



## RAADINTA SOMALILAND EE AQOONSIGA GUDAHA

### SBF 700 (C10 Mashruca) soo koobista war bixnta daarsada 5 – May 2016

*Waxaa Diyaariyey: Tim Glawion; Waxaa Turtumay: Moxamud Abdi Ismaaciil*

The GIGA-IAA research project on security governance, carried out within the German Science Foundation's SFB700 programme, sets out to understand the relations between actors and institutions involved in maintaining security and stability in areas away from the capital city. The project thereby seeks to decipher actions and structures that contribute to or undermine stability and social cohesion. The research compares South Sudan, the Central African Republic and Somaliland. This brief presents key findings of six weeks of Tim Glawion's PhD field research in Somaliland in April and May 2016. He visited three localities: Daami quarter in Hargeisa, Zeila district and the Gumburaha Banka. In each locality, he spoke to state authorities, as well as key actors such as chiefs, traders and religious leaders. He also organised focus group discussions with youths and women.

Wada hadal ay ka qayb gashay ama ay ka maqan tahay Somaliland ayaa diirada lagu saaray dagaalka aqoonsiga dibada. Intii lagu jiray sanad guuradii 25aad ee madax banaanida dalka 2016, ayaa dhowr cod oo mid qaran iyo mid caalamiya ayaa soo jeediyey inla qaado talaabooyin xoogan oo ugu dambeyn lagu dhaqan galinayo aqoonsiga. Dalku si layaab leh ayuu u muujiyey natiijooyinka diidmada ku saleysan ee aqoonsi la'aanta sababtay cawaaqib xumada xiisadaha dhaqaale ee dalka, waxa intaa raacda halganka weyn ee muujinaya waa halganka lagu doonayo aqoonsiga gudaha ee maaha kan dibada, sheekada guusha Somaliland waxay dhistaa aqbalaada silsiladaha isku xidhan ee nidaamka amni, adag xalinta khilaafaadka runta ahi waxaa bilaaba odayaal dhaqameedka ee xilanaya culayska iyagoo u maraya heshiisyada mag bixinta. Ha'ayadaha cadaalada ee dawladau waxay diirada ku saaraan khayraadkooda xadidan dhacdooyinka qaar ee ka baxsan awooda odayaasha oo kaliya, sidoo kale fara gelinta dawlada waa mid ku xadidan hal wakhti maadaama odayaashu ay la wareegaan mar labaad ka dib marka Booliska ama milaterigu ay joojiyeen khilaafkii taagnaa, si kastaba ha ahaatee, sadex calaamadood oo warwar leh ayaa ku tilmaan qaybtii hore ee sanadka 2016, waxaa ka soo baxay tiro aad u hooseeya diwaan gelinta codbiyayaasha, tirooyinka aad u sareeya ee sii kordhaya ee tahriibayaasha da'yarta iyo iska caabinta hubaysan ee ka horjeeda ciidamada dawlada is aaminaad la, aanta ka jirta dawlada gudaheeda oo ay ku lamaan tahay sii balaadhinta abidka ah ee gacan ku haynta masuuliyada maamulka. In ha'ayadaha dawlada adeegsadaan saameyntooda sii kordhaysa si ay u bixiyaan adeegyo iyo cadaalad ka madax banaan qabiil ama inay baabi'yaan musuqa iyo heshiisyada beelaha ku salaysan ayaa tilmaamaya dawga loo marayo mustaqbalka Somaliland. Cilmi baadhis laga sameeyay magaalada qadiimiga ah ee degmada Saylac, Gunburaha Banka ee reer miyi reer guuraaga ah iyo xaafada Daami ee Hargeysa ayaa daaha ka rogtay inta ay gaadhsiisan tahay raadinta aqoonsiga gudaha ee Somaliland.

#### **Gunburaha Banka, Miye reer Guuraaya 60 km u jirta Hargeysa, gaadhiguna u socdo 2 saacadood:**

Hawlaha Booliska ee gunburaha banka iyo Baligubadle oo ah magaalo madaxda gobol yar iyo hareeraheeda miyiga ah waxay si buuxda u tilmaamaysaa qaab nololeedka Somaliland, dhexdhexaadintu waxay ka bilaabantaa odayaasha dhacdo kasta oo u dhexaysa cay afeed xun ilaa kufsi iyo dil, odayaashu waxay la xidhiidhaan Booliska si uu u soo farogeliyo marka xaaladu u baahato si loo joojiyo khilaafku inuu sii balaadho, Boolisku wuxuu si xoog u soo farogeliyaa danbiilaha ayuu xidha oo inta badan dhibanuhu ku jiro iyo qoysaskooda ay khusayso haddi afar iyo labaatan saacadood ay heshiis ku gaadhi waayaan Boolisku wuxuu u gudbiyaa dacwada maxkamada si ay u xukunto, xataa ka dib marka ay maxkamadu xukun ku rido odayaasha ay khusayso ee dhibanaha iyo eedaysanuhu waxay geli karaan heshiis mag bixineed una gudbiyaan maxkamadaha waxaana la sii daayaa dembiilaha dembigiisu/ dambigeedu nooca



uu yahayba. Dhinaca kale xalkan garab walba wuxuu u ogolaadaa matale kasta inuu adeegsado hantidiisa intii suurto gala ka hor intaan dhinaca kale aanu kaalmo raadsan, sidaa darted xalinta silsilada khilaafku wuxuu si joogto ah isugu keenaa dhinacyada is haya, si kastaba ha ahaatee khilaafaadku wey sii kordhayaan maadaama dadka deeganku ay xidhaan dhulka dawlada si ay beero uga fashaan qaar ka mida reer guuraagu wey ka dagaalamaan wey iska caabiyaan, kaalinta garsooraha dawlada ayaa noqonaya mid ahmiyad weyn leh marka xukunada ku saabsan meelaha xoolo daaqeenka ee banka ay hoosyimaadaan xukunka dawlada ama gacan ku haynta dawlada run ahaantii ha'ayadaha dawlada badanaa waxay sababaan dhibaato iyagoo bixiya waraaq lahaansho dhul aan sharci ahayn qiyaasta ka hortagida kaliya waa mid uu dadku sameeyo, xadka u dhexeeya Somaliland iyo Ethiopia, beesha Arab ee Soomaalida ahi waxay ku nooshahay labada dhinacba ee xariiqda kala qaybisa ugu yaraan 50 km ee isku xiga, dadku wey la baxsan karaan cashuurta iyagoo u guuraya dhinaca kale, taariikho la ururiyey sidoo kale dambiilayaashu waxay ku dhuuman karaan tolkood iyagoo ka gudbaya xadka, korodhka isgaadhsiinta ee ka dhexeeya ciidamada labada dhinac ee heer degaan ayaa hoos u dhigta arimahaas.

**Saylac, ca, 350km u jirta Hargysa, gaadhiguna wuxuu u socdaa 12 saacadood:**

Silsilada xalinta khilaafaadka ee degmada Saylac wuxuu la mid yahay degmooyinka kale ee Somaliland si kastaba ha'ahaatee silsilada waxaa jabiya dhowr xidhiidh oo ay keento halka ay ka dhacdo amniga Saylac. Magaalada Saylac xarun maamul ahaan waxay leedahay ha'ayado dawliya oo ay ku jirto 50 sarkaal oo Boolisa inta badan dadka ka soo jeedaa Samaroontu waxay ku hawlan yihiin ganacsiga ama dhaqdhaqaaqyada adeegyada dawlada, halkan ha'ayadaha dawlada ayaa gacanta ku haya xalinta khilaafka ama iyaga ayaa isku kooba. Dhinaca kale doqoshi aad ayey uga duwan tahay waxaa ku nool laba kooxood oo waa weyn Ciise iyo Samaroon iyo kooxo yar yar markaas dadkaas oo dhami waxay la xidhiidhan dhadhaqaaqyada soo saarista milixda. Gudi oo ah goolaha tuulada ee maamulka dawlada laakiin ay inta badan odayaasha dhaqanku xubno ka yihiin iyo Boolis sadex ka kooban ayaa xalila khilaafka oo badanaaba ku kooban xuquuqda milix soo saarka qaybinta ama xatooyada milixda, beesha Ciisuhu guud ahaan waxay degaan meelaha miyiga ah waxayna leeyihiin dhaqan adag is xukun iyo nidaam baahida loo qabo isu keenida meelahaas ayaa mar marka qaarkood qabyaalad loo turjumaa taasoo sababta dagaal goos goosa oo ka dhex qarxa beesha, tabinta wararka ee beesha iyo ha'aydahoodu waxay si is daba jooga kaalin weyn uga ciyaaraan cidhifyada degmada Saylac, dareenada faquuqa ayaa mar mar si dagaal ku jiro u soo gaadha xarunta sida dhacday doorashooyinkii goolayaasha deegaanka ee sanadkii 2012, dhacdooyinka waaweyn ee dhacay dhawaan waxay ahaayeen khilaaf ka dhexeeyay ardayda da'yarta Ciisaha iyo Samaroonta kaa soo si degdega ugu fiday magaalada ayna xubnaha labada beelood ay isku galeen iskuna qarxiyeen Booliska iyo miltarigu wey soo faro galiyeen odayaasha deegaankuna, sida Maayor, iimaam iyo odayaal dhaqameed ayaa dhexdhexaadiyey laakiin xal mudo dheer qaata ayaa loo baahan yahay in loo helo.

**Xaafada Daami, Hargeysa Caasimada Somaliland:**

Hababka magta ee beesha degta xaafada Daami waa kuwo liita dawlada iyo hayadaha dhaqankuna iskuma xidhna, kooxaha laga tiro badan yahay ee Gabooyaha inta badan waxay ku nool yihiin Daami, waxay u baahan yihiin in badan oo ka mida waxyaabo isku xidha beesha, wakiilo kuma laha goolayaasha wakiilada iyo goolayaasha deegaanada waxayse hal xubin ku leeyihiin goolaha guurtida, dhawaan ayey ahayd markii Gabooyaha laba caaqil loogu daray aqalka cuqaasha Hargeysa markii u horeysay oo ka kooban 14 caaqil, siyaasada saameyn weyn kuma laha waxaa se jira heer aasaasiya oo ku saabsan cilaqaadka beesha. Beelaha kale ka guursiga gabooyaha waxay u arkaan waxaan wanaagsaneyn, Gabooyuhu waxay



leeyihiin xoolo nool oo aad u yar taasoo ka dhigta magta mid aad u qaaliya oo aanay bixn Karin ama aanay isku dayi Karin inay bixiyaan, waxaa xaniba wada shaqeyn wanaagsan o ka dhexaysa Booliska iyo Gabooyuhu waa nidaamka qorista Booliska (**qof kasta oo la qorayo Boolisku waa inuu sitaa qorigiisa**) nidaamkani waxaa la aasaasay sagaashamaadkii si hub ka dhigis loogu sameeyo maleeshiyaadkii beelaha, loona hubeeyo ciidamada dawlada aan weli helin aqoonsi caalamiya si kasta oo ay tahayba Gabooyuhu qoryo ma haystaan mana iibsana karaan waana sabool aan iibsana Karin sidaa darteed Daami ma jiraan saraakiil Boolis ah oo Gabooye ahi, Aqlabiyada dadka degan Daami oo ah Gabooyaha wey ku yar yihiin Somaliland, waana laga tiro badan yahay waxayna dareemaan hanjabaad kaga timaada beesha tirade badan ee Isaaqa isku dhicii ugu dambeeyay oo dhacay March 2016 markii dhalinyaro Isaaqa ay ugu yeedheen gabadh Gabooye ah (**Midgaan**) oo ah eray lagu bahdilo ama lagu liidayo kooxaha laga tiro badan yahay ee Somaliland. Qayb kale oo dhalinyaro Gabooyaha ka mida ayaa maqlay arintan oo ka gilgishay xiisado ayaa bilaabmay si degdega da'yartii ka socotay labada dhinac ay is dhagxiyeen, isku dhacyadaasi waxay soconayeen laba maalmood iyo labadoodii habeen sadex qof ayaa si xun u dhaawacmay laba baabuur waa la jajabiyey, guryo dhowrana dhaawacyo ayaa loo geystay, Booliska degaanka ayaa soo faro galiyey iskana soo hubeeyay xarumahooda gobolka. Hasayeeshee muwaadiniinta gabooyuhu waxay qaateen dareen ah in boolisku iyaga uun bidhaansanayo ama abaarayo xagii uu kala qaban lahaa dadka, xidhitaan badan ka dib oo ka kooban mid walba labada dhinac laga xidhay hal caaqil, salaadiinta oo darajada beesha ugu sareysa ee beel kasta ayaa yimid rugta booliska xagaana Ku galay heshiis bixinta magta ah, si kastaba ha ahaatee sida uu nin dhalinyaro ahi u dhigaayo isku dhucu wuxuu dhici karaa markasta iyo goor kasta, xitaa isma salaamaan inkastoo ay meel kuwada nool yihiin.