

GLOBAL SECURITY PROGRAMME

Warbixinta Madasha Daneenayaasha • Juun 2023

Yaraynta Saamaynta Isku dhacu uu ku Yeelan Karo Dadka Rayidka ah iyadoo la Fahamayo Badalka Dhaqdhaqaaqa Isku dhacyada

**Barnaamijka Amniga Caalamiga-ah, Kuliyaada Pembroke
Blavatnik School of Government, Jaamacada Oxford**

Hordhac

Dib u dhac dheer ka dib oo sababay qalalaase iyo daganaanshiyo la'aan siyaasadeed, Doorashada madaxwaynaha Soomaaliya oo qabsoontay badhtamihii bisha May 2022. Waxyar ka dib, Dawlada Maraykanku waxay ku dhawaaqday dib-u-hawlgalinta ciidmada gaarka ah silooga taageero Soomaaliya dadaalka ay ugu jirto la dagaalanka kooxaha hubaysan ee aan dawlaga ahayn. Intaa waxa dheer, Golaha Amaanka ee Qaramada Midoobay waxa uu taageeray Hawlgalka Cusub ee Midowga Afrika ee Ku Meel Gaadhka ah ee Soomaaliya (ATMIS) si uu usii taageero dadaalka dawlada ee la-tacaalida kooxaha islaamiga ah ee hubaysan ee aan dawlaga ahayn. Iyadoo doorashooyinku si guul leh loo soo gabagabeeyay doorashooyinka iyo taageerada joogtada ah ee saaxiibada beesha caalamka ay muujinayaan rajada wanaagsan ee horumarka mustaqbalka ee Soomaaliya iyo gobolka Geeska Afrika, caqabado badan ayaa wali jira.

Ururada Islaamiga ah ee Hubaysan ee aan Dawlaga ahayn ayaa wali halis wayn ku ah daganaanshaha Soomaaliya iyo guud ahaan gobolka, maadaama oo ururku ka hawlgalo meelo badan oo ka mida koonfurta iyo badhtamaha Soomaaliya oo ay sii wadaan inay Muqdisho ka fuliyaan weeraro halis ah.

Bisha Maarso ee sanadkan, Madaxwaynaha cusub ee la doortay ee Soomaaliya, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, waxa uu bilaabay wajiga labaad ee hawlgalka milatari ee ka dhanka ah Ururada hubaysan ee islaamiyiinta ah ee aan dawlaga ahayn, iyadoo ujeedku yahay in laga tirtiro Islaamiyiinta qaybaha ugu danbeeya ee dalka ee ay maamuulaan.ⁱ

Xaalad cunto yaraaneed oo halis ah oo ay sababtay heerarka aan la saadaalin karin ee abaarta iyo dagaalka ka taagan Ukraine ayaa galiyay tiro 6.5 milyuun oo dad ah halis cunto la'aan ah, oo ay ku jiraan caruur da'doodu ka hooseyso 5 oo waajahaya nafaqo-daro ah. Waxa la saadaalinayaa in dad ka badan 1.5 milyuun ay abaartu ku khasabtay inay ka tagaan guryahooda.ⁱⁱ Isku darka cuno yaraanta, shan xili roobeed oo isku xiga oo roob la'aana, iyo korodhka dhaqdhaqaaqa kooxaha Islaamiyiinta ah ee hubaysan ee aan dawlaga ahayn ayaa awood u leh inay sii wiiqaan amniga gobolka.

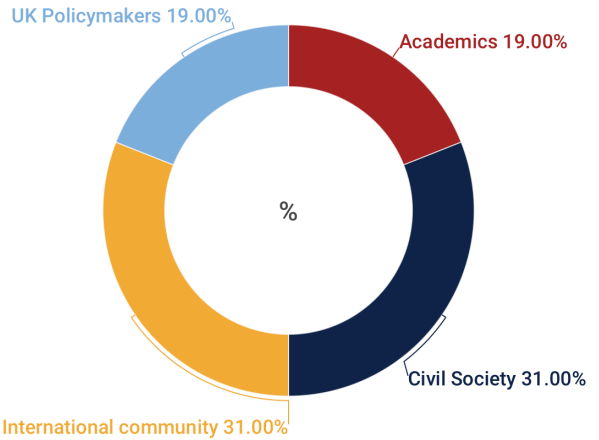
Iyadoo ATMIS dib loo qaabeeyay oo lagu badalay AMISOM,ⁱⁱⁱ dawlada Soomaaliya ayaa loo qorsheeyay inay la wareegto masuuliyada amniga wadanka dhamaadka sanadka 2024. Bulshooyinka Geeska Afrika waxa laga yaabaa inay waajahaan isbadalada amniga, oo ay ku jiraan muuqaalka juquraafiyeed ee iskudhacyada hubaysan.^{iv}

Madasha Daneeyayaasha

Bishii Diisembar 2022, Barnaamijka Amniga Caalamiga ah ee Oxford, iyadoo la kaashanaysa Danish Refugee Council, waxay wada qabanqaabiyeen kulanka saamilayda oo ku dhacay qaabka fogaan-araga. Madashu waxay isu keentay wakiilada bulshada rayidka ah, bulshada caalamka, iyo aqoonyahanada si looga doodo caqabadaha ka dhalan kara isbadalka dhaqdhaqaaqyada iskudhaca, la aqoonsado dhinacyada fursadaha iskaashe ee daneeyayaasha, iyo in la wadaago dhaqamo fiican ee hoos u dhigida saamaynta aan fiicnayn ee iskudhacyada hubaysan ee bulshooyinka ku nool gobolka Geeska Afrika. Qaabka Barnaamijka Amniga Caalamiga ah ee daneeyayaasha ayaa noo ogolaaday in aanu dhinacyo kala duwan aanu ka eegno dhinacyada kala duwan ee arimaha keena iskudhacyada iyo saamaynta ay ku yeeshaan bulshooyinka.

Maalintii ugu horeysay ee kulanka, kooxda Oxford waxay soo bandhigeen qaabka nidaamka Khilaafaadka, qaabdhismeed falanqayn ah oo loogu talagalay falanqaynta isbadalada iskudhacyada. Intaa waxa dheer, muuqaalo dhijitaal ah ayaa la adeegsaday si loo soo muujiyo horumarka isbadal ee iskudhacyada hubaysan ee intii mudo ah. Qalabka iyo muuqaaladuba waxay gacan ka gaysteen inay bixiyaan macnaha guud ee dooda isbadalada iskudhacyada. Maalintii labaad, kooxda Oxford, waxay la wadaageen kulanka sawir sheekeeyo kuwaasoo soo bandhigay dhinacyada kala duwan ee iskudhacyada hubaysan. Ujeedku wuxuu ahaa si loo xoojiyo sida aragtidu ay door muhiima uga ciyaaraan qaabaynta fahankeena ku aadan isbadalada iskudhacyada hubaysan iyo waayo aragnimada/khibradaha bulshooyinka deegaanka.

Intii lagu gudajiray kulanka, ka-qaybgalayaashu waxay isla wadaageen, waayo-aragnimada iyaga iyo bulshooyinkooda ee isbadalada goobaha rabshaduhu ka dhaceen iyo joogitaanka jilayaasha hubaysan.



Jaantus 1: Qaybinta kooxaha daneeyayaasha.

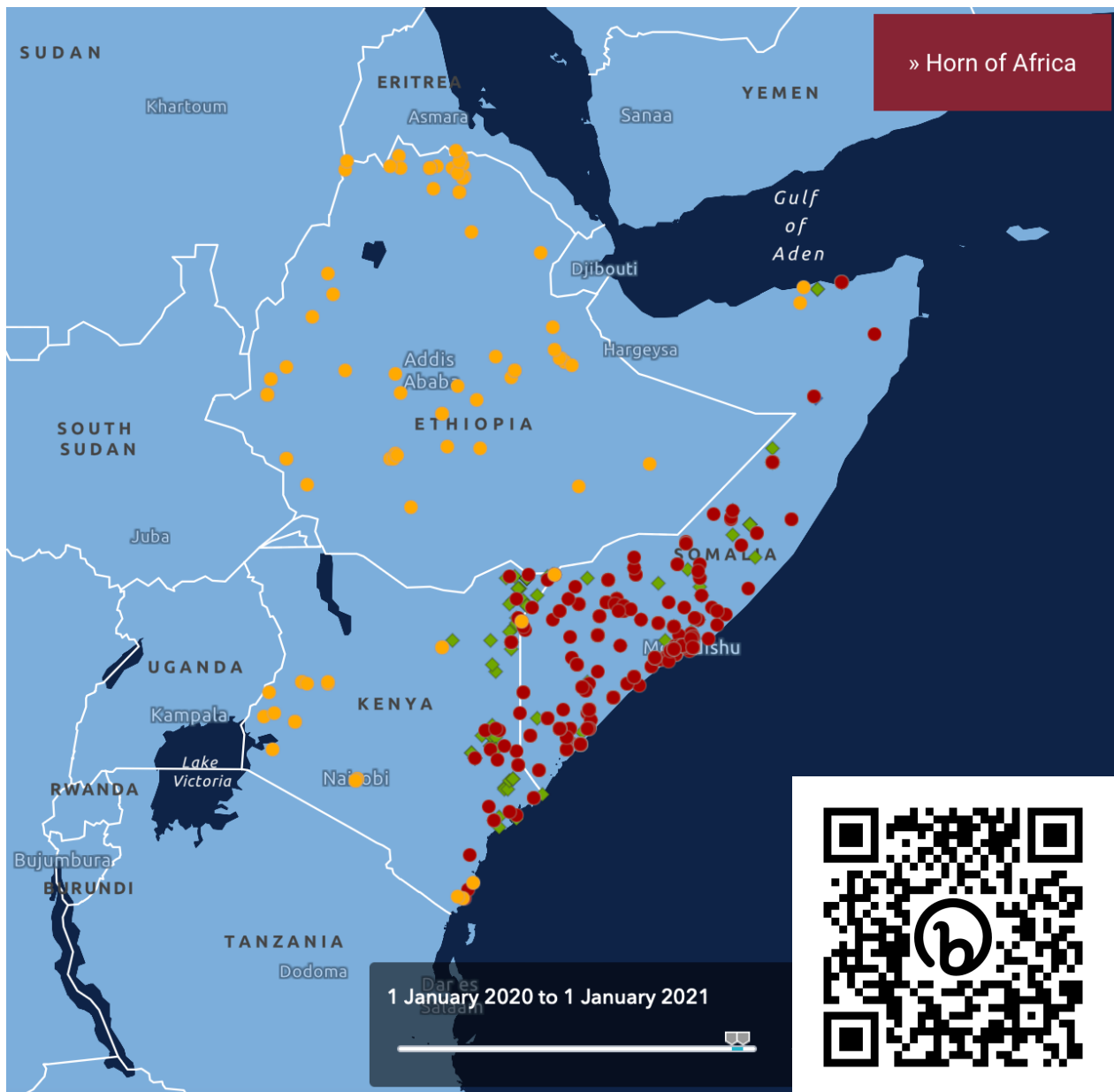
Waxa kale oo aanu isla sii lafagurnay "dhaqamada wanaagsan" ee ay isticmaalaan bulshooyinku si ay u yareeyaan saamaynta iskudhacyada hubaysan. Gabi-ahaanba madasha, waxaanu aqoonsanay fursadaha iskaashiga mustaqbalka ee dhexmari kara dhinacyada kooxaha daneeyayaasha oo dhan.

Dhinacyada iskudhacyada hubaysan iyo saamayntooda ay ku yeeshaan bulshooyinka

Ka-qaybgalayaasha madashu waxay aqoonsaden arimaha ku qoran hoos inay yihiin sababaha ugu muhiimsan ee keena dhibaatooyinka shakhsiyaadka iyo bulshooyinka.

Kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn iyo bulshada kala daadsan

Ilaa iyo 2006, dagaalka u dhexeeya kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn iyo dawlada Soomaaliya ayaa fure u ahaa amniga iyo daganaanshaha bulshooyin badan ee Soomaaliya oo dhan. Inkastoo kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn aanay hada xooga saarayn in ay dhul qabsadaan, qaybaha ururku maamulo ee Soomaaliya, waxay ururiyaan cashuuraha sharci darada ah, oo gobolada qaarna, ay maamuulaan nidaamka garsoorka ee qaybo ka mida Soomaaliya.^v



Jaantus 2: Tusaalaha muuqaalada Madasha Iskudhacyada; isticmaaliINKIGA (<https://conflictplatform.ox.ac.uk/cccp/research/conflict-in-the-horn-of-africa>) ama iskaan garee QR koodhka si aad u gasho muuqaalada ku jira madasha websaydka Iskudhacyada.

Bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee Burbursan, Kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn ayaa ka faaidaysta iskudhacyada qabaa'ilka si ay u kordhiyaan awoodoodan una curyaamiyaan dawladnimada. Arinta qabaa'ilada iyo muranada qabaa'ilka dhexdiisa. Ku lug-laahaanshaha kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawlig ahayn ee isfahmiwaayadan ayaa ka dhiga kuwo ay adagtahay in la xaliyo, taasoo si aan fiicnayn u saamaysa wadajirka bulshada,

abuurta godob cusub oo sii sii kordhisa dhaawacyadii hore u jiray.

Qaar ka mida qabaa'ilada ayaa bilaabay kacdoon jabhadeed oo ka dhana kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn. Intii uu socday kacdoonku, maleeshiyaadka qabaa'ilku waxay qabsadeen dhul ku yaala badhtamaha Soomaaliya, iyagoo si wax ku oola banaanka ugu riixay kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn.

Kacdoonku wuxuu taageero xoogan ka helay madaxwaynaha cusub ee la doortay Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, kaasoo bilaabay hawlgalo militari oo ka dhana kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn bishii Agoosto 2022.^{vi} Kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn ayaa aargoosi sameeyay iyagoo bartilmaameedsanaya dadka rayidka ah ee ku nool meelaha magaalooyinka ah, oo ay ka jirto Muqdisho.^{vii}

Dawlada Soomaaliya ayaa la qorsheeyay inay kala wareegto masuuliyada amnigeeda dalalka shisheeye sanadka 2024. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, waa mid aan sugnayn in awood u yeelan doonaan taas sababtoo ah sugnaansho la'aanta khataraha amniga sida iskudhacyada qabaa'ilka iyo joogitaanka kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn.

Deegaanka iyo khayraadka dabiiciga ah

Iyadoo dhaqaalaha Soomaaliya uu si xoog leh ugu tiirsanyahay khayraadkeeda dabiiciga ah sida dhulka, wabiyada, kaymaha, iyo kaluunka bada, koriinka dhaqaale ee dalka iyo nolol maalmeedka ayaa waxa si toosa u saameeyay cimilada iyo hoos u dhaca tayada deegaanka dabiiciga ah.^{viii} Abaaraha joogtada ah ee ay sababtay isbadalka cimiladu iyo maamul xumida dhulka ayaa culays ku keenay dhaqaalaha, gaar ahaan beeraleyda iyo xoolo-dhaqatada kuwaasoo si xoog leh ugu tiirsan dhulka iyo biyaha. Mudo dheer oo abaar ah iyo sidoo kale daadad waxyeelo leh oo ka yimaada xili roobeedyada ayaa burburiya beeraha iyo xoolodhaqatada, kuwaasoo keena hoos u dhac ku yimaadaawooda Soomaaliya ee abuurashada midhaha iyo quudinta xoolaha nool.

Dhibaatooyinka la xidhiidha maamulka khayraadka waxa sii xumeeynaya xaalada lahaanshaha iyo maamulka dhulka ee ka jira Soomaaliya. Waxa jira tartano badan ee sheegashada lahaanshaha dhulka oo ku xidhiidhsan taariikho hore, khilaafyada taagan ee qabaa'ilada, iyo maamulida dhulka ay ka taliyaan kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayni.

Inbadanoo ka mida muranada lahaanshaha dhulka waxa raadkoodu dib ugu noqonayaa xiligii

dawladii Siad Barre, kaasoo siyaasadiisu ay burburisay nidaamkii soojireenka ahaa ee lahaanshaha dhulka iyo sidoo kale abaabulida siyaasadeed ee qabiilka ku salaysan taasoo ilaa maanta ka jirta Soomaaliya.^{ix}

Qaar ka mida ka-qaybgalayaasha madasha ayaa carabka ku adkeeyay ahmiyada ay leedahay maaraynta khayraadka waara iyadoo shardi muhiima u ah xalinta iskudhacyada maxaliga ah, horumarinta dhaqaalaha, iyo buuxinta baahiyaha aasaasiga ah ee bulshooyinka.

Kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn ayaa u muuqda inay dagayaan hareeraha wabiyada maadaama oo ay bixiyaan iskuxidhka gaadiidka, cunada iyo biyaha. Goobahani, sikastaba ha ahaatee, ma aha kuwa la-baneeyay iyadoo ay daganyihiin kuwo kale, oo inta badan la takooro, kooxahaasoo noqday kuwo si dhamaystiran ugu jira gacanta kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn. Wabiyadu waxay dhexmaraan bulshooyin kala duwan, oo ay ka mid yihiin beeraleyda, xoolo dhaqatada, kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn, qabaa'ilada iyo kuwo kale. Jawaabaha hada ee dawlada ee arimaha maaraynta dhulka waxaa ku jira dhigida isbaarooyinka wadada ee isku-dayga si loo xakameeyo khayraadka dabiiciga ah. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, tani inta badan waxay keenta kala-saarida qaar kamida bulshooyinka iyadoo safarkuna uu noqday mid caqaqabado badan. Biyaha iyo marinada biyaha waa in dhamaan loo wada qaybsadaa qaab nabad ah oo waara.

Xad gudubka galmada

Xadgudubka galmadu, oo ay ka midtahay kufsigu, hadalo aan ku-haboonayn, iyo guurka khasabka ah, ayaa sare u kacay Soomaaliyaa.^x Inkastoo haweenka iyo gabdhuu ay si mug leh u yihiin ka-badbaadayaal/dhibanayaal xadgudubyada galmada, sidoo kale wiilasha iyo raga ayaa iyagana la bartilmaameedsaday. Iyadoo inta badan ficilada xadgudubyada galmadu ay yihiin kuwo aan la ogayn, kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn, maleeshiyaadka qabaa'ilka iyo xoogaga kala duwan ee amniga ee Soomaaliya ayaa ka mida danbiilayaasha joogtada ah. Faafida Covid-19 oo keentay xaniibaado dhanka socodka ah ayaa yaraysay helitaanka adeegyada, oo ay ku jiraan daryeelka caafimaadka, adeegyada nafsiga-ah, hoyga badbaadada iyo adeegyada cadaalada.^{xi}

Abaaraha soo-noqnoqda iyo cunto la'aantu waxay kordhiyeen tirada dadka gudaha ku barakacay (IDPs), oo hada ah wax ka badan 2.2 milyuun IDPs.^{xii} Amniga oo hooseeya iyo helitaan la'aanta cadaalada rasmiga ah ee xeryaha barakacayaasha (IPD) ayaa kor usii qaadaya khatarta xadgudubyada galmada ee haweenka iyo gabdhaha.^{xiii}

Ka-badbaadayaasha/dhibanayaasha rabshadaha galmada ayaa la ildaran dhaawacyada jidheed, uur aan la rabin, iyo xasuusta dhacdooyin murugo leh. Sidoo kale iyagu inta badan ma awoodaan inay raadsadaan cadaalad, gaar ahaan meelaha ay joogaan kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn. Haweenka ayay u eegtahay inaanay la xidhiidhin bilayska maadaama oo in badani u aragto mid bulsho ahaan aan la aqbali karin oo dhaawici karta sumcaddooda. Hadii haweenaydu u sheegto qaraabadeeda raga ah, i.e., walaal ama aabo, ee ku saabsan in la kufsaday, arinka ayaa waxa loo qaadayaa dhanka qabiilka kuwaasoo leh qaab lagu xaliyo. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, taas inta badan natiijadeedu waxay noqotaa magdhaw lacageed oo la siiyo aabaha dhalay ka-badbaadaha/dhibanaha. Hadii haweenaydu yeelato uur ee sababta kufsiga, heshiisku wuxuu noqon karaa in haweenayda uu guursado kii kufsaday. Iyadoo qoyasku ay ku qanacsanyihiin natiijada heshiiska, xadgudubka galmada, oo ah fal danbiyeed, ayaa damaanad qaadaya, iyadoo lagu saleynayo heerarka aasaasiga ah ee xaquuqda aadanaha, in lagu xukumo maxkamadaha sharciga iyo in lagu xukumo ciqaab xabsi ah dembiilaha. Dhaqanka Soomaalidu waa mid ku dhisan xidhiidka iyo wada noolaanshaha bulshada iyadoo la xalinayo isku dhacyada, sidaa awgeed habka soo celinta iyo habka aan ciqaabta lahayn ee dambiyada ayaa si weyn loo adeegsadaa.

Inkastoo ay jiraan ururo haween oo caawiya ka-badbaadayaasha/dhibanayaasha xadgudubyada galmada, awoodahoodu aad bay u xadidan yihiin sababtoo ah helitaan la'aanta agabka iyo dhaleecaynta la xidhiidha xadgudubka galmada.

Dhinaca sharciga, waxa jira horumar la gaadhay sanadihii u danbeeyay si wax looga qabto xadgudubyada galmada, sida Qodobka 24-aad

ee dastuurka kumeel gaadhka ah (KMG) oo mamnuucaya xadgudubyada galmada ee goobta shaqada, Xeerka Danbiyada Galmada 2016 ee Puntland^{xiv}, iyo Xeerka Danbiyada Galmada 2018 ee Somaliland^{xv} oo dembi ka dhigaya noocyo badan oo ah faldanbiyeedyada galmada, oo ay ku jiraan kufsi wadareedka, dhiig-miiratada galmada, xadgudubka, iyo dhibaateynta. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, fulinta sharciyadan ayaa wali xadidan, dawlada federaalkuna waa inay sharciyeysaa qabyo qoraalka hindise sharciyeedka Danbiyada Galmada ee mamnuucaya waxyeelaynta galmada.

Soomaaliya, sharcigu waxa uu dhigayaa in 30% ee xubnaha baarlamaanku ay noqdaan haween. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, fulinta kootadan ayaa waxa hor istaagaya nidaamka ku dhisan qabiilka, kaasoo door muhiima ka ciyaara doorashada xubnaha baarlamaanka. Musharixiinta haweenka ayaa muujiyay walaacooda ku aadan in ay diideen odayaasha qabaa'ilku. Korodhka matalaada haweenku waxay muhiim u kor u qaaditaanka sharciyada ka difaacaya iyaga xadgudubyada ka dhanka ah galmada iyo sidoo kale gudaha iyo dadaalada dhisida nabada ee federaalka.

Xaalada dhaqaale

Inkastoo dhaqaalaha Soomaaliya la rajaynayo inuu si dhexdhexaada u koro 2023–2024^{xvi}, sugnaansho la'aanta ku saabsan horumarka dhaqaale ee mustaqbalka sababtoo ah abaarta daba dheeraatay, xaalada siyaasadeed ee nugul, khalkhal galinta sahayda, iyo khatarta kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn.^{xvii} Kaluumaysiga, xoolaha nool iyo waxsoo saarka midhaha oo la isku daray ayaa ah qaybta ugu wayn ee dhaqaalaha iyo loo-shaqeeyaha ugu wayn, gaar ahaan dhulka miyiga/baadiyaha. Waxsoo saarka beeraha ayaa sidoo kale ah dhaqaajiyaha ugu wayn ee waxyaabaha Soomaaliya dhoofiso.^{xviii} Sidaa awgeed, saamaynta abaarta aan hore loo arag waxay leedahay saamayn xun. Soomaaliya waxa xiligan ka jirta hoos u dhacwayn oo baahsan oo wax soo saarka beeraha ah, biyo yaraan, iyo hoos u dhac wayn ee xoolaha nool, taasoo keentay in dad badani ka tagaan guryahooda si ay meel kale uga raadsadaan cuno iyo biyo.

Soomaaliya waxay la dhibaatoonaysaa sicir bararka ay keeneen abaarta iyo weerarka Ruushka ee Urkaine, oo keentay sare u kac ku yimid qiimaha cunada iyo saliida.^{xix} Qiimaha dhulka iyo hantida ma guurtada ah ayaa cirka isku shareeray. Taas oo si aan isu dheeli tirnayn u saamaysay dabaqada hoose ee dhaqaale iyo dadka soo barakacay, iyadoo sii adkaynaysa dhibaataadii bini'aadanimu ee hore u jirtay. Qaar ka mida ka qayb galayaasha madasha ayaa tilmaamay in dadka ku nool goboladu ay inta badan dareemaan in laga tagay maadaama aanay soo gaadhin nidaamyada sharciga oo alaabta guudna aanay soo gaadhin. Tusaale ahaan, jiritaanka nidaamka garsoor ayaa aad ugu yar meelo badanoo ka mida dhulka miyiga ah. Sidaa si la mida, meelaha ku jira gacanta kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn ayaan loo ogolayn shaqaalaha hay'adaha.^{xx}

Xaalada caqabadaha leh ee dhaqaaluhu waxay kordhisay faqriga, taasoo keentay hoos u dhac wayn oo ku yimid gabdhaha yaryar ee aadaya dugsiyada oo ku khasbaysa guur khasaba ama xili hore ah. Haweenka faqriga ah, gaar ahaan hooyooyinka kalidood ah iyo carmasha/garoobta, ayaa haya shaqooyin adag, guur aanay rabin, iyo waxoogay ka mida oo jidhkooda ka ganacsada si ay u awoodaan inay caruurtooda quudiyaan. Haweenka ka shaqeeya goobaha haweenka jidhkooda ka ganacsada waxay inta badan la kulmaan dhibaatooyin, maxkamadayn, iyo xanuunada galmada la isugu gudbiyo, walina helitaankooda daryeelka caafimaadku waa mid xadidan.^{xxi}

Ka sokow nolosha adag ee dhaqaale, haweenku waxay ahaayeen laf dhabarta dhaqaale ee bulshada Soomaaliyeed, iyagoo qaatay doorka qofka reerka u shaqeeya ee qoysas badan. Haweenku waxay door muhiima ka ciyaaraan koboca degdega ah ee ganacsiyada yaryar iyo kuwa dhexe. Somaliland, haweenku waxay leeyihiin wax ka badan kala badh ee dhamaan ganacsiyada yaryar, halka Muqdisho iyo Boosaaso, ay leeyihiin ku dhawaad 45% ganacsiyada rasmiga ah ee la aasaasay.^{xxii}

Inkasta oo xaaladu kacsan tahay, qaar ka mida ganacsiyada maxaliga ah aya leh adkaysi oo

socda. Daganaanshaha xaalada dhaqaale ee deeganku way kukala duwantay gobolada iyo bulshooyinka dhexdooda iyadoo ku xidhan qaabka madaxda deegaanadu ay ula macaamilaa rayidka. Inta ay hogaamiyayaasha deegaanku xidhiidh saaxibnimo oo wacan la leeyihiin bulshada, bulshadu waxay ku noolaan karaan xaalad dagan oo u ogolaanaysa ganacsiyada iyo deegaanka iyo dhaqaalaha deegaanku inay shaqeeyaan.

Faafitaanka Covid-19, abaarta, cunto la'aanta iyo korodhka dadka gudaha ku barakacay (IPD) ayaa culays dheeraada sii saaray nidaamka daryeelka caafimaadka oo markiisa horeba liitay oo mudo dheer la dhibaataysnaa iska horimaadyada hubaysan, awooda dawlada ee xadidan, iyo dhaqaala yari. Nidaamka hada jira ee daryeelka caafimaadka Soomaaliya ayaa inta badan ka hela maalgalinta dhaqaale deeq bixiyayaasha caalamiga ah kuwaasoo dhaqaalaha si toosa u siiya shakhsiyaadka bixiya daryeelka caafimaadka, oo intooda badani ah kuwo gaar loo leeyahay iyo ururada bini'aadamnimada, halkii ay ka ahaan lahayd miisaaniyadda dowladda, abuurista qaab-dhismeed bixinta daryeelka caafimaadka oo aanay awoodin in ay daboosho baahida dadka intiisa badan.^{xxiii}

Danbiyada iyo Iskadhaca

Xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya danbiyada iyo iskudhacyada ayaa cadayn u ah Geeska Afrika iyo qaybaha kale ee dunida. Iyadoo ururada danbiyada abaabulan ay ka faa'idaysteen xasilooni darada uu isku dhacu sababay, kooxaha hubaysan ee isku dhacyadu had iyo jeer waxay dakhli ahaan ku tiirsanyihiin danbiyada abaabulan.^{xxiv} Tusaale ahaan, kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn waxay dakhli xoogleh ka sameeyaan cashuurta sharci darada ah iyo lacagta baada ah ee ilaalinta, oo ay ku jirto samaynta isbaarooyinka wadooyinka iyo dakadaha. Kooxda hubaysani waxay la shaqaysaa tahriibayayaasha iyo kuwa lacagta tahriibiya si ay u ilaashadaan dakhligooda kala duwan.^{xxv}

Mid ka mid ah cawaaqibka ka dhalan kara colaada daba dheeraatay ee Geeska Afrika waa hubka oo batay, taasoo sii hurinaysa rabshadaha iyo falalka dambiyada.

Tusaale ahaan, weerarada xoolaha nool ee tuugta hubaysan ayaa ku dhiirigaliyay dadka iska leh xoolaha nool inay helaan hub si ay xoolahooda u ilaaliyaan. Taasina waxay sii kordhisaa heerka iskudhacyada waxayna sii xoojisaa isku dhacyada beelaha dhexdooda.^{xxvi} Magaalada caasimada ah ee Muqdisho, dhalinyaro maafiya ah oo ku hubaysan mindiyo iyo hub ayaa lacaga baada iyo dhacba ku haya dadka. Korodhka dhalinyaradan maafiyada ah ee danbiyada gaysanaya arimo badan ayaa sabab u noqon kara, oo ay ka mid tahay shaqo la'aanta waxbarashada iyo fursadaha. Jiilaalka Soomaalida ah ee ku koray iskahorimaadyada hubaysan ayaa waxay la kulmeen rabshada, waxbarashadoodii ayaa hakad gashay, waxaanay heleen daryeel caafimaad oo xadidan ama maba aysan helin.

Heerarka sare ee dambiyada rabshadahu waxay keenaan hubanti la'aan ku saabsan amniga shakhsi ahaaneed. Tani waxay leedahay cawaaqib khatar ah, sida helitaan xadidan ee waxbarashada iyo daryeelka caafimaadka, gaar ahaan gabdhaha. Intaa waxa dheer, amni darada ayaa ka dhigi karta mid ay adagtahay in la safro, taaso si aan fiicnayn u saamaynasa dhaqaalaha gudaha iyo is-dhexgalka bulshooyinka dhexdooda. Soomaaliya, helitaanka adeegyada amniga looma sina. Iyadoo shakhsiyaad gaar ah ama ururada, oo ay ku jiraan Hay'adaha ajaanibka ah (NGO,yada), ayaa awooda inay iska bixiyaan lacagta lagu ilaalinayo, bulshada inteeda badan ma helaan adeegyada amniga ee ay bixiyaan shirkadaha gaarka loo leeyahay.

Dad badan ayaa isku dayay inay ka tagaan Soomaaliya, laakiin dariiqyo sharciya ee Afrika ilaa Yurub ma jiraan, taasoo ku kalifaysa dadka raba inay soo tagaan inay raadiyaan dadka wax tahriibiya. Tahriibayaal badan ayaa ku dhinta bada, kuwa kalana waxa madax furasha u qabsada kuwa wax tahriibiya. Qaraabada qoyska ayaa lagu khasbaa inay ururiyaan lacago badan si loogu bixiyo sii daynta kuwa la afduubay. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, xataa hadii xadiga lacagta la codsaday la bixiyo, inta badan dadku masoo laabtaan, qoysaskooduna war iyo wacaal danbe kama helaan meesha ay joogaan.

Dhaqamada fiican ee ujeedka ah badalaada waxyaabaha keena iskudhacyada iyo amni darada

Bulshada Soomaalidu waxay u kala qaybsantahay qabaa'ilo ismana aaminsana, ee bulshada dhexdeeda iyo dhinaca dawlada iyo hay'adaha dawlada. Iskahorimaadka hubeysan ee daba dheeraaday ee bilaabmay ka dib burburkii dawlada dhexe ee sanadkii 1991 ayaa saamayn xun ku yeeshay dhaqanka bulshada iyo diinta ee soo jireenka ahaa. Iskudhacu wuxuu burburiyay qaab-dhismeedkii bulshada ee mar ahaa ka saldhiga u ah xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya shakhsiyaadka. Doodaha madasheenu waxay hoosta ka xariiqeen ahmiyada ay leedahay fahanka ah in qalalaasaha Soomaliya ka taagani uu salka ku hayo arimo bulsho oo qoto-dheer una baahan in wax laga qabto. Isku dayada hada jira ee xalinta khilaafaadka ayaa u muuqda kuwo diirada lagu saarayo arimaha degdega ah, sida dib usoo noolanshaha kooxaha Islaamiyiinta hubaysan ee aan dawliga ahayn, halkii ay ka ahaan lahaayeen istaraatiijiyad fog oo tixgalinaysa baahiyaha mustaqbalka, oo ay ku jirto bogsiinta bulshada ee shakhsiyaadka.

Ka-qaybgalayaasha madashu waxay nala wadaageen tusaalayaal ku saabsan dhaqamada wanaagsan ee ay la tahay inay ku haboonyihiin baahiyaha bulshooyinka ee Geeska Afrika.

- *Nidaamka digniinta hore*: Qorista iyo fahamka Iskudhaca ee ku dhawaad wakhtiga saxda ah waxay bixisaa macluumaad dhaba oo ku saabsan goobaha colaaduhu ka jiraan, tilmaamaan meelaha khatarta ah, oo ay ogaadaan baahida daryeelka caafimaadka ee wakhtiyada rabshaduhu soo noqdaan.

- *Barnaamijka Dib-u-heshiisiinta bulshada.* Barnaamijkan ayaa ujeedadiisu ahayd soo celinta kalsoonida iyo dhisida danaha guud ee bulshada dhexdeeda iyo guud ahaan. Dadku waxay u iskula shaqaynayaan koox koox waxayna soo mareen dhawr fadhi oo diiraada lagu saaray isbadalka hab-dhaqanka, doorka rabshadaha, cafiska iyo isu tanaasulka. Barnaamijka waxa uu adeegsaday sheeko-sheeko iyo farshaxan si uu dadka uga caawiyo si ay furfuran wixii ay la kulmeen. Kalfadhi kasta waxa lagu qaban jiray xubin ka tirsan guriga, si ay ka qaybgalayaashu si fiican isu barten oo ay kalsooni u abuuraan. In ka badan 8,300 oo qof ayaa ka qayb qaatay barnaamijkan.
- *Barnaamijka dhalinyarada.* Hadafka barnaamijka ayaa ahaa in la kobciyo xiriirka dhalinyarada ka soo jeeda beelaha, gaar ahaan kuwa khilaafyada dhexdooda ah. Barnaamijku waxa uu hubiyay in labada jinsiba si isku mid ah loo matalo oo ay ku jiraan odayaasha qabaa'ilka si kor loogu qaado muhiimada wada hadalka dhalinyarada. Inkastoo Barnaamijku dhamaaday, ka qaybgalayaashu way sii wadaan inay kulmaan. Waxaa muhiim ah, marka ay soo baxdo iskudhacyada qabaa'ilada, dadku waxay u tagaan ka qaybgalayaasha barnaamijka si ay uga raadsadaan xal ka hor inta aan colaadu bilaabmin.
- *Bottom-up governance.* Barnaamijku waxa uu dhisaa kalsoonida iyo xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya qaybaha bulshada iyo hawl-wadeenada dawlada iyada oo loo marayo goobo ay ka mid yihiin golayaasha dadweynaha ama golayaal xidhan, bandhigyada hadalka ee raadiyaha, iyo bandhigyada tooska ah ee telefishanka. Waxay isku xidhaa wakiilo ka socda ciidamada hawsha magaalada, odayaasha qabiilka, hogaamiyayaasha diinta, kooxaha haweenka, dhalinyarada, iyo waxgaradka oo isugu jira duqa magaalada, saraakiisha booliska, badhasaabada, iyo wasiirada muhiimka ah.

Kuwa ku lugta leh waxay cadeyn karaan oo si fiican u fahmi karaan doorkooda iyo mas'uuliyadooda iyagoo ka hadlaya arrimaha muhiimka ah ee la xidhiidha bixinta adeegyada bulshada, amniga, maamulka dawladnimada iyo horumarka. Barnaamijku waa mid ay bulshadu wadato, kaas oo xaqiijinaya matalaad ay u siman yihiin dhamaan kooxuhu, iyadoo si gaarada diirada loo saarayo bulshooyinka la-takooro ama nugul.

Talooyinka iyo fursadaha iskaashiga dhinacyada daneeya

Ka qaybgalayaasha madasha ayaa soo jeediyay talooyin dhowr ah oo ku saabsan sidii loo yareyn lahaa saameynta xun ee iskahor imaadyada hubeysan ay ku yeelanayaan bulshada waxayna soo bandhigeen fursadaha iskaashiga dhinacyada badan leh.

- *Nidaamka siyaasadeed.* Nidaamka siyaasadeed ee hadda ka jira Soomaaliya ee ku waxqaybsiga ku salaysan awooda-qabiilka, odayaasha beelaha ayaa saameyn ku leh magacaabista xilalka qaar ee dowladda iyo hanaanka doorashada baarlamaanka. Iyadoo la magacaabay ergada beelaha ee dooranayay xubnaha Baarlamaanka. Habka awood-qaybsiga qabiilka, mararka qaarkood, waxa uu kor u qaadaa dadka haysta taageerada qabiilka oo aan ku filayn aqoon iyo waayo-aragnimo ku filan jagada. Sidoo kale, qaab dhismeedka awood qeybsiga federaalka ayaa ah mid u sahlaya in lagu tartamo dowlad goboleedyada, isla markaana khatar ku ah midnimada Soomaaliya. Si loo helo dowlad-dhis taabo leh, waxaa muhiim ah in la dhiso hay'ado dowli ah oo adag iyadoo la ilaalinayo wada-hadal macno leh oo u dhexeeya qabiilka. Samaynta maamul deegaan oo xoog leh oo ay dadku aqbalaan ayaa furaha maaraynta si wax ku ool ah colaadaha deegaanka, ka hortagga dhacdooyinka gacan ka hadalka ah, iyo dhisidda kalsoonida.

- *Habka Dadku-udub dhexeedka u yihiin amniga:* Ka dib markii ay burburtay dawladu 1991, dadku waxay noqdeen qabaa'ilo si ay iyagu isu ilaaliyaan. Iyadoo ay jiraan kooxo kale oo bulsheed, sida kooxaha haweenka iyo dhalinyarada, uma abaabulna ama uma xoog badna sida qabaa'ilada. Qabaa'iladu waxay leeyihiin awood xoog leh, halka saamaynta dawladu ay xadidan tahay iyo kalsoonida lagu qabo hay'adaha dawlada oo hooseysa. Tani ayaa ka dhigeysa mid muhiima a in mudnaanta la siiyo dadaalada maxaliga ah ee horumarinta nabada iyo amniga. Markaa, habka dadku-udub dhexaadka u yihiin ee amniga ayaa ka waxtar badnaan kara in lagu tiirsanaado habka dawlada-ku salaysan.

Habka Dadku-udub dhexeedka u yihiin amniga: Habka loo waajahayo amniga oo tixgalinaya waayo aragnimada maalinlaha ah iyo aragtida shakhsiyaadka iyo bulshooyinka.

- *Awoodsiinta Dada Da'ada yar:* Baraha bulshadu waxay u sahleen da'yarta inay iyaga dhexdooda ku wada xidhiidhan aduunkana kula xidhiidhaan. Tani waxa suuragal ka dhigi kartaa in laga gudbo saamaynta xun ee qaabdhismeedka qabiilka. Waxaa muhiima in dadka yaryari helaan waxbarasho, oo ay ku jirto waxbarashada nabada, ee xiliga da'doodu aad u yartahay, iyo sidoo kale in la helo qaab ay ku helaan madaxbanaani dhaqaale iyo fursado ay kula xidhiidhaan qabiilka oo dhan iyo kala qaybsanaanta jiilka.
- *Doorka beesha caalamka:* Si loo hubiyo in si wanaagsan looga wada qayb qaato, waxa ay faa'iido u yeelan lahayd NGO-yada caalamiga ah iyo kuwa aan dawliga ahaynba inay bixiyaan barnaamijyo badan luuqadaha deegaanka iyo deegaanada Soomaaliya. Sababtoo ah caqabadaha hada jira ee dhanka amniga, NGO-yada caalamiga ah iyo kuwa aan dawliga ahayn waxay joogitaan xadidan ku leeyihiin darafyada ugu fog ee Soomaaliya. Sidaa awgeed, waa inay diirada saaraan taageerida barnaamijyada iyo hindisayaasha ee ay maamulaan NGO-yada Soomalida iyo bulshooyinku ayaa noqon karta doorasho u

furan beesha caalamka. Sii loo xaqiijiyo waaritaanka, waxa sidoo kale muhiim in la tixgaliyo xal-u-helid ay Soomaali-leedahay oo Soomaali-hogaaminayso si looga gudbo dhibaatooyinka iyo caqabadaha daba dheeraaday. Inkastoo ay jiraan NGO-yo badan oo caalami ah iyo kuwo aan dowli ahayn oo Soomaaliya ka jira, bulshooyinku waxay u muuqdaan kuwa shaki ka qaba faa'idooyinka ay keenaan. Bulshada caalamku waa inay ka foajignaataa abuuritaanka rajo sare oo aan la fulin karin, maadaama oo ay keeni karto dhibaato iyo aaminaad daro mustaqbalka.

- *Doorka Aqoonyahanka:* Waxa meesha ka maqan oo jira kala fogaansho dhanka fahamkeena ku ee arimaha qabiilka dhexdiisa iyo qabaa'ilada dhexdooda iyo saamayntooda ay ku leeyihiin dhaqaalaha, nidaamka siyaasada, iyo nolosha maalinlaha ah ee bulshooyinka. Horumarinta aqoonteena ku aadan nidaamka qabiilka ayaa lagama maarmaan u ah dhisida nabad guul laga gaadho. Dhalinyar badan oo ku nool Soomaaliya ayaa jecel inay sii wataan waxbarashadooda sare, iyagoo rajaynaya inay horumariso noloshooda. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, helitaanka waxbarashada noocaasa ayaa xadidan, gaar ahaan gobolada Soomaaliya qaarkood. Aaasaasida iskaashi dhex mara jaamacadaha Geeska Afrika iyo jaamacadaha ajaanibka ah ayaa kor u qaadi karta awooda iyo gaadhitaanka jaamacada ku yaala Soomaaliya waxaanay fududeyn karaan xidhiidho adag oo u dhexeeya Aqoonyahanada Soomalida iyo ardaydu la yeeshaan bulshada aduunka, taasoo keenaysa fursado balaadhan oo aqoonta lagu wadaagayo la isku dhaafsanayo.

Waxaanu jeclaan lahayn inaanu si wayn ugu mahadcelino ka-qaybgalayaasha madasha sida ay noola wadaageen waayo aragnimadooda iyo aqoontooda. Iyaga la,aantood, madasha wadatashiga daneeyayaashu suuragal ma aysan noqoteen.

Ku saabsan Iskudhacyada Shabakada Platform-ka ee Isbadalka



The Network for Change waa wajiga labaad ee mashruuca (Conflict Platform, www.conflictplatform.ox.ac.uk) oo saldhigiisu yahay Jaamacada Oxford, kaasoo bilaabmay 1 January 2017, oo ay maalgalisay UK Research Council's Partnership for Conflict, Crime and Security Research. Platform-ka isku dhacu waxa uu doonayaa in uu kor u qaado fahamka isbedalka dhaqdhaqaaqyada iskahorimaadka ee shanta weji: jilayaasha ku lugta leh iskudhacyada, hababka la isticmaalo, waxyaabaha dabka kusii huriya iskudhaca, deegaanada iskudhacyadu ka dhacaan, iyo saamaynta ay ku yeelato shakhsiyaadka, iyo bulshooyinka. Kooxdu waxay soo saartay buuga fikradaha iskudhacyada hubaysan iyo qalab (arag [UN article](#)) si aad u lafa gurto isbadalada shanta nooc ee iskudhacyada^{xvii}. Wajiga labaad ee mashruuca, waxaanu u dooranay **Geeska Afrika iyo Myanmar** inay yihiin qaar ka mida meelaha ay ka jiraan iskudhacyada ugu mudada dheer aduunka. Marxaladan, Hadaafkeenu .waa in lasii qoto dheereeyo saamaynta dhanka wanaagsan ee Platform-ka Iskudhacyada kaasoo faa'ido u leh bulshooyinka ay saameeyeen iskudhacyada hubaysani. Hawlahan waxaa ku jira qaab cusub oo hogaamiyayaasha bulshada ee leh waaya aragnimada iskudhacyada, dhakhaatiirta, kuwa dajiya xeerarka, iyo aqoonyahanka khibrada u leh iskudhacyada iyo arimaha la xidhiidha (sida, xeerarka, amniga, horumarka) ay si wada jira midba midba kale uga hadli doonaan iyo waxyaabaha aan ku kusoo ogaanay baadhitaanaadayada. Anagoo adeegsan doona nidaamka tiknoolajiga casriga ah, waxaanu isticmaali doonaa muuqaal qoraaleedyo, sheekooyin, iyo muuqaalo websaydka laga galayo si aanu u siino kaqaybgalayaasha madasha fahan balaadhan oo ku aadan doodaha iyo aqoon iswaydaarsi dheerada ee kaqaybgalayaasha dhexdooda.

La-hawlgalayaasha Mashruuca:

- [Barnaamijka Amniga Caalamiga-ah, Kuliyada Pembroke, Jaamacada Oxford](#) (University of Oxford)
- [Danish Refugee Council](#)
- [International Alert](#)
- [UN System Staff College](#)



Arts and
Humanities
Research Council

Shabakada Iskudhac ee Isbadalka waxa si deeqsinimo leh u maalgaliyay Art & Humanities Research Council.

Ku saabsan Barnaamijka Amniga Caalamka: <https://globalsecurity.web.ox.ac.uk/>

Barnaamijka Amniga Caalamka (GSP), oo saldhigiisu yahay Kuliyada Pembroke, ayaa sameeyay cilmi baadhis ku saabsan aduunyada casriga ah. Qaadashada hab dhab ah oo dhexdhexaadin ah oo ku saabsan cilmi-baarista amniga caalamiga ah, GSP waxay diiradda saartaa dhaqdhaqaaqa amniga ee xaaladda colaadaha hubaysan, rabshadaha xuddudaha, iyo dhaqaalaha sharci darrada ah ee caalamiga ah; ka gudubka dagaalka una guuraan nabad, iyo jawaabaha amni darada. Waxaanu xooga saaraynaa isku xidhka ka dhaxeeya amni darida maxaliga ah iyo isbeddelada caalamiga ah ee awooda iyo kala dambeynta. Iyada looga saldhigaya Sayniska Siyaasada iyo Xidhiidhka Caalamiga ah, shaqadeenu waxay sidoo kale eegaysaa fikradaha laga helay qaybaha kale sayniska bulshada oo wadahal kula jira bini'aadamnimada, arts iyo STEM. Cilmi baadhistaayadu waxay ka koobantahay qaabab kala duwan oo laga soo qaatay habka ethnographic iyo muuqaalada sida GIS. Waxaanu xooga saareynaa horumarinta aragtiyo si qoto dheer loo baadhay oo amniga ah iyo sidoo kale fulinta cilmi baadhista la adeegsaday. Si kor loogu qaado saamaynta dhanka wanaagsan ee shaqadeena, waxaanu iskaashi soo jireena la leenahay qaybo kala duwan oo UN,ta ah iyo sidoo kale jaamacado ku yaala dhulka iskudhacyadu ka jiraan, waxa sidoo kale aanu talo bixin siinaa dawladaha iyo ururada caalamiga ah.

- ⁱ Goobta Iskudhacyada Hubaysan & Mashruuca Xogta Dhacda (ACLED), "Somalia: Hawlgalada Kacdoon ee Kahortaga ayaa Helay Taageero heer Gobol Wajiga labaad iyadoo weerarada al-shabaab iyo Kala fikir duwanaanshaha Siyaasadeed uu wali Taagan yahay," ACLED, abriil 21, 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/04/21/somalia-situation-update-april-2023-counter-insurgency-operation-gains-regional-support-in-phase-two-as-al-shabaab-attacks-and-political-differences-persist/>.
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