado ka tiro badan intii jirtay 1990 ka hor. Goosasho waxa lagu qeexaa in dawlad hore u jirtay laga saaro (ama laga gooyo) dhul xaddidan iyo dadkiisa, isla markaasna dhulkaas laga sameeyo dawlad cusub². Dhanka kale, aayo-ka-tashigu waxa uu ku salaysanyahay aragtida ah in dad kasta ama ummad kasta ay xaq siyaasadeed iyo mid sharciba u leeyihiin in ay iyagu go'aamiyaan masiirkooda. Halka uu aayo-ka-tashigu ka noqon karo mid gudaha ah (qaab ismaamul iyo madax bannaani dawladda gudaheeda ah) ama mid dibedda ah (madaxbannaani), hadafka goosashadu waa in siyaadada la beddelo, sidaas darteed ayaana inta badan goosashada loogu arkaa tallaabo aan wanaagsanayn³. Waxa iyaduna intaas dheer in aayo-ka-

¹ Pavkovic, Recursive secessions in former Yugoslavia: too hard a case for theories of secession?. *Political Studies*, 48(3), 485-502, 2000.

² Pavkovic & Radan, *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).

³ Baer, Who, Why and How: Assessing the Legitimacy of Secession. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 6(3), 45-69, 2000; Bereketeab, Self-Determination and Secession: A 21st Century

tashigu uu u baahanyahay aqoonsiga dawladaha kale iyo Qaramada Midoobay⁴.

Goosashooyinka qaar waxa ay u dhacaan si nabadgelyo ah, waxaana tusaale u noqon kara goosashooyinkii Laatiya (1991), Istooniya (1991), Masedooniya (1991) iyo Islofaakiya (1993)⁵, halka kuwo kalena ay ku sifoobaan qalalaase iyo rabshado sida goosashooyinkii Eretreya (1991) iyo Koonfurta Suudaan (2011).

Halka dawladaha goosanayaa ay hiigsanayaan in ay helaan aayo-ka-tashi iyo aqoonsi, dawladaha laga goosanayaa waxa ay door bidaan in ay ilaashadaan xuduudahooda, waxaana ay u janjeedhaan dhanka midnimada. Dawladaha dunida, oo ah kuwa laga filayo in dawladaha goostay ay aqoonsi siiyaan, iyaga laftoodu waxa ay door bidaan ilaalinta xuduudaha iyo midnimada marka laga eego dhanka xeerka iyo mabaadi'diisa⁶.

Mid ka mid ah hababka lagu gaadho goosasho guulaysata ayaa ah in dawladda (ama kooxda) goosanaysaa ay wadahalal la gasho dawladda ay ka

Challenge to the Post-Colonial State in Africa. *The Nordic Africa Institute*, 2-4, 2012.

⁴ Baer (2000), Who, Why and How: Assessing the Legitimacy of Secession.

⁵ Pavkovic & Radan (2007), *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*.

⁶ Oeter, (Non-) Recognition Policies in Secession Conflicts and the Shadow of the Right of Self-Determination. In C. Daase, C. Fehl, A. Geis, & G. Kolliarakis (Eds.), *Recognition in International Relations: Rethinking a Political Concept in a Global Context* (pp. 125-140). (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

goosanayso. Ujeeddada wadahaadallada noocan ah ayaa ah in ay labada dhinac go'aan ka gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbal: in ay kala tagaan oo labo dawladood noqdaan, in ay midaysnaadaan oo sidii hore hal dawlad u ahaadaan, ama in ay nidaam maamul oo kale oo labadaa u dhexeeya samaystaan. Wadahaadalladu waxa ay sidoo kale door muhiim ah ka ciyaaraan nimaadka aqoonsiga dawladaha cusub. Marka wadahaadalku bilawdo, waxa suurogal ah in dhinac saddexaad oo dhex ahi goobjoog yahay iyo in labadooda oo keli ahi wadahaadlaan oo aan cid u dhexaysaa jirin.

Qaddiyado dhowr ah ayaa dib loo jaleeci karaa si loo fahmo doorka wadahaadalladu ka ciyaaraan nidaamka samaynta iyo aqoonsiga dawladu cusub. Markii ay Qaramada Midoobay Kosofo u samaysay ismaamul kumeel-gaadh ah, waxa ay aayaha dambe ee Kosofo - in ay noqonayso dawlad madaxbannaan iyo in kale - Qaramada midoobay uga tagtay in lagu go'aamiyo wadahaadallo dhex mara Seerbiya iyo Kosofo⁷. Qaddiyada Koonfurta Suudaan ayaa iyadu ah tusaale nool oo ina baraya muhiimadda wadahaadallada. Koonfurta Suudaan oo muddo dheer u halgamaysay in ay hesho madaxbannaani, waxa ay ku guulaysatay in loogu ogolaado afti ay ku gu'i karto Heshiiskii Nabadda ee Dhammayskatirnaa ee Jeeniwari 2005tii lagu kala saxeexday dalka Kiiniya dhexdiisa. Ugu dambayn, Koonfurta Suudaan waxa ay madaxbannaani heshay 2011 markii afti aayo-ka-tashi oo laga qaaday ay

⁷ Oeter (2015), (Non-) Recognition Policies in Secession Conflicts and the Shadow of the Right of Self-Determination.

dadkeedu ugu codeeyeen madaxbannaani⁸. Qubrus oo muddo tobanaan sanno ah u qaybsanayd labo dhinac (Qubrusta Giriiga iyo Qubrusta Turkiga) waxa ay ku guuldarraysatay in xal laga gaadho xidhiidhka labada dhinac. Qorshe wadahalal loogu qabanayo labada dhinac ayaa uu Xoghayihii hore ee Qaramada Midoobay Koofi Anan bilaabay sannadkii 2002dii. Nasiib darro waxa uu qorshahaasi guuldarraystay sannadkii 2004 waxaana fashilka wadahalallada Qubrus loo aaneeyaa arrimo juquraafi-siyaasadeed, siyaasadeed, dhaqan iyo sooyaal⁹. Wadahalalladii Israaiil iyo Falastiin ku dhex maray dalka Noorway sannadkii 1993kii ayaa iyaguna u burburay sababo ku dhow kuwaas fashiliyey wadahalallada Qubrus. Waxase mar walba jiray arrimo u gaar ah labadaba oo si gaar ah uga qayb qaatay guuldarrada labada wadahalal.

Shirkii Landhan ee Soomaaliya ee 2012kii, beesha caalamku waxa ay Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya u soo jeedisay in ay wadahalal si ay u caddeeyaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalku sida uu noqonayo, iyaga oo ballan qaaday in ay taageero ka geysan doonaan qabsoomidda wadahalalladaas. Qodobka 6aad ee warmurtiyeedka oo ka tirsanaa qaybta siyaasadda waxa uu u dhignaa sidan "Shirku waxa uu garawsaday baahida loo qabo in beesha caalamku ay taageerto wadahalal ay Soomaalilaand iyo Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya ama beddelkeedu isla gartaan

⁸ Malwal, *Sudan and South Sudan: From One to Two*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁹ Michael, The Cyprus peace talks: A critical appraisal. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(5), 587-604, 2007.

in ay bilaabaan, si ay u caddeeyaan [ama go'aan uga gaadhaan] xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka"¹⁰.

Maxmiyaddii hore ee Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand (Soomaalilaand) iyo dhulkii Soomaalida ee Talyaanigu haystay (Soomaaliya) waxa ay midoobeen kowdii Julaay 1960kii, markii ay madaxbannaanidooda ka kala heleen Ingiriis iyo Talyaani (Koonfurtu waxa ay ku hoos jirtay wisaayad Talyaani oo Qaramada Midoobay ogolaatay). Soomaalilaand waxa ay madaxbannaanideeda qaadatay 26 Juun 1960kii halka ay Soomaaliya madaxbannaanideeda ka heshay afar maalmood ka dib, 1 Julaay 1960kii, waxaana ay labada dawladood midoobeen oo yagleeleen Jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliyeed isla 1 Julaay 1960kii. Midnimo 30 sanno jirtay ka dib dawladdii dhexe ee Soomaaliya waxa ay burburtay sannadkii 1991kii markii ay jabhado hubaysani, dagaal sokeeye oo ba'an ka dib, xukunka ka tuureen kaligii taliye Maxamed Siyaad Barre¹¹.

¹⁰ London Conference on Somalia: Communiqué (2012) from Foreign and Commonwealth of UK. Laga helay 8 June, 2017 halkan :

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/sede/dv/sede200312londonconference_/sede200312londonconference_en.pdf

¹¹ Lewis, *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988); Bulhan, *Politics of Cain: One hundred years of crises in Somali politics and society*. (Tayosan International Pub., 2008); Ingiriis, *The suicidal state in Somalia: The rise and fall of the Siad Barre regime, 1969–1991*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2016a).

18 May 1991 dadka Soomaalilaand (Maxmiyaddii Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand ee hore) waxa ay shaaciyeen in ay la soo noqdeen madaxbannaanidoodii kana go'een Soomaaliya, waxaana ay ku dhawaaqeen Jamhuuriyadda Soomaalilaand¹². Tan iyo xilligaas, labada dawladdood waxa ay kala qaadeen labo jid oo kala duwan, waxaana ay noqdeen kuwo u kala qaybsan dhul ahaan iyo siyaasad ahaanba. Soomaalilaand se muddadaas kuma aysan guulaysan in ay xataa hal dawlad ka hesho aqoonsi rasmi ah. Warmurtiyeedkii Shirkii Landhan ee wadahaadallada lagu soo bandhigay ka dib, Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay kulankoodii u horreeyey ku qabsadeen Hoyga Jefenin ee Landhan intii u dhexaysay 20kii ilaa 21kii Juun 2012. Waxa intaa ka dib dhacay wareegyo ama kulamo ka qabsoomay Dubai, Ankara, Istaanbuul (labo goor) iyo Jabuuti. Wadahaadalladaas soo bilowday 2012 ee ay ka qabsoomeen lixda wareeg waxa ay horraantii 2015 ku burbureen magaalada Istaanbuul ee dalka Turkiga.

Wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya oo socday muddo saddex sanno ahi (2012 – 2015) waxa ay ahaayeen dhacdo muhiim ah oo soo martay sooyaalka iyo siyaasadda Soomaalida. Hase ahaatee waxa

¹² Farah & Lewis, Making peace in Somaliland. *Cahiers d'études africaines*, pp. 349-377, 1997; Bradbury, Abokor & Yusuf, Somaliland: Choosing politics over violence. *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(97), 455-478, 2003; Eubank, Peace-Building without External Assistance: Lessons from Somaliland. CGD Working Paper 198. Center for Global Development, Washington, D.C., 2010; Ministry of National Planning and Development, "Somaliland in Figures 2014". Somaliland Ministry of National Planning and Development, Hargeisa, 2015.

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mawduucan aan miisaankiisa siin, oo dayacay, aqoon baadhayaasha iyo qoraayada wax ka qora arrimaha Soomaalida, gaar ahaan siyaasadda. Buuggan iyo aqoon baadhista uu ku salaysanyahayba (oo aqoon ahaanna loo daabacayo dhawaan) waxa ay isku dayeen in ay buuxiyaan meeshaas bannaan oo ay si xeeldheer u baadhaan wadahaadalladan.

Maadaama oo ujeeddada wadahaadalladu ahayd, sida ku cad warmurtiyeedka Shirka Landhan, in ay labada dhinac go'aan ka gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka, waxa uu buuggu dib u eegayaa sooyaalka labada dhinac, maadaama oo ay muuqato in dhacdooyin sooyal ay saamayn weyn ku yeelanayaan mustaqbalka wadahaadallada. Sidoo kale waxa uu buuggu dib u eegayaa wadahaadallo kuwan la mid ah ama ku dhow oo hore dunida u soo maray si aynu waxna uga baranno, una ballaadhino doodda mawduucan la xidhiidha. Intaas ka gadaal, buuggu waxa uu mid mid u qiimaynayaa lixdii wareeg ee sida guusha ah u qabsoomay, ka dibna waxa uu baadhayaa qodobadii keenay burburka wadahaadallada. Ugu dambayn buuggu waxa uu eegayaa xaaladaha mustaqbal ee suurtoogalka ah ee wadahaadallada iyo saamaynta ay wadahaadalladu ku yeeshen qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand.

Ujeedooyinka gaarka ah ee aqoon baadhista:

- I. In si qoto dheer loo baadho wareeg kasta oo wadahaadallada ka tirsanaa, warmurtiyeedkiisa iyo heshiisyadiisa.
- II. In la baadho qodobada keenay burburka wadahaadallada iyo geeddi socodkooda, iyo eegista wadahaadallada burburka ka dib.

- III. In la ogaado saamaynta ay arrimaha taariikheed ku yeesheen geeddi socodka wadhadallada.
- IV. In la saadaaliyo xaaladaha mustaqbal ee suurtoogalka ah ee wadhadallada iyo saamaynta wadhadallada ee qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand.

Aqoon baadhista waxa lagu adeegsaday hab baadhiseed aan xisaab ahayn (qualitative research approach) oo ku salaysan daraasad qoto dheer oo loo maray ku noqoshada qoraallo hore iyo waraysiyo. Xogta la adeegsaday waxa ay isugu jirtay mid diyaarsan iyo mid uu qoraagu ururiyey. Xogta uu qoraagu ururiyey waxa ay ku timid waraysiyo dad laga qaaday iyo doodo loo qabtay kooxo xaddidan oo qoraagu ururiyey intii u dhaxaysay Maarij ilaa Juun 2017. Xogta diyaarsan waxa laga helay buug, maqaallo aqooneed, warfaafiyeyaal, iyo muuqaallo YouTube. Qoraallada ku saabsan wadhadalallada, goosashada, aayo-ka-tashiga iyo sooyaalka Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa laga helay buug, maqaallo aqooneed, qoraallo shirar laga jeediyey, xusuus qorro, wargeysyo iyo meelo kaleba. Xogta la xidhiidha wadhadallada sida warmurtiyeedyada iyo heshiisyada waxa laga helay ilo ay ka mid yihiin Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ee Soomaalilaand; Xafiiska Qaramada Midoobay ee Taakulaynta Soomaaliya (qaybtiisa Hargeysa); muuqaallo YouTube iyo warfaafiyeyaal kale; buug qalinjabineedyo iyo qoraallo siyaasadeed.

Aqoon baadhista buuggu ku qotomo waxa ay leedahay liidashooyin. Qoraagu markii uu aqoon baadhista waday waxa uu ku noolaa dalka Turkiga. In kasta oo uu

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Soomaalilaand yimid intii uu aqoon baadhista waday haddana muu wada helin siyaasiyiintii, aqoon yahankii iyo dadkii kale ee ku lugta lahaa wadahaadallada ee uu rabay in uu xog ka helo. Qaar kale kama ay soo jawaabin farriimo iimeyl ah oo loo diray. Haddii ay dadkaas markii hore la qorsheeyey oo dhammi ka qayb qaadan lahaayeen, cilmi baadhistu waxa ay noqon lahayd mid dhammaystiran oo xog intan ka badan xambaarsan. Sidoo kale qoraagu muu helin dhaqaale uu safarro ugu tago meelo kala duwan si uu u helo dad faro badan oo wax ku kordhin lahaa cilmi baadhista. Waxa si gaar ah u mudan in loo xuso in qoraagu uu gaadhi kari waayey siyaasiyiinta iyo aqoonyahanka Soomaaliya jooga, si xog gaar ah oo dhaafsiisan inta warbaahinta iyo qoraallada laga helay looga helo. Sidoo kale qoraagu waxa uu u tagi kari waayey magaalada Muqdisho sababo amni iyo dhaqaale awgood.

Buuggan iyo aqoon baadhista uu ku salaysanyahay oo ah tii u horreysay ee nooceda ah, waxa uu muhiim u yahay in uu dhacdadani miisaanka leh ee soo martay siyaasadda Soomaalida xog ka reebo. Buuggu waxa uu akhristaha ka taageerayaa fahanka xidhiidhka siyaasadeed ee u dhexeeya Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya, isaga oo guudmar ku samaynaya sooyaalka waagii gumeysiga ilaa xilligan la joogo. Waxa uu si gaar ah buuggu isku dul taagayaa dhacdooyin xusuus leh oo labada dhinac xidhiidhkoodii hore, kan imika iyo ka mustaqbalkaba saamayn weyn ku yeelan kara. Maadaama oo Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ay weli kala lushaan, oo aanay dhan u kala dhicin siyaasad ahaan (caalami ahaan, iyada oo ay muuqato in siyaasadda gudaha la kala tagey), waxa suurto gal ah in wadahaadalladani dib u

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furmi karaan. Labada xukuumadood ee cusub ee labada dhinac ka kala dhashay ayaa iyagu, sida muuqata, xilligan muujiyey rabitaan ah in wadahaadallada dib loo furo, in kasta oo ay jiraan duufaanno siyaasadeed oo ku gedaaman dib-u-bilaabmitaanka wadahaadalladu. Wadahaadalkan hore ee burburay waxa uu marwalba saamayn ku yeelanayaa kuwo dambe oo bilaabmi kara. Sidaas darteed, buuggu waxa uu noqon karaa aasaas laga duulo si kuwa dambe midhodhalmadooda loogu dedaalo. Dhanka kale, buuggu waxa uu anfacayaa cid kasta oo danaysa cilmi baadhista iyo siyaasadda Soomaalida sida xukuumadaha Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya, hay'adaha caalamiga ah, urur goboleedyada, ururrada aan dawliga ahayn, aqoonyahanka, goobaha waxbarashada iyo aqoon baadhista ee gobolka, iyo cilmi baadhayaasha arrimahan ku taxan.

Buuggu waxa uu u qaabaysanyahay sidan: Cutubka 1aad waxa uu eegayaa aragtiyo iyo qaddiyado la xidhiidha aayo-ka-tashiga iyo goosashada; Cutubka 2aad waxa uu falanqaynayaa wadahaadallada nabadda iyo goosashada, waxaana uu gorfaynayaa wadahaadallo hore dunida uga dhacay; Cutubka 3aad waa uu si kooban dib ugu eegayaa sooyaalka Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya; Cutubka 4aad waxa uu ku saabsanyahay geeddi socodkii wadahaadallada iyo lixdii wareeg ee sida guusha ah u qabsoomay; Cutubka 5aad waxa uu baadhayaa burburkii wadahaadallada, sababaha keenay iyo saamaynta uu yeeshay; Cutubka 6aad waxa uu eegaya burburka wadahaadallada ka dib; Cutubka 7aad waxa uu baadhayaa saamaynta ay wadahaadalladu ku yeeshen

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qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand, halka qaybta u dambaysaa
ay tahay gunaanad.

CUTUBKA 1AAD

AAYO-KA-TASHIGA IYO GOOSASHADA: ARAGTIYO IYO QADDIYADO

Cutubkani waxa uu gorfaynayaa ereyada aayo-ka-tashi (*self-determination*) iyo goosasho (*secession*), iyo aragti aqooneedyada la xidhiidha ee culuumta xidhiidhka caalamiga ah. Sidoo kale waxa uu is dul taagayaa aqoonsiga. Marka labaad waxa uu cutubku eegi doonaa dhowr qaddiyadood oo goosasho iyo aayo-ka-tashi ah oo hore dunida u soo maray si aynu wax uga baran karno waayo-aragnimada hore, is barbardhig suurogal ahna u samayn karno.

Aragtiyaha aayo-ka-tashiga iyo goosashada ee aynu eegi doonno waxa ka mid ah: aragtiyaha aayo-ka-tashiga ummadnimada ku salaysan (*national self-determination theories*), aragtiyaha goosashada rabitaanka ku salaysan (*choice theories*), aragtiyaha goosashada cadaallad darro keentay (*just-cause or remedial right theories*), aragtiyaha goosashada u tixgelinaya xuquuq asaasi ah (*primary right theories*), aragtida dimuqraaddiga ah ee aayo-ka-tashiga siyaasadeed (*democratic theory of political self-determination*) iyo aragtida is magacaabidda (*declaratory theory*). Ka dib waxa aynu isku deyi doonnaa in aynu soo qaadanno qaddiyado goosasho si aynu u fahanno sida ay aragtiyahani ugu xidhanyihiin una sharxi karaan dhacdooyinka xaqiiqada ah ee dunida ka dhaca.

Doodaha aayo-ka-tashiga iyo goosashada la xidhiidha waxa ay caan noqdeen, isla markaana muhiimad ku yeeshen culuumta xidhiidhka caalamiga ah, sharciga caalamiga ah iyo culuumta kale ee la xidhiidhaba

tobannaankii sanno ee u dambeeyey. Burburkii Midowgii Soofiyet ayaa noqon kara tilmaan iyo astaan, maadaama oo ay ka dhasheen dhaqdhaqaaqyada goosasho ee ugu badan dhawaanahan. Goosasho waxa lagu qeexaa in laga saaro (ama laga gooyo) dhul xaddidan iyo dadkiisa dawlad hore u jirtay, isla markaasna dhulkaas laga sameeyo dawlad cusub. Goosashada guulaysataa waxa ay dhashaa in dawladda laga go'ayaa ay lumiso siyaadada (*sovereignty*) iyo sharciyadda ay ku maamulayso dhulkaas ka go'ay (*jurisdiction*), iyada oo dawladda cusubi meesheedi buuxiso¹³.

Dhanka kale, aayo-ka-tashigu waxa uu ku salaysanyahay aragtida ah in dad kasta ama ummad kasta ay xaq siyaasadeed iyo mid sharciba u leeyihiin in ay iyagu go'aamiyaan masiirkooda. Halka uu aayo-ka-tashigu ka noqon karo mid gudaha ah (qaab is maamul iyo madax bannaani dawladda gudaheeda ah) ama mid dibedda ah (madaxbannaani), hadafka goosashadu waa in siyaadada la beddelo, sidaas darteed ayaana inta badan goosashada loogu arkaa tallaabo aan wanaagsanayn¹⁴. Waxa iyaduna intaas dheer in aayo-ka-tashigu uu u baahanyahay aqoonsiga dawlada kale iyo Qaramada Midoobay¹⁵.

Goosashadu ma aha sida keli ah ee xuduudaha dawlad jirtay ay isku beddeli karaan. Qaabka kale ee ay isku

¹³ Pavkovic & Radan (2007), *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*.

¹⁴ Baer (2000), *Who, Why and How: Assessing the Legitimacy of Secession*; Bereketeab (2012), *Self-Determination and Secession: A 21st Century Challenge to the Post-Colonial State in Africa*.

¹⁵ Xigasho hore

beddeli karaan waxa ka mid ah qaybsan (in dawlad jirtay ay u kala baxdo ama u qaybsanto dhowr dawladood oo cusub) iyo eryid (in koox dad ah oo gaar ah iyo dhulkooda laga eryo ama laga caydhiyo dawladaha, weliba inta badan si khilaafsan rabitaankooda)¹⁶.

Aragtiyaha Goosashada iyo Aayo-Ka-Tashiga

Macnaha iyo sharaxaadda erayga aayo-ka-tashi waxa uu soo maray heerar kala duwan tan iyo ku dhawaaqiddii madaxbannaanida Maraykanka sannadkii 1776kii. Fasiraadaha ugu caansan ee aayo-ka-tashiga waxa ka mid ah ta uu sameeyey madaxweynihii hore ee Maraykanka Woodrow Wilson. In kasta oo aanu si toos ah aayo-ka-tashi ugu xusin afar iyo tobankiisii qodob ee caanka ahaa ee ku jiray khudbadiisii uu Golaha Koongareska u jeediyay sannadkii 1918kii, haddana waxa uu ku xusay hadallo kale oo uu jeediyey marar kala duwan.

Sannadkii 1916kii, Wilson waxa uu odhaahdan ugu yidhi si muuqata: “waxa aanu aaminsannahay ... in dad kasta ay xaq u leeyihiin in ay doortaan siyaadada ay ku hoos noolaanayaan”¹⁷. Hadalkiisii la magac baxay “nabad bilaa guul ah (*peace without victory*)” ee uu Golaha Senetka u jeediyey sannadkii 1917kii, Wilson waxa uu ku shaaciyey: “dadka Maraykanku ... waxa ay aaminsanyihiin in nabaddu ay ku tiirsanaato xuquuqda dadka, ee aanay ku tiirsanaanin xuquuqda dawladaha -

¹⁶ Beran (1998), A Democratic Theory of Political Self-Determination for a New World Order.

¹⁷ Zaric, “The Principle of Self-Determination and the Case of Kosovo”. Unpublished Thesis. Stockholm University, Stockholm, 2013, p. 23.

xuquuqda dadka ha weynaato ama ha yaraato, ha itaal darnaato ama ha awood badnaato – xuquuqda siman ee ay u leeyihiin xoriyadda, nabadgelyada iyo ismaamulka”¹⁸.

Woodrow Wilson waxa uu u arkayey aayo-ka-tashiga mabda’ kawniya oo ku habboon ummadaha iyo dadka dunida ku nool oo dhan. Hase ahaatee, hadafka ugu dambeeya ee laga leeyahay aayo-ka-tashigu, sida uu isagu u arkayey, waxa uu ahaa nabadgelyada baniaadamka oo loo marayo ilaalinta dadka laga tirada badanyahay iyo isirrada¹⁹.

Costa (2003)²⁰ waxa uu aragtiyaha goosashada iyo aayo-ka-tashiga u kala saaray saddex nooc: Aragtiyaha aayo-ka-tashiga ummadnimada ku salaysan, aragtiyaha goosashada rabitaanka ku salaysan, iyo aragtiyaha goosashada cadaallad darro keentay.

Aragtiyaha aayo-ka-tashiga ummadnimada ku salaysan waxa ay hoosta ka xariiqaan muhiimadda iyo suurogalnimada in ummaduhu gostaan. Doodda aragtidani waxa ay tahay in ummaduhu ay xaq u leeyihiin in ay aayahooda ka tashadaan iyo sidoo kale in ay dawladdooda madaxa bannaan yeeshaan²¹. Ummad waa koox dad ah oo tiro badan oo hal meel ku wada nool, isla markaana wadaaga asal, sooyaal, dhaqan iyo af isku mid ah.

¹⁸ Xigasho hore, p. 23.

¹⁹ Xigasho hore

²⁰ Costa, On Theories of Secession: Minorities, Majorities and the Multinational State. CRISPP, 6(2), 63-90, 2013.

²¹ Xigasho hore

Marka la joogo aragtiyaha goosashada rabitaanka ku salaysan, goosashada waxa lagu sababeeyaa rabitaanka iyo doorashada dadweynaha dhul gaar ah ku nool. Dadweynaha dhulkaa ku nool badankoodu waa in ay taageeraan goosashada, mana aha qasab in ay noqdaan ummad gaar ah iyo in ay yihiin kuwo tirsanaya gabood fallo iyo caddaalad darro lagula kacay. Waa goosasho lagu sababaynayo keliya rabitaanka iyo doorashada dadka, sidaas ayaanay aragtidani magacaa ku qaadatay²².

Aragtiyaha goosashada cadaallad darro keentay waxa ay ku qotontaa in goosashadu ay ka dhalatay cadaalad darro iyo duudsi lagula kacay dad gaar ah, waxaana ay cadaalad darradaa u qaybisaa (inta badan) labo nooc. Ta hore waxa ay soo if baxdaa marka kooxda goosanaysaa ay la kulanto dembiyo ka dhan ah bini'aadantinnimada oo baahsan iyo takoor nidaamsan ama xad gudub. Ta labaad waxa ay timaaddaa marka dhulka goosanayaa la qabsado, ama dadka deggen iyo dhulkaba si sharci darro ah loogu daro dawladda. Marka aragtidan magaceeda la eego, ujeeddadu waa in goosashada hadafkeedu yahay in ay dawo u noqoto gabood fallo iyo cadaalad darro ay la kulmeen kooxda goosanaysaa. Si kooban, goosashada waxa laga soo qaadayaa in ay tahay dawo. Si kasta oo ay ahaatoba, aragtidan waxa lagu dhaliilaa in ay iska indho tirtay muhiimadda baadisoocda ummadnimo iyo ummadnimada ku jirta goosashooyinka, in ay ka hor timid mabaadi' da dimuqraadiga ah taas oo macnaheedu yahay in codka badan ee la siiyo goosashada la diidi karo iyada oo loo cuskanayo in aan sababta ama caddaalad

²² Xigasho hore

darrada la sababayn ama la caddayn, iyo ugu dambayn in cadaalad darrooyinka la tirsanayo ay yihiin kuwo aad loogu muransanyahay²³.

Buchanan ayaa aragtidiisa ku xusay dhowr dhaawac iyo cadaalad darro oo keena xuquuqda goosashada iyo aayoka-tashiga. Waxa dhaawacyadaas iyo cadaalad darrooyinkaas uu sheegay ka mid ah qabsasho aan cadaalad ku dhisnayn, ka faa'iidayasi, halista gumaad ama tirtirid dad iyo halista baabi'in dhaqan²⁴.

Buchanan marka lagu noqdo aragtiyihiisa goosashada, waxa uu xusay laba aragtiyood oo goosasho oo ku qotoma caado iyo hab dhaqan bulsho (aan sharci ku qotomin). Sida uu aaminsanyahay, aragtiyahani waa kuwo u tixgeliya xuquuqda goosashada mid dawo u noqota xadgudubyo iyo cadaalad darro oo keli ah ama mid xaq aasaasiya oo keli ah. Ta hore, sidii aynu horena u soo sheegnay, waa goosasho ka dhalatay cadaalad darro, lana rumaysanyahay in goosashadu ay dawo haboon u noqon karto. Dhanka kale, aragtida goosashada u arkaysa xuquuq aasaasi ah, sida tii ku dhisnayd rabitaanka iyo doorashada dadka, waxa ay ku salaysantahay muhiimadda ay leedahay xaquuqda goosashadu iyada oo aan loo eegayn arrimo kale sida cadaalad darro. Waxaase xusid mudan in aragtiyahani ay soo bandhigayaan shuruudo ay tahay in la buuxiyo si loo helo xuquuqda goosashada²⁵.

²³ Xigasho hore

²⁴ Lehning, Theories of Secession: An Introduction. In P.B. Lehning (Ed.), *Theories of Secession* (pp. 1-12). (London: Routledge, 1998).

²⁵ Buchanan, Theories of secession. *Philosophy & public affairs*, 26(1), 31-61, 1997.

Xuquuq aasaasi ah, marka aragtidan la joogo, waxa loola jeedaa xuquuq guud taas oo ay koox dad ahi u baahanyihiin in ay adeegsadaan marka ay fuliyaan shuruudo cayiman. Xuquuqdan goosashada ee aasaasiga ah, sida xuquuqda codaynta, waxa ay lagama maarmaan u tahay muwaadin kasta. Hase yeeshee, muwaadiniinta laftoodu waa in ay fuliyaan shuruudo cayiman oo ay ka mid tahay in uu muwaadin qaangaadh ah yahay, isla markaana maankiisu fayowyahay. Sidaas si la mid ah xuquuq aasaasi ahi waa xuquuq guud.

Aragtida dimuqraaddiga ah ee aayo-ka-tashiga siyaasadeed waxa ay xuquuqda aayo-ka-tashiga u tixgelisaa in ay tahay xuquuq bini'aadam, taas oo qof kasta oo waayeel ahi uu xaq u leeyahay in uu adeegsado. Aragtidani waxa ay sheegaysaa in midowga siyaasadeed ay tahay in uu noqdo mutadawacnimo, iyo in xuquuqdan ay leeyihiin kooxo ku dhaqan degaanno ay iyagu si dimuqraaddi ah u xaddideen²⁶. Marka aragtidan loo eego, xuquuqda aayo-ka-tashigu ma aha mid sheegasho (*claim right*) ee waa mid xorriyadeed (*liberty right*), taas oo macnaheedu yahay ma aha mid ay ka dhalanayaan waajibaad iyo masuuliyado ay yeelanayaan dhinacyada kale; xuquuqdan darteed dhinacyada kale waxa waajib ku ah in aanay soo faro gelin adeegsiga xuquuqdan, lakin waajib uma laha in ay taageero ka geystaan adeegsigeeda²⁷. Erayga dimuqraaddi ee la socda magaca aragtida waxa halkan looga jeedaa in ay dadku leeyihiin xuquuqda go'aan gaadhista. Marka ay

²⁶ Beran (1998), A Democratic Theory of Political Self-Determination for a New World Order.

²⁷ Xigasho hore

go'aanka gaadhayaanna waxa ay madaxbannaani u haystaan isku imaansho iyo aayo-ka-tashi; dad iyo ururro kale kama sugayaan in ay wax u go'aammiyaan iyaga.

Sida uu qabo Baer (2000)²⁸, sharciyadda goosashada iyo dawlad dhiska waxa xidhiidh la leh mabda'a siyaadada dawladda oo ka kooban saddex dhadhaar (maamul dawladeed, dhul iyo ummad). Saddexdan walxood waxa ay iftiimiyaan isla markaana tix geliyaan sharciyadda cidda dawladda xukumaysa, sababta ay isku beddelayso siyaadada dawladdu, iyo habka iyo nidaamka ay siyaadadu isku beddelayso. Arrintani waxa ay si dadban u sheegaysaa in si goosashadu sharci u noqoto, waa in dawladda cusub ee goosanaysaa ay leedahay maamul, dhul cayiman iyo dadweyne xaddidan.

Badanka dhaqdhaqaaqyada goosasho iyo dhulalka iyo dawladaaha cusub ee goostaaba waxa ay u dan leeyihiin in ay aqoonsi ka helaan dawladaaha kale iyo guud ahaan beesha caalamka. In badan oo ka tirsan aqoonyahanka culuumta siyaasadda iyo kuwa xidhiidhka caalamiga ahi waxa ay dareensanyihiin in ku gacan saydhidda aqoonsigu ay keeni karto cawaaqib aan la mahadin iyo kilaaf jiidama. Hase ahaatee kuwo kale ayaa iyana aaminsan in aqoonsiga laftiisu uu dhalin karo khilaaf iyo isdiidooyin aan wanaagsanayn.

Labada dhinac oo khilaaf ka dhaxeeyo waxa dhex mari kara laba nooc oo aqoonsi ah: (1) aqoonsi itaal daran oo ah in ay labada dhinac isku aqoonsadaan wakiillo, maamullo

²⁸ Baer (2000), Who, Why and How: Assessing the Legitimacy of Secession.

madax bannaan oo xaq u leh in ay jiraan iyo in ay u sii jiraan sidii maamul madaxbanaan; (2) aqoonsi itaal badan oo ah in intii aqoonsiga itaalka daran ay dheertahay in labada dhinac uu midba midka kale u baahanyahay in uu fahmo arrimaha aasaaska u ah sawracooda²⁹.

Marka sharciyadda la tixgeliyo, aqoonsiga dawladaha cusub waxa loo tixgeliyaa in uu yahay mid awood aasaas leh. Taasi waxa ay iftiiminaysaa in dhul xaddidan iyo maamulkiisu haddii ay u gudbaan dawladnimo in ay u baahanyihiin aqoonsiga xubnaha kale ee beesha caalamka. Dhanka kale, aragtida ismagacaabidda ee aynu hore u soo aragnay waxa ay ku doodayaa in aqoonsiga aanay lagama maarmaan u ahayn maamul siyaasadeed oo leh dhul cayiman, dad iyo maamul dawladeed oo shaqaynaya in ay dawladdu ka koobnaato, iyo in aqoonsigu uu keliya caddeeyo arrimaha sharciga ah ee jira³⁰. Aragtida, sharcinnimada dawladnimada waxa loo arkaa in ay keliya tahay xaqiiq jirta. Sida magaca aragtida ka muuqatana, goosashada waxa sababeeya sheegshada iyo ku dhawaaqidda kooxda goosanaysa.

²⁹ Geis et. al., Gradual Processes, Ambiguous Consequences: Rethinking Recognition in International Relations. In C. Daase, C. Fehl, A. Geis, & G. Kolliarakis (Eds.), *Recognition in International Relations: Rethinking a Political Concept in a Global Context* (pp.3-26). (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³⁰ Oeter, (Non-)Recognition Policies in Secession Conflicts and the Shadow of the Right of Self-Determination. In C. Daase, C. Fehl, A. Geis, & G. Kolliarakis (Eds.), *Recognition in International Relations: Rethinking a Political Concept in a Global Context* (pp. 125-140). (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Midowga Yurub dhexdiisa waxa uu muran badani ka dhashay sharciyadda aqoonsiga Kosofo, waxaana aqoonsiga Ruushku uu aqoonsaday Abkhaasiya iyo Waqooyiga Oshetiya loo fasiray in ay yihiin kuwo aargoosi ah oo ka dhashay aqoonsiga Kosofo loo aqoonsaday dawlad madaxbannaan. Marka qaddiyadahan laga yimaaddo, waxa jira siyaasado dhaqameed aqoonsi la'aan oo wajahay qaddiyado kale sida Soomaalilaand, Transnistiriya iyo Waqooyiga Qubrus³¹.

Aqoonsiga sharciga ah ee dawlad la siiyo si ay door uga ciyaarto nidaamka caalamiga ah ayaa la odhan karaa waa nooca aqoonsi ee ugu hooseeya maadaama oo dawladda ay siiso nooc tixgelin iyo ixtiraam ah³². Si kastaba ha ahaatee, waxa jirta dood ah in goosashada iyo aqoonsiga dawladdaha cusub ay tahay in loo tixgeliyo arrin sharci ama arrin dhaqan oo aan sharci shaqo ku lahayn. Sida ay dhigayso odhaah caan ah oo la gu xuso xeerka caalamiga ah ee guud, "goosashadu waa arrin xaqiiqeed ee ma aha arrin sharci"³³. Marka taas laga yimaaddo, Heshiiska Montevideo 1993 ee xeerka caalamiga ahi waxa uu dhigayaa in si dawlad ay dawladdaha kale u aqoonsadaan, waa in ay leedahay 'dadweyne rasmi ah, dhul cayiman,

³¹ Xigasho hore

³² Iser, Recognition between States? Moving beyond Identity Politics. In C. Daase, C. Fehl, A. Geis & G. Kolliarakis (Eds.), *Recognition in International Relations: Rethinking a Political Concept in a Global Context* (pp. 27-45). (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³³ Oeter (2015)

maamul iyo awood ay xidhiidh kula samayn karto dawlada kale³⁴.

Qaddiyado Goosasho oo Dhowr ah

Qaybtan waxa aynu ku eegi doonnaa dhowr qaddiyadood oo goosasho oo dhacay muddooyin kala duwan, badankoodu se wakhtigii Soomaalilaand goosatay ku dhowaa. Saddex qaddiyadahan ka mid ahi waxa ay ka dhaceen Bariga Afrika halka inta kalena ka dhacday Bariga Yurub. Qaddiyadaha Eritriya iyo Koonfurta Suudaan ayaa aynu si gaar ah u danaynaynaa madaama oo ay ka dhaceen isla gobolka ay ka dhacday goosashada Soomaalilaand oo ah Bariga Afrika. Qaddiyadda Eritriya waxa ay aad ugu egtahay, oo sumado badan la wadaagtaa tan Soomaalilaand. Waa mar e labaduba waxa ay lahaayeen sooyaal gumaysi oo ka duwan kuwa dawlada ay ka go'een; waa mar kale e labaduba la soo noqoshada madaxbannaanidooda waxa ay u mareen jid milatari iyo dagaallo ay la galeen dawlada ay ka go'ayeen oo ahaa Itoobiya iyo Soomaaliya. Sidoo kale, Eritriya waxa ay goosatay xilliga ay Soomaalilaand iyana goosashada ku dhawaaqday oo ah 1991kii, lakin waxa ay Eritriya ku heshay aqoonsi muddo kooban.

Koonfurta Suudaan waxa ay qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand xidhiidh kula leedahay, marka laga yimaaddo in ay isku gobol ka dhaceen, wadhadalka ay la gashay Suudaan si ay go'aan uga gaadho mustaqbalkeeda. Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ayaa xilligan halkaas maraya oo

³⁴ Pavkovic & Radan (2007), *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*.

wadahadal ku jira, sidaas awgeed qaddiyadda Koonfurta Suudaan waxa ku sugan casharro badan. Goosashooyinka faraha badan ee ku soo noqday Jamhuuriyaddii hore ee Yuguslaafiya waxa aynu u dooranay si aynu u fahanno doodda guud ee ka jirta goosashooyinka, sababaha keena, sida loo sababeeyo iyo qaababka ay u dhacaan. Halkan waxa aynu ka fahmi karnaa goosashooyinka ku guulaystay wadahadal iyo kuwa ku guulaystay habab kale oo loo maray.

Tan iyo sannadkii 1991kii, waxa Bariga Afrika ka dhacay ilaa saddex goosasho oo kala ah Eritriya, Soomaalilaand iyo Koonfurta Suudaan. Eritriya iyo Koonfurta Suudaan waxa ay ku guulaysteen in ay helaan aqoonsi caalami ah, halka Soomaalilaand ay weli dedaal iyo halgan ugu jirto sidii ay u heli lahayd aqoonsi caalami ah. Halgan hubaysan oo muddo 30 sanno ah qaatay oo ay Itoobiya kula jirtay ka dib, Eritriya waxa ay goosatay 1991kii, waxaana ay aqoonsi caalami ah heshay labo sanno ka dib (1993kii) markii afti laga qaaday dadweynaha Eritriya ay u codeeyeen madaxbannaani³⁵. Dhanka kale, Heshiiskii Dhammayskatirnaa ee Nabadda ee Jeeniwari 2005tii lagu kala saxeexday dalka Kiiniya, heshiiskaas oo ay gacan ka gaysatay urur goboleedka IGAD ee ay ku midoobeen dalalka Bariga Afrika, waxa ka dhashay in dadweynaha Koonfurta Suudaan ay madaxbannaani u codeeyeen aftidii la qabtay sannadkii 2011kii³⁶.

³⁵ Adam, Formation and Recognition of New States: Somaliland in Contrast to Eritrea. *Review of African Political Economy*, 21(59), 21-38, 1991; Gilkes, National identity and historical mythology in Eritrea and Somaliland. *Northeast African Studies*, 10(3), 163-187, 2003.

³⁶ Malwal (2015), *Sudan and South Sudan: From One to Two*.

Wadahadallada nabada ee Koonfurta Suudaan oo faahfaahsan waxa aynu ku arki doonnaa cutubka dambe.

Muddo yar ka dib burburkii Midowgii Soofiyet, Yuguslaafiya waxa ay wajahday goosashooyin soo noqnoqday. Aayo-ka-tashi ummadnimo ku salaysan iyo afti laga qaado shacabka si loo tixgeliyo rabitaankooda ayaa ahaa labada ilood ee ay dhammaan dhaqdhaqaaqyada goosashadu ku saleeyeen kuna sababeeyeen goosashadooda. Islofeeniya waxa ay go'day, kuna dhawaaqday madaxbannaani, 24 Juun 1991kii ka dib markii 88.4 boqolkiiba dadka Islofeeniya ay u codeeyeen madaxbannaani aftidii la ga qaaday Diisembar 1990kii. Koroweeshiya waxa ay madaxbannaani ku dhawaaqday 25 Juun 1991kii, ka dib markii afti laga qaaday bishii May 1991kii ay dadka reer Koroweeshiya 93 boqolkiiba u codeeyeen madaxbannaani. Muddo yar ka dib goosashooyinka Islofeeniya iyo Koroweeshiya, Kosofa ayaa iyana ku dhawaaqday in ay ka go'day Yuguslaafiya 18 Oktoobar 1991kii markii afti la qaaday ay dadkeeda 99.4 boqolkiiba u codeeyeen madaxbannaani. Boosniya-Hirsogofiina ayaa iyana ku dhawaaqday madaxbannaani markii dadweynaha afti laga qaaday bishii Februwari 1991kii. Bishii Abriil ee isla sannadkaana Jamhuuriyadda Seerb (ma aha Seerbiya) ayaa ku dhawaaqday in ay madaxbannaanideedii ka qaadatay, kana go'day, Boosniya-Hirsogofiina³⁷.

Cutubkan waxa aynu ku lafo gurnay goosashada iyo aayo-ka-tashiga, aragtiyaha aqooneed ee la xidhiidha iyo

³⁷ (Pavkovic, 2000), Recursive secessions in former Yugoslavia: too hard a case for theories of secession?

KALA-MAAN

qaddiyado goosasho ama aayo-ka-tashi oo dunida hore uga dhacay. Waxa muuqata in qaddiyadaha goosasho ee aynu aragnay ay xidhiidh la leeyihiin aragtiyaha aynu iyana hore u soo xusnay. Goosashadu waxa ay noqon kartaa mid ku dhisan rabitaan ummadnimo, mid ka dhalatay cadaalad darro iyo gabood fallo iyo mid ku salaysan rabitaanka iyo doonista dadka goosanaya. Sida aynu soo aragnay, ummadaha reer Islofeeniya, Koroweeshiya, Kosofo, Boosniya iyo Seerbiya waxa ay dhammaantood raadinayeen dawlado ay iyagu ummad ahaan u leeyihiin. Sidaas darteed goosashooyinkoodu waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo ku dhisan ummadnimo. Dhanka kale, goosashooyinka Koonfurta Suudaan iyo Eriteriya waxa ay ku salaysnaayeen cadaalad darrooyin ay la kulmeen, ama doonista dadkooda oo rabay in ay helaan dawlad madaxbannaan. Qaddiyadda Eriteriya ayaa iyadu inoo leh xiiso iyo muhiimad gaar ah, maadaama oo ay qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand wax badan la wadaagto sida aynu kor ku soo sheegnay.

CUTUBKA 2AAD

WADAHADALLADA NABADDA IYO GOOSASHADA

Wadahdallada nabadda ee dhex mara dhinacyo is haya waxa ay inta badan leeyihiin labo ujeedo: in ay xalliyaan khilaaf, dagaal iyo is-maan-dhaaf u dhaxeeya labada dhinac, iyo in ay go'aamiyaan musqibalka labada dhinac – in ay kala go'aan, in ay mid ahaadaan iyo in ay samaystaan nidaam maamul oo labadaa u dhexeeya. Iyada oo ay taasi jirto ayaa haddana isla hal nidaam wadahadal waxa uu gaadhi karaa labada ujeeddaba. Tusaale ahaan Heshiiskii Nabadda ee Dhammaykatirnaa (*Comprehensive Peace Agreement – CPA*) ee dhex maray dawladda Suudaan iyo Ururka Dhaqdhaqaaqa Xoraynta Dadka Suudaan (*Sudan People's Liberation Movement – SPLM*) ee ay 2005tii ku kala saxeexdeen dalka Kiiniya waxa uu u jeedkiisu ahaa in uu xal u helo khilaafka hubaysan ee u dhexeeya labada dhinac, iyo in isla jeerkaas uu go'aamiyo mustaqbalka labada dhinac; ugu dambayn waxa uu heshiiskani dhalay in 2011kii Koonfurta Suudaan ay noqoto dawlad madaxbannaan³⁸.

Wadahadalladu waxa ay door muhiim ah ka ciyaaraan habka lagu aqoonsanayo dawladaaha cusub. Inta badan dawladaaha ka go'ay dawlado kale, ka dib na la aqoonsaday waxa ay aqoonsiga ku gaadheen wadahadal. Wadahadallada noocan ahi waxa ay inta badan u dhexeeyaan dawladda goosanaysa iyo ta laga goosanayo, iyada oo inta badan ay hay'ado caalami ahi

³⁸ Malwal (2015), *Sudan and South Sudan: From One to Two*.

goob joog ka yihiin (sida Qaramada Midoobay) ama ay dawlado kale goobjoog ka yihiin. Wadahadallada noocan ah waxa tusaalayaal u noqon kara kuwa la xidhiidha qaddiyadaha Koonfurta Suudaan³⁹, Kosofa⁴⁰, Israaiil iyo Falastiin⁴¹, Qubrus⁴² iyo kan u dhexeeya Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya oo buuggani ku saabsanyahay. Marka laga hadlayo aqoonsiga dawlada cusub, xalka u dambeeya waa in aqoonsiga lagu gaadhaa wadahadallo ee aan lagu gaadhin adeegsiga xoog iyo awood. Wadahadallada waxa inta badan lagama maarmaan ka dhiga jiritaanka arrimo labada dhinacba ku dhiirri geliya in ay tanaasul la yimaadaan⁴³.

Sida uu dhigayey warmurtiyeedkii ka soo baxay shirkii Landhan ee 2012kii, ujeeddada wadahadalka Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay ahayd in go'aan laga gaadho xidhiidhka musqabalka ee labada dhinac. Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay labo dawladdood kala ahaayeen tan iyo sannadkii 1991kii, xilliganna ma jiro khilaaf hubaysan oo u dhexeeya labada dhinac.

³⁹ Xigasho hore

⁴⁰ Oeter (2015), (Non-) Recognition Policies in Secession Conflicts and the Shadow of the Right of Self-Determination.

⁴¹ Pruit, Ripeness theory and the Oslo talks. *International Negotiation*, 2(2), 237-250, 1997; Midgalovitz, The Middle East Peace Talks. Library of Congress Washington DC Congressional Research Service, 2004.

⁴² Michael (2007), The Cyprus peace talks: A critical appraisal.

⁴³ Xigasho hore

Nidaam Lagu Gaadhayo Wadahadallo Nabadeed oo Waara oo Ka Kooban Shan Marxaladood

Wadahdallada nabaddu (*peace talks*) waxa laga yaabaa in aanay inta badan lug ku lahayn arrimo goosasho iyo aqoonsi. Qaarkood waxa ay la xidhiidhaan dib-u-heshiisiin gudaha ah, oo waxa ay ka shaqeeyaan isku keenidda dhinacyo siyaasadeed ama ciidan oo khilaaf hubaysani u dhexeeyo, si loo gaadho nabadgelyo iyo degenaansho. Hase ahaatee wadahadallo dhowr ah oo si uun ula xidhiidhay goosasho iyo aqoonsi ayaa loo tixraacay in ay yihiin wadahadallo nabadeed. Waxa kuwaas ka mid ah wadahadaldii Koonfurta Suudaan, Israaiil iyo Falastiin iyo Qubrus oo dhammaantood loo aqoonsaday wadahadallo nabadeed. Wadahadallada nabaddu waxa ay markaas noqdaan labo: kuwo ka shaqeeya dib-u-heshiisiin iyo nabad la dhex dhigo kooxo isku dal ah oo dagaal u dhexeeyo, iyo kuwo ka shaqeeya kala tagga kooxo hore isku dal u ahaa oo khilaaf dhex maray, ka dibna go'aansaday in ay kala go'aan.

Harold Saunders waxa uu hirgeliyey nidaam lagu gaadhayo wadahadallo waara oo ka kooban shan marxaladood (*a five-stage process of sustainable peace talks*)⁴⁴.

Marxalada 1aad: Go'aansashada ka qayb galka wadahadallada

Waxa aan inta badan suurogal ahayn, ama wakhti lumis loo arki karaa, in ay wadahadlaan laba kooxood oo

⁴⁴ Saunders, *A public peace process: Sustained dialogue to transform racial and ethnic conflicts*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

cadow isku ah ama u muuqda in cadaawadi dhex taal. Hase ahaatee, waxa suurogal ah in la gaadho xilli ay garwaaqsadaan in la beddelo xaaladda taagan, in kasta oo ay dhibaato ka dhalan karto cidda tallaabada hore qaadaysa ama cidda wax u huraysa sidii xaaladda loo beddeli lahaa. Marxaladan koowaad labada dhinac waxa ay ku go'aansadaan in ay wadahaadlaan. Dhowr weydiimood ayaa u baahan in laga warceliyo inta lagu guda jiro marxaladan. Waxaa weydiimahaas ka mid ah, yaa tallaabada hore qaadaya? Xaalado sidee ah (is afgaradka hore, goobta, ujeeddoda, ajendaha iyo tirada kooxda) ayey wadahaadalladu ku qabsoomayaan? Iyo waa ayo ka qayb galayaashu (waa kuwee xubnaha xaqa u leh in ay ka qayb galaan wadahaadallada dhinac walba)?

Fikradda u horreysa ee ka qayb galka wadahaadalladu waxa ay ka iman kartaa labada dhinac ee wadahaadlaya midkood ama dhinac saddexaad. Wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa soo jeedintooda lahaa dhinac saddexaad. Shirkii Landhan ee 2012kii beesha caalamka ayaa labada dhinac u soo jeedisay in ay wadahaadlaan oo aayahooda dambe go'aan ka gaadhaan, iyaga oo ballan qaaday in ay taageero ka geysan doonaan qabsoomidda wadahaadallada. Waxase jirta xog aan dadka badankiisu hayn oo sheegaysa in ay jireen kulamo ay labada dhinac hore u sii sameeyeen oo gogol xaadh u ahaa wadahaadallada.

Marxalada 2aad: Astaynta iyo magac dhebidda dhibaatooyinka iyo xidhiidhada jira (labada dhinac dhexdooda)

Marxaladan oo bilaabma marka uu qabsoomo kulanka u horreeya ee wadahaadalladu, waxa uu qeexaa

dhibaatooyinka waaweyn ee u dhexeeya labada dhinac, waxaana uu u soo kala horreysiiyaa sida ay u kala baaxad weynyihiin uguna kala baahanyihiin in tixgelin la siiyo. In la magac dhebo dhibaatooyinka jira, oo la taxo, waxa ay suurtoagal ka dhigtaa in lagu qiimeeyo culayskooda, lana go'aamiyo ta loogu hor wajahayo, ta ku xigta iyo inta ka sii dambaysaba.

Marxalada 3aad: Baadhidda dhibaatooyinka iyo xidhiidhada (labada dhinac dhex yaal) si loo doorto jiho

Marxaladan marka la marayo, kooxaha wadhadlayaa waxa ay qeexaan dhibaatooyinka aasaasiga ah si ay u xalliyaan una sheegaan xidhiidhada iska hor imanaya ee keenay dhibaatooyinkan. Waxa ay intaa ka dib qorsheeyaan hababka suurtoagalka ah ee xidhiidhadaa lagu beddeli karo, waxa ay isku miisaamaan doorashooyinka jira, waxaana ay dejiyaan jiho loo dhaqaaqo. Ugu dambayn, waxa ay muujiyaan rabitaankooda sidii loo beddeli lahaa xidhiidhadaas.

Marxalada 4aad: Xaalad dhisid - wajihidda xidhiidh isbeddelaya

Ujeedadu, marka Marxaladan la joogo, waa in kooxaha wadhadalku ay gaadhaan hab fikir cusub oo wadajir ah si ay u aqoonsadaan isbeddelka la rabo, iyo in ay nashqadeeyaan xaaladdii isbeddelkaasi ku dhici lahaa. Hawlaha la fulinayo waxa ka mid ah in la taxo caqabadaha hor taagan isbeddelka la rabo, in la taxo tallaabooyinka lagama maarmaanka ah sidii caqabadaha meesha looga saari lahaa, in la go'aamiyo cid waliba tallaabada ay qaadayso, iyo in

tallaabooyinkan loo fuliyo sida ay isugu xigaan iyadoo la tixgelinayo is dhex galkooda.

Marxalada 5aad: Ka wada shaqaynta sidii uu isbeddel u dhici lahaa

Marxaladan, kooxaha wadhadalku waxa ay go'aamiyaan in la fuliyo dhammaan hawlaha lagama maarmaanka u ah sidii ay u hirgeli lahayd xaaladdii hore loo nashqadeeyey. Beddelka xidhiidhku waxa uu ka gudbaa xayndaabka kooxaha wadhadalka, waxaana uu gaadhaa ururada bulshada labada dhinac. Qabsoomidda arrintani waxa ay u baahantahay in la adeegsado hay'adaha dawladda, siyaasadeed iyo waxbarasho ee hore u jiray, in saamayn lagu yeesho qaabka ay u shaqeeyaan ama in la aasaaso hay'ado cusub oo qaban kara hawlaha la rabo. Xubnaha kooxaha wadhadlayaa waa ay iskaashadaan iyaga oo ujeedadoodu tahay in ay beddelaan fikradda, aragtida iyo xidhiidhka muwaadiniintooda. Sidaas darteed, waa in ay adeegsadaan nidaam hoos ka bilow, kor u dhisan ah. Taas macnaheedu waa in halkii ay hawlahoodu xukuumadaha ku socon (wajahnaan) lahaayeen ay shucuubtooda ku qanciyaan wixi la qaban lahaa iyo sidii isbeddel u iman lahaa⁴⁵.

Sidii aynu hore u soo xusnay wadhadallada nabaddu waxa ay noqon karaan kuwo goosasho iyo kala tag ku lug leh iyo kuwo dib-u-heshiisiin iyo nabadayn ah. Habkan shanta heer ka kooban ee uu Saunders hirgeliyey waxa loo adeegsan karaa wadhadallada goosashada la xidhiidha, wadhadallo hore u dhacay ayaana heererkan

⁴⁵ Xigasho hore

maray (in kasta oo aanay sidan u kala horreyn), si go'aan looga gaadho mustaqbalka dhul cayiman. Haddii aad soo qaadato mid ka mid ah wadahaadalladii hore u qabsoomay ee noocan ahaa, ugu horreyn labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyaan in ay wadahaadlaan si ay u go'aamiyaan aayahooda dambe. Waxa ay go'aan ka gaadhaan sida u noqonayo xidhiidhkoodu (in ay isku aqoonsadaan dhinacyo siman, dawlado, gobollo madaxbannaan, dawlado xaqiiqo ahaan u jira, kuwo sharci ahaan u jira iyo wax la mid ah), waxaana ay hoosta ka xariiqaan dhibaatooyinka dhex yaal. Waxa ay sidoo kale isla gartaan arrimaha la soo hormarinayo iyo sida lagu gaadhayo arrimaha masiiriga ah. Intaas oo dhan ka dib, waxa ay u baahanyihiin labada dhinac in ay iska kaashadaan sidii uu u iman lahaa isbeddel suurtoagal ah iyo wixii isbeddeladan lagu gaadhi lahaa. Isbeddeladan waxa ka mid ah in afti la qabto iyo tallaabooyin la mid ah, waana isbeddelo u baahan in labada dhinacba ay ka go'antahay oo aan hagrasho jirin. Tusaaleyaal arrintan la xidhiidha qaybaha dambe ee cutubkan ayeynu ku arki karnaa.

Qaddiyado Wadahaadallo Nabadeed oo Dhowr ah

Mid ka mid ah hababka ay dawlad cusubi ku dhalato waxa ka mid ah wadahaadallo dhex mara dawladda goosanaysa iyo ta laga goosanayo. Habkani waxa uu suurtoagal yahay marka ay labada dhinac ee kala go'ayaa ku heshiiyaan in ay miiska wadahaadalka isugu yimaaddaan, wada gorfeeyaan oo go'aan ka gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka. Qaddiyadda dhex taal Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ayaa tusaale fiican u noqon karta habkan. Iyaga oo kala maqnaa, oo laba

dawladdo kala ahaa, tan iyo 1991kii, ujeedka wadahaadalladan u dhexeeya labada dhinac waa in ay go'aan ka gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka.

Si aynu wax badan uga fahanno wadahaadallada noocan ah, waayo aragnimona ka helno wadahaadalladii la midka ahaa ee hore u qabsoomay, isla markaana aynu u eegno qaab is barbar dhig ah oo aynu eegayno isku mid ahaanshahooda iyo kala duwanaanshahooda, dhowr qaddiyadood oo aynu soo xulanay ayeynu halkan ku eegaynaa. Saddexda qaddiyadood ee wadahaadallada ee aynu xulanay ayaa kala ah Koonfurta Suudaan, Israaiil iyo Falastiin, iyo Qubrus. Keliya wadahaadallada Koonfurta Suudaan ayaa guulaystay, halka labada kale ay fashilmeen. Qaddiyadaha fashilmay waxa aynu u eegaynaa maadaama oo geeddi socodka wadahaadalladu bilaabmeen, muddo socdeen isla markaana ay jiraan guulo ay gaadheen. Dhanka kale, maadaama oo aynu maanka ku hayno in wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ay guul iyo guul darroba ku dhammaan karaan, ma jirto sabab aynu u tixgelinno wadahaadallada guulaystay oo keli ah. Nidaamka wadahaadallada ayaa ka mid ah waxyaalaha aynu aadka u danaynayno. Si aynu casharro uga baran karno, waxa aynu sidoo kale baadhi doonnaa sababaha keenay burburka iyo fashilka wadahaadallada Israaiil iyo Falastiin, iyo Qubrus. Wadahaadallada u dhexeeyey dawladda Suudaan iyo jabhadda SPLM waxa aynu u doorannay maadaama oo ay ka dhacday isla gobolka ay ka soo jeedaan dhinacyada wadahaadalladani u dhexeeyaan ee Bariga Afrika, halka labada wadahaadallada ee kale aynu u dooranay maadaama oo ay ka mid yihiin wadahaadallada nabadka ee ugu caansan ee dunida ka dhacay dhawaanahan.

Wadahadallada Suudaan iyo SPLM

Khilaafka u dhexeeya waqooyiga iyo koonfurta Suudaan waxa uu bilaabmay isla markii ay Boqortooyada Ingiriisku ka baxday dalkaas sannadkii 1956. Dagaalka iyo isku dhaca Suudaan waxa lagu tilmaama in uu yahay mid geeso badan leh, oo ka dhashay arrimo kala duwan sida diin, kala duwanaansho dhul iyo juquraafiyeed, midab iyo khayraad⁴⁶. Heshiiskii nabadda ee Addis Ababa lagu kala saxeexday bishii Maarj 1972 ayaa Koonfurta Suudaan lagu siiyey madaxbannaani goboleed. Nasiib darro waxa heshiiskaas ka baxday xukuumaddii Nimeyri sannadkii 1983, waxaana xilligaas bilaabmay dagaal sokeeye oo u dhexeeya labada dhinac oo socday muddo 21 sanno ah. Ugu dambayn, Heshiiskii Nabadda ee Dhammayskatirnaa ee lagu kala saxeeday dalka Kiiniya bishii Jeeniwari 2005 ayaa ay Koonfurta Suudaan ku gar dhigatay in ay xaq u leedahay aayo-ka-tashi, waxaana ay Suudaan ku qancisay in ay aqbasho oo tixgeliso aayo-ka-tashigooda. Wadahadalkan nabadeed waxa fududeeyey urur goboleedka IGAD ee ay ku bahoobeen dalalka Bariga Afrika. Heshiiskan dhexdiisa waxa la isla gartay in Koonfurta Suudaan la siiyo muddo lix sanno oo ku meel gaadh ah (Julaay 2005 ilaa Jeeniwari 2011) ka dib na afti laga qaado dadweynaha Koonfurta Suudaan. Ugu dambayn Koonfurta Suudaan waxa ay madaxbannaani ku gaadhay afti aayo-ka-tashi oo la qaaday kowdii Jeenuwari 2011kii; 98 boqolkiiba

⁴⁶ Sriram, *Peace as Governance: Power-Sharing, Armed Groups and Contemporary Peace Negotiations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

dadweynaha Koonfurta Suudaan ee ka qayb qaatay aftidani waxa ay u codeeyeen madaxbannaani⁴⁷.

Heshiiska Nabadda ee Dhammayskatiran ee 9 Jeeniwari 2005tii ay kala saxeexdeen dawladda Suudaan iyo Dhaqdhaqaaqa Xoraynta Dadka Suudaan (SPLM) waxa loo tixgeliyaa in uu yahay maxsuulkii ka soo baxay Nidaamka Nabadraadinta ee Makakos oo bilaabmay sannadkii 2002dii. Heshiiska Nabadda ee Dhammayskatiran waxa uu soo afmeeray dagaalkii sokeeye ee muddada dheer u dhexeeyey labada dhinac, waxaana ka dhashay in Koonfurta Suudaan ay noqoto dawlad madaxbannaan⁴⁸.

Borsche (2007) waxa uu heshiiska labada dhinac ee Suudaan gaadheen u soo koobay sidan⁴⁹:

Heshiiska Nabadda ee Dhammayskatiran waxa uu ka koobanyahay lix heshiis qaybeed oo ay labada dhinac kala saxeexdeen. Xaqiiqdii heshiiskani waxa uu ahaa heshiis dhammaystiran, waxaana shuruudaha ugu muhiimsan ee ku xusan Heshiiska Nabadda ee Dhammayskatiran ka mid ah:

- Koonfurta Suudaan waxa la siiyey fursad ay madaxbannaani ku heli karto, taas oo ay ku gaadhi karto afti la qabto 2011.

⁴⁷ Malwal (2015), *Sudan and South Sudan: From One to Two*.

⁴⁸ Borsche, CPA-New Sudan, Old Sudan or Two Sudan? A review of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. *Journal of African Policy Studies*, 13(1), 2007.

⁴⁹ Xigasho hore

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- Ilaa aftida laga gaadhayo, Koonfuta Suudaan waxa ay haysan doontaa madaxbannaani gudaha ah.
- Hoggaamiyaha SPLM waa in uu noqdaa madaxweyne ku xigeenka koowaad ee Suudaan.
- 28 boqolkiiba kuraasta Xukuumadda Midnimo Qaran waa in la siiyaa SPLM.
- Dakhliga ka soo xarooda shidaalka/saliidda Koonfurta waa in Koonfurta iyo Waqooyigu u qaybsadaan 50-50 (si is le'eg).
- Qaanuunka Islaamka waa in laga hirgeliyaa Waqooyiga oo keli ah, waana in lagu fuliyaa Muslimiinta oo qudha.
- Ciidammada Qalabka sida ee Suudaan (*Sudanese Armed Forces - SAF*) iyo Ciidammada Xoraynta Dadka Suudaan (*Sudan People's Liberation Army - SPLA*) waa in ay noqdaan ciidammada sharciga ah ee hubaysan ee dalka ka jira.
- Labada ciidan waa in ay kala qaybsanaadaan, laakiin waa in la sameeyo qaybo isku dhaf ah.
- Dawladda Suudaan waxa ay Koonfurta kagala soo bixi doontaa 91,000 oo askari muddo labo sanno iyo badh ah, halka SPLA ay haysato 8 bilood si ay ciidammadeeda ugala soo baxdo Waqooyiga.

- Sidoo kale, Waqooyiga iyo Koonfurtu waa in ay lahaadaan nidaamyo bangi iyo lacag kala duwan.

In kasta oo heshiisyadaas tirada badan la isla gaadhay, haddana heshiisku waxa uu lahaa dhaliilo iyo meelo uu ka itaal darnaa. Heshiisku waxa uu ku guuldarraystay in uu go'aan ka gaadho sida uu noqonayo xaalka gobolka Abyey. Waxa xaaladda Abyey lagu go'aamiyey Is Afgaradka Xallinta Khilaafka Abyey. Nasiib darrada ugu weyn ayaa ah in gobolkan shidaalka/saliidda qaniga ku ahi uu ilaa goosashadii Koonfurta Suudaan ku dhex xannibanyahay Suudaan iyo Koonfurta Suudaan juquraafi ahaan, siyaasad ahaan iyo isir ahaanba. Ma jirto dawlad ka talisa dhulkan lagu muransanyahay, waxase gacanta ku haya ciidammo nabad ilaalineed oo ka socda Qaramada Midoobay (Xoogagga Nabadgelyada ee Qaramada Midoobay ee Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Abyey - UNISFA), xooggagan ayaana xaaladda gobolka dusha ka ilaalaynayey ilaa 2011kii⁵⁰.

Wadahadallada Nabadda ee Israaiil iyo Falastiin (Nidaamkii Oslo)

Ka gadaal khilaaf jiidamay muddo dheer oo u dhexeeyey Israaiil iyo Falastiin, iyo Israaiil iyo dhowr dawladdood oo Carbeed, waxa ay Israaiil iyo Falastiin ugu dambayn heshiis ku gaadheen magaalada Oslo ee dalka Noorwey sannadkii 1993kii. Heshiisyada Oslo oo la kala saxeexday

⁵⁰ Al Jazeera, Abyei, a Non-State Entity of Post-War Sudanese Divide. Retrieved on 26 September 2017 from: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/2015/06/abeyi-state-entity-post-war-sudanese-divide-150630111015511.html>, 2015.

9 Sebteembar 1993kii waxa ay keeneen aqoonsi laba geesood ah oo dhex mara Ururka Xoraynta Falastiin (PLO) iyo Israaiil; PLO iyo hoggaamiyahoodii Yaasir Carafaat waxa ay aqoonsadeen jiritaanka Dawladda Israaiil, halka ismaamul Falastiiniyiinta loo sameeyey. Labada dhinac waxa ay sidoo kale muujiyeen sida ay uga go'antahay sii wadista wadahadalladu⁵¹. Hoggaamiyeyaasha PLO waxa ay gacmaha ka laabteen dhammaan wixii rabshado lug ku leh, waxaana ay ballan ku qaadeen adkaynta nabadgelyada, degenaanshaha iyo wada noolaanshaha.

Heshiiskii ku-meel-gaadhka ahaa ee Oslo II (sidoo kalena loo yaqaan Heshiisyada Taba) ee la saxeexay 28 Sebteembar 1995kii waxa ay is dul taageen arrimo dhaafsiisan nabadgelyo iyo aqoonsi. Waxa lagu heshiiyey iskaashiga labada dhinac, arrimo la xidhiidha wadaniyad iyo doorashooyin, xidhiidh dhaqaale, arrimo sharci iyo sii deynta maxaabiista Reer Falastiin⁵².

Nasiib darro, wadahadallada Oslo ugu dambayntii waa ay burbureen, waxaana loo aaneeyaa in ay arrimo kala duwani door ku lahaayeen burburka iyo fashilka wadahadallada. In kasta oo arrimo caalami ah iyo kuwo heer gobol ahiba lug ku lahaayeen burburka, waxa haddana jira sababo gaar ah. Sida ay ku doodeen dhowr cilmi baadhe oo arrimahan baadhay, burburku waxa uu ka dhashay fulin la'aanta heshiisyadii hore. Qodobada kale ee iyaguna door ku laha burburka waxa ka mid ahaa: dhismayaasha iyo degaamaynta Israaiil ee aan

⁵¹ Pruitt (1997), Ripeness theory and the Oslo talks; Migdalovitz (2004), The Middle East Peace Talks.

⁵² Migdalovitz (2004), The Middle East Peace Talks.

joogsiga lahayn, itaal darrada Yaasir Carafaad ee uu xakamayn kari waayey weerarada Israaiil kaga imanaya dhankiisa, iyo habka ay labada dhinacba wadahaadallada u galeen. Arrimahani waxa ay dhaawaceen kalsoonidii iyo is aaminaaddii labada dhinac u dhaxaysay. Qodob kale oo xusid mudan ayaa isna ahaa doorka aan dhexdhexaadnimada ahayn ee uu Maraykanku ku lahaa wadahaadallada, isaga oo u janjeedhay dhanka Israaiil. Marka laga yimaaddo fulin la'aanta, guuldarrada wadahaadallada waxa qayb ku lahaa asalka aqoonsigii laba geesoodka ahaa ee dhacay 1993 ee dhex maray Israaiil iyo PLO. Isdiidooyinka jira waxa ka mid ahaa in Israaiil ay PLO u aqoonsatay wakiilka sharciga ah ee Falastiin, laakin marna ma ay aqoonsan in ay Falastiin xaq u leedahay dawladnimo. Sidaas si la mid ah, PLO waxa ay Israaiil u aqoonsatay dawlad jirta, laakin marna ma ay aqoonsan dhaqdhaqaaqyada ay Yuhuuddu dawlad ku raadsato (*Zionism*)⁵³.

Wadahaadallada Nabadda ee Qubrus (Qorshihii Anan)

Qubrus waxa ay qaybsanayd ilaa iyo 1960meeyadii. Gelitaankii Turkiga ee Qubrus uu galay 1974kii, iyo kala qaybintii ku xigtay ee loo kala qaybiyey Qubrus qayb Giriig ah iyo qayb Turki ah ayaa xaaladda cirka ku sii shareertay. Waxaana bilaabantay kala qaybsanaan ku

⁵³ Rynhold, Realism, Liberalism, and the Collapse of the Oslo Process: Inherently Flawed or Flawed Implementation? In G. Ben-Porat (Ed.), *The Failure of the Middle East Peace Process? A Comparative Analysis of Peace Implementation in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa* (pp. 111-132). (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

salaysan dhul iyo dad ama isir. Qubrus waxa ay hadda u qaybsantahay laba qaybood oo dhinacna dad Giriig ahi degenyihiin dhinacna dad Turki ah. Dhinac kastana waxa saamayn weyn ku leh dalka ay isir wadaagta yihiin dadkiisa.

Xoghayihii hore ee Qaramada Midoobay Koofi Anan (1997 - 2006) ayaa waxa uu bilaabay qorshe uu ku wadhadashiinayo labada Qubrus oo uu isugu keenayo miiska wadhadallada. Qorshaha wadhadallada uu Koofi Anan hindisay waxa uu bilaabmay Noofembar 2002dii waxaana uu fashilmay Abriil 2004tii. Fashilka wadhadallada ku yimid sannadkii 2004tii waxa loo aaneeyaa arrimo dhowr ah oo isugu jira kuwo siyaasadeed, dhaqan, taariikheed iyo juquraafisyaasadeed. Waxa sidoo kale labada dhinac dhex taallay kalsooni darro iyo is aaminaad la'aan weyn oo dhalisay is afgaran waa iyo kala duwanaansho. Si kooban, wadhadallada ka dhexeeyey labada dhinac waa ay ku fashilmeen in ay heshiis dhex dhigaan labada dhinac, iyo in ay go'aamiyaan sida uu noqonayo xidhiidhkooda mustaqbal iyo aayahoodu⁵⁴.

Marka laga yimaaddo arrimahaas guud, waxa jiray arrimo si gaar ah loogu aanaynayey guuldarrada wadhadallada. Arrimahaas waxa ka mid ah in dhexdhexaadiyayaashu (Xoghayaha Qaramada Midoobay iyo ergada kale ee ka socotay Qaramada Midoobay) ay xisaab qaldan ka qaateen aragtida guud ee dadka Giriigga ah ee Qubrus; waxa ay ku fashilmeen in ay fahmaan halka ay taariikh ahaan Giriigga Reer Qubrus ka taagnaayeen nidaam federal ah oo xal laga

⁵⁴ Michael (2007), The Cyprus peace talks: A critical appraisal.

dhigo; waxa ay buunbuuniyeen awoodda ay kooxo muwaadiniin ah oo isku dhaf ah (oo ka kooban Turkida iyo Giriigta Qubrus) ku beddeli karaan aragtida iyo fikirka dadka Giriigta Qubrus, iyo in ay iska dhaadhiciyeen in habkii ku shaqeeyey dadka Turkida Qubrus uu ku shaqayn karo isla dadka Giriigta Qubrus. Arrimo kale oo heer gobol iyo juquraafi-siyaasadeed ahaa oo guuldarrada qorshaha Koofi Anan ka qayb qaatay waxa ka mid ahaa isbeddel xukuumadeed oo ku soo noqnoqday Giriigga; Turkiga oo siyaasaddii gobolka awooddeedii u jeediyey dhinaca dagaalka Ciraaq; iyo itaal darrada Midowga Yurub ay awoodi waayeen in ay sameeyaan kuna dhaqmaan siyaasad deggen oo ay Qubrus kula macaamilaan⁵⁵.

Cutubkan waxa aynu ku eegnay wadahaadallada nabadda iyo goosashada, inaga oo is dul taagnay dhowr qaddiyadood. In kasta oo sida aynu soo aragnay ay guuldarraysteen wadahaadalladii u dhexeeyey Israaiil iyo Falastiin, iyo labada Qubrus, waxa iyagu guulaystay wadahaadalladii u dhexeeyey labada Suudaan, ama Suudaan iyo jabhaddii SPLM. Guusha wadahaadallada Suudaan iyo aftida markii dambe dhalisay Koonfurta Suudaan oo noqota dawlad madaxbannaan waxa ay rajo fiican u tahay Soomaalilaand, waxaana suurtoagal ah in Soomaalilaand ay jidkaas oo kale maro. Haddii ay Soomaaliya maro jidka ay Suudaan martay, waxa ay ogolaan kartaa in dadweynaha Soomaalilaand rabitaankooda la tixgeliyo oo afti laga qaado. Haddii markaas ay u codeeyaan in ay noqdaan dawlad

⁵⁵ Xigasho hore

KALA-MAAN

madaxbannaan sida Koonfurta Suudaan ay
madaxbannaanidooda helaan.

CUTUBKA 3AAD

SOOMALILAAND IYO SOOMAALIYA: SOOYAAL KOOBAN

Sida uu Confucius yidhi “tagtada baro si aad u qeexo timaaddada”⁵⁶. Si loo fahmo asalka wadahadalladan, mustaqbalkoodana loo saadaalin karo, waxa lagama maarmaan ah in dib loo eego dhacdooyinka iyo arrimaha taariikheed ee saamayn toos ah ama mid dadban, mid weyn ama mid yar, ku yeelan kara wadahadallada iyo waxa ka soo bixi doonaba. Cutubkani waxa uu is dul taagayaa taariikhda casriga ah ee labada dal. Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay leeyihiin sooyaal gumeysi oo kala duwan; waxa ay midoobeen isla markii ay gobannimada qaateen; waxaana ay dib u kala tageen markii ay dagaalladii qadhaadhaa ee u dhexeeyey jabhadaha iyo taliskii militarigu keeneen burburka dawladdii dalku lahaa. Sidaas darteed, cutubkan waxa aan u qaybinaynaa saddex qaybood: qaybta koowaad waxa ay baadhaysaa waagii gumaysiga (1960kii ka hor); qaybta labaad waxa ay lafa guraysaa muddadii ay labada dal midowga ku wada jireen oo ilaa soddon sanno ahaa (1960-1991); qaybta saddexaad waxa ay baadhaysaa burburkii Dawladdii Soomaaliyeed ka dib, goosashadii Soomaalilaand, iyo isku beddelkii Soomaaliya ay isku beddeshay dal fashilmay oo ku sifoobay colaado iyo dagaallo (1991kii ka dib). In kasta oo aan sooyaalka Soomaalida laga geyoonayn, ujeedada cutubkani waa in la is dul taago dhacdooyinka taariikheed ee sida gaarka

⁵⁶ Xigashooyin taariikheed oo ay sameeyeen Goodreads.com, Confucius. Halkan ayaa laga geli karaa: <http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/history>

ah saamayn ugu yeelan kara wadhadallada iyo xidhiidhka labada dhinac. Maadaama oo bini'aadamku inta badan wax ka barto waayo aragnimadiisa hore, dhacdooyinkaasi waxa aynu ka dheehan doonnaa sida uu noqon karo masiirka labada dhinac iyo xidhiidhkooda mustaqbal.

Waagii Gumeysiga

Umadda Soomaaliyeed waa dad u badan xoolo dhaqato reer guuraa ah, waxaana ay muddo dheer degi jireen, welina ku dhaqanyihiin Geeska Afrika. Waagii la qaybsanayey qaaradda Afrika, ee Gumeystayaashii Reer Yurub qaybsanayeen, dhulka Soomaalida ee dhaca Bariga Afrika waxa sababo kala duwan u danaynayey gumeystayaal kala duwan. Saddex quwadood oo ka mid ah gumeystayaashii Reer Yurub - Ingiriis, Faransiis iyo Talyaani - ayaa ku lug lahaa tartanka loogu jiro qabsashada dhulka Soomaalida qarnigii 19aad. Labo dal oo Afrikaan ah (Masar iyo Abasiiniya) ayaa iyaga laftoodu tartanka qayb ka ahaa, oo damac kaga jiray dhulka Soomaalida. Boqortooyadii Cusmaaniyiinta ayaa dhowr dekedood oo ku teedsan Badda Cas waxa ay 1866kii ku wareejisay Dawladdii Khadiifa Ismaaciil ee ka talinaysay Masar iyo Suudaan; Dawladdan Khadiifa ayaa markii dambe sheegatay in ay xeebaha Soomaalidu ay ka mid ahaayeen dhulkii ay Boqortooyadu ku wareejisay⁵⁷.

Soomaalida badankeedu waxa ay ahaayeen dad xoolo dhaqato ah, halka dhulka koonfurta ee webiyada leh ay

⁵⁷ Lewis (1988), *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*.

beeraley ahaayeen. Sidoo kale xeebta Soomaalida ee aadka u dheer waxa ay ahayd mid istaraatiiji ah gaar ahaan dhanka ganacsiga. Ingiriisku waxa uu Cadan ku sugnaa ilaa 1839kii. Cadan waxa ay dhanka kale ka saarantahay Badda Cas. Ujeeddada ugu weyn ee uu gumeystihii Ingiriis u soo degay dhulka Soomaalidu (Soomaalilaand) waxa ay ahayd in uu hilib daray ah uga diro ciiddamadiisa ku sugan Cadan, maadaama oo Cadan uu u adeegsan jiray in ay xarun u noqoto safarada u gooshaya Hindiya⁵⁸. Danta uu Faransiisku ka lahaa Jabuuti waxa ay u badnayd mid istaraatiijiyadeed, halka danta uu Talyaanigu ka lahaa dhulka Soomaalidu (Soomaaliya) ay isugu jirtay mid istaraatiijiyadeed iyo mid dhaqaale, iyada oo la ogyahay in uu Talyaanigu markii dambe si aad ah uga faa'iidaystay waxsoosaarka muuska.

Ugu dambayn dhulkii Soomaaliyeed waxa loo qaybiyey shan gobol:

1. Dhulka Soomaalida ee Ingiriisku haysto (*British Somaliland*) oo gacanta Boqortooyada Ingiriis galay,
2. Dhulka Soomaalida ee Talyaanigu haysto (*Italian Somaliland*) oo Talyaanigu qabsaday,
3. Dhulka Soomaalida ee Faransiisku haysto (*French Somaliland*) oo Faransiisku la wareegay,
4. Gobolka Ogaadeen iyo Dhulka Kaydka ah (*Ogaden and Reserved Area*) oo Abasiiniya (Itoobiya) ka mid noqday, iyo

⁵⁸ Xigasho hore

5. Gobolka Soomaalida ee Kiiniya (*Northern Frontier District – NFD*) oo lagu daray Kiiniya.

Ka dib markii ay heshiisyo rasmi ah la galeen beelaha degaannada dega iyo madax dhaqameedka, Boqortooyada Ingiriisku waxa ay Maxmiyadda Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand aasaastay 1887kii. Faransiiska oo dhulka Jabuuti haystay ayaa isku dayey in uu ku soo durko dhulka Soomaalilaand, Ingiriiska ayaa se jawaab ka bixiyey arrintaas. Muran ka dib, labada dhinac waxa ay kala saxeexdeen heshiis (*the Anglo-French Treaty*) sannadkii 1888kii, heshiiskan ayaana lagu qeexay xudduudda labada dhul ee ay kala haystaan (Soomaalilaand iyo Jabuuti).

Gumeystaha Talyaanigu waxa uu sidoo kale la wareegay gacan ku haynta Soomaaliya ka dib markii uu heshiisyo la galay beelaha degaanka ah iyo weliba Boqorka Sansibaar. Wadahadal u dhexeeyey Ingiriiska iyo Talyaaniga ka dib, waxa ay labada dhinac heshiis (*the Anglo-Italian Protocol*) kala saxeexdeen Maarij 1891kii, heshiiskaas oo qeexay xuduudda u dhaxaysa Dhulka Soomaalida ee Ingiriisku haysto iyo Dhulka Soomaalida ee Talyaanigu haysto (Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya). Waxa xusid mudan in Talyaanigu uu sidoo kale wadahadalladan uga qayb galay isaga oo ilaaliye u ah Abasiiniya. Sidaas darteed, xuduudda u dhaxaysa Dhulka Soomaalida ee Ingiriiska iyo Abasiiniya ayaa la qeexay 1897kii; arrintani may soo ifbixin ilaa 1934kii markii ay guddi ka kooban Ingiriis iyo Itoobiya isku dayeen in ay calaamadiyaan xuduudda. Arrintaasina waxa ay keentay kacdoonka dadkii Reer Soomaalilaand

oo dhalisay dhimashada xubin ka mid ah guddidii calaamadinaysay xuduudda⁵⁹.

Intii lagu gudo jiray Dagaalkii Labaad ee Adduunka, Talyaanigu waxa uu qabsaday Soomaalilaand oo markii hore Ingiriis haystay. Hase ahaatee toddoba bilood ka dib Ingiriisku dib ayuu u qabsaday Soomaalilaand. Sidoo kale Dhulkii Soomaalida ee Talyaanigu haystay (Soomaaliya) iyo gobolka Ogaadeen waxa qabsaday xulafadii Ingiriisku qaybta ka ahaa, wakhtigaas oo uu socday olole Talyaaniga lagaga xoraynayey Itoobiya. Arrintani waxa ay dhalisay in dhammaan degaannadii Soomaalidu, marka laga reebo Dhulka Soomaalida ee Faransiiska, ay gacanta Ingiriiska galaan, waxaana uu Ingiirsku afar degaan oo ka mid ah shantii Soomaaliyeed ka talinayey muddo ku dhow toban sanno. Ugu dambayn go'aan ka soo baxay Golaha Guud ee Qaramada Midoobay ayaa waxa 21 Noofembar 1949kii Soomaaliya gacanta loogu geliyey wisaayad Talyaani ah oo ay Qaramada Midoobay ogolaatay. Isaga oo Ingiriisku fulinaya heshiiskii Ingiriiska iyo Itoobiya hore u dhex maray (*Anglo-Ethiopian Agreements*) waxa uu gobolkii Ogaadeen ku wareejiyey Itoobiya bishii Sebteembar 1948kii⁶⁰.

Xilliyadaas uu dhammaaday Dagaalkii Labaad ee Adduunku waxa guud ahaan Afrika ka bilaabmay dhaqdhaqaaqyo gobannimo doon ah. Dhaqdhaqaaqyadaas kuwo la mid ah oo ay weheliyaan dedaallo lagu raadinayo midnimo dhex marta shanta Soomaaliyeed ayaa sidoo kale Soomaalida ka dhex

⁵⁹ Xigasho hore

⁶⁰ Xigasho hore

bilaabmay. Dedaalladaas gobannimo doonka ahaa oo muddo qaatay ka dib, Soomaalilaand ayaa noqotay dalkii ugu horreeyey ee si buuxda gobannimo u hela shanta Soomaaliyeed, waxaana ay 26 Juun 1960kii gobannimodeedii ka qaadatay Ingiriiska. Soomaaliya ayaa iyaduna gobannimodeeda ka qaadatay Talyaaniga 1 Julaaay 1960kii. Waxa xusid mudan in iyada oo tobankii sanno ee wisaayada Talyaanigu ay ku eekayd bisha Diisambar 1960kii, ay xornimada Soomaalilaand soo dedejisay oo ka dhigtay Julaaay, maadaama oo ay labada dal rabeen in ay midoobaan.

Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya - iyaga oo laba taariikhood oo kala duwan gobannimadooda qaatay; laba madax kala lahaa; laba gole baarlamaan kala lahaa; labo dastuur kala lahaa; labo ciidan kala lahaa, laakiin calan isku mid ah oo ka turjumaya midaynta shanta Soomaaliyeed leh - ayaa ay midoobeen 1 Julaaay 1960kii. Dhanka kale, Jabuuti waxa ay ku sii jirtay gacanta Faransiiska ilaa 1977kii, Gobolka Ogaadeen waxa uu ka sii mid ahaa Itoobiya, halka NFD ay sii ahayd gobol ka mid ah dalka Kiiniya. Maadaama oo ujeeddada cutubkani tahay in si gaar ah aynu ugu eegno xidhiidhka taariikheed ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya iyo sida ay halka ay kala taaganyihiin wakhti xaadirkan ku soo gaadheen, waxa aynu is dul taagi doonnaa midnimadoodii iyo wixii ka dambeeyey.

Waagii Midnimada (1960-1991)

Ugu horrayn labo arrimood oo muhiim ah ayaa u baahan in hoosta laga xariiqo: Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay lahaayeen sooyaal gumeysi oo kala duwan, waxaana ay ku kala hoos jireen laba gumayste oo kala

duwan (Ingiriis iyo Talyaani); Soomaalilaand intii aanay si bilaa shuruud ah u la midoobin Soomaaliya waxa ay dal xor ah ahayd shan maalmood. Reer Soomaalilaand waxa ay midnimada u hureen wax ka badan inta ay u hureen Reer Soomaaliya⁶¹. Waxa ugu weyn ee la sheegi karo ee ay u bixiyeen midnimadu waa in ay ka tanaasuleen dawladnimadii iyo gobannimodii uu Ingiriisku siiyey, iyaga oo ka door biday in la helo dawlad ay Soomaali ku midaysantahay. Nasiib darro filashadoodii iyo qorshaha sidii ay ku wadeen wax badan ayaa iska beddelay; waxaana ay xaqiiqooyin ka duwan rejadoodii la kulmeen markii ay Muqdisho tageen. Waxa ay aaminsanyihiin Reer Soomaalilaand in ay uga tanaasuleen dawladnimadoodii si ay jidka ugu sii xaadhaan, tusaale fiicanna ugu noqdaan Soomaalidii kale ee Jabuuti, Itoobiya iyo Kiiniya.

Waxa in badan doodi ka taagantahay qaabka uu u dhacay midowga Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya iyo nooca uu ahaa axdiga midowga ee lagu heshiiyey. Sida uu sheegay Maxamed Xaaji Ibraahim Cigaal oo ahaa Raysal Wasaaraha Soomaalilaand xilligii ay xornimada qaadatay, baarlamaankii Soomaalilaand ee wakhtigaasi waxa ay ka doodeen oo markii dambena ansixiyeen nuqul axdi midow ah oo ka kooban 23 qodob. Qorshuhuna waxa uu ahaa in marka Xamar la tago laga doodo nuqulkan iyo haddii uu jiro nuqul ay Soomaaliyana la timaaddo, ka dibna si wada jir ah loo ansixiyo. Si kasta oo ay ahaatoba, markii Muqdisho la tagey ee Golihii Shacabka ee wadajirka ahaa uu fadhiistay – Golahaas oo xubnaha lagu kala badnaa (33

⁶¹ Xigasho hore

xubnood oo ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand iyo 90 xubnood oo ka soo jeeda Soomaaliya) - nuqulkii ay Reer Soomaalilaand soo diyaariyeen lama tixgelin. Maadaama oo koonfurtu ay golaha ku lahayd aqlabiyad weyn, waxa ay golaha keeneen, markii dambena ansixiyeen axdi midow oo ka kooban laba qodob: (1) labadii dawladdoodna waa la isku daray, (2) labadii baarlamaanna waa la isku daray⁶².

Nuqulka axdiga ay Soomaalilaand soo diyaarisay, sida uu Cumar Carte Qaalib faahfaahiyey, waxa uu dhigayey in awoodda dalka si siman loo qaybsado. Waxa uu dhigayey in haddii madaxweynaha jamhuuriyaddu dhinac ka yimaaddo, raysal wasaaruhu dhinaca kale ka yimaaddo; in labada dhinac ay kuraas isku mid ah ku yeeshaan Golaha Shacabka (Baarlamaanka); in haddii dhinac qaato caasimadda jamhuuriyadda, caasimadda dhanka kale ay martigeliso qunsuliyadaha shisheeye. Hase ahaatee waxa dhammaan shuruudahan ku gacan saydhay xildhibaannadii iyo wakiilladii ka socday Soomaaliya, waxaana ay ku adkaaysteen midnimo

⁶² Horn Cable TV waxa ay barnaamijkooda *Dib u Xusuuso Taariikhda* sannadkii 2015 ku soo qaateen iscasilaaddii uu Madaxweyne Cigaal uu u gudbiyey baarlamaanka Soomaalilaand ee ay baarlamaankuna ka diideen. Ka dib markii ay baarlamaanku ka diideen, hadal uu ka horjeediyey oo uu ku faahfaafhinayey sababta uu iscasilaadda u soo gudbiyey, waxa uu kaga hadlay dhowr dhacdo oo taariikh ah oo ay ka mid ahaayeen midowgii 1960, wakhtigaas oo uu ahaa Raysalwasaarihii Maxmiyadda Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand. Halkan ka eeg khudbadda madaxweynaha:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3cTwCnFeRC4>

degdeg ah oo bilaa shuruud ahi in ay dhex marto labada dal⁶³.

Baarlamaankii Soomaalilaand waxa uu ansixiyey axdiga ay iyagu diyaariyeen intii u dhaxaysay bilihii Abriil ilaa Juun 1960kii, waxaana ay u gudbiyeen sida aynu soo aragnay Baarlamaankii Maamulkii Talyaaniga. Baarlamaanka Soomaaliya waxa uu ka dooday, dabeetana ansixiyey axdi midow oo ka duwan kaas hore 30 Juun 1960kii, mana jirin in labada baarlamaan wada fadhiisteen oo axdi isku mid ah ansixiyeen. Maadaama oo aan labada baarlamaanba xubnahoodu wada saxeexin axdiga midowga, saxeexaas oo sharci ahaan loo baahnaa, midowga Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ma haysto sharciyad⁶⁴.

Muqdisho oo ahayd caasimaddii Soomaaliya ayaa noqotay caasimadda Jamhuuriyadda Soomaaliyeed. Dhammaan kuraastii muhiimka ahayd sida madaxweynihii, raysal wasaarihii, wasiiraddii cuslaa iyo taliyayaashii ciidammada waxa qaadatay koonfur. Markii uu Raysal Wasaare Cabdirashiid Cali Sharmaarke soo dhisay xukuumaddiisii u horreysay, afar iyo toban wasiir oo uu magacaabay waxa Soomaalilaand la siiyay afar keli ah. Sida uu Bulhan (2008) u dhigay “midnimo

⁶³ Odowa, What Can Current Leaders in Somalia Learn From their Past History? In *Somalia Clan and State Politics. ITPCM International Commentary*, IX(34), 19-23, 2013.

⁶⁴ Walls, A Somali Nation-State: History, Culture and Somaliland's Political Transition. (Pisa: Ponte Invisibile, 2014); Jama, Somaliland: A Political History. (Pisa: Ponte Invisibile, 2017)(Ed.).

bilaa shuruud ahi waxa ay noqotay midnimo ku dhisan sinnaan la'aan"⁶⁵.

Cago jiid iyo niyad jab ay dadka Soomaalilaand ka muujiyeen midnimada ayaa muddo yar gudahood soo ifbaxay, dhowr dhacdo oo xilligaas dhacay ayaana inna tusinaya arrintan. 20 Juun 1961kii waxa Jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliyeed ka qabsoontay afti lagu meel marinayo dastuurkii ay labada dal ku midoobeen. Xisbigii siyaasadeed ee ugu awoodda badnaa Soomaalilaand SNL (*Somali National League*) ayaa qaadacay aftidan. Waxa ay taasi dhalisay in tiro ka badan konton boqolkiiba, tiradii guud ee ka codaysay Soomaalilaand ay diidaan dastuurkii oo maya ku codeeyaan⁶⁶.

Dhacdo kale oo xusid mudan waxa ay ahayd afgembigii fashilmay ee saraakiil Reer Soomaalilaand ahi ay ka fuliyeen Soomaalilaand Diisembar 1961kii. In kasta oo isku dayga saraakiishu dhicisoobay, waxa haddana la dheehan karaa, iyaguna ay in badan ku doodeen, in ujeeddadu ahayd in Soomaalilaand ay midnimada ka noqoto, iyada oo afgembigu uu ka dhacay Soomaalilaand uun ee aanu ka dhicin koonfurta. Waxa isla xilligaas aad loo aaminsanaa in xubno ka mid ah Xisbiga SNL ay qayb ka ahaayeen qorshaha afgembiga⁶⁷. Dhanka kale waxa iyana jirta dood ah in isku dayga afgembiga ay sabab u ahayd tabashooyin ciidan (gaar ahaan derajo iyo

⁶⁵ Bulhan (2008), *Politics of Cain: One hundred years of crises in Somali politics and society*. P. 59

⁶⁶ Lewis (1988), *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*.

⁶⁷ Xigasho hore

dallacsiin) oo ka dhex jirtay saraakiisha ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand.

Ka dib markii ay dalka ka talinaysay dawlad rayid ah muddo sagaal sannadood ah oo ay yeelatay labo madaxweyne (Aadan Cabdulle Cismaan iyo Cabdirashiid Cali Sharmaarke) iyo saddex raysal wasaare (Cabdirashiid Cali Sharmaarke, Cabdirisaaq Xaaji Xuseen iyo Maxamed Xaaji Ibraahim Cigaal), waxa dalka afgambi milatari kula wareegay 21 Oktoobar 1969kii taliyihii ciidanka milatariga Jamhuuriyadda Soomaaliyeed Maxamed Siyaad Barre. Askartu, iyaga oo ka faa'iidayanaya fursadda, waxa ay afgembiga fuliyeen shan beri uun ka dib dalkii Madaxweyne Cabdirashiid Cali Sharmaarke - Madaxweynaha waxa 15kii Oktoobar lagu dilay magaalada Laascaanood - iyada oo xukuumaddii rayidka ahayd halgan ugu jirta sidii ay u beddeli lahayd madaxweynaha la dilay⁶⁸.

Taliskii askarta ee uu madaxda ka ahaa Siyaad Barre oo dalka ka arriminayey muddo kow iyo labaatan sanno ah (1969-1990), waxa la aaminsanyahay in uu dalka ka geystay dembiyo dagaal oo ka dhan ah bini'aadantinnimada. Dad badan ayaa aaminsan in

⁶⁸ Lewis (1988), *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*; Bulhan (2008), *Politics of Cain: One hundred years of crises in Somali politics and society*; Odowa (2013), *What Can Current Leaders in Somalia Learn From their Past History?*; Ingiriis, *The suicidal state in Somalia: The rise and fall of the Siad Barre regime, 1969–1991*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2016a); Ingriis, "We Swallowed the State as the State Swallowed Us": The Genesis, Genealogies, and Geographies of Genocides in Somalia. *African Security*, 9(3), 237-258, 2016b.

dembiyada ka dhanka ah bini'aadantinnimada iyo gabood fallada ay dawladda milatariga ahi ka geysatay Soomaalilaand dabayaaqadii 1980meeyadii loo tixgelin karo, amaba ay ahayd xasuuq. Aqoon baadhayaal iyo aqoonyahan kale ayaa iyaguna qaba in wixii ka dhacay Soomaalilaand aanu xasuuq gaadhsiisnayn ee lagu sheegi karo dembiyo dagaal, ku-xad-gudub xuquuqda aadamaha ah oo baaxad weyn, gabood fallo ilaa tirtirid beeleed.

Dhammaan doodahani waxa ay cuskanayaan in marka laga yimaaddo dagaalka u dhexeeyey Ciidammada Dawladda iyo jabhadda SNM, si gaar ah loo beegsaday beesha Isaaq. Dadka shacabka ah ee beesha ka soo jeeda markii guryahoodii iyo magaalooyinkoodii lagu beegsaday, ee ay ka qaxeen, waxa xataa la gaadhsiiyey in diyaaraduhu ka dabo tagaan oo garaacaan markii ay u sii socdeen xeryaha qaxoontiga ee Itoobiya iyaga oo lugaynaya, aan cunto iyo biyo haysan, carruurta iyo dadka jilicsan sida, oo xataa jidka dumarku ku dhalayaan⁶⁹. Sida ku cad Warbixintii Gersony ee ay soo saaristiisa qaybta ka ahayd Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda ee Maraykanku sannadkii 1989kii, ugu yaraan 5000 oo qof oo shacab aan hubaysnayn ah ayaa ku dhintay gacanta ciidammada dawladda meelaha ka baxsan goobaha dagaalka, iyada oo dadkaas loo laayey keliya qabiilka ay yihiin dartiis (Isaaq)⁷⁰. Marka la eego falalka milatari ee dawladdu kula kacday dadkii

⁶⁹ Kapteijns, *Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

⁷⁰ Kapteijns (2013), *Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991*.

Soomaalilaand ku noolaa, oo ay ka mid ahaayeen garaacista iyo duqaynta magaaloooyinka waaweyn, dembiyadii dhacay waxa lagu sheegi karaa dembiyo dagaal, ku-xad-gudub xuquuqda aadamaha ah oo baaxad weyn, iyo gabood fallo. Marka se loo fiirsado falalka dagaal ee sida gaarka ah loogula beegsaday dadka shacabka ah ee ka soo jeeda beesha Isaaq, waxa dembiyada dawladdu gashay la gaadhsiin karaa tirtirid beeled (*clan cleansing*)⁷¹, waxaana caddayn innagu filan noqon kara fal-dambiyeedyadii ay ururisay Africa Watch.

In kasta oo xasuuqa ka dhacay Soomaalilaand aanu helin aqoonsi caalami ah sida kuwii ka dhacay Ruwanda iyo Boosniya sannadihii 1990meeyadii, waxa aan si kooban u falanqayn doonaa arrinta xasuuqa.

Sida uu qabo Ingiriis (2016b), Siyaad Barre waxa uu qabiilka ka dhigtay hub uu danihiisa ku fushado, oo uu ku muquuniyo beelaha ka soo horjeeda, waxaana uu ka geystay ololayaal xasuuq Soomaaliya oo dhan sannadihii 1980meeyadii. Xasuuqa ay dawladdu fulisay ee loogu xusuusta badanyahay, uguna khasaaraha badnaa waa kii laga fuliyey Soomaalilaand sannadihii 1980meeyadii ee lagu beegsanayey dadka Soomaalilaand gaar ahaan beesha Isaaq. Ingiriis ayaa sidan u dhigay erayadiisa “sannadkii 1988kii ayaa ahaa meesha xaaladdu iska bedeshay. Taliskii Siyaad Barre waxa ay ciidankii cirka ee Soomaaliyeed geliyeen ololayaashii xasuuqa si ay u garaacaan Hargeysa, xarunta beesha Isaaq. Garaacidda diyaaradaha waxa fuliyey duuliyeyaal calooshooda u

⁷¹ Kapteijns (2013), *Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991*.

shaqaystayaal ah oo laga keenay Koonfur Afrika iyo Simbaabwi⁷².

Ingiriis waxa uu qabaa in go'aanka Soomaalilaand ee goosashada iyo taageerada badan ee goosashadu heshay ay si weyn u saamaysay dhaxalkii xasuuqa laga fuliyey Soomaalilaand. Waxa xaqiiq ah in tabashooyin is biirsaday oo soo jiidamayey ilaa xilligii midowga (1960) ay ku hoggaamiyeen go'aankooda siyaasadeed - goosasho iyo yagleelidda dawlad cusub oo ka madaxbannaan Soomaaliya.

Sannadkii 1988kii, beesha Isaaq waxa si gaar ah loogu beegsaday ahaanshaha ay yihiin beeshaas, maadaama oo garaadka fayow inoo sheegi karo in aanay dadka beeshaa ka soo jeedaa (rag, dumar, waayeel, carruur) dembi wada gelin dhammaantood, xaqna aanay u lahayn in si wada jir ah loo ciqaabo. Waxa sidoo kale jiray qorshayaal uu taliska militariga ahi ku doonayey in uu ku tirtiro beesha Isaaq, isla markaana lagu beddelo oo la degaameeyo qaxoontigii u badnaa beesha Ogaadeen ee ka soo qaxay dagaalkii 1977kii dhex maray Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya. Xasuuqa iyo gabood fallada ka dhacay Soomaalilaand waxa la aaminsanyahay in ay ku naf waayeen dad lagu qiyaasay 100,000 halka nus-milyan kale (500,000) lagu qasbay in ay guryahoodii ka cararaan oo qaxaan⁷³.

Isaga oo iska dhigaya in uu la dagaallamayo Jabhaddii SNM, taliskii Siyaad Barre waxa uu beegsaday shacab

⁷² Ingiriis (2016b), "We Swallowed the State as the State Swallowed Us": The Genesis, Genealogies, and Geographies of Genocides in Somalia. P. 243

⁷³ Xigasho hore

aan wax dembi ah gelin; shacabkaas oo lagu beegsaday go'aankooda siyaasadeed (taageerada SNM) ama beesha ay ka soo jeedaan (Isaaq). Dagaal rogaal celin ah oo ka dhan ah jabhadda hubaysan oo uu fuliyey taliska Siyaad Barre ayaa dhaliyey dil baahsan oo aan tudhaale iyo kala sooc lahayn oo loo geystay shacabka; in si buuxda loo burburiyo magaalooyinka iyo tuulooyinka; laynta xoolaha nool, baabi'inta ceelasha, berkadaha iyo dhaamamka biyaha, iyo falal kale oo arxan darro ah⁷⁴.

Dr. Xuseen Cabdillaahi Bulxan ayaa waxa uu helay cajalad uu lahaa taliskii askarta ee Siyaad Barre oo Hargeysa lagu duubay 1980meeyadii. Cajaladda oo sidoo kale ka soo muuqatay barnaamij dokumentari ah oo uu 2016kii sii daayey Telefishanka Al Jasiira, waxa la duubay iyaga oo taliyayaasha iyo jenaraallada ciidanku si cad u sheegaya waxa ay samaynayaan, haddaladoodiina waxa ka mid ahaa:

In dadka la weeraro oo la baabi'iyu; in xataa dhaawaca la laayo; in la burburiyo ceelasha iyo berkadaha biyaha; in tuulooyinka la gubo, dadka degenna la laayo; wax kasta in la baabi'iyu; ka isa soo dhiiba in la yidhaa dawadaadii dhulka ayey taal dabeetana halkaa lagu aaso; in dhammaan la baabi'iyu; aan wax dhaqdhaqaaq ah la ogolaan; aan wax nolol ah la ogolaan; tukaha mooyaane wax kale oo dhan la laayo⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ Africa Watch Committee, A Government at war with its own people; testimonies about the killings and the conflict in the North. *Londres, Africa Watch*, 1990.

⁷⁵ Al Jazeera, Somaliland: Kill All but the Crows (Part 1&2). In *People & Power*. Retrieved on 15 September 2017 from:

In ka badan rubuc-qarni ka dib, weli waxa Soomaalilaand laga soo faqaa xabaalo wadareedyadii wakhtigaas lagu aasay dadkii la laayey. Xabaalo wadareedyada waxa in badan oo ka mid ah la helay oo dib loo soo qoday iyada oo ay joogaan goobjoogayaal caalami ah iyo ururada xuquuqul insaanka u dooda. Dadka aaminsan in wixii Soomaalilaand ka dhacay ay xasuuq yihiin, waxa ay cuskadaan caddaymahan aynu kor ku soo xusnay iyo kuwo kale oo la mid ah oo jira.

Qaamuuska Merriam-Webster waxa uu xasuuq (*genocide*) u qeexay sidan: *“the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political or cultural group”* (baabi'in ula kac ah oo qorshaysan oo lagula kaco koox leh midab, siyaasad ama dhaqan gaar ah). Dhanka qeexitaanka xasuuqa ee xeerka caalamiga ah, sida uu dhigayo Qodobka 2aad ee Heshiiskii Qaramada Midoobay ee Ka Hor Tagga iyo Ciqaabta Dembiga Xasuuqu (*Article 2 of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*), xasuuq waxa loo qeexaa:

Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNBtlc2wHU8> & <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U13K8Dxg9c8>, 2016.

within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Wax kasta oo ka mid ah falalkan soo socda oo loo sameeyo iyada oo ujeeddadu tahay in la burburiyo, si dhammaystiran iyo badhkoodba, koox ummadeed, isireed, midabeed ama diimeed, sida: dilista dadka ka tirsan kooxda; in xubnaha kooxda loo geysto dhaawacyo daran oo maskaxeed iyo jidheed; in si ula kac ah kooxda loogu geysto dhibaatooyin lagu waxyeellaynayo xaaladaha ay ku noolyihiin si loogu geysto burburin guud ahaantood iyo qaybtood; in lagu soo rogo tallaabooyin iyo falal lagaga hor tagayo dhalmada kooxda; in carruurta kooxda si qasab ah loogala wareego oo lagu wareejiyo koox kale⁷⁶.

Dadka Soomaalilaand, gaar ahaan beesha Isaaq, ma aha isir, koox midabeed ama koox diimed gooni ah, ee waa Soomaali la mid ah kuwa deggan degaannada kale ee Soomaalida; waxaase lagu beegsaday beesha ay yihiin iyo go'aammadooda siyaasadeed. Dadka doodda xasuuqa taabacsan waxa ay sidaas darteed ku dheganyihiin in ay jiraan caddaymo ku filan oo taageeraya qadiyadda xasuuqa ka dhacay

⁷⁶ Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, Analysis Framework. Retrieved on 16 September 2017 from: http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/osapg_analysis_framework.pdf, no publication date.

Soomaalilaand, waxa ay saraakiisha milatarigu ku sheegeen muuqaalka ayaa iyaduna caddayn ugu filan waxa ay geysteen.

Muddadii Kala Maqnaanshaha (1991kii Ka Dib)

Dagaalka daba dheeraaday ee u dhaxeeyey jabhadaha (gaar ahaan SNM) iyo dawladda, burburka badanna geystay waxa uu sannadihii 1980meeyadii ku koobnaa waqooyiga (Soomaalilaand). Dagaalku waxa uu badhtamaha iyo koonfurta Soomaaliya ku fiday 1990kii iyo wixii ka dambeeyey. Dagaalka aadka ugu fiday koonfurta, oo caasimadda Muqdishana ku jirto, waxa uu dhaliyey in jabhadihii hubaysnaa iyo kacdoonkii dadweyne ee is huwanaa ay ka adkaadaan keligii taliye Maxamed Siyaad Barre iyo ciidamadiisii; bishii Jeeniwari 1991 ayaana madaxweynaha laga saaray magaalada Muqdisho. Caasimaddii jamhuuriyaddu waxa ay xilligaas gacanta u gashay maleeshiyaad reereed iyo dagaal oogayaal. Waxa maamulkii magaalada ku dagaallamay Cali Mahdi Maxamed iyo Maxamed Faarax Caydiid oo labaduba ka soo jeeda beesha Hawiye, kuna wada abtirsanayey hal urur (*United Somali Congress - USC*). Tartankan awoodeed waxa uu sababay in magaalada loo qaybiyo laba qaybood: waqooyiga oo uu ka taliyo Cali Mahdi iyo koonfurta oo ku jirta gacanta Caydiid⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ Farah & Lewis (1997), Making peace in Somaliland.

Jebinta la jebiyey Siyaad Barre iyo xoogaggii taabacsanaa oo ay ku xigtay hirdan awoodeed oo dhex maray kooxihii hubaysnaa waxa ka dhashay in ay dawladdii si dhammaystiran u burburto. Waxa soo idlaaday in ay dawladdu keligeed awood sharci ah u yeelato adeegsiga hub iyo xoog labadada. Khasaaraha bulsho ee ka dhashay dagaalka sokeeye iyo qalalaasaha siyaasadeed ee koonfurta iyo badhtamaha Soomaaliya waxa uu ahaa mid aad u baaxad weyn. Waxa xigay in macaluul baahsani dhacdo sannadihii 1992kii ilaa 1993kii taas oo galaafatay dad tiro badan. Dagaalada sokeeye waxa ka dhashay barakac iyo qax baahsan oo ay dadku ku gaadheen dalalka jaarka, Bariga Dhexe, Aasiya, Yurub iyo Waqooyiga Ameerika. In badan oo kale ayaa dalka gudihiiisa ku barakacday. Waxa intaas dheeraa burburka iyo baaba'a soo gaadhay hantidii umadda ka dhaxaysay, kaabayaashii dhaqaale iyo adeegyadii bulshada⁷⁸.

Beesha caalamku waxa ay samaysay dedaallo iyo isku dayo faro badan oo ay Soomaaliya kaga samato bixinayso qalalaasaha siyaasadeed iyo degenaansho la'aanta. 1992kii markii ay jirtay macaluushu, xoogag uu Maraykanku hoggaaminayey oo Qaramada Midoobay ka socday lana odhan jiray Hawlgalkii Soo Celinta Rejada (*Operation Restore Hope*) ayaa galay Soomaaliya si ay ula dagaallamaan

⁷⁸ Bradbury, Abokor & Yusuf (2003), Somaliland: Choosing politics over violence.

qabqablayaasha dagaal ee hor taagan in mucaawinada raashinka ahi gaadho dadka ay saameeyeen dagaallada iyo macaluushu⁷⁹. Waxa iyaguna jiray dedaallo kale oo ujeedadoodu ahayd in maamul dhexe loogu sameeyo dalka. Waxa jiray ugu yaraan 13 shir oo caalami ah oo Soomaaliya loo qabtay intii u dhaxaysay 1993kii iyo 2003dii, kuwaas oo looga dan lahaa in dawlad dhexe loogu sameeyo Soomaaliya, ama la diyaariyo shuruudihii ay dawladdaasi ku dhismi lahayd⁸⁰. Shirarka saddex iyo tobanka ah ee qabsoomay tobankaas sanno gudahooda waxa ugu mudan, oo mid guulaystay lagu tilmaamaa, shirkii Jabuuti ee lagu qabtay Carta sannadkii 2000; shirkaas waxa ka dhashay Dawladda Qaran ee Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya (*Transitional National Government - TNG*). Dedaallada iyo isku dayada beesha caalamku halkaas kuma joogsan ee dhammaan dawladihii taas ka dambeeyey (2004, 2008, 2012 iyo 2017) waxa ay ku yimaaddeen dedaallada beesha caalamka. Ma jirin hal dawlad oo kuwan ka mid ah oo ku timid codka shacabka iyo rabitaankooda, mana jirin mid aanay beesha caalamku lug ku lahayn oo ay ka maqnayd.

⁷⁹ Wheeler and Roberts, *Doorway to Hell: Disaster in Somalia*. (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2012).

⁸⁰ Pijovic, *Seceding but not Succeeding: African International Relations and Somaliland's lacking international recognition*. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 19(68), 73-105, 2013.

Maadaama oo aanay jirin dawladd dhexe oo shaqaynaysa oo sharciyadda adeegsiga awoodda keligeed leh, siyaadada dhulkeeda leh, amniga sugta oo waajibaadka qaran ee kale ee dawladdaha saarrana fulisa, Soomaaliya waxa ay saldhig iyo gabbaad u noqotay qabqablaysaal dagaal, kooxo argagixiso ah, budhcad badeed iyo kooxo hubaysan oo ku kala abtirsada meelo kala duwan. Sooshaacbixii Ururka Maxaakiimta Islaamiga ah sannadkii 2005tii iyo ka adkaantoodii ay ka adkaadeen hoggaamiye kooxeedyada 2006dii⁸¹, waxa ka dhashay in ciidammada Itoobiya ay soo galaan Soomaaliya si ay taageero ugu fidiyaan dawladda ku meel gaadhka ah.

Ka dib markii Midowga Maxaakiimta lagu jebiyey dagaallo qadhaadh oo dhiig badan ku daatay, waxa ku xigay sooshaacbaxa ururkii ugu arxanka darnaa ee khasaaraha ugu badan gaadhsiiyey umadda. Al Shabaab, urur xagjir argagixiso ah oo xidhiidh la leh Al Qaacida, waxa uu noqday ururka ugu awoodda badan uguna burburinta badan, ee ka taliya dhulka ugu ballaadhan ee hal urur ka taliyo tan iyo markii ay burburtay dawladdii dhexe. Dedaallo lagula tacaalayo halista Al Shabaab kaga iman karta dalalka jaarka, gobolka iyo beesha caalamka ayaa dhaliyey in la sameeyo Xoogagga Nabad Ilaalinta ee Afrika ee loo yaqaanno AMISOM. Ciidammadan ayaa ka soo jeeda dalal dhowr ah oo Afrikaan ah oo ay ka mid yihiin Yugaandha,

⁸¹ Xigasho hore

Jabuuti, Ruwaanda, Burundi, Itoobiya iyo Kiiniya. Waxase xusid mudan in Itoobiya iyo Kiiniya ay ciidammadoodu markii hore gooni gooni u soo galeen Soomaaliya, hase ahaatee ay markii dambe sheegteen in ay ku biireen ciidammada nabad ilaalinta ee AMISOM.

Soo bixitaanka budhcadbadeedda Soomaalida ah ee ka soo baxay xeebaha Waqooyi Bari Soomaaliya waxa ay halis ku noqdeen safarada ganacsi iyo noocyada kaleba ee badaha u kala goosha ee mara Badweynta Hindiya, Badda Cas iyo Gacanka Cadan. Waxa arrintan ka dhashay in beesha caalamku ay abuurto xoogag badeed oo kormeera, isla markaan suga amniga badaha ku dhow xeebaha Soomaaliya, si ay uga hortagaan halista ka iman karta budhcad badeedda.

Dhanka Soomaalilaand, Shirweynihii Beelaha Waqooyi ee Burco lagu qabtay 1991kii, oo ay ka soo qayb galeen madax dhaqameedka beelaha Soomaalilaand dega, guurtida iyo hoggaankii Ururka Dhaqdhaqaaqa Waddaniga Soomaaliyeed (*Somali National Movement - SNM*), waxa lagu tirtiray oo lagaga noqday Axdigii Midowga ee 1960kii, waxaana dib loogula soo noqday madaxbannaanidii Maxmiyadda Soomaalilaand. Isla jeerkaas, 18 May 1991kii waxa lagu dhawaaqay Jamhuuriyadda Soomaalilaand oo ka kooban shan gobol oo Jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliyeed ah ama dhulkii Maxmiyaddi Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand ee hore. Soomaalilaand waxa ay xuduud la leedahay

Itoobiya, Jabuuti, Soomaaliya iyo Gacanka Cadan, xuduudaha Soomaalilaand-na waa dhaxalkii gumeysiga, si la mid ah dalalka kale ee Afrika, waxaanay xuduudahaasi ku yimaaddeen heshiisyo caalami ah oo la saxeexay intii u dhaxaysay 1888 ilaa 1897⁸².

Sannadihii go'itaanka ka dambeeyey, Soomaalilaand waxa ay gaadhay nadabgelyo, degenaansho, dib-u-dhis la taaban karo, dhaqaale shaqaynaya, dimuqraadiyad iyo hay'ado iyo shuruuc shaqaynaya. In kasta oo ay jireen abaaro iyo dagaallo beelaha u dhexeeya horraantii 1990meeyada, haddana Soomaalilaand kama ay dhicin dagaallo lagu hoobto iyo macaluulo baahsan⁸³. Sidoo kale Soomaalilaand kama jirin dhaqdhaqaaqyo la xidhiidha argagixiso iyo budhcad badeed. Arrinka ugu muhiimsan ee arrimahan oo dhan suurto geliyey waa nidaamka nabadaynta iyo dawlad dhiska oo ahaa mid dalka gudihiiisa lagu curiyey, hoos ka bilow kor u dhisan ahaa, oo ay bilaabeen madax dhaqameedka Soomaalilaand. Guurtidu iyaga oo kaashanaya hoggaanka beelaha iyo siyaasiyiinta

⁸² Farah & Lewis (1997), Making peace in Somaliland; Bradbury, Abokor & Yusuf (2003), Somaliland: Choosing politics over violence; Eubank, Peace-Building without External Assistance: Lessons from Somaliland. CGD Working Paper 198. Center for Global Development, Washington, D.C., 2010.

⁸³ Froti, A pocket of stability: understanding Somaliland. *ACCORD Occasional Paper*, 5(2), 1-46, 2011; Pijovic (2013), Seceding but not Succeeding: African International Relations and Somaliland's lacking international recognition.

waxa ay u dedaaleen, isla markaana ku guulaysteen in ay dib-u-heshiisiin buuxda ka dhex dhaliyaan beelaha Soomaalilaand⁸⁴.

Tirtiridda colaadda beelaha dhex taalay iyo aragtiyaha siyaasadeed ee is khilaafsan ayaa dhaliyey in awooddii shacabka la isu geeyo, kuwaas oo markii dambe si wada jir ah uga qayb qaatay dedaalladii nabadaynta iyo dawlad dhiska. Qodob kale oo suurto geliyey guusha nidaamka maxalliga ah waxa uu ahaa maqnaanta gacmo iyo faro gelin shisheeye. Dhammaan nidaamyada dib-u-heshiisiinta, nabadaynta iyo dawlad dhisku waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo maxalli ah oo ay fuliyeen shacabka gudaha oo keli ahi. Waxa intaas dheer in siyaasiyiinta iyo madax dhaqameedka Soomaalilaand aanay marna helin gargaar horumarineed oo toos ah ama gargaar lacageed oo miisaan leh⁸⁵.

Haddi aynu si gaar ah u eegno dedaallada dawlad dhiska oo ahaa tallaabadii labaad ee ku xigtay nabadaynta, Soomaalilaand waxa ay dib-u-dhis ku samaysay kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha, waxbarashada, caafimaadka iyo adeegyada kale ee dadweynaha. Sidoo kale, dawladdu waxa ay samaysatay dastuur, calan, lacag, baasabo, taarikada baabuurta, iyo astaamo kale oo dawladdu. Waxa kale oo jira baarlamaan,

⁸⁴ Xigasho hore

⁸⁵ Bradbury, Abokor & Yusuf (2003), Somaliland: Choosing politics over violence; Euban (2010), Peace-Building without External Assistance: Lessons from Somaliland.

hay'ado fulineed, garsoor, ciidan iyo boolis shaqaynaya⁸⁶.

Marka aynu dhanka dimuqraadiyadda milicsanno, Soomaalilaand waxa ay hirgelisay nidaamka axsaabta badan oo dimuqraaddi ah oo ka kooban saddex xisbi siyaadeed heer qaran ah. Afti shacabka laga qaaday 2001dii oo lagu ansixinayey dastuurka qaranka iyo go'aanka dib-u-la soo noqoshada madaxbannaanida ayaa ay shacabku 97 boqolkiiba ku ansixiyeen. Tan iyo 1991kii, Soomaalilaand waxa u qabsoomay lix doorasho oo u dhacay si nabadgelyo ah; laba doorasho oo dawlado hoose ah (2002 iyo 2012), doorasho golaha wakiillada ah (2005), iyo saddex doorasho oo madaxtinnimo ah (2003, 2010 iyo 2017)⁸⁷.

Dhanka dhaqaalaha, Soomaalilaand waa dal faqri ah oo aan horumar dhaqaale samayn. Banigaga Adduunka iyo Wasaaradda Qorshaynta Qaranka iyo Horumarinta ee Soomaalilaand ayaa sannadkii 2012kii waxa ay waxsoosaarka guud ee dalka gudihiisa lagu soo saaray (*Gross Domestic Product – GDP*) ku qiyaaseen \$1.4 bilyan, halka marka intaas loo qaybiyo tirada dadweynaha ku

⁸⁶ Bradbury, Abokor & Yusuf (2003), Somaliland: Choosing politics over violence; Forti (2011), A pocket of stability: understanding Somaliland.

⁸⁷ Ministry of National Planning and Development, "Somaliland in Figures 2014". Somaliland Ministry of National Planning and Development, Hargeisa, 2015.

nool dalka ay qofkiiba ku soo hagaageyso \$347 (*Per Capita Income - PCI*); qiyaastaasi oo Soomaalilaand ka dhigaysa in ay ku jirto shanta dal ee dunida oo dhan ugu faqiirsan⁸⁸. Dhaqaalaha dalku waxa uu inta badan ku xidhanyahay waxsoosaarka xoolaha nool, waxaana ay Soomaalilaand intii u dhaxaysay 2010kii ilaa 2014kii u dhoofisay dalalka Bariga Dhexe, gaar ahaan Sucuudiga, xoolo lagu qiyaasay 16.3 Milyan oo neef⁸⁹.

Maadama oo waxwalba meel hoose laga soo bilaabay 1991kii, taas oo ay sabab u ahayd dagaalladii burburka badan geystay, horumarka iyo guulaha laga gaadhay arrimaha bulshadu waa kuwo baaxad leh. Toban sanno ka dib xilligii la soo noqoshada dawladnimada - 2001dii - dalku waxa uu lahaa 294 dugsiyo hoose-dhexe, 15 dugsiyo sare iyo labo jaamacadood. Hase ahaatee sannadkii 2015kii waxa jiray 1083 dugsiyo hoose-dhexe, 146 dugsiyo sare iyo 19 jaamacadood. Marka intaas laga yimaaddo, is qoridda dugsiyada hoose-dhexe aad ayey u kordhay; 35,997 arday ayaa diiwaan gashanaa 1999kii

⁸⁸ Muhumed, Somaliland Trade, Exports and Imports: An Overview. *Developing Country Studies*, 6(8), 138-143, 2016.

⁸⁹ Xigasho hore

halka sannadkii 2015kii ay diiwaan gashanaayeen 234,128 arday⁹⁰.

Iyada oo waaxda caafimaadku ay heshay taageero dibadeed oo ay ka heshay ururro caalami ah, haddana ma gaadhin guul la mid ah tan waaxda waxbarashadu samaysay. Sannadkii 2015kii, waxa dalka ka jiray 36 cisbitaal, 101 xarumo caafimaad iyo 164 rugo caafimaad⁹¹.

Dadweynaha ku nool Soomaalilaand waxa 2015kii lagu qiyaasay 4.8 milyan, iyada oo koboca sannadlaha ah ee dadweynuhu uu ahaa 3.14 boqolkiiba; qiyaasta inta qofku noolaanayo ayaa iyaduna ahayd 51.8 sano⁹². Sannadkii 2012kii, xaddiga dadka ee waxna qora waxna akhriya waxa uu ahaa 59 boqolkiiba magaalooyinka iyo 47 boqolkiiba baadiyaha⁹³.

Sidaasi oo ay tahay, Soomaalilaand waxa ay dhib ka soo gaadhay maqnaanshaha aqoonsi siyaasadeed oo rasmi ah oo ka yimaadda beesha caalamka. Tan iyo markii ay goosatay, ma jiro hal dal oo aqoonsi rasmi ah siiyey Soomaalilaand.

⁹⁰ Ministry of National Planning and Development, "Somaliland in Figures 2015". Somaliland Ministry of National Planning and Development, Hargeisa, 2016.

⁹¹ Xigasho hore

⁹² Xigasho hore

⁹³ World Bank and Ministry of National Planning and Development, "Poverty and Inflation". *Somaliland Economic Conference*. Hargeisa: The World Bank, 2014.

Sidaas darteed, Soomaalilaand ma ay helin deeq labo geesood ah oo dal kale toos uga timaadda ama taageero maaliyadeed iyo mid farsamo oo ay ururrada maaliyadda ee aduunku ku taageereen si ay ugu maarayso dedaalladii nabadaynta iyo dib-u-dhiska. Aqoonsi la'aantu waxa ay sidoo kale ragaadisay maalgelinta shisheeye, koboca dhaqaale iyo ganacasiga caalamiga ah⁹⁴. Xilligan edegaynta (*globalization*) ee ay ummaduhu isugu tiirsanyihiin dhaqaale ahaan, siyaasad ahaan iyo dhaqan ahaanba, ma sahlana in uu dal faqri ah oo aan horumarsanayni, sida Soomaalilaand, guulo badan oo dhinacyadaas aynu soo sheegnay oo dhan ah gaadho keligii. Marka laga yimaaddo guulaha waaweyn ee ay Soomaalilaand ka samaysay dhinacyo badan, waxa ay haddana si uun ugu jirtaa go'doon dhaqaale iyo mid siyaasadeed, maadaama oo ay ka maqantahay ururro caalami ah iyo kuwo goboleedba. Ururradan aanay Soomaalilaand xubinta ka ahayn waxa ka mid ah Qaramada Midoobay, Midowga Afrika, IGAD (*Intergovernmental Authority on Development*), Bangiga Adduunka iyo Ururka Ganacsiga Adduunka.

Dhacdooyinka taariikheed ee aynu cutubkan kaga warranay waxa ay siyaalo kala duwan u saamayn karaan wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Siyaasad ahaan labada dhinac aad ayey u kala fogyihiin. Halka ay Soomaalilaand ku dhegentahay in

⁹⁴ Xigasho hore

madaxbannaanideedu aanay gorgortan geli karin, maxsuulka qudha ee wadhadallada ka soo bixi karaana uu noqdo in la noqdo labo dawladdo, Soomaaliya waxa ay ku adkaysanaysaa in midowga iyo xuduudaha Soomaaliya aanay gorgortan geli karin, isla markaana uu dalku mid ahaanayo. Soomaaliya maadaama oo ay tahay dawladda laga go'ayo, waxa ay ilaashanaysaa xuduudaheeda, waxa ay ka hor tageysaa in isbeddel ku yimaaddo xuduudaha, waxaana ay ka cararaysaa kala googo' kale oo ku dhaca oo daba socda qadiyadda Soomaalilaand oo guulaysata. Dhanka kale, Soomaalilaand waxa ay soo bandhigaysaa qaddiyad cago adag ku taagan oo ay sababaynayso. Soomaalilaand waxa ay ahayd dhul si gooni ah loo gumaystay oo sooyaal gumaysi oo gooni ah leh, taariikh gooni ah gobannimadeeda ka qaadatay Ingiriiska oo shan maalmood ahayd dawlad madaxbannaan; midowgu in uu guul darro u horseeday oo uu dhaliyey tabashooyin siyaasadeed, gabood fallo iyo xasuuq lagula kacay; in ay madaxbannaanideeda jid ciidan dib ugula soo noqotay iyo in ay tahay dawlad madaxbannaan oo si xaqiiqo ah u jirtay muddo ka badan 25 sanno. Muddadaas la kala maqnaa, soo bixitaanka jiilal cusub oo kala duwan iyo weliba suurogalnimada samaysanka baadisoocyo ama sawracyo kala duwan ayaa iyaduna yeelan karta saamayn weyn.

CUTUBKA 4AAD

GEEDDI SOCODKA WADAHADALLADA: LANDHAN ILAA JABUUTI

Soomaalilaand waxa ay ka qayb gashay shir Soomaaliya loo qabanayo 2012kii markii ugu horreysay ilaa iyo xilligii ay ka go'day Soomaaliya 1991kii. Shirka Landhan ee 2012 waxa ka dhalatay soo jeedinta ah in ay Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya wada hadlaan, si ay go'aan uga gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka. Cutubkan waxa aynu ku eegaynaa geeddi socodka wadhadallada labada dhinac ee ka bilaabmay Landhan 2012kii kuna burburay Istaanbuul 2015kii. Shirkaa Landhan ka dib, kulankii u horreeyey waxa uu ka qabsoomay Hoyga Jefenin ee ku yaalla magaalada Landhan, halkaasi oo ay ku kulmeen laba guddi-farsamo oo ka socday labada dhinac. Kulankii labaad oo ahaa heer madaxweyne waxa uu ka qabsoomay Dubai, halkaas oo labada madaxweyne si rasmi ah u taageereen wadhadallada. Intaas waxa ka dambeeyey kulammo ka dhacay Ankara, Istaanbuul iyo Jabuuti. Cutubkani waxa uu si gaar ah isu dul taagayaa, oo uu ku koobnaan doonaa, lixdii wareeg ee qabsoomay, warmurtiyeedyadii ka soo baxay iyo weliba heshiisyadii lagu kala saxeexday.

Shirkii Landhan: Asalka Wadhadallada

Laga soo bilaabo 18 May 1991kii oo ahayd markii ay Soomaalilaand ku dhawaaqday la soo noqoshada madaxbannaanideeda iyo ka go'itaankeeda Soomaaliya, labada dal waxa ay u kala qaybsanaayeen siyaasad ahaan, dhaqaale ahaan iyo juquraafi ahaanba. Maadaama

Soomaalilaand ay gaadhay degenaansho iyo nabadgelyo, si ka duwan Soomaaliya, Soomaalilaand marna kama mid ahayn dedaallada dejinta, nabadaynta iyo dawlad samaynta ay beesha caalamku ka wadday Soomaaliya. Dhammaan dedaallada caalamiga ah iyo farogelinta shisheeyaba waxa ay ku koobnaayeen Koonfurta iyo Badhtamaha Soomaaliya. Farogelinta shisheeye ee Soomaaliya waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo bini'aadantinnimo, kuwo milatari iyo kuwo siyaasadeed intaba. Tusaale ahaan, markii ay dhacday macaluusha daran 1992-93kii Soomaaliya waxa ka dhacay farogelin bini'aadantinnimo iyo mid milatari labadaba⁹⁵. Marka la eego dhinaca siyaasadda, waxa ay beesha caalamku Soomaaliya u qabatay ugu yaraan 13 shir intii u dhaxaysay 1993kii ilaa 2003dii, waxaana ay ujeeddada shirarkaasi ahaayeen in Soomaaliya loogu sameeyo dawlad dhexe ama shuruudihii ay ku hirgeli lahayd⁹⁶. Shirar kale ayaa iyaguna sida la ogyahay qabsoomay wixii ka dambeeyey 2003dii. Halka ay Soomaaliya magan uga ahayd gacmo shisheeye, dhanka kale, Soomaalilaand waxa ay ku guulaysatay in ay hirgeliso dib-u-heshiisiin gudaha ka timid, nabadayn, dawlad dhis, dib-u-dhis iyo hiregelinta dimuqraadiyad - waxa ay si nabadgelyo ah u fulisay lix doorasho⁹⁷.

Iyada oo Soomaalilaand aanay hal mar ka qayb gelin shir loo qabanayo Soomaaliya ilaa markii ay ku dhawaaqday

⁹⁵ Wheeler and Roberts (2012), *Doorway to Hell: Disaster in Somalia*.

⁹⁶ Pijovic (2013), *Seceding but not Succeeding: African International Relations and Somaliland's lacking international recognition*.

⁹⁷ Xigashooyin hore.

gooni isutaagga, waxa ay markii u horraysay taariikhda ka qayb gashay shirkii Landhan ee 2012kii. Xukuumadda ka timid Xisbiga Kulmiye ee doorashadii madaxtooyada ku guulaysatay 2010kii waxa ay la timid siyaasad cusub oo aqoonsi raadin ah, waxaana ay go'aansatay in ay Soomaaliya kala hadasho goosashada iyo aqoonsiga Soomaalilaand. Sannadihii ka horreeyey 2010kii waxa Soomaalilaand xaaraan ama dembi ka ahaa in lala hadlo maamul Soomaaliya ah, iyo in dadka Soomaalilaand ka soo jeedaa ay ka qayb galaan siyaasadda Soomaaliya. Sidaas awgeed waxa dawladda uu gadh Wadeenka ka ahaa madaxweyne Siilaanyo qasab ku ahayd in ay dib-u-eegis ku samayso sharcigii mamnuucayey la hadalka Soomaaliya, si ay sifo sharci ah uga qayb gasho shirka Landhan, ogolaansho iyo taageerana hesho. Labada gole baarlamaan ee Soomaalilaand ayaa si wada jir ah ugu ogolaaday xukuummada in ay ka qayb gasho shirka Landhan. Intaas ka dibna waxa taageero siiyey xukuumadda xisbiyada iyo ururrada siyaasadda, ururradda bulshada rayidka ah iyo in badan oo ka mid ah dadweynaha. Ugu dambaynna waxa ay Soomaalilaand ka qayb gashay Shirka Landhan iyada oo la siiyey tixgelin iyo maamuus gaar ah; waxa loo qaabilay weftiga Soomaalilaand si heer sare ah, waxaana madaxweyne Siilaanyo intii shirku socday la fadhiisiiyey isla miiska ay fadhiyeen madaxda kale ee caalamku. Waxa iyaduna xusid mudan in Dawladda Ingiriiska ee kulanka marti gelisay ay dedaal dheer u samaysay sidii ay Soomaalilaand ugu qancin lahayd ka soo qayb galka shirka.

Shirkii Landhan ee Soomaaliya waxa uu Hoyga Lankaster ee ku yaalla magaalada Landhan ka

qabsoomay 23 Februwari 2012kii. Shirka waxa ka soo qayb galay 55 wafti oo ka kala socday Soomaaliya iyo beesha caalamka⁹⁸. Shirka waxa laga soo saaray warmurtiyeed ka kooban 26 qodob oo koobsanaya arrimaha siyaasadda, nabadgelyada, cadaaladda, budhcad badeedda, argagixisada, degenaanshaha, dib-u-soo kabashada, bini'aadantinnimada iyo isku xidhka caalamiga ah. Iyada oo la tixgelinayo joogitaanka shirka ee Soomaalilaand, waxa ay beesha caalamka iyo dawladda Ingiriiskuba ku dedaaleen in la xuso xidhiidhka siyaasadeed ee labada dhinac - Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Qodobka 6aad ee warmurtiyeedka oo ka tirsanaa qaybta siyaasadda waxa uu u dhignaa sidan "Shirku waxa uu garawsaday baahida loo qabo in beesha caalamku ay taageerto wadahadal ay Soomaalilaand iyo Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya ama beddelkeedu ay isla gartaan in ay bilaabaan, si ay u caddeeyaan [ama go'aan uga gaadhaan] xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka"⁹⁹.

Wareegga Koowaad: Guriga Jefenin, Landhan

Shirkii Landhan waxa ay beesha caalamku ballan qaaday in ay taageerto wadahadal dhex mara Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya ama beddelkeeda iyo

⁹⁸ London Conference on Somalia: Communiqué (2012) from Foreign and Commonwealth of UK. Warmurtiyeedka Shirkii Landhan (2012). Waxa 8 Juun, 2017 laga helay halkan: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/sede/dv/sede200312londonconference_/sede200312londonconference_en.pdf

⁹⁹ Xigasho hore

KALA-MAAN

Soomaalilaand, wadahadalkaas oo ay labada dhinac go'aan kaga gaadhayaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka. Hadaba, iyada oo la tixraacayo warmurtiyeedkii Shirka Landhan, gaar ahaan qodobkiisa 6aad, waxa 20 ilaa 21 Juun ku kulmay Guriga Jefenin ee magaalada Landhan laba guddi-farsamo oo ka kala socday Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Kulanka waxa marti gelisay Dawladda Ingiriiska oo ay marti gelinta ku weheliyaan dawladda Noorwey iyo Midowga Yurub, waxaana ay marti gelintu ka dhalatay codsi ka yimid labada dhinac ee wadahadlaya. Shirkan hordhaca iyo diyaar garowga ah ujeedadiisu waxa ay ahayd sidii loo qaabayn lahaa, qorshana loogu samayn lahaa, wadahadallada iyo wareegyada mustaqbalka dhici doona. Iyada oo ay kasoo qaybgalayaashu soo dhaweeyeen bilowga wadahadallada, muujiyeenna rabitaankooda in wadahadalladu noqdaan kuwo sii socda midho dhalna noqda, waxa ay labada dhinac ku heshiiyeen qodobaddan soo socda:

1. Labada dhinac waxa ay isla garteen in wadahadalladu u dhexeeyaan laba dhinac - Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah iyo Soomaalilaand - marka la tixgeliyo qodobka 6aad ee warmurtiyeedka Shirkii Landhan.
2. Waxa ay hoosta ka xarriiqeen baahida loo qabo in la hirgeliyo hab lagaga hortagayo wax kasta oo dhaawici kara sii socoshada wadahadallada.
3. Waxa ay muujiyeen u heelanaantooda sii socoshada wadahadallada, waxaana ay labada madaxweyne ugu baaqeen in ay u kulmaan sida

ugu dhakhsaha badan si ay dib-u-eegis ugu sameeyaan horumarka wadhadallada.

4. Waxa ay ugu baaqeen beesha caalamka in ay sii wadaan fududaynta iyo gacansiinta wadhadallada, gacansiintaas oo ay ku jirto in ay labada dhinacba ku kaalmeeyaan khubaro kala talisa arrimaha sharciga, dhaqaalaha iyo nabadgelyada.
5. Waxa ay isla garteen labada dhinac in ay wadaagaan waayo aragnimadooda la xidhiidha sidii ay si hufan ugala shaqayn lahaayeen beesha caalamka adeegsiga kaalmada horumarineed iyo midda bini'aadantinnimo ee dadwaynaha labada dhinacba, waxaana ay beesha caalamka ugu baaqeen in ay kordhiyaan kaalmada.
6. Waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay iska kaashadaan ladagaallanka argagixisada, xagjirnimada iyo denbiyada halista ah.
7. Waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay iska kaashadaan ladagaalanka budhcadda badda iyo berriga, denbiyada badaha, kalluumaysiga sharci darrada ah iyo sunta lagu qubo badaha.
8. Ugu dambayn labada dhinac waxa ay ku celiyeen taageeradooda ku aaddan sidii loo soo afjari lahaa nidaamka ku-meel-gaadhka ah ee ka jira Soomaaliya¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁰ Chevening House Declaration (20-21 June, 2012). Nuqul ka mid ah heshiiskii lagu saxeexay Hoyga Jefenin waxa laga helay

In qodobka koowaad dib loogu qeexo labada dhinac ee wadahadalladu u dhaxeeyaan waxa ay waxtar iyo muhiimad gaar ah u lahayd Soomaalilaand. Arrintani waxa ay sidoo kale yaraysay ama meesha ka saartay madmadow badan oo siyaasadeed. Marka dhan laga eego, xusitaanka in dawladda ku-meel-gaadhka ah ama beddelkeedu ay yihiin dhinac ka mid ah labada dhinac ee wadahadalku u dhexeeyo waxa ay meesha ka saartay suurto galnimada ay Soomaalilaand kula hadli karto maamul goboleedyada Soomaaliya. Sidoo kale waxa meesha ka baxay suurto galnimada in maamul goboleedyadu ay la hadli karaan Soomaalilaand iyaga oo metelaya Soomaaliya. Waxaana xusid mudan in qaar ka mid ah maamul goboleedyadu, sida Buntlaand, ay bilowgi hore muujiyeen rabitaan ah in ay qayb ka noqdaan wadahadallada. Dhanka kale in la sugo in dhinaca kale ee wadahadalka ku jiraa yahay Soomaalilaand waxa ay suulisay in dhinacan loo adeegsado magacyo kale sida Gobolada Waqooyi ee Soomaaliya ama maamul goboleed Soomaaliya ah. Magacyadani waxa ay ka mid yihiin kuwo ay Soomaalilaand u adeegsadaan dad badan oo ka tirsan kuwa ka soo horjeeda go'aankeeda goosashada. Dhammaan heshiisyada la saxeexay inta ay wadahadalladu socdeen, iyo warmurtiyeedyada la soo saarayba, labada dhinacba waxa ay ku saxeexeen dawlado ee marna ma ay adeegsan jamhuuriyado.

Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ee Soomaalilaand.

Ka qayb galayaasha:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah (hoggaamiyaha ergada).
2. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.
3. Faysal Cali Waraabe, Guddoomiyaha Xisbiga UCID.
4. Baashe Maxamed Faarax, Guddoomiye Ku Xigeenka Koowaad ee Golaha Wakiillada.
5. Maxamuud Axmed Barre Garaad, Wasiirka Arrimaha Bulshada.
6. Cabdi Aw Daahir, Wasiirka Xannaanada Xoolaha.
7. Cali Xaamud Jibriil, Wasiir Ku Xigeenka Waxbarashada.
8. Xuseen Ismaaciil Cige, Guddoomiyaha Guddida Arrimaha Dibedda ee Golaha Wakiillada.

Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya:

1. Cabdisamad Maxamuud Xassan, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Amniga Qaranka (hoggaamiyaha ergada).
2. Xubnaha kale lama helin.

Wareegga Labaad: Dubay

Kulankii u horreeyey ee ka tirsan wadhadalladu waxa uu ahaa kii ka qabsoomay Guriga Jefenin ee Landhan. Kulankaas labada guddi-farsamo ee kulmay waxa ay ugu baaqeen labada madaxweyne ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya in ay u kulmaan si degdeg ah, si ay dib-u-

eegis ugu sameeyaan horusocodka wadahaadallada. Haddaba, iyada oo go'aankaas laga duulayo waxa magaalada Dubay ee Isutaga Imaaraadka Carabta ku kulmay 28 Juun 2012kii labada madaxweyne – Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya Sheekh Shariif Sheekh Axmed iyo Madaxweynaha Dawladda Soomaalilaand Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo). Kulanka waxa marti gelisay Dawladda Isutaga Imaaraadka Carabta codsi uga yimid labada dhinac ka dib. Ujeedada kulankani waxa ay ahayd in ay labada madaxweyne si rasmi ah u taageeraan una ansixiyaan wadahaadallada u dhexeeya labada dhinac ee ka bilaabmay Guriga Jefenin. Labada dhinac waxa ay sidoo kale ku heshiiyeen sii wadidda wadahaadallada iyo in labada madaxweyne ogolaanshaha sii wadidda wadahaadallada siiyaan labada guddi ee ay kala magacaabeen si labada dhinac ay go'aan uga gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka. Heshiiskan waxa si wada jir ah u saxeexay madaxweyne Shariif iyo madaxweyne Axmed-Siilaanyo¹⁰¹.

Ka qayb galayaasha:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo),
Madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand.

¹⁰¹ Dubai Statement (28 June, 2012). Nuqul ka mid ah heshiiskii Dubay oo ay saxeexeen labada madaxweyne ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa laga helay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ee Soomaalilaand.

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2. Daahir Rayaale Kaahin, Madaxweynihii Hore ee Soomaalilaand.
3. Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah.
4. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.
5. Muuse Biixi Cabdi, Guddoomiyaha Xisbiga Kulmiye.
6. Faysal Cali Waraabe, Guddoomiyaha Xisbiga UCID.
7. Baashe Maxamed Faarax, Guddoomiye Ku Xigeenka Koowaad ee Golaha Wakiillada.

Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah:

1. Sheekh Shariif Sheekh Axmed, Madaxweynaha Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya.
2. Cabdisamad Maxamuud Xassan, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Amniga Qaranka.
3. Xuseen Carab Ciise, Wasiirka Gaashaandhigga iyo Raysal Wasaare Ku Xigeen.

Wareegga Saddexaad: Ankara

Dawladda Turkiga ayaa waxa ay martigelisay kulan heer madaxweyne ah oo u dhexeeya Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya iyo Dawladda Soomaalilaand, kaas oo 13 Abriil 2013kii ka qabsoomay caasimadda dalka Turkiga ee Ankara. Kulankan oo ka mid ahaa wareegyadii is daba joogga ahaa ee u dhexeeyey labada dhinac waxa sidoo kale ujeeddooyinka gaarka ah ee loo qabtay ka mid ahayd in wadahaadallada dib loo furo iyo diyaarinta qorshihii ay ku sii socon lahaayeen, isbeddelo Muqdisho ka dhacay ka dib. Sannadkii 2012kii waxa idlaaday nidaamkii ku-meel-gaadhka ahaa ee ay Soomaaliya

muddada ku jirtay, waxaana la dhisay maamul rasmi ah oo aan ku-meel-gaadh ahayn. Dawladdii Federaalka Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ahayd waxa ay isku beddeshay Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya. Sidoo kale waxa madaxweyne Soomaaliya ka noqday Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, isaga oo beddelay madaxweynihii ka horreeyey - Sheekh Shariif Sheekh Axmed.

Kulankan oo ay goobjoog ka ahaayeen Raysal Wasaaraha iyo Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda Turkigu, waxa ay labada dhinac si wada jir ah u saxeebeen heshiis ka kooban toddoba qodob oo sidatan u dhignaa:

1. Labada dhinac waxa ay muujiyeen u heellanaantooda sii socoshada wadhadallada.
2. Waxa ay taageereen oo ansixiyeen qodobadii ku jiray heshiisyadii hore loogu galay Guriga Jefenin 21 Juun 2012 iyo Dubay 28 Juun 2012.
3. Waxa ay hoosta ka xarriiqeen in wadhadalladu u dhexeeyaan Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya iyo Dawladda Soomaalilaand, iyo in beesha caalamka ee wadhadalladan taageeraysaa ay keliya ka geysanayso kaalmo fududayn ah markii loo baahdo.
4. Waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in la dhiirrigeliyo, lana fududeeyo kaalmada caalamiga ah iyo ta horumarka ee la siiyo Soomaalilaand.
5. Waxa ay isla garteen baahida loo qabo in la mideeyo iskaashiga dhinaca nabadgelyada iyada oo la wadaagayo xogaha sirtoonka, tababarrada iyo deeqaha waxbarasho ee loogu talo galay

xirfadlayaasha iyo shaqaalaha ka hawl gala waaxda amniga, si ay si hufan ugu gutaan hawlaha la xidhiidha ladagaalanka argagixisada, xagjirnimada, budhcad badeedda, kalluumaysiga sharci darrada ah, qubitaanka sunta, denbiyada badaha, iyo denbiyada halista ah.

6. Waxa ay soo jeediyeen in ay muddo 90 maalmood gudahood ah ku kulmaan Istaanbuul, iyada oo xilliga ay labada dhinac isla cayimi doonaan.
7. Waxa ay ku heshiyeen in ay ka gaabsadaan ama ka reebtoonaadaan wixii afxumo ah iyo fal kasta oo halis gelin kara sii socoshada wadahaadallada.

Kullankan qodobka ugu muhiimsan ee la isla gartay waxa uu ahaa sidii kaalmada caalamiga ah Soomaalilaand loo gaadhsiin lahaa, waxaana la odhan karaa arrintani waxa ay ahayd hadafka dhow ee ay Soomaalilaand kulankan ka lahayd. Shir lagu qabtay magaalada Barasels bishii Sebteembar 2013kii oo *New Deal* la magacbaxay, oo ay beesha caalamku ku xaqiijinaysay taageeradeeda ay Soomaaliya la garab joogto, waxa lagu ansixiyey barnaamijka loogu magac daray *Somali Compact*. Barnaamijkaasi waxa uu daarranaa taageerada siyaadada iyo ilaalinta xuduudaha Soomaaliya. *Somali Compact* waxa ku jirtay qoondayn Soomaalilaand u gaar ah oo loo bixiyey *Somaliland Special Arrangement* kaas oo dhigayey qaabka ay beesha caalamku ula macaamilayso Soomaalilaand iyo in laga taageero xaqiijinta qorshaha shanta sannadood ee

Soomaalilaand dhigatay (2012-2016)¹⁰². Qorshahani sida la sheegay waxa uu ku qotomay warmurtiyeedka Ankara.

Warmurtiyeedka laga soo saaray kulankan waxa si wada jir ah u saxeexay Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha ee Soomaaliya Cabdikariim Xuseen Guuleed iyo Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda ee Soomaalilaand Maxamed Cabdilaahi Cumar. Saxeexa warmurtiyeedkan waxa goobjoog ka ahaa Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, Madaxweynaha Dawladda Soomaalilaand Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo), Raysal Wasaaraha Turkiga Rejep Tayib Erdogaan iyo Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda ee Turkiga Ahmet Davutoglu¹⁰³.

Ka qayb galayaasha:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo), Madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand.
2. Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah.
3. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.

¹⁰² Nuqul ka mid ah Warmurtiyeedkii Ankara oo ka soo baxay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda ee Turkiga waxa laga helay Xafiiska Qaramada Midoobay ee Taageerada Soomaaliya (UNSOM), qaybstaasi Hargeysa. Sidoo kale, Wasiirkii hore ee Arrimaha Dibedda Soomaalilaand Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar ayaa toddobada qodob ee lagu heshiiyey kulankii Ankara ku dhawaaqay muuqaalkan dhexdiisa. Waxa muuqaalka 10 Juun, 2017 laga helay lingaxan: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gfuytoBYKIs>

¹⁰³ Xigasho hore

4. Faysal Cali Waraabe, Guddoomiyaha Xisbiga UCID.
5. Cabdiraxmaan Maxamed Cabdillaahi (Cirro), Guddoomiyaha Golaha Wakiillada iyo Guddoomiyaha Xisbiga Waddani.
6. Muuse Biixi Cabdi, Guddoomiyaha Xisbiga Kulmiye.

Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya:

1. Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya.
2. Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Amniga Qaranka.
3. Xubnaha kale lama hayo.

Wareegga Afraad: Istaanbuul I

Muddo yar ka dib kulankii Ankara, labada dhinac waxa ay ku kulmeen magaalada Istaanbuul ee dalka Turkiga intii u dhexaysay 7 ilaa 9 Julaay 2013kii. Kulankan waxa sidoo kale gacan kaalmo iyo fududayn ah ka geysatay Dawladda Turkiga. Iyada oo laga duulayo heshiisyadii ay labada dhinac qalinka ku duugeen kulankii Ankara, ujeedada wareeggani waxa ay daaranayd aasaaska halbeegyo hor leh oo gacan ka gaysan kara sidii labada dhinac go'aan uga gaadhi lahaayeen xidhiidhkooda. Wareeggani waxa uu sidoo kale tixgelin gaar ah siinayey arrimihii soo ifbaxay intii ka danbaysay kulankii hore ee ka qabsoomay Ankara.

Labada dhinac waxa ay si wadajir ah u soo saareen warmurtiyeed ka kooban saddex qodob oo u dhignaa sidan:

1. Labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay Qaramada Midoobay dib ugala soo noqdaan maamulka hawada, waxaana ay go'aansadeen in ay guddi wadaag ama wada jir ah ka aasaasan Hargeysa, guddidaas oo hoggaamin doonta maamulka hawada ee labada dhinac. Sidoo kale waxa lagu heshiiyey in guddidu ay soo bandhigto hab si siman loogu qaybsanayo dakhliga ka soo xarooda maamulka hawada.
2. Waxa ay muujiyeen u heelanaantooda sii socoshada wadhadallada.
3. Waxa ay isla garteen in kulanka kan xiga lagu qabto isla Turkiga 120 maalmood gudahood.

Warmurtiyeedka laga soo saaray kulankan waxa si wada jir ah u saxeexay Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha ee Soomaaliya Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed iyo Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda ee Soomaalilaand Maxamed Cabdilaahi Cumar¹⁰⁴.

Kullankan waxa xusid mudan in labada dhinac ay isla soo qaadeen, heshiisna ka gaadheen, qodob aad u muhiim ah oo ahaa maamulka hawada. Tan iyo burburkii dawladdii dhexe ee Soomaaliya, waxa

¹⁰⁴ Istanbul I Communiqué (7-9 July, 2013). Nuqul ka mid ah warmurtiyeedka Istaanbuul I waxa laga helay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ee Soomaalilaand, iyo weliba UNSOM xariiskeeda Hargeysa. Warmurtiyeedka waxa ku saxeexan Cabdikariim Xuseen Guuleed (wasiirka arrimaha gudaha ee Soomaaliya) iyo Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar (wasiirka arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand).

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maamulka hawada ee Soomaaliya la wareegay Qaramada Midoobay, waxaana ay saldhiggooda ka dhigteen caasimada dalka Kiiniya ee Nayroobi. Halkaas ayaa laga hagi jiray hawada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliyaba, dakhliga ka soo hoyda maamulka hawaduna waxa uu ku xaroon jiray Qaramada Midoobay. Muhiimad gaar ah ayey u lahayd labada dawladdood iyo shacabkaba guud ahaan in maamulka hawada gacantooda dib loogu soo celiyo.

Ka qayb galayaasha:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda ee Soomaalilaand.
2. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.
3. Cabdi Aw Daahir, Wasiirka Xannaanada Xoolaha.

Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya:

1. Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Amniga Qaranka.
2. Xubnaha kale lama hayo.

Wareegga Shanaad: Istaanbuul II

Ka gadaal afartii kulan ee hore ugu soo qabsoomay Guriga Jefenin, Dubai, Ankara iyo Istaanbuul, waxa wufuud kala metelaya labada dhinac ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ay ku kulmeen magaalada Istaanbuul intii u dhaxaysay 16 ilaa 19 Jeeniwari 2014kii. Kulankan waxa sidii caadadu ahayd kaalmo iyo martigelinba ka geysatay Dawladda Turkiga. Kulankan waxa ay labada

dhinac ka soo saareen warmurtiyeed aad u ballaadhan oo ka kooban qaybo iyo qaybo-hoosaadyo dhowr ah oo u dhignaa sidatan¹⁰⁵:

Naqshadda Geeddi Socodka Wadahadallada

1. Qaabka Guud ee Wadahadallada

1. Wadahadalladani waxa ay u dhexeeyaan Dawladda Soomaalilaand iyo Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya si ay is afgarad uga gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka.
2. Dhinacyadu waxa ay si isqadarin ku jirto ugu heellanyihiin sii socoshada wadahadallada.

¹⁰⁵ Istanbul II Communiqué (18 January, 2014). Nuqul ka mid ah warmurtiyeedka waxa laga helay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ee Soomaalilaand iyo UNSOM xafiiskeeda Hargeysa. warmurtiyeedku waxa uu ahaa mid ballaadhan oo ka kooban dhawr ciwaan hoosaad oo ay ka mid ahaayeen naqshadda geeddi socodka wadahadallada, xeerka anshaxa iyo shaacinta mabaadi'da. Sagaalka qodob ee lagu heshiiyey waxa ay ku qoranyihiin qaybta u dambaysa warmurtiyeedka (declaration of principles). Warmurtiyeedkan waxa saxeexay Cabdikariim Xuseen Guuleed (wasiirka arrimaha gudaha ee Soomaaliya) iyo Maxamed Biixi Yoonis (wasiirka arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand). Waxa xusid mudan in wasiirkii hore ee aarrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar uu kursigii ku waayey isku shaandhayn lagu sameeyey golaha wasiirrada, waxaana laga dhigay wasiirka ganacsiga. Maxamed Biixi Yoonis ayaa noqday wasiirka arrimaha dibedda ee cusub.

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3. Wadahadalladu waxa ay diiradda saari doonaan xal u helidda xidhiidhka mustaqbalka ee labada maamul.
4. Dhinacyadu waxa ay u heellanyihiin sidii ay qaab nadabgelyo ah ugu dhammayn lahaayeen dhibaatooyinka iyo khilaafka u dhexeeya.
5. Dhinacyadu waxa ay isla garteen in ay u hoggaansamaan, si hagar la'aan ahna u tixgeliyaan, ballanqaadyada lagu sameeyey Xeerka Anshaxa iyo Ku Dhawaaqidida Mabaadii'da.
6. Dhinacyadu waxa ay isla garteen in ay si taxaddar iyo niyad sami ah u wada shaqeeyaan iyo in ay xaqiijiyaan sidii si buuxda loogu fulin lahaa heshiisyadii la gaadhay.
7. Dhinacyadu waxa ay aqoonsanyihiin doorka muhiimka ah ee ay Dawladda Turkigu ka ciyaarayso kor u qaadidda wadahadallada.

2. Ajendaha

1. Arrinta uu ajenduhu xoogga saarayaa waa asalka/nooca xidhiidhka mustaqbalka ee labada dhinac.
2. Dhinacyadu waxa ay ka heshiin doonaan ka hadalka arrimaha kale ee labada dhinacba u leh muhiimad ama lagama maarmaan u ah marka loo baahdo.

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3. Dhinacyadu waxa ay isla garteen in ay kulan kasta inta aanu qabsoomin ajande u dhigaan.
4. Dhinacyadu waxa ay dib-u-eegis ku samayn doonaan halka ay marayso fulinta arrimihii hore looga wada hadlay ama looga heshiiyey.
5. Dhinacyadu waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay is ogeysiyaan/is xusuusiyaan halka ay marayaan fulinta heshiisyadii hore bilowga kulan kasta.

3. Go'aan Gaadhista

1. Labada dhinac go'aammada waxa ay ku gaadhayaan in dhammaan xubnaha ku jira kooxaha wadahaadalku ay si buuxda isugu raacaan arrinta.
2. Kooxaha wadahaadlaya ee labada dhinac waxa hagaya talooyinka iyo go'aammada madaxdooda.
3. Meesha looga baahdo talo iyo kaalmo farsamo oo dheeraad ah, dhinacyadu waxa ay si wadajir ah go'aammadooda ugu wargelinayaan dhinaca martigeliyaha kulanka.
4. Haddii uu yimaaddo ismariwaa, labada kooxood ee wadahaadlayaa ama dhinacii kale ee lagu heshiiska yahayba, waxa ay kulan isugu yeedhi karaan madaxda dhinacyada.
5. Xoghayn wada jir ah ayaa lagu aasaasi doonaa Turkiga, shaqooyinkeeduna waxa ay noqon doonaan sidan: (a) xaqiijinta in wadahaadallada

isuduwid habboon loo sameeyo, (b) fulinta hawlaha saadka, maamulka iyo kaydinta la xidhiidha ee wadahadallada taageeraya, iyo (3) taageeridda fulinta go'aammada ay gaadheen dhinacyada wadahadlayaa.

4. Hormaynta Hawlaha Iyada oo Loo Eegayo Muhiimaddooda

1. Dhinacyadu waxa ay isla garteen qaabka geeddi socodka wadahadallada, caddaynta mabaadi'da, xeerka anshaxa, waxa ayna si guud isugu waafaqeen fududaynta shirka ee beesha caalamka, in xoghayn laga aasaaso Turkiga iyo xulista meelaha la iska kaashan karo, iyada oo baahida jirta loo eegayo.
2. Qaab dhismeedka wadahadalladu waxa uu abuurii doona jadwal joogto ah oo noqonaya in kooxaha wadahadalku ay kulmaan 90 maalmood gudahood.
3. Hoggaamiyeyaasha kooxaha wadahadlayaa waa in ay xidhiidh sameeyaan ama ku kulmaan lix toddobaad gudahood iyaga oo hawlaha dabogal ku samaynaya si ajendaha la iskula meel dhigo.
4. Inta u dhaxaysa wareegyada wadahadallada, labada dhinac waxa ay isla meel dhigi doonaan heshiisyada iyo qodobada lagu shaqaynayo ee la tixraacayo, doorka beesha caalamka iyo nooca ay noqonayso taageerada ay ka geysanayaan geeddi socodka wadahadallada.

5. Wareeg kasta ka hor, dhinacyadu waxa ay diyaarin doonaan qoraal hordhac ah oo ay ku muujinayaan natiijada laga fili karo wareegga.

5. Ka Qayb Galka

1. Dhinacyada uu wadhadalku u dhexeeyaa waa Dawladda Soomaalilaand iyo Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya, oo ay kala metelayaan kooxaha ay wadhadalka u soo wakiisheen.
2. Iyaga oo tixgelin u haya doorka muhiimka ah ee uu Turkigu ka geystay hirgelinta iyo fududaynta wareegyadii hore, isla markaana aqoonsan kaalmada ay ka heleen saaxiibada kale ee caalamiga ah, dhinacyadu waxa ay go'aamin doonaan xaddiga taageerada ay u baahan karaan si ay wadhadalladu hore ugu socdaan.
3. Dhinacyadu waxa ay si wada jir ah taageero farsamo oo dhinaca sharciga ah uga raadsan karaan ururro khubaro ah oo dhexdhexaad ah.

6. Fulinta

1. Dhinacyadu waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in awoodda fulinta wax kasta oo lagu heshiiyo ay leeyihiin labada dawladdood.
2. Ka qayb qaadashada fulinta heshiiyadu waxa ay ku koobnaan doontaa dhinacyada wadhadalku u dhexeeyo.

3. Dhinacyadu waxa ay adeegsan doonaan go'aammo ay ku xaqiijinayaan in heshiisyada la gaadho loogu fuliyo sida iyo xilliga ugu haboon.
4. Si loo xaqiijiyo si buuxda u fulinta heshiisyada, dhinacyadu waxa ay samayn doonaan qorshayaal fulineed oo ay ku jiraan dhigashada hadafyo waaweyn iyo kormeerid la isku waafaqsanyahay oo ku aaddan heshiisyadii la gaadho. Horumarka qorshayaashan waxa kormeerid iyo dabogal ku samayn doonta Dawladda Turkiga.

Xeerka Anshaxa

Dhinacyadu waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in:

1. Kulamada lagu furo akhrinta Qur'aanka.
2. Laga waantoobo hadallada xanafta leh iyo dhaqamada dhaawici kara ujeeddooyinka iyo horusocodka wadahaadalka, sidoo kalena la iska ilaaliyo soo saarista hadallo bulshada wada gaadhaya oo dhaawici kara tayada iyo ujeedada wadahaadallada.
3. Hore looga sii heshiiyo wixii hadallo iyo dhawaaqyo bulshada la gaadhsiiyayo ah ee wadahaadallada laga soo saarayo.
4. Ajendaha la sii dejiyo kulan kasta ka hor, laguna dhaqmo ajendaha bilowga doodaha iyo lafaguridda.

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5. Dooduhu ka dhacaan deegaan ay ka jiraan isqadarin iyo isfahan laba-geesood ah.
6. Qadarinta iyo ilaalinta wixii siro ah ee wadhadalladu leeyihiin, iyo in dhinacyada wadhadlaya iyo martigaliyuhuba ay qoraallada iyo hadalada la is weydaarsaday u ilaaliyaan sir ahaan.
7. Ay wada yeeshaan xidhiidh ku dhisan nadabgelyo iyo isqadarin, iyo in laga hortago nooc kasta oo cadaawad ah.

Shaacinta Mabaadi'da (Heshiisyada)

Labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen mabaadi'dan soo socda:

1. Dhinacyadu waxa ay sii wadi doonaan wadhadallada si loo gaadho natiijooyin la isku waafaqsanyahay, waxaana ay ansixiyeen waxyaalihii ku jiray heshiisyadii hore oo ay ku jiraan danaha labada dhinacba.
2. Dhinacyadu waxa ay wadhadallada gelayaan iyaga oo u heellan xallinta arrimaha u dhexeeya iyo sidii ay u gaadhi lahaayeen natiijo labada dhinacba aqbali karaan.
3. Dhinacyadu waxa ay isla garteen in ay ku dhaqmaan Xeerka Anshaxa iyo heshiisyada kale.
4. Dhinacyadu waxa ay si buuxda u fududayn doonaan, iskulana qeexi doonaan, meelaha ay

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tahay in ay iska kaashadaan ee si cad ugu baahan kara iskaashi labada dhinac ah.

5. Dhinacyadu waxa ay ballanqaad cad ka samaynayaan in ay kala duwanaanshahooda ku xalliyaan hab gebi ahaanba nabadgelyo ah iyo wadahaadal.
6. Dhinacyadu waxa ay isla garteen in Dawladda Turkigu ay beesha caalamka ku wargeliso habsami u socodka wadahaadallada iyo kolba wixii ka soo kordha.
7. Iyada oo la tixraacayo warmurtiyeedkii ka soo baxay kulankii Istaanbuul ka qabsoomay 7 - 9 julaay 2013kii, labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in la magacaabo Guddida Sare ee Maamulka Hawada oo lagu aasaaso muddo 45 maalmood gudahood ah.
8. Dhinacyadu waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in la magacaabo guddi farsamo oo degdeg ah (*ad-hoc*) oo ka kooban afar xubnood (lababa dhinac ka imanayso) oo diyaariya xeerarka tixraaca (*terms of reference*) ee ay ku shaqaynayso Guddida Sare ee Maamulka Hawadu. Hawlaha guddida farsamada waxa kormeeri doona labada wasiir ee ay hawshani khusayso.
9. Waxa aannu qaybsanaynaa xanuunka dhibaataadii uu taliskii milatariga ahaa u geystay dadka Soomaaliyeed intii ka horreysay 1991kii. Waxa aannu cambaaraynaynaa dhammaan gabood falladii (*atrocities*) uu taliskaasi u geystay

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dadka Soomaaliyeed gaar ahaan dadka Reer Soomaalilaand.

Warmutiyeedka laga soo saaray kulankani waxa uu ahaa mid aad u ballaadhan. Hase ahaatee heshiiska dhabta ah ee la kala saxeexday waxa ay ahaayeen sagaalkan qodob ee u dambeeyey. Marka laga yimaaddo qodobada la xidhiidha sii wadida heshiiskii maamulka hawada, waxa muhiimad gaar ah lahaa qodobka 9aad. Waxa ay noqotay markii ugu horreysay ee xukuumad Soomaaliya ka jirtaa ay si rasmi ah u garawsatay danbiyadii bini'aadantinnimada ka dhanka ahaa ee uu Taliskii Militariga ahaa ka geystay Soomaalilaand dabayaaqadii siddeetameeyadii. In kasta oo ay qireen in Dawladdii Soomaaliya danbiyo ka gashay dadka Soomaalilaand, waxa aanay ogolaan in denbiyadaasi ahaayeen xasuuq. Warmurtiyeedka labada dhinac saxeexeen oo ku qornaa Af Ingiriisi waxa lagu adeegsaday erayga *atrocitiy* ee marnaba laguma adeegsan erayga *genocidiy*. Adeegsiga eraygani waxa uu dood badan ka dhaliyey Soomaalilaand, dad badan ayaana ku canaantay waftigii Soomaalilaand u metelayey shirka in ay ka tanaasuleen in wixii dhacay uu ahaa xasuuq. Doodda xasuuqa waxa aan ku faahfaahinnay cutubka taariikhda labada dhinac, qodobkan se iyo kuwo kale oo muhiim ahba waxa aan ku faallayn doonaa cutubyada soo socda.

Ka qayb galayaasha:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Maxamed Biixi Yoonis, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah.
2. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.

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3. Cabdi Aw Daahir, Wasiirka Xannaanada Xoolaha.
4. Maxamuud Axmed Barre Garaad, Wasiirka Arrimaha Bulshada.
5. Cabdillaahi Jaamac Geeljire, Wasiirka Kalluumaysiga iyo Khayraadka Badda.
6. Baashe Maxamed Faarax, Guddoomiye Ku Xigeenka Koowaad ee Golaha Wakiillada.
7. Xuseen Ismaaciil Cige, Guddoomiyaha Guddida Arrimaha Dibedda ee Golaha Wakiillada.

Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya:

1. Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Amniga Qaranka.
2. Xubnaha kale lama hayo.

Wareegga Lixaad: Jabuuti

Iyada oo laga shidaal qaadanayo wareegyadii hore u soo qabsoomay ee shanta ahaa, waxa wareeggii lixaad ee wadhadalladu ka qabsoomay caasimadda Dalka Jabuuti ee Jabuuti. Ka dib markii ay adkaatay in ay labada dhinac kulmaan muddo dheer, ayaa Dawladda Jabuuti martigelisay kulankan 21 Diisambar 2014kii. Kulankan oo ahaa heer madaxweyne waxa wada kulmay wufuud ay kala hoggaaminayeen Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud iyo Madaxweynaha Dawladda Soomaalilaand Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo).

Kulankan oo uu goobjoog ka ahaa Madaxweynaha Jamhuuriyadda Jabuuti Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle, labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen qodobadan lixda ah:

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1. In la dardar geliyo wadahadallada labada dhinac, isla markaana wakhti lagu jaangooyo.
2. Labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in arrimaha siyaasadda ee masiiriga ah lagu dhiirrado, lana fuliyo waxyaabihii hore loogu heshiiyey oo ah:

A) In laga dhowrsado wixii wadahadallada carqalad gelin kara.

B) In aan la siyaasadayn deeqaha baniaadminimada iyo mashaariicda dib-u-dhiska, oo weliba la dhiirri geliyo.

C) In la fuliyo heshiiskii hawada iyada oo farsamo lagu salaynayo wixii lagu heshiiyay.

3. Labada dhinac waxa ay isla garteen in Dawladda Jabuuti laga qayb geliyo wadahadallada marka loo baahdo.
4. Labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen ilaalinta xuquuqul-insaanka, iskaashiga nabadgelyada iyo in meel looga soo wada jeesto la dagaallanka argagixisada, budhcad-badeedda iyo dembiyada abaabulan.
5. In madasha tan ku xigta ee ay ku kulmayaan ergooyinka labada dhinac ee Soomaaliya iyo Soomaalilaand ay noqoto 26-27 Febraayo ee 2015 laguna qabto magaalada Istaanbuul ee dalka Turkiga.

6. Waxa ay labada madaxweyne ee Soomaaliya iyo Soomaalilaand u mahadcelinayaan Madaxweynaha Jamhuuriyadda Jabuuti Mudane Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle oo martigeliyey wadahaadalkan, ka dib markii ay labada dhinac sidaa ka codsadeen¹⁰⁶.

Heshiisyada kulankan lagu gaadhay waxa si wada jir ah u saxeexay Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud iyo Madaxweynaha Dawladda Soomaalilaand Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo).

Ka qayb galayaasha:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo), Madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand.
2. Maxamed Biixi Yoonis, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah.
3. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.
4. Baashe Maxamed Faarax, Guddoomiye Ku Xigeenka Koowaad ee Golaha Wakiillada.

¹⁰⁶ Djibouti Agreement (21 December, 2014). Nuqul ka mid ah heshiiskii Jabuuti ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa laga helay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah ee Soomaalilaand, iyo UNSOM xafiiskeeda Hargeysa. Kulankan oo ahaa heer madaxweyne waxa heshiiska saxeexay Madaxweynaha Soomaaliya Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud iyo Madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud “Siilaanyo”. Heshiiska ay labada madaxweyne saxeexen waxa uu ku qornaa Af Soomaali, toos ayaanan u soo xiganay qodobbada lagu heshiiyey sidii ay u qornaayeen.

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5. Cabdi Aw Daahir, Wasiirka Xannaanada Xoolaha.
6. Faarax Cilmi Geedoole, Wasiirka Beeraha.
7. Dr. Xuseen Cabdillaahi Bulxan.

Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya:

1. Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, Madaxweynaha Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya.
2. Cabdikariin Xuseen Guuleed, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah.
3. Cabdiraxmaan Ducaale Bayle, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda.
4. Yuusuf Garaad Cumar, La taliye madaxweyne.

Cutubkan waxa uu is dul taagay sidii ay u bilowdeen wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya iyo weliba lixdii wareeg ee sida guusha ah u qabsoomay. Shirkaa Landhan ee 2012kii ayaa ahaa asalka wadhadalladan, halkaas oo ay beesha caalamka iyo wufuuddii ka soo qayb gashay shirku ugu soo jeediyeen labada dhinac in ay ka wada hadlaan aayahooda dambe iyo xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalku nooca uu noqonayo. Tan iyo bilowgii wadhadallada sannadkii 2012kii waxa ay lix wareeg ka qabsoomeen Landhan, Dubay, Ankara, Istaanbuul (labo jeer) iyo Jabuuti. Dhammaan lixda kulan waxa laga soo saaray warmurtiyeedyo, waxaana lagu kala saxeexday heshiisyo. Si kasta oo ay u dhacdayba, nasiibdarro waxa noqotay in aanay fulin wax ka mid ah heshiisyadii la kala saxeexday. Waxa sidoo kale ayaan darro kale ahayd in lixda kulanba ay labada dhinac ku dhiirran waayeen in ay isla soo qaadaan arrimaha masiiriga ah ee la xidhiidha aayaha dambe iyo xidhiidhka mustaqbalka, kuwaasi oo sida uu dhigayey

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warmurtiyeedkii shirkii Landhan, ahaa ujeeddada wadhadallada. Fulin la'aanta heshiisyada, isu soo dhawaansho la'aanta labada dhinac iyo ku dhiirraso la'aanta ka hadalka arrimaha aayaha dambe iyo xidhiidhka labada dhinac waxa loo aanayn karaa dhowr sababood. Sababahan, arrimaha keenay fashilka wareeggii toddobaad (Istaanbuul III) iyo sababaha keenay burburka wadhadallada labada dhinac waxa aynu ku lafo guri doonnaa cutubka kan xiga.

CUTUBKA 5AAD

BURBURKA WADAHADALLADA: SABABO IYO SAAMAYN

Wareeggii 7aad ee wadahadallada u dhexeeyey Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ee la qorsheeyey in ay ka qabsoomaan magaalada Istaanbuul bishii Jeeniwari 2015kii waxa uu fashilmay, oo qabsoomi kari waayey, markii ay labada dhinac isku khilaafeen liiska ergada metelaysay Soomaaliya. Khilaafkaasi waxa uu keenay in kulankaasi lagu kala kaco, isla markaana ay burburaan dhammaan wadahadalladii u dhexeeyey labada dhinac. Cutubkani waxa uu marka hore baadhayaa sababaha uu u fashilmay wareegga 7aad (Istaanbuul III). Ka dibna waxa uu baadhayaa arrimaha sababay burburka wadahadallada oo ay ka mid yihiin kala fogaansho siyaasadeed, cadaadis gudaha ah, saamayn shisheeye, fulin la'aanta heshiisyadii hore iyo tabashooyinkii hore oo aan xal loo helin.

Fashilkii Istaanbuul III

Sida uu dhigayey warmurtiyeedka kulankii Istaanbuul II ee qabsoomay 16 ilaa 19 Jeniwari 2014kii, labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay samaystaan jadwal joogto ah oo dhigaya in 90kii maalmoodba ay kulmaan. Nasiib darro, wareegaa kii ku xigay ee la qorsheeyey wuu qabsoomi kari waayey ilaa Jenuwari 2015 (sannad ka dib). In kasta oo wareeggii Jabuuti la qabtay Diisambar 2014kii, waxa jirta siyaasiyiin ku doodaysa in kulanka Jabuuti aanu ahayn mid rasmi ah, ujeeddadiisuna ahayd sidii ay labada dhinac u heli lahaayeen fursad ay iskula meel dhigaan wareegga xiga ee wadahadallada oo ay

ahayd in uu ka qabsoomo Turkiga¹⁰⁷. Ugu dambayn labada ergo waxa ay isugu yimaaddeen magaalada Istaanbuul Jeeniwari 2015kii si uu u qabsoomo wareegga 7aad (Istaanbuul III) ee inta badan la sugayey. Ayaandarraduse waxa ay noqotay in kulankaasi guuldarro ku soo idlaaday, isla markaana horseeday burburka dhammaan wadhadalladii u dhexeeyey labada dhinac.

Markii ay ergooyinka labada dhinac isugu yimaaddeen Istaanbuul, waxa adkaatay in toos loo gudogalo qodobadii ku qornaa ajandaha wadhadallada caqabado soo wajahay kulanka awgood. Waxaase jirta in labada dhinac caqabadaha ay u fasireen siyaabo kala duwan oo uu dhinac waliba dhinaca kale ku eedeeyey qabsoomid la'aanta kulanka. Wasiirkii hore ee arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand Maxamed Biixi Yoonis oo isagu hogaaminayey ergada Soomaalilaand uga qayb gelayay kulanka waxa uu ku dooday in xubno asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand si ula kac ah loogu soo daray ergada Soomaaliya uga qayb gelaya kulanka. Waxaana uu xusay in arrintaasi ay toos uga hor imanayso heshiisyadii iyo is-afgaradkii hore u dhex maray labada dhinac. Markii liiska ergada Soomaaliya soo gaadhay iyaga oo weli aan tegin Turkiga, waxa uu wasiirku sheegay in ay

¹⁰⁷ Dood uu Horn Cable TV qabtay, waxa uu la taliyihii hore ee Madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand ee dhinaca doorashooyinka, ka dibna noqday wasiirkii qorshaynta qaranka iyo horumarinta, Maxamed Ibraahim Aaadan ku dooday in wareegga Jabuuti aanu ahaynd mid rasmi ah. Doodda oo dhammaystiran halkan ayaa laga heli karaa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-n3midkBg0>

war geliyeen wasiirka arrimaha dibedda iyo raysal wasaaraha Soomaaliya iyo weliba dawladda Turkiga, una sheegeen dhammaantood in aanay ka soo qayb gelayn kulanka haddii aan xubnahaas laga saarin liiska. Wasiir Yoonis waxa uu intaa raaciyey in dawladda Soomaaliya ay markii hore ballan qaaday in ay dib-u-eegis ku samayneyso liiska ergada, hase yeeshee aanay waxba ka beddelin¹⁰⁸. Wasiirku waxa uu sheegay in kulanku qabsoomi waayey maadaama oo dastuurka Soomaalilaand aanu iyaga u ogolayn in ay wadahadal la galaan dad asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand iyo in heshiisyadii hore ee labada dhinac ay sidaasi dhigayeen. Wasiir Yoonis waxa uu ku soo gebogebeeyey hadalkiisa in aanay ergada uu horkacayaa rabin in ay Soomaaliya kala hadlaan arrimaha maamulka hawada iyo siyaasaddaba, maadaama oo ay jebiyeen jadwalkii ahaa in 90 maalmood lagu kulmo iyo heshiiskii maamulka hawada, isla markaana ay sameeyeen afxumo badan oo ka dhan ah Soomaalilaand. Marka arrimahaas oo dhan la eego, wasiirku waxa uu sheegay in masuuliyadda qabsoomid la'aanta Istaanbul III ay qaadanayaan ergada Soomaaliya.

Dhanka kale, wasiirkii hore ee warfaafinta ee Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya Maxamed Cabdi Xayir (Maareeye) oo ka mid ahaa ergada Soomaaliya ayaa ku dooday in ergada Soomaalilaand ay masuul ka ahaayeen fashilka kulankan oo ay la yimaaddeen shuruudo aan

¹⁰⁸ Yoonis, A Press Conference on the Collapse of the Somaliland-Somalia Talks. Istanbul. Retrieved on 15 July 2017 from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C7-EoUKtyM8>, 2015. Shir jaraaid oo uu wasiir Yoonis ku qabtay Istaanbuul burburkii wadahadallada ka dib ayuu arrimahan kaga hadlay.

suurtogal ahayn in la aqballo, isla markaana waxa uu xusay in aanu dhinacna dhinaca kale ergadiisa u qori karin. Waxa hadalladii uu wasiirku ku yidhi shirkii jaraa'id ee uu ku qabtay Istaanbuul fashilka kulankan ka dib uu ku yidhi:

“Nasiib darro kulanku wuu noo qabsoomi waayey. Waftiga Soomaalilaand waxa ay la yimaaddeen shuruudo aan meesha qaban. Waxaan shacabka Soomaaliyeed u sheegayaa in aan laga quusan doonin wadhadallada oo ay sii socon doonaan. Waxaanu isla garanay in dib loogu noqdo magaalooyinkii laga yimid oo lala tashado madaxda, ka dibna la isla eego sida uu shirku u dhici doono. Wadhadalku wuu soconayaa, waxaana lagu gaadhayaa midnimo”.

Ballanqaadka wasiirku, sida muuqata, waxa uu ku salaysanyahay hadafka ay dhanka Soomaaliya ka leeyihiin wadhadallada oo sida uu sheegay ah midnimo. Nasiib darro, labada dhinac waxa ay ku guul darraysteen in ay dib u bilaabaan wadhadallada, hal wareeg ama kulan oo dambena ma qabsoomin kulankan fashilmay ka dib.

Haddaba marka laga yimaaddo doodda iyo is-eedaynta labada dhinac, maxay yihiin sababaha dhabta ah ee uu u fashilmay kulankan ee sababay burburka wadhadallada oo dhan? Yaa masuul ka ah fashilka Istaanbuul III iyo weliba burburka guuda ahaan wadhadallada? Cutubka qaybtiisa hore waxa aan kaga warcelin doonaa sababta keentay fashilka Istaanbuul III, waxaana aan isku dul

taagi doonaa doodda ku saabsan soo xulista ergooyinka iyo cidda lagu soo darayo, iyo halka ay arrintaasi salka ku hayso. Qaybta dambe ee cutubka waxa aan si faahfaahsan u sharxi doonaa arrimaha dhaliyey in wadhadalladu ay noqdaan kuwo guul darraysta oo aan midho dhal noqonin.

Sanadkii 2012kii mar loo ballansanaa kulan ka mid ah wadhadallada dhexmaraya labada dhinac ayaa waxa ergada Soomaaliya lagu soo daray xubno ka socda Maamul Goboleedka Buntlaand oo ka mid ah maamul goboleedyada Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya. Soomaalilaand ayaase laba xubnood oo ergada ka tirsan ka keentay dood badan iyada oo ku doodaya in ay labada xubnood asal ahaan ka soo jeedaan Soomaalilaand; waxa ay ku gooddiday in aanay wadhadallada ka soo qayb galeyn ilaa labada xubnood laga saaro ergada Soomaaliya¹⁰⁹.

Iyada oo dadka Soomaalidu ay yihiin isir keli ah oo wax badan wadaaga; dadka Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya degaana ay wada yihiin Soomaali, waxa u baahan in la balbalaadhiyo waxa loola jeedo “asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand”. Maadaama oo bulshada Soomaalidu ay u habaysantahay qabiillo (ama beelo), isla markaana beel kastaa degto dhul/degaan gooni ah ama cayiman (in kasta oo degaannada qaar la wada dego), asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand waxa halkan loola jeeda in qofku ka dhashay mid ka mid ah beelaha Somaalilaand dega. Si kale, beelahani waa kuwii deganna

¹⁰⁹ VOA, Somaliland oo Diiday Wadhadalka DKMG. Retrieved on 20 September 2017 from: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/somaliland-oo-diiday-wadhadalka-dkmg-148068125/1449619.html>, 2012.

Maxmiyaddii Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand gobanimada (26 June 1960) ka hor. Beelahan waxa laga xusaa shanta ugu tiro badan, dhulka ugu badanna dega oo kala ah: Isaaq, Gadabuursi (Samaroon), Dhulbahante, Warsangeli iyo Ciise. Waxa se xusid mudan in ay jiraan reero tiro ahaan kooban degaanno koobanna si teelteel ah u dega oo aan shantan ku jirin.

Waxa jira degaanno ay ku muransanyihiin Soomaalilaand iyo Maamul Goboleedka Buntlaand, murankan oo ku qotoma labo arrimood: Soomaalilaand waxa ay ku salaysantahay xuduudihii gumaysigu ka tagay ee ay lahaan jirtay Maxmiyaddii Ingiriiska ee Soomaalilaand, oo ah ka rasmiga ah ee kala qaybiya dhammaan dalalka Afrika. Dhinaca kale, Maamul Goboleedka Buntlaand waxa uu ku salaysanyahay degaannadda ay degaan beelaha Harti - oo ay ku jiraan degaannada Dhulbahante iyo Warsangeli ee ka tirsan xuduudaha Soomaalilaand.

Markii ay Soomaalilaand ku adkaysatay in labadaa xubnood laga reebo ergada Soomaaliya uga qayb galeysa wadhadallada, Soomaaliya waa ay tixgelisay codsiga ama go'aanka Soomaalilaand waxaana ay ergadii ka reebtay labada xubnood ee asal ahaan ka soo jeeday Soomaalilaand. Dhacdadani waxa ay muujinaysaa in uu jiray isfahan u dhexeeyey labada dhinac - in Soomaaliya aanay ergadeeda ku soo darin xubno asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand, haddii ay taasi dhacdona aanay Soomaalilaand wadhadallada ka soo qayb geli doonin. Isfahankan (in kasta oo aanuu ahayn heshiis/is-afgarad rasmi ah) waxa uu taageerayaa doodda Soomaalilaand ee ah in ay Soomaaliya qaaddo masuuliyadda fashilka

kulanka, maadaama oo ay ka war hayeen jiritaanka is fahan noocaas ah iyo dhacdadaa hore. Soomaalilaand waxa ay in badan ku soo celcelisaa in aanay qaddiyadeeda marnaba kala hadli karin xubno asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand, sidaas darteedna waxa ay diideen in ay ergada Soomaaliya ka mid noqdaan xubno asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand.

Si kasta oo ay ahaatoba, waxa jira dhacdooyin iyo caddaymo muujinaya in Soomaalilaand aanay marar dambe dhab ka ahayn ku dhegenaanta isfahankaa jiray. Tusaale ahaan, wareegii Dubai waxa madaxweynaha Soomaaliya kulankaa ku weheliyey wasiirkiisii gaashaandhigga Xuseen Carab Ciise oo asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand. Sidoo kale, wasiirkii hore ee arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaaliya, haddana ah wasiirka maaliyadda Cabdiraxmaan Ducaale Bayle, oo isaguna asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand, waxa uu ka soo qayb galay wareegii Jabuuti. Waxa jira siyaasiyiin ku doodaya in wareega Jabuuti aanu ahayn mid rasmi ah sidaa awgeedna aan loo tirinayn wareeg ka mid ah wadhadallada¹¹⁰. Si kasta oo ay u dhacdayba, madaama oo aanay Soomaalilaand wax dareen ah ka bixin labadaa xubnood ee ka soo qayb galay wareegyada Dubai iyo Jabuuti oo ay arrinta fududaysatay, may ahayn in joogitaanka xubno ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand ay arrin weyn oo ay shirka ku qaadacaan ka dhigaan kulanka Istaanbuul III¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰ Xigasho hore

¹¹¹ Dood qoraagu u qabtay koox (focus group discussion) dhallinyar, saxafiyiin iyo aqoonyahan ah (magacyada lama diiwaan gelin), oo

Waxa jira dad aaminsan in xataa haddii uu jiray isfahankaas dhigaya in xubno asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand aan lagu soo darin ergada Soomaaliya, aanay sax ahayn in ay dawladda Soomaaliya tixgeliso isfahankaa. Sida uu ku doodayo Cabdirashiid Seed¹¹², siyaasiyiinta ka soo jeedda Soomaalilaand waxa ay ku jiraan dhammaan golayaasha dawladda – sida baarlamaanka iyo fulinta – sidaas darteedna ay xaq u leeyihiin in ay qayb ka noqdaan siyaasadaha iyo go'aammada qaranka. Seed¹¹³ waxa uu yidhi “go'aammada Soomaaliya cid gaar ah ma qaadan karto, waana ka mid [Reer Soomaalilaand], lagamana reebi karo”.

Kulankii Istaanbuul III ka hor, waxa jiray kulan kale oo kulamadan garab socday oo isna fashilmay. Waxa bishii Abriil 2014 magaalada Istaanbuul ku kulmay laba guddi farsamo oo ka kala socday labada dhinac si ay u sii wadaan heshiisyadii Istaanbuul I iyo Istaanbuul II ee la xidhiidhay maamulka hawada. Istaanbuul I labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in la sameeyo guddi wadaag ah oo xaruntoodu tahay Hargeysa, taas oo maamulka hawada kala soo wareegi doona Qaramada Midoobay. Istaanbuul II labada dhinac waxa ay ku

Hargysa lagu qabtay bishii Abriil. Dad uu ka mid yahay Daahir M. Daahir, ayaa sidoo kale doodan qaba.

¹¹² Seed, Dareenka Shacabka Wadahadallada Somaliland iyo Somalia, wadahadalada Turkiga. In a Horn Cable TV debate. London. Retrieved on 10 September 2017 from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-n3midkBg0>, 2015. Seed waxa uu arrintan ku sheegay dood ay Horn Cable TV ku qabatay Landhan.

¹¹³ Xigasho hore

heshiiyeen in ay sameeyaan guddi farsamo oo diyaarisa qodobada tixraaca ee guddida maamulka hawada. Kulankan farsamo waxa uu daarranaa in la isla falanqeeyo qodobada tixraaca ee guddida maamulka hawadu ku shaqayn doonto. Nasiib darro, kulankaasi waxa uu noqday mid aan midho dhalin oo guul darraysta ka dib markii ay labada dhinac ku heshiin waayeen qodobada tixraaca¹¹⁴. Wasiirkii hore ee duulista iyo hawada Soomaalilaand Maxamuud Xaashi Cabdi ayaa ku eedeeyay guddida farsamo ee ka socotay Soomaaliya in ay la soo shirtageen fahan gooni ah oo ku aaddan heshiiskii Istaanbuul I ee hawada. Waxa ay soo jeediyeen in la sameeyo guddi hagta hawlaha hawada isla markaana loo sameeyo qodobada tixraaca; waxase ay ku doodeen in *Flight Information Region (FIR)* loo soo raro Hargeysa aanay qayb ka ahayn heshiiska¹¹⁵. Sida wasiirku hadalkiisa u dhigay, kulankan u dhexeeyey guddiyada farsamo waxa uu fashilmay markii ay heshiiska jebiyeen ergada ka socotay Soomaaliya. Isaga oo caddaynaya halka ay ka taagan yihiin aarintan Soomaalilaand ahaan, wasiirku waxa uu sheegay in ay iyagu aaminsanyihiin in mashruucani uu yahay mid isku dhan oo ay tahay in ay maamusho hal guddi oo keli ah; guddidu waa in ay maamushaa hawlaha maalinlaha ah,

¹¹⁴ Wasiirkii Hore ee Duulista iyo Hawada ee Soomaalilaand Maxamuud Xaashi Cabdi oo ay weheliyaan khubaro arrimaha hawada ah oo dhankiisa ka socday, ayaa shir jaraaid ku qabtay Hargeysa markii uu soo laabtay ee kulankii Istaanbuul ee hawadu fashilmay. Shirka jaraaid halkan ayaa laga geli karaa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ivs2ZBEq4YE>

¹¹⁵ Xigasho hore

qorshaha lagu qaybsanayo dakhliga iyo siyaasadaha kale ee ay ku shaqayn doonaan¹¹⁶.

Marka laga yimaaddo eedaynta Soomaalilaand, waxa gadaal ka soo ifbaxday in Soomaaliya aanay daacad ka ahayn heshiisyadii hawada ee Turkiga lagu kala saxeexday iyo in aanay marnaba rabin in xarunta maamulka hawada loo raro caasimadda Soomaalilaand ee Hargeysa. Waxa isdiiddo noqotay in Soomaaliya iyada oo saxeexday heshiiskii dhigayey in la sameeyo guddi wadaaga ah oo hawada maamusha xarunteeduna noqoto Hargeysa, waxa ay isla markaasna bilowday dedaallo ay keligeed ku soo ceshanayso maamulka hawada, waxaana ay wadahaadallo gooni gooni ah la fureen Qaramada Midoobay iyo ururrada kale ee ku shaqada leh maamulka hawada. Wasiirka duulista ee Soomaaliya Maxamed Cabdillaahi Salaad ayaa laanta Af Soomaaliga ee Idaacadda VOA u xaqiijiyey in maamulka hawada ee Soomaaliya laga soo rari doono Nayroobi loona soo rari doono Muqdisho dabayaaqada bisha Oktoobar ee 2017¹¹⁷. Ugu dambayn, 28 Diisembar 2017kii ayaa ay Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya ku dhawaaqday in ay si rasmi ah ula soo wareegtay maamulka hawada Soomaaliya (oo hawada Soomaalilaandna ku jirto). Munaasibad lagu qabtay caasimadda Soomaaliya ee Muqdisho oo lagu furayey xafiiska maamulka hawada ayaa uu madaxweyne Maxamed Cabdillaahi Maxamed (Farmaajo) ka hadlay. Soomaalilaand oo iyana

¹¹⁶ Xigasho hore

¹¹⁷ Salaad 2017, Dawladda Somalia oo la Wareegaysa Maamulka Hawada. VOA Somali. Waxa 12 Sebteembarr 2017 laga helay: <https://www.voasomali.com/a/4005103.html>

dhacdadan ka hadashay ayaa sheegtay in aanay aqbalayn in hawadeeda laga maamulo Muqdisho, waxaana ay khalad weyn ku tilmaameen go'aanka ay Soomaaliya keligeed ka qaadatay hawada, iyada oo ay jireen heshiisyo hawada la xidhiidha oo labada dhinac hore u kala saxeexdeen¹¹⁸.

Waxa iyaguna jiray warar soo baxay oo sheegayey in aanay Soomaaliya weli si rasmi ah ula wareegin maamulka hawada oo weli hay'addii Qaramada Midoobay ka tirsanayd ee ICAO ee hore u maamuli jirtay hawada Soomaaliya ay sii maamuli doonto inta laga dhammaystirayo qalabka lagu maamulayo hawada, iyo inta la wadahalayo farsamadii, aqoontii iyo khibraddii Soomaaliyeed ee hawada lagu maamuli lahaa, iyada oo ay jiraan dhallinyar badan oo Soomaali ah oo tababarro uga socdaan dalka Kiiniya.

Dhanka kale, ilo wareedyo ayaa sheegay in Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ay heshiisyo aan la shaacin hore ugu galeen Addis Ababa, halkaas oo lagu heshiiyey in la qaybsado dakhliga ka soo xarooda maamulka hawada, mustaqalka dhowna xarunta labaad ee maamulka hawada laga dhiso Hargeysa. Xukuumadda Soomaalilaand ayaa se iyadu dhowr jeer beenisay in ay jiraan heshiisyo noocaas ah.

¹¹⁸ BBC, Soomaaliya oo Si Rasmi Ah Ula Wareegtay Maamulka Hawada. Retrieved on 15 February 2018 from: <http://www.bbc.com/somali/war-42500807> , 2017.

Ka qayb galayaasha Istaanbuul III:

Soomaalilaand:

1. Maxamed Biixi Yoonis, Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Iskaashiga Caalamiga ah.
2. Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan, Wasiirka Madaxtooyada.
3. Cabdi Aw Daahir, Wasiirka Xanaanada Xoolaha.
4. Baashe Maxamed Faarax, Guddoomiye Ku Xigeenka Koowaad ee Golaha Wakiillada.
5. Maxamuud Xaashi Cabdi, Wasiirka Duulista iyo Hawada.

Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya:

1. Cabdiraxmaan Maxamed Odowaa, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha.
2. Maxamed Cabdi Xayir (Maareeye), Wasiirka Warfaafinta.
3. Cali Jaamac Jangeli, Wasiirka Gaadiidka iyo Hawada.
4. Yuusuf Garaad Cumar, La taliye madaxweyne.
5. Siciid Qoorsheel, Wasiir hore oo ka tirsanaa Dawladdii Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ahayd.
6. Cilmi Maxamuud Nuur, Xubin (Xildhibaan) ka tirsan Golaha Shacabka.

Sababaha ay u Guuldarraysteen Wadahadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya

Wadahadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ee ka dhashay shirkii London ee 2012kii, isla sannadkaasna bilaabmay, waxa ay burbureen Jeeniwari 2015kii iyada oo aanay gaadhin guulo la taaban karo. Arrimo dhowr ah ayaa sababay in ay wadahadalladu guuldarraystaan.

Arrimaha qaarkood waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo siyaasadeed iyo taariikheed; qaar kale waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo soo ifbaxay intii ay wadhadalladu socdeen. Iyada oo sababaha badankoodu ay ahaayeen kuwo gudaha Soomaalida ka yimid, waxaan iyaguna meesha ka maqnayn sababaha dibedda kaga yimid labada dhinac. Qaybtan waxa aan ku eegaynaa sababaha dhaliyey burburka iyo guuldarrada wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya.

1. Kala Fogaansho Siyaasadeed

Soomaalilaand, marka laga soo bilaabo la soo noqoshadii madaxbannaanideeda 1991kii, dedaallada aqoonsi raadisku waxa ay qaateen in ka badan rubuc-qarni. Nasiib darro kuma aanay guulaysan in ay xataa hal dal aqoonsi ka hesho muddadaas. Dedaallada aqoonsi raadisku waxa ay beegsadeen dalalka jaarka, dalalka Afrika, Bariga Dhexe, Midowga Afrika, Midowga Yurub, Qaramada Midoobay iyo meelo kale. Ka dib markii ay dhammaan dalalkan iyo ururradani wax aqoonsi ah siin waayeen Soomaalilaand, waxa ay Soomaalilaand ugu dambayn aqbashay in ay wadhadal la furto Soomaaliya, si ay uga heshiiyaan mustaqbalkooda. In kasta oo ay Soomaalilaand ogolaatay la hadalka Soomaaliya, haddana waxa ay marwalba hoosta ka xariiqaysay in aanay marnaba ka tanaasulayn goosashadeeda, madaxbannaanideeda iyo siyaadadeeduna ay yihiin muqaddas. Dhanka kale, Soomaaliya waxa ay wadhadallada la soo jeediyey u aragtay fursad ay Soomaalilaand ku hor fadhiisan karto, kuna qancin karto in ay dib u la midoobaan iyaga. Waxa se ay Soomaaliya lafteedu mar walba caddaynaysay in midnimada iyo

xuduudaha Soomaaliya ay yihiin lama taabtaan aan gorgortan geli karin.

Marka xisaabta lagu darsado halka ay siyaasad ahaan labada dhinac kala taaganyihiin, iyo sida ay u kala fogyihiin, dad badan ayaa ay u muuqatay in aanay wadhadalladu dhinacna u soconayn iyo in ay u badantahay in wadhadalladu burburaan isla marka la gaadho in la gorfeeyo arrinta ugu muhiimsan oo ah in mustaqbalka uu jirayo hal dal iyo in ay laba jirayaan (si kale, in la midoobayo iyo in la kala tegayo)¹¹⁹. Waxa aynu ognahay in dhammaan wareegyadii qabsoomay ee toddobada ahaa aan midna la isla soo qaadin, ama aan lagu dhiirran falanqaynta iyo go'aan ka gaadhista, arrimaha masiiriga ah. Hase ahaatee waxa jirtay in kulankii Jabuuti ay labada dhinac ku heshiiyeen in la qaado tallaabooyin geesinnimo leh oo go'aan lagaga gaadhayo xidhiidhka siyaasadeed ee mustaqbalka. In kasta oo aanay labada dhinac muujin dhiiranaan ay ku falanqeeyaan arrimaha masiiriga ah hadana wareeggii Jabuuti waxa uu shaaca ka qaaday in la gaadhay xilligii laga arrinsan lahaa arrimaha masiiriga ah - xidhiidhka siyaasadeed ee mustaqbalka.

Kala fogaanshaha siyaasadeed, sida muuqata, waxa ay ragaadiyeen geeddi socodka wadhadallada iyada oo laba dhinac midna aanu diyaar u ahayn ama muujin tanaasul ku aaddan go'aankiisa siyaasadeed. Go'aanka siyaasiyiinta Soomaalilaand (iyaga oo ku metelaya shacabka) waa mid cad oo aan mugdi ku jirin. Marka ay

¹¹⁹ Aideed, "Somaliland-Somalia Talks: Challenges and Opportunities". Unpublished MA Thesis. Kampala University Hargeisa Campus, Hargeisa, 2015.

timaaddo goosashada iyo madaxbanaanida Soomaalilaand, madaxweynihii hore ee Soomaalilaand Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud (Siilaanyo) mar uu la hadlayey golaha baarlamaanka ee Soomaalilaand waxa uu sheegay in Soomaalilaand aanay marnaba ka tanaasuli doonin aqoonsi raadinta xataa haddii ay qaadanayso boqol sannadood¹²⁰. Sidaa si la mid ah, madaxweynahaasha Soomaaliya waxa ay inta badan ku celceliyaan in xuduudaha iyo midnimada Soomaaliya ay tahay muqaddas. Madaxweynayaashaa waxa ka mid ah Shariif Sheekh Axmed, Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud iyo Maxamed Cabdillaahi Farmaajo¹²¹. Go'aammadan siyaasadeed ayaa uu dhinac walba ka duulaa, waana kuwa qeexa ujeedooyinka uu dhinac waliba rabo in uu ka gaadho wadahadallada, iyo waxa ay siyaasiyiintu kula noqonayaan dadkooda. Dawladdii hore ee Soomaalilaand, tusaale ahaan, waxa ay wadahadallada kaga qayb gashay taageero dadweyne iyada oo ballanqaadku ahaa in wadahadallada loo arkay jid ama marin lagu gaadhi karo aqoonsi. Dhinaca kalena, Soomaaliya waxa ay wadahadallada u arkaysay fursad ay Soomaalilaand dib ugu soo celin karto midnimada.

¹²⁰ Madaxweynuhu waxa uu hadalkan ka yidhi khudbaddii sannadlaha ahaa ee uu u jeedinayey labada gole baarlamaan ee Wakiillada iyo Guurtida sannadkii 2013. Odbaahdan gaarka ah ee uu madaxweynu yidhi waxa laga heli karaa muuqaalkan: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLnQaxlW25U>

¹²¹ Madaxda Soomaaliya waxa ay inta badan jeediyaan hadallo noocan ah marka ay dadweynaha la hadlayaan, gaar ahaan maalmaha qaran (26 Juun iyo 1 Julay).

Waxa muuqata in labada dhinac ay aad u kala fogyihiin marka la eego ujeeddada uu mid waliba ka leeyahay wadahaadallada. Soomaalilaand waxa ay rabtaa in ay wadahaadallada ku gaadho aqoonsi iyo go'itaan kama dambays ah, halka Soomaaliyana ay rabto in ay ku gaadho midnimo iyo in Soomaalilaand lagu qanciyo ka noqoshada go'aankii 1991kii ee ay ugu dhawaaqday madaxbannaanida. Maadaama oo sidaa loo kala fogyahay wax yar ayaa laga fili karay in wadahaadalladu ay soo kordhiyaan. Waxa iyaduna xusid mudan, si kasta oo ay labada dhinac u kala fogaayeen ama aanay diyaar ugu ahayn wadahaad, in cadaadiska beesha caalamka ee Shirkii Landhan gaar ahaan, uu door weyn ka ciyaaray in labada dhinac ay ka qayb qaataan wadahaadallada.

2. Cadaadis Gudaha Ah

Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay kala ahaayeen laba dal tan iyo markii ay Soomaalilaand goosashadeeda kaga dhawaaqday magaalada Burco 1991kii. Marka laga yimaaddo in muddadaas ay Soomaaliya ka dhaceen dagaallo sokeeye iyo degenaansho la'aan siyaasadeed, labada dal waxa ay kala lahaayeen dastuurro, hay'ado, xeerar iyo golayaal dawladeed oo kala duwan. Ergooyinka metelayey labada dhinac waxa ay marwalba u dabranaayeen kala duwanaanshahan iyo kala fogaanshaha siyaasadeed. Tan ayaa ah, sida ay dad badan aaminsanyihiin, sababta loogu dhiirran waayey arrimaha masiiriga ah.

Dastuurrada labada dal (Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya) waxa ay caddaynayaan in xuduudaha dalalkoodu aanay gorgortan iyo dood geli karin. Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi, wasiirkii hore ee maaliyadda Soomaalilaand, oo ka tirsan

dadka aadka u dhaliilsan ugana soo horjeeda wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa uu ka soo horjeestay heshiisyadii maamulka hawada ee lagu saxeexay Istaanbuul I. Waxa uu ku dooday in marka la tixgeliyo Qodobka 42aad, faqraddiisa 3aad ee dastuurka Soomaalilaand, maamulka dhulka, badda iyo hawada Soomaaliland in aan cid kale lala wadaagi karin, dawladda Soomaalilaandna ay keligeed awood u leedahay maamulkooda¹²². Sidoo kale, Cilmi waxa uu u fasiray ka qaybgalka Soomaalilaand ee wadhadallada mid caddayn u ah in laga tanaasulay goosashadii iyo aqoonsi raadintii. Waxa uu ku eedeeyey ergooyinka metelaya Soomaalilaand in ay heshiisyada ku saxeexaan Dawladda Soomaalilaand halkii ay ku saxeexi lahaayeen Jamhuuriyadda Soomaalilaand. In Soomaaliya lagala hadlo qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand iyo siyaadadeedu waxa ay ahayd arrin qalad ah, sida uu aaminsanyahay Cilmi, maadaama oo dawladda Soomaaliya ay inaga daciifsantahay qaddiyadda Soomaalilaandna ay tahay mid awood badan. Sannadkii 2012kii, isaga oo ahaa wasiirka maaliyadda, Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi waxa uu sheegay in isaga iyo wasiir ku xigeenkii caafimaadka ee wakhtigaas Nimco Xuseen Qawdhan ay shirkii golaha wasiirrada dhexdiisa si adag uga soo horjeesteen ka qayb galka Soomaalilaand ee Shirka Landhan¹²³. Isla shirkaa wasiirrada dhexdiisa, Cilmi waxa uu sheegay in wasiirro dhowr ahi ay ku doodeen in ka qayb galka Shirka

¹²² Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi waxa uu la hadlay Horn Cable TV bishii Februwari 2015. Waraysiga oo dhammaystiran lingaxan ayaa laga heli karaa: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tgi9_8pCZns

¹²³ Xigasho hore

Landhan ay Soomaalilaand ugu jirto faa'iido dhaqaale; waxa uu se Cilmi ku dooday in dhaqaale la taaban karo aanu Soomaalilaand ka soo gelin Shirka London ama Wadahadallada¹²⁴. Waxa dawladdi hore ee Soomaalilaand aad loogu dhaliilaa in hadafka dhow ee ay ka lahayd wadahadalladu uu ahaa sidii ay u heli lahayd dhaqaale, arrintan ayaana loo cuskadaa in aan marnaba dadkii ku habboonaa loo xulin wadahadallada iyo in aan diyaar garowgii loo baahnaa marnaba la samayn wadahadallada ka hor¹²⁵.

Qaabka ay labada dhinac u tixgeliyeen ama u arkayeen wadahadallada ayaa isaguna is dul taag u baahan. Sida uu aaminsanyahay Daahir M. Daahir oo sarkaal arrimaha siyaasadda qaabilsan ka ah Xafiiska Qaramada Midoobay u Qaabilsan Taakulaynta Soomaaliya (*United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia - UNSOM*), Soomaalilaand waxa ay u arkaysay wadahadallada arrin qaran halka Soomaaliya ay u tixgelisay arrin maxalli ah¹²⁶. Waxa arrintan sawir fiican ka bixin kara ergooyinka kala meteli jiray labada dhinac. Ergada Soomaalilaand waxa ay inta badan ka koobnayd xubno ka socda golaha wasiirada, baarlamaanka iyo xisbiyada mucaaradka. Sidoo kale, Soomaalilaand waxa ay wadahadallada u tixgelisay arrin dibadeed, waxa hawsha wadahadallada lagu wareejiyay wasaaradda arrimaha dibedda, waxaana

¹²⁴ Xigasho hore

¹²⁵ Siyaasiyiin, aqoonyahan iyo midnadleayaal dhowr ah ayaa doodan qaba. Doodan waxa lagu keydiyey dood kooxeed (focus group discussion) lagu qabtay Hargeysa bishii May 2017.

¹²⁶ Waraysi uu qoraagu Daahir M. Daahir 13 Juun 2017 kula yeeshay Hargeisa.

ergooyinka iyo wufuudda Soomaalilaand inta badan hoggaaminayey wasiirka arrimaha dibedda; keliya marka uu kulanku heer madaxweyne yahay ayuu madaxweynuhu weftiga hoggaaminayey. Dhanka Soomaaliya waxa wadhadallada looga arkayey arrin gudaha ah, hawsha wadhadallada waxa loo xilsaaray wasaaradda arrimaha gudaha, waxaana ergooyinka iyo wufuudda dhanka Soomaaliya hoggaaminayey wasiirka arrimaha gudaha, marka aanu kulanku ahayn heer madaxweyne. Maadaama oo aanay Soomaaliya ka jirin xisbiyo qaran oo dastuuri ah, waxa ay ergooyinkeedu ka koobnaayeen golayaasha xukuumadda: wasiirro iyo xildhibaanno.

Si kooban, dhammaan heshiisyadii ay kala saxeexdeen labada dhinac, wixii aan heer madaxweyne ahayn oo ay saxeexeen madaxweynayaashu, waxa saxeexay wasiirka arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand iyo wasiirka arrimaha gudaha ee Soomaaliya. In kasta oo wadhadallada arrin qaran looga arkayey Soomaalilaand, haddana xukuumaddii hore waxa aad loogu dhaliilay in aanay si dhab ah uga hawl gelin wadhadallada marka la eego xubnaha loo xulay ergooyinka iyo diyaar garowga la sameeyey kulamada ka hor. Dadka qaar ayaa intaa sii dhaafiyey dhaliisha oo ku dooday in xukuumaddu ay wadhadallada ka dhigatay mashruuc dhaqaale lagu raadiyo, waxaana wadhadallada isku koobay dad kooban¹²⁷. Doodda

¹²⁷ Dood kooxeed uu qoraagu bishii Abril 2017 Hargeysa ugu qabtay koox dhallinyaro, saxafiyiin iyo aqoonyahan ah (magacyada lama diiwaangelin).

Maxamed Xaashi ee aynu hore u soo xusnay (in wasiiradda qaar ay Shirkii Landhan tegistiisa ku sababeeyeen in laga helayo dhaqaale) ayaa badheedhahan taageeraysa.

Isbeddelo siyaasadeed oo ka dhacay Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliyaba ayaa iyaguna caqabad ku noqday wadahaadallada. Sannadkii 2012kii, xilligii ku-meel-gaadhka ahaa ayaa dhammaaday Soomaaliya, Dawladda Federaalka Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliyana waxa beddeshay Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya. Dabayaaqadii 2016kii doorashooyin baarlamaan ayaa ka qabsoomay Soomaaliya, halka horraantii 2017kii ay qabsoontay doorasho madaxweyne. Doorashooyinkan ayaan ahayn kuwo shacabku hal qof iyo hal cod u codeeyeen, waxase xildhibaannada soo xulay ergooyin ka socda maamul goboleedyada Soomaaliya, xildhibaannada ayaana iyagu sii doortay madaxweynaha. Waxa iyana isbeddelo lagu sameeyey qaab dhismeedka iyo golayaasha dawladda. Isbeddelka ugu muhiimsan ayaa ah in baarlamaankii laga dhigay laba gole: aqalka sare iyo aqalka hoose. Aqalka sare waa gole xubnihiisu koobanyihiin, waana golaha cusub ee la soo kordhiyey; aqalka hoose waa golihii barlamaanka (golaha shacabka) ee hore u jiray.

Doorashooyinku waxa ay keeneen golayaal sharci dejineed iyo fulineed oo cusub. Madaxweynaha cusub ee Soomaaliya loo doortay horraantii 2017kii, Maxamed Cabdillaahi Maxamed (Farmaajo), ayaa markii uu soo bandhigayey barnaamijka uu rabo in lagu doorto ee uu tartanka ku jiray iyo khudbadiisii caleemo saarka markii uu talada dalka ku guuleystay xusay sii wadista

wadahadallada ay dawladiisu kula jirto Soomaalilaand¹²⁸. Nasiib darro wax tallaabo ah hore loogama qaadin dhinaca wadahadallada tan iyo markii uu Farmaajo xukunka qabtay.

Dhinaca Soomaalilaand, doorashadii madaxtooyada ee la qorsheeyey in ay qabsoonto 2015kii waxa uu dib-udhac ku yimid ugu yaraan laba goor, waxaana ugu dambayn ay qabsoontay 13 Noofeembar 2017kii. Muuse Biixi Cabdi oo hoggaaminayey Xisbiga Kulmiye ayaa loo doortay madaxweynaha Soomaalilaand. Labadii sanno ee u dambeeyey intaan doorashada la gaadhin, Soomaalilaand waxa ay halgan ugu jirtay sidii ay dalka oo dhan uga qabsoomi lahaayeen diiwaangelinta codbixiyeyaasha iyo ta madaniga ahiba. Maadaama oo xukuumaddii hore la doortay 2010kii, waxa ay shantii sanno ee dastuurku u ogolaa kaga ekaayeen 2015kii. Hase ahaatee sababo jiray awgood waxa dhacay laba sanno oo korodhsiimo ah iyo in doorashadu dib u dhacdo muddadaas.

Waxa jirta siyaasiyiin ku dooday in aanay xukuumaddu sharci u lahayn in ay wadahadallada sii waddo, maadaama oo uu muddo xileedkeedii dhammaaday 2015kii. Kuwo kale ayaa ku dooday in muddadan kala guurka ah aanay xukuumaddu wax heshiisyo muhiim ah saxeexin ama aanay qaadan go'aammo waaweyn.

¹²⁸ Madaxweyne Farmaajo waxa uu wadahadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ku soo hadal qaaday hadalkii uu ka jeediyey xafladda caleemo saarka. Muuqaalkan ayaa laga heli karaa kudbadda: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nhSppymrkMk>

Xildhibaan Siciid Maxamed Cilmi oo ka dirsan golaha wakiillada ee Soomaalilaand ayaa baarlamaanka ugu baaqay in ay wadhadallada laalaan ilaa ay doorasho qabsoomayso oo xukuumad cusubi talada dalka qabanayso¹²⁹. Boobe Yuusuf Ducaale oo wakhtigaas ka tirsanaa Xisbiga Mucaaridka ah ee Waddani ayaa isna madaxweyne Siilaanyo ugu baaqay in uu joojiyo wadhadallada: “waxa aan madaxweynaha ugu baaqayaa in wadhadallada halista ku ah jiritaanka Soomaalilaand la joojiyo inta laga helayo golayaal hawlahooda u guta si hufan”¹³⁰. Boobe waxa uu golayaasha sharci dejinta ku dhaliilay xil gudasho la’aan iyo in ay muddo dhaaf ku fadhiyaan. Sidaas si la mid ah, Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi ayaa isna hoosta ka xariiqay inta doorasho laga gaadhayo in aanay xukuumaddu sharci u lahayn qaadashada go’ammo waaweyn: “in laga baxo wadhadallada weeye. Maanta wakhtigeedii wuu dhammaaday [xukuummada], inta doorasho la gelayana in ay go’aan noocaas ah gaadho maba aha”¹³¹.

Itaal darrada Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya iyo khilaafka masuuliyadeed ee u dhexeeya Dawladda Federaalka ah iyo maamul goboleedyada ayaa iyaguna hagardaamo iyo dib-u-dhac ku ah wadhadallada.

¹²⁹ Xildhibaan ku waxa uu joojinta wadhadallada ku soo jeediyey shir jaraaid: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7-oAOIMmGU>

¹³⁰ Boobe Yuusuf Ducaale waxa uu madaxweynaha ugu baaqay in uu wadhadallada joojiyo shir jaraaid oo uu Hargeysa ku qabtay: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V16OifNUk9c>

¹³¹ Maxamed Xaashi waxa uu ku baaqay joojinta wadhadallada shir jaraaid oo uu Hargeysa ku qabtay: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8fXsSaJ9VzM>

Nimaadka federaalka ah ee laga hirgeliyey Soomaaliya, ee ku salaysan beeluhu, weli ma aha mid qaangaadh ah. Maamullada qaar, sida Buntlaand, waxa ay jireen nidaamka federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya laga hirgeliyey hortii, kuwo kale dhawaanahan ayaa la sameeyey, halka qaar kalena ay weli dhimmanyihiin oo aan la dhammaystirin. Dastuurkii kala xadayn lahaa awoodaha Dawladda Federaalka ah iyo maamul goboleedyada ayaan isna la dhammaystirin oo qabyo ah. Dhibaatooyinkani waxa ay hoos u dhigayaan awooddii Dawladda Federaalka ah iyo sharciyaddeedii ay heshiisyo waaweyn kula saxeexan lahayd Soomaalilaand, iyo in ay xidhiidhka Soomaalilaand ka gaadho go'aan masiiri ah. Waxa arrintan marag u ah in Maamul Goboleedka Buntlaand uu qaadacay heshiiskii ay Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ka gaadheen maamulka hawada ee dhigayey in xarunta hawada laga maamulayo loo raro Soomaalilaand¹³².

3. Cadaadis Dibedda ah

Wadahadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya kuma aysan iman rabitaanka labada dhinac. Iyada oo la ogyahay in Soomaaliya aanay weli ka qabsoomin dib-u-heshiisiin dhab ah, siyaasiyiinta Soomaaliya haddana waxa ay ku celcelin jireen in ay marwalba diyaar u yihiin la hadalka Soomaalilaand. Dhanka kale, Soomaalilaand

¹³² Madaxweynaha Maamul Goboleedka Buntlaand ee Soomaaliya waxa uu muujiyey 2014kii dareenkiisa ku aaddan heshiisyada maamulka hawada ee dhexmaray Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Halkan ayaa warka laga geli karaa: <http://goobjoog.com/madaxweynaha-puntland-hadii-maamulka-hawada-xamar-laga-rarayo-garoowe-hala-keeno-dhagevso/>

waxa ay marwalba hadalkaa kaga warcelin jirtay in ay Soomaaliya la hadlayaan marka ay timaaddo dawlad sharci ah oo keligeed awoodda dalku gacanta ugu jirto, isla markaana ku timid rabitaanka shacabka. Sidaas darteed, beesha caalamka ayaa labada dhinac dusha kaga keentay, oo u soo bandhigtay wadahaadallada Shirkii Landhan ee 2012kii, marka laga yimaaddo in ay jirto xog sheegaysa in ay jireen kulammo gogol xaadh u ah wadahaadallada oo hore u sii dhex maray labada dhinac oo qarsoodi ahaa ¹³³. In kasta oo aan la is weydiin diyaarnimada iyo rabitaanka labada dhinac ee wadahaadallada, haddana waxa jiray qodobbo ku qasbayey labada dhinac in ay aqbalaan soo jeedinta beesha caalamka. Labada dhinacba waxa ay baahi u qabeen taageerada beesha caalamka; halka arrimaha Soomaaliya badankoodu ay ku jiraanba gacmaha beesha caalamka. Tan iyo burburkii dalka iyo bilowgii dagaallada sokeeye, beesha caalamku waxa ay dhaqaale ku bixineysay, welina ku bixisaa, qaarkoodna maamulkoodaba gacanta ku haysay dedaallada nadabaynta, nabad ilaalinta, dawlad dhiska iyo dib-u-

¹³³ Soomaalilaand waxa ay aqbashay casuumaddii loo fidiyey waxaana ay ka qayb gashay Shirkii London ee Soomaaliya loo qabtay 2012; waxaanay kaga qaybgashay Soomaaliya garabkeeda. Hase ahaatee warmurtiyeedkii waxa ku soo baxay qodobka wadahaadalka lagu soo jeedinayo oo ay dad badani aaminsanyihiin in uu ahaa lama filaan. In kasta oo wasiir Xirsi uu mar sheegay in uu jiray gogol xaadh hore oo lagaga sii wadahaadallayey sidii wadahaadallada u qabsoomi lahaa. Sidaas ayey dad badani u qabaan in wadahaadallada dusha lagaga keenay labada dhinac.

soo celinta nabadgelyada iyo degenaanshaha Soomaaliya¹³⁴.

Maadaama oo wadahaadallada lagu soo jeediyey Shirkaa Landhan, bilowgii hore waxa masuuliyadda geeddi socodka wadahaadallada la wareegtay Boqortooyada Ingiriiska oo marti gelisay kulankii/wareeggii u horreeyey ee ka dhacay magaalada Landhan gaar ahaan Guriga Jefenin. Wareegyadii intaas ka dib dhacay waxa marti geliyey Dawladaha Isu Tagga Imaaraadka Carabta, Turkiga iyo Jabuuti.

Boqortooyada Ingiriisku waxa ay arrimaha Soomaalida ku lug lahayd tan iyo waagii gumeysiga. Waxa ay ka mid tahay dawladaha shisheeye ee doora ugu muhiimsan ka ciyaara arrimaha Soomaalida. Siyaasadaha Dawladda Ingiriisku kuma koobna oo keli ah Dawladda Fedraalka ah, waxa se ay si toos ah ula macaamilaan Soomaalilaand, in kasta oo aanay siin aqoonsi rasmi ah. Ingiriisku keliya lama dhacsana guulaha ay Soomaalilaand ka gaadhay dimuqraadiyadda iyo qabsashada dhowr doorasho oo xor iyo xalaalba ah, waxase ay ku jirtaa dawladaha sida tooska ah u taageera ee dhaqaalaha ku bixiya geeddi socodka iyo dimuqraadiyadaynta Soomaalilaand. Sidoo kale waxa ay

¹³⁴ Nicholas Kay (Wakiilka Gaarka ah ee Xoghayaha Qaramada Midoobay u qaabilsan Soomaaliya) iyo Maman Sambo Sidikou (Wakiilka Gaarka ah ee Guddoomiyaha Komishanka Midowga Afrika u qaabilsan Soomaaliya) ayaa faahfaahiyey doora ay Qaramada Midoobay iyo Midowga Afrika ku leeyihiin dedaallada nabadaynta iyo dawlad dhiska ee Soomaaliya. Waxa ay hadalkan ka jeediyeen Machadka Nabadda ee Caalamiga ah (International Peace Institute) bushii Juun 2016:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=644&v=an9f3npPkbI>

taageero bini'aadantinnimo iyo mid horumarin ba u fidisaa Soomaalilaand; Dawladda Ingiriisku waxa ay ka mid tahay dawlada kooban ee sida tooska ah dhaqaale ugu rida Sanduuqa Horumarinta Soomaalilaand (*Somaliland Development Fund*)¹³⁵. Si kooban, iyada oo Dawladda Ingiriisku ay door weyn ka ciyaarto dedaallada beesha caalamku ku soo celinayaan nabadgelyadii iyo degenaanshihi Soomaaliya, haddana waxa ay xidhiidh fiican la leedahay Soomaalilaand. Waxa iyaduna xusid mudan in uu jiro xidhiidh taariikhi ah oo ka dhaxeeya Soomaalilaand iyo Ingiriiska, maadaama oo ay Soomaalilaand ahaan jirtay maxmiyad Ingiriis gobannimoda ka hor.

Dawladda Turkiga ayaa ah martigeliyaha ugu weyn ee wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. In Dawladda Turkigu ay lug ku yeelato arrimaha Soomaalidu waxa ay bilaabantay sannadkii 2011kii, markii uu Raysal Wasaarihii Turkiga ee xilligaas, imikana ah madaxweynaha dalkaas, Rejeb Tayib Erdogaan uu booqday magaalada Muqdisho, iyada oo xilligaa ay Soomaaliya ka jirtay macaluul baahsan. Laga soo bilaabo xilligaas, joogitaanka Turkiga ee Soomaaliya iyo saamayntiisu waxa ay ahayd mid kordhaysa marba marka ka dambaysa. Hase ahaatee waxa Turkiga lagu dhaliilaa in siyaasadihiisa ku aaddan Soomaalidu ay yihiin kuwo aan dhexdhexaad ahayn oo dhan u

¹³⁵ Ingiriiska, Noorway iyo Holan ayaa ka mid ah dawladahada qaadhaanka ku rida sanduuqa SDF. Wacaal dheeraad ah waxa aad ka heli kartaa mareegta Sanduuqa Horumarinta Soomaalilaand: <http://www.somalilanddevelopmentfund.org/>

janjeedha. Turkigu waxa uu shantii sanno ee u dambaysay maalgelin ballaadhan ku sameeyey Muqdisho, isaga oo dayactir iyo dib-u-dhis ku sameeyey madaarka, dekedda iyo jidadka. Sidoo kale waxa uu hirgeliyey dugsiyo iyo cisbitaallo. Waxa intaas dheer in Turkigu uu maalgelin xooggan ku sameeyey waaxda nabadgelyada; waxa uu tababarro gudaha iyo dibeddaba ah u fidiyey ciidammada ammaanka, waxaana uu Muqdisho ka hirgeliyey saldhig milatari ee Turkigu ku leeyahay dal shisheeye ka ugu weyn (in kasta oo dawladda Turkigu ay ugu yeedho xero tababar oo milatari)¹³⁶.

Soomaalilaand wax taageero ah oo muhiim ah kama hesho Turkiga, marka laga yimaaddo tiro kooban oo deeq waxbarasho ah (ilaa 25 boos) oo Dawladda Turkigu toos u siiso ardayda Reer Soomaalilaand sannad walba. Safiirkii hore ee Turkiga u qaabilsanaa Soomaaliya Jemaalatiin Kaani Torun mar uu waraysi bixiyey sannadkii 2013kii waxa uu sheegay in dedaallada ay ka wadaan Soomaaliya ee soo bilaabmay 2011kii ay ujeeddadoodu ahayd sidii loo caawin lahaa Soomaalida Koonfureed, hase ahaatee qorsheyaashooda mustaqbalka aan loogu talo gelin in ay ku koobnaadaan

¹³⁶ Financial Times, “Somalia Reaps Rewards of Ankara’s Investment”. Retrieved 10 September 2017 from: <https://www.ft.com/content/bae31b04-fa6f-11e5-8f41-df5bda8beb40> , 2016; TRT World, Why is Turkey Launching a New Military Training Camp in Somalia? Retrieved on 10 September from: <http://www.trtworld.com/mea/why-is-turkey-launching-a-new-military-training-camp-in-somalia-326407> , 2017.

iyaga uun¹³⁷. Nasiib darro qorshuhu sidaa danjiruhu sheegay uma dhicin, dedaalladooduna ilaa hadda Soomaaliya ayey ku koobanyihiin oo mashaariic ay Soomaalilaand ka fuliyeen iyo taageero kale oo ay siiyeen midna ma jirto.

Dawladda Turkigu, sida ay muujinayaan siyaasadaheeda iyo falalkeeduba, waxa ay u xaglinaysaa dhanka midnimo dhex marta Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya, iyo sidii loo heli lahaa Soomaaliya mid ah (eeg Financial Times, 2016 iyo dedaallada dib-ubilaabidda wadhadallada ee gadaal ka iman doona). Sida muuqata, Dawladda Turkiga lagama filan karo in ay taageerto qaddiyad goosasho oo tan Soomaalilaand oo kale ah, maadaama oo iyaga laftoodu ay wajahayaan dhaqdhaqaaqyo goosasho oo kaga imanaya degaannada Kurdida. Iyaga oo arrimahan cuskanaya, dad badan oo Reer Soomaalilaand ah oo ay ku jiraan dadka dhaliilsan wadhadallada laftooda ayaa inta badan is weydiiya dhexdhexaadnimada Turkiga ee martigelinta wadhadallada. Si kasta oo ay tahayba Dawladda Turkigu waxa ay caddaysay in ay dhex ka yihiin wadhadallada. Danjire Jemaalatiin Kaani ayaa mar la weydiiyey xusay in ay labada dhinacba u tixgelinayaan walaalahood oo ay u simanyihiin; in go'aanka xidhiidhka mustaqbalku uu ku jiro labada dhinac gacmahooda, doorka Turkiguna uu yahay fidinta taageerada lagama maarmaanka u ah wadhadallada¹³⁸. Turkigu waxa uu

¹³⁷ Danjiruhu waxa uu la hadlay Horn Cable TV:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdkmX7nIVQY>

¹³⁸ Xigasho hore

wadahadallada ku martigeliyey dhexdhexaadnimo, mana uu muujin in uu dhinac yahay marka la eego wareegyadii Istaanbuul iyo Ankara. Laakiin marka la eego qorshayaasha Turkiga ee dib-u-bilaabidda wadahadallada burburka ka dib, oo aynu dib ka arki doonno, ayaa inna tusinaya in uu Turkigu dhinac ka yahay wadahadallada guud ahaan.

Dooraka Qaramada Midoobay ee wadahadallada ayaa gebi ahaanba maqan. Ergaygii hore ee gaarka ahaa ee Soomaaliya u qaabilsanaa Xoghayaha Guud ee Qaramada Midoobay, Nikolas Kay, mar la weyddiiyey in uu ka war bixiyo halka ay marayaan wadahadallada, mar uu ka hadlayey Machadka Nabadda ee Caalamiga ah (*International Peace Institute – IPI*) bishii Juun ee 2015kii ayaa waxa uu yidhi: “Wakhti xaadirkan [wadahadalladu] dhinacna uma socdaan. Wareeggii u dambeeyey waxa uu ku burburay Turkiga iyada oo aanay labada dhinac kulmin, mana arag wakhti loo cayimay in dib la isugu soo noqdo. Sida cad waxa aannu diyaar u nahay dhiirrigelinta geeddi socod wadahadal, laakiin wadahadalladani waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo ay Dawladda Turkigu qabanqaabiso oo martigeliso”¹³⁹.

Marka laga yimaaddo in Dawladda Turkigu ay keligeed wadahadalladan gacanta ku hayso, sida ergeyga gaarka ahiba sheegay, waxa jira siyaasiyiin beesha caalamka ugu

¹³⁹ Kay, Somalia: The Road to 2016. International Peace Institute (IPI). New York. Retrieved on 18 August 2017 from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=644&v=an9f3npPkbI> , 2015

baaqay in ay soo faro geliso wadahaadallada burburkooda ka dib. Cabdifataax Siciid Axmed, safiirka Soomaalilaand u fadhiya dalka Jabuuti, ayaa ugu baaqay beesha caalamka oo ay ku jiraan Midowga Yurub iyo Urur Goboleedka IGAD in ay soo faro geliyaan wadahaadallada¹⁴⁰. Cabdirashiid Aadan Seed, siyaasi ka soo jeeda Soomaaliya, waxa uu aaminsanyahay in wadahaadalladu ay noqon lahaayeen kuwo midho dhal ah haddii ay martigelin lahaayeen dawladaha jaarku sida Jabuuti oo arrimaha Soomaaliya lug ku leh; horena u martigelisay shirar dib-u-heshiisiin oo loo qabtay Soomaaliya; isla markaasna xidhiidh dhow la leh Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliyaba, wax badanna la wadaagta labadoodaba¹⁴¹. Sida la fili karo marka la tixgeliyo aragtida “*realism*”-ka ee aqoonta xidhiidhka caalamiga ah, waxa wadahaadallada regaadiyey doorka dalalka shisheeye ee mararka qaar is khilaafsan, kuna salaysan dano qaran oo kala duwan.

Xaaladda uu xilligan ku suganyahay Geeska Afrika waa mid colaadeed, waxaana si fiican u sharxi karta aragtida “*classical realism*” ee aqoonta xidhiidhka caalamiga ah. Sida aragtidani dhigayso, nidaamka caalamiga ah ee dawladuhu ku wada noolyihiin kama jirto awood sare oo ay wada hoos tagaan. Sidaas awgeed, dawlad kastaa si ay u badbaaddo, ama jiritaankeeda u ilaaliso, waxa ay ilaashataa amniga ama danta qarankeeda. Arrintan

¹⁴⁰ Danjire Siciid waxa uu sidan ku sheegay dood uu martigeliyey Horn Cable TV. Doodda oo dhammaystiran halkan ayaa laga heli karaa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-n3midkBg0>

¹⁴¹ Seed (2015), Dareenka Shacabka Wadahaadallada Somaliland iyo Somalia, wadahaadallada Turkiga.

waxaa ka dhasha in dawladuhu awoodda ku tartarmaan, dawlad kastaana ku dedaasho sidii ay awooddeeda u kordhin lahayd, ama halka ugu sarraysa ee suurtoagal ah u gaadhsiin lahayd¹⁴².

Xilligan waxa Geeska ka socda tartan ay dawlado badani ugu jiraan in ay danahooda xaqiijiyaan iyo in ay awood ku yeeshaan gobolka. Waxa jirta is muquunin iyo saamayno is xambaarsan; waxa jira dhaqdhaqaaqyo milatari iyo saansaan colaadeed. Waxa ay mararka qaar u eegtahay in khilaafkii iyo hirdankii ka socday Bariga Dhexe loo soo raray Geeska Afrika. Turkigu waxa uu saldhig milatari ka samaystay Soomaaliya (Muqdisho); Isu Taga Imaaraadka Carabtu waxa uu saldhig milatari ka samaystay Soomaalilaand (Berbera) iyo Eriteriya; Faransiiska, Shiinaha iyo Maraykanku waxa ay dhammaantood saldhigyo milatari ku leeyihiin Jabuuti. Suudaan ayaa iyaduna tartanka ku soo biirtay ka dib markii ay heshiisyo la saxeexatay Turkiga, heshiisyadaas oo suurogal ka dhigi kara in mustaqbalka uu Turkigu saldhig milatari ka samaysto Suudaan. Masar iyo Sucuudiga oo xulafo la ah Imaaraadka ayaan iyaguna xiisadda ka maqnayn. Dawladaha deriska ayaa iyaguna ciyaarta socota qayb ka ah; Itoobiya iyo Kiiniya waxa ay wakhtiyo kala duwan farogelin ciidan ku sameeyeen Soomaaliya iyaga oo danahooda wata, welina ciidammo ay leeyihiin ayaa ku sugan Soomaaliya. Dawladda Itoobiya oo u muuqata tan ugu awoodda weyn Geeska siyaasad ahaan, milatari ahaan iyo dhaqaale ahaanba ayaa iyaduna farogelin aad u weyn oo dhaqaale iyo

¹⁴² Jackson & Sørensen, *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches* (Oxford: Oxford university press, 2016).

siyaasadba ah ku leh Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya labadaba.

4. Fulin La'aanta Heshiisyada

Tan iyo markii wadhadallada lagu soo jeediyey Shirkaa Landhan ee 2012kii, lix wareeg ayaa ka qabsoomay Landhan, Dubay, Ankara, Istaanbuul (labo goor) iyo Jabuuti. Kulamadani waxa ay isugu jireen heer madaxweyne, heer wasiirro iyo heer guddi-farsamo. Lixda wareeg ee qabsoomay iyo guud ahaan wadhadalladuba guulo la taaban karo oo ay gaadheen ma jiraan maadaama oo dhammaan heshiisyadii la saxeexay aan waxba laga fulin. Soomaalilaand waxa ay fulin la'aanta heshiisyada mar kasta ku eedaysaa Soomaaliya, iyaga oo ku doodaya in aanay rabin fulinta heshiisyada wadhadalladana aanay daacad ka ahayn.

Markii uu kulankii Istaanbuul III fashilmay, wasiirkii hore ee arrimamaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand Maxamed Biixi Yoonis oo wakhtigaas ergada Soomaalilaand hoggaminayey ayaa Soomaaliya ku eedeeyey in ay jebiyeen jadwalkii ahaa in 90kii maalmoodba si joogto ah loo kulmo; in ay ka baxeen heshiisyadii maamulka hawada, iyo in ay siyaasiyiintoodu adeegsadeen hadallo afxumo iyo deel qaaf ah oo dhaawac u geysan kara geeddi socodka wadhadallada¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ Wasiir Yoonis waxa uu qabtay shir jaraaid fashilkii kulankii la qorsheeyey in uu Istaanbuul ka qabsoomo ka dib. Halkan ayaa laga geli karaa shirka jaraaid: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C7-EoUKtyM8>

Heshiisyada laga gaadhay maamulka hawada oo lagu tiriyo guulaha ugu waaweyn ee la gaadhay intii wadahaadalladu socdeen waxba lagama fulin. Istaanbuul I labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay maamulka hawada dib-u-la soo wareegaan, isla markaasna ay sameeyaan guddi wadaag ah oo maamusha hawada xarunteeduna tahay Hargeysa. Istaanbuul II labada dhinac waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in lagu aasaaso guddida maamulka hawada 45 maalmood gudahood, lana magacaabo guddi farsamo oo xeerarka/qodobbada tixraaca u samaysa guddida maamulka hawada. Hase ahaatee kulankaas ay yeelan lahaayeen guddiyada farsamadu midho dhal ma uusan noqon, waxaana uu ku burburay Istaanbuul, ka dib markii ay labada guddi farsamo ku heshiin waayeen xeerarka tixraaca¹⁴⁴. Haddii aynu soo koobno, Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya dhinaca amniga iskama ay kaashan; adeegsiga erayo afxumo ah oo saxaafadda la isku mariyo lagama waantoobin; deeqaha iyo taageerada shisheeye si wanaagsan looma qaybsan; guddida wadaagga ah ee maamulka hawada lama aasaasin; xidhiidhka mustaqbalka ee labada dhinacna weli lama gorfayn oo lagama wada hadal; in heshiis laga gaadho hadalkeeda daaye.

Itaal darrada Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya ayaa qayb weyn ka ahayd fulin la'aanta heshiisyada la kala saxeexday. Dawladdu waxa ay muran xagga masuuliyadda, shaqada iyo awoodda ah kula jirtaa maamul goboleedyada; waxa ay ka talisaa dhul kooban oo gacanteeda ku jira, waxaana maqan awooddii ay ku

¹⁴⁴ Xigasho hore

wada gaadhi lahayd dhulkeeda iyo xuduudaheeda. Maadaama oo aanay Soomaaliya lahayn ciiddan qaran oo awood badan leh, isla markaana sugi kara amniga dalka, waxa dalka ku sugan in ka badan 20,000 oo askar nabad ilaalin ah oo ay beesha caalamku ugu talo gashay in ay dalka dib ugu soo celiyaan nabagelyo iyo degenaansho. Ururro dagaalyahanno ah oo hubaysan sida Al Shabaab ayaa weli awood badan leh, dhul badanna ka taliya. Siyaasad iyo sharciyad ahaan dawladdu ma aha mid ku timid rabitaanka iyo codka dadka, oo shacabku ma wada codeeyo; sidaa si ka duwan xukuummada golayaasheeda kala duwani waxa ay ku yimaaddeen nidaam iyo hannaan ay isku duba rideen, dhaqaalahiisana bixiyeen beesha caalamku.

5. Tabashooyin Hore oo aan Xal Laga Gaadhin

Waagii gumeysiga, Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay ku kala hoos jireen laba gumeyste, waxaana ay gobannimada qaateen laba maalmood oo kala duwan. Soomaalilaand waxa ay gobannimadeeda Boqortooyadii Ingiriiska ka qaadatay 26 Juun 1960kii, halka ay Soomaaliyana gobannimadeeda Talyaaniga ka qaadatay 1 Julaaq 1960kii (iyada oo Soomaaliya ku hoos jirtay Wisaayad Talyaani ah oo Qaramada Midoobay u gacan gelisay). Afar maalmood ka dib gobannimadeedii, Soomaalilaand waxa ay la midowday Soomaaliya. Soomaalilaand waxa ay siyaadadeedii iyo madaxbannaanideedii u bixisay, uguna tanaasushay, in ay horseed u noqoto xaqiijinta riyadii Soomaali Weyn, taas oo la rabay in shanta degaan ee Soomaalidu u qaybsanayd wakhtigaas ay dawlad mid ah samaystaan. Shantan degaan ayaa kala ahaa: Dhulka Soomaalida ee

Ingiriisku ka taliyo (*British Somaliland*), Dhulka Soomaalida ee Talyaanigu ka taliyo (*Italian Somaliland*), Gobolka Soomaalidu degto ee Kiiniya (*Northern Frontier District of Kenya*), Dhulka Soomaalida ee Faransiisku ka taliyo (*French Somaliland*) iyo Gobolka Ogaadeen ee Itoobiya¹⁴⁵. Nasiib darro, saddexdii degaan ee kale midowga waa ay ku soo biiri kari waayeen, waxaana midowga ku keliyeystay Soomalilaand iyo Soomaaliya oo sameeyey Jamhuuriyadda Soomaaliyeed. Sida aan ku soo faahfaahiyey Cutubka 3aad, dadka Reer Soomaalilaand waa la garbiyey midowga ka dib siyaasad ahaan, dhaqaale ahaan iyo bulsho ahaanba. In dadka Reer Soomaalilaand aan si wanaagsan loo soo dhawayn, qaybtoodiina aan la siin wixii saami iyo faa'iido kale ahaa ee dawladdnimada lagu helayba waxa ay keentay cagajiid iyo niyad jab ku aaddan midowga.

Dad badan oo Reer Soomaalilaand ah ayaa aamminsan in midow kale oo xilligan dhacaa uu sidii hore noqonayo, oo ay ku hungoobayaan. Reer Soomaaliya dhankooda waxa ay marwalba isku dayaan in ay muujiyaan rabitaankooda ku aaddan in ay Reer Soomaalilaand mar labaad la midoobaan, lakiin marnaba ma qiraan oo runta kama sheegaan tabashooyinkan hore. Xaaladda wakhti xaadirkan ee Soomaaliya ayaa iyaduna adkaynaysa suurto galnimada midow dhex mara Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya oo ku dhisan awood qaybsi siman oo caddaalad ah. Marka laga yimaaddo jiritaanka khilaaf iyo is aaminaad la'aan ka dhex jirta beelaha wada dega dalka, nidaamka federaalka ee beelaha ku dhisan ayaa

¹⁴⁵ Lewis (1988), *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*.

heerka ugu sarreeya gaadh siiyey tartanka u dhexeeya beelaha; nidaamkani waxa uu sidoo kale saamayn taban ku leeyahay nabadgelyada iyo degenaanshaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya¹⁴⁶.

Arrimaha qaybta weyn ka qaatay go'aanka ay Soomaalilaand ka qaadatay midow dambe oo ay Soomaaliya la galaan waxa ka mid ah dambiyadii dagaal, tacaddiyadii (iyo xataa doodda xasuuqa ee aan ku falanqaynay Cutubka 3aad) ee uu xukunkii militariga ahaa ee Soomaaliya ka geystay Soomaalilaand dabayaaqadii 1980meeyadii, kuwaas oo si gaar ah loogu beegsaday beesha Isaaq. Wareeggii Istaanbuul II, qodobbada lagu saxexay warmurtiyeedkii ka soo baxay kulanka waxa ku jiray qodob u dhignaa sidan: "Waxa aannu qaybsanaynaa xanuunka dhibaataadii uu taliskii militariga ahaa u geystay dadka Soomaaliyeed intii ka horreysay 1991. Waxa aannu cambaaraynaynaa dhammaan gabood falladii (*atrocities*) uu taliskaasi u geystay dadka Soomaaliyeed gaar ahaan dadka Reer Soomaalilaand". In kasta oo ay Soomaaliya qirtay danbiyadii laga galay dadka Soomaalilaand, haddana waxa dood badan dhaliyey adeegsida erayada lagu qoray warmurtiyeedka. Ergada metelaysay Soomaalilaand waxa aad loogu dhaliilay in ay aqableen in wixii Soomaalilaand ka dhacay loo adeegsado gabood fallo "*atorcities*" halkii laga dhigi lahaa xasuuq "*genocide*". Dadka Soomaalilaand badankooda ayaa aaminsan in uu Soomaalilaand ka dhacay xasuuq. Sidoo kale dad badan

¹⁴⁶ Uluso, Myths about Federalism in Somalia. *Pambazuka News*. Issue 666. Retrieved on 20 October 2017 from: <https://www.pambazuka.org/printpdf/88180> 2014.

ayaa warmurtiyeedka ku dhaliilay in qodobkani uu si guud isugu wada qaaday danbiyadii uu xukunka askartu ka galay shacabka Soomaaliyeed, laakin wixii ka dhacay Soomaalilaand aanu marnaba la mid ahayn, lana barbar dhigi karin wixii ka dhacay dalka intiisa kale wakhtiyadaas uu xukunka askartu dalka haystay¹⁴⁷. Si kooban, wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ma noqon karaan midho-dhal ilaa tabashooyinkan la xalliyo, loogana wadahaadlo si furan oo niyad sami ah.

6. Maamul Xumo iyo Hagrasho

Dad badan ayaa saluugay qaabka ay u socdeen wadahaadalladu iyo sida loo maamulay. Waxa inta badan jirtay dhaliisha ah in aanay labada dhinac midna samayn jirin diyaar garow dhab ah. Sidoo kale dedaal iyo wakhti laguma bixin jirin sidii loo sii diyaarin lahaa ajendaha wadahaadalka soo socda. Dad cayiman oo aqoon iyo waayo aragnimo lagu xushay oo wadahaadalka hoggaaminayey ma jirin labada dhinacba. Waxa hawlaha gadhwadeen ka ahaa siyaasiyiin iskaga mashquulsan hawlaha wasaaradahooda iyo masuuliyadda xilalkooda. Taas waxa muujinaysa sida qorshe la'aanta ah ee lagu tagi jiray dalalka lagu kulmayo. Marka kulan la muddeeyo ayuunbaa xubno siyaasiyiin ah la soo qori jiray oo loo sheegi jiray in ay wadahaadallada ka qayb gelayaan. Waxa laga yaabaa in xubnahaas siyaasiyiinta ahi aanay war badan ka hayn halka ay wax marayaan.

Dhanka Soomaalilaand, waxa muuqatay in wadahaadalladu ay ahaayeen mashruuc hal ama labo qof

¹⁴⁷ Dahir M. Dahir iyo Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi ayaa ka mid ah dadka doodan qaba.

gacanta ku hayeen, oo iyagu cidda ay rabaan liiska ku darayeen, cidda ay rabaanna ka reebayeen. Wareegyada hore waxa gacanta ku hayey Wasiirkii Madaxtooyada ee hore Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan iyo Wasiirkii Arrimaha Dibedda Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar. Waxa isna hawsha markii dambe sii waday Wasiirkii Arrimaha Dibedda ee ku xigay Maxamed Biixi Yoonis. In kasta oo aanay jirin koox si gaar ah ugu xilsaaran wadahaadallada haddana wasaaradda arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand waxa ay hal qof oo shaqaale ah u xilsaareen in uu kaydiyo oo weeleeyo xogta wadahaadallada. Haddii ay jiri lahaayeen guddiyo farsamo oo saddex geesood ah - Soomaalilaand, Soomaaliya iyo Turki - oo iyagu si gaar ah ugu xilsaaran diyaarinta, qorshaynta iyo maamulidda wadahaadallada, isla markaana ka koobnaan lahayd dad lagu soo xushay aqoon iyo waayo-aragnimo arrintan la xidhiidha, waxa suurtoagal noqon lahayd in wadahaadalladu sidan ka duwanaan lahaayeen oo hore u socod iyo guulo jiri lahaayeen.

Sida aanay labada dhinac ee wadahaadalayey isaga xil saarin maamulka iyo geeddi socodka wadahaadallada ayaa dawladda Turkiga lafteedu aanay wakhti badan ugu bixin. Dawladda Turkiga iyo dawlada kale ee wadahaadallada martigeliyey keliya waxa ay fududaynayeen dhicitaanka kulanka. In kasta oo aanay awood dhexdhexaadineed lahayn, haddana Turkigu muu diyaarin qorshe uu si wanaagsan ugu maamulayo wadahaadallada. Waxa jiray wakiil gaar ah oo dawladda Turkigu u magacawday wadahaadallada, hase ahaatee aan wax martigelin iyo marti qaadidda ergooyinka

dhaafsiisan qaban. Sida ay u badantahayna waxa ay wax ka socon waayeen dhanka Soomaalida.

Waxa iyadana dad badani is weydiiyaan sida ay labada dhinac ee wadhadlayey uga go'nayd in wadhadalladu midho dhalaan, iyo baaxadda dedaalka ay ku bixiyeen. Dhinaca Soomaaliya waxa mar walba muuqatay in aanay ka go'nayn in wadhadalladu guulaystaan. Caddaynta ugu dhow ee arrintaas inna tusin kartaa waa sida aanay marnaba diyaar ugu ahayn fulinta heshiisyadii la wada gaadhay. Maamulka hawada oo lagu heshiiyey in xaruntiisa Hargeysa laga furo Soomaaliya waxa ay keligeed wadhadal la furtay Qaramada Midoobay si maamulka hawada Muqdisho loogu soo raro. Tallaabadaas waxa ay Soomaaliya qaadday iyada oo aan tixgelin heshiiskii maamulka hawada ee ay Soomaalilaand la gashay. Sidaas si la mid ah waxa aan fulin heshiisyada la xidhiidhay qaybsiga taageerada dhaqaale ee Soomaaliya dibedda ka hesho iyo iskaashiga dhinaca amniga.

Haddii wadhadallada si wanaagsan loo maamuli lahaa, labada dhinac ee wadhadlayana ay ka go'naan lahayd in wadhadallada laga midho dhaliyo, waxa ay u badantahay in cidhibta wadhadalladu ay noqon lahayd si ka duwan sidan ay ku burbureen.

CUTUBKA 6AAD

BURBURKA WADAHADALLADA KA DIB

Wadahadalladii u dhexeeyey Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay si rasmi ah u burbureen Jeeniwari 2015kii. Xilligaas wixii ka dambeeyey waxa jiray isku dayo la sameeyey oo looga gol lahaa sidii dib loogu bilaabi lahaa wadahadallada. Cutubkan waxa aynu ku eegi doonnaa burburka wadahadallada ka dib dhacdooyin dhacay, waxaana aynu si guud ugu saadaalin doonnaa mustaqbalka wadahadalladu sida ay noqon karaan. Qaybta hore waxa ay daarrantahay iskudayadii la sameeyey, oo badankooda dawladda Turkigu samaysay, si wadahadalladu dib ugu bilaabmaan, lagana gaadho ujeeddadii laga lahaa. Qaybta labaad waxa aynu isku dayi doonnaa in aynu saadaallino xaaladaha suurtoqalka ah ee mustaqbal ee ay wadahadalladu yeelan doonaan.

Iskudayada Dib-U-Bilaabidda Wadahadallada

Sidii ay u burbureen wadahadalladu, siyaasiyiinta labada dhinac waxa ay marar dhowr ah ku celceliyeen rabitaankooda in wadahadallada dib loo bilaabo mar alla marka doorashooyinku ka qabsoomaan labada dhinac, isla markaana xal loo helo caqabadaha kale ee hor taagan wadahadallada. Hase ahaatee waxaan jirin dedaallo dhab ah oo ay labada dhinac sameeyeen. Waxa layaab leh in Turkigu uu noqday dhinaca keli ah ee aad u danaynayey dib-u-bilaabmida wadahadallada. Ka dib markii ay fashilmeen, oo ay midho dhal noqon waayeen, dhammaan wareegyadii ay ku kulmeen labada dhinac ee ay siyaasiyiintu kala metelayeen, waxa uu Turkigu isku

dayey in uu beddelo xubnaha ergooyinka oo siyaasiyiinta ka guuro. Waxa ay Dawladda Turkigu beegsatay madax dhaqameed sannadkii 2015kii, ka dibna aqoonyahan madaxbannaan sannadkii 2016kii.

Qorshaha lagu kulansiinayo madax dhaqameedka waxa iskudayga fulintiisa lahayd Safaaradda Turkiga ee Muqdisho iyo Qunsuliyaddeeda Hargeysa¹⁴⁸. Qorshahan ay wadday Dawladda Turkigu waxa uu soo if baxay ka dib markii ay salaadiin iyo madax dhaqameed Reer Soomaalilaand ahi u xaqiijiyeen saxaafadda jiritaanka qorshahaas iyo in ay la soo xidhiidhay Qunsuliyadda Hargeysa ee Turkigu. Hadalka madax dhaqameedka ee ay saxaafadda siiyeen ayaa qorshihii qarxiyey oo bannaanka keenay; waxa xigay shirar jaraa'id oo is daba joog ah oo ay qabteen xisbiyada mucaaradka ah – Ururka Caddaaladda iyo Daryeelka (UCID) iyo Xisbiga Waddani – iyo weliba kuwo ay qabteen siyaasiyiin madaxbannaan, waxaana dhammaan shirarkan jaraa'id ka soo baxay qodob isku mid ah oo sheegaya in keliya xukuumadda Soomaalilaand ay sharciyad u leedahay in Soomaalilaand ku metesho wadhadallada, oo ay Soomaaliya la hadasho¹⁴⁹. Waxa ay sidoo kale sheegeen in dedaallada ay Dawladda Turkigu ku abaabulayso cid

¹⁴⁸ Horn Cable TV, Doodda Wadhadaladda Somaliland iyo Somalia ee Madax Dhaqameedka iyo Siyaasiyiinta. Retrieved on 12 August 2017 from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dcM8pyXV8zs> , 2015.

¹⁴⁹ Yuusuf Xiiray (madax dhaqameed), Maxamed Cabdillaahi Uur-cadde (xubin ka tirsan Xisbiga Waddani) iyo Jamaal Cali Xuseen (Musharaxii madaxweyne ee hore ee Xisbiga UCID) ayaa la hadlay Horn Cable TV: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dcM8pyXV8zs>

aan xukuumadda ahayni ay tahay mijoxaabin iyo hagardaamo ka dhan ah Soomaalilaand, dawladnimadeeda iyo madaxbannaanideeda.

Maxamed Xaashi (2015)¹⁵⁰ ayaa carrabka ku adkeeyey in u ogolaanshaha madax dhaqameedka ee ka qaybgalka wadahaadalladu ay astaan u tahay in Soomaalilaand ay ka tanaasushay aqoonsi raadintii, waxaana ay shaki gelinaysaa sida ay goosashadu uga go'antahay, dhabna uga tahay, dadka Soomaalilaand. Ka dib markii uu qorshahani fashilmay, ee uu socon waayey, ayaa uu qunsulka Turkiga u fadhiya Hargeysi beeniyey jiritaanka qorshe noocan ah marka horeba¹⁵¹.

Turkigu waxa uu intaa ka dib u wareegay dhanka aqoonyahanka, si ka duwan qorshihii madax dhaqameedkana, qorshahan lagu beegsanayey aqoonyahaynku waa uu fulay bilowgii, waxaana qabsoomay kulamo u dhexeeya aqoonyahan ka kala socda labada dhinac. Kulankii u horreeyey ee aqoonyahanku waxa uu Abriil 2016kii ka qabsoomay magaalada Ankara. Kulanka oo ay ku kulmeen lix aqoonyahan oo saddexba dhinac ka socoto waxa martigelisay Xarunta Cilmi Baadhista Nabadda iyo Siyaasadda Dibedda ee Ihsan Dogramaci.

¹⁵⁰ Elmi (2015), Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi oo ka Digay in Wadahaadallada Somaliland iyo Somalia Salaadiin Lagu Daro. Somali Star TV. Retrieved on 29 August 2017 from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-oK_QuANGw

¹⁵¹ Qunsulku waxa uu soo saaray war saxaafadeed: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y80jhRBrkTI>

Aqoonyahanka Soomaalilaand metelayey waxa ay kala ahaayeen:

1. Dr. Xuseen Cabdillaahi Bulxan
2. Maxamuud Cabdi Xaamud
3. Xasan Khaliif

Aqoonyahanka Soomaaliya metelayey waxa ay kala ahaayeen:

1. Dr. Xuseen Warsame Nageeye
2. Dr. Maxamed Sheekh Ali
3. Yuusuf Garaad Cumar (oo markii dambe noqday Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda ee Soomaaliya).

Aqoonyahan Turki ah ayaa iyaguna goobjoog ka ahaa kulanka oo uu ka mid ahaa Danjire Ahmet Riza Derer – ergeyga gaarka ah ee Dawladda Turkiga u qaabilsan wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Aqoonyahanku waxa ay ka wada hadleen sooyaalka kala duwanaanshaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya iyo xaaladda xilligaas taagnayd. Sidoo kale waxa ay is weydaarsadeen aragtiyo ku aaddan sida ay aqoonyahanku isku kaashan karaan iyo doorka ay ka ciyaari karaan xaaladda siyaasadeed ee cakiran ee u dhaxaysa labada dal¹⁵².

Kulanka aqoonyahanka waxa sidii la filayey ka soo horjeestay xisbiyada mucaaradka ah ee Soomaalilaand.

¹⁵² Omer, Aqoonyahanno Soomaaliyeed oo ku Shiray Ankara. Yusuf-Garaad BlogSpot. Retrieved on 13 September 2017 from: <http://yusuf-garaad.blogspot.com.tr/2016/04/aqoonyahanno-soomaaliyeed-oo-ku-shiray.html> , 2016.

Boobe Yuusuf Ducaale oo wakhtigaas xubin ka ahaa xisbiga Waddani ayaa xusay in kulankani uu ahaa mid ay xukuumadda Soomaalilaand ku dhaawacayso jiritaanka Soomaalilaand¹⁵³. Waxa uu dib ugu noqday in go'aankii ay baarlamaanka Soomaalilaand 2012kii ugu ogolaadeen xukuumadda in ay ka qayb gasho Shirkaa Landhan (iyo wadahaadalladii uu Shirkaasi dhalay) in uu keliya awoodda siinayey xukuumaddu in ay dalka metesho, waxaana uu ku dhaliilay baarlamaanka itaal darradooda ay kaga falcelin waayeen arrintan. Waxa uu Boobe intaa ku daray in haddii la aqbalo kulanka aqoonyahanka ay ku xigi doonaan kulammo dhex mara rugaha ganacsiga, madax dhaqameedka iyo wadaaddada labada dhinac, arrintaasna waxa uu ku sheegay sharci darro¹⁵⁴.

Saxaafadda maxalliga ah ee Soomaalilaand ayaa gadaal ka sheegtay in ay jiraan kulammo qarsoodi ah oo ay xukuumadda Soomaalilaand Turkiga kula gashay madax Soomaaliya ka socota; wasiirka arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand Sacad Cali Shire, wasiirka madaxtooyada ee Soomaalilaand Maxamuud Xaashi Cabdi, iyo wasiirka arrimaha gudaha ee Soomaaliya Cabdiraxmaan Odowaa ayaa la sheegay in ay wakhti isku mid ah Turkiga ku sugnaayeen, laguna tuhmay in ay lahaayeen kulamo qarsoodi ah¹⁵⁵. Saraakiil ka tirsan xisbiga Waddani ayaa iyaga oo cuskanaya hadaladdan ku-tiri-ku-teenka ah xukuumadda ku dhaliilay in ay gashay kulamo qarsoodi ah, laakiin wasaaradda

¹⁵³ Xigasho hore

¹⁵⁴ Xigasho hore

¹⁵⁵ Waxa warkan sheegay Somali Cable bishii Abriil 2016:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DL-d7RMzHHU>

arrimaha dibedda ayaa markii dambe beenisay jiritaanka kulamo qarsoodi ah oo Turkiga ka dhacay¹⁵⁶.

Waxa sidoo kale dhacay laba kulan oo aqoonyahanka labada dhinac ku dhex maray dalka Turkiga dabayaaqadii 2017 iyo horraantii 2018, hase ahaatee labadaa kulan iyo wixii ka soo baxay wax badan lagama oga.

Mustaqbalka Wadahadallada iyo Xaaladaha Suurtogalka ah

Laga soo bilaabo bilowgii wadahadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ee 2012kii, lix wareeg ayaa ka kala qabsoomay dalalka Ingiriiska, Imaaraadka, Turkiga iyo Jabuuti. Dhammaan wareegyadani wax guul ah oo la sheego ma aysan gaadhin, heshiisyadii kulammada lagu saxeexayna waxba lagama fulin. Dhammaan wixii rajo laga qabay wadahadalladu waxa ay meesha ka baxeen markii uu wadahadalku burburay horraantii 2015kii. Marka laga yimaaddo in labada dhinacba eedo isku mid ah is weydaarsadeen, Soomaalilaand wax tanaasul ah kama ay muujin diiditaankeeda in ay miis la fadhiisato siyaasiyiin asal ahaan ka soo jeeda Soomaalilaand oo dhinaca kale ka socda. Dhacdadani waxa ay masuuliyadda burburka wadahadallada saaraysaa Soomaalilaand, maadaama oo aanay wax dareen ah ka bixin siyaasiyiinta ka soo jeedda Soomaalilaand ee kulamadii hore (Dubay iyo Jabuuti) soo xaadiray iyaga oo dhanka kale ka socda. Haddiise ay Soomaaliya dhab ka tahay sii socoshada iyo guusha wadahadalladu waa ay beddeli karayeen xubnaahas dooddu ka dhalatay, si

¹⁵⁶ Xigasho hore

looga hor tago burbur iyo khilaaf hor leh. Xukuumadda Soomaaliya waxa keli ah oo ay arrintan beddelitaanka xubnahaas ku dhaqaaqi lahayd haddii ay si heer sare ah u qiimaynayaan wadahaadallada. Waxa ilaa bilowgii wadahaadallada muuqatay in Soomaaliya aanay daacad ka ahayn wadahaadallada. Labada dhinac waxa ay u adeegsadeen liiska ergooyinka is eedayntooda, hase ahaatee arrimaha dhaliyey burburka wadahaadalladu waa kuwo ka qoto dheer intaas oo qaarkoodna ay muddo badan soo jireen. Arrimahaas waxa ka mid ah cadaadis gudaha ah, saamayn shisheeye, fulin la'aan, kala fogaansho siyaasadeed, iyo is aaminaad la'aan ka dhalatay tabashooyin hore oo aan xal laga gaadhin.

Baadhis badan ka dib, saadaashu waxa ay odhanaysaa in ay suurogal tahay in wadahaadalladu dib u furmi karaan xilli ka mid ah mustaqbalka (ka dhow ama ka fog). Sidani waxay ku iman kartaa laba sababood: waa ta koowaade, siyaasiyiinta labada dhinacba waxay dadkooda u sameeyeen ballanqaadyo. Siyaasiyiinta Soomaalilaand waa in ay shacabka tusaan in ay samaynayaan dedaal kasta oo aqoonsi lagu gaadhi karo, oo la hadalka Soomaaliyana ku jiro. Waxa ay ku doodi karaan, sida ay qaarkood horeba ugu doodeen, in aanay jirin fursado kale isla markaasna markii Soomaaliya wadahaadalka lala furay ay soo xidhmeen albaabo badan. Waxa markaas laga rajaynayaa in labada dal ee kala go'aya - Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya - ay wadahaadal ku dhammaystaan arrintooda oo heshiis ka gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka sidii ay hore u yeeleen Suudaan iyo Koonfurta Suudaan, iyo Itoobiya iyo Eriteriya. Waa ta labaade waxa suurogal ah cadaadis

shisheeye oo labadaba ku riixi kara in ay wadahadallada dib u furaan.

Si kasta oo ay u dhacdo, wadahadalladani, haddii dib loo bilaabo iyo haddi aan la bilaabinba, marnaba labada dhinac ma siin doonaan fursad iyo fagaare ay go'aan kaga gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka marka la eego xaaladda wakhti xaadirkan. Inta hadda la kala maqanyahay waxa ay kor u dhaaftay rubuc-qarni, ilaa haddana labada dhinac aad ayey u kala fogyihiin mana jiraan ilaa hadda isu tanaasul, isu soo dhawaansho iyo isbeddel dhanka mawqifyada siyaasadda ah. Labada dhinacba waxa ay ku doodaan in mawqifkooda siyaasiga ahi uu yahay lama taabtaan aan gorgortan geli karin, dastuurrada labada dal ayaana sidaa dhigaya. Tabashooyin isugu jira takoorid siyaasadeed iyo bulsho, xasuuq iyo dembiyo kale oo ka dhan ah bini'aadantinnimada, oo ka mid ah arrimaha lagu sababeeyo goosashada Soomaalilaand ayaa iyaguna u baahan in xal loo helo; Soomaaliya rubuc-qarnigii u dambeeyey ma aysan muujin rabitaan ah in tabashooyinkan xal loo helo. Faysal Cali Waraabe, guddoomiyaha Xisbiga UCID ee Soomaalilaand, ayaa marar badan ku dooday in haddii ay Reer Soomaaliya ixtiraam u hayaan Reer Soomaalilaand, kana damqanayaan denbiyadii laga galay dabayaaqadii 1980meeyadii, ay beddeli lahaayeen calanka dembiyadaas magiciisa lagu galay¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵⁷ Faysal waxa uu sidan ku sheegay warayse uu ku siiyey Universal Somali TV bishii Maarj 2017 Landhan. Halkan ayaa laga heli karaa waraysiga oo dhammaystiran:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YvLba8giMbg>

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Kala maqnaanshaha Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa uu cago cagaynayaa soddon sannadood, muddo aad u dheer oo dadkii xilligaa dhashay ay maanta siyaasadda labada dhinacba qayb ka yihiin. Jiilashan cusubi wax yar ayey wadaagaan, marka la eego sooyaalka iyo siyaasadda soddonkii sanno ee u dambeeyey. Waxa ay ku kala hoos koreen nidaamyo kala duwan, waxaana ay ku soo barbaareen nidaamyo waxbarasho oo kala duwan. Kala fogaanshaha muddada dheer jiray ee u dhexeeya labada bulsho ayaa caqabad ku ah heshiisyo la gaadho iyo go'aammo muhiim ah oo mustaqbalka in la qaataa ay suurogal tahay.

Waxa sidoo kale muuqata in dhexdhexaadin shisheeye (*foreign arbitration*) aanay wax badan soo kordhin doonin, oo saamayn yeelan doonin, ilaa ay labada dhinacba ka dhashaan maamullo awood leh oo qaadan kara go'aammo adag, xataa haddii ay go'aammadaasi ka hor imanayaan danahooda. Maadaama oo xukuumadaha, shuruucda iyo hay'adaha labada dhinacba aanay lahayn awood badan, jilayaasha aan dawliga ahayn sida hoggaamiye diimeedyada, madax dhaqameedka, kooxaha hubaysan (oo aad uga jira dhanka Soomaaliya) waxa ay weli leeyihiin awood ay kaga fal celin karaan, mararka qaarna kaga hor iman karaan, go'aammo ku yimid dhexdhexaadin shisheeye.

Qiimaynta Burburka Wadahadallada ee Ku Salaysan Aragtiyaha Aqooneed

Cutubkii 2aad waxa aynu ku soo aragnay nidaam lagu gaadho wadahadallo nabadeed oo waara oo ka kooban

shan marxaladood oo uu hirgeliyey Saunders (1999)¹⁵⁸. Waxa aynu sidoo kale isla garanay in nidaamkan aanu ku koobnayn wadahaadallada nabadda iyo xallinta khilaafka ee sidoo kale loo adeegsan karo wadahaadallada nabadda iyo kala go'a. Maadaama oo aan wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya noqon kuwo waara ee ay burbureen, waxa aynu is dul taagi doonna bal inta ay waafaqeen shanta marxaladood iyo halka ay gaadheen. Ugu horrayn, aynu dib u milicsanno shantii marxalood:

Marxalada 1aad: Go'aansashada ka qaybgalka wadahaadallada.

Marxalada 2aad: Astaynta iyo magac dhebidda dhibaatooyinka iyo xidhiidhada jira.

Marxalada 3aad: Baadhidda dhibaatooyinka iyo xidhiidhada si loo doorto jiho.

Marxalada 4aad: Xaalad dhisid - wajihidda xidhiidh isbeddelaya.

Marxalada 5aad: Ka wada shaqaynta sidii uu isbeddel u dhici lahaa.

Wadahaadalladu waxa ay mareen dhowr marxaladood oo ka mid ah nidaamkan, waxase muuqata in aanay u wada marin si buuxda oo u xidhiidhsan sida uu Saunders u xidhiidhiyey shanta heer. Marxalada koowaad Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay isku afgarteen in ay ka qayb qaataan wadahaadalka. Go'aanka ka qayb galka wadahaadalladu waxa uu ka dhacay Shirkii

¹⁵⁸ Saunders (1999), *A public peace process: Sustained dialogue to transform racial and ethnic conflicts*.

Landhan ee 2012kii, kaas oo warmurtiyeedkii ay ku xusnayd in la wadhadlo ay labada dhinacba aqbaleen. Waxa shirkaa Landhan xigay lix wareeg oo si guul ah ku dhammaaday, halka wareeggii toddobaad lagu kala kacay. Heerkii labaad waxa ay asteeyeen isla markaana magac dhabeen dhibaatooyinka iyo xidhiidhada jira. Waxa ay qeexeen dhibaatooyinka amni iyo in aanay labada dhinac si siman u wada qaybsan taageerada dhaqaale ee laga helo beesha caalamka. Waxa ay ku heshiiyeen in ay si wanaagsan u qaybsadaan taageerada dhaqaale ee laga helo beesha caalamka iyo in la iska kaashado dhinaca nabadgelyada. Dhanka kale waxa ay qeexeen xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya: waxa lagu heshiiyey in wadhadalladu u dhexeeyaan Dawladda Federaalka Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya (oo markii dambe noqotay Dawladda Federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya) iyo Dawladda Soomaalilaand.

Marxalada saddexaad waxa ay baadheen dhibaatooyinka iyo xidhiidhada jira, waxase ay ku guuldarraysteen in ay hore u qaadaan tallaabooyin geesinnimo leh oo loo qaado dhanka arrimaha masiiriga ah - xidhiidhka mustaqbalka. Marxalada afraad waxa ay ku guuldarraysteen in ay dhisaan xaalad cusub iyo in ay wajahaan xidhiidho isbeddelaya. Marxalada shanaad si wada jir ah ugama ay hawl gelin si ay isbeddel u horseedaan - in afti aayo ka tashi la qaado, in lagu heshiiyo in la israaco ama in la samaysto nidaam kale oo maamul.

Cutubkii 2aad waxa aynu ku soo aragnay dhowr aragtiyood oo goosasho. Halkan, waxa aynu isku deyi doonnaa in aynu fahanno sababta ay wadhadalladu u

guuldarraysteen innaga oo tixgelineyna aragtiyaha goosasho. Aragtiyaha goosasho caddaalad darro keentay ayaa u muuqda aragtida keliya ee sharxi karta burburka wadhadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Mid ka mid ah arrimaha keenay in wadhadalladu guuldarraystaan waxa ay ahayd tabashooyin (gabood fallo) hore oo aan xal loo helin oo ay dadka Soomaalilaand ka tirsanayeen dawladda Soomaaliya oo dhacay sannadihii 1980meeyadii, iyo is aaminaad la'aanta ka dhalatay tabashooyinkaas. In kasta oo caddaalad darrooyinkani aanay ahayn arrinta keli ah ee lagu sababeeyo goosashada Soomaalilaand, haddana waxa ay door weyn ka qaateen go'aankeeda goosasho. Sida ay aragtidu dhigayso, kooxda goosatay waxa ay goosashada u arkaan in ay dawo u noqoto caddaalad darrooyinka iyo gabood fallada ay la kulmeen. Sidaas darteed wadhadalladu waxa ay u fashilmeen is aaminaad la'aanta ka dhalatay caddaalad darrooyinkaas.

Badiba qoraallada laga sameeyey qaddiyada goosasho ee Soomaalilaand kuma jiraan kuwo si gaar ah ugu doodaya in goosashada Soomaalilaand ay ku salaysantahay caddaalad darrooyin iyo gabood fallo lagula kacay. In kasta oo lagu muransanyahay in xasuuq dhacay, haddana waxa lagu heshiis yahay in ay gabood fallo iyo dembiyo dagaal ka dhaceen Soomaalilaand. Wareeggii Istaanbuul II dawladda Soomaaliya waxa ay qirtay, oo sida ay uga xunyihiin sheegeen, gabood falladii ay dawladdii militariga ahayd u geysatay dadka Soomaalilaand.

Marka dib loo milicsado xaaladdii ay Soomaalilaand ku jirtay markii ay go'aanka dib ula soo noqoshada

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madaxbannaanida ku dhawaaqday sannadkii 1991 (in dad iyo duunyoba la baabi'iyey Soomaaliland), waxa la fahmi karaa in dhibaatooyinkaasi ay qayb ka ahaayeen go'aanka.

CUTUBKA 7AAD

WADAHADALLADA IYO QADDIYADDA SOOMAALILAAND

Wadahadalkan aad qaadateen, qoladan Reer Koonfur

Qodob kama hirgelin boqol siyoo, la isku qaabilaye

Qabcad waalan baad nagu furteen, oo qasaare ahe

Qarash iyo hadduu jiro adduun, meesha lagu qaybsho

Iska qaata dhaha meel kalaa, nalaga quudshaaye

Abwaan Dhako (2017)¹⁵⁹

Wadahadalka Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya labada dhinac ee wadahadalku ka dhaxeeyey waxa ay ka lahaayeen labo ujeedo oo kala duwan. Halka ay Soomaalilaand ku doonaysay in ay ku gaadho goosasho guulaysata iyo aqoonsi rasmi ah, Soomaaliya waxa ay ka rabtay midnimo dib u dhex marta labada dhinac. Wadahadalladii ugu dambayn waa ay burbureen, labada dhinac midna himiladiisii ma gaadhin. Hase ahaatee waxaa jirta in ay wax iska beddeleen halkii la kala taagnaa. Cutubkan waxa aynu ku eegaynaa sida ay wadahadalladu u saameeyeen qadiyadda goosasho iyo gooni isku taag ee Soomaalilaand.

Ugu horrayn wadahadalladu waxa ay saamayn weyn ku yeesheen qorshihii aqoonsi raadinta Soomaalilaand. Waxaa mar keli ah isbeddelay jihadii ay u socdeen dedaallada aqoonsi raadintu. Sannadkii 2012kii waxa ay

¹⁵⁹ Abdwaan Dhako (2017). Gabay. Halkan ka eeg muuqaal:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxOB0QT3QWQ>

xukuumadda Soomaalilaand go'aansatay in ay markii u horraysay ka qayb gasho shir Soomaaliya loo qabanayo. Ka dib markii uu golaha baarlamaanku siiyey ogolaanshaha, urur/xisbiyo siyaasadeedyada iyo shacabkuna siiyeen kalsooni, waxa xukuumaddii Siilaanyo ay ka qayb gashay shirkii Soomaaliya loogu qabtay Landhan, caasimadda Boqortooyada Midowday oo 23 Februwari 2012kii ka qabsomay Guriga Lankaster. Ka qaybgalka Soomaalilaand ee shirkani waxa loo fasiray isbeddel baaxad weyn oo xukuumadda Siilaanyo ku samaysay siyaasadda aqoonsi raadinta, waxaana qorshahaa horseed ka ahaa wasiirkii arrimaha dibedda ee wakhtigaas Maxamed Cabdilaahi Cumar.

Laga bilaabo Shirka Landhan, siyaasadda aqoonsi raadinta waxa lagu xidhay Muqdisho. Taas beddelkeeda waxa isa soo xidhay irriddo badan oo aqoonsi laga raadin lahaa. Mar kasta oo la isku dayo in dedaal kale oo aqoonsi raadin ah la garab wado wadhadallada, waxa meesha taal in lagu yidhaa mar haddaad Soomaaliya hadal la furteen, halkaas wixii ka soo baxa ayuunbaa la sugayaa oo tallaabooyin kale la qaadi kari maayo. Lix sanno ka dib bilowgii wadhadalladana ma jiraan wax ka soo naaso cad oo laga fili karo. Waxa aan rumaysanahay in ay fashilantay siyaasaddii ay xukuumadda Kulmiye ku qorshaynaysay in ay Soomaaliya kala hadasho aqoonsigeeda. Bilowgiina fashilku waxa uu ahaa mid la sii saadaalin karo, dad badan ayaana dhaliilsanaa wadhadallada isla markaana aan ku niyadsamayn natiijada lagu gaadhi karo. Iyada oo ay wadhadalladu sidaas fashil ugu muuqdaan ayaan haddana la iska indha tiri karin doodda kale ee odhanaysa dal wal oo go'itaan raba, aqbalaadda iyo diidmada go'itaankiisu waxa ay ku

jirtaa gacanta dalka laga go'ayo, waana lama huraan in aqoonsiga lagala hadlo. Dad badan ayaa aaminsan in wadahadalladu ay yihiin jidka saxda ah ee Soomaalilaand aqoonsi ku heli karto laakiin qaabka loo maamulay iyo jidka loo maray ayaa qaldanaa, mana jirin in ay labada dhinacba dhab ka ahayd in la wada galo wadahadallo wax-ku-ool ah.

Xukuumaddi Rayaale waxa ay siyaasaddeeda aqoonsi raadintu ku wajjahnayd dalalka Afrika. Saaxiibo badan ayaa ay ka samaysatay Qaaradda Afrika. Dedaalladaasi waxa ay keeneen in Midowga Afrika uu guddi xaqiiqo raadin ah u soo diro Soomaalilaand sannadkii 2005tii. Guddidaasi waxa ay soo jeediyeen in qadiyadda aqoonsi raadinta ee Soomaalilaand ay tahay mid lugo adag ku taagan, Soomaalilaandna ay u qalanto in la tixgeliyo codsigeeda. Hase ahaatee waxa mooshinkaas, sida la sheego, ka hor yimid madaxdii Carabta ahayd ee ku jirtay Golaha oo uu ka mid ahaa Qaddaafi - madaxweynihii hore ee Liibiya. Sidaas si la mid ah ayaa ay xukuumaddii Rayaale iyo tii Cigaal ee ka horreysayba dedaallo badan oo aqoonsi raadin ah uga sameeyeen Yurub iyo Maraykan, waxaana xusid mudan in sannadkii 2008dii ay Soomaalilaand soo booqatay Jendayi Frazer oo ahayd Kaaliyaha Xoghayaha Arrimaha Dibedda ee Maraykanka u qaabilsanayd arrimaha Afrika¹⁶⁰. Dhanka kale, xukuumadda Siilaanyo waxa ay xidhiidh dhow la samaysay dalalka Carabta oo dad

¹⁶⁰ Somlandnor (2008). Junday Frazer oo Socdaal Rasmi ah Ku Timid Somaliland:
<https://somlandnor.wordpress.com/2008/02/03/junday-frazer-oo-socdaal-rasmi-ah-ku-timid-somaliland/>

badan aaminsanyihiin in aanay marnaba aqoonsiga Soomaalilaand ka shaqaynayn.

In kasta oo uu wasiir Maxamed Biixi Yoonis sii waday siyaasaddii wasiirkii ka horreeyey ee wadahaadalladu ka mid ahaayeen, siyaasadda arrimaha dibedda iyo aqoonsi raadintu waxa ay gebi ahaanba joogsatay muddadii wasaaradda uu wasiirka ka ahaa Sacad Cali Shire. Xukuumadda cusub ee Soomaalilaand ee uu madaxweynaha ka yahay Muuse Biixi Cabdi waxa ay horraantii 2018ka sheegtay in ay dib u bilaabayso wadahaadallada. Hase ahaatee waxa muuqata in ay sidii hore wax u dhacaan, maadaama oo aanay jirin isbedello aasaasi ah oo lagu samaynayo qaabka loo wadahaadalayo iyo waxa laga wada hadlayo.

Marar uu doodo ka qayb qaadanayey, Madaweynaha cusub ee Soomaalilaand Muuse Biixi Cabdi waxa uu sheegay in wadahaadallada ay u raadin doonaan cid dhexdhexaadin iyo gar-naq u samaysa labada dhinac. Waxaase muuqata in wakhti xaadirkan aanay arrintaa lafteedu suurogal ahayn. Haddii aanay labada dhinac midna ka jirin xukuumado awood leh oo qaadan kara go'aammo ka hor imanaya rabitaankooda iyo ka shacbigaba, dhexdhexaadin iyo gar-naq cid kale samayso isbeddel la taaban karo ma keeni karto.

Wixii ka horreeyey 2010kii oo ah xilligii uu Xisbiga Kulmiye talada dalka ku guulaystay, waxa jiray dayr adag oo dhex yaallay labada bulsho ee Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Siyaasiyiinta Soomaalilaand ka soo jeeda waxa mamnuuc ka ahayd in ay ka qayb galaan siyaasadda Soomaaliya, xubnona ka noqdaan golyaashooda kala duwan. Qofka sidaas sameeya waxa

u yaallay ciqaab adag oo xadhig ah. Sidaas darteed, siyaasiyiin badan ayaa awoodi waayey in ay soo booqdaan qoysaskooda. Waxa xataa jirtay in qaarkood ay ka soo qayb geli kari waayeen geerida waalidkood. Dhanka kale waxa jiray xeer dhigaya in aan siyaasadda Soomaaliya qayb laga noqon karin, meel ay joogaan aan Soomaalilaand tegin, isla markaana aan lala yeelan wax wadahalad iyo wadashaqayn ah. Markii ay Soomaalilaand tegaysay shirka Landhan 2012 ayaa qodobkaas baarlamaanku wax ka bedelleen oo loo ogolaaday xukuumaddu in ay tegi karto shirarka Soomaaliya loo qabto, wadahalalna la furi karto.

Ilaa iyo bilowgii wadahaladallada, waxa daciifay xayndaabkii adkaa ee u dhexeeyey labada bulsho. Waxa fududaaday isku socodka dadka iyo siyaasiyiinta. Intii madaxweyne Siilaanyo xukunka qabtay, waxa dalka yimid siyaasiyiin waaweyn oo Soomaalilaand ka soo jeeda oo iyagu aan awal hore iman karin dalka. Siyaasiyiintan oo isugu jiray kuwo booqasho kooban ku yimid iyo kuwo sheegay in ay ka tanaasuleen mabda'ii midnimadaba waxa ka mid ahaa: Cismaan Jaamac Cali (Kalluun), Jaamac Maxamed Qaalib, Maxamuud Cabdillaahi Jaamac (Sifir), Ismaaciil Hurre Buubaa, Axmed Ismaaciil Samatar iyo Cali Khaliif Galaydh.

Sida dad badan oo Reer Soomaalilaand ah u muuqatay, waxa jiray qorshe is dhex gal ah oo ka yimid dhinaca madaxtooyada Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo lagu beegsanayey dhallinyarta Soomaalilaand qaarkood. Waxa dhacday in muddadaas dhallinyaro badan oo hal-abuur, saxafiyiin, fannaaniin iyo qorayaalba ahi ay Muqdisho cagta ku badiyeen, isla markaana si hoose iyo si muuqataba u

sheegeen in ay doorbidayaan midnimada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya. Nasiib darro, dhallinyartaasi marna ma ay soo bandhigin sababo iyo caddaymo adag oo ay aragtidooda siyaasadeed ku beddelaan, waxaana muuqatay in ay badankoodu aragtidooda wax uga beddeleen iyaga oo eeganaya dano gaar ah. Tusaale ahaan, qaarkood waxa shaqooyin laga siiyey xafiisyada ugu sarreeya dawladda Soomaaliya, halka qaar kalena la siiyey fursado ay kaga faa'iidaystaan barnaamijyo gaar ah, kuwo dibadeed iyo kuwo ay magac iyo maamuus bulshada kaga dhex samaysan karaan. Qaarkood waxa ay muujiyeen in, ogaalkooda hooseeya ee xaaladaha dalka guud ahaan dartood, sawir aan xaqiiqo ahayn loo sawiri karo, iyada oo la wada ogyahay xaalka Soomaaliya, iyo xaqiiqada bulshada iyo beelaha dhextaal.

Waxa jiray qorshayaal kale oo lagu beegsanayey aqoonyahanka, madax dhaqameedka iyo ururrada bulshada. Sidii hore aynu u soo sheegnay, qorshaha lagu beegsanayey madax dhaqameedku waa uu fashilmay. Hase ahaatee waxa dalka Turkiga ka dhacay ilaa saddex kulan oo dhex maray aqoonyahan ka soo kala jeeda labada dhinac. Sidoo kale waxa jiray kulammo dhex maray ururrada bulshada ee labada dhinac oo ka dhacay dalka Kiiniya. Sida ay sheegeen dadkii ka qayb galay kulamada ururrada bulshadu, waxa qabsoomidda kulankaas lug ku lahaa wasiirkii hore ee arrimaha dibedda ee Soomaalilaand, Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar. Sidoo kale, hay'adda/xarunta *Center for Humanitarian Dialogue* ayaa iyaduna door weyn ka ciyaartay barnaamijyada isdhexgalka iyo

wadahadashiinta qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada sida ay xuseen dadkii kulamadaas ka qayb galey qaarkood.

Siyaasiyiinta Soomaalilaand ee wadahadallada gadhwadeenka ka ahaa waxa in badan farta lagu goday halka ay ka taaganyihiin qaddiyadda goosasho ee Soomaalilaand. Guddoomiyihii hore ee Gobolka Banaadir, Maxamuud Axmed Nuur (Tarsan), ayaa mar la waraystay sheegay in uu jiray xidhiidh iyo wadahadal qarsoodi ah oo u dhexeeyey iyaga iyo siyaasiyiin Soomaalilaand madax ka ah oo ay ka mid ahaayeen wasiirkii madaxtooyada Xirsi Cali Xaaji Xasan. Waxa uu sheegay Tarsan in ay Soomaalilaand u direen odayaal si ay ugu soo qanciyaan in ay wadahadal midnimadii lagu soo celinayo ula furaan Soomaaliya. Labo xubnood oo ka mid ahaa wafti ka socday Soomaalilaand oo lacag deeq ah u qaaday Soomaaliya mar ay abaaro ba'ani haleeleen ayaa la kulmay Madaxweyne Sheekh Shariif Sheekh Axmed. Kulankaas waxa ka dhashay in ay telefoon ku wada hadlaan Madaxweyne Shariif iyo Madaxweyne Siilaanyo, sida uu Tarsan sheegay. Tarsan waxa uu tibaaxay in ay siyaasiyiinta Soomaalilaand ee Xirsi ka midka yahay isla ogolaayeen in la soo celiyo midnimo Soomaaliyeed, iyada oo ay Soomaalilaand lahaanayso maamulkeeda gaarka ah¹⁶¹.

In kasta oo arrinta Tarsan shaki gelisay dad badan oo Reer Soomaalilaand ah, isla markaana ay dad badan oo shaki ka qabay wadahadallada iyo siyaasadda xukuumadda caddayn u noqotay, haddana waxa mar dambe arrintaas beeniyey Xirsi. Sida uu Xirsi sheegay,

¹⁶¹ Halkan ka eeg muuqaal la isugu keenay hadalka Tarsan iyo jawaabta Xirsi: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HA_xu_9ZFgA

kulammadaasi oo ka dhacay Nayroobi waxa ay gogol xaadh u ahaayeen wadhadallada markii dambe bilaabmay. Waxaana uu sheegay in dhanka Soomaalilaand ay ku weheliyeen Wasiirkii Arrimaha Dibedda, Maxamed Cabdillaahi Cumar iyo Baashe Cawil oo safiirka Imaaraadka ee Soomaalilaand markii dambe noqday, ahna wiilka uu soddoga u yahay Madaxweyne Siilaanyo¹⁶². Arrinta shakiga keenaysa ayaa ah sababta wixii jira shacabka loogu soo bandhigi waayey ee markii Tarsan hadlay uu Xirsi arrintii mid sax ahayd uga dhigay. Dhanka kale, ma jirin kulamo dadku ogaa oo gogol xaadh u ahaa wadhadalladu ee waxa uu shacabka Soomaalilaand ku warhelay in wadhadallo bilaabmayaana warmutiyeedkii ka soo baxay Shirkaa Landhan.

Wasiirkii hore ee wasaaradda maaliyadda Soomaalilaand Maxamed Xaashi Cilmi oo ka mid ahaa dadka sida weyn uga soo hor jeeday wadhadallada lala furay Soomaaliya tan iyo markii ay bilaabmeen, waxa uu aaminsanyahay in wadhadalka lala galay Soomaaliya uu shaki geliyey dhabnimada goosashada Soomaalilaand, iyo weliba in uu raajiyey aqoonsiga¹⁶³. Maxamed Xaashi sidoo kale waxa uu ku dooday in ay Soomaalilaand wadhadallada u gashay dhaqaale sidii ay u heli lahayd, balse ay qalad ahayd in la isku dayo in Soomaaliya wax lala qaybsado, halkii ay Soomaalilaand taageero dhaqaale beesha caalamka toos uga dalban lahayn¹⁶⁴. Si kasta oo ay ahaatoba, waxa muuqata in

¹⁶² Xigasho hore

¹⁶³ Xigasho hore

¹⁶⁴ Xigasho hore

aanay Soomaalilaand wax dhaqaale ah ka faa'iidin wadhadallada, qaabkii deeqaha shisheeye loo qaybsan jirayna aan waxba iska beddelin. Waxase suurogal ah in shakhsiyaadkii Soomaalilaand uga qayb galay wadhadalladu ay si gaar ah dhaqaale uga heleen.

Sida uu abwaan Dhako gabayga ku sheegay, wadhadalladu waxa ay Soomaalilaand ku fureen kadin ay wax badan oo qaddiyadeedda dhaawacay ka soo galeen. Waxa meesha ka baxay arrimo badan oo la xeerin jiray, waxaana lagu dhiirraday arrimo badan oo aan awal hore lagu dhiirran jirin. Si fudud ayey dadku ugu dhaqaaqaan tallaabooyin dhaawac weyn u geysan kara qaddiyadda Soomaalilaand, waxaana jira isdhexgal badan oo lala sameeyey Soomaaliya, kaas oo isna caad badan saaray siyaasadda goosasho ee Soomaalilaand.

Isdhexgalka bulshada rayidka ahi ma aha wax la diidi karo maadaama oo dadka Soomaaliyeed ay yihiin dad wax badan wadaaga, xidhiidho badan oo heer shakhsi, qoys iyo bulshaba gaadhsiisanna ay dhex yaallaan. Waxa shakiga keenaya ayaa ah isdhexgalka qorshaysan ee siyaasadaysan, isla markaana looga gol leeyahay in lagu wiiqo mawqifka siyaasadeed ee shacabka Soomaalilaand. Soomaaliya - shacab iyo maamulba - marna lamay iman qorshe cad oo ay ku hanan karaan dadka Soomaalilaand, kagana dhaadhicin karaan midnimada ay iyagu weli ku dheggenyihiin. Sidoo kale, marka laga yimaaddo rabitaanka ay muujinayaan, waxa hadalkooga iyo ficilkoogaba ka muuqda in aanay marna dhab ka ahayn midnimo dambe oo dhex marta labada dhinac, iyaga laftoodana arrimo badan oo xal u baahan ayaa dhexyaalla. Isku dayga xukuumadda Soomaaliya ee

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ah in ay shacabka Soomaalilaand kala qaybiyaan, koox tiro yar oo dhallinyartiisa ka mid ahna si gaar ah u adeegsadaan, in ay tahay qorshe aan jid saxan loo marin, ayna u badantahay in uu marwalba fashilmo waa mid muuqata.

GUNAANAD

Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay lahaayeen sooyaal gumaysi oo kala duwan, waxaana ay madaxbannaani qaateen labo taariikhood oo kala duwan, ka dibna waa ay midoobeen sannadkii 1960kii. Midnimadaasi waxa ay jirtay muddo soddon sano ah. Dagaal sokeeye oo socday muddo toban sanno ah ayaa ugu dambayn dhaliyey burburka gebi ahaanba Jamhuuriyaddii Soomaaliyeed. Dadka Soomaalilaand waxa ay 18 May 1991kii shaaciyeen in ay ka noqdeen midnimadii, kana go'een dalka intiisa kale, waxaana ay ku dhawaaqeen Jamhuuriyadda Soomaalilaand. Tan iyo xilligaas, Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya waxa ay u kala qaybsanaayeen dhul ahaan iyo siyaasad ahaanba. Si kasta oo ay ahaataba, Soomaalilaand muddadaas ma ay helin aqoonsi caalami ah. 21 sanno oo ay Soomaalilaand ka maqnayd shirarka arrimaha Soomaaliya lagaga hadlayo, waxa ay markii u horraysay ka qaybgashay Shirkaa Landhan ee 2012kii. Warmurtiyeedkii shirkaas ka soo baxay waxa uu Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ugu baaqay in ay wadahal furaa, si ay u caddeeyaan nooca uu noqonayo xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalku.

Buuggu waxa uu ka koobnaa 7 cutub. Cutubada 1aad iyo 2aad waxa aynu ku eegnay goosashada, aayo-ka-tashiga iyo wadahalallada nabadda, oo ay weheliyeen aragtiyo iyo qaddiyado la xidhiidha. Cutubka 3aad waxa aynu si kooban dib ugu milicsannay sooyaalka labada dhinac. Cutubka 4aad waxa uu ku saabsanaa geeddi socodkii wadahalallada, waxaana uu dersayey sida wadahalalladu ku bilowdeen iyo lixdii kulan ee sida guusha ah ku dhammaaday. Cutubka 5aad waxa aynu

ku eegnay burburkii wadahaadallada iyo sababaha keenay. Cutubka 6aad waxa aynu ku milicsannay burburka ka dib, halka Cutubka 7aad uu daarranaa sida ay wadahaadalladu u saameeyeen qadiyadda Soomaalilaand ee goosasho iyo aqoonsi raadis.

Wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand ee socday 2012kii ilaa 2015kii waxa ay ahaayeen dhacdo weyn oo soo martay taariikhda Soomaalida, isla markaana mudan in dhaxal laga reebo oo wax laga qoro. Wadahaadalladu waa ay guuldarraysteen. Qodobadda ka qaybqaatay burburka iyo guuldarrada wadahaadallada waxa ka mid ahaa: kala fogaansho siyaasadeed (in qolo walba go'aankeedu uu lama taabtaan ahaa); cadaadis gudaha ah (labada dhinacba waxa ay culays kala kulmeen nidaamyadooda maamul, dastuuradooda iyo shacabkooda); cadaadis dibedda ah (dawladdaha shisheeye oo saamayn ku lahaa wadahaadallada); fulin la'aanta heshiisyadii la galay (hal qodob lagama fulin dhammaan heshiisyadii la kala saxeexday, taas oo kalsooni darro dhex dhigtay labada dhinac, una muujisay wadahaadalladu in ay yihiin kuwo madhalays ah); tabashooyin hore oo aan xal loo helin (dadka Soomaalilaand waxa ay tirsanayeen tabashooyin is biirsaday oo ay hore ugala kulmeen dawladdii Soomaaliya, kuwaas oo is aaminaad la'aan dhex dhigay labada dhinac); shirka oo si xun loo maamulay iyo dedaal la'aanta labada dhinac ayaa iyana qayb ka qaatay guuldarrada wadahaadallada.

Shirka waxa sidoo kale ka soo bixi jiray mar walba qodobbo isku mid ah, mana jirin hore u socod badani. Sidoo kale, waxa lagu dhiirran kari waayey in la taabto ubucda wadahaadallada oo ah ka hadalka arrimaha

masiiriga ah ee kala tagga ama wada joogga daarran. Marka laga duulo qiimaynta wadahaadallada saddexda sanno socday, waxa muuqata in xataa haddii dib loo bilaabo ay adagtahay in ay ka dhalato fursad u saamixi karta labada dhinac in ay go'aan ka gaadhaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka. Sidaas oo ay tahay, xukuumadda cusub ee Soomaalilaand waxa ay sheegtay in ay dib u bilaabayso wadahaadallada, oo lagu qaban doono dal aan Turkiga ahayn. In la beddelo goobta wadahaadalladu ka dhacayaan keligeed waxba beddeli mayso, haddii aan isbedello aasaasi ah lagu samayn qorshayaasha wadahaadalka, oo aan lala iman hagrasho la'aan iyo dedaal dhab ah oo xal lagaga gaadhayo xidhiidhka labada dhinac. Nasiib darro, ilaa hadda ma muuqdaan arrimahaas aan kor ku xusay, weliba dhinaca Soomaaliya kama jiro xiise iyo xamaasad wadahaadallada loo qabo oo dhinac loogu ridi karo musqabalka qadiyadda Soomaalilaand. In jidkii hore ee lagu khasaaray dib loogu noqdaana waxay la mid tahay in ummada caqligeeda la caayayo oo maaweeladu sii soconayso, tacab iyo wakhtina la luminayo.

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LIFAAQYO

*Warmurtiyeedyadii ka soo baxay Shirka
Landhan iyo lixdii wareeg ee ka
qabsoomay wadahaadallada.*

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LONDON CONFERENCE ON SOMALIA: COMMUNIQUE¹

Introduction

1. The London Conference on Somalia took place at Lancaster House on February 2012, attended by fifty-five delegations from Somalia and the international community.
2. We met at a **key moment in Somalia's history**. Somalia is emerging from the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. African and Somali troops have pushed Al Shabaab out of Mogadishu and other areas. The transitional institutions come to an end in August 2012, and the people of Somalia want clarity on what will follow. The situation remains precarious, and in urgent need of support from the international community.
3. Decisions **on Somalia's future rest with the Somali people**. The Somali political leadership must be accountable to the people. The international community's role is to facilitate Somalia's progress and development: our strength is in unity and coordinated support to Somalia. We noted the importance of listening to and working with Somalis inside and outside Somalia, and welcomed their engagement in the run-up to this Conference.
4. The Conference focussed on the underlying causes of instability, as well as the symptoms (famine, piracy, and terrorism). **We, the international community, agreed:** to inject new momentum into the political process; to strengthen AMISOM and help Somalia develop its own security forces; to help build stability at local level; and to step up action to tackle pirates and terrorists.

Political

5. We agreed that the Transitional Federal Institutions' mandate ends in August 2012. There must be no further extensions. We welcomed the agreements that chart the way towards **more representative government**: the Transitional Federal Charter, the Djibouti Agreement, the Kampala Accord, and the Roadmap. We endorsed the priority, expressed in the Garowe Principles, of convening a Constituent Assembly, and emphasised that the Assembly must be representative of the views of the Somali people of all regions and constituencies, and that women must be part of the political process. In line with Garowe II, we agreed to **incentivise progress and act against spoilers to the peace process**, and that we would consider proposals in this regard before the Istanbul Conference in June.
6. The Conference recognised the need for the international community to support any dialogue that Somaliland and the TFG or its replacement may agree to establish in order to clarify their future relations.
7. We condemned terrorism and violent extremism, whether perpetrated by Somalis or foreigners. We called on all those **willing to reject violence** to join the Djibouti peace process. We agreed to develop a defectors' programme to support those who leave armed groups.
8. We emphasised the urgency of Somalia funding its own public services, and using its assets for the benefit of the people, as well as tackling corruption. We welcomed the progress that has been made in establishing a **Joint Financial Management Board** to increase transparency and accountability in the collection and efficient use of public revenues, as well as international development aid, and which will help strengthen Somali

¹ Final with AMISOM square brackets. Embargoed until 1615 on 23 February

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public financial management institutions. A declaration by the initial members of the JFMB is at Annex A.

9. Respect for **human rights** must be at the heart of the peace process. We called for action to address in particular the grave human rights violations and abuses that women and children face. We emphasised that journalists must be able to operate freely and without fear. Civilians must be protected. We called on the Somali authorities to take measures to uphold human rights and end the culture of impunity. We agreed to step up international efforts including through the UN human rights architecture.

Security and Justice

10. We agreed that security and justice were essential both to a successful political process and to development. Better security could only be achieved sustainably in parallel with better justice and the rule of law.
11. We expressed gratitude to those countries whose troops had served as peacekeepers and paid tribute to the achievements and sacrifices of **AMISOM** and other forces. We welcomed joint planning by the UN and African Union and reiterated the importance of effective command and control. [We welcomed the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution **** which expands AMISOM's mandate and raises the troop ceiling.] We encouraged AMISOM to ensure the protection of civilians. We encouraged partners, especially new donors, to contribute to funding for AMISOM, including through the EU.
12. We agreed that, over time, Somalis should take over responsibility for providing their own **security** and develop their own **justice** systems to deal with the threats to their security and improve access to justice. We noted that Somalis themselves must decide what security and justice arrangements they need.
13. We acknowledged the good work underway in supporting the Somali security and justice sectors. We agreed that we would build an international framework of partners in order to bring much needed coordination and focus to those efforts, underpinned by a set of principles at annex B and working closely with the UN's Joint Security Committee.

Piracy

14. We reiterated our determination to **eradicate piracy**, noting that the problem requires a comprehensive approach on land as well as at sea. We expressed our concern that hostages in Somalia are being held longer and with more use of violence. We welcomed the work of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia. We also welcomed the success of **international military efforts**, and remain committed to such efforts with robust rules of engagement and sufficient force generation. We agreed that piracy cannot be solved by military means alone, and reiterated the importance of supporting communities to **tackle the underlying causes of piracy**, and improving the effective use of Somali coastal waters through regional maritime capacity-building measures. We welcomed those initiatives underway and agreed to coordinate and support such initiatives better. We called for full implementation of the Djibouti Code of Conduct and the adoption of an Exclusive Economic Zone. We look forward to reviewing progress including at the Piracy Conference in the UAE in June.
15. We welcomed the efforts of **partners in industry** against piracy, and called for greater take-up of Best Management Practice on ships. We welcomed current work on international guidance on the use of private armed security companies.

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16. There will be **no impunity** for piracy. We called for greater development of judicial capacity to prosecute and detain those behind piracy both in Somalia and in the wider region and recognised the need to strengthen capacity in regional states. We welcomed new arrangements, which enable some states and naval operations to transfer suspected pirates captured at sea for trial by partners across the Indian Ocean region, and if convicted, to transfer them to prisons in Puntland and Somaliland which meet international standards. We noted the intention to consider further the possibility of creating courts in Somalia specialised in dealing with piracy.
17. We reiterated our determination to **prosecute the kingpins** of piracy. Recognising work already undertaken, we agreed to enhance coordination on illegal financial flows and to coordinate intelligence gathering and investigations. We noted the establishment of a Regional Anti-Piracy Prosecutions Intelligence Coordination Centre in the Seychelles.

Terrorism

18. Terrorism poses a serious threat to security in Somalia itself, to the region, and internationally. It has inflicted great suffering on the Somali population. We agreed to work together with greater determination, and with full respect for the rule of law, human rights, and international humanitarian law, to build capacity to disrupt terrorism in the region, and to address the root causes of terrorism. We agreed on the importance of disrupting terrorists' travel to and from Somalia, and on the importance of disrupting terrorist finances, and called on countries in the region to implement the Financial Action Task Force's recommendations on combating money laundering and the financing of terrorism. We noted that effective intelligence gathering and investigation, and support to the Somali criminal justice system, were critical to the fight against terrorism. We agreed to work with the Global Counter Terrorism Forum and other international and regional bodies to deliver this important work.

Stability and Recovery

19. We welcomed the success in some areas of Somalia in establishing **local areas of stability**, and agreed to increase support to build legitimate and peaceful authorities, and improve services to people living in these areas. We agreed that such efforts should promote local and regional cohesion, and converge with the national political process.
20. We considered the implementation of the **Mogadishu** Recovery and Stabilisation Plan important. We agreed to expand programmes to newly-recovered areas. We would focus support on enabling the delivery of **immediate and sustainable benefits** to ordinary Somali people: safety and security, economic opportunities and basic services. We would promote effective and accountable local administrations, and support the resolution of disputes.
21. We agreed that all support to local areas of stability should be in accordance with the New Deal for engagement in fragile states recently adopted in Busan, and build on the stabilisation strategies prepared by both IGAD and the Transitional Federal Government. We endorsed a set of **principles** to guide international support to local areas of stability in Somalia (Annex C). We agreed to continue funding local stability through existing programmes, and noted the establishment of a new **Stability Fund** to which a number of us will contribute².

² Denmark, Norway, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, [Netherlands, to be confirmed]

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22. We agreed that Somalia's long-term **reconstruction and economic development** depended on a vibrant private sector, and that both aid and diaspora finance could develop Somalia's considerable potential in livestock, fisheries and other sectors. We noted that stability was a prerequisite for most sustainable investments in infrastructure such as electricity, roads and water systems. We looked forward to further discussion on all these issues at the Istanbul Conference.

Humanitarian

23. The Conference was preceded by a separate meeting on **humanitarian** issues co-chaired by the United Nations and the United Arab Emirates. Notwithstanding the end of the famine, participants expressed concern at the ongoing humanitarian crisis, and committed to providing humanitarian aid based solely on need. They agreed a set of conclusions on humanitarian issues and linking relief with longer-term recovery (set out in a separate document).

International coordination

24. We agreed to carry forward work agreed at London through the **International Contact Group** on Somalia (ICG), and welcomed the ICG's decision in Djibouti to look at restructuring to become more effective. We recommended that the ICG establish working groups on the political process, security and justice, and stability and development. We noted that, within the ICG, a core group of engaged countries would drive progress in support of UN, AU and IGAD efforts.
25. We welcomed the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary General and the United Nations Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) in facilitating progress in Somalia. We also welcomed the role of IGAD and the African Union, and the support of the League of Arab States, the European Union, and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. We encouraged effective coordination between UN entities working on Somalia. While recognising the still challenging security situation in Somalia, we welcomed UNPOS' **re-location to Mogadishu** and agreed that we would aim to spend more time on the ground in Somalia in order to work more closely with Somalis on the challenging tasks ahead.

Conclusion

26. We expressed the hope that a new era of Somali politics, supported by the international community, will bring peace to Somalia. We are determined to place the interests of the Somali people at the heart of all our actions. We looked forward to the day when the situation in Somalia would have made sufficient progress for an international conference to be held there. In the meantime, we will redouble our efforts to support the people of Somalia in their search for a better future for their country.

London
23 February 2012

KALA-MAAN

CHEVENING HOUSE DECLARATION 20-21 JUNE 2012

1. Following the commitments in the London and Istanbul communiqués that the international community would support dialogue between the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (or its replacement) and Somaliland to clarify their future relations, the two sides met at a technical level on 20-21 June at Chevening.
2. The meeting was hosted by the UK and co-hosted by Norway and EU, at the request of the two sides.
3. The purpose of these preparatory talks was to establish a framework for future substantive talks.
4. The participants of the meeting welcomed the opening of a dialogue and emphasised their commitment to the continuation of these talks.
5. The participants:
 - I. Agreed that the talks would take place between two sides - the TFG (or its replacement) and Somaliland, in accordance with paragraph 6 of the London Conference Communique and paragraph 10 of the Istanbul II Conference Communique;
 - II. Noted the need to adopt a common approach to avoid anything that would undermine the continuation of the talks as defined above;
 - III. Committed to the continuation of the talks and called on the two presidents to meet to review progress as soon as possible;
 - IV. Called on the international community to continue to facilitate the talks, including providing the two sides with external experts on legal, economic and security matters;
 - V. Agreed to share experience on working more effectively with the international community on the use of development and humanitarian assistance for the people of both sides and called for the international community to increase that assistance;
 - VI. Agreed to cooperate in the fight against terrorism, extremism and serious crime;
 - VII. Agreed to cooperate in the fight against piracy at sea and on land, maritime crime, illegal fishing and toxic dumping; and
 - VIII. Reiterated their support for ending the Transition in Somalia.

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DUBAI STATEMENT 28 JUNE 2012

1. Following the London and Istanbul communiqués that the international community would support dialogue between the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (or its replacement) and the government of Somaliland to clarify their future relations, and following the meeting held in Chevening House, London, The President of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia and of the president of Somaliland met on 28 June, 2012 in Dubai.
2. The meeting was hosted by the government of the United Arab Emirates, at the request of the two sides.
3. The purpose of this meeting was for the two presidents present, President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, Transitional Federal Government of Somalia, and the President Ahmed Mahamoud Silanyo, Somaliland, to formally endorse the process of the talks between the two sides that were started in Chevening on 20-21 June, 2012.
4. Both parties agreed to the continuation of this dialogue, and agreed to allow the two committees, formed by the presidents, to continue the talks in order to clarify the relationship between the two sides.

Handwritten signature of Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed.

H.E President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed
President, Transitional Federal Government of Somalia

Handwritten signature of Ahmed Mahamoud Silanyo.

H.E President Ahmed Mahamoud Silanyo
President, Somaliland

KALA-MAAN



REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ankara Communiqué released at the end of the meetings between Somali and Somaliland, 13 April 2013, Ankara

Ankara Communiqué
13 April 2013

Following the meeting at Chevening House (UK) of June 20-21, 2012 and the Dubai (UAE) of June 28, 2012, President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud of the Somali Federal Republic and President Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo of Somaliland Government met on 13 April 2013 in Ankara.

The meeting is hosted by the Government of Turkey at the request of the two parties.

The purpose of this meeting is to reopen the dialogue after the change in the leadership of the Somali Federal Republic, and to establish a way forward for the dialogue.

The two parties:

1. Expressed their commitment to the continuation of the Dialogue.
2. Endorsed the content of the Chevening house Declaration agreed on 21 June 2012, and the Dubai Statement signed on 28 June 2012.
3. Stated that the Dialogue is between the Federal Government of Somalia and the Government of Somaliland. The international community that is supporting this process will only provide facilitation when is needed.
4. Agreed to encourage and facilitate International aid and development provided to Somaliland.
5. Agreed the need to consolidate a cooperation on security sector through sharing intelligence, training as well as sharing scholarships for security sector professionals in order to become more effective in the fight against terrorism, extremism, piracy, illegal fishing toxic dumping, maritime crime and serious crime.
6. Proposed to meet within 90 days in Istanbul at a date later to be agreed by the parties.
7. Agreed to refrain from using any inflammatory language and any other act which may put the continuation of the Dialogue at risk.

H.E. Abdikarim H. Gulsel
Minister
The Federal Government of Somalia

H.E. Mohamed A. Omar
Minister
The Government of Somaliland

KALA-MAAN



Communiqué of the Somaliland and Somalila dialogue held in Istanbul on 7-9 July 2013

In accordance with the framework agreements reached in Chevening, Dubai and Ankara, delegations from the Government of Somaliland and the Federal Government of Somalia met in Istanbul between 7 and 9 July 2013 with the assistance of the Turkish government.

In accordance with the agreements codified in the Ankara Communiqué on 13 April 2013, this round of the dialogue attempted to establish additional parameters to further clarify the relations between the two sides and gave particular attention to issues that have arisen since the previous meeting.

Somalia and Somaliland:

1. Agreed to the return of the air traffic management from the UN and decided to establish a joint control body that is based in Hargeisa to lead the air traffic control of both sides. It is also agreed that this body will propose a mechanism for equitable revenue-sharing.
2. Committed to the continuation of talks.
3. The next meeting will be held in Turkey within 120 days.

The Federal Government of

Somalia

Abdikarim H. Mohamed

Minister

The Government of

Somaliland

Mohamed A Omar

Minister

Presidency, Hargeisa, Somaliland

pogc@somalilandgov.com

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ISTANBUL II COMMUNIQUE 18 January 2014

Document for the process of political dialogue between the Government of Somaliland and the Federal Government of the Somalia on future relations

In accordance with framework agreement reached in Chevening, Dubai, Ankara, and Istanbul I, delegations from the Federal Government of Somalia and the Government of Somaliland met in Istanbul between 16-19 January, 2014 with the assistance of Turkish Government.

I. DIALOGUE PROCESS DESIGN

Overall Framework

- i. This is a dialogue process between the Government of Somaliland and the Federal Government of Somalia to reach agreement on future relations
- ii. The parties are committed to continuing their dialogue in a spirit of mutual respect.
- iii. The dialogue will focus on resolving future relations between the two entities.
- iv. The parties commit to resolving all problems and disputes in an exclusively peaceful manner.
- v. The parties agree to abide by commitments made in the Code of Conduct and Declaration of Principles.
- vi. The parties agree to work diligently and in good faith and to ensure full implementation of the agreements reached.
- vii. The parties recognise the crucial role that the government of Turkey is playing in promoting the dialogue.

II. Agenda and Substance

- i. The focus of the agenda will be the nature of future relations of the two parties.
- ii. The parties will agree to dialogue on other issues of mutual importance and necessity as the need arises.
- iii. The parties agree to set agendas in advance of each dialogue session.
- iv. The parties will review implementation status of issues that have previously been discussed or agreed upon.
- v. The parties agree to update each other on implementation progress with regards to past agreements at the start of each dialogue session.

III. Decision Making

- i. The parties will reach decisions by consensus between the negotiation teams.



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- ii. The negotiation teams of the parties will be guided by the inputs and decisions of their principals.
- iii. Whereas further input and technical assistance is required, the parties jointly communicate their decisions to their hosting partner.
- iv. As necessary meeting of the principals may be called by the two negotiation teams or their agreed partner to resolve deadlock.
- v. A joint secretariat will be established in Turkey and it's functions shall be following:
 - a. Ensure proper dialogue coordination;
 - b. Provide logistical, administrative and record keeping to support the process;
 - c. Support implementation of decisions reached by the negotiating parties.

IV. Sequencing considerations:

- i. The parties agree on the framework for the process of dialogue, declaration of principles and code of conduct and commonly agreed international facilitation, establishment of a secretariat in Turkey and select areas of cooperation based on need.
- ii. The framework for the process will establish a regular schedule of meetings of 90 days for the negotiation teams.
- iii. The heads of the two negotiation teams shall either communicate with each other or hold meeting in six weeks period for follow up purposes and in order to determine the agenda.
- iv. In between talks, the parties will agree on initial terms of reference, roles and composition of international facilitation to the process.
- v. In advance to any round of dialogue, the parties will develop a preliminary draft declaration on expected outcomes.

V. Participation

- A. The partners in the dialogue are the Government of Somaliland and the Federal Government of the Somalia, represented by their delegated negotiation teams.
- B. Appreciating the central role that Turkey has played in facilitating previous rounds of dialogue, and recognizing the support received from other international partners, the Parties will decide the scope of the desired continued support they might be in need to advance the process.
- C. The parties may seek jointly technical support from neutral and impartial expert organizations for legal advisory purpose.

VI. Implementation

- a. The parties agree that the negotiating entities are the immediate implementing authorities of whatever agreements maybe reached.



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- b. Participation in this implementation process will be confined to the parties in dialogue.
- c. The parties will adopt decisions to insure timely and effective implementations of any agreed outcomes
- d. In order to ensure full implementation of agreements, the parties will develop implementation plans, including milestones and agreed oversight, for agreements reached. Progress on these plans will be monitored by the Turkey government

Code of Conduct:

The Parties agree to:

1. Open meetings by the reciting the holy Quran
2. Refrain from inflammatory statements and behavior that will impinge on the objectives and progress of the dialogue and avoid making public statements compromising or undermining the spirit of the negotiation..
3. Agree in advance on joint public statements relating to the dialogue.
4. Develop in advance the agenda for each session and adopt the agenda at the commencement of discussions.
5. Conduct the discussions in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding.
6. Respect and uphold the confidentiality of the process and correspondence between the two parties and discussions must be treated as strictly confidential by all involved parties and hosting partner.
7. Commit to peaceful relations and mutual respect and avoidance of all kinds of hostilities.

Declaration of Principles:

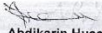
Both parties agree to the following principles:

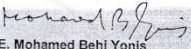
1. The Parties will pursue dialogue towards agreed outcomes and approved the contents of previous agreements which are in the best interests of both parties.
2. The parties enter into the dialogue firmly committed to resolving issues and finding mutually acceptable outcomes.
3. The parties agree to act in accordance with the Code of Conduct and other agreements.
4. The parties will fully facilitate and jointly define areas of cooperation which can meet practical needs of both parties.
5. The parties make a firm commitment to the resolution of differences through exclusively peaceful means and dialogue.
6. The parties agree with Turkish Government to provide regular briefing to the international communities.



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7. Referring to the Communiqué of the two parties Dialogue in Istanbul, Turkey on 7-9/July 2013. The parties agreed to nominate Air Traffic Control Board to establish within 45 days.
8. The parties agreed to appoint an ad-hoc technical committee composed of 4 members, (two from each party) to prepare the terms of reference of the Air Traffic Control Board. The Technical Committee work will be supervised by the respective two Ministers.
9. We share the pain inflicted upon the Somali people by the military regime in Somalia before the year 1991. We condemn all the atrocities committed by that regime throughout all Somali people particularly the people in Somaliland.


H.E. Abdikarin Hussein Guled
Minister
The Federal Government of Somalia


H.E. Mohamed Behi Yonis
Minister
The Government of Somaliland

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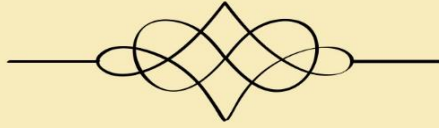
Heshiiska Djibouti ee Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland Disembar 21, 2014

Iyada oo laga duulayo wadhadalladii u dhexeeyey Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland ee ujeeddadoodu ay ahayd in xal laga gaadho xidhiidhka u dhexayn karo labada dhinac, ayaa Madaxweynaha Dowladda Federaalka ee Soomaaliya, Mudane Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud iyo Madaxweynaha Dowladda Somaliland, Mudane Axmed Maxamed Maxamuud Silaanyo, waxay ku kulmeen magaalada Djibouti 21/12/2014. Waxay labada Madaxweyne isku af garteen:

1. In la dardar geliyo wadhadallada labada dhinac, isla markaana wakhti lagu jaangooyo.
2. Labada dhinac waxay ku heshiiyeen in arrimaha siyaasadda ee masiriga ah lagu dhiirado, lana fuliyo waxyaabihii hore loogu heshiiyey oo ah:
 - A) in laga dhowrsado wixii wadhadallada qarqalad gelin kara.
 - B) in aan la siyaasadeyn deeqaha aadminimada iyo mashaariida dib u dhiska welibana la dhiiri geliyo.
 - C) in la fuliyo heshiiskii hawada iyada oo farsamo lagu saleynayo wixii lagu heshiiyay.
3. Labada dhinac waxay isla garteen in Dowladda Djibouti laga qeyb geliyo wadhadallada marka loo baahdo.
4. Labada dhinac waxay ku heshiiyeen ilaalinta xuquuqul-insaanka, iskaashiga nabadgelyada iyo in meel looga soo wada jeesto la dagaallanka argagixisada, budhcad-badeedda iyo dembiyada ubaabulan (organized crime).
5. In madasha tan ku xigta ee ay kulmayaan ergooyinka labada dhinac ee Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland ay noqoto 26-27 Febraayo ee 2015, laguna qaabo magaalada Istanbul ee dalka Turkiga.
6. Waxay labada Madaxweyne ee Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland ay u mahadcelinayaan Madaxweynaha Jamhuuriyada Djibouti, Mudane Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle, oo marti geliyay wadhadalkan, ka dib markii ay labada dhinac sidex ka codsadeen.


Mudane Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud
Madaxweynaha Dowladda Federaalka
Soomaaliya


Mudane Axmed Maxamed Silaanyo
Madaxweynaha Dowladda Somaliland



Shirkii Landhan ee Soomaaliya ee 2012kii, beesha caalamku waxa ay Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya u soo jeedisay in ay wadahaadlaan si ay u caddeeyaan xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalku sida uu noqonayo, iyaga oo ballan qaaday in ay taageero ka geysan doonaan qabsoomidda wadahaadalladaas. Qodobka 6aad ee warmurtiyeedka oo ka tirsanaa qaybta siyaasadda waxa uu u dhignaa sidan: "Shirku waxa uu garawsaday bahida loo qabo in beesha caalamku ay taageerto wadahaadal ay Soomaalilaand iyo Dawladda Ku-Meel-Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya ama beddelkeedu isla gartaan in ay bilaabaan, si ay u caddeeyaan [ama go'aan uga gaadhaan] xidhiidhkooda mustaqbalka". Shirkaa Landhan ka dib, lix wareeg ayaa ka qabsoomay Landhan, Dubai, Ankara, Istaanbuul (labo goor), iyo Jabuuti. Wareeggii 7aad ee Istaanbuul ka qabsoomay oo lagu kala kacay ayaase horseeday burburka guud ahaan wadahaadallada.

Buuggani waxa uu si xeeldheer u baadhayaa wadahaadallada Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya ee bilowday 2012kii isla markaana burburay 2015kii. Buuggu waxa uu is dul taagayaa sida ay ku bilowdeen wadahaadalladu, geeddi socodkoodii, burburkoodii, sababaha keenay burburka, dedaalladii dib u bilaabidda wadahaadallada ee la sameeyey, mustaqbalkoodu sida uu noqon karo, iyo saamaynta wadahaadalladu ay ku yeeshen qadiyadda Soomaalilaand. Sidoo kale waxa uu buuggu soo bandhigayaa aragtiyo iyo qaddiyado la xidhiidha goosashada, aayo-ka-tashiga iyo wadahaadallada. Dhanka kale, buuggu waxa uu dib u milicsanayaa sooyaalka Soomaalilaand iyo Soomaaliya.

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