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(THE LONG JOURNEY OF THE NOMAD BOY)

— Taariikh Nololleeed (Memoir) —



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SAFARKII DHEERAA EE WIILKA REER MIYIGA

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Qore: Ismail Xaaji Warsame

Table of Contents

[HORDHACCA BUUGGA](#)

[HIBEYN](#)

[QAYBTA 1AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 2AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 3AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 4AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 5AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 6AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 7AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 8AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 9AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 10AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 11AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 12AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 13AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 14AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 15AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 16AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 17AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 18AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 19AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 20AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 21AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 22AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 23AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 24AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 25AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 26AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 27AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 28AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 29AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 30AAD](#)

[QAYBTA 31AAD](#)

[LIFAAQYO](#)

HORDHACCA BUUGGA

Buuggaan in an qoro waxaa igu dhaliyey saaxiibbo farabadan oo ku qanacsan in aan ka warhayo dhacdooyiinkii siyaasadeed ama halgannadii ee ugu dambeeyey oo gudaha iyo Dalka Soomaaliyeed dibeddiisa si isdaba joogga uga dhacayey.

Dhacdooyinka siyaasadeed ee muhimka ah waxan qabaa in ujeedooyinka laga leeyahay ay gundhig u tahay in Soomaaliya ay mar cagaheeda isku taagto. Madaxda horseedka u ah hardamka siyaasadeed midna meesha uguma jirto in Soomaaliy laga waayo saaxadda aduunka oo ay meesha ka baxdo. Aad bay u dareensanyihiin burburka dhan waxwalba ah ee Somalia soo gaaray ee halakeeyay dadkeeda, dhaqanka iyo waxkasta ee ay lahayd. Waa ogyihiin xanuunka iyo haata wilifka loolanka siyaasadeed keenay.

Hadday arrintu saatahay oo aan la dareen la'ayn, xaggee dhibku ka jiraa, maxaase xal loogu waayey musiiba Soomaaliya ku habsatay?

Su'aasha kale oo isweediinta mudan waxay tahay, iyadoo la wada ogyahay culeyska taariikheed ee ka dhexeeya Soomaaliya iyo Ethiopia, maxaa in badan oo ka tirsan madaxdaa Soomaaliyeed ee siyaasadda ku hardamaya ay u tageen dalka Ethiopia ama ay la yeesheen iskaashi siyaasadeed iyo ciidanba? Maxay ka wada simanyihiin oo isku wada mid ka yihiin dhamaan madaxda iyo hoggaamiyaasha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya taa oo saamayn weyn ku leh arrimaha ka soo dhacay Somalia tan iyo intii Dalku hellay madaxbanaanin magac uyaal ah? Hoggaamiye dantiissa keli eh ka fakarayaa tukale ma dhisi karaa? Siyaasi ku talagalay innu xilka ku waaro ma abuurri karaa jawi iyo hanaan keenna isbedel iyo madax kale oo hal abuur leh, aragti dheer, ambaqaad waxqabad iyo tixraacba leh?

Dhanka dhaqanka Soomaaliyeed, dad ugaarsi ku dilaya nin doorkooda, uguna soo toosaya subaxwalba reer hebel keebaa laga dillaa, ma yeelan karaan aragti hurumar bulsho iyo hanaan dawladnimo? Ma xagsan karaan qaran ballaaran oo ku teedsan xeebta ugu dheer Africa? Ma la joojin karaa dagaallo ku dhisan ganacsi, dhaqaale urursi, boob hanti booli ah iyo bililiqo?

Ganacsade aamanta (tax) ama cashuur dawladdeed la fagakanaya iyo wadaad

qori la rooraya ayaa iyana qayb libaax ka qaadanaya burburka Soomaaliya oo gun iyo sal celiya la hayn. Ganacsato aan la hayn wax ka reeban in ay iibgeeso waxkasta, kuna dhaarsan in ayen soo laaban qaab dawladnimo, ayaa isugu dhiibaya dadka Soomaaliyeed hubka aad wax u gumaada, iyagoo isla markaa ku quudinaya dadkooda cunno iyo daawo waa hore dhacday ama warshadaha aduunku soo qashin qubeen. Xamar iyo inta ku xiran waa meelaha keli ah ee Soomaaliya dadku iyagoo wada dhalinyaro ah dhadku ka muuqdo wajikooda ay u quudanayeen cunno iyo daawo waa hore dhacday oo walaallahood ganacsato si aan tiro-koob layn Dekedda Muqdisho uga soo dejisay. Waxaaba iyana aan dabyar shideen wadaado siyaasad dhadhamiyey oo ismadax maray, marka dunida dactaladeeda kadiifado cas loo dhigay, sida Shiikh Shariif Axmed, iyo kuwo kale oo la mid ah oo iyana raba in ay kuwaa bedalaan sida Xassan Daahir Cawys - u haysta xilalka kooban ee ku meel gaarka ah oo aan samayn kula hayn sadex Kms wax ka durugsan magaalada Xamar, haddana guryaha kaga gabanaya xabadda iyadoo dhawaaqa iyo xawliga hoobiyaasha Ciidamada Midowga Afrika (AMISOM) hawada dushooda maraya dhagaha ku dilaaccinayo. Sida muuqata, aragtida siyaasadeed ee wadaadu, marka laga eego dhanka hurumar bulsho, waxay ku saleysantahay, war Aakhiru, Saman baa lagu jiraaye, dunida ha lugu celiyo siday ahayd waagii Nabi Adam (CSWS) -wadaado xirfadooda shaqu ayen dhaafsanayn dugsi Qur'aan, taariikhda golayaashooda hab-maamuuska iyo soo dhaweyntana ayen ka ballaareen sijaayadda ay ku tukanjireen. Waxa la yaab leh, dadka iyo dunida wax-qabad heer qaran ka sugeysa wadaado ku soo dhex koray guryo la bililiqaystay iyo booli qaran oo kuli la wada ogyahay.

Waxaa iyana jira kuwo shisheeyee ah oo dibedda, si ma dhaafta ah, kasoo abaabula shirqoollo halis ah si dadka Soomaaliya isku gumaadaan, deedna baneeyaan dalkaa baaxadda iyo badda weyn leh. Ugu dambeen, su'aashu waxay tahay, xaggee bay ka imaaneysoo halista ugu weyn ee jiritaanka qaran Soomaaliyeed?

Marka dal burbur, wuxu dunida kale u abuurraa ama u sameeyaa fursado hanti-ururris, dhaqaale-tacab iyo shaqooyin farabadan oo mushaar sare leh. Taa waxay si toos ah uga hor imaaneyso in dal burburray dib loo taago ama loo dhiso. Su'aasha taagan waxay tahay, ilaa heerkee ayey ku leeyihiin burburka iyo xal u waaga Soomaaliya, dawladdaha deriska, beesha Caalamka iyo shaqaalaha ururrada Caalamiga ah ee Soomaaliya ku hawllan?

Waxa jira hab-raab ay leeyihiin shaqaalaha shisheeye ee hay'adaha caalamiga ah oo ku wajahan madaxda iyo qofkasta ee Soomaali ah oo fareysa: Markaad la

kulantit qof Soomaali ah oo dulman ama arrin ku khusaysa ka careysan, dhageyso oo u dulqaado shan daqiiqo oo keli ah intu carro baxayo, deedna issagaaba iska tagaya, arrintana dabagal dambe aan ku sameeynayn, adiguna arrinta halkaa iskaga illow. Waxaa la yiri aasuhu maalin walba meyd la aasu ayuu u baahanyahay, illeen haddii mussiiba Soomaaliya haysata meesha ka baxdo, waxaa dhumaya oo la waayayaa barwaaqada buburkii Soomaaliyau keenay shaqaalaha beesha caalamka oo haatan ku naaloonaya bililiqada baahsan ee uu leeyahay qaran hanti badan, bad iyo barriba burbur guud ku dhacay.

Hayaan, Safarkii Dheeraa ee Wiilka reer Miyiga wuxu falanqayn doonaa arrimo badan ee la xiriirra jawaabaha su'aallaha kor xusan iyo kuwo kaloo muhim ah, si dadban iyo si toosba ah, aadna xasaasi u ah, oo geesinimo dheeraad ah u baahan si buuggu u noqdo mid dhacal gal ah, oo caadifad qabiil iyo mid shakhsiba ka fogaada. Sidaa aweed, waxay noqoneysaa in loo dhabar adayg, canaan iyo maagba buuggani muggisu soo jiidandoono. Gaar ahaan, buuggani wuxu baallal badan ama qoraal dheer siindoona taariikhdii iyo dhacdooyinkii siyaasadeed ee Soomaliya waayihii dambe sida:

1. Baraarrugii ugu horeeyey ee siyaasadeed ee Qoraaga mudadii lixdamaadkii iyo taariikh nololeedkiisii.
2. Taariikhdii Jabhadda Dimoqoraadiga Badbaadinta Soomaliya (SSDF), mucaaradkii siyaasadeed iyo ciidan ee abaabulaa ee ugu horeeyey, oo ka soo horjestay Dawladdii Saraakiishii uu u sareeyey Maxamed Siyaad Barre ee hogaamiye u ahaa. SSDF waxay asaasantay ka dib Dagaalkii Ogaden 1977-1978. Halgangii SSDF wuxu keenay in ay ka daba abuurmaan Dhaqdaqaaqa Wadaniga Soomaaliyeed (SNM) iyo Golaha Midowga Soomaaliyeed (USC), oo iyadu ahayd koox ka go'day SSDF, markii burbur siyaasadeed kusii dhacay Soomaaliya, halganka hubaysan ee SSDF iyo fasaad dhaqan-dhaqaale gudaha Soomaaliya awgood.
3. Dadaaladii ku aadanaa middaynta uruurrada ka hor jeeda si loo fuliyo afgambi xoog ah oo lagu sameeyo Dawladdii keli taliye Siyaad Barre. Ujeedooyinka Mengistu Haile Mariam ka lahaa dhismaha ururro mucaarad Soomaaliyeed. Weli ma isbedeshay, laga soo bilaabo Menelik, danaha Ethiopia ka leedahay Soomaaliya? Intee bay gaarsiisantahay heer aragtiga iyo cabirka madaxda Soomaliyeed markay arrimuhu taaganyihiin danno qaran oo maguuraan ama joogta ah?

4. Wada-wadalladii ama Shirarkii Soomaaliyeed ee Dib-u-Heshisiinta Qaran, 1997-2004 ee qoraagu la jaan-qaaday.

5. Dadaalkii loo soo maray dhismaha Dawladda Puntland ee Soomaaliya-aasaskeeda oo ruunti salka ku haya: A) Ismari waagii siyaasadeed ee Shirarka Dib-U-Heshisiinta Soomaaliyeed markii ugu dambaynsana lagu baajiyey Shirarkii Qaran ee Boosaaso 1997, isla sanadkaana kii Qaahira oo loogu tagalay in looga hortago kan Boosaaso, luguna fashiliyo. B) Dadweynaha Puntland oo diidan ilaa maanta in dib loogu laabto xukuumad dheexe ee awood badan, oo wada marooqsata talada dalka. C) Ujeedooyinka laga lahaa dhismahii Dawladda Puntland. D) Ujeedoonyinka Somaliland iyo Puntland oo ugu dambayntii isku mid ah balse leh soojin iyo hanaan kala duwan, marka laga eego dib-u-dhis qaran Soomaaliyeed oo xoogan iyo dawlad dhexe oo si siman loo wadaago iyo ismaamul gobolleedyo awood dawladdnimo balaarran leh.

6. Dhismihii Dawladda Federaal Ku Meel Gaar ah ee Jamhuuriyeyda Soomaaliya ee Shirarkii Dib-u-Heshisiinta Qaran ee Eldorate/Mbagati/Kenya, 2001-2004.

AFFEEF

Mar hadaan mudo ka tirsanaa, xaalad adag ayaa ka tagaan qurbajoogta Soomaliyeed iyo doorka kaga aadan dib-u-soo celinta iyo dib u dhiska Qaran Soomaaliyeed (Jamhuuriyeyd Labaad). Jamhuuriyeydii Kowaad ee Soomaaliya burburtay. Nasiib darro, qurbajoogta Soomaaliyeed waxay weli sii wadaan xanaftii Dagaalkii Sokeeye. Qurbajoogta Soomaaliyeed weli waxay wakhtigooda ku dhuminaayaan fadhi-ku-dirir qabyaaladeed iyo dagaalyad ay u adeegsanayaan baraha bulshada, si ayen Soomaaliya uga soo kaban masuuboyinka halakeeyey ee nabad darada raagtay. Kama warhayaan in bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee guduhu ka gudbeen heerka garaad ee ay qurbajoogta Soomaliyeed weli ay ka korila'yihiin. Waa sabta keentay in ay asaagooda jaaliyadaha kale ka haraan, jiilkoodii dambe-na, qaarna ku laayeen “Dagaal Dhalaan Sokeeye”, intana kale xabsiyada wadamada Reer Galbeedka buux-dhaafiyey. Odayaashii iyo marwooyinkii hore oo u haajiray Yurub iyo Waqooyi Ameerika oo haatan badankoodu ku goblameen dagaallada sokeeye ee jaaliyadaha Soomaaliyeed dhexdooda. Xuurar cayntii jaaliyadaha Soomaaliyeed, inta rag u soo gogal fariista waayey, suuqqa ku baareen, sida badeecad wax iibsada la waayey iyo

wax “kam” yiraahda. Bal arag gabdho Soomaaliyeed, oo inta dadaalay, aqoon sare yeesheen, markay wiilal Soomaaliyeed oo ku haboon waayyey, markaa dani biday in ay Jamaykaan suuqqa ka raacdaysanaya.

Waxa lala yaabay in shakhsiyaad ka tirsan qurbojoogta, inta Soomaaliya kusoo laabteen, hadana raba in ay qaadaan “Wadadii Cadayd” ee Soomaaliya hore ku haligantay. Rag toodii wax ka qabanwaayey, tu kale wax mow tarikaraan?

HAYAAN

SAFARKII DHEERAA EE WIILKA REER MIYIGA

(The long Journey of the Nomad Boy)

Buug Waayaha Siyaasadeed iyo Taariikhda Cusub ee Soomaaliya

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HIBEYN

Buuggaan waxaan u hibeeyey walaashay an jeclaa, Sacdiya Xaaji Warsame, Alle
Haw-naxariisto.

QAYBTA 1AAD

Taariikhda Qoyska Qoraaga

Ma sahlana in si haboon loo helo meeshay ka bilaabato taariikh nololeedka qof. Qof weynu walba uu soo ahaa, wax buu soo qabtay, wax bandanna waa u soo joogay. Markay suura gasho in wax laga qoro nolosha shaqsi iyo waxqabadka gaar ahaaneed, su'aal baa ka imaaneysa dhacdada ama goorta laga bilaabayo. Waxan dareemayaa in Soomaalida wax qortaa ay gaabsadaan qormada taariikh nololeedka. Sidaa darteed, waxu igu noqonayaa qoraalkaani qardajeex, banka ood ah.

Haddaanse damco in ay tayda wax ka qoro, isla su'aashaa ayaa iga hor-imaaneysa. Malaha waxay ku fududahay in aan issa sheego kumaan ahay, qoyskaan ka soo jeedo, akhriyaashana isbaro, taa oo hordhac u noqondoonta soo jeedinta buuggan.

Anoo ah Ismaaciil, ina Xaaji Warsame Axmed Gurey Jawjawle, waxan ku dhashay miyiga Gobolka Sool, agagaarka magaalada Laas Caano (caanood) qiyaastii 1952 maadaama ayan jirin qoraal ama diwaan gelin ku saabsan dhalashadeyda. Dadka taariikh nololeedkayga wax kala socda waxay yirahdaan Ismaaciil da'daadu intaa waa ka weyntahay. Cuqdo kama qabo haddaan da'da ii qoran illaahay mahaddii intaa ka weynahay. Waxa igu filan in aan dareemayo, una muuqdo oo aan weliba isu haystaa nin dhalinyara ah, da'dii wiilnimada yare dhaafay. Waxaan marwalba xusustaa nin wiil ku yiri: ``War deg deg u kor, saasaa kuu roon eh. Nolosha qofku waxay ugu macaantahay da'da u dhaxaysa 65 iyo 75 sano. Yeel keedde da'daa waa ku dhow wahay.

Kuma garaadsan Gobolka Sool ee aan ku dhashay, sidaan warka ku hayana magaalada Laas caano waxay ahayd tuulo ka wada biyo-dhaansada “Ceel Cali-Barre” Xaaji Cumar Siigacadde, oo alle haw-naxariistee ahaa abtigay dhanka hooyo, Racwi Xaaji Cumar, naxariistii eebe ha siiyee. Waxtarka iyo wax qabad guudba, wuxu ahaa abti Cali Barre hoggaamiye deegaan oo taariikh weyn oo lama illaawaan ah kaga tagay Laas caano, beelaha halkaa degan iyo kuwo dhaafsiinsanba. Sheekooyinka abti Cali Barre waxa ka mid ah in koor barqa ah isoo Magaalada Laas Caano dhex maraya u arkay saajinkii Saldhiga Booliska

Soomaaliyeed oo makhaayad la fadhiya arday u soo gooyey xiisaddii dugsiga. Abti isagoo careysan ayuu kusoo leexday makhaayadda oo bakoorrada dhacay saajinkii booliska. Markii dadkii goobjoogga ahaa Abti ushiisii saajinkii ka qabteen, ayaa sargaalku inta gacmaha kor u taag taagay ayuu u luuday dhanka Saldhiggiisii isagoo sidii dulud geel ah takaradhabanaya. Arrintaa waxay keentay in ardadu ka waalato makhaayadaha beledka inta xiisadaha dugsigu socdaan.

Sida warku igu soo gaaray. laabteydana ku beeran, waxan ahaa wiil aad qoysku iyo abtiyaashiishba jecelyihiin, hawba sii darraadeene Hooyaday, Racwi iyo Ayeeyo dhanka hooyo, Dhoofa, oo ka soo jeeda deeganka Burco ee Gobolka Togdheer. Anoo si weyn u dareensan maah maahda Soomaliyeed ee oranaysa “Nin isfaanshay waa ri isnuuktay” hadana lama qarin karo sugaanta hooyo ku muujisay jacaylka ay u qabto wiilkeeda. Hooyo waxay amaanteeda ku tiri: “Ismaaciil adiga mooye, adoogeen Xaaji mooyee, Ayeen Dhoofa mooye, uduufaa meesha joogta”. Sida qoyskayagu ka war hayo, waxaa habeen geeryooday odagii reer daris nala haa. Islaantii u dhaxday ninkaa odaga ah ayaa boyday oo la aamusin waayey, aabe isagoo islaantii u tacsiiyeenaya, ayuu wuxu ku yiri, “Faadumoow kuli waa la wada dimanayaa ee maandhee iska aamus”. Islaantii waxay ugu jawaabtay: “Xaajiyow, waxan kuu fiirsandoona sidaad noqoto marka islaantaadu dhimato”. Deedna markii hooyo xijaabatay, aabe oo aad jeclaa hooyo ayaa runti diiday in la aaso meedkii hooyo ilaa odayaashii daris ka ahaa iyo beelahu isugu tageen oo xaajigii ku khasbeen in meedka la aaso. Hase yeeshee, aniga markaa labo jirsaday ama ka yar ayaa kaffantii hooyo ku dhagay oo layga furfuriwaayey. Markaa dadka qaarkii baa soo jeediyey in meedka iyo wiilkeedaba la isla aaso.

Maadaama beesha Bahararsame/Reer Naaleeye/Maxamed Ciise ee Hooyaday ka dhalatay ay aad u qadarin jireen una jaclaayeen Aabe Xaaji Warsame, waxaa durba xisgiisan loo siiyey Caasha Maxamuud Xaaji Cumar, ilma abtina aanu nahay, oo haatan ku nool magaalada Seattle Washington, hooyo labaadna ii noqotay. Waase xusuus mudan Sacdiya Xaaji Warsame, walaashay iga weyn oo wax badan ka soo qabadatay korritaankaygii, buugganna aan u hadaynayno. Illaahay naxariisti janno ha geeyo. Sacdiyo waxay ku allaysatay America dhawr sanno ka hor.

Ayeeyo Dhoofa oo iyadu ka soo jeeda Beesha Habar-Jeclo/Aadan Madoobe, oo sida la ii sheegay wakhti badan ku bixinjirtay in ay i hayso maalin walba markaan ahaa dhalanka, iyana waxay tirisay tixdaan: “Ismaaciil oogadaadu

udgoonnaa ogadaadu ma sinxinbaa lagu agloolay”.

Ayeeyo waxay xijaabatay anon weli garaadsan. Sida laga sheekeeyey, waxay ahayd qof hawl-kar ah, caqli badan, codkar, geesi ah. Waxaa laga wariyey in ayeeyo Dhoofa odayaal maqaawiir ah oo garku wada cas yahay, xaajo markaa taagnayd isugu yeertay, shahna ku casumtay. Ayeeyo markay shaahii odayaashii u keentay, iyada ayaa bilowday in shaaha shubato odayaasha hortooda. Markay labo fujaan oo kulul ah ka tuurtay, ayey ku tiri odayaashii oo yaab iyo argagax ku dhacay, “hoogay eh! illee rag baa ii fadhiyey”.

Aabe, Xaaji Warsame Axmed Gurey Jawjawle, eebe janada ha ka waraabiyeey, wuxu leeyahay taariikh dheer oo ku saabsan dhinacyada diinta, siyaasadda, halganka gobanimadoon, garsoorka, horumarka buslsho, deegaan iyo dawladnimo. Wuxu ahaa nin safray oo dabayaaqadii qarnii 19aad soo maray wadamo dunida carbeed ugu badanyihiin. Waxaa xusus badan maskaxdiisa ku reebtay noloshiisii dalka loo yaqaanney Xijaas (Sacuudi Carabia). Aabe sii qoto dheer ayuu halgaa diinta ugu bartay ka diib markuu isaga iyo walaalkii ka weynaa, Xaaji Xuseen, ka qalin jabiyeen Mowlicii Culumadii ku xiraa Saldanadii Kenediid ee magaaladda Hobyo ee Gobolka Mudug horay uga tirsanaa. Wuxu u dhoofay Xijaas isaga oo ku xirmay Shiikh Maxammed Saalax. Halgaa waxa ka dhalatay dariiqadda Saalixiyadda. Aabee, deedna wuxu noqday Wakiilka Soomaaliya ee Shiikha dariiqadda Saalixiyadda. Wuxu Xarun dariiqadda ka dhigtay Ceerigabo. Aabe wuxu horay uga tirsanaa Daraawiishta, waxayna aad isugu xiraayeen Sayid Maxammed Cabdulle Xasan, Hogamiyihii Darawiishta Soomaaliyeed, oo ahaa isna wadad Saalixi ah. Middaa awgeed, Xarunta Ceerigaabo dhexdeeda Aabe waxa loogu yeerijirey Sayiid Warsame Axmed Gurey, ka dib dhimashadii Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan.

Sayid Warsame ama Xaaji Warsame waxaa Xaruntiisa Cerigaabo diinta iyo af-Carabiga ka baranjirey boqolaal dhalinyaro Soomaaliyeed. Waxay kaloo Xaruntu ahayd barta ay Xajka uga dhoofaan xujeyda Soomaaliyeed. Xarunta Sayidku waxay bixin jirtay waraaqqaha aqoonsiga ee Soomaalida Xajka u socda iyo kuwa loogu qorayo Madaxda Xijaas ee Dariiqadda Saalixiyadda. Waraaquhu waxay ka dalbanjireen Shiikh Saalax in Soomaalida xajineysa la soo dhaweeyo intay dalkaa ay ku suganyihiin. Xujeyda Soomaliyeed waxay Shiikh Maxammed Saalax u geenjireen hadyado xoolo nool u badan iyo noocyo kala duwan ee hilbo guryaha si haboon loogu soo farsameeyey si ayen safarka ugu xumaan, ama, sida la yiraahdo, ugu qurmin. Xiriirkaa diimeed iyo diblomaasiyayeed ee uu horseedka ka ahaa Sayid Warsame wuxu noqday mid xujeyda Soomaaliyeed

wax weyn u tara qarnigii 19aad.

Si lama fillaan ah iyo maalin maalmaha ka mid ah, waxa soo gaartay Sayid Warsame casuumad ka timid Shiikh Maxammed Saalah in uu yimaado magaalada Medina ee dalka Xijaas. Sayid Warsame oo hoggaaminaya wafti ka tegay Xaruunta Ceerigabo ayaa yimi Medina. Sida Aabe ii xaqiijiyey intuu noolaa, Shiikh Maxammed Salaax wuxu helay war Soomaali u geysay oo sheegaya in Sayid Warsame ka madax banaanyahay Shiikha iyo hadyadihii Shiikha Medina loogu keenijirey Sayidka Xuruntiisu afka u dhigatay. Labaddii Shiikh sidaa ayey isku afdhaafeen. Hadal kulul ka dib, Sayid Warsame ayaa Shiikhii u gacan qaaday oo il iyo birteed dhirbaaxo ku dhufatay. Taa waxay keentay in Shiikha taageerayaashiisu gacanta ku dhiigaan Sayid Warsame. Shiikhu si deg deg ah ayuu isugu yeeray La Taliyaashiisii, waxana la go'aansaday in Sayid Warsame seef qoorta looga gooyo ma haduu Shiikha Dariiqada uu fara saray. Rag ka tirsanaa waftiga Xarunta Ceerigabo iyo kuwo kaloo odayaal xurmaleh oo Medina degannaa ayaa ka codsaday Shiikha in mudo yar iyaga lagu soo weerijiyo Sayid Warsame. Nasiib wanaag Shiikh Maxamed Saalax waa ogalaaday. Ragaa waxay ku guuleysteen in Sayid Warsame si qarsoodi ah doon ugu soo dhoofiyaan Berbera. Sidaa ayuu Sayid Warsame dilkii uga badbaaday. Hase yeeshee, waxaa la qorsheeyey in Xaruntii Ceerigabo wadaado kale la wareegaan oo uusan dib ugu laaban Warsame iyo in hantidii Sayidka lala wareeggo . Markaan kaftanno odayaasha Sanaag iyo Sool oo waagaa beeluhu xoog u degannaa Ceerigabo, ayaan ka codsanayaa in ay noo soo celiyaan hantidii aabe.

Aabe wuxu ahaa Darwiish aqoonyahan ah. Wuxu ka mid ahaa la taliyaashii diinta iyo afka Carabiga ee Xaruunta Daraawiishta. Gaar ahaan wuxu qaabilsanaa qoraallada xiriirka dibedda ee Sayid Maxammed Cabdulle Xasan. In badan oo qoraalladaa waxa loo dirijirey madaxda Turkiga. Sida Aabe ii sheegay isweydaarsiga qoraalladu waxay badanaaba ku saabsanayeen halganka Sayidka ee la dagaalanka joogitaanka iyo gumeysiga Ingiriisku ku hayo dalka Soomaaliya. Hub iyo difaac ayaa ugu badnaa waxyaabihii lagala hadlijirey Turkiga. Maalin maalmaha ka mid ah oo ay tahay barqadii ayaa Sayidku isugu yeeray aqoonyahannadii Xaruunta si dib-u-eegis logu sameeyo qoraal dibedda u socda. Marka la galay falanqayntii iyo faaqidaadii qoraalka badanaaba waa la isku raacay habka, dhadhanka, asluubta iyo ereyada qoraalka, hase yeeshee si lama fillaan ayaa Aabe u soo jeediyey Golaha aqoonyahannada oo Sayidku hor fadhiyo in dib loogu laabto qoraalka, ereyo dhawr ahna laga soo saxo iyo in dhismaha qoraalka wax laga soo badelo. Aqoonyahannadii goobjoogga ahaa

ayaa fajacay oo u baqay aayaha Aabe iyo tilaabada uu Sayidku ka qaadidoono aabe mar haddu ka horyimi ansixinta qoraalka muhimmadaa leh. Sayidku inta in yar ku dhaygagay aabe ayuu yiri: “ Talada Warsame ayeynu qaadaneynaa”. Fadhiigii Sayidku iyo aqoonyahannaduna halkaa ayuu ku xirmay maalintaa.

Sheekada kale oo xiisaleh ee Sayidka iyo aabe dhex martay waxay dhacday markii Faadumo Islaan Faarax la siinayey Sayid Maxammed Cabdulle Xasan. Aabe oo markaa ahaa Shiikh aad u dhalinyar, goobjoogna ahaa fadhiga lagu bixinayo innanta, ayaa Sayidka ku yiri “ Sayid, xarragada ina Islaan laga bixinayo bar anaa leh” Odayaashii fadhiga iyo Sayidkuba inta yaabeen ayey isfiirsheen. Sayidka ayaa fiiriyey aabe oo su'aaley “Oo sidee ayaad bar u leedahay?” Aabe wuxu ku jawaabay: “Sayid, Reer Mahad, walaalkay Xuseen iyo aniga mooyee inta kale weli waa gaalo”. Odayaashii fadhiga iyo Sayidkuba isla mar ayey wada qosleen- qosol dheer oo isdaba jooga ah. Bartaa ayaa aabe iy Sayid Maxammed Cabdulle Xasan isku barten, deedna Aabe u noqday Darwiish aqoonyahan ah.

Waxaa la yiraahdaa war la ogyahay xiiso maleh. Yeelkeede, fadhigaa waxa Sayidku xarrago u bixiyey faraskiisii caanka ahaa ee Xiin Faniin kuna tiriyey gabaygii:

- 1. Xayow Faaraxow hadal rag waa, loo xutubiyaaye**
- 2. Nin xishood leh baan ahay haddaan, lay xistihihayne**
- 3. Xabiib baan ahaa jeer kufriga, laygu xaasidaye**
- 4. Adna xaashi baad iila timid, xaakin soo diraye**
- 5. Xaddigii adduunyada haddaad, xoolo iga dooni**
- 6. Marna anigu kaama xistiyeen, xaalaad leedahaye**
- 7. Inaan kuu xaf gooyaan jeclaa, geel xawaar badane**
- 8. Kumanyaal xawaadaan lahaa, xawd u sii mariye**
- 9. Markaad Xiin Faniin damacday baan, kaa xanuunsadaye**

10. Walaalow xirgiga qaarkii waa, lagu xujoobaaye
11. Waxaan kugu xutubiyaaba waa, xuuradaan nahaye
12. Nin kalaan xafiilaba adaan, xaayda kaa rogaye
13. Xigto iyo qaraabiyo hadduu, xidid i weydiisto
14. Xayow iyo qayuummeey haddii, la igu xoodaansho
15. Xubigayga kuma hayn inaan, xiisow bixiyaaye
16. Xamar weeye oo midab fardood, kala xariir roone
17. Xawaariyo kabti iyo raaxo iyo, xawli iyo jeefag
18. Xaggii loo eryaba waa gammaan, xulashadiisiye
19. Xubna-toosanow neefku waa, xaalad gooniya e
20. Goortaan xusuus ula noqdaa, xiisa ii qabanne
21. Waxaan xarafka diimeed ahayn, igaga xeel dheere
22. Xarbaddiyo jihaadkaan lahaa, xoogsi ugu fuule
23. Usagaan xatooyada lahaa, xuurta ugu looge
24. Xiniinyaha ku goo baan lahaa, gaalka xaylka lehe
25. Xayskaa da'aayaan lahaa, Xallin ka dooyeeye
26. Xaqaygii maqnay baan lahaa, xag ugu raacdeeye
27. Meesha iyo xeebtaan lahaa xiito, ka eryoode
28. Xujey-reebta reer Hagar anaan, xabashyadii ruubin
29. Xinjirtooda dhiigga leh haddaan, lagu xaraaraysan
30. Xaaqaa maquuqiyo haddaan, xaaluf laga yeelin

- 31. Xiddaysane ma dhiibeen anaan, xaaladday bogane**
- 32. Xaaraami uun baa arlada, xula abidkiise**
- 33. Wuxuun bay xushleeyan sidii, xabashi Iidoore**
- 34. Aniguna xogtaydaan ka baqi, inay xumeeyaane**
- 35. Xashaa-Lillaahiye nin goba, xamasho waw ceebe**
- 36. Goorteer anoo xaajiyaan, xiniif awoodaaye**
- 37. Intii aniga lay xaman lahaa, xil iga soo meerye**
- 38. Aduu galabta kuu xoolo yahay, xamarkii dheeraaye**
- 39. Waa Xiin Faniin neefka aad, xadhigga haysaaye**
- 40. Xayawaanka oo idil naftey, kala xaroodaane**
- 41. Mar hadduu suldaan igu xillihi, igaga xayddaantay**
- 42. Xariggiisa qabo aadmi kale, kuma xurmeeyeene.**

Malaha dad badani ma ogga sababta odayaasha beeshu, iyagoo ka wakiil ah Islaanka, ka codsadeen Sayidka in xarragada Faadumo Islaan laga bixinayo ka bilaabato Xiin Faniin. Xiin waa faras ay dhashay geenyadii horadka waalayd ee Faniin. Faniin horay ayaa Daraawiishtu uga dhacday beesha. Si looga wada buskoodo xusuustaa dagaal iyo xiniiftii hore, ayaa Islaanku ka codsaday Sayidka Xiin. Haweennadii Faadumana waxaa guursaday rag kale ka dib markuu Sayidku xijaabtay 1921 wax yar ka dib marka Sayidku tiriyey tixdii: “Iga Gawrac Geenyada Ragbaan Go'inne Nooleenne eh”. Faadumo waa haweenta laga wariyey: “Lugteerey ninba mar ku qaad” iyadoo malah saluugeysa ninkeeda cusub, malalah markay isbarbar dhigtay ninkii iyada horay u qabay, Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xassan. Faaduma waxa guursadey Sayidka kadib labo nin oo reer mahad ah, oo la kala oranjirey Cali Ilweyn Cabdulle Jibriil

Faadumo islaan. AUN, Cali Ilweyn waxay udhashey Saddex caruur ah, Xaadsan

Xaalimo iyo Axmed. Cabdulle Jibriil waxay udhashey labo caruur ah: Xassan iyo Caasho.

Sheekooyinka kale ee Xaaji Warsame lagu xasuusto waxaa ka mid ah markii uu ku noola Xiyaas, waxa loo sheegay innan Soomaaliyeed ee reer Waqooyi ah oo Carabkii qabay xumeeyey. Aabe ninkii innanta qabay ayuu qaaliga ku dacweeyey isagoo qareen u ah innanta. Doodii qareennimada Aabe ku yiri qaaliga: “Ninkaan nasab ma aha, innanta ma gayo. Innantii Soomaaliyeed bartaa ayaa looga furay ninkii Carbeed . Sheekooyinka Aabe intii u Xijaas joogay waxa iyana ka mid ah Masjid la yiraahdo Jabarti ee Medina ku yaala oo Carabtu damacday in ay magaca ka badalaan. Aabe oo careysan ayaa Masjidkii tegay. Salaadii Duhurnimo markii la tugaday, ayuu yiri isagoo codka kor u qaadaya: “ Dadka tukadayow yaan masjidka laga bixin!” Aabe, inta seef u sitay galka kala baxay ayuu yiri “ Ninkii isku daya in uu badalo magaca masjidkaan Jabarti, seeftaa ayaan qurka uga jarayaa ka hor intaan dhiman”. Sidaa ayuu magacii Masjidka Jabarti ee magaalada Medina ku hirgalay. Isla waakaa, Aabe nin Carab ah oo ay isyaqaaniin ayuu ka codsaday in uu cidiyaha oo ku dheeraaday ka jarro. Carabkii oo xanaaqsan ayaa diiday in uu taa yeelo. Aabe wuxu su'aalay Carabkii “ Oo maxaa u diideysaa waa layga jarijirey eh? Ninkii carbeed inta qoslay ayuu yiri “ waa yahay eh keen maqaska”.

Xaaji Warsame Axmad Gurey Jawjawle wuxu Soomaaliya ku leeyahay sheekooyin badan oo kale sida kuwii ka dhex dhacay isaga iyo Xaaji Aaden Guuleed, Shiikh Maxammad Xuseen, Guddoomiyihii Xisbigii SDU ama Great Somalia iyo Shiikh Xirsi Islaan ee Magaalada Jeriiban.

Mudadii anigu aan la noolaa reer kayaga miyiga ee agaarka Jeriban, aabena ahaa Qaaliga Maxkamadda Dawladda ee tuulada ayaa Salaadda Jamcaha in la tukado iyo in aan la tukan waxaa isku qabtay aabe iyo Shiikh Hirsi Islaan oo isla beesha ka wada tirsan. Aabe wuxu soo jeediyey in Salaadda Jamcaha la tukado, Hirsina waa diiday. Mar haddii ayen jirin culimo ka sareyssa oo labada shiikh wax kala oran karta, odayaal beelaha ayaa isxilqaamay oo gartoodii galay. Xaaji Warsame wuxu odayaashii ku yiri: “ Odayaallow waad ogtihiin aniyo walaalkay Hirsi in aanaan diin isku hayn-ee waxaanu isku haynnaa mar haddaan labo wadaad nahay, xoolaha Reer Adan Mahad ladeennaba inaga badan”

Mid arrintaa oo kale ah ayaa magaalada Galkacayo ka dhacday afartanmeeyadii markuu Xaaji Warsame, maadaama uu si hastey in uu ka mid yahay culumada diinta ugu badisa, wuxu damcay in uu khudbadda Salaadda Jamcaha soo jeediyo.

Xaaji Aadan Guuleed oo ka tirsan Beesha Wabeeneeye Masjidkana Maamule ka ah, ayaa damacca Xaaji Warsame ka dhaga-adaygay. Markii salaadda Jamcaha laga gaaray ayaa Xaaji Warsame, inta so kacay oo dadka Masjidka fadhiya hor yimi ayuu yiri: “ Masjidkaan manta lagu tukan maayee inaga saara” Dadkii ayaa yaabay oo mooday Xaaji in uu ku duftay. Xaajigu wuxu yiri: “ Waxwalba waa iga xaaraan oo xilaahi furan inaan nin Maxamuud Saleemaan ah maanta Masjidkaan ku tukanyin”. Waxay noqotay in Masjidkii Xaaji Aadan Guuleed laga dareero iyo in Xaaji Warsame dadkii ku tujiyo dibedda Masjidka. Arrintaa Xaaji Aadan xaal baa laga siiyey dhawr berri ka dib.

Wax yar haddaan ka iraaqdo Awoowe Axmed Gurey, waxay isqabteen aabihii bartamihii qarnigii 18aad. Axmed Gurey Jawjawle oo labo iyo toban sano jir weli gaarin ayuu aabihiis oo taagan waran xiiraa ah ku soo kilkilay oo labada bowdo isu mariyey. Aahii intuu oranlaa war maaxaa igu dishay, wuxu yiri: “ Gacanta Alle kaama gooyo, soo cadowna saa uma gasheen”. Markuu odagu buskooday ayuu wiilkii wuxu yiri: “War reerka inagu kala wad, kuma heshiineyne.” Axmed Gurey oo markaa labo iyo toban jirsaday ayaa reerkii ka tagay. Waxaa u xiran amley lagu magacaabo Xaalees wuxuna sitaa warankii xiiraaga ahaa. Isagoo habeen dayax leh gudaya, ayaa wadada waxa fariistay libaax dadqaad ah. Axmed Gurey inta geed wadada dhinacceeda gabaad ka dhigtay ayuu tixdaan libaaxa hortiisa ka tiriyey: “Aniga oo Xaalees sitiyo waranka Xiiraa ah, Axmed Gurey xirkeer buu ku cunay xaal an jirin weeye”. Axmed iyo libaaxii say habeenkii oo dhan isu hor fadhiyeen ayey subaxdii dambe kala jaqaafeen.

Aniga waxa ila dhashay rag iyo dumar door ah- lix will iyo lix gabdhood oo wada hanaqaad ah. Ragga walaalahay mid walba halgan gaar ahaanneed ayuu soo galay; maantana ilaahay mahaddii waxa isugu jiraan Prof, Sharciyahanno, Dhaqaalayahanno, Injineerro.

Haddii aan tayda bilaabo, inta iyo intaan 7 yirsaday waxan la noola reerkayaga miyiga oo u kala guurijirey inta u dhaxaysa dhoodida Mudug, Ciid iyo dhooxada Nugaal oo Laas Caano ka mid tahay. Ka dib Hooyo dhimashadeedii, wax xusuus weyn leh oo dhacay majirto oo an ka ahayn Dayrta ku magacdheer “ Yaxoobdheere” Dayrtaa abaaraha ku aadanayd 1960-61, waxay igu heshay anoo Geel la jooga agagaarka Ceelka Godad ee qiyaastii ujira 70 Kms dhanka bari ee magaalada Galkacayo. Dayrtu waxay keentay rob da'ayey in ka badan todobaad oo aan la hayn kala qaad. Geel jiruhu malaha wuxu roobka kaga gabado oo aan ka hayn labadiisa go' iyo geed yaraha la iska xijiyo dhibcaha xoogan. Dhibka

ugu weyn ee roobku keennaa waxay gaajo. Aniyo nin kale oo la yiraahodo Maxamuud Cumar, markaana nin weynah oo haatan weli miyi ku nool ayaa geella la wada joogay. Geel lama maalo haddu roob da'ayo. Waxanu qatanayn oo afkayaga qabnay mudo aan ka yareen todobaad. Sida reer miyigu ka war hayo, hasha irmaan waxa ku dhaca caano guur hadaan mudo dheer la lisin.... Aakhirutahan, roobkii markuu qaaday, geellii caano maleh. Aniyo iyo Maxamuud waxanu ku tashanay in aan isqaybino oo ninna geella la joogo, midna u safro Ceelka Godad qiyaastina noo jira 40 Kms dhanka koonfureed, oo u shaxaad tago gadisleyda degan. Maxamuud waxu soo jeediyey in aan anigu safro maadaama aan ahaa wiil yar oo banii Adamku u naxariisanyo, gadisleyduna sooryeydoonto. Aroor hore ayaan soo kalahay, maalintii oo dhan ayaan soo luudayey. Anoon waxba naf ah ku noolayn, ayaan fiidkii soo gaarey Godad. Mid ka mid ah daasaska dhawr ah oo halkaa ka dhisnaa ayaan deerkiisa inta ku dhacay ku suuxay. Waxan baraarugay anooo nafka dhawr ah. Waan qayliyey ama aadaamay sida qof nafto ka sii dhacayso. Meeshu kudcur maararuugle ah. Waxan aalaa meel qoyan oo xataa aan lahayn kash kaash. Qayladaydii ayaa waxa ku soo baxay nin karbuuno ama toosh ifinaya oo mooday in waraabe ila tagayo. Markuu arkay in aan liito, ayuu isoo qaaday oo gudaha daaska darin goglan i dhigay. Isagoo an weli tooshkii damin, ayuu galas caano ah inta shubay igu tahbiibiyey. Dhawr goor ayaan caanihii aan cabay soo celiyey. Waagu markuu baryey, niinkii daaska lahaa wuxu isiyey timir iyo shah. Markaa ayuu i haybsay, waana u gartay reerkaan ka soo jeedo. Dhuhurkii markii la garay aniga iyo rag kale oo iyana safar ku yimi waxanu cunay bariis caano lagu iidaamay. Naftii waa igu soo laabatay, welisa waa diifaysanahay. Habaynkii dambe hilib baan wax ka cunay.

Habaynkii intaan daaska la seexxan ayaan waxan ka codsaday Cali Ibrahim, daaslaha, in u i amaahiyo ama deeq ii siiyo rodol or labo timir ah oo saaxiibkay geella aan kaga soo tegay u geeyo. Cali wuxuu iigu jawaabay: “ War adaan waxba haysane, nin kale xagee jooga?” Hadalku waa cadyahay in aan meesha waxba ii oolayn. Waxan ku seexday in aan subaxdii kalaho oo geellii iyo saaxiibkay ku laabto. Nasiib wanaag saaxiibkay Maxamud Cumar oo ladan ayaan gaaray goor gabal gab ah. Maxamuud illeen geellaa u caaneyey, roobkii ka dib markuu dib u daaqay. Markaan isnaabdaadinay, su'aashii ugu horeysay Maxamuud waxay ahayd: “War timir ma keentay?” Inta ku isku yaxayay, ayaan iri: “ Maxammud, waabad ii jeedaa in aan fara marnahay eh, geellii ma caano geenay?” Maxamuud, si carro aad ugu dheehantahay, ayuu iigu jawaabay: “haa”.

Magaalo jog waxa iguu horaysay tuulada beyra oo aad ugu dhaw Gaalkayo

dhanka waqooyi. Taa waxay u dhacday markaan soo arooriney Beyra geel reerro dudo ah isku jira oo tiro gaaraya ilaa afar boqol oo neef. Maadaama aan yarahay da'deyduna aysen weli gaarin 8 jir, hawshaydu waxay ugu kala baxdaa in aan geella horo ama ceelka dhuro. Ceelasha Beyra ma biyo-badna. Geella intaa tiro leegna wuxu u baahanyahay labo wadaamood oo darandooriya. Markaan soo gaaray ceelasha oo dhanka waqooyi galbeed kaga aadan tuula Beyra, waxa durba la iisoo tuuray dowliga afkiisa san ceelka salkiisa isugu daruurro. Ceellashu waxay gaarkood leeyihiin biir ama neef ka soo butaacaysa oo dadku inta ceelka dhexdiisa ku suuxaan ay deg deg ugu biiroonkaraan. Ninka ceelka soo dhurayaa marka hore waa tijaabo. Ninka dooliga ayaa dhexda ugu xiran marka ceelka loo lagu ridayo, isna markuu ceelka salkiissa gaaro, waa inugu sugaa oo uusan iska furin dooliga inta uu ka hubsanayo xaaladda gunta ceelka sida biirta, isha biyo-dhureenka, nadaafadda salka iyo qaymaynta dhumucda biyaha. Raggii ceelka ii diray, dawliga dacalkiissa oo keli ah ayey ii dhiibeen, ceelkana waa ugu darduureen. Ceelku sidaa uma dheera marka la isbarbardhigo kuwo aan waadambe ku arkay Wardheer iyo Walwaal ee Doollo. Intii cabaar ah, qiyaastii labo ilaa sadex daqiiqo waxan ku jirey mugdi ama gudcur ceelka dhexdiisa ileen dhulka oogadiisa oo iftiin ah ayaan ka soo deegaye. Waa inaadan kor fiirin iyo duleelka sare ee ceelka si ayey indhahaagu u qaayibaan aragtida ceelka. Isma dhaqdhaqaajin luguhuna biyaha ceelka oo saa an u badnayn ayey iigu jiraan. Wixii iigu horeysay ee ishaydu qaabato wuxu ahaa mas ama abeeso ceelka iska dhexdabaalaneysa oo markaa intaa argagaxday ayaan darbiga ceelka ku tiirsan. Naxdin awgeed afkii baa ikala tegay. Durba wadaantii ugu horeysay ayey nimankii geella shubayey ii soo tureen. Intayan biyaha ku dhexdhicin oo maska igu carshaasheen ayan wadaantii hawada ka qabsaday, anoo gaatamaya. Raga kor joogaa waxay iga fillayaan ceel-dhur deg deg ah ileen geel baa u horan eh. Durba wadaan kale ayaa soo dhacday, Saan iyana dhexdaan ka qabsaday. Wadaantii hore ayaa kor loo hinjiyey iyadoo aber ah ama maran. Mise tii kalana waa la mid. Raggii kor joogay shaki baa galay. Ibraahim oo ka mid ahaa afarta nin oo geella shubaya ayaa inta ceelka gawgiisa ku soo foorarsaday, ayuu ku qayliyeey: “War maxaa kugu dhacay?, war maxaa kugu dhacay?” Si cadaan ah uma maqlayo dhaqaaqa, waase garanayaa in uu yahay codkii Ibraahim. Aniguna waa ka daba-qayliyey: “War mas baa ceelka ku jira!”, war mas baa ceelka ku jira! Wadaamihii haddii la gilgillay ayaan gartay in macnaheedu yahay ka soo bax ceelka, wadaamahana soo qabso. Labadii wadaamood inta mid walba lug ku ritay anoo aayar iska illaalinaya maska, ayaan qabsaday labada dooliba. Raggii sida wadaamaha ayey ii shubeen. Dibedda markay i keeneen, ayaan u sheegay maska ceelka ku jira iyo ceelku in uusan biyo badan lahayn. Durba shaqo kale ayaa la iidiray; geella in aan horo, anoo soo bedelaya wiil kale oo iga weynaa.

Wiilkii ceel kale ayaa durba lagu tuuray.

Ayadoon sheeko dheer la isku dhaalin, galabtii marka geella la caraabiyey, in cabaar ahna sii soconay oo anu nahay aniga iyo wiilkii kale, raggii kale ay weli ku dambeeyaan ceelasha, ayaan inta wiilkii kale ka dhuuntay ayaan geed hoosti dhabacday. Qorshahaygu waa inaan tuulada Beyra dib ugu laabto sidaan geella uga haro. Abaaraha nusaac hadaan geedka hoostiissa ku nabnaa. ayaan malaha gam'ay. Waxan baraarugay iyadoo gudcur maararugla ah. Inta salalay ayaa shaki igalay meesha aan ku suganahay. Waan istaagay. Waxaa ii muuqday if iyo nalal badan oo dhica koonfur iga xiga. Waxan xusuustay in ifku ka muuqdo magaalada. Xagaa ayaan ku dhaqaajiyey anoo cabsi ka qaba waraabaha ama dhurwaaga oo sideedaba ku badan meesha iyo dooxada Mudugba. Ceellashii manta ayaan sii dhexmaray. Waxan gaaray magaalada abaaraha labo saac iyo bar fiidkii. Makhaayad furan ayaan ku soo leexday. Anigoo yaxyaxsan, aadna u xishoonaya, ayaan ninkii maqalka joogay u imi. Waxan weydiyey: “Adeerrow, guriga Xasan Faarax Khalaf meeyey?” Ninkii, inta i fiiriyey oo gartay in aan ahay wiil reer miyi, ayuu i weydiyey: “War yaa, xaggee ka timi”? “Ciid iyo geellayagii, adeer”, ayaan ku iri. “Fariiso kursigaa, anaa kugu darayee wiil ku geeya guriga eh”, ayuu yiri maqalhayihii. War yaa, Axmeddow, kaxee wiilkaan oo gee guriga ninka Ilaalka ah ee la yiraahdo Xasan Faarax”. Axmed waa i waday, anagoo u lugaynay gurigaa oo an aadba aan uga fogayn, kana dhisan dhanka galbeed ee tuulada Beyra, anigase ii ah markaa magaalo weyn. “Guriga aad dooneysay waa kaa” ayuu yiri Axmed, inta farta ku fiqay. Inta albaabka deerka guriga i keenay ayuu yiri “Nabadey”. Albabka hortiissa ayaa istagay, anoo aan garanayn wax aan sameeyo. Anoo meesha iska taagan agagaarguna mugdiba yahay qiyaastii sagaalkii (sadexdii) fiidnimo, ayaa dariiqa waxa soo maray ninka karbuuno sitaha. Inta igu ifiyey tooshka ayuu yiri, “war maxaad ka sameyneysaa meesha?” Adeerow, guriga reer Xasan baan rabaa” ayaan ugu jawaabay. O waabad taagantahay albaabkiisee maad gargaraacdid?, ayuu i weydiyey. Ninkii inta soo leexday oo ii yimi, ayuu isaga laftiisu gargaraacay albabka. Wiil aniga iga sii yar ayaa iga furiyey albaabka, oo yiri “war yaa maxaad rabtaa adiga”. “Walaashay Sacdiya ayaan u socdaa” Inta qoslay ayuu yiri, “soo gal”. Markiiba Sacdiyaan indhahaygu ku dhaceen. Sacdiya inta soo oraday ayey isku keyduubtay oo igu dul oyday. Dhurba firaash iyo meel aan seexdo ayey ii diyaarisey, qaydadkii aan qabay iga bedeshay, ii qubaysay oo cunno markaa karsan oo bariis iyo hilib ah aadna u macaan i siisay. Wiilkii albaabka iga furayna waa isbaranay in la yiraahdo Maxamed Faraax, seedigay Xasan Faraax, oo gurigiisa iminka joogo, walaallo yihiin.

Waxan ku noolaa magaalada Beyra mudo bil ah intaan reerkii miyi soo guurin oo soo ag-degin agaarka Beyra, markaana khasab noqotay in aan reerkii iyo geellaba dib ugu laabto.

Hadaan dib u jaleeco waayo aragtinimadii aan ka dhaxlay Beyra, waxa ii soo baxaysa in ahayd Tuulo aad xiriir ula leh beelaha dhaqda lo'da, caano-teelkuna ka yimaado lo'leyda degan agagaarka. Waa magaalo biyo yar, waagaana fuusto uga dhaansata ceel riig ah saaranyahay. Magaaladu waxay lahayd saldhig illaalo amni oo uu ka taaganyah siin dheer oo ah, afka manta, siinka isgaarsiinta, dugsii hoose, dukaanno iyo makhaayado dhawr ah oo laga helo caano lo' u badan, hilib, bariis, baasto iyo shah aan kala joogis lahayn. Aba yaraatee makhaayadahaas ma layan bunka ama khudrada. Ciyaal aniga i leeg leeg ama yaraha iga waaweyn oo dhar iyaga u gaar ah qaba oo dugsiga u socda ayaan maalin walba arkaa. Aad baan u kuunyirey ardadaa, waxana ku fakerijirey in aan maalin maalma ka mid ah ka mid noqdo ardadaa. Beyra waxay ahayd magaaladii igu horaysay ee ugu dhalisay darenka waxbarasho iyo damaca magaalo-joog ama reer magaalnimo. Saamaynta ay ugu reebtay joogitaankaygii koobnaa ee Beyra waxay u gogol-xaaridoontaa safar-kaygii dheeraa oo anoo keli ah u soo lugeeyey Jeriiban-Galkacayo anoo markaa toban jirsaday.

Sheekada Beyra waxay dhacday deertii Yaxoob-dheer kahor markaan gaajo iyo qabow in aan u dhinto ku sigtay. Reer kayagu wuxu uguu guuray Jeriiban Yaxoob-dheer ka dib.

QAYBTA 2AAD

JARIIBAN

Aabe, Xaaj Warsame Axmed Gurey, wuxu mudo dheer ka soo qaygalay halgannadii SYL ee ka soo horjeeday gumeysigii Talyaaniga, gaar ahaan olalihii wacyi gelinta dadweynaha ee Gobollada Mudug iyo Nugaal. Waxaa jirtay mar maamulka Talyaanigu mudo dhawr billood ah ku xiray magaalada Qardho ee Gobolka haatan loo yaqaan Karkaar ee Maamulkii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ee Puntland magacca u bixisay, heer Gobolna gaarsiisey. Waagaa xoriyeyda ka dib SYL qayb ka tirsan oo go'day ayaa la baxday magacca SDU (Somali Democratic Union) ama Great Somalia. Kala jabkaa wuxu culees weyn ku keenay Dawladdii ay hoggaamineysay Xisbigii SYL. Dawladdihii Cabdirashid Cali Sharma'arke iyo Cabdirisaak Xaaji Xuseen waxay ka shaqeeyeen qorshayaal ay ku wiiqayaan SDU, si ay meesha uga baxdo halista ay u keenneyso midnimada iyo xoogga siyaasadeed ee SYL. Dawladdii Cabdirisaak gaar ahaan waxay guuleysatay in ay iska horkeento madaxdii SDU oo xataa gacan qaad ka dhex dhaco. Waxaa SDU intaa ugu darsamay iska hor imaad ku saabsan mabda'a siyaasadeed, dhaqan dhaqaale iyo waxa looyaqaan idaloojiyada xisbiga oo madax ugu saraysa, Xaaji Maxammed Xuseen, Guddomiyaha xisbiga, iyo Yuusuf Samatar (Barde Cad), Xoghayaha Guud, ay dhanka bidixda xoog ugu janjeereen. Maadaama Xaaji Warsame ka mid ahaa Golaha Dhexe ee Xisbiga si xoog ahna uga soo horjeedo mabda'a hanti-wadaagga iyo shuuciyeddaba, ayaa isaga iyo koox uu hoggaaminayey si kulul uga horyimaaday madaxdii sare ee xisbiga. Taa waxay keentay in SDU kala jabto oo sidaa awooddeedii siyaasadeed yaraato.

Dawladdii Cabdirashiid Cali Sharma'arke oo markaa wada mashaariic in Wasaaradda Cadaaladda iyo Arrimaha Diintu maxkamaddo ka dhiso degmooyinka, ayaa Xaaji Warsame u soo jeedidisay in uu Qaali u noqdo Jeeriban oo markaa aan ahayn Degmo. Shaqadaa Aabe la siiyey waxay ahayd nooc Xamar looga masaafurineyey, oo siyaasad SYL iyo SDU lug kule. Aabe isagoo caruurtiisa u eexanaya ayuu qaatay shaqada.

Aabe shaqadii ayuu ka bilaabay Jeriiban, sanad ka dibna wuxu soo amray in reer kayaga miyi u soo guurro Jeriiban. Waxa reerku ka hayaamay agagaarka Tuulada

Bacaadweyn ee Gaalkacayo u jirta in ka yar 30 Kms dhanka waqooyi. Maxamuud Cumar oo ahaa ninkii anagoo geella la wada joogna roobkii Yayaxoob-dheer na helay, ayaa reerka haya oo hogaaminaya hayaanka Jeeriiban. Labo todobaad ayuu qaatay hayaankani. Waxa reerku degay meel magaalada Jeriiban u jirta hal Km dhanka qorax-u-dhac. Dhulku waa barwaaqo biyo badan, Dayrtii Yaxoob-dheer ka dib. Maxammud Cumar dhawr berry ka dib waxu ku laabtay reerkiisii ku haray meeshii anu ka soo hayaanay. Aabe oo ah Qaaliga beledka ah, habeen dhaaf ayuu noola soo seexanjirey, sababta oo ah in Aabe innan kale ku guursaday beledka intaan reer kayagu soo degin Jeriiban. Hoyaday labaad, Aasha Xaaji Maxamuud Cumar, ayaa yaraha masayrsan. Wax yar ka dib Aabe iyo innatii Xaliimo waa la kala. Aabe geellii wuxu u dhiibay qoys kale oo u ku kalsoonyahay in ay xanaaneynayaan. Tiro iyo bar arri ah ayaa reerku haystaa. Mar haddu deggaanku nabad iyo barwaaqo yahay, dhaqashada arrigu ma dhib badna, ciidan saasana uma baahna. Waxanu deggennahay dhul bacaad iyo carrosanba ah oo haddad ciidda seexatit aan carro iyo midabba kaasoo raacayn. Waxa isu kaayo raacay cir cadar leh, dhul carrosan ah, caano iyo barwaaqo. Yeel keede, anigu ma xasilooni oo waxaa igu jira hiyi kac iyo hami. Waxan habayn walba ku seexdaa subaxdiina ku soo toosaa sidii aan meesha uga dhoofilahaa. Walaallaha markaa jooga reerka anaa ugu weyn. Abdullaahi, Jaamac Yacquub iyo Sahra waa joogaan. Cali markaa ka dib ayuu dhashay. Walaalka noogu weyn Isaxaaq, wuxu macalim dugsi hoose ka yahay Xamar, taa oo ka mid ah waxyaabaha qorshaha iigu jira ee la xiriirra laab-lakaca, hamiga iyo mala-awaalka isita.

Magaalada Jeriiban waxay caan ku tahay sadex keesood la kala yiraahdo: Ceel Gaws, Ceel Xamur iyo Shadeedley. Ceel Gaws waa midka magaalo weynta Jeriiban dadka magaaladu iyo xooluhu ka cabaan. Biyihiisa Ceel Gaws waa dhadhamineysa sonkor iyo xareed. Markaan ku laabtay Jeriiban sodon sanno kadib, biyaha Ceel Gaws sidii bay weli u macaanyihiin. Ceelka Shadeedley, oo hal km u jira Ceel Gaws, isna waa biya badanyahay, xooluhu badanna wey ka cabaan. Shadeedley waa goobtii dhagaalka kharaar ku dhexe maray Daraawiishta iyo beesha halkaa degen. Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xassan ka tiriyeey gabaygii: “Shafka Nimey Xabaddu kaga Dhacday iyo Shirixa Mooyan, Wallee Meel Shadeedley ka Kulul Lagama Sheegeeyo”. Ceellasha Shadeedley oo biyuhu qarka u istaaganyihiin, ayaan anigu dabaasha ku bartay saan ugu dhuubanjiirey qorax-dhacca marka ceelku cidla noqdo ama xilliga doogga oo aan loo baahnayn ceelka. Waxan weli xasuustaa galab, aasku intuuusan madoobaan, anoo ku dabaalanaya ceelka ayaa waxa iigu timi innan iyana malaha dooneysa in ay ceel ka qubeysato. Ceel gawgiissa ayey isa soo taagtay, iyadoo xishooneysa.

“Naa soo gal biyaha, ma wiilkeygaan yar baad ka xishooneysaa?”, ayaan ku iri gabartii. Inta dhinacyada eegtay, oo kabaha is bixisay bay dalaq ceelkii soo tiri, iyadoo dharkeydii oo dhan qabta. Cabaar haddaan wada dabaalaney, ayey i weydiisay: “War yaa mataqaan ragga iyo dumarku waxay sameeyaan markay keli yihiin?” Waxan ku jawaabay: “maya” “Ma ku baraa”? “Ahaa”, ayaan isweydaarsanay. Innantii inta dharkii muluq iska siisay ayey igu soo duushay. Gacanta bidixda ah ayey ugu qabsatay midda midigna ceelka darbigiissa ayey ku haysataa, waana iskukay camcamineysaa. Mudo hal saac oo habeen ah ayaan wada dabaalaneynay innantii iyo marar kale oo aan isu soo hilownay. Arrintaa waxay ahayd waayo aragnimadii ugu horeysay ee na dhex martay aniyo qof dumar ah. Ima soo marin fursa dambe oo noocaan ah illaa aan tegay Dalkii la oranjirey Midowga Soovieti, ka dib markaan dugsiga sare ee Banadir ka baxay 1971. Ceel Xamur waxaa u weheliya laasas dix xaar-xaar ah oo markaad in yar faag faagtit biyuhu soo duulayaan. Waxa ceellasha agtooda ka dhisan daarro darbiyo dhumuc weyn leh oo kor ka burbursan. Waxa la iga sheekeeye taariikhda daarahaa. Daaraha waxa la haa, oo ka dhisay meesha daraawiishtii Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan. Daarahaa waxaa burburiyey qunbuladaha diyaaradaha Ingriiska. Ceel Xamur, waa bar-tilmaameedka labaad ka dib Taleex, oo dawladda Ingriisku diyaarado ku garaacday. Waxan si fiican u xusustaa, in inta la raray rati dhaan ah oo labo haamood la saray, in inta hoggaankii la iidhiibay la yiri, “war yaa orod soo dhaami ratiga”. Waxa la fillayey in ceelka la joogo oo ay gacan cidu i doonto. Ceelkii waa cidla markaan dhanka keenay. Talaa halkaa igu dhalatay. Inta ratigii arumiyey oo qarqarsi u xiray, dixda xaar xaartay, ayaan haamihii ku dhaanshay biyo aan ka dhuray laaska, iyagoo haamihii weli ratiga saaranyihiin. Haantu ma wada buuxsami karto hadday awrka saarantahay illeen wey janjeerta eh. Yeelkeede waa nigaa ku guuleystay dhaankii, kana gudbay tijaabo weyn oo an aqoonsi nin rag ah ku helay.

Waxaa Jeriiban noogu yimi oo nasoo booqatay walaashay Faadumo oo markaa ah qof weyn ah, kana mid ah labo gabdhood oo Aabe ugu dhashay dalkii Xijaas ee haatan ah Sacuudi Carabia iyo caruurteedii oo dad waaweyn ah, labo wiil iyo labo gabdhood oo Xayaad ugu weyntahay. Waagaa waxan u bogay dharka reer magaalka ah oo ay labisnaayeen. Dhaqankooda iyo labiskuba waa isii himakiciyeen sidaan meesha uga dhoofilahaa.

Jeriiban waa tuulo aan lahayn wax dhaafsan dugsi Qur'aan. Saldhig Booliska Somalia oo siin dheer leh ayaa ka dhisan iyo tiro aan badnayn oo askar ah iyo maxkamadda Shareecadda Islaamka ee Aabe. Dukaamo iibiya dharka, cunno kooban oo ah bariis, baasto, sonkor, caleenta shaaha iyo timir oo keli ah ayaa

magaaladu u badnayd, marka laga reebo guryaha la deggenyahay. Hal masjid oo Shiikh Hirsi Islaan xertiisu maamusho ayaa ka jirey. Magaaladu nal malahayn, waxa la shidanjirtay “Battermax” iyo faynuuso. Odayaasha magaalada waxa ka mid ahaa Jaamac Biixi iyo Diiriye Cali Sanbuur. Jaamac Biixi wuxu ahaa dukaanle reer kayagu biilka ka qaato. Anigu waxaan rabo ayaan dukaanka ka qaadanjirey. Diiriye Cali Sanbuur wuxu ahaa markaa nin da'a oo hantile weyn ahaan jirey. Sidaan warka ku helay, Diiriye Cali Sanbuur wuxu waagii hore marsada Gara'ad keenijirey doomo buuxa. Carab baa u shaqaynjirtay. Waxa la yiri maalin doomahaa la dajinayey ayaa Carbeed su'aaley dadkii: “War doontaan yaa leh?” Waxa lugu jawaabay: “Diriye Cali Sanbuur”. Oo taa kalena?” “Diiriye Cali Sanbuur”. “O taa socotana?” “Diiriye Cali Sanbuur”. Carabkii inta yaabay ayuu wuxu yiri: “Nacala tulaahi, kuli dunyaa li Diiriye Cali Sanbuur!” Magaaladu ma lahayn Raadiyaasha la dhageysto marka laga reebo kan Aabe oo galab walba Aabe deerkiisa dadka reer magaalka ah BBC Laanta Af-Somali ka dhageysanjireen. Aabe wuxu kaloo dhageysanjirey idaacadaha Carabiga oo ay ugu horayso tan Qaahira, barnaamijka Codka Carabta ama “Sawtul Carab” oo uu mar mar ka hadlijirey Jamaal Cabdulnaaser, oo waagaa aan fahmay in uu yahay Madax ah dadka Soomaaliyeed xushmeeyaan.

Aabe maadaama uu yahay nin idaacadaha xoog u dhageysta, siyaasi iyo dhulmar yahay, ayaa dadbadani guriga iyo xafiiskaba ugu imaanjireen, iyaga oo wardoon ah. Hadba inta reerka miyiga ka soo tago ayaan Aabe magaalada ugu imaanjirey oo dhawr maalmood la joogijirey. Kharashka xaqul jeebka shaaha Aabe iisiyo ayaan kaydsadaa. Ugu dambeen, lacagtaan haysto waxa gaartay labo shillin oo dhan. Waagaa kumi ama tobanka senti waxay goyn jirtay afar koob ee shaah ah.

Waxan goostay in aanan tacabiro oo ka haajiro JERIIBAN. Waxan ahay toban jir issu haysta waayo arag birta calashaday, oo weliba haatan reer magaal ah.

Waxaan wadada sii hayaba makhribkii bay gaartay, iyadoo weli dhulku cidla yahay. Habeen bay noqotay, dayax cusub baa jira aan sadexda fiidkii igaarsiin karin. Haraad xun baa ihaya, gaajose imahayso oo qariidkii badarku waa i anfacay. Sideedii ama labadii iyo bar markay ahayd ayaan buur yar soo tafay. Dhalada buurta markaan marayo ayaa alley lehee dab ii muuqday. Habeenkii muuqaalka dabka ha dhaweyssan illeen meel fog ayuu ka bidhaamaaye. Markaan is iri dabku wadada waa la simanyahay ayaan bayray oo iftiinka baxaya higsaday. Dayaxa oo sii dhacaya ayaan gaaray reerkii iftiinku ka soo baxay. Cid aan arko waxa iigu horeysay islaantii guriga la hayd oo markaa haamo aslaneysa. “Asalaamu Caleykum”, ayaan iri inta soo dul istagay. Qofkii dumar

inta humaagsatay ayey tiri “alla xagee ilmaha hadda socdaa ka yimi?” “Eedo biyo isii, haraad baan u baxtinayaaye”. Iyadoo weli humaagsikeedii ku jirta ayey tiri “indhadaagaa cunugu, war miyaa soo habowday?” “Eedo, maya, safar baan ahay”. “Naa Nasra, cunugaan biyo u keen”. Nasra waxay ii keentay Galaas biyo ah oo aan ka qawaday, iguna fillayn. Inta haddiiba laystay, ayaan iri, “Nasra, walaal iigu soo celi weli waa liitaaye”. Islaantii baa na soo dhex gashay oo tiri, “war reerku biyo ma haysto, intaa ayaan kuu heligarnaa” Haddii in yar la kala aamusnaa, ayaa Nasra tiri “hooyo galas kale aan ugu daro?” O ma ayan soo sugin jawaabta hooyadeeda, galaas kii hore mid ka weyn bay biyo iigu keentay. “War yaa ma reerkiinna meelaha ka dhaw?” ayaa islaantii iweydiisay. “Maya, eedo, Jeriiban baan ka imi” “Alla cunugu beyn badanaa”. “Oo xagee u socotaa?” Eedo, Gaalkacayo”. “Ma adigu?” “Haa”. “Subxaana laah!” Ayey tiri inta fajacday. Markaa tobankii fiidnimo ayey ku dhawaatay, in la seexdana wey noqotay, anigoo aad u daalan. Ardaagii reerka oo aan wax gogal ah layn ayaan ku dhacay. Reerku iskuma taxalujin in uu i sooro ama xataa gogal i siiyo. Malaha raggiibaa maqnaa. Aniga wehelka iyo biyaha ayaa iigu darraa. Yeelkeede reerku waa iga seexday, fursad aan arrintaa gogal u dhigtana mahelin. Waxaa ii soo baxday reer miyugu, siiba dumarku, ma tixgeliyaan, kama xishoodaan carruurta qalaad. Waa sababta ugu weyn ee reerku iiga seexday habeenkaa.

Reerku intuuusan toos toosin ayaan aroor hore ka jarmaaday oo wadadeydii galbeed u socotay qabsay. Waxaan markaa ninayada ku hayaa Tuula Bali Busle. Duhurkii ayaan ku soo leexday reer wadada dhinaceeda degen. Gaajo iyo oonba waa la ildaranahay. Labo nin oo geed guracca hooskiisa fadhiya ayaan salaamay. Iyagoo malaha u maleynaya in aan ka imi reeraha agagaar degan, ayey iweydiyeen: “War ina ayaad tahay?” “Ina Xaaji Warsame”, ayaan ugu jawaabay. Inta isdhugteen, ayaa mid yiri, “Xaaji warsame, Xaaji Warsame. o Jilibkee aha?” Markaan taa usheegay, ayuu iweydiyey: “Oo xagee ka timid?” “Jeriiban, Adeer” ayaan ugu jawaabay. “ma dhicikarto”? Kii kale ayaa yiri: “taasu waa rag ka rooni eh?” “Adeerayaalow, asqo ayaan u laliitaaye biyo isiiya” Mid baa inta istaagay ayuu u qayliyey islaan guriga joogta. “Faadumow willkaan biyo la cindiiday u keen”. “Wax kale kaama goyn karaan diifta iyo asqada kaa muuqata”. “War yaa xagee haatan ku soo socotaa?” “Gaalkacayo iyo Muqdisho, Adeer” Inta qoslay, ayuu i weydiyey, oo ma u wada lugeyneysaa? Soo ma ogid in baabuur loo raaco?” “Gaari maleh, Adeer”. “Haddaad Jeriiban ku sugilahayd waa hele lahayd”, ayuu yiri” Waa sugiwaayey, Adeer”, ayaan u raacshay. Biyiha cindiidka ah markaan idlaystay, ayaan inta istaagay, ku iri raggii: “nabadey!” Wadada ayaan qabsadey, anoo asqadii iga baxday tamarrina

isoo gashay. Waxaan wadada hayaba anoo gaajo iyo oon la luudaya ayaa waxa iimuqatay tuulo waabab badanni ka dhisanyihiin. Tuuladaa ayaan higsaday, iyadoo markaa niyadu ii qabowday. Waa koor casar liiq ah oo ku haboon in anaan dago. Waxad moodaa in gaajadii i haysay inta iga badatay shah i qabtay, anoon weli gaarin tuulada. Aniga, markaa tuulo kasta oo ay tahay macno iiguma fadhido, markaa laga reebo cabirka Bali Busle oo markaa gaaro noqoneysa guul aan sadcaalka ka gaaray. Alleelehe waa isasoo taagay tuulada. Durba dareenkaygu wuxu isiiyey in ay tahay Bali Busle. Aad ayaan u faraxsanahay. Tuuladu waxay leedahay barxad weyn oo wadada aan hayey dhexmarto. Tuulo ka dhisan dhul ciid gaduud oo dharka midabkiisa badeleesa. Dhurba madaxxayga waxa ku soo dhacay xusuus ciidii macaaneyd iyo bacaadkii Jeriiban. Barxadda dhexdeeda dad ba maraya, arri iyo ido aad u badan ayaa kala iibsanaya. Waa tuulo aad moodid in ay ka dhaqdhaqaaq badantahay Jeriiban, dadkuse ka reer miyisanyahay. Magaaladu waa wada waabab ama daasas qiiq hortooda ka wada baxayo, oo dhari iyo kirli dabka wada saaranyihiin. Dhariyada iyo kirliyada waxad moodaa in ay ka sii madowyihiin kuwii aan horay u arkijirey. Taa macnaheedu waa kariska badan iyo dabka ay sida joogtada ah u saaranyihiin. Shaki kuma jiro in xoolo raacatadu tahay maacaamiisha ugu badan ee daasaska. Taa waxay isiisay kalsooni in aan si sahlan uga midnoqon karo maacaamiisha habeen-dhax daasaska ku joogga. Waxan fiirsaday in daas ama cariish camiran oo ay jooggaan dad badani ku dhex dhuuman karo. Alleylehe mid baan ku leexday oo inta deerkiisa fariistay ayaan fujaan ranji ama bigeys ah dalbaday. Durba waa la iisoo dhigay, shaahlihiina iyiri “war yaa, labadii fujaan waa kumi” “Waa iigu soo celindoontaa walaal”. Labo shaah ah markaan ka tuuray, oo yeraha nasday, biyona anaan weli cabin, haraadse iga ba'ay, ayaan ku iri wiilkii shaaha ii keenay “War hilib iy nus bariis ah ii keen”. Markaan iska bixiyey kharashkii, weli waxan haystaa lacag ka badan Shillin iyo bar. Durba fiid bay noqotay. Waa inaan ka fakaraa meeshii caawa ku hoyanlahaa. Daalkii ayaa igu soo baxay, waana goor hore oo an la seexan karin, meel la seexdana aanan weli la weydiisan karin. Waxan goostay bal inaan beledka yaraha soo dhexmaro oo soo indha indheeyo. Magaaladu waa mugdi. Dukaan ama daas walba waxa u shidan faynuuso waa weyn, qaarkoodna “battremax” aad u ifaya. Dawr dukaan ayaan eeg eegay. Dhar qurux badan iyo kabo reer miyigu xirto oo badan baa yaaley. Waxad moodaa in indhahaygu ku raaxaysanayaan badeecada taala daasaska suuqa. Waxan dukaamada eeg eegaba, labada fiidkii markaay gaartay ayaan ku soo laabtay cariishkii weynaa ee aan caawa wax ka cunay. Dhawr qof ayaa markaa sii seexnaya, waana goor ku haboon in aan anna istuuro. Darmo loogu tagalagalay in martidu ku seexato ama cabaar isku kala bixiso markay daalanyahiin, ayaa goglan. Anigoo aan cidna weydiisan oo iska dhigaya in

meesha laga yaqaan ama waaridkiis la socda, ayaan biliq meesha isku siiyey. Waxan baraarugay markaa waagu dilaacay. Mise wiilkii makhaayaddu mar hore ayuu shaaha diyaariyey. Labo fujaan oo cadeysa, oo isdaba jooga ah inta dalbaday, ayaan durba ka tuuray. Waxan bilaabay in labo-talamo: Ma joogtaa mise waa nasataa maanta? Waxan goostay in aannan baaqan ee socdo. Ishaydu waxay qabatay gaari noocda Nissan oo barxadda taagan. Lala ma joogo gaariga, dadka beledkuna weli waaba hurdaa. Wakhti ayaa igu socda oo ma sugikaro dadka gaariga watay aan la ogeyn koorta ayey soo toosayaan. Waxaa igu dhashay fakarka ah haddii gaarigu u socdo Gaalkacayo, wadada ayuu kaaga daba imaan, deedna kuu joogsan si uu ii sii qaado. Igama daba immaan gaarigii. Arrintaa waan isku mahadiyey in aanan Bali Busle ugu baaqan saaka. Bartilmaameedkayga kale waa Ceel Barde oo ah bilowga dhoodida ama dooxada Mudug. Waxan ku ogaa Ceel Barde, waagii aan carrada joognay, gadisley mar mar ku ganacsada Ceelka. Waxan rajeynayaa in ayan haatan cidla ahayn. Qorshahaygu waa in aan cawa Ceel Barde ku dhaxo. Wadadu hareeraheeda xoolo badan baa daaqaya, taasuna wehel ayey ii tahay. Dhexda waxan ku leexday reer oo aan biyo ka sii cabay. Waxaan wadada hayaba casarkii, ayaan alleelehe ka soo dhuldacay Ceel Barde. Waa ceel aan horey u aqaanay, dhoodi ku yaal, dhawr geed oo barde ah leh, agagaarkana xoolo daaqeen balaarran kule oo wakhtiga jiilaalka ah xaab badanleh, markay carradu ugbaadtahay oo xilliga doogga la deggen. Dhaan aan saa u badnayn ayaa markaa la rarayaa. Ceelashaan soo dhexmaray, anoo usoo gudbaya Daasaska halkaa iiga muuqda. Koox raggaa shaah ku cabaya mid ka mid ah sadexda daas oo halgaa ka dhisan. Inta soo garab fariistay raggaa, ayaan fujaan shaaha oo bigeys ah dalbaday. Waxba la ima dareemin aniga, oo sheekooyin kale ayaa la wadataa. Malahana waxa loo haystaa in aan waaridkay oo dhaan wada la sucdo. Mid cadeys ah ayaan ku xigsaday. Durba haraadkii iyo gaajadii ihaysey waa iga ba'een. Wax yar haatan haddan nastay, ayaa daaslehii yiri: “hiblkii waa diyaar, raggow” Durba dhawr nin ayaa yiri: “War soo dhig hiblkii”. Daasle markiiba wuxu raga soo hordhigay xeero weyn oo hilbo kulul oo qiiq ka baxayo. “War nin walbow waslada aad rabtit kala bax”, ayuu raggii ku yiri. Inta nin ragga la siman iska dhigay ayaan garab soo qabsaday. Inta ku gubtay hiblkii ayaan xeeradi dib ugu tuuray. Waa lagu wada qusquslay. Inta isku yaxayay ayaan haddana ragganimo iska baar baaray oo garabkii markale soo dafay oo inta kor tuuray haddana dhexda ka qabsaday. “War yaa maxaad ugu ciyaareysa cunada?” Ayuu daasle i weydiiyey. “Adeer, waa ku gubtay”. “O maa sugtit inta u kuu qaboobaayo?” “Adeer hadda waa cunayaa”. “O yaa kaa bixinaya lacagta aad qabtii”? “Adeer anaa iska bixinaya”. Kharashkii igu baxay oo dhani ma gaarin Shilling barkii. Inta kacay ayaan yaraha duur tagay anoo fiirinaya agagaarka in wax iska badelleen labo

sano ka dib oo ka soo wareegatay markii iigu dambeysay Ceel Barde. Waxan arkay in geeduhu intii, tiro ahaan, ka yaryihiin, ciiduna ka tayo liidato. Waxan ku soo laabtay daaskii oo rag kale ku soo biireen. Meel baan iska fariistay anoo markaa isu haystaa nin daaska la yaqaan oo lacag leh. Markaa waa gabal dhac la kala caraabayo ceelka. Sheekooyinka qubanaha ah ee ragga meesha fadhiya aan iska dhageystay. Sheekooyinku waxay ka kala hadlayaan geel, dumar, qaan, gabay, maah maaho, gar, xaal, dagaal iyo wixii la mid ah. Raggii in yar baa ku soo haray daaska. Waa la kala caraabay. “War ma aabahaa baad meesha ku sugeysaa, adigu?” “Maya, Adeer, waa keligey”. Inta yaabay, ayuu iweydiiyey, “oo xagey ka timi?” “Jeriiban, adeer”. Inta i fiiriyey, ayuu i weydiiyey, “oo ma soo lugeysay?” “Haa, Adeer”, ayaan ugu jawaabay. “Oo ma reerkiiniiba meelaha degen oo aad ku socotaa”. “Maya, Adeer. Waxan u socdaa Gaalkacayo iyo Xamar”. Inta i fiiriyey, ayuu iska aamusey. Markaa waa fiidkii, faynuusna waa noo daarantahay. Yeelkeede weli dayaxii ma dhicin. Daaslihii wuxu fidiyey darin balaarran oo ugu talagalay martida habeen dhaxa ugu barida daaska. Aargalaan caanno geel iyo nus bariis ah ayaan dalbaday. Kharashkii markaan iska bixiyey, ayaan darinta dhinacceeda biliq ugu dhacay. Waaga oo aan weli dilaacin ayaan ayaan toosay. Weli waa mudugdi, wax sharqan ah maleh. Waan duurtagay, anoo durwaa ama libaax ka baqaya. Xaajadaydii markaan soo dhameystay, ayaan ku laabtay daaska, iyadoo weli la hurhurdo. Anoo daaska hortiisa jooga ayaan labotalamay: Ma hadda ayaad dhaqaaqda oo wadada qabsataa mise waagaad sugtaa? Waxan goostay in aan waabariga sugo, si aanan waraabi halis ugu galin, iyadoo wadadu mugdi tahay. Kaaha waaga ayaan dhaqaaqay, anoo markaa diiraddu ii saarantahay ceelka Godod ee horay inoogu jirtay sheekada dayrtii Yaxoob-Dheer. Wadadu waxay dhex-jibaaxaysaa dhoodida Mudug, dhul dibir ah oo socodka ku haboon. Waxba sheeko dheer yaannan ku daalin eh, waxan gaaray Godod Duhur ka dib. Waa ceel aan si fiican u aqaan. Geedo gurac ah oo waa weyn ayaa ku yaal, aadna ugu haboon dad iyo duunyadaba in ay qoraxda kulul ama milicda ka harsadaan. Waabab door ah iyo daarro dhagax ah ayaa ceelku leeyahay. Mid baan ku soo leexday aan shaah casmali ah ka dalbaday, mid caddeysna ku xijiyey. Rag dhawr ah ayaa meesha farfadhiya. Cabaar haddii la joogay, ayaan qado Baasta hilib leh dalbaday. Markii la arkay saan isu dabirayo, ayaa nin raga ka mid ah i weydiiyey, “War ina ayo ayaad tahay?” “Ina Xaaji Warsame”, ayaan ugu jawaabay. “Oo aya ah?”. “Waan u sheegay. “Ma markii kuugu horeysaybaa ceelkaannu?” Inta qoslay ayaan bilaabay sheekadii ugu horeysay noloshayda oo aan rag u soo jeediyey, oo aan warbixin ka soo jeediyo wixii igu dhacay Dayrtii Yaxoob-Dheer iyo waayo aragnimadaydii Ceelka Godod. Ninkii su'aasha iweydiiyey wuxu yiri: “war wiilyahaw inan da'diissa ka weyn baa tahay”. Casar dheer ayaan wadadaydii dib u qabsay. Magaalada

Gaalkacay ayaan markaa niyadda ku haya. Waxan qiyaasayaa in aan cawa u hoyankaro. Carrada waxan ku ogaa in ay leedahay libaax iyo waraabe dad qaadda oo yaraanteydii wax maqlijerey. Waxan go'aansaday in aan qoraxdo iigu dhicin wadada iyo meel cidla. Makhrib baa la gaaray ayadoon Gaalkacayo weli ii muuqan. Meesha aan markaa marayaa waa banka bari ee Gaalkacayo. Waa la deggenyahay Banka. Fiid bay noqotay, Gaalkacayana meel fog ayey kasoo ifeysaa. Oon baa ihaya. Reer wadada dhiniciisa yaala ayaan isri biyo weydiiso oo ku soo leexday. Islaan guriga dayrgiisa fadhida oo dab dabineysa ayaan salaamay. Say waa iga qaadiweyday salaanti. “Eedo waa oomanahaye, biyo isii”, ayaan iri. Say inta xaggeyga u soo humaagsatay, ayey tiri, “aryaa, ilmuhu indha adakaa, biyo ma haaye”. Islaantu malaha waxay u qaadatay in wiilka wakhtigaa gudaya uu martigelin ka rabo, iyana ayen ku talagalin. Waa habraac reer miyiga in ayey isu wajixumeeyaan martida ayan rabin. Waan fahmay sansaanka islaanta. “Eedo marti ma ihiye, magaalada ayaan u socda”. Islaantii inta kacday bay aargalaan biya ah ii keentay. Inta kacay, biyaha markaan dhameystay, ayaan ku iri, “nabadey, eedo”. Waa inaan Gaalkacayo gaaraa intaan dadku seexan. Ifka beledku intaa waa soo kordhayaa. Alleylehe, waa isasoo tagay Gaalkacayo, anoo, dhinac markaan arritan eegana faraxsan, dhinacca kalena walwalsan. Waa faraxsanahan oo imaashada Gaalkacayo waa guul weyn oo an ka gaaray dhibkii badnaa ee hayaanka ka dib. Waa walwalsanahay oo meel aan caawa ku hoyandoonno weli ma sugna. Markii iigu horeysay noloshayda ayaan ka walwalay deegaan qof ahaanneed, iyo dhibka uu la kulmikaro qof oo an hoy amaa anti kula ahayn magaalo. Nasiib wanaag walaashay an jeclaa, Sacdiya Xaaji Warsame, ayaa degen beledka, hase ahaatee, waa habeen, magaalada weligay ma iman, ciid aan ku hormaro oo weydiiyo xaafada laga helo Sacdiya ma garanayo. Waxan u haystaa in magaalo ka bilaabato bartanka oo halgaa laga cabir qaato. Waxaa kaloo madaxxayga ku jirta in suuqa weyn a beledku ku yaal bartamaha magaalada. Gaalkacayo waxay markaa ila tahay magaalo weyn oo lagu habaabayo. Sadexdii iyo bar bay kooreysatadu gaartay. Meel walba waa iftiin oo nalka ayaa bilikbilik leh. Iftiinka nalalka gaar ka midhi waaba ku indha sarcaadinayaan. Waa magaalo daarro badan, dukaamada iyo makhaayaduhuna weli furanyihiin. Meel an isleeyahay waa bartanka beledka ayaan ku arkay makhaayed camiran. Waa ku soo leexday makhaayda oo kursi banaan ee kuwa debedda yaal ah iska fariistay. Dhawr wiil iyo nin maqalka fadhiya ayaa makhaayaayadda ka shaqaynaya. Sideydii baan dalbaday fujaan shaaha oo aan la cadeyn. Mar hadday habeen tahay wakhtiguna ciriiri yahay, ayaan inta kursiga ka soo kacay, shaaha oo ii yaal miiska, ayaan u imi niinkii maqalka fadhiyey. Inta salaamay ninka baan weydiyey: “Adeerow, guriga Xasan Faarax meeshuu yahay ma ii sheegi kartaa?” Niinka makhaayaddu inta ifiirshay oo arkay dhiifta

wajigeeyga ka muuqata, ayuu ii weydiyey, “war xaggee baad ka timi?” “Jeriiban, adeer”. “Oo ma wiilka la waayey ee ina Xaaji Warsame ayaad tahay?” “Haa, adeer” “Fariiso meeshaada oo cashee, guriga Xasan waa lagu geynayaaye”. Aad ayaan ugu farxay in ninku igartay. Walwalkii ihayey durba waa iga duulay. Waxa isku mar dhacay in lay garto, casho la isiinayo iyo gurigii walaashay oo la balanqaaday in lay geynayo. Isla habeenkaa ayaan ogaaday in ninka dalinyarada ah ee maqalka makhaayadda fadhiyaa in lagu niinaaso Cukur, makaayaddana isagu leyyahay. Cukur waa dambe wuxu noqday sargaal ka tirsan Xoogga Dalka Somalia. Wax aad looga tiiraanyoodo weeye in Cukur ka mid noqdo saraakiishii maamulkii Maxamed Siyaad Barre ku laayey magaalada Hargeisa horaantii 1980aad ka dib markii sii deg deg shirqool siyaasadeed oo qabyaalad, caadifad iyo been-abuur mucaarad dawladeed lagu eedeeyey, ujeedada maamulkuna ahayd in lagu bajiyo saraakiisha Xoogga Dalka.

Waxba yaanan kuu sheeka dheereyn eh, Cukur wiil guriga Sacdiyo Xaaji Warsame igeeya bu igu daray. Iyadda oo saacadu tahay afartii fiidnimo ayaan alleelehe Gurigii aan rabay isa soo taagay. Gurigu dayr dheer oo albaab weyn leh ayuu leeyahay. Inta wiilkii iwayday isug iri ayaan albaabkii guriga gargaraacay. Sacdiya lafteedii ayaa iga furtay albaabka. Markay qac indhaha igu siisay ayey inta haw soo tiri ayey tiri “ alla ba'aye waa walalkay Ismaaciil”. In yar markay iwareysatay oo ogatay in aan nabad ku imi, ayey inta yaraha baxday oo dukaan u dhawaa tagtay ayey waxay ii keentay macawiis, shaar, garan iyo go' oo tiri, “war iska badel dharka oo qubeyso” Sacdiya qol aan seexdo ayey durba ii diyaarisay. Waxan ogaaday in Aabe kala soo xiriiray taarka Boliiska Jeriiban oo la raadinayey meel aan jaan iyo cirib dhigay. Waxan u sheegay Sacdiya in aan makhaayadda Cukur ka soo casheeyey oo an gaajo ihayn. Haraan ka seexday.

Marka laga reebo inta yare ee Jeriiban, anoo jooga ka ogaaday, Dawlad Somalia jiritaankeeda rasmiga waxan si haboon ugu baraarugay mudadii aan dheerrayn ee an ku sugnaa Gaalkayo, inta anan hayaankii dheeraa sii wadan tan iyo Xamar.

QAYBTA 3AAD

GAALKACYO

1962-dii Gaalkacayo waxay ahayd magaalo weyn heerka Soomaaliya. Magaaladu waxay la hayd labo dawldadood: Dawladda dhexe ee Soomaaliya oo uu matalo Guddoomiye Gobol iyo midda dawlad hoose ee heer deegaan ah. Duqqa Magaalada waa la soo dooranjirey, waxana jirey Gole degaan ee Dawladda Hoose. Saldhig Xoogga Dalka Soomaaliya and Boliiska Qaran ayaa magaalada ka jirey. Dawladda Hoose iyana waxay la hayd ciidamo cashuurraha ilaaliya. Magaalada waxa ku yaalay dhawr dugsiga hoose iyo dhexaba. Waxa kaloo ka dhisnaa dugsiga hoose ee Allaahayda Masar. Dugsiga Dawladda waxay lagu bartaa Talyaaniga. Gaalkacayo waxay u ahay Xarun Waxbarasho Gobolladii loo yaqaaney Majeertiinniya ee Mudug, Nugaal iyo Bari. Magaalada waxa ku taal Maxkamadaha darajadaha koowaad iyo dhexe iyo midda racfaanka ah. Xarumaha ururrada siyaasadeed oo loo yaqaan Naadiyaasha Xisbiyada ayaa iyana ka furnaa beledka oo habeennadii dodo kuluul ee siyaasadeed ka soconjirtey. Waxa joogga beledka odayaal iyo waxgarad dawr ah oo talada Gobolka iyo dalkaba wax laga weydiiyo. Waxay magaaladu leedahay dad aad reer magaal u ah, fanaaniin iyo indheer garato badan, oo dad badanni u soo hiloobaan, fadhiyo dhaqan oo doodo xiisa leh ka socdaan. Amniga guud ee magaaladu waa fiicnaa, marka laga reebo dambiyo mar mar ka dhaca miyiga. Dadku xoog bay u taageersanyahiin gobanimada iyo dawladda Soomaaliya u dhalatay. Hididiilo badan ayaa loo qabay nidaamka cusub iyo dawladnima curdanka ah. Suuqqa habeen iyo maalinba waxa marayey, oo ka muuqatay askar kala labis duwan oo boolis, milatari iyo ilaalaba ah. Magaalada waxay leedahay barxad balaaran oo beer weyn ku dhex taalo. Beertu waxa ku dhextaala geedo waaweyn iyo kuwo deyr u ah, oo hadba loo qoor diido, say ula baxaan madaxyo balaarran oo xayn daabka beerta buuxiya. Ciid carrasan ah ayaa lagu shubijirey beerta, waana la rushaynjirey galab walba. Kuraas lagu nasto ayaa beerta ardaageeda ku teedsanaanjirey. Beertu waxay u furan dhanka waqooyi Xafiisyada Guddoomiyaha iyo Maxkamadda Gobolka. Beerta afgeedu waxay ku dhamaataa taalo tiir dheer oo calanka Somalia ka dul babanayo. Galab walba askar gaardineysa, muusikana tumaysa ayaa calanka dajineysay. Dadka beledku siiba dhalinyara beertaa ayey galabtii isugu soo banaan bixijireen si ay u daawadaan damaashaadkaa calanka iyo muusik-gaardiga askarta. Subaxdii

waxad arkeysey dad wada kalahaya oo shaqo ama dugsi u socda. Magaalada waxa ka furan xarumo ganacsi oo waaweyn, suuqqa hilibka, ganacsiga xoolaha nool, waratada iyo dukaamo aad u camiran oo badanaaba magaalada Caden ku xiran iyo iibgeynta xoola nool iyo hargaha. Xoolo dhaqatada ayaa iyana aad u yimaada beledka iyagoo keenaya caano, xaabo, alaabta farshaxanka gacanta, iyaga oo ku badelanaya shaaha, sonkorta, calaliska iwm. Magaalada waxa ku yaala hoy ay kireystaan martidu iyo makhaayado waaweyn oo leh xayndaab iyo barxado kuraas dibedda iyo naacawda la dhigto. Xarunta filimada ama shineemada weyn ee magaalada bartankeeda ku taalaa, waxay tahay hadana xarun dhagan iyo suugaaneed sida riwaayadaha iyo xafladahaba lagu dhigo. Gaalkacayo waxay hayd magaalo si haboon loo dhisay oo jidad weyn dhex maraan. Dhanka Waqooyi waxa ka soo gala beledka jid balaaran oo ka yimaada Bari iyo dhanka Jeriiban, deedna ku xirma kan Koonfureed ee aada Muqdisho. Wadooyina midkale ayaa ka farcama oo xirma kuwaa magaalada daafaheedda aada. Magaalada daafaheedda dhanka Bari waxa ku yaala biyo galeenka cirjiife iyo gagada diyaaradaha Gaalkacayo, dhanka Waqooyi durdurka Yamayska, dhanka Koonfureedna barxadda Yool Gaduud ee kubadda cagta lagu tartamo. Magaaladu guud ahaan waxay u qaybsantahay labo qaybood oo waaweyn iyo bartamaha beledka. Gaalkacayo waxay ka mid tahay magaalooyinka yar ee Somalia oo ay wada degenyihiin beelo waaweyn ee soo jireen ah ee kala duwan, taariikh kule halganka gobanimadoon, xoriyadda iyo dawladnimada Soomaalia qayb libaax ka soo wada qaateen. Gaalkacayo waxay ahayd Magaalo-Madaxda Gobolka Mudug oo markaa Gobolka Galgaduud uu ka tirsanaa. Magaalooyinka Duusa Mareeb, Hobyo iyo Xarar Dheere, Caabud Waaq iyo Balanbale waxay ahaayeen degmooyin ka tirsan Mudug. Gaalkacay waxay ahayd magaalo muhiim u ah Gumeysigii Talyaanigu in uu gacanta ku dhigo. Baaqqa magaca Gaalkacayo ee hawlgalada milatariga Talyaaniga wuxu ahaa “Rocca la Vittorio” ama Markabka Guusha. Baaqqu wuxu cabirayaa, kana turjumaya labo arrimood:

1. In ciidamada Talyaanigu iska caabin weyn kala kulmeen qabashadii Gaalkacayo. Waa magaalo istratiji ah oo ku taal meel u dhaxaysa Muqdisho, Boosaaso, Hargeysa iyo Dagaxbuur oo 750 Km tiiba u jirta, wadooyinka loo aadana ay soo galaan Gaalkacayo. In ay dhacdo Gaalkacayo waxay Talyaaniga lagama maarmaan ugu ahayd burburintii Saldanadii Keenediid ee Magaalada Hobyo iyo Boqortooyadii Boqor Cismaan ee Bari. Beelaha Mudug degenni waa kuwii suurtagaliyey dhismihii Saldanadii Keenediid ee magaalada Hobyo, difaac adagna u haa.

2. Gaalkacayo waxay ahayd magaalo aad muhiim u ah Talyaaniga marka laga

eego dhanka amniga la xiriirra dhulka Soomaaliyeed ee Gumeysiga Ingiriisku ka talinjirey ee Somaliland iyo Boqortooyadii Menelik/Haile-Selassie ee Ethiopia. Duulaankii Taalyaanigu mudo kooban ku qabsaday Ethiopia wuxu ka bilowday deeganka Walwaal ee Waqooyi Galbeed kaga aadan Gaalkacayo, waxana xabaddii ugu horeysay riday nin reer Mudug ah, oo Alle haw naxariistee lagu magacabijirey Aden Low, deedna xildhibaan ka noqday Golaha Wakiillada Soomaaliya.

Gaalkacayo waa magaalo caan ku ah fagarka furfuran dhanka siyaasadda iyo dhaqanka. Waxa laga yaabaa dad badan ee Soomaaliyeed in ayan la socon in Gaalkacayo gaar ahaan, iyo Gobolka Mudug guud ahaan, ay yihiin deegaanka keli ah ee Soomaaliya ee ay ka soo caan baxeen madaxdii Soomaaliyeed ee Bootaanno, Sarxaanno, iyo kuwo kale iyadoo ayen sidaa uga fogeyn Samatarro. Beelaha madaxdaa Soomaaliyeed ka soo jeedaan waxay ku leeyihiin Bulshada Gaalkacayo magac iyo qarin run ah ay kaga qayb qaataan dhamaan talada iyo hawlaha bulsho, taa oo gaar ah Gaalkacayo marka la eego arrintan dhanka deegaamada kale ee Soomaaliya.

Maadaama Gaalkacayo ay saameen weyn ku leedahay siyaasadda, maamulka, dhismaha Xoogga Dalka, waxbarashada iyo wixii la mid ah ee Soomaaliya, dadkeeduna ay badanaaba ka soo jeedaan miyiga oo ka dhaqan gadisan Reer Xamar, waxaa fadhi ku dirirada Soomaaliyeed ka dhacnaa maag iyo kaftan badan oo Gaalkacayo ku saabsan sida “War kani biyihii Barde Cad ayuu soo cabey” Barde Cad waa ceel Gaalkacayo ku yaal ee biyo dhanaan badan leh, qofkii ka cabana reer Xamar u yaqaanaan in uu waalanyahay ama macnaha kale ay ka wadaan yahay, in uu indha adagyahay oo wax walba u bareeri karo ama ku dhiirran karo taa oo aan ka suurtoobin reer magaalka Xamar. Reer Gaalkacayana iyaga kula kaftamaan in meesha cambuho iyo muusku uga baxo, in Gaalkacayo raggu ka soo baxo.

Mudo yar hadaan jogay Gaalkacayo ayaa Walaashay Sacdiya iyo seedigey Xasan Faarax waxay ii soo jeediyeen in an dugsiga hoose la igeeyo. Dawladda Hoose ee beledka ayaa la iga soo sameeyey waraaqaha aqoonsiga. Subaxdii ku xigteyna waxa la iigeeyey Maamulihii dusiga oo lay qoray arday fasalka labaad. Maalintaan bilaabey fasalka waxan ugu tegay carruur iga yar yar. Waxa igu jira qabkii isla weynaanta reer miyiga oo aan u arko in ay tahay ceeb in aan la dhigto darsi wiillal iga yar yar. Halgaa cuqdo ayaan ka qaaday, taa oo keentay in aannaan dugsigii dib ugu laaban maalintii ka dib. Waxa abuurrantay xaalad ardada iga yar yarna an ka faanayo kuwa ileegna aanan la qabsan karin duruusta

ay dhiganayaan.

Mudo yar ka dib Aabe ayaa Gaalkacayo shaqo u yimi. Aabe wuxu ugu horayntiiba iweydiiyey: “war maxaa kuu tala ah?” “Xamar in aan aado, Aabe”, ayaan ugu jawaabey. “Khayr alle ha ka dhigo”, ayuu Aabe yiri. Aad ayaan ugu farxay jawaabtiisa. Aabe wuxu isiiyey boqol Shilling, oo waagaa ahayd lacag aad iyo aad u badan, oo yiri, “ku jidmar, yeynan kugu dhicin eh sidii kugu dhacday safarkii Gaalkacayoo kale eh”

Durba waxay isu diyaariyey safarka Muqdisho. Surwaal kaaki ah, suun, waliba kiishad aan lacag ku meeleysto, kabo reer magaal oo noocda loo yaqaan “scarpo” ee Talyaaniga lagu sameeyey iyo kabo iska xijiskoodii ah iyo shandad yar ayaan soo gatay. Shaar iyo funaanadna horey ayaan u lahaa. Waa 1962-dii, bisha Oktoobar. Aabe wuxu iila hadlay ganacsade baabuurkiisu u safro Muqdisho in uu isii qaado oo gaariga shirkiisa kursi iiga helo. Ganacsaduhu inta Aabe waa yahay ku yiri, yuu markuu Aabe iga takay ugu yiri, “war wiil yar baa tahay eh, kor gaariga ka fuul”. Gaarigu waa mid dheer, ahna noocda N3 ee Talyaaniga. Nin geed iyo dudumo fuuli yaqaan baan ahay eh, inta shandaddii yarayd gaariga dhaladiisa ku tuuray ayaan kor dhafay. Waa koor barqa ah milicduna ayen weli kululaaan. Tobaneeyo qof ayaa gaariga ila fuushan. Dheeraa wadadu. Waa 750 Km oo ilaa Beled Weyne ay tahay qarfe gaariga bood boodkiisu nafta kaa qaadayo. Makhaayadda Buurdibi ee Jowhar intaan la gaarin ku taal ayaan sii istaagnay. oo wax ka cunay. Guurihii waxa nagu soo dhacaysay dhaxan halis ah oo dharka khafiifka oo an qabo iska celin karin. Waxan guureynaba waagu markuu baryey ayaan alleelehe Xamar soo galay. Gaarigii wuxu soo istagay Yoobsan, oo nasib wanaag ah cinwaanka aan u socdo oo Xaajiyaal adeerro iigu aadan guryo ku leeyihiin. Ninkii gaariga lahaa ayaa igu yiri: “War yaa, waa kaa fooqi adeerradaa”

Anoo walaansanaya shandaddi yarayd, ayan waxan u imi Adeer Xaaji Deriye, Alle haw naxariistee, oo maqalka baxaar weyn daarta dabaqa ah hoosteed fadhiya. Markaan isu sheegay, ayuu yeeray nin adeege baxaarka ka ah oo yiri, “war wiilkaan kee Qolka Martida”. Sariir banana inta ku dhacay ayaan galay gam ayey hurda dheer illaa iyo subaxdii dambe.

QAYBTA 4AAD

MUQDISHO

Muqdishu waa magaalo madax ku taal xeebta badweynta India, naacawda macaan mareyso ee loo qayaan Moonsuunka, oo ku soo daacaysa galabti, macaankeedana makhaayadaha hortooda la fadhiyo, oo ay ku raaxaysanayaa macaamiishu, iyadoo bunka samaynta kala duwan, shaaha iyo cabitaanka qabow codsigoodu isdamarayaan. Kuwa xeebta dheer ee Liido ku dabaalanayana ay ismoodaan in ay janadii ku jiraan. Waa magaalo madax dhankastaba ka dhisan, ahna xarun siyaasadeed, ganacsi, dhaqaale, isgaarsin, waxbarasho iyo dhaqan. Waa magaalo la tartamaysa aduunka kale ee ummadaha konka. Waa magaalo ay ku noolyihiin jinsiyado farabadan oo qaaradaha aduunka ka kala yimi, qaarkoodna ayba si rasmi ah u degenyihiin. Waa magaalo dadka nool ay wada faraxsanyihiin oo aad moodid in ay kuli u dabaal dagayaan xorriyada iyo gobanimadda cusub ee markaa labo jirsatay. Tartan siyaasadeed, ganacsi iyo waxbarasho ayaa xoog u socda. Radio Muqdisho ayaa beledka iyo Soomaaliya oo dhanba haysta marka laga reebo Raadiyaha Ingiriiska ee BBCda laanta Afka Soomaalida, oo iyana xoog loo dhageysto, rag afmaal ku ahna Soomaaliga ka xaladiyana ka hadlaan. Naadiyada asxaabta siyaasadeed ayaa xoog waxa uga socda dodo kulkul, oo midba midka kale wax kaga sheegayso, mucaaradkuna uu ku maagayo dawladda u madax ka yahay Cabdirashid Cali Sharma'arke. Cadaan taalyaani u badan yahay ayaa magaalada ka muuqata. Wax walba waxay ku socdaan habka talyaaniga, maamul ahaan. Qofkaan afka talyaniga aqoon ilbax ma aha. Dadka waqooyi ka yimaadaa reer Xamar ku wax u yaqaaniin badaw soo galooti ah. Dood weyn oo reer koonfureedka iyo reer waqooyiga ayaa beledka ka socda. Ganacsi iyo mashaariic dawladeed oo kala duwan ayaa si xayli ah u socda, oo waxad maqleysaa ama arkaysaa dad shaqo doon ah iyo kuwo soo helay shaqooyin. Dad badan oo waaweyn ayaa dib u bilaabay waxbarasho lagu dhigo affafka Talyaaniga, Carabiga iyo Ingiriiska. Dugsiyo dadka waaweyn ayaa Xamar iyo magaalooyinka kaleba ee dalka ka furmay.

Sida taariikhdu qortay. Muqdishu waa magaalo soo jireen ah oo ganacsi la lahayd India iyo Shiinaha qarnigii 14-aad. Waxaa waagaa safar ku yimi dhulmareyngii Marookaanka ahaa, Ibnu Batuuta, Dhulmaraagii Siiriyaanka ahaa ee Yacquub Al Hawami, gumeysigii Reer Yurub, ka horna Vasco de Gama oo

ahaa badmaax Burtiqiis ah iyo Richard Burton oo ahaa dhulmareen Ingiriis ah ayaa iyana yimi carrada. Ibnu Battuta wuxu ka waramay siday Xamar waagaa uga dhisnayd daarro dhagax ah iyo in ay ahayd magaalo madax dawladdeed (City State) oo weyn, lehna xiriirro ganacsi dibeddeed iyo dhaqanba. Ibnu Batuta wuxu cadeyyey in qarni 14-aad Muqdishu u iibgeynjirtay dalka Masar dhar iyo samaysyo kale ee beledka ka soo baxa ama lagu sameeyo. Magacca Magadisha wuxu yami erayga carabiga ah 'Maq'ad Shah' ama Fadhiga Shah. Shah waa Suldaankii iiraan oo saamayn weyn ee dhaqan iyo ganacsi ku lahaa Muqdishu ka hor wakhtigii Ibnu Batuta. Muqdishu taariikhdeedu waxay soo jireen ahayd tan iyo qarnigii 1aad oo xiriir ganacsi la lahayd wadamo Carbeed. Muqdishu waxa soo maray dawladdo ama maamullo saldanooyin kula duwan sida tii Ajuuraanka ee Musaafur iyo kuwo kaleba. Muqdishu waxay la hayd lacag ay wax kula iibsato qarnigii 14-aad ka hor.

Waxan Muqdishu imi Bishii Oktoobar 1962. Inkasta aan Gaalkacayo wax kasoo bawsaday, baraaruga siyaasadeed wuxu iga bilawday Muqdishu. Erayga doorasho siyaasadeed ayaan markii iigu horeysay maqlay. Waxan kaloo ku baraarugay asxaab siyaasadeed oo tartameysa, Golo wakiillo ee dadka ama shacabka, wasiirro, Madaxweyne, Wasiir-koowaad, Duq-Magaalo, safaarado, saldhigyo akhris ama akhriyaal, heerar kala duwan ee dugsiyo waxbarasho iyo wixii la mid ah. Waa magaalo aad u xisa badan marka laga eego dhan walba, aadna uga duwan jawigii aan ku noolaa iyo dhaqanka miyiga.

Ujeedada ugu weyn ee Xamar ikeentay waa waxbarasho. Xamar waxa joogaa Walaal Isaxaaq oo ah markaa ah dhige dugsi hoose ee Wasaaradda Waxbarashada. Waxay noqotay in dugsi la ila raadiyo. Dugsiyada aan la qabsankaro waxa dhigta caruur iga yar yar oo horay aan cuqdo uga qaaday, markii la igeeyey Gaalkacayo dugsigeedii hoose. Waxay noqotay in la iska kaydaayo, sidii aan rabo aan yeelee. Waxan bilaabay dugsiyo gaar ah oo lacag yar bishii la iska bixiyo iyo habeenkii dadka waweyn dhigtaan. Waxan ugu horayn bilaabay Talyaani, deeda u badashay Ingiriis, carabina wax baan ka bawsaday. Waxan akhrijirey wax kasta iyo buug kasta oo iga soo horbaxa. Akhriskaygu kala joogis maleh habeen iyo maalinba.

Waxay gaartay 1963-dii marka Dawladda Mareykanku hawada u gantay Dayax Gacmeedkii Appollo 11, kuna guuleysatay in ay markii ugu horaysay banii aadam dajiso dayaxa dushiisa. Waxay ahayd arrin la yaableh oo muujisay awoodda ilaah siiyey banii aadamka iyo waxa suurtagal u ah hadduu qofku dadaalo. Waxan xusuustaa habeen, anagoo fadhina xarunta akhriska Buugta

Mareykanka (Library), la iskugu kaayeeray qolka filimada Xarunta. In yar ka dib, waxaa soo galay qolka Safiirka Mareykanka iyo Jananka Booliska Soomaaliya, Maxamed Abshir Habaan. Safiirka ayaa hadalkiisa ku bilaabay: “Waxaan aad uga xumahay in aan TV jirin Soomaaliya oo anaan wada daawan karin Appollo 11 oo dayaxa dushiisa ku dagaya iyo cir aadayaasha oo dayaxa ku dulsocda”. Janankuna wax buu yiri aan xusuus igu reebin. Xarunta Akhriska Mareykanku oo markaa ku taalay cirifka Xaafada Shangaani, qayb weyn ayey ka qaadatay aasaaska wabarashadaydii hore.

Waxbarashadaa goos goos waxan Xamar ka waday ilaa 1964-tii, kadib markaan dib ugu noqday Gaalkacayo oo dhalinyaro Peace Corps ee Mareykan ah ee Barnaamijka Madaxweyne Kennedy ee New Frontiers, wax ka dhigijireen. Waa wabarashada dadka waaweyn ayaan aad ula qabsaday. Sanad ayey igu gaartay in aan dhamaysto duruus si weyn wax ii tartay. Sanad dambe waa iisuurtagashay in aan galo dugsigii Allaahida Masar oo fasalada afraad iyo shanaadba isku sanad dhameysto. Waxax ahayd 1966-dii. Fasalka Shanaad waa ka ugu dambeeya dugsiga Hoose ee Allaahida, waxana noqotay in Xamar dib ugu soo laabto, anoo Gaalkacayo ka soo qalin jabiyeey. Galintaanka Allaahida iyo damaynta Fasalka Shanaad waxay ahayd arrin muhim ah oo wadada u xaartay waxa loo yaqaan “waxbarashada rasmiga ah”. Waxan Xaafada Bilaajo Carab ka bilaabay fasalkii ugu horeeyey ee dugsiga Dhexe ee Allaahida anigoo weli iskala weyn, oo isu haysta in heerka waxbarashadaydu ka sareeyo fasalka koowaad ee Dugsiga Dhexe. Markaa ardada taqaan afka Ingiriiska waxay intixaamo u galayaan Dugsiga Sare ee Banaadir, oo ahaa dugsiga ugu horeyyey ee ardada reer Waqooyiga iyo kuwa reer Koonfureedku ay warbarasho midaysan ku kulmaan. Maadaama ayen Koonfur jirin dugsiyo soo saara ardo afka Ingiriiska wax ku baratay, marka laga reebo dugsiyo gaar ahaaneed sida Menonite Mission-ka Mahaday/Jowhar, waxaa loo ogaladay ardada Koonfureed in ay intixaan u galaan wax barashada Banadir. Sanadkii 1967 ayaan intixaan aan ku guulestay u galay Dugsiga Banadir, anoo weli dhigta Allaahida. Waxaa si buuxda ibilaabatay waxbarasha rasmiga ee heer sare iyo casharro adag oo aasaaska hoose iga maqanyahay. Dadaalkayga awgiis, waxan ka mid noqday ardada ugu sareysa dhanka waxbarashada iyo asluubtaba. Waxa iyana sharaf weyn, oqoonsi iyo tixgelin ii ahayd in la ii doorto Madaxweynaha Gudiga Ardada Dusiga Sare ee Banadir sanadkii labaad ee 1968 tan iyo damaystirkii Banadir 1971-dii. Isla sanadkii labaad waxa nasiib darro ahayd Muqdishu xanunka malaria ugu geeryooday Aabe Xaaji Warsame Axmed Gurey Jawjawle. Aabe wuxu geeryooday anoo gacantiisa haya. Intuu naf-dhawrka ahaa, waxaa Cisbitaalka Martini nagu soo booqday Yassin Nur Hassan Bide, Alle haw naxariistee, oo

markaa ah Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha Soomaaliya iyo Mudane Abdirizak Haji Hussein, Wasiir-koowaadkii hore ee Soomaaliya. Waxaa la isla soo qaaday in Aabe dalka Shiinaha loo qaado, oo lagu soo daweeyo. Doodaa oo aan weli dhamaan ayaa aabe naftu deysay. Allaw kuu naxariisto!

QAYBTA 5AAD

AFGAMBIGII XUKUUMADDA SOOMAALIYA

21-KII OCTOOBAR 1969

Intaan Dugsiga Banadir dhiganaayey, waxan dareemay in ay jiraan dhabaatooyin farabadan ee dadweynuhu ka tabanayaan dhanka siyaasada, maamulka, fursadaha shaqo, ganacsi, waxbarasho iyo wixii la mid ah. Waxaa soo korartay carada dadweynuhu u qabo Dawladda. Waxaa aad looga careysanyahay maamulka doorashooyinka iyo musuqmaasuq la xirrirra. Dadka waxu sii luminayey kalsoonida uu u qabo waxqabadka iyo dhexdhexaadnima dawladda in dadku u simanyahay fursadaha qaranka. Waxaa bilaabatay eex, isdabamarin iyo wax waagaa loo yaqaaney “Recommendazione” oo ah in qofku la yimaado qof weyn oo la wada yaqaan ama awoodleh, wasiir, ama mudane Baarlamaan ah ama sargaal sare ee Dawladeed ah. Recommendation waxay lug ku yeelatay dhamaan nolashada qof ahaaneed dhinac kasta ee dhadhaqaaqa bulsho. Waxa dhuntay kalsoonida qaran iyo qof ahaaneedba iyadoo abuurantay cadaawad dadka dhexdiisa ah iyo niyadxumo guud oo dhalisay jawi siyaasadeed ee qalafsan iyo xaalad maamul iyo siyaasad cakiran, qaraxna qarka u saran. Doorashooyinkii 1968 ee Dawladdii Maxammed Ibraahim Cigaal dalka ka qabanqaabisay ayaad moodaa in baansiin iyo xaabo ku dartay xaaladdii awalba kargareysay. Haddaan miitaal qoof ahaaneed ka bixiyo kalsoonixumadu heerka ay gaartay, markaa Dugsiga Sare dhamaystay waxan coqsi isgumar ah geystay in aan ka qaybgalo tartanka Waxbarashada Dibedda Wadamada Suuqqa Europe, Midowga Soviet, Banka Hurumarinta Soomaliya, iyo Saraakiisha Xoogga Dalka si aan fursadaha u badsado, ileen midna iskuma hube eh, anoo heer aqoon ahaaneed kalsooni weyn isku qaba. Waxaa kaloo dhacday in codsigii tartanka deeqdii Waxbarashada Europe, anoo shaki ka qaba in an helayo, mar hadaan hubo in ardo badani jecelyihiin in ay Europe aadaan, marka la reebo Midowga Soviet, taa oo aan dareensan ahay in ay tahay fursada ugu weyn ee bilan.

1969 waxa magaalada Laas Caano lagu dilay Madaxweynihii Jamhuuriyedda Soomaaliya, iyadoo taasii isku badashay inqalaab ama afgambi ciidanka Xoogga Dalku ku sameeyeen Xukuumaddii Maxamed Ibrahim Egal. Dadweynuhu xoog ayuu usoo dhaweeyey afgamigaa dawladda, iyadoo hilimada dadweynuhu tahay

isbadel ku yimaada maamulka Xukuumadda dhanka cadaaladda iyo fursado loo simanyahay. Durba waxaa xabsiyada siyaasadeed lagu tuuray madaxdii siyaasadda dalka oo ay ku jiraan kuwo aan ka tirsanayn Xukuumadda Egal ama mucaarad iyada ku ahaa. Waxaa lalaalay Dastuurkii 1960-kii ee Soomaliya sameysatay qaadashada Gobanimada. Dalku wuxu noqday mid lagu maamulo go'aamo iyo qoraallo kasoo baxay Gudi Saraakiil Ciidamada oo la magacbaxay Golaha Sare ee Kacaanka. Waxaa bilowday Olalihii La dagaalanka Musuqmaasuqqa siyaasadaynsan, kaasoo oo ahaa olale sumcadda looga dilayo siyaasiinta qaranka, si loo kasbado taageero dadweyne. Waxaa si isdabajoog ah u bilowday olalayaal badan oo aan qabo qaarkood ay waxtar weyn lahaayeen, hase-ahaatee siyaasad dadweynaha mashquulin looga dhigayey.

QAYBTA 6AAD

WAXBARASHADII MIDOWKGA SOVIETI

Waxan darajo sare ku dhameeyey Dugsiga sare ee Banadir 1971 oo isla sanadkaaba ku guuleystay deeq waxbarashada Midowga Sovieti. Muqdisho oo weli ku jirta Olalayaasha “Kacanka” ayaa Aeroflot, aniga dhawr iyo toban arday ah noola duushay Moscow. Waa dayuuradii ugu horeysay ee an nolashayda raacco. Safarkaani aad ayuu uga duwanyahay kuwii horey iisoo maray. Kursi intaad ku fariisatid aad kuba gam'aysid ilaa cunto lagu toosinayo iyo gabdho kuu shaqaynaya oo aad malaa'igo moodo. Mid kooxdayada ka mid ah ayaa yiri, anoo hawada dhexjibaaxayna “Ismaaciillow, waxaba taa ha sii eegin, anay ii carbuunantahay eh, markaan Moscow gaarro. Waxay nala sii dagtay Aden (Konfur Yemen) oo aad dareemaysid in ay karkareysa ku layl awgiis, dedna Qaahira. Waa labo magaalo ee dadka Soomaaliyeed macna ugu fadhiya taariikh ahaan. Qofka Soomaaligu markuu joogo Gobolkaa, wuxu dareemaa culeyska dhaqan iyo siyaasadeed ee magaalooyinka Carbeed ku leeyihiin Soomaliya. Waxay hawada soo dhexjeexdaba Alleelehe aroor hore ayey Aeroflot nagala soo dagtay Moscow. Waa bartamaha Agoosto 1971, hawaduna aad bay noola qabawdahay, aniga iyo asxaabta kale ee igala timi wadan hawo kulul, oo weliba caden soo maray. Markii ugu horeysay ee aan tako dal shisheeye, dalalka carabtuna ha ku jireene. Dadka jooga gagada, ka shaqaynaya ama ka dhoofaya/kasoo dagayaa aad bay ila buurbuurihiin, dharkay qabaanna noola fowl-xunyihiin. Yeelkeede dumar qurux badan ayaa meesha ka muuqda, oo odorasku u muujinaya muuqaalka dumarka sugaya dalkaan kii doonaya. Markaan dhameysanay hawlaha gagada ee soo gelitaanka dalka ayaa sideed sideed nala qaaday gaari bas yar oo nala geeyey qolol la seexo ee Jaamacadda Dawladda ee Moscow University. Labo anaga aha iyo labo Ruush ah ayaa qolkiiba naloola dajiyey, habkaa oo noqondoona mid rasmi ah ilaa intaan ka dhameynayno Jaamacadda. Dhawrka beri ee aan joogay Moscow wax xusuussa ee weyn uguma reebin marka laga reebo weynanka Moscow, wadooyinka dulka hoostiisa mara, isjiidayaasha dadweynaha qaada oo marayaan wadooyinka iyo xarumaha fanka iyo sugaanta ee aduunkoo dhan caanka ka ah sida Opera-da, Ballet-ka iyo masxafyada taariikhda iyo xarumaha buugta iyo madbacadaha.

Soviet-ku wuxu ahaa dalka joqoraafi ahaan aad u balaaran, aadna u qabow

wakhtiga diraacda. Waa adagtahay in la isaga goosho dhexdiisa in la isticmaalo tareen ama diyaarad mooye. Sideed anagoo ah ayaa waxa tareen naloo ku qaaday magaaladii Leningrad (St Petersburg), halgaa oo Boolitnikada Leningradsky ka bilawnay Barashada Afga Ruushka socotay hal sano, deedna naloo kala diray jaamacadaha dalka. Dhawr anaga ah ayaa nasib u helay in loo diro magaalada Minsk ee Gobolka Belaruus, halgaa oo aqoonta engineeriyadda aan bilawnay Jaamacadda Minsk Polytechnika lixda sano iyo bar socday.

QAYBTA 7AAD

MIDOWGA SOVIETI

Vladimir Putin ayaa yiri in gabdhaha Ruushka ee suuqqa joogaa ay gabdha aduunka ugu wanaagsanyiin, mar uu ka jawaabay su'aal la xiriiirta in Madaxweyne Donald Trump, markuu ahaa ganacsade leh himilo siyaasadeed ee wajahan in uu noqdo Madaxweynaha Mareykanka 2016, Sirdoonka Ruusku, KGB, u keentay hudheelkiisa gabdho uu la baashaalo.

Waxan ku raacsanahay Puntin in gabdhaha Ruushku yihiin kuwo luga dhaadheer, timo dahabi ah leh iyo dhismo jirka ee cayaartoy.

Hadaan dib u jaleeco xaaladii dhaqan-dhaqaale ee markaa ka jirtay Midowga Sovieti, waxay ahayd mid fadhiid ah dhanwalba, siiba siyaasadda iyo dhaqaalaha. Waxa dalka hogaaminayey Xisbiga Shuuciga, oo madax ka ahaayeen siyaasiin hawl-gab noqday, oo maskaxdoodu fariisatay. Odagii Leonid Breshnev oo xanuun iyo da' la itaaldaran ayaa mafia xisbiga ka tirsani magacciisa ku adeegsanjireen. Sidii dal boqortooyo ku dhisan, ayaa mas'uul kasta oo meel madax kahi, magacciisa ka xusijirey fagaarayaasha dadweynaha, wax kastana u qabsanjirey siduu doono. Dadku markay iskudeensadaan, waxay isusheegijireen in ay quusyihiin.

Dalku wuxu ahaa mid ku socda indho-sarcaad aragtii dhaqan-dhaqaale oo lagu magaccaabay "socialism iyo communism", taa oo wadatay dacaayad balaarnan gudaha dalka iyo dibeddiisaba.

Dhanka kale, waxa dalka jirey faaidooyin doqon-marataha ee dadka Reer Galbeedkaha ayeen ku riyoonjirin sida shaqooyin sugan, hoy iwm.

Yeelkeede, dalka Sovieti waxa ku socday dacaayado balaarran dhanka hantigoosiga Reer Galbeedka, siiba ka imaaneysa dhanka Mareykanka, ahaa sababaha ugu waaweyn ee dumiyey Midowgii Sovieti.

Weynu wada ognay sida ay taariikhdaa ku dhamaatay: Midowgii Sovieti oo burburay iyo Darbigii Baarlin oo dhacay.

QAYBTA 8AAD

GO'AANNO GEESINIMO

Haddaan soo kobo sheego dheer ee nolashayda ku saabsan intaan wax ka baranayey Midawga Sovieti, waxaa dhacay ama la kulmay dhawr xaaladood oo adag. Tan hore, waxa igu dhacday cudurka loo yaqaan TB-da, taa oo iska daweynteeda qaadatay hal sano oo an jaamacadda dib uga dhacay. Waxaa xusid mudan in Midawga Soviet lahaa daaween iyo barnaamij caafimaad guud oo kharash la'aan ah, haseyeeshee tayadiisu liidato, marka la isla barbardhigo kan America iyo Europe-ta Galbeed. Intaan cisbitaal Minsk ku yaal ku jirey, ayaan waxan saaxib la noqonay nin bukayaasha ka mid ah oo TB-su isu bedeshay xaaladda loo yaqaan “chronic” ama daawo-beel. Maadaama cudurkiisa an lagula tacaali karin daawooyinka laga soo saaro Midowga Sovieti, waxa bukaankaa loo qoray daawo loo yaqaan “Riffadin” ee dadka qaba TB-da noocaa ah loogu daweyyo oo dibedda looga keeno. Maadaama Riffadin ay tahay daawo waxtar caafimaad oo deg deg ah leh, waxan u soo jeediyey Vladamir in an ka iibsado in dawr ah ee Riffadin ah, isagoo helaya in ka badan inta uu baahanyahay. Farsamadani waxay keentay in dawr billood ka dib la iga waayey wax cudurka TB-da ah. Taa waxay ahayd guul weyn iyo xaalad caafimaad oo adag ee an ka gudbay. Arrinta labaad oo iqabsatay waxay ahayd in Dagaalkii Ogaden 1997-1978 ee Soomaaliya-itoobiya markuu qarxay, madaxweynaha Soomaaliya, Maxamed Siyad Barre, soo saaray amar uu dalka uga saarayo dhamaan khubarada Ruushka ee joogay Soomaaliya, isagoo gooyey iskaashigii u dhaxeeyey labada dal. Waxaa ku xigtay in Soomaaliya ku amartay ardada Soomaaliyeed ee wax ka barata Midowga Sovieti ay dalka dib usoo laabtaan. Tani waxay keentay in boqolaal arday waxbarashadoodii halgaa ku lyaan. Nasiib wanaag, anigu waxan goostay in aannan laaban inta an ka dhamaysanayo waxbarashada. Magaalada Minsk arday Soomaaliyeed waxanu ku joognay 14 oo badankoodu markaa ama sanad ku dhaw shahaadada jaamacadda qaadanayaan. 13 arday ayaa iiga dhoofay. Anoo keli ah ayaa ku soo haray Minsk. Xafladii la igu gudoonsinayey Shahaadada qalin jabinta, ayaa Wasiirka Waxbarashada Belaruus wuxu igu yiri: “Janan dagaalka ku guuleystay iyo nin aroosay innan uu jecelyahay ayaa furka ka jara khamrada loo yaqaan “Champagne-ta”. Waxay ahayd bisha Luulyo 1978, iyadoo markaa laga baxay Dagaalkii Ogaden, markay Cuba iyo Midowga Sovieti isu garabsadeen in duulaanka Siyad Barre la jabiyo.

QAYBTA 9AAD

MARKALE IYO MOSCOW

Waxan imi Moscow Bisha Agoosto, anoo ku sii jeeda Soomaliaya. Waxa beledka weli jooga ardo fara ku tiris ah oo sidaydoo kale ku haray Moscow, si ay u sii wataan waxbarashada. Khaliif Nuur Cali Qonof ayaa ka mid ahaa arda yar ee halkaa joogay. Maadaama an ahaa nin ku haray Dalka Ruushka, anoo jabiyeey amarkii Dawladda Soomaaliya, waxan soo booqday Safaaradda Soomaliya si an habsado in ay khatari igu imaan karto haddaan dalka Soomaaliya ku laabto. Waxa igu soo dhaweyyey Safaaradda Ku Qaybsanaha Dhaqanka, Yaasiin Maxamuud Mire (Yaasiin Ruush), oo markaa ka hor laga soo badelay Safaaradda Soomaaliya ee Cuba. Yaasiin waxan si barer ah ugu iri “War dalkii ma aadi karaa mise waa tashadaa?” Yaasiin wuxuu igu jawaabay “War adaaba dhaama kuwii laabtay” “haddaba, Mudane, iskama tagayo balan qaad la'aan eh, warqad u qor dawladda in aan wax siyaasad ku saabsan ugu harin Soviet-ka”. Yaasiin waa ii balan qaaday in warqad u dirayo Wasaaradaha Arrimaha Dibedda iyo Waxbarashada Sare.

QAYBTA 10AAD

KUSOO LAABAD MUQDISHA TODOBA SANO KADIB (1971-1978)

Waxan kasoo degay Gagada Dayuuradaha Muqdishaa koor barqaa ah dhamaadkii Agoosto 1978, anoo aad ugu faraxsan in an waxbarashadaydii soo dhameystay iyo in dalka dib ugu soo laabtay, anoo nabad qaba. Durba qaybta Sadcaalada Booliska ayaa igu dhagay oo xafiis gaar ah ila tagtay. Haddii yaraha la iwaraystay, ayaa waxa la iisheegay in arrintaydu khatar tahay, oo la iihaysto in aan jabiyeey amarkii Dawladda dalka oo dagaal ku jirey. Waxa Gagada Dayuuradaha la igaga qaaday gaari dharcadka Booliska ah. Waxa la igeeyey Xafiis Bartamaha magaaladda ku yaal ee uu haysto Taliyaha Sadcaalka, Nuur Bidaar. Qol ayaa la ifariisiyey, iyadoo ayan weli iga tegin Booliskii dharcad kaa ahaa ee ikeenay meesha. Muddo labo saac an ka yareen haddaan sugayey Nuur Bidaar, ayaan waxan ku iri mid ka mid ah Booliskii igeenay meesha: “War meesha lagu jabyey eh maxaa talo ah?” Wuxu igu jawaabay: “War hoy an kula taliyee, iska aamus”. Nuur Bidaar xafiiskiisii ayaa alleelehe la iiga yeeray. “War bal iska waran?”, ayuu iweydiiyey, Nuur Bidaar. Nuur Bidaar wuxu la yaabay ninkaygaan iska faraxsan oo an shidaba hayn. “war maxaad u jabisay amar dawladda in Dalka la difaaco?” ayuu iweydiiyey. “Taliye, maxaa aniga la iidiray, yaase idiray?”, ayaan anna weydiiyey. “Arrintaadu halis bay daaqaysaa, ninyohaw”, ayuu yiri Nuur. “Taliye arrinteyda waxaa la socda Wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda ee bal wareyso”, ayaan talo ku siiyey. Nuur Wasaaraddii ayuu la hadlay oo malaha lagu yiri ardaygu waxbarashadii Sovieti waa soo dhameystay, dhib kalana ma jirto. Nuur Bidaar inta isoo eegay, ayuu yiri, “War ninyohaw nin aad u nasiib badan ayaa tahay eh, waa fasaxantahay”.

Waxan lacag ka haystaa toban Doollar ee Mareykan ah, haseyeeshee sicir bararka awgeed, lacag badan ah markaa oo igu filan in an taksina (Taxi) ka raacco, hudheelna dhawr casho igu filan cunno iyo jiifba.

Markaan ka soo baxay Xarunta Nuur Bidaar ee Basaboorrada ayaan ku leexday Bangiga Dhexe ee Soomaaliya oo aad ugu dhaw, waxana ka sariftay tobankii dollar, deedna isla meesha Taksi ka qabsaday. Waxan ka codsaday Taksilaha in uu geeyo hudheel jaban, kaa oo noqday mid ku dhaw daartii Dabka ee jidka Maka Mukarama. Waa koor galab ah, waana daalan ahay. Markiiba hurdo ayaan

biliq la dhacay. Subaxdii danbe ayaan soo baraarugay mise aniga iyo firaaashkuba waa wada qoyanyihiin dhidid iga baxay awgiis, iyo hawada kuluul ee Agoosto darteed. Durba waxan xirtay dhargeyga oo quraac makhaayed ii dhaw ka dalbaday. Markaad dalka in badan dibedda uga maqantahay cunadu waa ku dhibeysaa, waxadna u baahantahay mudo in aad dib ula qabsato. Subaga iyo dufanka ayaa ku badan cunnada Soomaaliyeed, taa oo dhibta dadka mudo dheer ku noolaa qaaradaha Europe iyo Waqooyiga Ameerika. Hadday naftu isoo gashay quraac ka dib, waxan ku dhacay Taksi si aan u wargeliyo qoyskaygii iyo qaraabadii in aan dalka ku soo laabtay, anoo soo qalinjabiyey, sitana shahaadada injineernimo ee loo yaqaan “Masters”. Waxa Hudheelkii iigu yimi oo iga raray walaalkay iga weyn, Isxaaq Xaaji Warsame Ahmed, ahna markaa Garsoore Maxkamadda Sare ee Soomaaliya. Walaal Isxaaq waa ninka suurageliyey in aan wax barto ilaa dugsiga sare ee Banadir ee Muqdisho. Waxaa kale oo qayb weyn ka qaatay waxbarashadaydii inna adeer Qaasim Xaaji Xuseen Axmed, allah haw naxariistee, ahaana Guddoomiyihii hore ee Gobolkii lagu magacaabijirey “Majeertiinnia” markaanna ahaa Nugaal iyo Bari ee Puntland haatan. Todobaadka gudihiisii ayaan tagey Wasaaradda Waxbarashada Sare ee Soomaliya. Sargaalkii iqaabilay markuu wax yar idhageystay ayuu, si qaylo ku jirto, ku yiri Xoghayntisii, “ Xaliimow jaamicigaan u dir “Xalane”. Xalane waxay ahayd dugsii tababarka ciidan ee noqday “xarunta dhaqan-celinta” (indoctrination centre”, mas’uullinta maamulka dalka lagu hanjabiyo, deedna qaarkii hanjabiwaaya laga fogeeyo hawlaha dawladda, ilaa xabsi aan maxkamadda lahayn. Xaliimo warqad ku socota Xalane ayey isiisay. Inta jeeb danbe gashaday warqadda ayaan galay shaqo-raadis.

QAYBTA 11AAD

SHAQO DOON

Dhawr beri ka dib ayaan tagey Xafiis lagu magacaabo JSP (Jubba Sugar Project) oo ah mashruuc sonkoreed ee warshad laga dhisayo agagaarka tuulada Marerrey ee Jubba Hoose. Xafiisku wuxu ku yaala dabaq sare ee daarta loo yaqaan Jirde Xusseen, una dhaw Caffee Nazionale ama Bar Savoy. Mashruuca waxa dhanka Soomaliya Mareeye ka ah Dr. Cali Khaliif Galayr (Galaydh). Mashruuca waxa qandaraas ku haysata shirkado ingriis ah oo horsed ka tahay Shirkadda Bookers Agriculture International. Dhawr boqol oo khubaro ingriis ah ayaa wada mashruuca. Dawladaha Imaaraadka iyo Kuweyt ayaa maalgaliyey mashruuca, oo Soomaaliya loogu dheeqay.

Gabar ka mid ah Xoghaynta Mashruuca ayaan weydiistay in aan arko Mareeyaha Mashruuca. Nasiib wanaag durba wey ii ogalaatay in an la kulmo Dr. Cali Khaliif Galayr. Isbarasho ka dib iyo ujeedada an u imi Xafiiska, Cali wuxu ii shegay in ayan haatan wax shaqa ah banaanayn. Dib ayaan ugu laabtay Xoghayntii oo misana weydiistay in aan arko Madaxa Xafiiska ee dhanka ingriiska, Mike Johnson. Mike si fiican ayuu ii soo dhaweeyey oo yiri “ Beri haddaad diyaartahay diyaarad baan Kismayu kuu saarayaa si “interview” ama imtixaan shaqo lagaaga qaado Mareerrey”. Hudheelka Waamo ee Kismaayo ayaan habeynkii dambe sii seexday, barqadiina Mareerrey ayaan tegay, shaqadiina ku guuleystay. Labo maalmood ka dib ayaan Xafiiskii Galayr soo galey anoo ka tirsan injineerrada Mashruuca oo la ii soo diray tababar lix bilood ah oo ku saabsan farsamada soosaar sonkorta laga sameeyo qasabka (sugar cane) ee warshadii SNAI ee Jowhar, Shabeellada Dhexe.

Markaan ku laabtay Muqdisho Bishii Agoosto 1978, waxa dalka ka jirtay jawi qalafsan, iyo xisad siyaasadeed oo cabursan iyo mid colaadeed daafaha iyo dibedba. Waxa lagu fashilay Dagaalkii Soomaali Galbed ama dagaalkii Ogaadeeniya 1977-1978, waxa la laayey saraakiil ciidan oo sar-sare, dalkana caan ka ahaa oo uu hogaaminayey Kornayl Cirro, isku-day afgambi dawladeed ka dib, waxa dalka dibeddiisa ka abuurantay mucaarad hubaysan ee Jabhadda

Badbaadinta Soomaaliyeed (SSF), waxa heer sare gaaray sicir barar, musuq-maasuq iyo khakhal dhaqaale, kuux diidmo siyaasadeed iyo diimeedba. Waxa dadku dareemayeen quus iyo rajo-bel saameesay qof kasta. Waxaa intaas oo dhan ka daraa in maamulka dawladeed la yimi waxaan horey loogu aqoon bulshada Soomaaliya iyo mid dawladnimoba: ciribtir qoys iyo ka sifayntooda dhamaan hay'addaha dawladda. Hawlgalkaa wuxu markaa ku socday dadka u dhashay Majeerteenka, deedna Soomaalidii kale markay ka daqnanweyday, iyagana markood helay wixii ku dhacay Majeerteenka.

Radio Kulmis wuxu ahaa codka keli ah oo dadka Soomaaliyeed la haayeen ee ka hadlijirey musuq-maasuqqa, qabyaaladda, maamul-xumida, dambiyada siyaasadeed iyo burburka dalku socdo. Dhawr sano ka dib, anoo markaa ka tirsan mucaaradka Soomaaliyeed, ayaan Addis Ababa kula kulmay tifaftire ingriis ah oo ka socda wargeyska “Africa Confidential” isagoo soo maray Muqdisho, soona waraystay madax badan ee Maamulkii Siyad Barre. Tifaftirehaa wuxu iisheegay in la oranjirey dadka Soomaalidu waxay aad u dhageystaan Laanta Afka Soomaliga ee BBC-da. “iminka BBC-du lama tartami karto Radio Kulmis xagga dhageysiga 9:00 fiidnimo” ayuu igu yiri qoraagaa. Waxan qabaa haddii muranka iyo caadifadda qabyaaladeed ama gobalaysiga doodad laga saaro, rajo isbadel dawladeed waxa dadku markaa ka sugayey mucaaradkii hubaysnaa ee SSDF ka hor intaynan saaxadda kusoo biirin Dhaqdhaaqqii Wadaniga Soomaaliyeed (SNM).

SNM iyo USC oo tan dambe ahayd goosan SSDF tan horena isla SSDF maalgelisay dhismaheedii bilowga, qorshuna ahaa in la mideeyo mucaaradka ka soo horjeeda maamulka ciidan ee kalitalisnimo ee Muqdisho. Nasiib darro arrintaa laguma guuleysan, dawlada Mengistu Haile-Mariam ee Ethiopia awgeed. Dib ayaan amuurahaa buukaan dhexdiisa uga waramidoona.

QAYBTA 12AAD

FARXAD WAL WAL ISU BEDESHAY

Mudadii aan u shaqaynayey Shirkadda Mashruucca Sonkorta Mareerey, JSP, markaa dhismaheedo socdo dhiqiyaas ahaan aan sugnaa hal sano, waxan marmar dhif ah imaanjire Muqdisho anoo ka imi Jowhar ama Mareerrey martina u ah Mashruucca dhinac hotel jiifka iyo cunna. Badanaaba waxan ku soo dagijirey Hotel Shabeelle. Arrintii ugu horeysay ee argagax siyaasaseed igalisey waxay dhacday markii diwaangeliyaha Hotel-ku iweediyey su'aasha ah: “ Jaalle xagee ku dhalatay?” Inta yaabay, baan weydiiyey diwaangeliyaha: “ Walaal maxaa uga jeedaa su'aasha?” Wuxu iigu jawaabay: Jaalle waxan haysanaa amar in aan weydiino martida meeshey ku dhasheen”. Durba waxan xusuustay waxa ku qoraa Warqaddii Aqoonsiga ee Dawladda Hoose ee Muqdisho samaano ka kor markii dugsiga hoose aan bilaabay, qorniimadaas oo si aan ula kac ahayn lagu magacaabay Gaalkacayo meeshii aan ku dhashay, haseyeeshee runtii ahayd Laas Caano ee haatan ah Magaalo-madaxda Gobolka Sool. “Hadday arrintu saatahay, dee waa Gaalkacayo” ayaan ugu jawaabay. “War Gaalkacayo qorimaayee meel kale sheego” ayuu durba igu yiri. Intaanan u jawaabin, ayuu iiraacshay,”war haw aan kula taliyee meel aan Gaalkacayo ahayn sheego”. “Adeer, meeshaad doonto ku qorro buugga” ayaan ku gabagabeeyey. Dib uma danayn magaca magaaladu ku qortay, waxanse ku kalsoonahay in ayan ahayn Gaalkacayo isagoo aniga ii eexanaya.

QAYBTA 13AAD

JOWHAR-SNAI-PLAZZA

Hay'adda SNAI-PIAZZA ee Jowhar, Magaalo-madaxda Shabeellada Dhexe, waxay ahayd tan keli ah dalka ka shaqayneysa soona saarijirtey qayb weyn ee baahida dadka dhinacna sonkorta iyo haraadiga qasabka la shiido oo laga miirijirey ama laga dhalinjirey waxa loo yaqaan “spirits” ama alcohol nadiif ah oo inta badan loo iibgeeyo dalka Fransiiska. Warshaddu waxay mid da'weyn oo laga qaramayey shirkad ganacsi ee maal-geliyaal Talyaani ah. Markaa waxa SNAI-PIAZZA warshad iyo beero qasabka gabi ahayn maamuula oo si fiican u wada aqoonyahanno Soomaali ah.

Muddadii lixda bilood ahayd ee aan joogay Jowhar anoo ku nool Guryaha Marti ee Warshada, waxaa si caad iigu muuqatay xaaladda dabta ah ee siyaasadeed ee dalka ka taagan, gaar ahaan olalaha isir-soocca ama isir sifaynta ah eek u wajahan beelaha Soomaliyeed ee Waqooyi Bari. Arrinta la yaabka leh ee durba aan Jowhar kala kowsaday waxay ahayd in maamulayaasha ama aqoonyahannada Warshadda iyo beeraheeda ay ahaayeen kuwo sooc ah oo aad arkayso in meesha lagu soo wada ururriyey inta laga keenay waaxyaha kale ee Dawladda, Xamarna laga soo fogeeyey oo markii horeba ay shaqooyin kala duwan ka hayeen. Aqoonyahannadaas waxay asal ahaan ka soojeedeen Gobollada Waqooyi Bari; waxay kala ahaayeen:

1. Garab Yare- Guddoomiyaha ama Maareeyaha Hay'adda SNAI-PIAZZA
2. Enginner Abdi Faarax Dhalaweyne- Madax Warshadda
3. Engineer Mohamed Farah Yare- Madaxa PIASA ee soo saarta “spirits).
4. Dhaqaale yahan Yassin Nur Hassan
5. Agronomist Bashir Abdulle Codweyn- Beeraha Qasabka
6. Electrical Engineer Abdi Yare

Dhinac haddii laga eego, Hay'addu waa naasiib badnayd oo wax heshay aqoonyahanno karti iyo hufnaan ku darsadey. Iyadoo ujeedada Dawladdu ayeen taa ka maqnayn yey haddana qorshaha dabta ah ee raagaan loo soo xulay ahayd in:

- Muqdisho laga soo fogeeyo sidii dad la musaafuriyey oo kale
- Ay yihiin dad loo danleeyahay si fududna oo siyaasadda Dawladda waafaqsan lagu soo qabqaban karo si ayan ugu biirraan kumayaalka ilma-adeertoda kale ee xabiska siyaasadeed ka buuxxa.
- Dadaal iyo wax soosaar ay ka badanyihiin dadka kale mar ahayd ogyihiin in iyaga culays iyo xabsi gaar ka saarantahay dhanka Dawladda si sahlanna lagu soo eedayn karo.

Arrintani waxay ahayd mid labaad oo walwal iyo waalac igu abuurtay oo farxaddii aan dalka ugu soo laabtay iyana dhaawacday.

Intaan tababarka u joogay Hay'adda SNAI-PIAZZA waxan oggaaday dhuumaha qiiqa ka qaada ee gubayaasha shidaalka ee karkariya biyaha qaacca tamarta isubedala ee wada turbiinnoyinka shiida Qasabka in ayen lahayn awood hawada ay u sii fogeeyso dambaska la socda qiiqa. Dambaskaa ayaa Magaalada Jowhar ku habsanjirey markii aan dabayllu jirin. Dambasku wuxu daboolijirey ama ku dul habsanjirey sariiraha iyo fadhiyaasha. Waa qarankadhaa hawo dad iyo duunyo neefsanayaan oo dambas wadata ama ku dheehanyahay.

Waxan ka codsaday Injineer Abdi Dhalaweyne, Madaxa Warshada in aan soo hindiso xal wax looga qabto dhibta ka taagan dambaska qaacca ka soo daadanaya. Waxan soo farsameeyey shax cusub oo wax ku kordhineysa awoodda marawaxadaha qiiqa tuura iyo matoorrada wada iyo isbedel lagu sameeyo qalabka hanaankoo dhan. Kharash dhan rubuc malyuun dollar ayey qiyaastii noqotay in la geliyo farsamadaa warshada. Abdi Dhalaweyne intuu soo darsay hindisahayga ayuu goostay in uusan taageerin kharashka ku baxaya awgiis, isagoo igu yiri “Warshaduna iskama bixin karto dawlad diyaar u ahna ma jirto. Si hagaagsan ayuu iigu soo dhamaaday tababarkii SNAI-PIAZZA. Waxan ku soo laabtay Mareerrey ee Jubbada Hoose halgaa oo dhismaha Warshadii

sonkorta iyo abuurka beerihii qasabka si xoogan looga wado. Mudo dhawr bilood ah haddaan joogay Mareerrey, waxa la ii diyaariyey in noqdo Injineerka waxa soo saarka sonkorta marka warshadu hawlgal bilowdo. Warshada oo weli dhismaysa, ayaa aniga iyo Injineer Mohamed “Amxaar” tababar ku saabsan farsamada soo saarka sonkorta, hanaanka iyo qalabka la xirirra naloo ku diray Dalka Ingriiska. Aniga iyo Mohamed waxannu halkaa tagnay tobanneeyo magaalo ee qalabka sonkorta laga soo saaro. Waxa tababarkii noo dhamaaday bisha Disembar 1979.

QAYBTA 14AAD

GO`AANKA KA MID NOQOSHADA MUCAARADKA SOOMAALIYA

Intaan dalka Ingriiska tabar u joognay, waxa nasoo booqday Dr Ali Khalif Galayr, Maareeyaha Mashruuca JSP. Dr. Galayr markaa ayuu soo noqday Xildhibaan Golaha Shacabka ee Dawladda Jan. Siyad Barre, waxana loo balanqaaday in uu noqondoono Wasirka Warshadaha. Raggayaagii markaa ahaa sadex Injineer oo Injineer Omar Xaashi ka mid yahay, gadaalna noo ku soo biiray isagoo isna ka tirsan Mashruuca Sonkorta, ayaan qado Hotel ku yaala magaalada London u geynay Dr Ali Khaliif. Anagoo wada qadayneyna, ayaa Dr. Ali xagayga inta soo eegay ayuu igu yiri “waryaa Ismail, maxaad la aamusantahay, ma qurmis ayaad ku haamineysaa?” isaga oo ujeeda erayga Kulmis oo ay ku caan baxay SSDF (Qurmis waa hal-hayska cayda ah ee Xukuumadda Siyaad Barre). Waxan ugu jawaabay durba “ waa laga yaabaa.” War waa kula kaftamayey, Ismail”, ayuu igu soo celiyey.

Kaftanka Ali Khalif wuxu dib ii xasuusiyey waxyaabihii walwalka iyo walaacca igu beerray mudadii gaabnayd ee aan joogay Soomaaliya, oo si an caad ku rognay, ii muujisay in dadka an qoys ahaan ka soo jeedo, ay yihiin bartilmaameed cadaawada Dawladda Siyad Barre ku jirta. Micno waa ii samaynweyday ku laabashadayda Soomaaliya, markaan England ka dhamaysto tababarka.

Waxaan ku talamay labo:

1. In aan aduunka kale shaqo u raadsado.
2. Iyo in aan dhadhaqaada ka soo horjeeda Maamulka Milatari ee Siyad Barre ku biiro.

Waanigii dalka ka maqnay mudo todoba sano ah, markaan wax ka baranayey dalka Midowga Sovieti. Waa isoo kartay kurba-joognimadu. Waad garan kartaa

si an u faraxsanaa markaan dalkaygii ku soo laabtay, anoo huba in an horumarkiisa wax ku soo koordhin karo, waxna u soo bartay. In ay taa tahay hami been ah ayaa durba ii soo baxday. Waxa kaloo an dareemay in humar dalku gaaro iska dhaaffe, u buur ku sii socdo mar haddii aqoonyahanada, xirfadlayaasha iyo waxgaradka dalku ayen waxba ahayn ama uu ciribtirayo maamulku. Siyaasadaa Taliska Siyad Barre dabtii waxaa la orankaraa, ka mid bay ahay ayaan-darooyinkii ugu waaweynaa ee Soomaaliya ku habsaday, dhaxalkii musiibadaana haatan la hayo. “Ciilow ba ey tala-xumaan cudur ka roon eyne” ayuu yiri Shiikhii Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xassan.

Mar haddii aan weli niyadda ku hayo in aan joogo dalkayga, haseyeeshee hadda ayen bilayn ku laabashadiisa, waxan goostay in an halganka mucaaradka ku biirro, shaqadii JSP halkaa ku dhaafo. Go'aankaa waxan ku gaaray Nairobi, Kenya, markaan u gooyey tababar iiga sii socday Kenya.

Waxay ahayd bartamihii Janaayo markaan diyaarradda London-Nairobi ku bedelay Gagada dayuuradaha Roma, halgaa oo dhib badan tiketka Somali Airlines laga soo jaray iga qabsatay. Tiketku wuxu ahaa mid aan meel kale loo weecin karin, Shirkadda aan Ingriiska martida u ahaa iyo aniguba aanan sii fiican u qorshayn. Intaa waxa ka daraa shaqaalaha Gagada Dayuuradaha Roma oo aan ahayn kuwo u habeysan soo dhaweynta, una jabjabnayn dhoofayaasha gagada jooga ama ku xayirma. Afar iyo labaatan sac ayaan ku xanibnaa gagada ka hor intaanaan xiriiro isgaarsiineed samayn, sii an u bedelo tiketka ama u iibsado mid kale, markay safaaradii Soomaaliya ay gacan isiin weyday, anoo ah Sargaal Dawladda Soomaaliya. Mas'uuliinta Safaaradu intaa ii yimaadeen, oo lahjadayda garden ayey koosteen in ayen waxba ila qaban. Shirkaddii Ingriiska ee London ayaa gacan igu siisay iibka ticket kale ku Nairobi, si aan tababar dhawr billood ah ugu qaato Warshadda Sonkorta ee Mumias ee magaaladda Kisumu, Waqooyi Galbeed Kenya.

Mudadii an dayuuradda u soo saarnaa Nairobi, waxan la kulmay gardaro iyo aflagaado ka imaaneysa koox Soomaaliyeed oo aan shakhsiyan ii aqoon, inana haybsan. Way ii cadayd in kooxdaa isku halayn dhanka Dawladda Soomaaliya u

samaynayeen daandaansiga dayuuradda dusheeda. Iyagoo igu dhaga-hadlaya waxay kaloo maagayeen shakhsiyaad ka tirsan dhaqdhaqaaqa ka soo horjeeda Dawladda. Waxaa oo gardaro ah isuma kalabixin, taasna wa ka sii xanaajisey kooxda cirka kugu dhaandaansaneysa, iyadoo dhulkiiba aan weli cagaha la dhigin. Alloow haday garan lahayeen gardara aan geed loo soo gaban in ay sii xoojineyso hamigeyga in an ka goosto Dawladda Soomaliya ee markaan taagan! Kooxdu waxay ku laabanayeen Muqdisho iyagoo sii maraya Gaga Dayuuradaha Jomo Kenyatta.

Allah-lehe waxan ka soo dagey Jomo Kenyatta Airport maalin sabti ah, koor barqo ah. Waxan wataa baasaboorka shaqaale Soomaaliyeed oo Safaaradda Kenya ee London soo fiiseysaay.

Safka soo galitaanka dalka markaan soo istaagay, ayaa askarta Kenyaanku iswada fiirfiiriyeen oo malaha la isyiri Allah-lehe mid Soomaali ah ayaa idiin dagan ee kharashka biirrada sabtida ha laga qaado. Durba mid baa iigu yimi anoo safka bartanka kaga jira. “Do you have a Visa?” ayuu si aan xushmad la hayn ii weydiiyey. “ Don't you think it is too early to ask for that?”. Ayaan ugu jawaabey. “What do you mean? Ayuu igu soo celiyey. “I mean you are not an Officer at an immigration counter, don't you agree?” Ayaan ku iri. Inta si xanaaq ku jiro ii fiirshay, ayuu ka jaqaafay. Miiskii sargaalka Visa-da markaan soo istagay ayaan waxan u tagay nin u diyaarsan innu maanta wax iga dheefo. Durba baasaboorkaygii ayaan miiska u saaray. Inta kala bixiyey baasaboorka, isagoon balaha rogin, ayuu yiri, “Eh, Somali Passport, you don't have Kenyan Entry Visa?”! “ Sir, you better look at my diplomatic Visa issued by the Kenyan High Commission in London, UK”, ayaan durba jawaabta wajiga ka saara. Intuu uqaadan waayey oo aad moodid innuu argagaxay ayuu fiirfiiriyey dhawrka kale ee agagaarkiisa taagan oo iyana malaha u heelan in ay boobka ku wajahan ninka Soomaaliga ah wax ka wadaagaan. “Sargaalku inta qawaday, buu yiri, “anything for me?” “like what?”, ayaan weydiiyey. “You know it is Saturday today, I want to be happy”, ayuu igu dayey. “It is not Friday for me; I also would like to be happy, let us hope for the best”, ayaan ugu gabagabeeyey. Inta kor dhugtay isagoo oo quus ah, ayuu baasaboorkayga ku shaabadeeyey mudo sadex bilood ah.

Irida looga baxo gagada waxan ku soo maray nin haysta oggeysiis farwaaween ku qorantahay: “Mr. Warsame”. Malaha waxaa soo diray Xarunta Nairobi ee Shirkadda Mumias oo aan u socday, si Gagada la iiga soo qaado. Walee waa garab maray ninkii Kenyaankii halgaa igu sugayey. Waxan kaloo wataa warqad Shirkadda Ingriiska ee Bookers Agriculture International ay London iga soo siisey kuna socota Hudheelka-ka 680, kharashkaygana damaanan qabta. Isagana waa garab-maray, anoo saran taksi igeeyey Hudheel la yiraahdo Excelsior; halgaa oo durba hurdo biliq la dhacay daal awgiis.

Sabti iyo Axad haddaan nastay, isniintii ayan taksi uqaatay Safaaradda Ethiopia ee Nairobi si an ugu wargeliyo in an doonayo aadis Addis Ababa, kuna biiro SSDF, oo markaa la oranjirey SSF. Waxan Safaaradda kula kulmay Xoghayaha Kowwaad oo lagu magaciisu ahaa Ayale, siduu ii sheektay. Ayale markaan kala dhameysanay sheekada wuxu iweydiiyey in ay dhabtahay in Soomaaliya laga helay Shidaal. Waxan ugu jawaabay in ayen shaki ku jirin in Soomaaliya shidaal iyo macaadiin kalaba ka buuxaan, iyo innusan beensan warka shidaalka ee uu maqlay. “hudheelkaaga jog, cidbaan ku soo direynaaye”, ayuu igula dardaarmay.

Talaadadii waxa Hotel-ka igu yimi labo oday oo Jabhadda SSF muhiim ka ahaa. Waa Ali Barre “Cidi-libaax” iyo Abdirahman Ashkir Gurac “Bolonyo”. labadaba Allow u naxariiso. Waxay iga rareen Hudheel-kii Excellsior, iyagoo igeeyey Hudheelka Embassy, oo malaha ka jabnaa, kana amaan roonaa. Waxay igu wargeliyeen in aan aadis Addis Ababa isu diyaariyo.

Dhawr beri kadib, koor barqa ah ee dabayaaqada bisha Janaayo ayaan ka soo dagay Gagada Bole International Airport ee Addis Ababa. Waxaa iigu yimi Saraakiil Jabhadda SSF iyo kuwa Nabad-sugidda Ethiopia ka tirsan. Waxa lay keenay Xaruunta Jabhadda oo degaan iyo xafiisba ah. Sargaal Jabhadda ka mid ah kuwii isoo dhaweyyey ayaa si hoose iigu sheegay in Sargaal Mesfin oo la socday raggii uga qaabilay Gagada Bole uu kula taliyey ragga Jabhadda in ay ogaadaan in aan ahay sargaal sare ee Dawladda Soomaaliya ka soo fikaday, loona baahanyahay in igu mintidaan oo dad kale oo Jabhadda ka tirsani ayen ii warxumo-tashiilin. Arrintaasu durba dhiillo ayey igalisey, oo waxay, in yar ii iftimisay in u jiro muran siyaasadeed ee Jabhadda dhexdeeda ah iyo kooxa-kooxaysi. Xogtaa koobani waa warkii ugu horeyey ee an helo maalintii

kowwaad ee jabhadnimadayda. Waxay kaloo iyana daaqadda iga tustay in Maamulka Mengistu Haile-Mariam fara-gelin ballaaran ku hayo Jabhadda.

Dhawr beri haddaan joogay Xarunta Jabhadda ee Addis Ababa waxay ogaaday in uu jiro isqabqabsi siyaasadeed oo xoogan iyo in Ethiopia ku leedahay dawrweyn iskahor-imaadka hogaanka siyaasadeed ee Ururka. Arrintan dib ayaan buuggan qaybihiisa dambe ugu falanqayndoonaa.

Dhawr todobaad ka dib waxan tareen u raacay Dire Dawa halgaas oo ay taal Xarunta labaad ee Jabhadda. Dire Dawa waxan kula kulmay markii iigu horeysay Kornayl Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed Yey oo markaa kasoo laabtay kormeer uu ku tegay Ciidamada Jabhadda ee fadhiya aaga hore ee difaacca. Abdullahi Yusuf markaa ma aha Guddoomiyaha rasmiga aha ee Jabhadda. Yeelkeede dabtii wuxu ahaa Hogaamiyaha muuqda ee SSF, isagoo rasmiyan ahaa ka mid dhawr Ku-xigeen Guddoomiyaha. Alle haw-naxariistee waxa ahaa Guddoomiyaha rasmiga ah ee Ururka Mustafe Haji Nur, Wariyihii caanka ahaa ee Radio Muqdishu iyo BBC-da Laanteedda Afka Soomaaliga, kuna haysta Bilad Sharafeed hawlihii uu kasoo qabtay Warbaahinta Soomaaliya, gaar ahaan, dacaayadda dagaaladii dhex-maray Soomaaliya iyo Ethiopia lixdamaadkii.

QAYBTA 15AAD

SSDF IYO ETHIOPIA

“ Nin dhirbaaxo ceebeed dugsaday * dhaqayadeed maalye

dhashaaday dhibtaa

*** xaajadaad dhawrataa abide”**

Waxaan oggahay in dad badan ee Soomaali ah isweydiinayaan maxaa geeyey Ethiopia ururkii ugu horeeyey, uguna xoogweynaa ciidan iyo baaxad taageerayaalba ee ka soo horjeestay Maamulkii Milatari ee Siyad Barre. Qaar kale waxay gaareen go'aan in SSDF ay ku khalidanayd in ay ka hawl-gasho dhulka Ethiopia. Kuwo kale waxay ku doodayaan in Maamulka Siyad Barre isbedel gudaha looga samayn karey. Doodayaasha qaarkood waxaba indha-tirtay colaada soo jireenka ah ee Soomaaliya iyo Ethiopia iyo in Ethiopia marnaba hayn dan Soomaliyeed. Kuwo kale waxay ka tirsan yihiin dad an marna guul u ogalayn SSDF, caadufad qoys ama dano siyaasadeed awgeed. Kuwo waa habari daan raacday oo hadba guuxa beeled ayey la socdaan. Qaar kaloo faraban waxay rumaysteen dacaayeddii Maamulka Siyad Barre, taasoo sanado badan dadweynaha Soomaaliyeed lagu wacyi-gelinjirey in Beesha Majeerteen ay yihiin xukun-doon, kacaan-diid dib-u-socod ah. Deedna waxaa soo baxay halku-dhegyada loola jeedo Beesha sida Dabadhilif, Haraadi, Qurmish iwm. Dacaayadaha mudada dheer Maamulkii Siyad Barre si joogta ah u fidinayey, waxay ku yeelatay saamayn weyn ummadda Soomaaliyeed dhexdeeda, waxayna keentay daawaac an kasoo kabasha lahayn iyo iska hor-keen dadweynaha.

Kuwa ugu xeel-dheer waa SNM iyo USC, oo geed walba u fuulay, dhagax kastana u rogay in ay inkiraan, qariyaan, been ka sheegaan ama isku dayaan in ay kaalintii halgan iyo taariikhdeedaba SSDF meesha ka saaraan gabi ahaanba. USC waxay inkirsantahay in ay ahayd qayb ka go'day SSDF, markii Mengistu Haile-Mariam iyo Madaxda SSDF iska hor-yimaadeen, taasoo isugu biyashubatay in Mengistu xirxiro madaxdii ugu sareysay ee Jabhadda, ururkiina curyaamo. Qaybta SSDF ee USC la baxday waxaa madax ka noqday Hussein Ali Shido, oo ahaa xubin Golaha Dhexe ee SSDF. Isagoo taageerada Mengistu la kaashanaya, Jan. Mohamed Farah Aideed ayaa si ayen dimoqoraadinimo ku jirin kala wareegay Guddoonkii USC Hussein Ali Shido. Jan Aidid wuxu markaa ka

yimi, isagoo maraya Italia, iyo isagoo kasoo qayb-galay shir beeled siyaasadeed ee ka dhacay Roma ka dib markii laga qaaday Safaaraddii Soomaaliya ee New Delhi, India. Ku-xigeenkii Guddoomiyaha SSDF Mohamed Farah Jam'ale ayaa isagoo aan iska casilin Jagadii SSDF, Jan Aideed u noqday La Taliyaha Koowaad ee dhanka siyaasadeed USC.

SNM iyo tagaageerayaasheedu waxaba dadweynaha isu tusaan in ay yihiin kuwo cirka ka soo dhacay in dadkooda si ay badbaadiyaan, iyagoo iyana inkiraya in ay ahayd SSDF tii ku martqaaday Gudaha Ethiopia, mudo dhawr sana ahna taageereysay hub iyo lacagba ilaa ay ka SNM hana qaado. SSDF waxay taageero joogta siin jirtey madaxdii ugu horeysay ee SNM sida Tuqsi, Yusuf Shiikh Ali Madar iyo Kornayl Koosaar. SSDF markaa u barertay in ay jabiso Heshiiskii Sadex-geesood ahaa ee Ethiopia-Libya-Koonfur Yemen, kaasoo ahaa in Mucaaradka Soomaaliya la mideeyo, oo kii soo kordhaba lagu daro SSDF si loo xoojiyo cududa iyo wax-qabadka mucaaradka. Waa sababta SSDF uga koobantay sadex urur oo isu tagey sida SSF, Ururka Shaqaalaha oo hogaaminayey Saciid Jaamac iyo Ururka Shuuciga ah ee uu madaxda ka ahaa Cabiraxmaan Caydiid, SODAF-na (Somali Democratic Action Front) oo uu madax ka ahaa Osman Nur Ali Qonof, Wasiirkii Cadaaladda ee ugu horey ee Dawladdii Siyad Barre, deedna isatagay. SODAF waxay u xuubsiiibatay SSF (Somali Salvation Front). Mar kale, waa sababta SSDF casumaadda ugu fidisay SNM oo horaantii sideedtamaadka looga dhawaaqay London, dalka Ingriiska. Waxan aad u xasuustaa in halkudhaga siyaasadeed ee SSDF markaa ahaa: “London dal lagama xoraynayee, walaalayaal kusoo dhawaada madasha halganka”

SNM iyo USC-ba waxay si been-abuur iyo jaha-wareer ah aduun weynaha ugu shaaciyeen in iyagu sabab u ahaayeen dhicitaanka Taliskii Siyad Barre. Dunidu waa ka iibsatay dacaayaddaa la farsameeyeen, iyadoo ka eegaysa dagaaladii dhacay billihii ugu dambeeyey ee Taliska, dibna aan u jaleecin kaalinta SSDF ay kasoo qaadatay abuuritaanka iyo kobcinta SNM iyo USC, iyadoo awalba qorshaha iyo siyaasadda SSDF ahayd in dadweynaha Soomaaliyeed laga hor-keen Taliska Siyad Barre. Waa cadda ahay in siyaasaddaa SSDF guuleysatay, nasiib darro wixii dabadeed dhacayba markuu meesha ka baxay Taliskii.

Waxa muuqata in ay badanyihiin iyo kala duwanyihiin aragtida dadka Soomaaliyeed iyo kuwa xiiseya arrimaha Soomaaliya ka qabaan Halganka SSDF. Weli ma arag qof aan ka tirsanayn Taliskii Siyad Barre oo diidan in laga hor-yimaado ama la badelo Maamuulkii ka jirey Soomaaliya. Sidoo kale, waa

yaryahay ama waa farakutiris dadka magaalo ku noolaa ee beesha Majeerteen ka soo jeeda aan Taliskii Jan Mohamed Siyad Barre xabsiga dhigin maxkamad la'aan inta u dhaxaysa billo iyo sanado farabadan. Dadweynaha kasoo jeeda Majeerteen waxay xabsiga Taliska u galaan sida caruurtu u gasho dugsiyada Hoose, Dhexe iyo Sare. Dadkaa waxaa loo xirxiray si ujeedooyin kala duwan. Qaar waxa lagala wareegayey shaqooyinka ay u hayaan Qaranka, kuwo kale waa la baqdin gelinayey, kuwo waa cabsi siyaasadeed oo laga qabo, qaar dhaqaalaha ayaa la curyaaminayey, qaar nugulka iyo dhalaanka ayaa laga wiiqayey, kuwo ciidamada amniga ayaa laga fогeynayey.

Siyaasadda Siyad Barre ee ugu horeen ku wajahnayd Beesha Majeerteen, deedna markay ka dhidhin-waayeen tii ku dhacday Majeerteenka, mid mid u saamaysay Beelaha kale sida: “Duriyadda” Issaq, iyo Hawiye, waxa ku saleysnayd in niyad jab iyo cabsi gelin lagu rido dadweynaha, sida Xukunku ku abaado aragtidiisa. Iskadaa dadweynaha ku nool magaalooyinkee waxa dhib, bubur, dhac, boob hanti iyo kufsi loo geystay xoolo dhaqatada Soomaaliyeed, gaar ahaan kuwo degan Gobollada Dhexe ee dalka, heer uu gaaray Talisku ceelasha xoolo-dhaqatada in uu sumeeyo, barkadaha biyahana buurburiyo, falkaa oo faashistadii Talyaanigu iyo gumeysigii Ingriisku ayen ku samayn karin dadka Soomaaliyeed. Maamulayaasha talisku waxay xalaaleysteen hantita dadweynaha iyo xataa dumarka la qabo, taa oo diin iyo dastuur bani-aadamba ka fog.

Nasiib darro waxa weli madasha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya ka dhex-muuqda kuwo Siyad Barre iyo siyaasadda caynkaa ah la soo caana maalay, isleh malaha waa la illaawey baalka madow oo ay ku leeyihiin taariikhda Soomaliya, aygoo ku andacoonaya in wixii gadaalkood ka dhacay dalka ay ka daranyihiin waxay iyagu soo faleen. Maamulkii Siyad Barre marna kuma fakarin in dhawrista xaqqa, hantida, nabadgelyada iyo shaqada qof kasta ee Soomaaliyeed, beel kasta haw-dhashee, ay tahay waxyaabaha ugu horeeya ee la ilaayo, markii taa lagu xad-gudbana, arrintu noqonayso jaantaa rogan iyo xeer burcad ama qawleysato mudan, Ilaahi hortii, in laga hortago oo la afgambiyo. Qaarkood madax bayba ka noqdeen deegaannadii ay qabsadeen ururrada ku faanayey in ay iyagu rideen Dawladdii Siyad Barre, taa oo ku tusineysa in ayen ujeeddo fog u halgameen, qaakoodna horeba mabda' jirin ama ay ka weecdeen haday la haayeen qorshe ku wajahan danaha guud ee Soomaaliyeed.

Mar haddii dadka inta badani isku raacsanyihiin in loo baahnaa in wax la badelo Maamulka iyo hogaanka Dawladda Ciidan ee Soomaaliya, waa in laga jawaabaa sidii loo helilahaa hanaan lagu fuliyo. Waa la wada ogyahay in la waayey ama

lagu guuldareeystay isbadel gudaha dalka ka dhaca, mar haddaan Talisku, haba yaraatee, ogalayn labo qof oo shekaysata, bal xisbiyo mucaarad ah iskaba dhaafe, dadweynihii xabisyada laga buuxiyey maxkamad la'aan, xaafadihii magaalo walba loo samaystay guulwadayaal ilaalo ka haya, nin iyo murwadiiso kala shakiyeen, caadis siyaasadeed iyo amni darro shaqsi, oo weligeed Soomaaliya soo marin dalkii gabi ahaan lagu soo rogay, dastuur jiren iyo wax xeeriya adeegaha Dawladda.

Waxaa socday tan iyo intuu jirey talisku, tala-soojeedin Siyad Barre uga imaaneyso odayaasha Beelaha, wax-garad iyo siyaasiin dalka laga yaqaan, kuwaa oo qudhigoodu kasoo qalinjabiyey Labaatan Jirow, Laanta Buur iyo xabsiyo siyaasadeed oo kale.

Markay cadaadis siyaasadeed, cadaawad iyo dhaqan xumo iyo isir soc, si aan hakat la hayn u dhacayeen, ayaa ugu dambayntii daqmashada dadweynuhu gaartay heer kacdoon. SSDF ayaa noqotay dhuunta keli ah oo ayey ka neefsato ummaddu, marka lagu dadka aan taagersanayn ururka.

Dadkii qabay in kudaha dalka iyo maamulka dhexdiisa isbadel lagu samayn karay, waxay quus soo istaageen dhacdooyinkii siyasaasaded sanadihii 1985-1987, mudadaa oo dawladaha Reer Galbeedku cadaadis ku saareen Taliska in isbadel (Reform) lagu sameeyo. Cadaadiskaa dawladaha shisheeye waxa u guuxay kooxo muhiim ah ee ka tirsan jagooyin sar-sarena ka hayey Xukuumadda, Xisbiga Kacaanka iyo Xoogga dalka. Qaarkood waxay xigto ahaayeen Siyad Barre qudhigiisa sida Dr. Maxamed adan, Wasiirka Caafimaadka, Jan. Cumar Xaaji Masale, Taliyihii Guud Xoogga Dalka. Qaarkood waxay ka tirsanayeen Golihii Sare ee Kacaan ilaa heer Madaxweyne Ku-xigeen sida Ismaaciil Cali Abokar iyo Wasiirkii Arrimaha Debedda Somalia, cumar Carte Qaalib iyo kuwo kale. Mas'uuliintaa dadaalkoodii ku saabsanaa isbadel kudaha dalka ka dhasha wuxuu ku dhamaaday xabsi siyaasadeed sida kuwii ka horeeyaba. Waxaa kaloo taa ka sii daran, aayihii kooxdii “Manifesto” dabayaaqadii Taliska, oo qaarkoodba la laayey sida Muse Boqor.

Labaadaa dhacdooyin oo keli ah ayaa kuugu filaan karaa, in aaden wakhti isaga dhubin arrinta ku saabsan isbadel taliska ee gudaha dalka laga samayn karay, taasoo iyana ka jawaabeysa su'aasha doodayaasha qaarqood qabay in aan xoog la isugu dayin isbadelka ka dhaca gudaha. Isla dhacdooyinkaa ayaa garta siinay in SSDF ay ka dhisanto Dalka dibeddiisa, Ethiopianahayd meesha keli ah oo ay dhaqan gelikartay, adoon hilmaamin culayska taariikheed ee laba dal u dhexaysa.

Quus iyo rajo-beel ayaa dadkii ku habsaday. Waxa laga maarmi waayey iskuday afgambi milatari, kaa oo lagu fashilay bishii Abriille 1978 ka dib Dalgaalkii Soomaaliya-Itoobiya ee 1977-1978 loo yaqaan Dagaalka Ogaadeeniya. Rajo kasta oo laga qabay in Taliska isbel lagu gudaha dalka lagu sameeyo, halgaa ayey ku dhimaatay, markii Siyad Barre amray in la tookto saraakishii ugu magac dheeraa sida Kornayl Cirro, isku day afgambigi, intii dalka ka fikaday mooyaane. Wax mucaarad magac leh markaa waxa jirey SODAF oo ahayd aqoonyahano, siyaasiyiin iyo saraakiil ciidan oo kooban tiro ahaan, kana kala soo jeeda beelo Soomaaliyeed oo kala duwan. Waxan ka xusi karaa raggaa, Cismaan Nuur Cali Qonov, Yuusuf Haaruun, Dr. Xassan Cali Mire, Col. Gaawido.

Saraakiisha ka badbaaday cadaawad iyo toogashada Siyad Barre ka dib isku daygii afgambiga dawladeed, waxay ka talaabeen xuduudda Kenya isla ayaamahay ka soo laabteen Dalgaalkii Ogaadeeniya. Saraakiisha fakatay waxaa ugu caan sanaa Taliyihii Aaga Koofureed ee Dagaalka, Kornayl Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmed Yey, fakatkaa saraakiil Soomaaliyeed u noqondoona mid isdaba jog ah ee laajiyiin Soomaaliyeed dalka Kenya. Guddoomiyahaa SSDF, wuxu noqondoona maxbuus Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Madaxweynaha Dawladda Puntland ee Soomaaliya iyo Madaxweynaha Jamhuuriyadda Soomaliya ee Dawladda Federaalka Ku-Meelkaarka (DFK).

Saraakiishaa iskuday Afgambiga waxa aad u soo dhawenyey Jaaliyadda Soomaaliyeed ee Nairobi, waxana markiiba bilowday wada xaajeysi ku saabsan sida Taliska Siyad Barre dalka looga badbaadin lahaa. Arab Moi, Madaxweynihii hore, markaa ahaa Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha ee Dawladda Kenya, ayaa isna siiyey saraakiisha magan-gelyo siyaasadeed. Jaaliyadda iyo saraakiishu waxay talo meel dhigeen in gudaha Kenya loo baahanyahay in la dhiso urur mucaarad hubaysan si deg deg ah, lagama maarmaan ay tahay in helo saldhig dalka Soomaaliya dibeddiisa ah. Waxa Kenya laga codsaday saldhigga noocaas ah. Kenya waa diiday in ay u fidiso mucaaradka saldhig ka soo horjeeda Dawladda Soomaaliya. Yemen ayaa lagu fakaray taasoo la iska dhaafay badda noo dhexays awgeed. Iyadoo arrimuhu halgaa taaganyihiin, ayaa saraakiishii Nairobi waxaa Addis Ababa kala soo xiray Madaxdii SODAF oo Maamulkii Mengistu Haile-Mariam oggalaansho ka soo helay in saraakiishu ku soo biirran SODAF, oo iyadu ku guuldareysatay in hesho taageerada dadweynaha gudaha Soomaaliya ama ciidanka Xoogga Dalka.

Halgaa waxay ku cad in ayen Ethiopia ahayn doorashadii koowaad ee SSDF

ama qorshe horey loogu talagalay, oo tagitaanka ururku Addis Ababa uu noqday ka maarmiwa, markii meel kale oo loo irkado la waayey.

Intaanan qoritaanka buuggan bilaabin, nin saaxib ah oo ka mid ah ragga igu dhaliyey in aan waxa ka qoro dhacdooyinkaan usoo joogay, ayaa igu yiri: “Aaditaanka SSDF ee Ethiopia waxa lagu tilmaamikaraa “libaax nin aan aqoon baa neef ka rita”. Waa dab, cid diideysana malaha taa ma jirto. Hase yeeshee waa maxaa badiil ah? Talo keen nidaankii ka taagnaa Soomaaliya wax looga qabto. Nin yiri xoog baan Soomaaliya qabsaday, xoog keli ah ayaana wax laygaga qaadi karaa, ma dacaayad radio laga dhaho ama wargeys lagu qoro miyaa ridaya?; yaase dhagaysanaya ama akhrinaya haddii umaddii ku noolayd dalka gudihiissa iyo dibeddiisuba wada cabursanyihiin oo qaarkood adeegayaasha iyo sirtoonka Siyad Barre ku laayeen Kenya iyo Djiboutiba, qaar kale oo waxba galabsanna dawladaha lagu diray, kuwana la masaafuriyey ka dib marka shaqooyinkii iyo deganaasha laga qaaday. Xagee bay ku dambeeyeen odayaashii faraha badnaa ee waanwaanta heshiish raadiyey. Mala socotaan in Siyad Barre xataa beelaha Soomaaliyeed u magacaabay guurtidii sida uu u kala badelo wasiirradiisa, taa oo dhexda ka jabisey dhaqan ma guuraa ah. Falkaa Talisku wuxu dalka dhaxal siiyey in Soomaaliya xal loo waayo, buurkii ka dib, mar hadduu dhaawac an kasoo kabasho layn gaaray Xeer Dhaqameedka Belaha Soomaaliyeed.

QAYBTA 16AAD

SSF, ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

1978-da Saraakiisha uu hogaaminayey Kornayl Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed waxay durba ku guuleysteen in ay isu yeeraan Shirweyne ay ka soo qaybgaleen wufuud Soomaaliyeed oo ballaaran oo ka kala yimi dactalada aduunka oo dhan. Shirweynuhu SSF ayuu u badelay magaccii SODAF, Guddoomiyeheedana waxa loo doortay Mustafe Xaaji Nuur oo ka soo jeeda Beesha Isaaq/Habr-Awal, si looga gaashaanto dacaayadda uu fidindoono Taliska Soomaaliya in ururku yahay Beel Majeerteen, maadaama Cismaan Nuur cali Qonof-ka uu haa nin ka jeeda Beesha. Shirweynuhu wuxu ka dhacay dhismeyn oo uu la haanjirey nin reer boqor ahaa ee Ethiopia, lagu magacaabijirey Ras Gasse, kana dhisan dusha buuraleyda waqooyi ee Addis Ababa. Halgaa waxa lagu doortay sadex Kuxigeen Guddoomiye: Cumar Sterling/Beesha Abgaal, Duqqii hore ee Muqdishaa waagii dawladahii rayidka ahaa.

Shandiinle-Beesha/Cayr iyo Kornayl Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmed/majeerteen. Waxa kaloo la doortay Golaha Dhexe ee ururka, waxana la gudbiyey ujeedooyinka iyo dastuurka ururka.

Mudo yar gudaheed ayaa waxaa ku dhismay cudud ciidan SSF markii sadexdii boqol oo wiil dayuurrad BOEING looga soo qaaday Nairobi si loo geeyo Saldhig cusub ee tababar ciidan ee ku yaal Jenacsaney, Dirir-dDhawe, Ethiopia, iyo boqollaal kale oo isu jira dhalinyaro, askar iyo saraakiil ka soo fikaday Soomaaliya. Xawliga dhismaha ciidan ee Jabhaddu durba waa ka dheereeyey dhismaha iyo humarka siyaasadeed, taa oo ugu dambayntii wax u dhimidoonta guushii ay higsaneysa SSDF.

SABABAHA KEENAY DHAQSO U HANAQAADKA SSF

SSF (Jabhadda Badbaadinta Soomaaliyeed) durba si xawli ah ayey u kortay sababaha soo socda awgood:

1. Saraakiil caan ah ee Ciidanka Xoogga Dalka oo hogaaminesa halganka

hubaysan sida Kornayl Cabdullahi Yuusuf, Gaawido, Kornail Axmed Ilgiir, Dhame Abdirizaq Cumar Xaaji, Kornail Maxamed Abshir Weyrax, Dhame Cabdullahi cali Mire (Carays), Kornail Saciid Maxamuud Indhayare (Maaraktaayey) iyo qaar kale, oo runtii magacyadooda aan halkaan lagu soo koobi karan, kuwo allaystay iyo haatan kuwo weli noolba.

2. Caburinta iyo cadaadiska Taliska Siyad Barre dadweynaha taageersan ururka oo gaaray heer ba'an oo dhawrsi iyo karaamo bani'aadamnimo belay.

3. SSF oo durba asaaskeeda ka dib duulimaadyo hubaysan qaaday, hawl-galana ka fulisay degaanno ay fadhiyaan ciidamada Taliska Soomaaliya sida Hawlgalka caanka ah ee loo yaqaan “Awrayaal” 1978 ee dhacay Mudugh, Bartamaha Soomaaliya. Hawlgalkii Awrayaal waxuu soo jiidatay dhalinyaro Gobollada ee Soomaaliya oo faraban oo Xeryaha Tababarka Jabhadda soo buuxdhaafshay.

4. Xoola dhaqatada Mudugh Sare degan oo naf iyo xoolaba u huray Ciidanka Jabhadda.

5. Anshaxa iyo deqanka Ciidanka Jabhadda oo wanaagsanaa, kuwaa oo nabadgelyo siin jirey dadweynaha ku nool degaannada ay hawlgalaan ama ka fuliyaan hawlgalo. Ma dhicin weli xitaa gabar Soomaaliyeed oo la fara xumeeyey. Ciidanka Jabhaddu wuxuu taageerijirey oo xataa xoolaha u shubijirey xoolo dhaqatada taasoo iyana soo jiidatay dadweynaha.

QAYBTA 17AAD

ITOObIYA IYO MUCAARADKA SIYAAD BARRE (1978-1991)



Iskaashiga Itoobiya iyo mucaaradka Soomaaliya mudadii 1978-1981 wuxu ku salaysnaa labo qodob:

1. Mucaaradka kasoo horjeeday keligii- taliska milatari ee Siyaad Barre oo waayey saldhig kale oo ay isku abaabulaan.
2. Kornayl Mengistu Xayle-Mariam iyo Dergigii Itoobiya oo Dagaakii Ogaadeeniya 1977-1978 ka aarsi Soomaaliya ugu jirey.

Mucaaradka Soomaaliya wuxu ka dhiidhyey keligi-talisnimada Siyaad Barre, wuxuuse marti u noqday keliggii-talis kale iyo Xabashi ka dhaqan iyo dhaqaale ka duwan Soomaaliya. Waa la dareemikaraa is-afgaranwaaga halkaa ka dhexdacay mucaaradka Soomaaliya iyo taliskii Mengistu.

Siyaasiintii Dergigu, fekar ahaan, waa isgu mid Soomaalidu, ama taliska Siyaad Barre haka tirsanaadeenne ama jabhad mucaarad ha ahaadeene- shaki baa kuli saarnaa dhanka saraakiisha wardoonka Itoobiya.

Dhaqanka iyo aragtida Itoobiya ee ku wajahan dadka Soomaaliya waxay wiiqday wada shaqayntii mucaaradka Soomaaliya iyo taliskii Mengistu.

Tan kale, Mengistu ujeedadiisu ma ahayn in talis laga badelo Soomaaliya - wuxu rabay in ayen mucaaradku qabsan Soomaaliya, ee la isku-jabiyey mucaaradka iyo dawladda Soomaaliya, sidaana loo wiiqo dawladdnimada dalka. Mucaaradka Soomaaliya ma moogeyn qorshaha Mengistu, haseyeeshee waxay iskudayeen in ay mar ka xiriir-furtaan lahaysanima Mengistu, iyo ay gudaha dalka Soomaaliya u wareegaan.

Mengistu markuu ogaaday qorshaha jabhadda SSDF, waagii xiray madaxdii ururka. Tilaabada taliskii Mengistu waxay curyaamisay SSDF, waxayna dhiiragelisay SNM iyo goosan SSDF ee la magacbaxay USC, oo iyagu lahaa ujeedooyin siyaasadeed oo ka duwan kuwa SSDF, waana ujeedooyinkaawgeed ay SNM ku diiday midayntii mucaaradka Soomaaliya.

Aragti iyo dhaqan ahaanba, dadka itoobiyaanku waxay Soomaalida u haya qadarin weyn, taariikhda culus ee dhextaal awgeed. Gabarta iyo wiilka itoobiyaanka ee Soomaalida u eg, waxay isu qabaan in ay dadka kale wax dheeryihiin, amaan gaar ah.

Waxa taa ugu darsantay, mucaaradka Soomaaliya wuxu soo jiitay lameentii Soomaaliya, Siyaasiintii, aqoonyahannaddii, saraakiishii ciidanka iyo ardadii qaranka Soomaaliya.

Dhanka wax wada-qabsiga iyo iskaashi dhex-marikara Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya, wuxu u baahantahay in is-afgarad buuxxa iyo heshiis la isku halaynkaro oo laga gaaro amuuraha hoose:

1. Dhulka
2. Badda
3. Taariikhda culus ee dhextaal labada dal
4. Daris-wanaagga
5. Burinta dhanka Itoobiya isbahaysiga iyo xulafaysiga kasoo hirjeeda Soomaaliya.

Ugu dambayn, in Soomaaliya hesho heshiis waafi ah dhanka dhaqaalaha iyo siyaasadda si loo horamariyo, loona wada-adeegsado xeebaha Soomaaliya ee aduunka ugu dheer, danaha Soomaliya iyo dawladaha gobolka, marka lagu daro Itoobiya, ayaa ku jira. Arritaasu waxay u baahantahay gogol-dhig balaaran iyo wacigelin dadweyne

QAYBTA 18AAD

SOOMAALIYA IYO ITOOBIYA

Waxa la yiri waxa isqabtay Itoobiya iyo Masar qarnigii 19aad markay Kaniisadda Koobtigga ee Itoobiya ka goosatay Madaxxa Kooptigga ee Alekssandriyada Masar.

Colaad diimeed baa halkaa laba kaniisadood ka abuurrantay. Raasaska (Boqorro) Itoobiya ayaa talo isugu laabtay, sidii laga yeelilahaa cawtimada Masar. Waxa laga tashanayaa sidii Masar biyaha Niil looga weecin lahaa ama laga afjarilahaa. Mudo dheer hadii la dhiraandhirinayey arrinta, ayaa mid raasaskii ka mid ah, su'aal soo jeediyey: “Waxan idin weydiiyey, cadowga dhaw iyo kan fog keebaa inoo daran?”

Waxa loogu jawaabay in uu daranyahay kan dhaw. “Hadaynu biyo weecineyno, kuwa Soomaaliya aada ya inoo daran” Itoobiyaanku wadaad dad sidaa ugu fekara, meesha Soomaaligu guntiga degdeg u xirto, deedna degdeg uga furto.

Marka laga hadlo samirka xaddhaafka ah ee Itoobiyaanka, waxa jiray in mid raasaska ah, uu kuwii kale ka goostay. Intii kale ayaa isu timi, si ay uga tashadaan waxa laga yeelayo raaska caasiyoobay. Billo haddii la tashanayey, ayaa midu su'aal soo jeediyey: “kaalay, Raasku ma ciidda dalka ayuu kala jarayaa?” “Maya”, ayaa loogu jawaabay. “Oo maan iska dhaafno, wakhtigaa (goorta) ayaa dhibkaa ku filan eh [xallindoone]”?

Hadaan dib u jaleecco wixii SSDF ka qabsay wada shaqaynta taliskii Mengistu, waxan ahayn rag xiiqsan oo degdegan, Itoobiyaanku waxay ahaayeen dad go'aanqaadashadoodu culustahay, oo an marna degdegayn. Markii xaaladu abuuranto, inta ay ka fekarayaan, iyagoo raadgoobaya in ay helaan wax xaaladdaa burunaya, ayaa waxa imaanaya mid kale oo tii hore kasii daran, deedna talabaa farakabahaysa. Dhqaanka Itoobiyaanku wuxu SSDF ku noqday curyaamin joogta ah, taa oo keentay in hogaankii Jabhaddu iska horyimaado, himiladii iyo qorshihii urugu fadhiidaan. Taliska Mengistu wuxu adeegsaday kala qaybin iyo iska horkeen madaxda uruga, msna ay geesinimo gelineysa ciidanka jabhadda weerarro ku qaada saldhigyada ciidamada taliska Soomaaliya.

Sidaa awgeed, ciidanka SSDF durba waa hanaqaaday, iyadoo siyaasdda ururku fadhiid tahay.

Taariikha Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya ma aha mid sahal lagu soo koobikaro, ama xaata si fuduud lagu dulmarikaro. Waa safar dheer oo qarniyaal taxan, iyo, nasiib darro ku fadhiya culaad soo jirreen ah, gumeysi, dagaallo kulul ee salaysan dhul, dad iyo diinba.

Waxay kala ahaayeen dad gumeysi shisheeyee kala kala qaybiyey, degdeggaya, haseyeeshee lahayn qorshe iyo madax ilbaxxa e aduunka kale kuxiran, qadiyadoodana soo bandhikara, xoolo raaccataha ee xaata an ahayn xoolo dhaqato, halka Xabashidu ahayd dawlad guun ah ee qarniyaal dunida kale la haysatay, la taliyaal shisheeyee ku shaqaysata, xiriirro diblomaasiyeed la leh dawlado awood waaweyn ee Yurub (Ruushka, ingriiska, Fransiiska, Burtiqiiska iyo kuwo kale), deedna Mareykanka oo meel mariyey siyaasadii Menelik iyo Xayle-Sellassie ee isbalaarsiga boqortooyada ku qotontay ee ahayd in qaadato gabihaan Soomaaliya.

La taliyaashaa shisheeye ee Boqortooyada Itoobiya waxay ahaayee khubaro dhangha sharciga, xiriirka amuuraha dibedda iyo afafka shisheeyee. Aqoonyahannadaa waxa ka mid ah Dr John Spencer, qaanuunka ku haysta shahaadada ugu saraysa ee PhD. Khabiirkaa oo Mareykan ah, wax kusoo bartay, kana soo dhigay dugsiyada ugu sareeyya Fransiiska, ayaa loo soo xulay Xayle-Selassie oo markaa dhalinyaro ah in uu lataliyee u noqdo dhanka arrimaha debedda iyo sharciga. Afartan (40) sano ayuu u hayey Xayle-Selassie shaqadaa ila xukunka ciidamadii Mengistu Xayle Maraim ka tuureen. Waxaa iyana ka mid ahayd haweynada Silva Bankrust (Ingriis) iyo caruurteedaba oo jacaylka ay Itoobiya qabto dunida kale ka iibisay. Jinsiyeedda iyo biladaha Itoobiya ayey ku qaadatay olalaheeda.

Iyadoo Itoobiya ay fara kula jirto siyaasadda iyo halkanka hubaysan ee SSDF, ayaa ururku iskuday in dawlado kale arrimaha halkanka soo galaan. Wafti SSDF ka socda ee Gudoomiyaha Jabhadu, Cabdullahi Yuusuf, hogaaminayo ayaa tegay Koonfur Yemen, magaalada Cadan. Waxa halkaa waftiga kusoo dhaweeyey Madaxweyne Cali Naaser taariikhda 1982. Cali Naaser wuxu isku xiray Cabdullahi Yuusuf iyo Kornayl Mucamar Qadaaffi. Sadex dawladdood ayaa ku xirmay SSDF: Itoobiya, Yemen iyo Liibiya. Heshiiskaa wuxu la magacbay "Heshiiskii Sadex Geesood". Heshiisku wuxu dhigayaa in xoogaga mucaaradka Soomaaliya la mideeyo oo ururka ugu weyn ee SSDF lagu wada biiro. Ururku

wuxuu helay hub iyo dhaqaale xoogan. SSDF guulo la tabankaro ayey gaartay goobaha dagaalka, qabsatay Galdoogob iyo Balanbale. Ururka markaa wax kusoo biiray xisbiyada Shaqaalaha iyo Shuucciga ee kala hoogaminey Saciid Jaamac iyo Cabdirahmaan Caydiid.

Dhagan kale, waxa magaalada london ee dalka Ingriiska looga dhawaaqay ururka SNM, horayntii 1983. SSDF wafti ka kooban Jaamac Rabile Good iyo Cabdirahmaan Sugule Xaabsay ayey u dirtay SNM, in ayey Addis Ababa yimaadaan, oo ay la midoobaan SSDF.

SNM markaa waxa madax u haa Xooghayaha Axmed Ismaaciil Cabdi (Duqsi). Waa yimaadeen Addis, waxana bilowday wada-hadaladii SSDF-SNM dhexdhexaadinta Itoobiya. SNM waxay ku dooday in ay ka dagaalamayaan gumaysiga reer koonfureed, iyo haddaba Reer Shiikh Isaxaaq ayaa ka buuxxa SSDF lkn ma haysaan dadweynihii Isaaq. SNM waxay ka codsatay SSDF in loo ogalaado in goonidooda u istaagaan intay ka aabulayaan dadweynaha Isaaqqa, deedna dib ugu soo laabtaan wada-hadalada. SSDF soojeedintaa SNM. Ugu yaraan, labo sano ayaa SSDF taageereysay, hub iyo dhaqaalaba.

Markaa dalka Itoobiya waxaa ka taagan xukun degdeg ah oo tan iyo intii ciidanku qabsadayba jirey. Magaalo magaala kale u gudbikarta amarla'aan ma jirin, dadka shisheeya ahna warkoodaba daa. Guddoomiyaha SSDF kama bixikaro Addis Ababa ruqsa-la'aan. Dalka xaaladdaa ku sugan wey adkayd in lagu shaqeeyo.

Qaar ka mid ah madaxda maamulka Mengistu, gaar ahaan Wasaaradda Aminiga iyo Baaritaanka Dibedda (External Research), sida Ato Aklilo, iyo Ato Asfow, waxay ahaayeen saraakiil niyed iyo uur-xun, haddana af iyo edeb xun. Akiilo waa sargaalka ay suuragashay dhanka wada-shaqaynta intuu taleefanka qabto uusan hadlayn, anagoo ka rabna, si degdeg ah, ruqsada socodka (Pass Paper) jabhadiin magaalo kale ee xarumaha loo diro. Intaan xasuusto, agaasimaha guud ee wasaaradda, Moges Habte-Mariam, iyo dhame, Mesfin, oo dèed isagu London u fikaday, ayaa ka ahaa banii'aadam lala shaqaynkaro maamulka wasaaraddaa oo dhan.

Isqabadkii SSDF madaxdeeda, markaan siyaasiin iyo saraakiil ciidamba, waa sii xoogsaday. Saraakiisha Itoobiyaaku si ba'an bey fara kula jiraan amuuraha gudaha ee SSDF. Waxaba markaa soo kordhay kalajab aragtii dhaqan-dhaqaale ku aadan Soomaaliya marka Siyaad Barre laga horeeyo.

Iyadoo arimahaa ka taaganyiin SSDF, ayaa waxaa dib u curtay wadahaladii SSDF-SNM magaalada Addis Ababa. SNM markaa cagaheeda bay ku taagantahay, ciidamana wey leedahay. Yuusuf Shiikh Cali Madar ayaa ah Guddoomiyaha SNM. Waa wadaad muxaafid ah.

Isjiidjiid ka dib, wadahaladii SSDF-SNM waxay keeneen in Radio Kulmis ee SSDF noqdo Radio Halgan Codka Midaysan ee Mucaaradka Soomaaliyeed. Taa waxay ahayd tilaabo horey loo qaaday.

Wadahadaladii SSDF-SNM waxay kàsii socdeen Tripoli, Libiya, Qadaaffi iyo Mengistu oo wada fadhiya hortooda. Qadaaffi ayaa su'aallay Yuusuf Shiikh Cali Madar, "Yuusuf, idinka iyo SSDF maxaad u midoobiweydeen"?

Yuusuf wuxu ugu jawaabay Qadaaffi, "Libiya iyo Itoobiya maxay u midoobiwaayeen?" Qadaaffi su'aasha Yuusuf waa la yaabay.

Qadaaffi waa kasoo horjeeday kala go'a Soomaaliya, meesha Mengistu rabay, shirqoolkaana ku hawllanaa.

SNM, iyadoo taageero ka heleysa maamulka Mengistu, mucaaradka Cabdullahi Yuusuf, dàcaayadda taliska Siyaad Barre ku wado SSDF, ayey bilowday manjexaabin siyaasadeed iyo dacaayado sumcadda looga dilayo SSDF, sida "maxay kala yihiin Cabdullahi Yuusuf iyo Siyaad Barre oo ah ilmadeer kursi isku haysta, wada rabana in ay Ogaadeeniya ka xooreeyaan Itoobiya.

Dacaacadda SNM macne ayey u sameysay Mengistu, si buuxdana wey u iibsantay. Waxa kaloo jirey in Saraakiisha ciidanka SNM ay ku jireen kuwo horey dambiyo banii'aadam uga soo galay Gobolka Mudugh, markii Taliska Barre cadaadiska siyaasadeed, dhac, buburin habtiku, dil iyo kufsi ku hayey dadka degan Gobolka. Saraakiisha waxa ka ina Kornayl Kaahin (Wasiirka Arrimha Gudaha Somaliland) iyo Kornayl Dhagaweyne, noqday Taliyihii Ciidanka Somalilandoo, Reer Berbara kasoojeeda. Saraakiisha ma ayen rabin in ay dib ugu laabtaan qaybihii dalka Soomaaliya ee dambiyo waxashnima kasoo geysteen. Qayb bay kasoo qaateen in aanan mucaaradka Soomaaliya midoobin.

Hogaanka SNM iskaga kala danbeeyey Yuusuf Shiikh Cali madar ka dib, Kornayl Goosaar oo tuulada Mustaxiil, Gobolka Hiiraan, dilayaal ciidamada sirta Siyaad Barre usoo diray ku kaarajiyeen, Axmed Maxamed Silaanyo iyo Cabdirahmaan Tuur. Tuur oo ugu danbeeyey guddoomiye SNM, wuxu noqday Madaxweynihii ugu horeeyey ee Somaliland, Maxamed Ibraahim Cigaal.

Dadweynaha Somaliland waxa Halgankii iyo nacaybka dacaayadda wadata ee SNM, iyo cadaadiskii Taliska Siyaad Barre ee an naxariista lahayn ku beeray arragti fog ee gooni-isutaag Somaliland. Madaxda soo martay Somaliland, marka laga reebo Cabdirahmaan Tuur, kuma dhicikarim in Soomaaliya wax lala qabsado. Haseyeeshee, waxa la waayey magac lagu bedelo ereyga "Somaliland", si dal cusub oo aqoonsi aduunka kale loo hela. Soomaaligu waa Soomaali, wixii magaccisa sitana waa Soomaali ayey xaajadii ka noqday.

QAYBTA 19AAD

DAGAAL KA QARXAY SSDF IYO TALISKII MENGISTU

Faragelintii Itoobiya amuutaha gudaha iyo hogaanka SSDF waxay u qaraxday si foolxun oo curyaamisey halgankii Ururka dhan walba. Waxa magaalada Dirir Dhawe lagu dilay Cabdirahmaan Caydiid, xubin Gudiga Fulinta ee SSDF iyo Igar Shiikh Maxamed Xuseen, wiilka Guddoomiyihii hore ee SDU (Great Somalia), ka go'day SYL lixdamaadkii.

Hal sano ka dib, Mengistu wuxu xabsiga dhigay Guddoomiyihii SSDF Cabdullahi Yuusuf iyo Cabdullahi Xassan (Faash) ah xubin Gudiga Fulinta, ahaana Wasiirkii hore ee Warfaafinta Soomaaliya.

Ciidamadii SSDF ayaa xariga Cabdullahi Yuusuf ayaa ka gadooday dhamaan xurumaha SSDF. Gadoodka Gadoodka wuxu dhamaaday xasuuq Mengistu u geystay ciidanka SSDF. Talo faraha ayey ka haaday. Halgankii SSDF halgaa ayuu ku hakaday.

DIB U HABAYN SSDF

NOFEMBAR 1995 waxa la iskuday dib u HABAYN SSDF. Maxamed Abshir Waldo ayaa, si kumeelgaar, ah Guddoomiye. Shirweyne ayaa la isugu yimi magaalada Harar, Itoobiya.

Dr. Xassan Cali Mire ayaa shirweynuhu u doortay Guddoomiye, Maxamed Faarax Jimcaale/Habar-Gedir, Kuxgeen. Ururku markaa waa fadhiid, welina Mengistu ma layn ciidamadii SSDF ee godoodsanaa.

Billo ka dib, Mengistu Xayle-Mariam ayaa u yeeray Guddoomiye Mire iyo Kuxgeen Jimcaale. Mengistu wuxu u sheegay madaxda SSDF in uu isagu Itoobiya ku qabsatay afgambi, iyo in uusan ka yeeleen SSDF ciidamado gadoodsan oo kuwa Itoobiya kaga daydaan anshax xumida. Mengistu wuxu ku

goodiyey in uu falkaa soo afjaridoono. Waa ka dhabeeyey dignintaa. Ugu yaraan, kontonmeeyo ciidankii SSDF ayaa Mengistu habayn saq dhexe ku laayey Galaadi, Qorof iyo Balanbale.

Itoobiya waxay la wareegtay hubkii SSDF ee ugu waaweynynaa suda taangiyada, baabuurta waaweyn ee iyaga qaada, madaafiicda koobta, BM 21, iwm.

Golaha Dhexe ee SSDF wuxu misna u kala jabay labo garab. Garab uu hogaaminayo, Guddoomiyaha Ururku iyo qayb Ku-xigeengu. Kala jabku wuxu markaan saleysanyahay hab-qabiil. Dhanka Habar-Gidir ee Kooxda Kuxigeenka, waxaa raacay Kornayl Gardheere/Cumar Maxamuud iyo Abdirisaaq Dhugdhug/Cismaan Maxamuud. Itoobiyaankuu waa Ku dhex-labanyihiin.

Arrinta markaan kooxuhu isku hayaan waa Itoobiya oo SSDF ku riixxaysa in ay dagaal ku furaan taliska Siyaad Barre, iyo qaybta Guddoomiyaha Ururku oo ku doodaya in ayen SSDF u diyaarsanayn dagaal marka hadii Itoobiyaan hubkii Ururka la wareegeen. Kooxda Kuxigeenka Jimcaale waxay codsanayaan in hubkii SSDF iyaga lagu wareejiyo in ay dhanka Gobolka Hiiraan dhexda u fariistaan ciidamada gurmada ah ee Taliska Barre u dirayo Waqooyiga kacsan ee magaalooyinka Hargeisa iyo Burco. Waa is ismariwaayey.

Markay halkaa wax marayaan, ayaa maalin, nin ragga ka midhi talo soojeediyey. Wuxu yiri, isagoo kaftan ka dhigaya, "raggow, hadii cawa bunaa Beytka (waa hudheelka hablaha iyo tumashada) la iga bixinayo, talo aad ku guuleysaneysaan baan hayaan". Inta la isfiiriyey, ayaa la qusquslay. Lacag ayaa la iska baarbaaray, ninkii lasiiyey wax cawadaa Bunaa Beitka ugu filan. Ninkii wuxuu talo kusoo jeediyey: "War madaxnimadu dadka in badan bay waashaa. Ragga Habar-Gedir ee Golaha naga soo horjeeda waxa ugu badan Saleemaan, Haseyeeshee Maxamed Faarax Jimcaale ayaa madax u ah. Xusseen Cali Shiro oo Saleemaan ah, u yeera oo u sheega in aad u wadataan isaga in uu noqondoono Goddoo miye Kuxigeenka soo socda ee SSDF marka la Shirweynaha SSDF". Taladii ninkaa mira dhal ayey noqotay. Waa ka guuleysanay kooxdii Jimcaale. Go'aankii Golaha Dhexe ee SSDF oo si qayaxan u diidaya dagaal u galo Ururku ayaan wajiga ka saarnay madaxda Itoobiya. Markaa iska hor-imaad xoogan ayaa ka socda Waqooyiga Soomaaliya.

QAYBTA 20AAD

KULANKII JABUUTI EE SIYAAD BARRE IYO MENGISTU

Waxa magaalada Jabuuti kulan dhexmaray Siyaad Barre iyo Mengistu. Heshiis baa kasoo kulankaa:

- 1. In taageerada jabhadaha la joojiyo**
- 2. In dacaayadaha la joojiyo**
- 3. In ciidamada xuduudaha ilaa 15km la kala qaada.**

Mengistu wuxu yeeray madaxdii SSDF iyo SNM in uu ku wargeliyo heshhiska Jabuuti, iyo in ciimadadii xuduuda kala qaadano iyo Radio Halgaan la aamusinayo. "Taga magaalada Harar, wafti wasiirro ah oo idin kala shaqeeya arrimahaa ayaan idiin soo diraya", ayuu ku yiri Mengistu madaxdii ururrada.

Anigu waxan goobjoog ka ahaa wadahalada SSDF, SNM iyo Itoobiya ee dhacay Harar 1988. Wasiirrada Itoobiya waxay soo jeediyaan in ciimadada ururrada Soomaaliyeed laga soo durkiyo xuduudda. SSDF ciidankeedii waa kii horey u curyaansanaa. Guddoomiya SNM, Axmed Maxamed Silaanyo, waa ka cagajiiday soo jeedinta Itoobiya. Deedna waxa dagaalladii SNM ee ka dhacay Hargeisa iyo Burco 1989.

SHEEGOOYIN DHEXTAAL AH

- 1. Ururka SSDF waxa is caan loogu yaqaannay Magacca KULMIS. Ereyga Kulmis wuxu noqday baaqa jabhadiintu adeegsadaan gudaha dalka halis ah oo ku jira xukun degdeg ah. Markay SNM timi Itoobiya, waxay la kulmeen magacca Kulmis oo dalka gabi ahaan haysta. Si ay khatar iyo xarig uga badbaadaan, waxay doorbideen in ay sheegtaan Kulmis. Mudo dheer ayey ku qaadatay SNM in laga dareemo Itoobiya.**

2. Maahmaah Soomaliyeed baa oraneysa: Hadaa rabto rag inaad barato, ama jid la mar, ama jabad la deg, ama jidiin la cun. SSDF waxay ku dartay Maahmaahdaa, ama jabhad la noqo.

3. Janankii SSDF, Maxamuud Muuse Boqoor Cadde), ayaa markuu noqday Taliyaha Ciidamada SSDF 1982-1983, tuulada Gallaadi ugu yimi odayaal degaanka ah, oo xoolo badan kusoo bixiyey halganka SSDF iyo ciidanka dagaalamayey. Odayaashu waxay maqleen lacag badan ayey SSDF ka heshay Qadaaffi. Odayaashu Janan Cadde ayey weydisteen in wax maal ah loo celiyo. Cadde wuxu ugu jawaabay odayada meel fagaara ah fadhiya, “Lacagta anigu an wado hadda, ciidamada sirta ah ee SSDF oo Xarumaha Siyaad Barre ee Muqdishu soo qarxindoona ayaan ugu talagalnay”. Odayaashii Gallaadii waa isfiiriyeen.

QUUSTA GUDDOOMIYAHA AH

4. Dirir Dhabe, markuu noo dhamaaday Shirkii SSDF ee Golaha Dhexe, iga codsaday in an u diyaariyo madaxda Itoobiya kaga codsanayo, uguna wargelinayo fasax uu ku aadayo qoyskiisa Nairobi. Anigu waa gartay in Guddoomiye Dr. Xassan Cali Mire quus ka yahay joogitaan dambe ee Itoobiya. Xassan, wuxu kaloo iga codsaday warqad kale in Yuusuf Ismaaciil Barbari Kusime Guddoomiye sii noqondoono. Meeshii Baribari, waxan kusoo qoray Muuse Islaan Faarax, sababo badan oo an Baribari hawsha ka bixikarin awgood. Xassan waa isukay xanaajiyey, ana isaga waxan dereensiisiiyey in arrintaa dhamaaday. Sidaa, ayuu Muuse Islaan ku noqday Guddoomiyaha SSDF ee Kumeelgaarka ah tan iyo Shirarkii Soomaaliyeed ee dib-u-heshiideed ee kasoo dhacay Jabuuti, Shirkii Carta kahor ee 2000.

SAFAR HA SAHLAN

5. Dhawr billood ka dib, ayaan Nairobi Xassan uga dabatagay, anoo sita Basaboorkii Shaqaale Itoobiyaan ah. Dhawr billood ka dib, ayaan ka dhoofay Nairobi, sii maray Lusaka, anoo sita Basaboorkii Kiinyaan ah, Xaliima Ashkir Farasle, Xaaska Xassan Nairobi iga heshay, oo uu saaranyahay magac (Wyclife) nin bangi ka shaqeeya ah, oo aduunka fiisooyin aad ugu maray. Waxan Basaboorkii Itoobiyaan dib ugu soo diray Nairobi Maxamed Abshir Waldo, si

ugu gudbiyo Itoobiya.

Waxan Air France ka qaadatay Lusaka, anoo u sii jeeda Montreal, Kanada, sii maraya Baaaris (Paris). Gagada Dayuuradaha Baaris markaa waxay ahayd meelaha dhhoofayaasha lagu tuhmo qaxootidoon ugu dhibta badan. Ina Cadeysay iyo labo kale ayaa dayuuradda Air France ila saaraa. Waxan ugu digay in aanaan is-aqoon, keli ah ay kor iga eegaan waxan samayndoono marka gagada dayuuradaha laga dego.

Anigu waxan ahay nin hilboon, dhar qurxoon qaba iyo shando-gacmeed cusb sita. Inkastoo walwal igu jiro, hadana taa waa iska indhatiraa. Markaan shaqaalaha iyo askarta socdaalka soo dhaafay, ayaan meesha dayuuradaydu ka baxayso agteeda kusi fariistay, buugna an akhriyana lasoo, sidii nin aad ilbax u ah, walwalna qabin.

Ina cadeysay iyo kuwii kalena, markay soo dhaafeen shaqaalaha socdaalada, oo ay soo gaareen aaga laga dhoofayo, ayey bilaabeen in ay miriqshaandheeyaan agagaarka iyo dugaamada. Ileen durba ishaa lagu dhuftay in ay noqonkaraan qaxooti-doon. Mudo an ka yarayn afar saac yaa anigu buug akhrinayey, xataa suuliga ma galin. Mudo yar ka hor intaan dayuurrada la isgu yeerin, gabar dheer oo shaqaalaha gagada ka tirsani, iyadoo ad moodid in ay duulayso, inta isoo dul taagtay, afka Fransiiska wax ugu weydiisay. Ingriis ayaan ku yiri, “Sorry?”, “Oh, you speak English?”, ayey durba tiri. “Please, your ticket?”

“Oh, here it is”, yaan ugu jawaabay. Wey la tagtay, tiketkii. Walwal horlaa igu dhashay. Dayuurraddii Montreal nooqaadeysay ayaa la isugu yeeray. Tiketkii weli la ima soo celin. Inta istaagay baan safka dayuurradda raacaya galay. Mise gabarti tiketka iga qaadatay ayaa kaygii iyo kuwo lalmineysa. Waxay ku wada tuurtay miiska gabarta saxaysa, baalna kala hareysa tiket walba. Taa markaad dhaaftit, labo saf oo kale ayaa mid ku biireysa. Baasaboorrada ayaa la fatashayaa. Kaygu waa kiinyaaan Fiiso an u baahnayn. Naag iyo nin shaqaalaha gagada ka tirsan ayaa wax fatashaya. Naagtu waxad moodaa in si adag wax ugu fiirsaneyso. Waa ka bayray safkeedii. Markaan soo gaaray ninka wax fatashaya, ayaan Baasaboorkaygi iyo tiketkiiba durba u dhiibay. “Oh, Kenya, welcome”, ayuu ku qayliyey, isagoo markii iisoo celinaya alaabteydii. Oh, dayuurraddii bay galay, kursigaygii fariistay, anigoo wadnuhu iboodboodayo. Montreal, Kanada! Wow! Waa August 1998. Waxan ku guuleystay intixaan, oo hadii an ku dhicilaa, meel dambe oo an ku laabtaa dunida ka jirin, gaar ahaan Soomaaliya, Itoobiya, Kiinya, Zambia.

QAYBTA 21AAD

KANADA

Bartamihii Agoosto ayaan alleylehe kasoo Gagada Mirabel ee magaalada Montreal, Gobolka Quebec, Kanada. Waa Gobol Fransiiska ku hadla, iyana ka kasoo jeeda taariikh ahaan, Fransa. Hawado waa wanaagsanhay. Waa koor galab ah. Durba safka soo gelitaanka sadcaalka baan la qabsaday. Waa faraxsanahay. Waxan dhiibtay baasabookii Kiinya, oo ku iri sargaalka, ma lihi baasaboorkaan, keliya waa soo adeegsaday. Sargaalku, inta quslay ayuu ninkale u baaqay. Kaasaa ii weeciyey xafiiska codsatada qaxooti-dhageysiga. Ileen nin afka Ingriiska yaqaan baan ahaye, oo weli sita shahaadooyinkii waxbarashada, durba waa la II dhameeyey codsigaygii qaxootinimada. Waxana la igu yiri "waataa Mintreal". Boqol doollar baan wataa, iyaguna waa iweydiyeen markaan xafiiskooda lagu wareysanayey.

Waxa nasiib wanaaghayd in xafiiskii an qaxootiga mudo an foggeyn isaga dhiibay ka noqday turjibaan afafka Soomaaliga, Carabiga iyo Ruushka. Waagaa waxa burburay Dawladdii Soomaaliya, waxana sii burbureysay Midowgii Sovieti. Qaxootiga ka imaanaya labaa dal ayaan iska soo dhaba-dhacayey. Koob iyo labaatan doollar ayaan saacaddiiba qaadanayey sadexddi maalmood ee kaltankayga ah. Waxaa lala wada yaabay in nin madow turjubaan afka Ruushka ka noqdo Kanada, xataa qaxootigii Ruushkahaa ayaa ka helay.

Waxa iyaduna arrin quruxbadan ahayd jaamacadda McGill iyana ii ogolaato waxbarashada loo yaqaan 'postgraduate', anoon weli helin sharcigii dalka sida arday dibedda ka yimi. Mar hadaan shaqeysto, anaa iska bixiyey kharashkii garyaqaanka qaxootinimada iyo jaamacaddaba.

QAYBTA 22AAD

GUUR IYO GURI

Lix sano ka dib, 1995, ayaan London, dalka Ingriiska, ku hakaday, anoo Kanada kasoo laabtay, una soo jeeda Soomaaliya, sii maraya Dubai, imaaraadka. Intaan joogay London, waxan ishelay Ismahaan Cabdirahmaan Indhaciiro. Ismahaan wax iidhashay Cawo, Cosob iyo Caaisha, jaamacadaha dhigta ama ka baxay. Caaishaa ayaa ugu yar oo gashay Cambrige University.

1995 waxa bukaan-socod london u jooga La-guddoimiyaha SSDF-ta Waqooyi Bari Soomaliya, Cadullaahi Yuusuf. Xaaladda caafimaad ee Cabdullahi Yuusuf heer adag iyo in beerka laga badelo ayey markaa taagantahay. Maraykanka ayuu Yuusuf u sii gudbay, si uu help ra'yi labaad dhanka caafimaadkiisa, iyo in ay suurgaltahay isdaaweyn. Waxa halkaa la yiri in beerkiisu rajo la hayn, badelkiisuna u baahanyahay boqolaal kun oo doolar. London in uu dib ugu laabto ayey kula taliyeen. Mudo dhawr todobaad ah ayaa dadweynaha Soomaaliyeed, siiba dadka kasoo Waqooyi Bari ku ururiyeen boqolaal kun ee bownka Sterling-ka Ingriiska. Cisbitaalka Cromwell waa ku guuleystay ka badelka beerka Cabdullahi.

QAYBTA 23AAD

IMAARAAADKA

Markii Cabdullahi ka baxay cisbitaalka, ayaan anigu u wareegay Dubai, Imaaraadka. Sanad hadaan ka shaqaynayey imaaradda Abu Dhabi, ayaan reerkayka London dib ugu soo laabtay.

Asaaskii Somali Salvation Council (loo yaqaan Kooxda Sodare).

Cabdullahi weli London buu joogaa, isagoo markaa caafimaaday, Xaaladda siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya weli murugsantahay. Cabdullahi wuxu iga codsaday in an usoo diyaariyo warqad ku socota Meles Senaawi (Zenawi) in amuuraha Soomaaliya wax laga qabto, iyadoo madaxda Soomaaliyeed heleeso meel nabad ah oo ay ku tashan karto. Waxanu u dhibnay Safaaradda Itoobiya ee London dhambaalka Cabdullahi. Meles durba waa soo jawaabceliyey, isagoo Cabdullahi Addis ugu casumay wadatashi. Halkaa ayaan Cabdullahi misna iskala qabsanay.

Cabdullahi wuxu ku wargeliyey dhamaan dagaal oogayaashii Soomaaliya in Addis la yimaado. Kuli waa yimaadeen Addis, marka laga reebo Xusseen Caydiid iyo kooxdiiisa

Salbalaar

QAYBTA 24AAD

GOLAHA BADBAADADA QARAN (KOOXDA SODARE) IYO AWOOD-QAYBSIGA SIYAASADEED EE 4.5

Hogaamiyaal kooxceedyada Somaaliya waxay isugu yimaadeen Addis, baaqii Cabdullahi Yuusuf ka dib. Taliska Meles xoog buu u soo dhaweyyey qabqablayaasha dagaal. Ragga halkaa tagay waxa ku jira Cali Mahdi, Caato, Gabyow, Soobe, Shatigaduud, Maxamed Dheere, Cumar Xaaji Masale iyo qaar kaloo badan.

Waxa durba dismay Golaha Badbaada Qaran (Kooxda Sodare), wata magacca magaalada SODARE, oo dhacda bariga Addis, duleedka magaalada Naasiret (Haadaamo u taqaan Soomaalidu). Waxa Golahu doortay shan La-Guddoomiye: Cabdullahi Yuusuf, Cali Mahdi, Gabyow, Caato iyo Soobe, labo labo Daarood, labo Hawiye iyo mid Digil & Mirifle. Waxa la go'aamiyey in Boosaaso, Waqooyi Bari Somaaliya lagu qabto Shirweyne Qaran lagu dhisayo dawlad Soomaaliyeed. Odarasku wuxuu ahaa in Cali Mahdi noqdo Madaxweyne, Cabdullahi-na Wasiirka Koowaad. Heshiish labo La-Guddoomiye gaareen ayey ahayd, dhexdhexaadinta Wasiirka Arrimaha Dibedda, Seyoum Mesfin, ka dib. Cabdullahi iyo Cali Mahdi waxayba bilaabeen wadatashi xubnaha galidoona Golaha Wasiirka dawladda ka dhalandointa Boosaaso.

Kooxda Sodare arrin aad u adag ayaa ka hortimi. Sidee beelaha Soomaaliyeed u qaybsanayaan ergada aadeysa Boosaaso? Kooxda Hawiye waxay ku doodeen in ay Soomaalida ugu badanyiin. Kooxda Daaroodku waxay weydiyeen Kooxda Hawiye, oo sidee ugu badantiyiin, marka tiratii ugu dambaysay ee aduunku oo aqoonsanyahay ee Qaramada Midoowday ee 1954, Daaroodku ahaa 38%, Hawiye 22%, inta kalena ay aad ugu yaraayeen?

Daarood iyo Hawiye waxay gaareen xal isu dheelitiran. Go'aankaa wuxu fursad siiyey La-Guddoomiye Soobe iyo Digil & Mirifle-hiisa. Daaroodka ayey ka codsadeen in iyaguna leekaadaan Hawiye. Daaroodku, iyagoo isleh soo jiita Digil & Miriflaha bay oggalaadeen codsigaa. Arrinkaa Kooxda Hawiye waa la oggaleysiiyey. Sadexdaa Kooxood waxay go'aamiyey in Dirri marka la isku daro Waqooyi iyo Koonfur leegtahay Hawiye. Soomaali inta kasoo hartaa ka yar

Hawiye. Waa taa 4.5-ku. Mar hadu burburray Shirweynihii Boosaaso, 4.5 waxa loo adeegsaday Shirweynihii Carta ee dalka Jabuuti 2000.

IGAD iyo Ururka Midowga Africa (hadda AU) we soo dhaweeyeen go'aannada Kooxda Sodare, waxayna Qalabkii Shirweynaha u qaadeen Boosaaso. Teendhooyinkii Shirka waxaa dib loogu soo celiyey Carta, Ismaaciil Cumar geele fidiyey gogol Shirweyne

Soomaaliyeed.

QAAHIRA, KOOXAHA SODARE IYO SALBALAAR

Waxa jira aqoon nafsi loo yaqaan "Stockholm Syndrone" - la haystayaal dib u jeclaanaya kuwa haystay. Mar haduu Dagaalkii Sokeeye oo kharar Habar-gidirta iyo Abgaalka ku dhexmaray Muqdisho, Cali Mahdi iyo Hogaamiyaal kooxceedkii Abgaal waxay aqoonsi ka raadinayeen Habar-gidirta. Shirkii Qaahira ee Kooxxaxa Soomaaliyeed wuxu fursad siiyey Xusseen Caydiid, sasabtay La-Guddoomiye Cali Mahdiga Kooxda Sodare, isagoo adeegsanaya Stockholm Syndrone.

DHAXALKA SHIRKII QAAHIRA EE KOOXAHA SOOMAALIYEED

Burburka:

1. Shirweynihii Boosaaso
2. Shirweynihii Qaahira
3. Kooxdii Sodare
4. Kooxdii Salbalaar
5. Dib-U-Heshiisiintii Qaranka Soomaaliyeed oo dib u dhacday.
6. Dhexdhexaadinta Itoobiya oo dhawac gaaray iyo ka aaminbax

7. Masar oo fashilisay siyaasadda Amuuraha Debedda ee Itoobiya.

LA-GUDDOOMIYAAL CABDULLAAHI YUUSUF IYO GABYOW

Waxay ka gadoodeen Shirkii Qaahira ee Kooxxaxa Soomaaliyeed, ahna mid ka mida sababaha waaweyn in Shirku fashilo. Haseyeeshee, waxaa isna fashilay ururkoodii ugu xoogweynaa. Labadaa La-Guddoomiye oo da' ah, ma ayen wadan xataa qof aqoonyahan ah oo aragtidooda ka taageera Shirku intuu socdo. Waxa dhacday in kooxdii Salbalaar, oo adeegsaneysa wardoonka Masar, ay go'doomisay Cabdullahi Yuusuf iyo Gabyow, kooxdii Sodare-na kala wareejisay ama kala tuurtay. Cabdullahi Yuusuf, inta aqoonyahandii Waqooyi Bari iyo Xoghayntiisii Itoobiya uga tagay, ayuu wuxu xoghayn ka dhigtay Xassan Cawale Qaydiid/Sacad/Habar-Gidir iyo Cabdullahi Shiikh Ismaaciil/Biyamaal/Dir Koonfureed. Cawad Cashara, oo haa nin fuduud, xanaag badan, macna badan la hayn, ilaaq la joogana ah, ayaa isagu iskiis u tagay Qaahira, isna maasarido waxay xirtay hudheel askarta dhexdeeda ku yaal. Labada dambaba waxay la shaqaysteen kooxda Salbalaar. Nasiib darro, Madaxweyne Cabdullahi Yuusuf, isla khaladkaa istratiiga ah ayuu ku celiyey markuu noqday Madaxweyne TFG (DFKM).

QAYBTA 25AAD

PUNTLAND

Shirkii Qaahira ee kooxxaxa Soomaaliyeed waa fashilay 1997.

Cabdullahi Yuusuf iyo Cabdullahi Maxamed Nuur Gabyow, shirkii Qaahira markay kasoo carodeen, dawr maalmoodna Masaarida Qaahira ku xayirnaayeen, Addis bay dib ugu soo laabteen. Waa hudheelka Ghion ku yaala bartamaha Addis Abba. Waxaa jooga Ghion rag door ah ee reer Waqooyi Bari ah, sida Xassan Abshir Waraabe, Saciid Caduur, Safiir Cumar Ashari, Jan. Cabdullaahi ina Libaax Sankataabte, Ismaaciil Xaaji Warsame, iyo kuwa kale. Waxa lagu hawllanyahay sidii lagu fashalinlahaa kuwa ku haray Qaahira iyo Masaarida wadataba.

Waxa Garoowe kasoo hadlay Islaan Maxamed Islaan Muse, shirweyne Gobollada Harti isugu yeeraya. Xassan Abshir yaa warka Islaanka ragga soo gaarsiyey, deedna raacsaday talo in Islaanka la dhaho usug shirka Garoowe, hawl kalaan ku guda jirnaaye. Doodu, koor barqa ah, ayey ka dhacaysaa qoolka an ka degan ahayd Ghion, waayo waxbaan qoreynay, anaana rag qoraa iyo xoghaynba u ah.

Badanaaba waa isku raacay talo soojeedinta Xassan Abshir, aniga mooyaane. Waxa ley weydiyey “Ismaaciillow sidee adiga wax kuugu muuqdaan?” Waxan ugu jawaabay su'aal kale, “Maxaa aduunku u yiraahdaa Jan. Caydiid iyo Cali Mahdi ayaa ah Dagaal-Ogayaasha ugu xoogga-waaweyn Soomaaliaya?” Waa la isfiiriyey. Anaase, ka jawaabay su'aashaydii: “Caydiid iyo Cali Mahdi kuma xukumaan dalka taleefan iyo fakstoona. Dalkooda bay joogaan, ciddii dan kalehna iyaga halkaa ugu tagtaa. Shirka Islaanku soo jeediyey, aynu aadno”. Dawr maalmood baa arrintaa la rogrogayey, deedna la isla oggalaayey in Waqooyi Bari la aado.

Intaan laga soo tegin Addis, ayaa Cabdullahi Shariif iyo rag kale oo Maxamuud iyo faarax Garaad ka soo jeeda talo ku dhalatay, in labada oday ee Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi, madmadowga dhexdooda ku jira meesha laga saaro. Cabdullaahi iyo aniga ayaa joogay shirkaa. Cabdullaahi baa su'aal

weydiyey Maxamed, oo yiri “inaa adeerow Maxamedow, maxaa iga tabaneysa?”. Maxamed wuxu ugu jawaabay, “Wax kale ma jiraane, waagayagii Xamar, ayaad ninkii daalinka ahaa ee Jan. Caydiid naga raacday?” “War ma intaaba, Maxamedow?”, ayuu weydiyey Cabdullahi, Maxamed. “Haa, waa intaa”, ayuu yiri Maxamed.

Cabdullaahi, inta hareeraha fiiriyey, ayuu yiri, “Ragow, anaa idiin sheegaya meesha uu Maxamed iigala dagaallamayo. Waa run in Daaroodkayagii labo u kala jabnay, qaarna la socdeen Jan Caydiid, qaarna Cali Mahdi. Angoo wadahaladadii ku jirna, ayaa Maxamed iisoo jeediyey, “Anaga nugu soo wareejiya talada, ileen Majeerteen fashilyee”. Markaa ayaan ku iri, “War hadii Faarax Garaad ama Maxamuud Garaad aad u dhalanlahayd, waabad orankartaa hadalkaaye, adigoo nin Qayaad ah, see ku hindistay fekkarkaa?”

Qosol baa loo wada daatay. Waxa soo baxday laba oday in an wax weyn u dhexayn. Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi Galkacayo ayuu kasoo degay, isagoo shirka Garoowe ka soo qaybgalaya.

Intaan Puntland dhismin, kooxdayadii Waqooyi Bari ee Golaha Badbaadinta Qaranka labo hawllood oo muhiim ah ayaannu qabanay.

1. Gobolka Bari oo shido iyo isqabad dheer beelaha dhexdooda ka taagnayeen dhanka dhismaha Maamulka Deegaanka Boosaaso ayaan furdaaminay.

2. Waxanu dhisnay Hay'adda Wadooyinka Waqooyi Bari ee NESHA (haatan PHA).

Intaan Qaahira la aadin 1997, waxanu kaloo tagtay Muqdisho saano ugu Waftigii Senatore Serri, Wasiir-kuxigeenka Arrimaha Dibedda Talyaaniga in Gobolka Banaadir uusan ahayn Soomaaliya, iyo in dib-u-heshiisiin Dagaal-Oogayaasha Xamar aysan xalinayn Dagaalka Sokeeye ee Soomaaliya.

Fashilkii Shirkii Qaahira 1997, iyo kuwii ka horeeyaba, oo ay ku jirto Kooxdii Sodare, waxay noo cadeeyeen in Soomaaliya kor ka dhismikarin. Dagaal Oogayaashu dad kama wakiil aha, sharciyedna kuma fadhiyaan. Waxa muuqatay bahaahi dawlad-gobolleedyo leh madax dadku soo doortay, markaa isu yimaada si dib loogu yagleelo dawlad Soomaaliyeed ee markale dhalata. Waxa madaxxa lagu hayaa Jamhuuriyeed labaad oo gorgotan nabad ah ku timaada.

Faa'idada keli ah ee ka soo baxday Shirkii Qaahira waxay ahayd in kooxxiixii

diidanaa nidaamka itixaadiga ah, ay markii ugu horeysay aqbaleen dooda SSDF iyo Waqooyi Bari Soomaaliya in an dalku ku noqon karin nidaamkii 1960. Habar-Gidir oo Salbalaarta Xussen Caydiid madax u tahay wey qaateen soo jeedinta Waqooyi Bari Soomaaliya.

Kooxdayadii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ee Golaha Badbaadinta Qaran, waxanu kasoo tagnay Boosaaso. Aad ayaa naloo kusoo dhaweeyey, isagoo dadweynuhu caadifat weyn Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo Gabyow ugu haya gadoodkooda Qaahira. Waxa dadweynuhu diiradda ku hayaan Shirweynaha Wadatashiga ee Gobollada Waqooyi Bari. Waxa loo hawl galay shirku sidii uu ku qabsoomilahaa. Maamulkii SSDF waxay u kala baxeen gudiyo. Gudi Cabdullaahi madax ka yahay waxa loo xilsaaray soo xeraynta kharashka shirweynaha iyo amaanka Jubbada Hoose oo Dagaalkii Isbahaysiga Dooxada Jubba ku jirtay. Cir, dhul iyo badba SSDF rag iyo hubba Jan Morgan usii marisay, Janankuna gabdho loosoo diray iyo cawga Kismaayo ayuu kula baashaalayey, deedna lagaba qabsay Kismaayo. Dad badan ee Waqooyi Bari Soomaaliya waxay qabaan in Jananka Maxamed Saciid Morgan uu gumeeyey, oo duleeyey Hartiga Jubbada Hoose, niyad jabna ku riday jaaliyadaha dibedda. Maalin ayaan ku iri Cabdullaahi Yuusuf oo Madaxweynaha Puntland ah, “Madaxweyne, ma taqaan Boqorka Hartiga?” suu yey, “Waa kee?” “Waa Morgan”, ayaan ugu jawaabay. Inta ifiiriyey, ayuu iska aamusay. “Waa ninka keli ah oo boqolaal wiil meydhooda koob uga dhaqaagihara, oo dib la isu weydiinayn”.

Intaan lagu isu imaan Shirweynaha wadatashi, dawr arrimood ayaa ka dhacay Garoowe:

1. Shir Gudiga Fulinta SSDF, oo shir-gudoominayey Abshir Muuse, Guddoomiye Kuxigeenka, ayaa qabsoomay. Abshir Abshir wuxu soo jeediyey in Shirweynaha lagu qabto Boosaaso iyo Caasimada maamulka dhismidoonaa noqoto Boosaaso. Goobjoog, dhageysta ah ayaan anigu ahaa. Goluhu waa diiday soo jeedinta Abshir. Goluhu wuxu go'aamiyey in Garoowe noqoto Caasumadda, iyadoo hore ugu ahayd Waqooyi Bari, lknse shaqayn.

2. Waxa taa feer socotay wadatashi isimmada Harti, lelcase iyo Awrtable.

3. Dadka Garoowe oo baaqay in ay ergada Shirweynaha xagga hoyga martigelinayaan kharash-la'aan, tabaruccaa oo wax weyn u hayd Shirka. Shirku markuu dhamaaday, reer Garoowe wey ka noqdeen gogashaa, kharash ShSo labo

balyan iyo bar (\$250, 000) ahna wey soo dalbadeen. Gudigii soo tirakoobka kharash marigeliyaasha Garoowe, waxa ka abuurmay kuwo la magac-baxay "Aaran-Jaan"., Puntlandna musuqmaasuqqa kaga bilowday.

Shirweyni ayaa Wadatashi ayaa Garoowe ka furmanay bishii abaarihii Febraayo. SSDF waxay soo jeediyeen in maamul loo sameeyo Waqooyi Bari oo keli ah. Isimmadii Sool, Sanaag iyo Buuhoodle ayaa shirka kasoo jeediyey in dadka Hartigu u hartay hal fursad: In ay maanta israacaan ama Kala tagaan. Kooxdayadii Sodare waxan riixaynaa in Gobolladaa wax ka dhistaan dawlad la yiraahdo Puntland. SSDF waa lagu jabiyeey soo jeedinteedii. Waxa kaloo laga adkaaday codsigeeda in madaxda SSDF kuli ka mid noqdaan ergooyinka Shirka dastuuriga ah.

Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo anigu waxanu booqasho u aadnay Gaalkacayo. Labo todobaad ka dib, qaylo dhaan ayaa noogaka timin Boqor King Kong, oo markaa Wakiil Boqor ah, iyo Ugaas Yaasiinka Dashiishe, nagu wargelinaya in madaxda SSDF ka hortimi dhaqaalo u urintii Shirka Dastuuriga ah.

Waxanu deg deg u aadnay Boosaso, anagoo durba halkaa nala ku wargeliyey in lacag ururintii Shirweynaha SSDF iyo ganacsataba ka horyimaadeen. King Kong iyo Cabdullaahi oo wada socda ayaa u tagay Gudigii Fulinta SSDF oo shirsan. Kornayl Cabdullaahi Saciid Samatar, Xoghayaha Arrimaha Debedda ee Ururka, ayaaba shir- Guddoominaya, meesha Kuxigeenka Guddoomiyaha Koowaad, Kornayl Abshir Muuse, uu ku andacoonayey in uu xanuunsanayey.

Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kama mid ahayn Gudiga Fulinta SSDF. Isago taa adeegsanayo, Kornayl Cabdullaahi Saciid Samatar wuxu Yuusuf iyo King Kongba in uu shirka Gudiga Fulinta SSDF ka baxaan. Guddoominaya SSDF, Jan Maxamed Abshir Haamaan, Jidda, Sacuudi Carabiya, ayuu Jiraa, kuna noolyahay. Haamaan waa kasoo horjeedaa Sool, Sanaag iyo Buuhoodle in ay ka mid noqdaan qorshaha madaxda SSDF ee maamul dhiska Waqooyi Bari Soomaaliya.

Halis baa timi. Shirweynaha Dastuuriga ee Garoowe hadaan kharashkiisa la helin, la isuma imaanayo, fekarka maamul dhiskana halkaa ayuu ku dhimandoona. Gudigii lacag sooxeraynta loo xilsaaray ee Cabdullaahi Yuusuf madaxda u ahaa, waxa ka mid ahaa Wasiirkii dabadeed alaystay, Saciid Caduur. Caduur wuxu Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kula taliyey in uu Gudiga Lacag Ururinta iska casilo, inta an maradu uga dhicin. Yuusuf waa riyaaqay talada Caduur. Maalin,

anagoo ku qadeyneyna guriga an magaalada Boosaaso ka degennahay, nahay Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Xaaskiisa, Xaawa Cabdi Samatar, Ganacsade yar ee Reer Garoowe ah, Muuse Diibeeye iyo aniga, ayaa Cabdullaahi nagu wargeliyey in uu iska casilayo Gudiga. Anigu waa ku argagaxay warka Cabdullaahi. Cabaar hadii la aamusnaa, ayaan ku iri Cabdullaahi, "oo guul baad gabi u saarantahee, sidee baad isu casileysaa?"

"Guushu xagey joogtaa, guuldarro ayaa taagane". "Oday, cagaha inyar dhulka ku hay", ayaan hadalka ugu gunaanuday.

Maalin ka dib, ayaan aniga iyo Cabdullaahi Abshir Muuse, Kusimaha Guddoominaya SSDF, gurigiisa kusoo booqanay, isagoo isku riday xanuun diblomaasiyeed, Cabdullaahi Saciid Samatarna naga adeejiyey. Muuse, hadalkiisii wuxu ka bilaabay, "Cabdullaahi, hadeer Ismaaciil ku amar in uu warqad an kuu saxiixo soo dirayaa in Gudigaagu sharci yahay". Gurigayaagii markaan ku laabanay, ayaa Cabdullaahi igu yiri in an warqad ku socota Abshir diyaariyo. "Maya, Oday, hayeelin taa. Gudiga Fulinta SSDF iyo Jan Maxamed Abshir Muuse Haamaan, waxay ku andacoonayaan in Gudiga Lacag Ururintu waafaqsanayn sharciga. Abshir Muuse wuxu rabaa in taa xaqiijiyo. Abshir Muuse ka codso in uu is ugu yeerro fadhi Gudiga Fulinta SSDF, si arrintaa go'aan SSDF ee Jan Maxamed Abshir ka hor imaankarin looga gaaro. Sidi baan yeelay, go'aankii Gudiga Fulinta SSDF waa soo baxay.

Cabdullaahi Saciid Samatar oo ka mid ahaa Gudiga Fulinta SSDF, ayaa go'aankaa markuu dhacay ka dib, ka yimid Garoowe dhanka Gudigii Qabanqaabada Shirweynaha iyo Diyaarinta Dastuurka. Isagu waa kulamaanaha (Jiijo iyo Franco) oday Afbalaar, Kuxigeenka 3aad ee Guddoomiyaha SSDF. Samatar oo careysan, ayaa Afbalaar weydiiyey, "War sidee go'aankaa u oggolaatay?" "Go'aankaa markuu dhacayey, anigu daaqadda xafiiska ayaan ku sii jeeday", ayuu ugu jawaabay.

Isagoo Guddoomiyihii SSDF, Maxamed Abshir Haamaan, well kasoo fakisyo uu ku amrayo SSDF in ay ka hortagaan qorshaha Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, ayaan ku guuleysanay lacag ururintii dulsaarka cashuurta ganacsataba dekedda Boosaaso. ShSo Sadex boqol oo malyan ee ugu horeeyey anagoo ku wadana dhabaha Boosaaso-Garoowe, ayaa Jan. Maxamed Abshir Muuse, oo shalay ka yimi Jiddah naku soo gaaray dhabaha. Lacagtii, Islaan Maxamed Islaan Muuse, ayaan gacanta u gelinay. Guul!

Maalin ka dib, waxa isu yimi Isimmadii, Jan Maxamed Abshir iyo Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, si Jananka loo wareysto, loona wadatashado. Jananka ayaa ragga weyddiiyey, "sidee dawlad u dhiseynaa Hawiye la'aantiis, gaar ahaan, walaalkay Cali Mahdi oo maqan? ". Inta la isfiiriyeey, ayaa mar keli ah la wada quslay. Ragga waxa ku dhacay shaki in Jananku qof caadi ah yahay.

Intaa ka dib, waxa dhacay amuurro badan sidatan:

1. Qabyo qoraalkii Cahdigii Ku Meel Gaarka ahi ee dawladda soo socota waa diyaar. Shan brofesar oo ka kala yimi Germany, Ingriiska, Talyaaniga, jaamacadaha Mareykanka ee Bariga Dheexe ayaa gacan weyn ka qaatay diyaarinta dastuurka Puntlandta dhismaysa.
2. Gobollada Sool iyo Sool, Sanaag iyo degmada Buuhoodle ayaa si aan laabla kac ahayn goostay ka mid noqoshada Puntland.
3. Ergadii Shirweynaha Dastuuriga ayaa soo geleysay Garoowe (arag lifaaq).
4. UNDP ayaa ku dhawaaqday in ayen gacan siineynin Shirweynaha mar hadii Sool iyo Sanaag ka mid noqdeen Shirweynaha.
5. Reer Garoowe oo gogol balaarran u fidiyey ergada Shirka.
6. Olalaha Shirweynaha baa bilowday.
7. Qoondada ergada laga sugayey galbeed Galgaduud (Dusan Mareed, Caabudwaaq iyo Balambale) ma imaan, nasiib darro. Mareexaan waxay isu kala qaybin waayeen qabsashada Kusmaayo iyo ka qaybgalka dhismaha dawladda cusub ee Puntland.
8. Itoobiya waxba nuguma Darsan.
9. Somaliland dacaayad iyo handadaad Shirweynaha Garoowe ayey ku waalatay.
10. Beesha aduunku walaac bay ka muujiyeen kasoo qaybgalka Shirweynaha Garoowe Gobollada Sool iyo Sanaag.

Waxa bilowday hawlihii Shirweynaha, Gudiyada kala duwan, diwaangelinta ergada iyo maagaalo-meelayntooda.

Waxaa kaloo bilowday olalaha doorashada madaxnimo. Jananka Maxamed Abshir Muuse iyo Cabdullaahi King Kong ayaa durba Isa soo qadimay. Ergada iyo dadweynuhu midna labadooda ma rabaan. Gadood dadweyne ayaa lagu sameeyey guryaha ay magaalada ka degenyihiin. Guriga Cabdullaahi King Kong degenaa ee Mire Awaare, waxa dadku u bixiyeen "lafa Harti".

Reer Garoowe ma rabin Jan Maxamed Abshir, iyadoo ugu careysan in Iyadoo Garoowe ahayd Caasimada Gobollada Waqooyi Bari wakhtigii maamulka SSDF ee madaxda ka ahaa, uu Boosaaso saldhig ka dhigtay.

Waxa iyana jirtay in mudo sii horeysay Kooxda Reer Boqor ee Bah Dir, Cabdullaahi iyo aniga martiqaad uu qabanqaaabiyey Cabdullaahi Xaaji Dayib, oo markaa haysta NGO OTP ee Dalka Holland ka diwaangashan, noo fidiyeen. Ujeedadoo waxay ahayd sidii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf gacan ugu siinlahaa King Kong madaxnimada Dawladda Waqooyi Bari Soomaaliya ee dhismidoonta. Taa micnaheedu waxay tahay in Cabdullaahi Yuusuf lagu wado in uusan daneynayn dawlad gobolleed oo uu yahay siyaasi qaran. Anagoo fekarkaa adeegsaneyna yaan Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kula talinay in uusan olale doorasho muujin ilaa maalmaha ugu dambeeya marka xilliga murashaxiintu timaado. Haseyeeshee, sir baa fikatay. Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ayaa xanuunsaday Shirweynihii oo gabagabo ku Jira. Dayuuraddii Cabdullaahi Nairobi u qaadeysay anagoo markaa kornay, baa waxaa nagu saagootinayey Islaan Maxamed iyo King Kong. Dardaarankii Islaan Maxamed Islaan Muuse ayaan waxaa ka mid ahaa: "Cabdullaahi, hadaad noolaatitna waa kugu taahaneynaa, hadaad dhimatitna waa taahaneynaa. Halkaa ayuu King Kong ka gartay in Cabdullaahi Yuusuf murashax yahay.

Waxa taa kadaran, Ergadii Dhulbahante yaa iyana ku olalaynaya, "Madaxweynu waa noo muuqdaa".

Jan Maxamed Abshir waxa u olalaynaya Koox uu ka mid ahaa Cabdirahmaan Maxamed Maxamuud Faroole, nin caro-badan, ilaaq-badan, damacna badan. Faroole Shirweynihii ayuu ka dhex qayl-qayliyey. Islaan Maxamed ayaa maalin amray in Makroofanka laga qaado. Faroole, inta Shirweynihii ka carooday, ayuu Australia u duulay, isagoo ku qaylinaya, "Shirku waa afduubanyahay".

Markaa waa bisha Lulyo, Cisbitaal Nairobi, magaalada Nairobi, Cabdullaahi Yuusufna jiifo dhakhtarka. Waxaa loo baahday in dhiig lagu shubo. Waxa cisbitalka noogu yimi Dr. Foodcadde Madaxxa Laanqayrta Cas Soomaaliya, iyo Jananka CadiNuur Tumay. Labaduba, iyagoo kaashanaya diidmada Xaaska

Cabdullaahi, ayey soo jeediyeen in dhiiq-shubida la oggalaan. Anigu waa ka diiday soo jeedintooda. Go'aanka Cabdullaahi ayaa qaatay, oo aniga igu raacay. Dhiiq baan kuli iska qaadnay.

Cabdullaahi cisbitalkii kasoo baxyey. Waxan usoo guurney Hudeelka Fairview Nairobi. Dawr bari ka dib, waxa nala soo xiriiray Jananka Maslax Siyaad Barre iyo Kornay Kurtun, iyagoo Mareexaanka kale ka dhuun dhuubaya, arrinta Kusmaayo awgeed. Waxay hudheelka nagu balamiyeen laga bilaabo habeen bar. Sagaalkii habaynnimo ku gaarnay sheeko wadatashi ah. Gunaanadkii ayey yiraahdeen, "Cadullaahi, bal hadda Xaasaskayagii oo dibedda ku nool baanu booqasho ugu safreynaaye, aan isu soo laabano?" "War caawa oo dhan maxaa noo daalineyseen hadaad u socoteen xaasaskiini?" "Hadeed, Cabdullaahi, xaasaskayagu weli waa dhaqmaad".

Markaan ku laabanay Garoowe sadex todobaad ka dib, waxanu ugu nimi dawr xaaladood oo taagan:

1. Xiisad siyaadeed oo ka dhalatay dadweynaha oo ku kacsan labada murashax ee Jananka Maxamed Abshir iyo King Kong.
2. Garaad Cabdqani oo isimmada soo jireenka ah qaarkood ka iibiyey in dawlad farsama-yaqaan la dhiiso, iyo shan imaaraad ee ay isimmada waaweyn madax ka yihiin. Arrintaa waxay kasoo horjeedaa Cahdiga qabyo-qoraalka ah.

Waxan durba ka shaqaynnay sidii looga hortagilaa qorshaha Isimmada. Dadkii magaalada iyo Ergadii Shirweynaha ayaa mar keli kacay. Dadku, inta isugu soo baxeen Barxadda "Ciise Ku Caroo", ayey Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kor u hinjiyeen banaan-baxxa dhexdiisa. Waxay noqotay, "Xeer Warbaa Galay".

Ayaamahaa, Cabdullaahi iyo aniga, deedna Maxamed Cali Yuusuf Gaagaab oo noo soo biiray, baa waxa gogol noo dhigtay odayaasha jilibka Abokor Ciise. Waxa odayaashaa gogasha dhigtay madax u ahaa Suldaan Garaase iyo Nabadoon Daahir Garaase. Waxay noogu sii dardarwelinayeen, nagana codsanayeen in si weyn looga qaybgaliyo, ee aan tixgelinta koowaad la siin jilibka Muuse Ciise, sida Dawladdii Soomaaliya hore uga dhicijirtay. Waa sababta dawlad ka kooban sagaal wasiir oo keli ah, Ciise Maxamuud u helay labo wasiir, iyagoo la siiyey qoondadii wasiirka Cumar Maxamuud.

Sida an qorshaynay, maalmihii ugu dambeeyey yaan Cabdullaahi Yuusuf murashaxxiinta ku daray. Jananka Maxamed Abshir iyo King Kong, markay

dareemeen in Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ka wato codka, ayey ka baaqsadeen koobta codayn maalintaa.

Intaan doorashada madaxweynaha iyo Kuxigeenku dhicin, ayaa Axmed Cabdi Xaabsade, oo dhanka hooyo qaraabo dhaw nahay, baa iiyimi, isagoo iga codsanaya in an aniga iyo Reer Mudugguba ku taageerno in loo doorto madaxweyne kuxigeenka. Waa ka diiday taa, anoo sabab uga dhigaya shaki aan ka qabo daacadnimadiisa midnimada Soomaaliya. Waxan u sheegay Abti Xaabsade in an doorandoono Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi. Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo Maxamed waa la doortay bishii Agoosto kowdeedii. Warsaxaafadeedkii Dawladda Puntland ee ugu horeeyey yaan faafiyey. Taariikh baa dhacday. Waa cusub ayaa Soomaaliya u baryey.

QAYBTA 26AAD

MADAXWEYNE CABDULLAAHI YUUSUF AXMED

Cabdullaahi Yuusuf wuxu ahaa shakhsi isgaarsiin, edab badan, xishooda, qadarinleh, deeqsi ah, adkaysi badan, kuna dhiirada mabda'iissa, ay ku qoda dheertahay jacaylka Soomaliya, xagga madaxnimada, darajada qofka-labaad aan oggalaan. Shakhsiyadaa waxay isaga u keenatay in madax badan oo saraakiil ciidan iyo siyaasiinba leh ee Soomaaliya iska horyimaan. Waa sababta mucaaradkiisu u badnaa. Cabdullaahi nin kale wax uma oggalayn, nin kale oo amaan mudanna ma jecleen. Cabdullaahi uma adjaysanjirin in saraakiisha iyo shaqaalaha uu madaxda u yahay hadal kusoo celiyaan, waase jecelaa in uu dood kuluul dhex dhigo, ilaa ay iska horyimaadaan midba midka kale.

Dhanka aqoonta ciidan, wuxu Cabdullaahi ahaa khabiir, waayo arag ah, wuxuse misana ahaa nabadoon iyo dad-yaqaan ku xeeldheer dhaqanka Soomaaliyeed iyo qabaailka degen. Nabadoonnimada Cabdullaahi dhaawac weyn bay u keentay maamul-wanaag. Mas'uulliyada ma qaybin-aqoon, mas'uullinta kalena kuma dhowrijirin hawla loo idmaday, taa oo keenijirtay iska hor imaad isaga iyo madaxda kale. Sida Siyaad Barre, waxa Cabdullaahi ku adkaa soo jeedinta khudbadaha qoran, mana yeelajirin in loo akhriyo. Waa sababta igu kaliftay in an qoraallada qodobo uu isha mariyo kusoo koobo, kuwa baahsanna la qaybiyo ama la faafiyo. Waagayagii, tabtaasu sir bay noo ahayd. Cabdullaahi wuxu xiisa ban u qabay soo dhaweynta shisheeyaha si uu magiccisa iyo saamayntiisaba u fidiyo, lkn kuwa ajnabiga isma afgaranjirin dhaqan ahaan. Waxa loo yaqaan "cultural barrier" ama kala duwanaan dhaqan yaa ku xoogganaa Cabdullaahi.

Cabdullaahi. Wuxu ahaa nin sheego xariira, dadkuna ka helaan sheekooyinkiisa. Wuxu ahaa nin leh haybad madaxnimo, oo loo soo joogsado, cadaw iyo saaxiibba. Wuxu kaloo lahaa waxa Soomaalidu ugu yeerto "burji", ama dareen joogitaan.

Ciladda ugu weyn ee Cabdullaahi Yuusuf lahaa waxay ahayd in uusan abuurin ama diyaarin mas'uuliyiin isaga ka dambeeya oo halgankiisii sii wada, waana sababta keentay in isaga oo da' ah waayo la taliyaal tayo leh, markuu noqday Madaxwenaha TFG-da, isagoo iska reebay dhamaan raggii mudada dheer lasoo

halgamay. Waxa dhacday, markay TFG-du Joogtay Jowhar, in odayaashii Abdgaal ku yiraahdaan, “Ar oday Cabdullaahi, raggaagii meeyee? Yaa noo dhaxaynaaya adiga iyo anaka?” Cabdullahi wuxu guurtadaa Abgaal ugu jawaabay: “Yaa dooneysaan?”

Waxaa jira dhaqan siyaasadeed oo guun ah, oo oranaya: Hadaad cayriso raggii adiga wax ka dhigay, durba iyaga ku badel kuwo cusub oo abaal adiga keli ah kuu hay. Kuwaa cusub ayaa xukunka kugu hayndoona. Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Yuusuf dhaqanka soo jireen-siyaasadeed waa gafay. Nasiib darro, waa la wada ogyahay halkay ku dambeesay. Waxa kaloo la yiraahdaa cadowgaaga siyaasadeed waxa ugu daran ka gurigaaga ka bilowda, oo iyaga an kala hayn ujeedooyin ka durugsan kuwa gaar ahaaneed, tartiib tartiib u fashilanaya xukunkaaga, adna dhayalsato dhaqanka iyo hawlaha ay agagaarka ka wadaan.

Mid kale, waa maahmaah Carbeed oo oraneysa: “Qoofkii dadaal iyo waxtar geliya meel aan ehel u ahayn, wuxu ku dambeeyaa in la haaraamo, isna ka qoomameeyo”, sida ka dhacday magacaabiddii, Nuur Cadde, Maxamed Dheere, Axmed Cabdisalaam, Cali Maxamed Geedi, iyo kuwo kale. Shiikh Shariifkii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf diiday in uu la fariisto waagii Maxkamadaha Islaamiga ee Muqdisho, ayaa uga khayr roonaaday Cabdullaahi kuwi uu isagu keenay goobaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya. Aaskii Qaran iyo Gagada Dayuuradaha ee Duulimaadyada Aduunka ee Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ayaa kaga filan.

MADAXWEYNE KUXIGEEN MAXAMED CABDI XAASHI

Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi wuxu ahaa nin garmaqaate ah, camal-xuun, maag-badan ku saleysan dhanka qabaa'ilka, siiba dhanka Majeerteenka iyo Isaaqqa. Nin ku gaboobay shaqada "clerk" ama "garaani" berigii Maamulkii Ingriiska ee Gobollada Waqooyi Galbeed. Wuxu ku caana maalay habka maamulka ee nin Ingriiska isaga ku amrijirey in warqad uu saxiixo u diyaariyo. Maxamed, malaha uma duurgelijirin in warqadda lagu amray in uu qoro, madax badani kasoo tashatay, oo ayen ahayn mid gaalka Ingriiska ahi jeebkiisa kala soo baxay. Taliskii Siyaad Barre, oo an Maxamed Cabdi aqoon gaar ah u la hayn, ayaa Xaashi Caymiskii Qaran madax uga dhigaya. Wax yar ka dib, Maxamed ishaa la saaray markay cid walba iska horyimaadeen. Markii laga eryay Caymiska, shaqadii "clerk" ee uu jeclaa ayuu safaaradda Mareykanka ee Muqdisho ka helay.

Markuu madaxweyne kuxigeenka Puntland noqday, wuxu caashaqay in wiilka ama gabarta xoghaynta ah ku amro "warqad qor", dabeecaddaa oo dhib badan u keentay maamulka iyo wada-shaqayntaba. Maxamed, maamulka ha ku xumaadee, musuqmaasuqqa ehel uma ahayn, waana taa taan ku xurnaynjiray. Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi waa nin wadani dhab ah. Waa raggeedii hore.

JABUUTI

Xukuumad ka sagaal wasiir ka kooban ayaa la dhisay, sida Cahdigu dhigayey.

Dawladdii Puntland oo jirta dawr maalmood ayaa la kowsatay burcad-badeed ka tirsan Beesha Jambeel oo ku afduubay Badda Cas labo Fransiis ah. Wafti Madaxweyne oo Islaan Maxamed, Xassan Abshir iyo anigu ka mid nahay ayaa Boosaaso aaday. Waanu ku guuleysanay soodaynta Fransiiskii. Madaxxa UNDP, Xassan Abshir oo ah Wasiirka Amuuraha Gudaha, iyo anigoo ah Agaasimaha Guud ee Madaxtooyada Puntland, ayaa Fransiiskii dayuurad UN leedahay Jabuuti ugu qaaday. Dayuuraddu markay Gagada Jabuuti soo caga-dhigatay, gaari-caafimaad France ay leedahay baa dafay, anagoo aan saani u wareejin Fransiiskii an keenay. Qaybtii waftiga UN baabuurtoodii Gagada Jabuuti ugu timi bay durba dhanka magaalada u raaceen, iyagoo aan sii marin Xafiiska Socdaalada Jabuuti. Xassan Abshir iyo anigu waxay noqotay in an sii maro Socdaalada Gagada. Fiisooyin diblomaasi oo marar-badan kugal ah ayaan wadanay, hore u lahayn. Baasaboorradii hadaan dhiibanay, oo yaraha sugnay, ayaa nala kusoo celiyey Baasaboorradii oo fiisoonyinkii isku tilaab lagu soo dhuftay. Galab bay markaa ahayde, habaynkii Xassan iyo anigu Gagada Dayuuradaha Jabuuti ayaan ku barinay, subaxdiina dayuuraddii UN Garoowe dib ugu soo laabanay.

COASTLAND

Wax yar dhismihii Puntland dib, jilib ka mid ah Cumar Maxamud, Cadi Ciise, ayaa gadooday, oo sheegtay in Puntland ja go'een, iyagoo ka cabanya xubin Golaha Wakiillada oo Garaad Maxamed Cilmi Shirwac ugu deeqay Carabta Mudugh, beeshuna ku marmarsootay in laga qaaday, markii xubnaha Golaha Wakiillada lasoo xulayey. Madaxweynaha, nin la yiraahdo "Kasii Gaab", iyo

aniga baa aaday Jeriiban, sii maray "Mayle" ee Mahad Faarax" ku aasanyahay. Waa soo xalinay sheekadii Coastland. Waa sababta Ing Abdi Kulmiye u noqday Wasiir-kuxigeenkii ugu horeeyey ee Puntland, mar hadaan Cahdigu oggalayn wax ka badan sagaal wasiir.

PUNTLAND IYO HAWLAHA GOBOLKA IYO QARAN

Dhismihi Puntland ee 1998 wuxuu durba u horseeday waxqabad dhanka haykalka dawladeed side xafiisyada xukuumadda saldhiyada iyo xarumaha dawladda. Waxaa xusid mudane in ayen magaalooyinka Waqooyi Bari ka jireen, haba yaaraadeen, xafiiska dawladeed. Waxa ka jirey xafiiska Guddoomiyaha Gobolka Nugaal oo keli ah. Sanaad gudahii waxa ku dhismay madaxtooyada, xafiisyada wasaaradaha iyo hay'adaha dawladda. Waxa la soo celiyay amnigii guud ee gobollada Waqooyi iyo usu socodka magaalooyinka, iyagoo la qaaday jidgooyinka beelaha iyo burcadda wadooyinka.

Waxaa loo hawlgalay arragtii Puntland ee ku saabsadayd dib u dhiska qaranka Soomaaliyeed. Xageesa laga bilaaba? Waa su'aasha timi.

Giyiga siyaasadda Soomaaliyeed markaa waxa ka talin jirey dagaal oogayaal ama hogaamiyaal kooxxeedyo, ganacsato ka dhalatay Dagaalka Sokeeye iyo kooxxo diimeed iska horjeedda, uruurro samafal oo sakada dalalka Khaliifka ku tartamaya. Koxxaxaa oo dhan waxay kasoo horjeedeen dhismo dawladeed Soomaaliyeed, mid qaran iyo kuwo gobolba.

Iyadoo laguna hawlanyahay dib u dhiska Gobolladii Waqooyi Bari iyo horumarinta dawladda cusub, garab waday in dib u noolaynta dawladdii dhexe ee Soomaaliya.

Sidee arrintaa u bilaabay? Anagoo wafti ka Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo aniga ayaannu qoraal kaga codsanay Ismaaciil Cumar Geelle in uu guntado dib u heshiisiinta iyo nabadaynta Soomaaliya, in laga faramaroojiyo arrimaha Soomaaliya faragelinta dawladda dawladda dariska ee Itoobiya iyo Kenya.

Waxaa taa ku xigtay in aannu Madaxweyne Carab Moi iyo Ra'iisal Wasaare Meles Zenawi Puntland ku qanciso in ay amuuraha Soomaaliya uga dambeeyaan Jabuuti. Dedna, waxay noqotay in la abaabulo madaxdii Soomaaliyeed, haday ahaayeen hogaamiyaal kooxxeed, madaxdii dhaqanka ama

ururradii ra'yedka. 1999 Puntland waxay Garoowe isugu yeertay dhamaan hogaamiyaal kooxedyadii Soomaaliyeed, marka laga reebo Kooxdii Xussein Caydiid. Waxaa. Waxa Shirka Garoowe kasoo isbahaysigii 'Peace Alliance'. Wafti Isbahaysigaa ka tirsan oo ay ka midyiin Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, Shaati Gaduud, Maxamed Dheere, Maxamuud Sayid, Cumar Xaashi, iyo kuwo kale. Waftigaa wuxu Jabuuti ku siimaray Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar Geele oo dhaweeyey Isbahaysigaa nabadeed. Waftigu hore ayuu ugu sii gudbay Addis halkaa oo ay kaga sii dareen Isbahaysiga Jananada Cabdullaahi Maxamed Nuur Gabyoy iyo Maxamed Xirsi Morgan. Sidoo kale, madaxda Itoobiya wey soo dhaweysay Isbahaysigaa.

Markaan Carab Moi ku qancineynay in uu la shaqeeyo Ismaaciil Cumar Geele, waftiga Puntland wuxuu la shirey labo maalmood oo isdabajoog ah. Maalintii labaad, waxanu la kulanay isagoo walfinaya maab ku jirey qoraal toban bog ah oo CIA-da Mareykanku leedahay, oo maalintii hore an u dhiibnay. Maabku wuxu muujinayey deegaanka Soomaaliyeed ee xuduudda la leh Kenya iyo Itoobiya, iyo sida amnigoodu ugu xiranyahay dadka degen xuduuddaa dheer. "This is very interesting",

(Arrintani waa xiisabadantahay), ayuu ku celcelinayey Carab Moi. Dedna, Shirkii IGAD ee 2000 ayaa ka dhacay Hudheel Sheraton ee Jabuuti, halkaa oo Carab Moi, intuu gacmaha qabsaday Meles Zenawi iyo Ismaaciil Cumar Geele, ku yiri: "Meles, waxaa ii yimi maxada Puntland oo niman aragtii dheer. Waxay iga codsadeen in arrimaha dib u heshiisiinta Soomaaliyeed lugu wareejiyo Ismaaciil Geele". Aynu taa samaynno". Meles codsigaa kama jawaabcelin, warbaase galay. Waa kii Ismaaciil Cumar Geele, isaga oo wargelin IGAD, Itoobiya oo xilsaarrayd DIB-U-HESHIISIINTA SOOMAALIYA-na dan ka galin, Golaha Guud ee Qaramada Madowday kasoo jeediyey khudbaddii caanka noqotay ee Gogashii Carta 2000.

ISKAHOR IMAAD PUNTLAND IYO JABUUTI

Mar kale, Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo aniga oo London, dalka Ingriiska, booqasho gaar ah ugu socona, ayaan sii maray Jabuuti Maalintii ugu hireysay, anagoo degan Hudheelka Jabuuti Sheraton, baa waxa nooyimi Ismaaciil Taani, Agaasimaha Madaxtooyada Jabuuti, oo rooraaya. "Mudane Cabdullaahi, waxa kuu yeeraaya Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar", ayuu yiri Taani. Markaan

isdiyaariney, ayuu Taani igu yiri, "Ismaaciil, Madaxweynaha keli ah baa loo baahanyahay". Taani, markuu Cabdullaahi Yuusuf geeyey madaxtooyada Ismaaciil Cumar Geele, ayaa isna lagu yiri, "Taani adna laguuma baahna, Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi afar indhood baan isku arkeynaa". Markaa, waa abaaraha 9:00 subaxnimo. Cabdullaahi wuxu igu soo noqday qadada ka hor, isaga careysan. Waxan odaga weydiiyey waxa dhexmaray isaga iyo Madaxweyne Ismaaciil. "War ninku wuxu iila yimid soojeedin in Dagaalkii Sokeeye ee Soomaaliya Beesha Hawiye ku guuleysatay. Sidaa awgeed, hadaan Hawiye talada loodhiibin, xal loo helimaayo Soomaaliya. Ana waxan u sharxay sida uu gafsanya. Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi iima faahfaahin waxa isaga iyo ismaaciil Cumar Geele dhexmaray dabayaaqadii 1999. Waxanse, ku kalsoonahay in Cabdullaahi iska dhex arkiwaayey door horaad uu kaq mudanyahay Qorshaha Ismaaciil Cumar Geele. Madaxweyne Geele markaa Cabdullaahi wuxu ku booriyey in ay isu soo laabtaan, marka Cabdullaahi London kasoo laabto. Cabdullaahi dib dambe Jabuuti uguma soo laaban marka laga reebo doorshadii Shiikh Shariif kahor markay Jabuuti ka dhacayeen wadahaladii TFG iyo Kooxda Asmara. Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi wuxu toos ugu laabtay Boosaaso, aabaabulay golayaasha Puntland iyo dadweynaha in laga horyimaado Shirweynaha Carta. Go'aan ay ku saxiixanyihiin Guddoomiyaha Golaha Wakiillada Puntland, Yuusuf Xaaji Saciid iyo Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ayaa soo baxday, cadayneysa in ayen Puntland kasoo qaybgalidoonin hadaan Jabuuti wax ka badelin qaabka ay Shirweynaha u diyaarineyso. Arrintaasu meel qalafsan ayey gaartay. Dhanka Puntland, waxa go'aanka Puntland kahor yimi Isimmadii iyo dadweynihii anu hore Shirweynaha Jabuuti ugu abaabulay. Waxa khilaafkaa sii shiday Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar Geele oo faragelin toos ah ku sameeyey Isimmada sida Islaan Maxamed, Suldaan Garaase, Garaad Abshir Saalax, iyo kuwo kale. Olalaha Geele wuxu kaloo saamayn ku yeeshay qaar ka mid ah Golaha Wasiirrada Puntland sida Wasiirkii Arrimaha Gudaha, Xassan Absir Waraabe. Lacago laaluush ah ayaa iyana ka yimi dhanka Madaxtooyada Jabuuti. Ismaaciil Cumar Geele wuxu misana adeegsaday qaar ka mid ah aqoonyahannada Puntland sida Maxamed Dahir Afrax iyo Axmed Cawad, oo si toos ah Lataliyaal u noqday Geele sidii loo maaraynlahaa diidmada Shirweynaha ee madaxda Puntland.

Ugu dambayn, Ismaaciil Cumar Geele wuxu Puntland usoo diray wafti uu hogaaminayo Guddoomiye Kuxigeenka Baarlamaanka Jabuuti, Ina Xarbi, kana mid ahaa "Misheel Antuwaa" (Michel Anntoi). Shir balaarran oo ka qaybqaateen Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, Isimmada Puntland iyo waftiga Jabuuti ayaa wuxu dhacay Madaxtooyada Puntland. Waftiga Baarlamaanka Jabuuti waxay wadeen warqad,

ama dhanbaal qoraal ah ee uu soo diray Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar Geele dhigiisa Cabdullaahi Yuusuf. Intii wadahalada lagu jirey, Isimmadii Puntland wey kala hadleen, qaarkoodna wey walaacdeen, ama labo-bogleeyeen.

Waftigii Jabuuti, iyagoo walaacaa Isimmada ka shidaal qaadanaya, ayey Cabdullaahi qorto shuruudo ay Puntland Shirweynaha Jabuuti kaga qaybgalikarto oo u geeyaan Ismaaciil Cumar Geele. Shuruudo an qarsoodi ahayn ayaan u dhiibnay Waftiga. Michel Antoi/Darood/Dhulbahante/Naaleeye Axmed, keligii Daarood kaga jira Baarlamaanka Jabuuti, ayaa, inta dafay warqaddii shuruudaha Puntland, sheego soo jeediyey, isaga oo dhahaya in waagii Midowga Sovieti dumayey, Gorbachev ka codsaday Mareykanka taageero dhaqaale. Mareykanku wafti ayuu u diray Moscow shuruudo wata, farayana taa haday diidaan, taa kale ku daya. Garbachev, inta eegay shuruudii ugu horeysay, ayuu yiri, “kuli waa aqbalnay”. Waftigii Mareykanku, inta yaabeen, bey isfiiriyeen, iyagoo ka fakaraya su'aasha maxaa idin ka khaldan? Anntoi, isagoo madaxda Puntland la hadlayaa, ayuu yiri, “Waa aqbalnay dhamaan shuruudaha Cabdullaahi Yuusuf!” Saa anagii oo dhan ayaa isfiirinay. Shrka Garoowe ee waftiga Jabuuti iyo Puntland wuxu ku dhamaaday in Madaxweyne Kuxigeenka Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi iyo Isimmo loo diro Carta, Jabuutii. Taasu guulweyn bay u ahayd waftiga Jabuuti iyo Ismaaciil Cumar Geele. Yeelkeede, waftiga Puntland wuxu haystay todobaad in uu kusoo laabto. Todobaad hadii waftigu soo laaban waayey, digniin Jabuuti ku socta ayaa madaxtooyada Puntland kasoo baxday. Waagaa fadhi-ku-diriirka Jabuuti waxa la iska weydiinjirey su'aasha: “Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ma dhanka Badda Cas ayuu Jabuuti kasoo weerarayaa?”

SGRS DAVID STEPHEN

2000 anagoo ah wafti Puntland jooga Nairobi, waxa Fairview, nagu soo booqday David Stephen, Wakiilka Xogayaha Guud ee Qaramada Midowday, oo markaa ka yimi Shirweynaha ka socda Carta. David wuxu nugu wargeliyey in hadii ayen imaan Isimaadii Puntland Shirka Carta, meesha lagu kala dareerilahaa. Isimmada Puntland kolka ay kasoo degeen Gagada Dayuuradaha Jabuuti, waxa durba lagu geeyey dayuuradaha qumaati kor ugu kaca (helicopters), iyadoo dawladda Jabuuti labo ujeedo kala leedahay:

1. In la tuso sida kasoo qaybgalka Puntland Shirka Carta ay leedahay ugu horayn gaar ah

2. In la indho-sarcaadiyo Isimmada Puntland.

Puntland iyo Jabuuti waxa ka dhex furmay dacaayad xoogan. Puntland waxay ku eeday Jabuuti in ay afduubeen geedi-socodka nabadaynta Soomaaliya, iyadoo ka raadineysa dano dhaqaale oo kooban shir aan loo dhmayn, iyo shakhsiyaad agagaarka kasoo urursatay oo cidna wakiil ka ahayn.

David Stephen wuxu intaa ku daray in uu la kulmay Ismaaciil Cumar Geele oo sheegay uu ogaday in dacaayadda Puntland ay halis tahay markii Safiirka Haiti uga ah Qaramada Madowbay igu eeday in shakhsiyaad shaqo la aan ah ka urursaday Jabuuti dheexdeeda oo ku magacaabay Shirweyne Soomaaliyeed ee magaalada carta ka dhacaya, taana kasoo xigtay wararka Puntland. “Warka Madaxtooyda Puntland waa ka xoogweynhay kan Xarunta Qaramada Madowday ee New York”, ayuu ku yiri Ismaaciil Cumar Geele, David Stephen. “ Markii khudbaddii Gogasha Carta kasoo jeediyey Golaha Guud ee Qaramada Madowday, qurbajoogta Puntland ayaa ugu horeysay cid ii hambalyeysa, markii Puntland-na naga hortimi, qurbajoogtaa meel aan ka galo ayaan waayey”, ayuu yiri Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Geele.

PUNTLAND IYO ITOOBIYA OO SHIRKA CARTA ISKAKA HORYIMI

Waagaa (sanadka 2000) Itoobiya waxay ahayd wadanka Madowga Afrika, AU, u xilsaartay (country mandated) dib-u-heshiisiinta Soomaaliya, waalida aduunyada awgeed. Golaha Guud ee Qaramada Madowday khudbadaha wafuudda waxay isu dabajoogaan sida a, b,c-siida. Djibouti wey ka horweysaa Ethiopia marka soojeedinta la isugu yeerayo. Jabuuti oo an la tashan Itoobiya, ayaa Ismaaciil Cumar Geele Golahaa UN-ta kasoo jeediyey Shirweyne ay Jabuuti u qabaneyso Soomaaliya. Itoobiya waaga aya ku baryey. Waftigii Itoobiya soojeedintii in ay ka codadaartaan maalintaa ayey noqotay. Warbaxintii Itoobiya ee arrimaha Dib-U-Heshiisiinta Soomaaliya in la badelo ay noqotay. Itoobiya cadaawad horleh ayey Jabuuti halkaa uga qaaday, haseyeeshee, Itoobiya waxay samaysay labo tilaabo khalad weyn aha dhanka siyaasadda:

1. Itoobiya wey khuursaday, ama dhayalsatay awoodda iyo go'aanka dawladda Jabuuti. Madaxda Itoobiya waxay iska dhaadhiyeen in ayen Jabuuti arrimaha Soomaaliya waxba ka qabankarim.

2. Itoobiya waxay bilowday olale iyo shirqoolo qarsoon ee Shirka Jabuuti ku

manjaxaabineyso.

Waa cusub ayaa misana Itoobiya ku baryey markay ogaadeen in Jabuuti awood uleehay in ay shirka qabankarto, iyo in ay leedahay saaxiibo badan ee Carbeed oo dhaqaale xoogan bixinkara. Itoobiya, markaa waxay bilowday in ay saaxiibo ku yeelato dawladda Soomaaliyed ee Shirka Carta kasoo bixidoonta. Madaxda Itoobiya, gaar ahaan, Wasaaradda Amuuraha Dibedda, waxay bilaabeen olale weyn in ay ku dirqinayaan hogaamiyaal kooxedyada ay gacan saarka leeyihiin. Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, Shaati-gaduud, Maxamuud Sayid, Maxamed Dheere, Morgan, Gabyow, Cismaan Caato, Maxamed Qayare Afrax, iyo kuwo kale, ayaa Wasiirka Arrimaha Debedda Itoobiya, Seyoum Mesfin, ayaa si weyn isugu dayey in uu madaxdaa kusoo dabaalo Shirweynaha Carta ee Jabuuti. Iskudaygaa Itoobiya fashil buu ku dhamaaday markuu Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ku gacansayray Seyoum Mesfin. Colaad Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo Seyoum Mesfin dhexmarta ayaa halkaa ka unkatay.

Colaadaa ayaa sidaan u dhacday: Golayaasha dawladda Puntland go'aan in ay qaadacaan Shirweynaha bay qaateen. Taa oo taagan, ayaa madaxda Itoobiya madaxweynaha Puntland Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ugu soo dirtay Garoowe dayuurad uu leeyahay ganacsadaha weyn, Camuudi. Cabdullaahi, Faarax Warsame Cismaan, Wasiirka Arrimaha Bulshada Puntland, xaaska Yuusuf, Xaawa Cabdi Samater iyo aniga oo ah agaasimaha guud ee madaxtooyada ayaa raacay dayuuradaa Addis na geyneysa. Dayuurada hoos teeda ayaa naloogu geenay baabuurta maamuuska madaxtooyada Itoobiya. Baasaboorradayadii lama sii marin qaybta socdaalka Gagada Bole. Waxa nala geeyey hudheelka Addis Hilton. Maalintii labaad waxaa nasoo booqday Wasiir kuxigeenka Wasaaradda Amuuraha Dibedda Itoobiya, Dr. Tekede Alemu, haatanna u jooga UN-ta, iyo Safiirka Itoobiya u fadhiya Jabuuti, haatanna ah Madaweynaha Itoobiya, Sahle-work Zewde. Mudo labo maalmood ah, ayey saraakiisha Itoobiya hudheelkayaga kusoo laab-laabanayeen, iyagoo nagula wadahalalo maskax iyo calool baar ah. Waxay u kuur-galeen anigu inta aan saamayn ku leeyahay go'aannada iyo siyaasadda madaxweynaha Puntland. Safiiku, Sahle-work, waxay iskuday in xiir ila samayso hudheelka dhexdiisa. Anigu waa ka dhuun-dhuuntay, taleefanka qolkana waa ka dansaday. Mar bay iweydiisay, “maxaa ugu dhacay, taleefanka habaynkii ma qabatit eh? “ habaynkii hore ayaan u seexdaa”, ayaan ku iri. “ma saasa nin dhalinyara ah ku tahay?”, ayey igula kaftantay. Dhan kama gelin.

Madaxweynaha Puntland wuxu u soo jeediyey madaxda Itoobiya in wadahalalada Addis la balaarriyo oo lagu soo daro hogaamiyaasha Muqdisho.

Itoobiya waaba ku farheen soo jeedintaa, waana u hawlgaleen in hogaamiyaal kooxeedyadaa laga soo daadgureeyo Muqdishu. Itoobiya horey ayey ugu cadaadisay Shaati-gaduudka RRA-da in tago Shirka Carta. Markaa Shaati-gaduud waaba jira halkaa, ka dib markii laga diiday in uu la tashado Puntland intii aanan imaan Addis.

Labadaa diblomaasi malaha waxay iska dhaadhiciyeen in Cabdullaahi Yuusuf diyaar u yahay in go'aanka madaxda loo sheego in uu ka qaybgalo Shirka Carta. Big mistake! Waxa noogu yimi fadhiga qolka Hilton ee Madaxweynaha Puntland labada sargaal ee kala ah Dr. Tekede Alemu iyo Safiirradda sahle-work Zewde. Waxaanu naha Madaxweynaha, Wasiir Faarax Warsame Cismaan iyo aniga, Ismaaciil Xaaji Warsame. “Madaxda Itoobiya waxay go'aansatay in Puntland ka qaybgasho Shirka Carta. Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar Geele wuxu balan-qaaday in Jabuuti u noqondoonto maalin fasax qaran ah, markii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kasoo dago Jabuuti”, ayey noo soo jeediyeen diblomaasiinta Itoobiya. Sadexdayadii ayaa isfiiriyey. Durba Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ayaa u jawaabay: “Idin maqalay. Waa idinku soo warcelindoona”. Markay naga baxeen durba waa tashanay. Waxan go'aansanay in aan:

1. U digno hogaamiyaal Kooxeedyadii Muqdishu, anoo kala talineyna in ay safarka Addis ee shirqoolka ah ka baaqdaan. Waxan kaloo u dignay mulkilaha dayuuradaha Jaamac Blue in ayeen soo qaadin hogaamiyaal kooxeedyada Muqdishu.

2. Sida ugu dhakhso badan ugu laabano Puntland.

3. Wasiir Mesfin aragno deg deg.

Waa maalin Jimce ah, sabtidana waa maalin fasax Itoobiya. Aniga ayaa la ii xilsaaray in aan Wasiirka Mesfin balan kasoo qabto sida ugu degdegsan. Durba waxan la xiriiray Saf. Sahle-work sidii an ku arkilahayn dhakhso Wasiir Mesfin.

CABDULLAAHI YUUSUF IYO WASIIR MESFIN, XARUNTA WASAARADDA AMUURAH DIBEDDA ITOOBIYA, SANADKA 2000.

Xarunta wasaaradda Arrimaha Dibedda ee Itoobiya waxay kasoo horjeedaa Hudheelka Addis Hilton. Boqor Xayle-Selaase (Haile-Selassie) ayaa dahfurey hudheelka abaaraha 1964. Haile-Selassie macnaheedu waa Power of the Trinity (

Xooga Sadexda ilaahiyada Kaniisadda Katooligu (Catholic) ka koobantahay ama aaminsantahay. Subxaanalaah!

Sabtiddii ayuu xarunta wasaaradda noo yeeray Mesfin, isagoo ku labisan dharka cayaartoyda, waji xuma ka muuqato. Waxaa isaga ku weheliya xafiiska labadii diblomaasi, iyo labo sargaal oo kale. “Anagu waxan nahay wafti ka socda golayaasha Puntland, iyo Isimmadda. Go'aanno ayaa hore loo gaaray. Waa in aanu wadatashi dib ugu laabanaa golayaashii, Wasiir. Sida ugu degdegan ayaanu u rabnaa fasax Itoobiya siiso dayuurad noo imaaneyso in ay nageyso Puntland. Ismaaciil iyo Safiiraddu haka wadashaqeyeen sidii arrintaa ku fulilahayd”, ayuu soojeediyey, Cabdullaahi Yuusuf.

Wasiir Seyoum Mesfin, oo malaha tuhmaya in aanu baajinay hogamiyaal kooxeedyadii Muqdishu, ayaa ku hadlay erayo caro ku dheehantahay. Dan kama anan dayin caradiisa. Kalsooni weyn baa nagu jirta.

Safiiraddii iguma soo warcelin sidii an uga wada-shaqaynlahayn fasaxxa dayuuraddii soo dagi-layd Bole si ay noo qaado. Xaaska madaxweynahu markaa Addis ayey ku xanuunsatay. Kuma anan fakirin in an Cisbitaal geyno. Waa inaanu Itoobiya ka baxnaa.

Nasiib wanaag, dayuuradda Damal ee ganacsade Khaliif Ciise Mudan ayaan waa hore u samaynay ruqso duulimaad Itoobiya. Cabdullaahi wuxu ku amray Khaliif in Daruuradda Addis u soo leexiyo markay timaado Hargeisa, intayen Boosaaso u gudbin. Aroor hore maalintii Axadda ayaan miiska soo dhaweynta hudheelka usoo dagay si aan ula xisaabtamo. Durba waxan ogaaday in Wasaaradda Amuuraha Dibedda Itoobiya keenin warqad kafaalaqaad kharashka waftigayaga. Waxan ka codsaday shaqaale ka mid ah kuwa miiska soo dhaweynta in uu la xiriiro Madaxa Hab-maamuuska Wasaaradda in ay bixinayaan kharashka hudheel. Waxa lagu yiri shaqaalahaa in Wasaaradu bixindoonto jiif iyo cunto. Wixii intaa kasoo haray ayaan waftiga ka bixiyey, deedna waxan amray in shandadahayaga hoos loosoo dejiyo, lana saaro baabuurta Hab-maamuuska Madaxtooyada oo an weli haysano. Toos ayaan u aadnay Gagada Dayuuradaha Addis Bole, galnay Qolka Hab-ammuuska. Su'aasha taagani waa sidii loo helilahaa dal-ka-baxxa Itoobiya (Exit Visa), oo hadaadan haysan dibedda u dhoofi karin. Nasiib wanaag, baasaboorradii waanu haysanaa. Inta Qaybta Socdaalada ee Booliska u tagay, anoo wata wiillasha Hab-maamuuska ee nala socda mid ka mid ah, ayaan u wargeliyey in an dhoofeyno, Wasaaradda Amuuraha Dibedduna Axadda shaqaynayn, sidaa awgeedna anagu la baxayno

hadii ay jirto wax kharash ah. Boom! Boom! Khadka ayaa ku dhacay baasaboorrada. Nabad ey! Mudo yare ka dib, waxan kasoo dagnay Gaalkacayo, Mudugh! Waxa mudan in la xuso in madaxda Itoobiya, in kasta oo ay noo careysnaayeen, iskuma ayen dayin ay ka bixitaankayaga Itoobiya carqaladeeyaan, waayo baabuurta Hab-maamuuska iyo ciidanka ilaalada madaxtooyada nagama ayen ceshan, fiisooyinka dal kaga baxana nooma diidin.

**KHALKHALKII SIYAASADEED EE PUNTLAND 2000-2001,
CABDULLAAHI YUUSUF, YUUSUF XAAI NUUR, JAAMAC CALI
JAAMAC, CADDE MUUSE**

Tan iyo waagii la dhisay Puntland bishii Agoosto 1998, waxa dood weyn ka taagnay in Puntland ka gudubto habka doorshooyinka beelaha. Waxay Puntland ka bixila'dahay inta u dhexxeysa mudo kororsi iyo habka qabaliga ah ama xulashado beeled.

Dawladdii lagu assaasay Puntland ee Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ma ayna hayn wakhti ku filan oo ku aabusho doorashoonyin ku salaysan hal qof iyo hal cod. Yeelkeede, iskuday ayaa jirtay. Taa mira-dhal noqonweyday duruufo adag awgeed, sida ku cad LIFAAQQA KOOWAAD. Marna horyaal siyaasadeed ma ahayn dimoqoraadiyenta dawlad kasta ee Puntland. Afka baarkiisa ayey weligeed ahayd in madaxda ka hayaamaan hanaan-beeleedka xukumka Puntland - marka la reebo iskuday dhab ah, haseyeeshee gadaal ka weecday ee Maamulkii Cabdiraxmaan Faroole.

QAYBTA 27AAD

SHIRWEYNAHA CARTA IYO JABUUTI 2000

Shirkii Carta wuxu dhalay TNG (Dawladda Ku-Meel Gaarka Qaran) oo madaxweyne u yahay Cabdulqaadir Salaad Xassan, Ra'isal Wasaare Dr. Cali Khaliif Galayr. TNG waxay durba hawl-maalmeed ka dhigatay keedi-socod lagu burburinayo dawladda Puntland, iyada oo adeegsaneysa Isimmo waaweyn, siyaasiin, laaluusha, madaxda Jabuuti iyo Masar. Dhanka Isimmadda, Islaan Maxamed Islaan Muuse, Garaad Abdqani Garaad Jaamac, Suldaan Garaase, Garaad Maxamed Cilmi Shirwac, Imaam Abdiwahaad Maxamud Gurey iyo dhwr kale ayaa go'aansaday in ay burburiyaan Dawladdii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, iyadoo taas la mid noqotay burbur guud oo ku yimaada hanaankii dawladeed ee Puntland, si toos ahna ugu adeegeysa ujeedada TNG oo ay agaasimayaan, Dr Cali Khaliif Galayr, Cabdullaahi King Kong iyo Xassan Abshir Waraabe. Madaxweyne Ismaaciil Cumar Geele ayaa isna adeegsanaya siyaasiintaa iyo madaxdaa dhaqanka Puntland. TNG waxay ku bixisay boqolaal kun oo doollar, ay u soo direysay adeeggayaasheeda gudaha Puntland ka burburinaya. Waxa bilaabatay dacaayad xoogan oo u dhexaysa madaxda Puntland iyo TNG. Dawladda Masar ayaa olale manjaxaabin Puntland dalalka Carbeed iyana ka dhex-waday.

Isagoo adeegsanaya Qodobka 34 ee Axdiga Puntland oo ku xusan Lifaaqqa Koowaad, Guddoomiyihii Maxkamadda Sare ee Puntland, Yuusuf Xaaji Nuur, ayaa isu caleemasaray madaxweyne Puntland. Maxadaxweyne Kuxigeenka Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi oo ay sheeko-wadaag ahaayeen Guddoomiyaha ayaan anigu kulataliyey in uu Yuusuf u yeero, oo ka xaqiijiyo in sheegashada madaxweynenimo isaga ka timi iyo inkale. Haday cadaato in isaga ka timi, markaa tilaabo sharci laga qaado. Maxamed waa diiday taladaa. Isimmadda kor xusan ku raacay sheegashada Guddoomiyaha Maxkamadda, sidaana go'aan ku soo saray. Dadweynihii reer Boosaaso iyo ciidamo raacsan go'aankii Isimmada ayaa iyana gadooday. Cabdullaahi Yuusuf wuxu goostay in uu ka hortago kacdoonka Boosaaso markii madaxdii Daraawiishtu, Carays iyo Cabdisamad Cali Shire, amarka Cabdullaahi qaadan waayeen. Cabdullaahi gagada dayuuradaha Boosaaso ayuu qabtay. Deedna waxa la gudboonatay in uu dhiig farageliyo iyo in uu iska soo baxo Boosaaso. Taa dambe ayuu doortay. Waa

marka Beeldaajaha Cali saleemaan, Xaaji Cabdullaahi, siinayo BBC-da in Reer Boosaaso ka saareen Boosaaso Cabdullaahi, markaana raacdo ugu dabajoogan, sheekada la magic baxday, “Ar waa cuneynaa, waa cabeynaa”.

Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, haduu dib ugu soo laabtay Garoowe, Isimmadii Garoowe abhin bay ku dhawaaqeen in waxan Garoowe u dhalan iskaga baxaan, iyagoo Cabdullaahi u jeeda. Halkaa ayaa lagu inkiray in Cabdullaahi ku dhashy meesha loo yaqaan Birta Dheer ee Garoowe u dhaw. Waxay ku dambeysay in Cabdullaahi habayn Gaalkacayo isaga guureeyo. Koor barqo ah ayaan sii maray Shiikh Maxamedka Heema ee agagaarka tuulada Bacaadweyne. Cabdullaahi shiikha wuxu ku yiri, “Meeshii waa iskaga soo cararnay”. “Cabdullaahi, caruurta iyo dumarka warkaa ha maqashiin”, ayuu yiri Shiikhu.

Reer Garoowe iyo oraahdooda “Lacag waa cunid” oo macnaheedu yahay ninkasta oo lacag sita in la soo dhaweyyo, Cabdullaahi waa isu daayey, markuu dhanka Gaalkacayo u ruqaansaday, dib-ugurasho xeeleed awgeed. Garoowe waxay isu badeshay goob xasaradeed. Amnigii baa xumaaday. Dhulkii dawladda ayaa dib loogu habsaday sida gagadii dayuuraha Garoowe.

Madaxtooyadii Dawladdu iyo Golahii Wakiillada waxay u wareegeen Gaalkacayo. Waxa ka bilowday Gaalkacayo abaabul horleh sidii lagu soo celinlahaa xukunkii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ee burburay. Nasiib wanaag, Golahii Wakiillado waa badqabeen, taasii macnaheedu yahay in dawladdii weli nooshahay.

Shirweyne aan loo dhamayn ayaa laga diyaariyey Garoowe. Jaamac Cali Jaamac ayey ku dhawaaqeen in madaxweyne loo doortay, guddoomiyihii Bangiga Puntland, Goole, Kuxigeenkiisa. Jaamac Boosaaso ayuu saldhig ka dhigtay. Garoowe caleemasaarkii Jaamac Cali Jaamac waa ku hungowday. Jaamac wuxu is yiri ninkii haysta Dekedda boosaaso ayaa dalka u taliya. Khasnadii Dheexe ee Bangiga Puntland oo furayaasheedu maqanyihiin ayuu ku Xirsi Dheere ku amray in uu dab (welding) ku jabiyo. Shaqaalihii iyo ciidamadii dawladda ayaa durba mushaarooyinkoodii wayey. Laga bilaabo Guumeys (kastanka xuudka Somaliland) ilaa Bargaal ayaa qoysaskii Puntland dab shidi waayeen. Gaajo ayaa timi. Dekedii Boosaaso waa curyaantay. Garoowe waa lugu kala tagay. Amnigii guud ayaa fara ka baxay. Fawda iyo dawlad la'aan ayaa la wada dareemay.

Dhanka kale, Gagada Dayuuradaha Gaalkacayo waxay isu badeshay dekedda waxwalba kasoo degaan, Gaalkacayo-na “Caasumad Cusub” ee Puntland.

GAALKACAYO

Marka Gaalkacayo Madaxtooyada Cabdullaahi Yuusuf u ruqaansatay, waxay magaalo kala dadsan, madaxda gobolku wada-shaqayn, midba midka kale manjaxaabinayo, wax kala ciliyaana jirin. Madaxweynuhu wuxu ku wakhtigiisa siiyey abaabulka ciidamo cusub iyo taakulayntooda. Aniga ayey idayatay wax ka qabka maamulka gobolka iyo maamulka Madaxtooyada. Inta isugu yeeray guddoomiyaha gobolka, taliyaha booliska ee qaybta, xisaabiyaha maaliyadda ee gobolka, duqa magaalada iyo taliyaha ciidamada asluubta, ayaan weydiiyey hal su'aa: "Yaa shaqada idiin dhiibtay?" "Madaxtooyada", ayaa lagu wada jawaabay. "Hadaba, cidii shaqada idiin dhiibatay, soo idin kama eryikarto?", baan weydiiyey "Haa", ayaa la yiri. Doodaa oo qoraal ah ayaan mid walba ka saxiixay. Qoraal kale ee habraacca loo wada shaqaynayana waa la isku raacay, waana la wada saxiixay. Wada shaqayn xoogan ee madaxda maamulka dhexdooda iyo madaxtooyada ayaa bilaabatay. Fadhiyadii Golaha Wakiillada Puntland ayaa ka bilowday qolka weyn ee Dugsiga Sare ee Cumar Samatar. Mudo kooban ayey Gaalkacayo isu bedeshay xurun siyaasadeed, dhaqaale, ciidan, gagada dayuuradaha ee caalami ah oo wax walba dayuurado waaweyn soo dajiyaan, meesha Boosaaso kacday, Garoowena lagu kala guuray. Badeecaddii Yagoori Boosaaso uga soo dagijirtay ayaa gagada dayuuradaha Gaalkacayo kusoo jabtay, ugana cashuur yar. Gaalkacayo magaalo camiran oo wax kala socdaan bay noqotay. Cabdullaahi wuxu ku guuleystay in uu abaabulo taageerada ganacsatada in halkanka u gurmadaan. Gaalkacayo waxay noqotay magaalada la biilo madaxdii xukunkii Cabdullaahi weli taageersan. Wasiirkii Maaliyedda ee Saciid Caduur ayaa waagaa nogu yimi Madaxtooyada Barde Cad ee Gaalkacayo, isagoo dhaqaale u doonaya hawlaha kasoo horjeeda Kooxda Jaamac Cali Jaamac. Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, oo malaha ku jeesjeesaya Caduur, ayuu weydiiyey "imisa lacag baad u baahantahay?" "Shan iyo labaatan kun", Saciid ku jawaabay. Aniyo iyo Cabdullaahi, inta isfiirinay, ayaa qosol naga fikaday.

Qawad iyo guux dadweyne ayaa dalka Inta u ka jiro magac ahaan maamulkii Jaamac Cali Jaamac ka bilowday.

QAYBTA 28AAD

TAAGEERO ITOOBIYA, WADA HADALADA CABDULLAAHI YUUSUF IYO JAAMAC CALI JAAMAC

Cabdullaahi wuxu iskuday in uu taageero taakulayn ciidan ka helo Itoobiya, hase ahaatee madaxda Itoobiya iy isagu waxay ku kala diidmadii Puntland ee Shirkii Carta. Waji-gabax weyn baa jira. Cabdullaahi iyo wasiir Seyoum Mesfin ma wada hadlaan. Taa macnaheedu waxa weeyee in Cabdullaahi la hayn meel uu ka gaari karo Meles Zenawi. Waxa soo haray Jananka Mesfin oo Itoobiya dhanka amniga ugu qaabilsan Soomaaliya. Xiir wada shaqayn ayaan anigu la lahaa Jananka. Wada hadallo dhanka khadka ayaan joogto ula lahaa Janankaa. Waxan Jananka ka ogaaday in madaxda Itoobiya isqabad weyn ee ku saabsan xiisadda ka taagnayd Puntland dhexmaray. Meles iyo Seyoum waxay u arkayeen in Puntland gashay dagaal sokeeyee, iyo Cabdullahi rabo in uu dhiig fara geliyo, halka uu janan Mesfin ku diidanyahay. Waxan ku guuleystay in Cabdullaahi iyo Jananka isku xiro. Xiriirkaa wuxu keenay in Cabdullahi Yuusuf iyo Jaamac Cali Jaamac loogu wada yeero Addis si wada hadallo u dhexmaraan. Natiijadii wada hadalladaa waxay noqotay in loo soo jeediyo xukuumad Puntland ee wadaag ah. Jaamac Cali Jaamac waa diiday in uu Cabdullaahi la fariisto, nasiib wanaagga Cabdullaahi. Jananka Mesfin wuxu Cabdullaahi u diyaariyey in yar oo rasasta Hoobiya bah. Ruuntii waxay ahayd taageero hoo oo ku go'. Mudane Cabdirisaaq Xaaji Xusseen, Ra'isal Wasaarihii hore ee Soomaaliya ayaa markaa ku eedeeyey Itoobiya in ay hub siisay Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, hadalkaa siyaasiga oo Reer Puntland aad uga xumaadeen.

RUQAANSIGA CIIDAMADA CABDULLAAHI YUUSUF DHANKA GAROOWE

Gaalkacayo waa soo saagootiday Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo ciidamadii Daraawiishta; Garoowe ayey soo galeen xoogga ku wajahan Boosaaso, cagtana sii marinayey magaalada Qardho. Jaamac Cali Jaamac oo madaxtooyada ka dhigtay guri nin dhakhtar reer Garoowe ah leeyahay, oo dadweynha Garoowe u baxsheen “Guriga Shar Laga Naadi”, ayuu salaan darbigiisa kaga booday, oo u

cararay guriga Islaan Maxamed. Islaan Maxamed wuxu ku yiri Jaamac, “Janan kale weeyeee iska dhici”. Gabay loo tiriyey Jaamac ayaa Koonfur kasoo baxay: “Alleelehe jigraar lama hadlee Jaamaccow Jananku kaa raayey”. Abgaalkii ayaa iyana shirib tiriyey: “Jilicsanaa ma Jaamacba”. Garoowe caadi ayey kusoo laabatay mudo todobaad ah. Ciidankii deedna wuxu ruqaansaday dhana Qardho. Jaamac Cali Jaamac dhanka magaalada Bayla ayuu u cararay.

Ciidankii waa ka dhaqaaqay Garoowe, isagoo sii maraya barxadda “ Ciise Ku caroo' ee bartamaha Garoowe. Xoog ciidan dhab ah ayaa Reer Garoowe u muuqday. Cagaha ayey dhulka dhigeen. Markuu ciidankii sii marayey dhuleedka bari ee Garoowe, koox hubaysani xabado dhanka ciidanka kusoo tuur-tuureen. Hal askari baa dhaawac gaaray. Looma jawaab-celin.

Beerta Boqor Maxamuud Boqor Muuse oo kutaal duleedka Koonfur Bari ee Qardho, ayaa la arkay koox maleeshiya beeled ah ee Khaliif Ciise Mudan wato oo sii cararaya. Dhawr gaari oo teknika ah ayaa cayrsatay. Mid baa gadoomay. Cabdullaahi oo an weli la arag isagoo ordaya, ayaa inta gaarigiisii ka dagay ayuu ku orday gaariga gadoomay. Waxa laga weriyey in Cabdullaahi dareemay cagtiisa oo kululaatay, deedna uu ogaaday in maskax askari kasoo duushay ee ku dhintay shilka, ogaanla'aan ku dul istaagay.

CIA, ANTI-TERRORIST TASK FORCE, HOMELAND SECURITY, USA.

Inta ay Madaxtooyada Barda Cad , Gaalkacayo, xarun noo ahayd, hase ahaate Cabdullaahi iyo ciidanku dib u qabsadeen Garoowe, ayaa halkaa lagu qabtay nin Carab ah oo lagu magaacaabo Ramzi Bin Al-Shibh. Xabsiga Garoowe ayey dhigeen dhawr habeen. Waxaba ninkaa u doodaaya nin reer Sool ah oo madaxda ciidamada Daraawiishta ka tirsan, waxana la socda nin la yiri wuxu ahaanjirey Ku-Qaybsanaha Amuuraha Ciidan ee Safaaraddii Soomaaliya ee Washington, DC. Cabdullaahi wuxu amray in Ramzi la sii daayo, mar hadii aan lagu hayn dambi, ragna u doodayaan. Xassan Daafedow, Agaasimaha Guud ayaa faks ku soo diray sawirka Basaaboorka Ramzi, si lola wadaago koobi (copy) Homeland Security Mareykanka, oo Puntland markaa wadashaqayn dhanka argagixisada ka dhexaysay. Arritaasu waa ka hoo baxday saraakiisha amniga mareykanka. Ramzi durba Laas Caano ayuu sii maray, Burco ku hakaday, Hargeisa u sii gudbay, Jabuuti buu ka dhacay, deedna Pakistan u gudbay, halkaa oo lagu qabtay, deedna meel daran iyo reero musgood lala aaday.

Wada shaqayntaa Mareykanku waxay iskugu biyashubatay in Puntland dhisato qayb ciidamo wardoon iyo argagixiso la dagaalanka samaysato (PIS). Waxay ku bilaabantay markii xukuumaddii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ku laabatay Boosaaso, ka dib qalalaasii Kooxdii Jaamac Cali Jaamac, in ay yimaadeen Boosaaso wafti ka tirsan Anti-terroristika Mareykanka. Koor subax ah ayey kasoo Gagada Dayuuradaha Boosaaso. Madaxtooyada ayey usoo gudbeen. Waa lala shiray kooxdaa. Cabitaan ayaa miiska la keenay. Madaxa kooxda, Steve, ayaa dhalada biyaha inta eegay ayuu yiri “Biyahaan ma cabayo”. Aniga ayaa ku iri, “Hadaadan biyaha rabin, dee Kookada cab”. “Haye, ayuu ku jawaabay. In yar ka dib, ayaan weydiyey Steve, “biyaha maxaa ka khaldan?”. Nin carab ah ayaa xalay teleefanka ku qoran waraaqda ku daabacan dhalada isticmaalay, isagoo la hadlaya nin kaloo jooga Yemen”. Waa isfiirinay. Waa raggii hadda kasoo degay Boosaaso oo nooga waroon dalkayaga.” Steve, anaga arrintaa noodaa”, ayaan ku niri. Run buu noqoday warkaa.

QAYBTA 29AAD

BOOSAASO

Boosaaso gacmo furan ayey kaga hortimi Cabdullaahi Yuusuf. Dadweynuhu, iyagoo isimmadu iyo nabadoonnadu horkacayaan ayuu soo saftay ilaa Meer-Meerka Boosaaso, iyagoo caleemo qoyan ruxaya. Markaa taa dhacayso, anigu weli Madaxtooyadii Barda Cad ayaan ku dambeeyaa si an hawlo haray isu daba-raaciyo. War yar ka dib, Cabdullahi wuxu igu wargeliyey in madaxdii dawladda iyo dumarkoodiiba ayey ku habsadeen Madaxtooyada Boosaaso, degaan ahaan, iyo in la ii baahanyahay in an Boosaaso soo galo. “Xagee soo maraa, Madaxweyne?”, baan weydiiyey. “Hadaadan dhulka soo marikarin, dayuuradda Qaadka kasoo raac Laas Caano”. “Oo yaa iiga horeeya Laas Caano?”, baan weydiiyey Madaxweynaha. “Meel kasta soo maroo, Boosaaso imaw?”, ayuu ku gabagabeeyey, Cabdullaahi.

Caasha Uunlaaye oo dayuurado qaad keena kiraysata ayaan ka codsaday in ay Boosaaso I geyso. Sayte “Maya Maya”. Ilaahi wuxu qadaray in ay markale iigu timaado Madaxtooyada Boosaaso, iyadoo ruqso dayuuradeed raadineysa. Waji gabax ayey kala kulantay Xafiisyada Madaxtooyada.

Waxay noqotay in an ka soo wareego Dubai, halkaa oo uu Mareykanka uga yimi Madaxweyne Kuxigeenkii nooga cararay dagaalka kooxdii Jamaac Cali Jaamac, Maxamed Cabdi Xaashi. Markaa dhanka Golaha Wakiillada Puntland ka socda tilaabo sharci (impeachment) ee la damacsanyahay in Madaxweyne Kuxigeenka Xaashi xilka loo qaadayo. Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, Guddoomiyaaha Golaha Wakiillada, iyo kala bar xubnaha Aqalku waxay Madaxweyne-kuxigeen u wataan Axmed Maxamed Xaabsade, Wasiirka Arrimaha Gudaha iyo Amniga Guud. Anigu waxan ka mid ahay ragga diidan Maxamed in la cayriyo. Rag kale iyo aniguba waa u olalaynay Maxamed. Hal cod buu ku guuleystay Maxammed Cabdi Xaashi.

Waxay noqotay in Gole Xukuumada oo cussub la dhiso dagaalka Kooxda Carta la shaqaysaneysay ka dib. Markay halkaa taagantahay, ayaan anigu Madaxweynaha kula taliyey in kooxda la magac baxday PPM (Puntland Peace Movement), oo iyaduna abuurantay inta u socday dagaalkii, la tixgeliyo si loo

kala tuuro. PPM waxa ka mid ahaa Maxamed Abshir Waldo, Abdirisaaq Juriile, Abshir Muuse, Cabdirahmaan Faroole, Janankii Cismaan Fatiig, iyo kuwo kale. PPM waa koox ka kooban siyaasiin, saraakiil iyo aqoonyahanno reer Puntland ah, oo isku urursaday madaxnimada Puntland kala dhex-baxaan Cabdullaahi iyo Jaamac Cali Jaamac. PPM waxay maalgelin ka heleen NGO-ga DIAKONIA ee Sweden oo xafiis ku leh Garoowe, xiriir wanaagsanna ka dhexxeeyo Islaan Maxamed. Maxamed Dheeraha reer buurtinle ayaa markaa Xafiiska DIAKONIA ee laanta Garoowe haystay. War hoose waxan ku helay in DIAKONIA qorsha PPM ku bixisay lacag gaareysaa \$500,000.00 (shan boqol oo kun). Waxa kaloo la ogyahay in Islaan Maxamed qorshaha PPM wato uu soo dhaweyey. Madaxweynaha waxan usoo jeediyey in jilibka Ciise Maxamuud loo helo siyaasi qaabila Xassan Abshir Waraabe iyo isimamada beesha oo naga horyimi. Madaxweynuhu wuxu iweydiyey shakhsiga an ku talinayo. “Cabdirahmaan Faroole”, ayaan usoo jeediyey. “ila hadal sii hadda”, buu igu amray. Faroole markaa Garoowe ayuu joogaa. Sidaa ayuu Faroole Wasiir Maaliyadeed Puntland ku noqday. Halkaa ayey fursaddiisii siyaasadeed ee Puntland uga dilaacday, ileen awal wuxu iska ahaa nin weligii mucaarad ah oo dhaxeeya Jabuuti, Muqdisho, Hargheisa iyo Melbourne, Australia.

DACAAYADDA BBC-DA IYO KOOXDA CARTA

Xukunkii Cabdullaahi Yuusuf oo guuleystay, dibna ugu soo laabtay dhamaan gayiga Puntland, ayaa Yuusuf Garaadka Laanta Afka Soomaaliga iyo Kooxda Carta ee Muqdisho weli sii wadeen in Puntland ay taliyaan ama isku haystaan labo garab ee Cabdullaahi iyo Jaamac.

KOOXDII DHUUDA IYO MEER-MEERKA, KU NOQOSHADII BOOSAASO KA DIB

Koox u badan haraadigii Jaamac Cali Jaamac, kuwo ku raacay caadifad beeleeed agagaarka Qardho iyo shakhsiyaad diidan xukunka Cabdullaahi Yuusuf, ayaa jidgooyo iyo burcad fariisi ka samayeen wadada Puntland isku xirta. Ciidamadu durba waa soo afjareen jigooyadaa. Hase ahaatee, dawr bilood ka dib, waxay isku urursadeen dooxada dhuudo. Kooxdu waxay u qaylo dhaansadeen Jananka Maxamuud Muuse Xirsi (Cadde), oo Kanada degan. Kooxda waa laga saaray

dhuuda, iyagoo habqankoodii u caray dhanka Ceel-Afweyn ee agagaarka Ceerigaabo. Jananka iyo kooxda u watay waxay marti u noqondeen dadka isaxaaqqa ah oo an la magansan, nin dhaqaale xunna u daran. Janankii Cadde waxa laga wariyey in ciidankiissa Ceel-Afweyn joogay loo diiday in ay xaabo soo qaataan in ayen baad bixin, markii dambana ciriiri nolaleed galeen markii lagu yeeshay dayn maaliyadeed oo dulsaar ah. Puntland ayaa bixisay dayntaa, ka dib markii heshiisku dhacay.

Inta an Shirweynaha Qaran usoo wareegin Mbagati, oo weli an joogno Eldorate, ayaa waxa Ceerigaabo taleefan iga soo diray Boqor Buur-Madow, igu wargelinayo in Janankii diyaar u yahay in la heshiiyo Cabdullaahi Yuusuf. Boqor Buur-Madow taleefanka Satallite-ka Cadde ayuu isii. Inan Cismaan la yiraahdo baa iga qabtay taleefanka Cadde, Caddo jooga Ceel-Afweyn. Cadde in ka badan 10 daqiiqo ayuu Cabdullaahi iyo Cumar Maxamuud maagayey, isagoo malah weli garan in amuurohu ka durugsanyihiin sheekada Maxamuud Saleemaan. Mudo ayey uga qaadatay in an Cabdullaahi Yuusuf oggaleysiiyo in uu taleefanka kala hadlo Cadde Muuse, xataa Safiir Cumar Al-Azhari waa ula kaashaday. Boosaaso ayaa heshiiskii dib-u-shiisiinta gudaha Puntland ka dhacay. Waxay ahayd guul weyn oo uu gaaray Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyada oo uu Mbagati ka socdo Shirweynaha Qaran.

QAYBTA 30AAD

KENYA

Madax kooxceedyada Soomaaliya waxay isla ogalaadeen Gogasha Nabaddayn Qaran Soomaaliya ee Madaxweyne Carab Moi-ga Kenya ku fidiyey magaalada Eldorate, ee dhacda waqooyiga Nairobi, dooxada Rift Valley, intaan loo soo wareejin Shirka Mbagati, Nairobi.

Cadaadis diblomaasiyeed ee ka yimi dawladdaha Jabuuti, Masar, iyo Kooxda Carta, ayaa ku khasbay Gudiga Farsamada Shirka oo ka kooban wakiillo dawladdaha Deeq-biyaasha, IGAD, Isu Taga carabta (League of Arab States), oo ay Kenya madax u tahay, Intaan weli shirkuba furmi, Wasaaradda Arrimha Dibedda Kenya, ayaa nakala soo xiriirtay Boosaaso, iyada oo nagu wargelineysa in Puntland labo wafti oo ay kala hogaaminayaan Cabdullaahi Yuusuf iyo Jaamac Cali Jaamac ka kala imaan. Aad baan ugu qosollay warqadda Kenya ee Gudiga Farnasada Shirka. Diidmo qayaxan baan faks ugu diray Kenya, sababtoo ah in aan Jaamac Cali Jaamac Puntland waxba ka ahayn. Ugu dambayn, waxan isla ogalaanay in Jaamac Cali Jaamac noqdo xubin waftiga Puntland ee Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Yuusuf. Jaamac ma qaadan xubinta an siinay, si doqonnima ku jirtana wuxu iskudayijiray in uu yimaado Shirarka Gudiga Hagidda Shirka (Leaders' Steering Committee). Maalin walba Jaamac Shirka waa laga soo saaraa, mise waa kan hadana maalinta dambe. Alleeleha, maalin shirka madaxdu bilowmeysay, ayaan anigu ugu galay Qolka xussein Caydiid iyo Jaamac Cali Jaamac. Gacanta ayaa usoo taagay Jaamac si an u salaamo. Jaamac inta labada gacmood jeedka gashaday ayuu igu ku celceliyaa, “Gacantaada iga deyso, Gacantaada iga deyso”. Caydiid, baa yiri, “War ninka salaan”. “Gacantayda kaa daystaye, Qolka Madaxda kasoo bax”, ayaan ku iri Jaamac. Jaamac oo irida qolka ka sii baxaya, ayaan albabka dibeddiisa kula kulmay Yuusuf Garaadka BBC-da. “Yuusuf, waadiga ku hayee Garabka Puntland ee Jaamac Cali Jaamac eh, waakaa Jaamac laga soo saaray Shirka Madaxda Shirweynaha”. “War Ismaaciil, anigu ma wado arritaa - Waa ragga kale ee BBC-da”. Yuusuf Garaad dib dambe lagama maqal “garabka Jaamac Cali Jaamac”.

QAYBTA 31AAD

MBAGATI, SHIRWEYNAHA QARAN EE DIB U HESHIISIINTA IYO NABADAYNTA SOOMAALIYA

Shirweynaha Mbagati wuxu ahaa mid cidkasta oo dan ka leh Soomaaliya soo faragelisay, dawlado, koxxo iyo danaystayaal gaar ahba. Wuxu ahaa shir ay isku hardinayaan Dawladaha Deriska la ah dalka, oo ama ka walwalaya sidii loo maarayn laha shidada Soomaaaliya, iyagoo danahooda asaasiga keli ah madaxa ku hayaa. Kuwa Reer Galbeedka oo dano siyaasadeed, dhaqaale, gumaysi, dhan, amni, istaratiigi iyo saamayn gobol ka leh; Masar iyo Carabta oo ka leh Soomaaaliya dano diimeed, amni, siyaasa-degaanned, ilaalinta biya Wabiga Nile iyo iska caabinta Itoobiya; Jabuuti oo iyana leh qorshe ku saabsan in an looga dheerayn khayraadka laga helay burburkii Soomaaliya; Dawladha Itaaliya iyo Ingriiska oo ku doodaaya in looga dambeeyo amuuraha Soomaaliya mar haday iyagu yihiin gumaysiyaashii shalay. Waxa loolankaa adag iyana feersocday kuwo wata qorshayaal dhaqan-dooris Soomaaliya (Women Rights, Gay Rights, Religious Freedom, Civil Society, Human Rights, Gender Equallity iwm).

Bal ka waran dagaallada baxaaddaa leh oo dhul shisheeye kugu qabsaday?

Shirkweynaha Dib-U-Heshiisiinta Qaran wuxu ka bilowday magaalada Eldorate. Waxa furay Shirka Madaxda IGAD: Carab Moi, Meles Zenawi, Museveni, iyo wasiirro ka kala socda Sudaan, Jabuuti iyo Eritrea.

Maalinta furitaanka Shirka, daqiiqado ka hor inta ayen soo galin qolka weyn ee Shirka Madaxda IGAD, ayaanu aniga iyo Maxamed Abshir Waldo kula talinay in uu Cabdullahi inta lug dambeediyo, soo galo qolka, deedna anigu inta makroofanka qabsado ku dhawwaqo “Mudane Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ayaa soo galay, fadlan ila soo dhaweyya”. Sidii baa dhacday. Malaha, dadku waxay qaateen in an ujeedo Madaxda IGAD. Dadkii oo dhan inta istaageen, ayey sacab ku waasheen. Cabdullaahi oo loo sacabinayo ayaa madaxdi IGAD soo galeen qolka. Maalintaa ayey cadaatay culayska siyaasadeed ee Yuusuf. Cabdullaahi dib ugama soo degin heerkaa. Tan kale, Yuusuf wuxu ahaa siyaasi

dawladda Puntland ka dambeeso, dhaqaale, siyaasad, iyo maamuusba.

MUSEVENI

Khudbadda keli ah ee madaxxayga weli ku hartay waa tii Madaxweyne Musevani kasoo jeediyey Shirkii Dib-u-Heshiisiinta iyo Nabadaynta Qaran ee Soomaaliya. Wuxu yiri waa baa Shiinaha la oranjirey, The bad teacher of Asia by negative example. Now, Somalia is the best country in Africa by negative example. Japan has the least natural resources in the world, but now, it is one of the richest countries in the world. That is because Japan has been investing in its people, but, you, Somalis, have killing been killing each other”.

MBAGATI, NAIROBI, XARUUNTA CULUUNTA FARSADA SARE EE KENYA

Arrimaha ugu waaweyn ee Shirka horyaala waa:

1. Qaybsiga ergada ku salaysan 4.5
2. Ka shaqaynta, Qaadashada iyo ansixinta Axdiga Ku-Meelgaar
3. Dhismaha Xukuumad Ku-Meel gaar ah.

Amuurahaa oo dhan waa hortaan:

1. Fowdo dhawr iyo labaatan jirsatay ee Soomaaliya
2. Ururo iyo kooxxo an ogalayn dawlad ka dhismata Soomaaliya
3. Hay'adaha samafalka iyo kuwa dawliga ah oo Soomaaliya sida ay tahay ku raba
4. Dawalado isku hardinaya Soomaaliya, oo ay ku jiraan kuwa deriska
5. Dhaqaalo xuma haysata Shirweynaha

Ergada Puntland, intaa waxa u dheer dagaal diblomaasiyadeed ee kaga imaanaya

Jabuuti, wadamada Carabta oo ay hormood u tahay Masar. Waxaa intaa ka daran in Wasiirkii Arrimaha Dibedda Kenya, Kalonso Musoka, u hoos kala shaqaynayo Kooxda Cabdulqaasim Salad Xassan ee TNG-da.

Shirku wuxu socday in kan badan labo sano labo sababood awgood:

1. Diidmada Hawiye/Habar-Gidir ee hanaanka federaalka
2. Ka hortagga Hawiye in Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Madaxweyne u noqdo Soomaaliya

Waftiga Puntland dagaal siyaasadeed oo kharar ayaa qabsaday. Xagee la bilaabaa ka hortagga dagaalka? Wasiir Kalonso Musoka wuxu madax u yahay Gudiga Farsamada Shirweynaha. Isaga ayaa ugu daran dagaalka ku socda Puntland. Horta isaga waa in meesha la qaadaa. Waxan arrintaa ula kaashanay Uganda. Madaxweyne Museveni ayaa qabandoona kaltanka madaxnimada IGAD. Wafti Cabdullaahi hogaaminayo ayaa Kambala u dhoofay in ay madaxda Uganda uga dhaadhiciyaan xaaladda Shirweynaha. Sheeko dheer ka dib, Puntland wey ku guuleystay in eryo Kolonso Musoka. Musoka, waxa laga wariyey in uu yiri, “I didn't know that the Col. [Cabdullaahi Yuusuf] had that diplomatic reach (Ma moodeen in kornaylku leeyahay awooddaa diblomaasi).

2002-dii intuu Shirku ka socday Mbagati, waxa soo kordhay in Itoobiya markay aragtay in Kenya, Jabuuti iyo Masar Shirka kaga awood badateen, iskuday in ay Shirka buburiso si ayen waxba uga soo bixin Mbagati. Itoobiya waxay abaabushay in kooxaxa ay gacansaarka laleehay sida Maxamed Saciid Morgan, Maxamed Xabeeb (Maxamed Dheere), Maxamuud Sayid, Yuusuf Direed iyo kuwo kale, Shirka isaga baxaan. Kuwo Maxamed Dheere ayaa Jowhar u kaxaystay. Deedna Morgan, inta Ceelbarde/Bakool aaday ayuu ciidankii Jubaland ee halkaa joogay ku weeraray Kismaayo oo ay haystaan Isbahaysiga Dooxada Jubba. Ergadii Mareexaan ee Shirka waxay u qaateen Cabdullaahi Yuusuf in uu la ogyahay Morgan weerarka Kismaayo. Taa macnaheedu waa in ergada Mareexaan Madaxweyne u dooran Cabdullaahi Yuusuf. Wasiirkii Arrimaha Dibedda Itoobiya, Seyoum Mesfin iyo madaxda ciidanka wardoonkuba lug ayey ku lahayn arrintaa. Maxda Jabuuti iyana qas iyo saamayn bay ka dhex-waadeen ergooyinka Shirka. Jabuuti kooxdii Carta ee Cabdulqaasim Salad Xassan ayey wateen oo ay u olalaynayeen.

Masar iyo ururka isutagga carabta (League of Arab States) ayaa iyana u

olalaynaya ina Salaad Boy (Cabdulqaasim). Waa intaan ku guuleysan cayradda Kolonzo Musoka, Wasiirkii Amuuraha Debedda ee Kenya.

Dhanka kale, Madaxweyne Xigeenka Puntland, Maxamed Cabdi Haashi, ahaana Kusimahii Madaxweynaha Puntland ayaa isna wada isqabad siyaasadeed gudaha golayaasha Puntland, gaar ahaan, isaga iyo Wasiirka Maaliyadda, Cabdirahmaan Faroole, ka waday, iyo in uu dagaal Somaliland geliyo Puntland duleedka Waqooyi ee Laas caano, aaga Ari Cadeeye.

Xassan Abshir Waraabe, Jini Boqor, Xirsi Bulxan, Cali Khaliif Galayr, Maxamed Cabdi Yuusuf, Cali Baashi, Jaamac Cali Jaamac, iyo kuwo kale ayaa iyana xoog uga soo horjeeda Cabdullaahi Yuusuf. Qaarkood waxay wateen Cabdullaahi Cadow/Habar-Gidir/Reer Nimcaale, kuwana Cabdulqaasim Salaad ee Kooxda Carta. Markay arrimaha Shirka Mbagati halkaa marayaan, Cabdullaahi Yuusuf khalkhal siyaasadeed iyo walaac quusu ku jirto baa galay.

Markaan arkay in Cabdullaahi Yuusuf jahawareer galay, ayaan la xiriiray Jananka Kenya ee Maxamuud. Waa wadahal siiyey. Janan Maxamuud Cabdullaahi Yuusuf wuxu ku yiri: “Cabdullahiyow, ciidna halkaan kaama sadroonee, kaagamana awood badan eh, cagaha dhulka dhig.

Hadii Maxamed Cabdi Haashi dagaal ka dhex-ridi lahaa Puntland iyo Somaliland, Cabdullaahi Yuusuf ma joogikareen Shirka Mbagati. Markaana hubaal bay ahayd in Cabdullaahi Cadow ku guuleysan lahaa madaxnimada Soomaaliya. Hadii dagaalka Morgan ee Kismaayo sii soconlahaa ergada Mareexaan Cabdullaahi cod ma siiyeen. Cabdullaahi Cadow ayaa madaxweyne noqonlahaa. Hadaanan Waftiga Itoobiya ee Shirka Mbagati joogtay anaan dacween si ay joojiyaan carqaladaynta, Shirku waa burburilahaa. Hadaanan ku guuleysan in anu badelo Kolonzo Musoka, Cabdulqaasim Salad boy ama Cabdullaahi Cadow ayaa guuleysanlahaa. Hadaanan dhica yaga ku soo dabaalin Uganada iyo Museveni, Kalonzo Musoka waa naga guuleysanlahaa, wuxuna helilahaa balanqaadkii Sacuudi Carabiya in ay gacan maaliyadeed ku siineyso doorashadii madaxnimada Kenya ee markaa socotay, markuu Shirka Mbagati soo saaro Cabdulqaasim Salaad Xassan.

Madaxda Abgaalku waxay qabaan cudurka “Stockholm Syndrome” ee ku dhacda dadka lahaystayaasha, kuwaa oo jacayl u qaada kuwii iyaga hayssanjiry. Abgaalku waxay citiraaf ka raadiyaan Habar-Gidirta markay dagaallo kulul kala galeen Xamar. Waa sababaha Cali Mahdi, Xusseen Boot, Suudi Yalaxxow iyo

Maxamed Dheere dhanka ugu guuldaraysteen marka Habar-Gidir ku sasabatay in ay madaxdii Hawiye yihiin oo afka baarkiisa ah, deedna daaqadda siyaasadeed ka tureen; waa sababta Cali Mahdi Xusseen Caydiid Shirkii Qaahira 1997 ugu raacay. Waa sababta Xusseen Boot u raacay Ina Salaad Boy Shirkii Carta 2000. Waa sababta Maxamed Dheere u damcay in uu isu sharaxxo madaxweyne Shirkii Mbagati. Waa sababta Suudii Yalaxow Cabdullaahi Yuusuf in uu kabo ka weyn gashaday shirkii Mbagati. Madaxda Habar-Gidir ayaa ku yiri, “idinkaa ahe madaxdii Hawiye eh, Daarood naga dhiciya.

Maxamed Dheere, oo ahaa dagaal ooge Puntland soo kobcisay, hay'addaha sirdoonka Mareykankana ku xirtay dhanka la dagaallanka argagixisada, ayaa inta u bogay dhiiragelinta Habar-Gidir, iyo lacagta an xisaab-cilinta la hayn ee CIA Mareykanka iskudayey in uu musharaxnima Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kahor yimaado, isagoo Isbahaysiga SRRC kala tirsan. Xubnihii SRRC ayuu bar goostay, lana degay hudheelka Nairobi New Stanley. Habaynkii oo dhan waa la qayilaa, maalintiina la hurdaa, maca dumarkii shirka nooga olalaynayey. Waxay noqotay in Maxamed Dheere iyo CIA Mareykanka kala reebno, ilaa Maxamed Dheere hudheelkii New Stanley kharashkiisa loo qabsado, bal in uu madaxweyne isu sharaxxo, iskaba daa eh.

Shakada Shirweynihii Dib-U-Heshiisiinta iyo Nabadaynta Soomaaliya waxay ku gabagabowday in isu-talaasun laga gaaro Cahdiga Ku-Meelgaar ah iyo Hanaan Xukuumo oo ku salaynta 4.5 awood qaybsiga Beeleeha Soomaaliyeed, kaa oo ilaalinaya xuquuqda siyaasadeed ee beelaha laga badanyahay. Xukuumadda cod balaaran heshay oo Cabdullaahi Yusuf madax ka yahay ayaa halkaa ka dhalatay. Xukuumadaa dhib badan ayey kala kulantay sidii Xamar loo geynlahaa, iyadoo sii gogol fariisatay Jowhar iyo Baydhabo, deedna xoog hubaysan ku tagtay Villa Soomaaliya, ilaa maantana dagaal ugu jirta in ay si buuxda uga caga dhigato Muqdisho.

Gabagada Buuggaan, waxan kusoo gunaanidayaa hawlihii koobnaa ee Qoraagu u qabta Xukuumadda Federaalka Soomaaliya. In door ihi waa lifaaqyada buuggan ee qoraagu door hogaamineed ka qaatay. Waxaa ka mid ah hawlaha:

1. Qoraallada Shirkii Dib-U-Heshiisiinta Soomaaliyeed ee Xamar ka dhacay wakhtigii Madaxweyne Cabdullaahi Yuusuf (2006-2008).
2. Soo saarka Baasaboorka Cusub ee Jamhuuriyedda Soomaaliya.

3. Dayactiirka Villa Somalia.

4. Iyo kuwo kale (fadlan eeg lifaaqyada).

LIFAAQYO

LIFAAQ A

April 6, 2019

PUNTLAND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Historical Background

The formation of Puntland State of Somalia in August 1998 was not a sudden development, but a culmination of a process following many community attempts in Northeastern and Northwestern Regions of Somalia, armed struggle and the Civil War aside. Cities like Galkayo, Garowe, Qardho, Bosaso, Boocame and Borama were all important venues for community meetings for reconciliation and forward thinking, eventually paving the way for the foundation of both Puntland and Somaliland administrations.

One of such community meetings was one called "Nabad & Nool" held in Garowe in 1993. Leading this conference were elders from all regions of Harti sub-clan system.

Some of the prominent clan elders of Sool and Sanaag, who had joined the Consultative and Constitutional Conferences, and helped setup Puntland State, took part in both Borama and Boocame meetings and congresses for the formal establishment of Northwest Administration (Somalia). Among them include Garaad AbdiQani Garaad Jama, Garaad Saleman Garaad Mohamed, Garaad Ismail Duale. Suldaan Said Suldaan Abdisalam had also joined the

process in later stages.

In the case of Puntland, the society has deep historic roots in traditional self-government with sultanates and kingdoms in the background. Before the successful establishment of Puntland State, there were a series of failed administrative establishments in Northeastern Regions of Somalia. Among them was one led by Abdullahi King Kong in 1992 and the other by Mohamed Nur Jama (Dhigic Dhigic) in 1994. The late President of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG) and Founding President of Puntland State, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, was appointed a Defense Secretary in absentia in Jama's nominal administration cabinet as he was just released from prison in exile in Ethiopia at the time. Both administrations existed, in their separate short periods, along with SSDF control of Northeastern Regions. These administrations failed due to lack of skills and capacity in governance, absence of vision and fatal misunderstanding of their leadership role as self-governing entities in the Regions. Puntland charter had decommissioned the civil war organizations of SSDF and SNDU as well as USP on the eve of foundation of Puntland State

Based on this brief historical perspective and on the backdrop of failure of all Somalia's National Reconciliation Conferences (SNRC), people of Northeastern Regions, Sool, Sanaag and Buhoodle had finally got convinced that Somalia couldn't be reconstructed from top-down as warlords didn't have legitimate representation as they also couldn't agree on a united national political platform. Warlordism was their political attraction and preference in maintaining their respective fiefdoms, particularly in Banadir Region.

Puntland State was established on the notion of a “BOTTOM-UP APPROACH” or “BUILDING BLOCKS” (FEDERALISM)) as the basis for re-instating the failed Central Government of Somalia with avoidance of reviving a city-state or a dictatorship.

Delegates to the Founding Congresses, the Community Constitutional conference held in Garowe on May 15, 1998 had resolved to commit themselves

to fulfilling two central objectives:

1. To create a regional state with all branches of a government representing the people of Northeast, Sool, Sanaag and District of Buhoodle.
2. To work hard towards the re-instatement and reconstruction of Somalia's failed Central State.

The 2nd objective would become a daunting task and overly ambitious undertaking that took away most of the time and resources of the New State of Puntland. It had also impacted negatively on Puntland Democratization Process and discharge of constitutional mandate of the government in that regard.

Equally challenging was the fact that the New Administration of Puntland faced upfront serious political and economic challenges. On the one hand, it had to prove itself to be a viable regional state economically and meet the challenges of law and order as clan militias and bandits rampage the regions with their illegal checkpoints stretching along the roads and all cities entry ports. Re-constructing the New Somalia also needed leadership, role model and resources, on the other hand. That also required allocation of Puntland leaders' time, space and travel.

The international community was split between supporting the Puntland concept of Bottom-up Approach and Top-down Approach of Somali National Reconciliation Process (SNRP).

There was a tough debate within Puntland itself on whether to leave the rest of Somalia to its own devices by focusing on Puntland development, building and strengthening its institutions only or Puntland to put in leadership and resources in re-shaping the New Somalia.

This debate is still raging on. The consensus of Puntland institutions, however, was that the New State couldn't afford to see the slow disintegration of the Somali Republic as Mogadishu Warlords couldn't envisage the immediate danger and existential national threat to Somalia.

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIZATION DURING 3-YEAR MANDATE OF PUNTLAND FIRST GOVERNMENT

In a nutshell, democratization became increasingly the improbable mission as the Puntland first government operated under tremendous difficulties and faced enormous challenges, especially in the security and economic sectors. To say the country was in humanitarian crisis is understatement. There was a huge influx of IDPs of not only persons of Northeastern origin fleeing from all war-torn urban centers of Southern Somalia, but also thousands of other Somalis coming from every corner of Somalia and in particular, from Banadir, Middle Shabelle, Jubaland, Bay and Bakool regions. The New Puntland State of Somalia was under constant threat to its security and aggression from its Southern and Northern borders. The Civil War was still raging. Jubaland was under constant military siege with General Aydiid posed to re-take Kismayo. The State Constitution was provisional and state institutions just so established were fragile and ineffective. The State infrastructure was non-existent. The Presidency, Cabinet, House of Representatives had no offices to operate, not to talk about other agencies of the State. It was almost an impossible task to run a government, let alone to think building a modicum of a government under these conditions.

Now, think of Democratization under the prevailing situation. Still, in accordance with the Article 28 of the Charter, the First Puntland Cabinet of 9 Ministers started deliberating on the possibility of holding local and general elections on the basis of one person one vote. The Cabinet has resolved to send to task two independent constitutional and electoral commissions in accordance with Article 10 (i) and 10 (ii) of the Charter for approval by the House of Representatives.

1. Constitutional Commission of 15 members proposed by the government for Parliament approval to draft new Puntland constitution and put it for a statewide referendum never materialized due to conflict and legal rankling between all branches of the government and within the House of Representatives itself
2. Electoral Commission to draft legislations and electoral laws for approval by the House.

Each commission had its own chairperson and included some members of Puntland House of Representatives, Judiciary, Attorney General and civilians representing the interests of different regions of Puntland

Unfortunately, the Electoral Commission was formed late into the government mandate, and perhaps, it had had barely enough time to prepare. But, the Commission finally submitted their findings in a report to the Cabinet with the following conclusions:

THE FOUR BIG NOs:

1. No population census can be done on time.
2. No public disarmament can be done on time.
3. No financial resources are available
4. No secure environment for elections yet in the country.

The Cabinet had no alternative but to discuss alternatives to seek a new mandate. Two options were on the table:

To resort to the founding formula of regional clan-based representation for which there was very limited time to carry out

1. To propose an extension of institutions mandate for two more years to House of Representatives.

The Cabinet opted for the 2nd scenario. The House was deliberating on the possibility of changing of some articles in the charter like the infamous Article 34.1, 34.2, which stipulates that this couldn't be done, when the government mandate had expired. The President of the Supreme Court declared himself President for a month pending an election of a president, and prominent elders meeting in Garowe on the issue had endorsed the Supreme Court president's take-over based on Article 34.2. A constitutional crisis set in and the rest of story is history now.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Transitional Charter established a transitional authority that within a

mandate of three years, ending on 30 June 2001, should accomplish democratization benchmarks as is provided in Article 28 of the charter. However, that proved unrealistic and therefore unfulfilled for the following reasons:

1. To the assessment of many, there was no serious commitment and political will to democratization by all branches of Puntland Government.

2. The operating environment was not conducive to holding elections in terms of :

3. a) Security b) Resources and capacity c) Time constraints and pressure created by Somalia's National Reconciliation Conferences d) Conflict within all branches of the government and within the legislature itself. The source of this conflict and deadlock was based on articles 34 and 35 of the Charter, especially Article 35, which stipulates that among other charter articles that cannot be amended by the legislature include Article 34.2 (See them in Somali here below).

Qodobka 34aad: Dhaqan-galka Axdiga

- 34.1. Axdigan Puntland wuxuu dhaqan gelayaa maalinta Shirweynaha Garoowe May - 1998 ansixiyo, wuxuuna jirayaa saddexda sanadood oo kala guurka ah keliya, waxaana beddelaya Dastuurka cusub ee Puntland.
- 34.2. Haddii sabab kasta awgeed dawladdu ku diyaarin waydo Dastuurka cusub saddexda sano ee kala guurka ah gudahooda, Golaha Wakiillada iyo Golaha Xukuumaduba waa jiritaan beelayaan. Xilkii Madaxwaynaha Xukuumadu wuxuu ku wareegayaa Guddoomiyaha Maxkamadda Sare, oo laga doonayo in uu 30 maalmood gudahood isugu yeero Shirweyne Gobolladii ku bahoobay Dawladda Puntland, si ay xaaladda cusub uga go'aan qaataan.

Qodobka 35-aad: Wax-ka-beddelka Axdigan (Charter Amendments).

- 35.1. Qodobada Axdigan waxaa beddeli kara Golaha Wakiillada marka laga reebo Qodobada ku cad qodobka 35.2, wax-ka-beddelkaas oo ku imanaya markii ay laba jeer oo ugu yaraan Bili u dhexayso, marwalba afar meelood sadex (^{3/4}) xubnaha Golaha Wakiilladu isku raacaan beddelka qodob ka mid ah Axdigan.
- 35.2. Qodobada 1.1, 2, 6., 7., iyo 34 ee Axdigan lama beddeli karo.

Despite all the provisions of the Puntland Constitution, there is one persistent question in the minds of both experts and Puntland politicians alike: In a countrywide suffrage, what will be the qualitative choice and result of uninformed clannish society like that of Puntland? Does the track voting record of 66 Puntland MPs give us any confidence towards holding general elections on the basis of one person one vote? Are citizens ready to choose one candidate over another on merit without clan identification? How a general election in Puntland will differ from the existing regional clan representation? Will it have the same qualitative characteristics as the existing clan representation with even more complications and likelihood for electoral violence and breakdown of law and order? These are valid and serious questions that require serious answers and studies.

As a student of Puntland governance history, I believe that some of these questions cannot be answered without putting the experience to the test, starting with local or city council elections. It is good to remember that Somalia's first democratic elections in 1954 got started with municipal election first.

PDRC Presentation by

Ismail H. Warsame

LIFAAQ B

WHY DON'T (YOU) ETHIOPIA AND LIBYA UNITE?

October 2, 2014

By Ismail H. Warsame

This question may sound absurd to many people until they find out that a Somali Northern Faction Leader dared to raise it in front of Mengistu Haile-Mariam of the Derg, Ethiopia, and Muamar Al-Qaddafi of the Libyan Jamahiriya. The context was in a response to a question Qaddafi asked Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed and Yusuf Sheikh Ali Madar in Tripoli, Libya, circa 1983-4 in a meeting between the four leaders, in a last attempt to unite the first Somali opposition forces against Siyad Barre Regime, and thus to avoid a

potential civil war in post-Barre Somalia. I was a witness and participant in these events.

Mengistu Haile Mariam

Whatever sinister project Mengistu Haile-Mariam had in mind for Somalia at the time, there was no doubt that Qaddafi was sincere in helping Somalia to stay united and strong after the fall of Siyad Barre. Yusuf Sheikh Ali Madar, then the Chairman of the Somali National Movement (SNM), wanted to impress Qaddafi and Mengistu on how difficult it was to bring the Issak clans back to a united Somali republic.

Because of the Tripartite Agreement in the early eighties between South Yemen, Ethiopia and Libya under the proposal and sponsorship of the Somali Salvation Democratic front (SSDF), all Somali opposition elements and entities were supposed to unite under the umbrella of the later, and no separate Somali organization (front) would be allowed to operate from Ethiopia against the Military Regime in Somalia. SNM had no choice but to announce its establishment in London, UK, in 1982.

Muammar Gaddafi

SSDF, in pursuit of its core policy of uniting all Somali opposition forces, sought to persuade Ethiopian, Libyan and Yemeni leadership to facilitate negotiation talks between SSDF and SNM. SSDF sent a delegation led by Abdirahman Sugule Xaabsey and the late politician and technocrat, Jama Rabile Good to SNM's new leadership in London, headed by then its Secretary-General, the Late Mr. Duqsi. Under the sponsorship of SSDF, SNM leadership was invited to an urgent unification talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The talks proceeded painfully slow and difficult.

Eventually, the talks between the two fronts SSDF and SNM reached a stalemate and kept on and off for years. However, in the meantime, SSDF was bank-rolling SNM with money and military hardware all the way to Col. Kosaar's Chairmanship until SNM reached a self-sufficiency through its grass-root support. Finally, a minimum deal was reached to share SSDF's Radio Kulmis

which was renamed as Radio Halgan, the United Voice of Somali Opposition Forces. Beside this, there was little cooperation in other areas.

On the other hand, Mengistu's leadership started to show its first signs of double-dealings in the negotiation talks with some masked sympathy for dissident elements that were against the SSDF leadership, a situation that even prompted some members of SSDF opting out to join SNM. These included the late Hersi Magan (the Author of the Radio Kulmis Drama and Short Story, Laaska Daawada and the father of Ayaan Hersi Ali, the notorious Somali-Dutch Anti-Islam lady), Mohamed Haji Adam (a former Minister of Puntland during Abdullahi Yusuf's mandate), Captain Slaweyn (who was killed fighting alongside the SNM fighters, Burco) and the late col. Gardheere. Col. Gardheere eventually ended up disappearing in Afgoi War Front in a counter-offensive attack under the umbrella of Somali National Front (SNF=SSDF, SPM and SNF)) against the late General Aideed's militia after the fall of Siyad Barre. No one knows how he died. Some speculate that he committed suicide after he lost the battle due to a sabotage in ammunitions and fuel by Siyad Barre's generals in a futile attempt to re-instate the dictator and thus deny victories to Barre's former enemies.

Finally in 1985, the SSDF leadership came into an open clash with the Derg leadership, with prominent members of SSDF ending up in Mengistu's political solitary confinement cells, some losing their lives. This later led the SSDF to splits into two factions, United Somali Congress (USC) and an inactive SSDF, which later regenerated itself locally in North-eastern regions of Somalia. The USC wings of Rome, Ethiopia and Mogadishu concentrated and focused on Mogadishu, while SNM embarked upon foolhardy raids on Hargeisa and Burco. This paved the way for Somalia's destruction. An organized communal violence and clan cleansing started in Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Berbera and Burco. We are here today to witness the result of this national suicide. The question is however, in well over two decades, if we see any victors? Perhaps, Somalia's neighbours!?

Post-Barre Somalia is painful and beyond any human comprehension : the mass starvation and diseases, illiteracy, lost generations, mass exodus of human stock of those who barely managed to flee, clan cleansing, mass rape of women, mass killings of innocent, looting and plunder of both private and public wealth and private properties particularly in Mogadishu and lower Shebelle regions, but not limited to them, amid unprecedented in the history of communal violence and barbaric treatment of human life unread even on ancient and pre-historic

societies. Some knowledgeable people say that that Rwandan Genocide cannot even measure up to what happened in the Somali Civil War. But, because the Somali case was dismissed by the international community as traditional, chronic clan disputes and warfare, it never got a fair hearing or attempts to investigate the magnitude of the mayhem.

Post-Siyad Barre also saw many attempts by those who always try to walk the extra mile in saving Somalia. One such bold and long attempt in 1999-2001 was the proposal to persuade the late Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, to stand up for Somalia and reclaim his legitimacy as the last legal Prime Minister. As the world community had no alternative for Somalia, there was a 100% chance that he could marshal all the necessary support to put Somalia back together. It wasn't to be.

Incidentally, Mr. Egal declined to attend a meeting with Abdullahi Yusuf and Hussein Aideed arranged by Qaddafi (dinner meeting) in Sirte, Libya, in which Mr. Egal would have been crowned as the next President of Somalia, subject to a National Conference to be held before Arta Conference or in the place of Arta's. For the record, this was the main reason Abdullahi Yusuf boycotted the Arta Conference, despite the fact that many people were citing other factors. Mr. Mohamed Ibrahim Egal had to choose between the comfort of Somaliland Presidency and the unpredictable and highly contested high seat of Somalia's State, which was in tatters and disintegration. The move also required a rare political courage from Egal, given the hostile, isolationist and myopic politicians and elites in Hargeisa. He chose to play safe during his remaining few years in life.

The Italian centre-left coalition government before Silvio Berlusconi become the Prime Minister in 2001, tried one last attempt to salvage Somalia and re-build it from the ashes of the Civil War and subsequent vicious circle of violence and statelessness. The outgoing government represented by the Italian Foreign Ministry had three hundred million US Dollars projected for Somalia's reconciliation effort. The initiative involved to bring Abdulqassim Salad Hassan/Ali Khalif Galaydh of the TNG, Abdullahi Yusuf of Puntland and Mohamed Ibrahim Egal of Somaliland and have them agree to a minimum common platform of loose cooperation like joint development, humanitarian and security projects. Again Mr. Egal could not dare to test the waters. Abdullahi

Yusuf, despite his well known disgust for Abdulqassim, Ali Khalif and TNG, accepted the deal for the sake of Somalia.

The failure of unification talks between SNM and SSDF in the eighties, and the absence, therefore, of unified national, political, security and stabilization plans led to the proliferation of clan-affiliated militia organizations amid chaos and anarchy that ensued following the unplanned expulsion of Siyad Barre from Mogadishu. Here, both Somali and expatriate scholars identify SNM with Somaliland's unilateral secession attempt, but abysmally fail to see or acknowledge the fatal damage done and the vital role played by SNM-affiliated clans in helping turn Somalia into an ungovernable, primitive and clan-hatred enclaves that everyone has lost including the North-Western Regions of Somalia (Somaliland). A national tragedy that is still unfolding with all kinds of issues and ramifications: extremism, sea-piracy, dangerous and debilitating illegal foreign fishing and plunder of national marine wealth, loss of sovereignty, environmental destruction and above all, mistrust among the Somali clans to come together again, not only for a common good, but to preserve their very existence as human species in a country of their own..

An equal paradox in Somali body politics, if there is such a thing now, since the disappearance of central authority, is the people, who claim the national capital, Mogadishu, as exclusively their own, but maintain the notion that it is still the Somali capital- people's capital, who still wants to be the presidents of the Republic, ministers, mayors, civil servants, .etc, and yet want neither a functioning government nor a shared capital city-an irrational and absurd situation. Look, the problem of disunity of purpose and national awakening extends beyond the borders of Somalia. It is solidly manifested more strongly within the Diaspora. Their Fadhi-ku-Dirir (the coffee shop worriers/arm-chair fighting) on clan bashing and controversial local issues at home country, has become a past-time and a favourite game of choice. They were expected to be more enlightened and experienced, having tested the bitter agony of life in exile and loss of possibilities of peaceful retirement at their home of birth.

But, the stupidest of all is to see and watch a so-called Somali politician, who got extremely lucky to get elected as President of a state and has yet to understand his once in a life time opportunity to make a difference in his own country in need.

(Credit: Wardheernews)

LIFAAQ C



**THE REPUBLIC OF SOMALIA THE TRANSITIONAL FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT**

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Baidoa, March 01, 2007

**SPEECH BY PRESIDENT ABDULLAHI YUSUF AHMED ON THE
LAUNCHING OF THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION CONGRESS
(NRC).**

Hon. Speaker,

Mr. Prime Minister,

Honourable Members of Parliament,

Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Transitional Federal Government is very much pleased to present to the Somali people today a very important programme for achieving a lasting peace in Somalia and for restoring the unity, statehood and national dignity of Somalia. This policy announcement is aimed at cementing the foundation for revival, reconstruction and development in Somalia.

Ever since I declared the urgent need for holding a National Reconciliation Conference at the AU summit in Addis Ababa, internal consultations were taking place within the Federal Institutions. I am pleased to announce today that the TFIs are fully united in launching the Congress and in the aims and objectives of this exercise to bring about good governance and peaceful Somalia.

Consequently, I wish to hereby declare to the Somali people that the launching and preparatory work of the Congress are to commence, since the programme of action is conclusively compiled and ready to be handed over to the authorities of the Congress. Similarly, the international community will soon get the preparatory documents and action plan for the Congress.

I am therefore honoured to declare to the nation that the Preparatory Works of the National Reconciliation Congress have begun. The Preparatory Government documentations for the Congress will be handed over shortly to the independent Committee of the NRC. The Government will also readily share this information with the International Community for timely financial, logistics and technical support. The presence of international independent observers will be appreciated.

The National Reconciliation Congress shall be chaired and led by an Independent Committee composing of national imminent persons of re-known reputation within the Somali Nation and abroad. The Committee is independent from the TFIs in their deliberations while respecting the Transitional Federal Charter.

I therefore appeal to all Federal Institutions to give their un-reserved assistance and full cooperation to the Committee in discharging their heavy national responsibilities. I also appeal to the people of Somalia to extend all possible assistance to the distinguished Committee.

The Preparatory works of the National Reconciliation Congress shall commence today, March 1st, 2007 and will continue for forty-five days. The number of participants is 3,000 persons (three thousand) representing all regions and districts of the Somali Republic from all walks of life of the Somali society. The Congress shall be convened in Mogadishu on April 16th, 2007. The National Congress shall be followed by a series of reconciliation conferences at regional and district levels.

Holding a national reconciliation congress becomes a national imperative and an urgent strategic objective of this Government given the sensitive transitional period through which Somalia is passing today. The expected outcome of the NRC will surely reflect on our efforts at achieving genuine reconciliation and lasting peace in our country as well as the revival and restoration of Somalia's fine international image and preservation of our sovereignty. We believe the best way to realize these national objectives is to engage in genuine reconciliation between our citizens to seek forums and venue for forgiveness for the painful past misdeeds committed during the vicious civil war in Somali history.

The Government will pursue a policy of good governance and accountability while providing space for citizens to participate in and contribute to the decision-

making processes affecting our national fate.

The Federal Transitional Institutions will solemnly give priority and respect to the outcome of the NRC with the main objective of reaching lasting and sustainable peace in Somalia.

In the light of the above national efforts and tremendous tasks ahead in the way of holding a congress of that magnitude and national importance, the Transitional Federal Government appeals to the donor, international community and friendly states for urgent and timely financial, logistics and expertise support to ensure a successful convention and conclusion of the National Reconciliation Congress (NRC).

In conclusion, I appeal to all citizens of our nation to maintain peace, avoiding all kinds of hostilities and destabilization activities.

Thank you.

LIFAAQ D

The Current Status, Goals and Vision of the Transitional Federal Government

The vision for Somalia has been captured in the Transitional Federal Charter of the Somali Republic of February 2004. Strong emphasis is put on:

- Federalism
- Regional and local governments playing an important role in service delivery
- Promotion of values of good governance, national reconciliation and respects of fundamental human rights of Somali citizens

Governance is viewed by UNDP as the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels and the means by which states promote social cohesion, integration, and ensure the well-being of their populations. It embraces all methods used to distribute power and manage public resources, and the organizations that shape government and the

execution of policy. It encompasses the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and resolve their differences.

The current Governance is characterized by coping mechanisms, resilience of strong community structures and management under societal stress. Private sector is developing but is coping in an environment without rule of law and regulatory frameworks.

The Governance model which the TFG wishes to promote is based on a facilitating and regulatory role for the Government where people feel secure, have confidence that they can exercise their initiative, pursue their livelihoods and are protected by law. Within this governance framework, an enabling environment (including a regulatory framework) will be establishment for private sector to thrive with systems of dealing with issues of equity. This model will not replace private sector initiatives but rather create a framework for expansion and improvement of quality and coverage of social and economic services.

The Governance model is governed by the following guiding principles:

1. Dialogue, reconciliation and non violent resolution of conflicts, including good neighbouring relations
2. Good governance processes of transparency and accountability
3. Participation by citizens and civil society organizations in public decision making
4. Rule of law as the basis of governance
5. Private sector development in social and productive sectors
6. Establishment of democratic institutions, small but professional. State apparatus focuses mainly on regulatory, facilitating, monitoring and oversight role

All governance institutions should embody these principles and only then, citizens will be ready to cede authority to it. In order to be close to the citizens and to restore confidence, power is to be decentralized to district authorities, not

to dominate but to serve the people of the communities, have a sincere concern for welfare for the people, their safety, education of their children, their health and income. Local authorities at district level can only be credible and legitimate if they play an effective role in the socio-economic development of the communities.

The TFIs consider the greatest challenge for the transition period to create political stability and credibility of democratic institutions through good governance. In order to achieve this, the following priorities have been established:

Government Priorities:

- proper civil service capacity that serve regions and districts - federal structure to be thin but strong with unifying framework of principles to give support and guidance to regions and districts. TFG will recognize benefits of civil servants who served in the past.
- functioning of Parliament (review of laws and oversight function)
- functioning of Judiciary
- reconciliation and peace dialogue at national and district, community level: first priority: 5 regions in Central/South, to be followed by concrete early recovery programmes focusing on productive development and rehabilitation of social and physical infrastructure for communities, in particular the most vulnerable and marginalized groups
- security (rule of law, institutions for justice and dispute settlement, DDR, demining, army)
- public financial management (revenues, budget, expenditure management with strong systems and practices of oversight and accountability)
- investment in social sectors in accordance with priorities set in MDGs
- reactivation of productive sectors to create employment and income generating opportunities

Other major governance processes that need to take place in the transition

period:

- visioning process
- constitution
- framework for decentralized/federal system
- elections (electoral system, referendum, Presidential, Parliamentary and Local elections)

When implementing these major governance priorities in the transition period, the main challenges have to be kept in mind:

- creating a conducive political environment to take forward the reconciliation process to further consolidate and strengthen the TFIs as well as establishing the rule of law
- strong economic gains and incentives have arisen out of absence of government for a long time
- addressing internal and external obligations and debt of Somali government
- demobilization of an estimated 70,000 militias and repossession of government's assets and infrastructure through peaceful means and persuasion
- two generations who almost entirely missed schooling and lack of standardized curriculum
- reintegration of over a million refugees and IDPs and reallocation/repossession of assets
- protecting Somalia's environment including coastal areas against illegal exploitation of marine resources and dumping of hazardous wastes
- Reestablishment of a health service delivery system

The Transitional Federal Government is recalling and committed to fulfill its commitments pursuant to the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures & Principles of the Somali National Reconciliation Process of 09th of

October 2002

Article 5 (Combating Terrorism)

1) To combat all forms of terrorism, and to cooperate with the international community in the fight against terrorism pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 1373 of 2002

2) To prevent the use of Somali territory as a base for any terrorist activities.

Summery of key points and issues

1. Current Status:

- ◆ Federal charter was adopted and approved in 2004.
- ◆ 275 members of parliament were elected through a consensus and transparent process in 2004. This parliament represents all segments of the entire Somali population.
- ◆ Government recently relocated to Baidoa (250KM southwest of Mogadishu). Parliament later designated it as the provisional seat of government while the security in Mogadishu is being stabilized.
- ◆ The TFG internal conflict and political differences have been addressed and resolved amicably. This enabled the government relocation from Jowhar.
- ◆ Parliament committees/subcommittees were created and are functional.
- ◆ Government budget (June-December 2006) established and approved by both the cabinet and the parliament.
- ◆ Establishment of security institutions is in progress.
- ◆ National Security and Stabilization strategy was approved by the cabinet & by TFP.
- ◆ New cabinet of 31 ministers named and soon to be approved by TFP.

2. Diplomatic and political recognition:

◆ Government secured diplomatic recognition from the following countries, regional and international organizations:

- United Nations, African Union members countries
- European Union (bilateral agreement w/TFG).
- IGAD - East African regional governments
- Arab League and Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) member countries.

3. Key challenges facing the TFG:

- ◆ Civil war/ anarchy in Mogadishu
- ◆ Al-Itihad/Islamic Courts Union opposition to government.
- ◆ Internal attempts by the Mogadishu warlords to destabilize the country further
- ◆ Lack of United States government recognition to TFG
- ◆ Local/international terrorist organizations in Somalia
- ◆ Threats from Open/uncontrolled borders and maritime piracy.
- ◆ Arms proliferation, drug and narcotic movements, Illegal/unregulated fishing and toxic dumping in Somali coastline.
- ◆ Economic turmoil and the collapse of entire infrastructure
- ◆ Extreme poverty and social crisis
- ◆ UN Arms Embargo - this inhibits:
 - AU and IGAD Peace Support Mission
 - Establishment and arming national security institutions.
- ◆ Local and international terrorism inspired by Al Qaeda

4. Immediate TFG Request from USA:

- ◆ US diplomatic recognition of the all-inclusive Transitional Federal Somalia Government
- ◆ US collaboration with the TFG to help fight terrorism
- ◆ US support for immediate Economic Development Assistance to Somalia
- ◆ Lifting of the UN Arms Embargo on Somalia (Security Council Resolution #733-1992)
- ◆ United States support for Peace Support Mission to Somalia by IGAD? AU (financial & logistical)
- ◆ Congressional fact-finding mission to Somalia

The expected role of international community:

The success and sustainability of any peace process depends not only on the agreement of the parties in conflict but more so by the commitment of the facilitating body. The Somali peace process was indeed sponsored and supported by regional (IGAD & AU) organizations and international community. Both regional and IC involvement is needed and should do the following recommendations:

- 1- Respect the territorial integrity of the Republic of Somalia.
- 2- Respect the public aspiration, the transitional charter and National Security and Stabilization plan.
- 3- Engage and assist the Transitional Federal Government in the restoration of law and order, and stability with the deployment of IGAD/AU Peace Support Mission.**
- 4- Consider the necessity of establishing law and order by recognizing that Somalia has a legitimate government and in line with its charter has the solemn right to establish, train and equip its law enforcement authorities.**
- 5- Urge to all countries and parties not to undertake any action that directly or indirectly, could or would encourage in any form factionalism of groupings that may effect cohesion within the Transitional Federal**

Institutions or undermine the Transitional Federal Government.

6- Coordinate their strategies and action plans directly and only to and through the Transitional Federal Government.

7- Assist the revival of the State Institutions, the public and private sectors essential to social stability, security and economic recovery.

8- Isolate and apply punitive measures that are necessary to those individuals and groups or factions that continue to defy and undermine the outcome of the peace process.

LIFAAQ E

ROADMAP TO GOVERNANCE, NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND RECONCILIATION IN SOMALIA

I. CONCEPT NOTE

The current situation in Somalia offers a unique opportunity for peace and national reconciliation. This opportunity must be seized to bring about a lasting peace throughout the country. No doubt this has been the product of success in the battlefield for which sacrifices have been made. It is nonetheless clear that what the military victory offers is not an already finished and well packaged victory. Military victory rarely offers that kind of success. What a military victory does is to provide the opportunity to the victor-if the cause is just and fair-to shape the political outcome and future political developments. Here too, no matter how big the military victory might be unless the victor utilizes the opportunity wisely, including for broadening its base and acceptability, the victory achieved can be squandered sooner or later.

Presently, Somalia has an opportunity to rise from the stateless situation of the last sixteen years. The Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG) has the chance to lead the process of reviving Somalia from the ashes of the vicious Civil War. The challenges faced by the TFG in various areas-political, security, economic and social- are immense and, addressing these challenges is going to be an uphill struggle, a daunting task. But the first steps towards all these have to be taken immediately.

The solutions to this monumental task is possible through a political framework that would provide a scheme for all Somalis belonging to the different segments of the society, regardless of their political orientations and shades of opinion, to come together regionally and nationally to map out a strategy of a common vision for sustainable peace, national reconciliation and political dialogue. This would consequently pave the way for stability, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country as whole.

In this regard, identifying issues, available opportunities and specific actions to address those challenges and use them in a fruitful manner is of utmost importance. As it is well known, Somalia has been embroiled in a clan conflict both for power and resources. This has led to a crisis situation that tended to resist the establishment of institutions of national governance.

Following strenuous efforts spear-headed by IGAD together with the support of the international community, Somalia has now a legitimate government, the TFG, which is prepared to spear-head the efforts for reconciliation and dialogue among the Somalis with the view to strengthening national unity and consolidating the Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs). With the current reality on the ground, the TFIs need to be re-invigorated and reformed to be in a position to address the challenges for achieving sustainable peace and stability.

Reconciliation and dialogue therefore ought to be far-reaching beginning at grass-roots level and convened at District, Regional and National levels. It should also clearly address questions such as who leads the process, who participates in and expected outcome of this endeavor.

This process from its initiation and implementation is entirely owned and conducted by the Somali people under the leadership of the TFIs. Somali stakeholders shall be responsible for the design of the different stages of the governance and reconciliation process and should shoulder the responsibility of carrying out the outcomes of the process. The commitment of the TFG in executing the responsibility of implementing the outcome of the process, addressing grievances of communities is critical for the credibility of the process in the eyes of both the Somali people and international community.

The initiative draws its importance from the fact that the President of the Transitional Federal Government of the Somali Republic, H.E. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, had solemnly announced at the 8th Ordinary Session of the AU

Assembly of Heads of State and Government that a National Reconciliation and Dialogue Congress would be soon launched to bring together all Somali stakeholders to take part in the renaissance of Somalia.

The Transitional Federal Government shall be responsible for:

- a) The creation of a secure environment in Somalia for the success of the National Reconciliation Congress.
- b) Mobilization of the necessary financial resources for the Congress
- c) The oversight and supervision on the NRC funds to insure accountability and transparency.

The National Reconciliation Commission shall be responsible to facilitate Inter and Intra-clan reconciliation by providing space and suitable environment within the Congress.

The following are among the expected outcomes of the NRC:

ON SOMALIA:

- a) Declaration on the cessation of all hostilities and commitment to Peace.
- b) Adoption of nationwide verifiable mechanisms for the disarmament of the population.

ON THE CLAN LEVEL:

- c) Reconciliation of Intra and inter-clan conflicts by way of facilitating clans' clan dialogue to bring about admission of past misdeeds and forgiveness.
- d) Resolutions on disputes on land, properties etc. by putting in place recourse and restoration mechanisms.

ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL:

Adoption of resolutions on:

- a) good Governance;

- b) A fair and inclusive power-sharing in the TFIs at District, Regional and National levels based on the Transitional Federal Charter;
- c) Equitable sharing of national resources;
- d) The future National Constitution Making Process

To realize this noble objective based on current situation on the ground, the following implementation mechanisms and action plan are envisaged.

II. MECHANISMS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE

In order to carry out the implementation of the initiative by the President, the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia has envisaged the establishment of a mechanism for National Reconciliation Congress that consists of the chairing Governance and Reconciliation Committee at National, Regional and District levels.

1. The Governance and Reconciliation Committee

1.1 Establishment.

1.1.1 The National Governance and Reconciliation Committee (NGRC) shall have six members based on realistic arrangements reflecting the objective conditions on the ground, consisting of national imminent personalities of re-known reputation within the Somali communities and abroad. The members of the National Committee shall be appointed by a Presidential Decree following extensive consultations with the Speaker of the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP), the Prime Minister and prominent national stakeholders. The National Committee shall be accountable to the TFIs leadership.

I.I.2. The NGRC shall have a Chairperson and Vice Chairpersons appointed by a Presidential Decree following extensive consultations with the TFP Speaker, the Prime Minister and prominent national stakeholders.

I.I.3. The NGRC shall have a Secretariat to be headed by a Secretary-General appointed by a Presidential Decree following extensive consultations with the Speaker, Prime Minister. The Secretariat shall provide support for the activities

of the NGRC and NRC.

I.1.4 The Secretary-General is responsible for the overall management of the activities of the NRC and shall be accountable to the NGRC.

I.2 The National Governance and Reconciliation Committee shall have the following tasks.

I.2.1. To independently manage and guide the NRC while respecting the Transitional Federal Charter.

I.2.2. The National Committee may establish congressional organs and sub-committees as appropriate.

I.2.3. To insure that the selection criteria of the Congressional participants is consistent with the established 4.5 sharing formula.

I.2.4. To set the Agenda of the NRC .

I.2.5. To organize Regional and District Conferences to designate Regional and District Councils where such bodies do not exist on the basis of the Congressional Resolutions.

3.1. NATIONAL RECONCILIATION CONGRESS

3.1.1. COMPOSITION

The National Reconciliation Congress (NRC) shall be composed of three thousand participants designated by the regions. Representatives of the Diaspora shall take part in this Congress. Similarly, international observers shall be invited to attend the Congress.

3.1.2. OBJECTIVES

The Objectives of the Congress shall be:

3.1.3 To create opportunity for genuine national reconciliation under auspices of the TFG.

3.1.4 To lay the foundation for addressing grievances with respect to

representation in governance both at Federal, Regional and District levels.

3.1.5 To provide the Somali people with the opportunity to participate in decisions on the system of governance as a foundation for sustainable peace in Somalia.

3.1.6 To lay down the foundation of a mechanism supporting the TFG's efforts in the settlement of disputes on properties, land and other related matters.

3.1.7 To adopt resolutions with a view to establishing inclusive, functioning and effective governance institutions in the framework of the Transitional Federal Charter of Somalia.

3.1 GOALS

3.2 The Congress aims at achieving the following goals:

3.3 To insure fair and equitable representation of all Somali stakeholders in the Transitional Federal Institutions at local, regional and national levels based on the TF Charter.

3.4 To insure that the National dialogue and governance will be sustained through upholding duly established national institutions as per Charter.

3.5 To insure that the National Dialogue and Reconciliation Process is conducted in a credible, transparent and accountable manner.

3.6 To create a conducive political environment for national unity and durable through the resolution of intra and inter-clan differences.

3.7 NRC MANAGEMENT

Management of the National Reconciliation Congress..

NRC - Secretary General

The Secretary General is responsible for the overall management of the activities of the of the National Reconciliation Congress. In the fulfilment of his tasks, he shall be assisted by four Assistants Secretary General who are individually responsible for a specific area of activities, as reported below:

1. Assistant Secretary General responsible for Administration.
2. Assistant Secretary General responsible for the Press and Public Relations.
3. Assistant Secretary General responsible for Operations.
4. Assistant Secretary General Responsible for Finance

Following operational sub-committees shall be established:

- Participants' Selection Sub-Committee;
- Participants Accommodation Sub-Committee;
- Participants' Health Sub-Committee;
- Participants' Transportation Sub-Committee;
- Participants' Security Sub-Committee.

Participants' Selection Sub-Committee (PSsC)

The (PSsC) coordinates with Regional and Districts' Authorities the necessary facilities to ensure a smooth selection of delegates and their timely arrival at the venue of the Congress.

Participants' Accommodation Sub-Committee (PAsC)

The (PAsC) organizes, in collaboration with Mogadishu Authorities, the accommodation for the participants of the NRC, observers, technical support teams, resource persons, etc.

Participants' Health Sub-Committee (PHsC)

The (PHsC) organizes, in collaboration with the Health Authorities, the required health services and facilities for the participants of the NRC and other distinguished guests.

Participants' Transportation Sub-Committee (PTsC).

The (PTsC) organizes, in collaboration with Mogadishu Authorities, the

transportation facilities for the participants of the NRC and other distinguished guests.

Participants' Security Sub-Committee (PSsC)

The (PSsC) organizes, in collaboration with the Security Forces, the required security services for the participants of the NRC and other distinguished guests.

Each sub-committee shall consist of seven members of which one shall act as a chairman and another one as a secretary.

All sub-committees shall be accountable to the Assistant Secretary General for the organization and coordination of NRC security and facilities.

NRC - PLENARY SESSIONS - SUPPORT SERVICES

1) Secretaries.

Assumption is made that the NRC shall be held in four different halls (two at ex. Scuola Polizia, National Theatre and former Party HQ. Subsequently four NRC plenary secretaries shall be required. Each of them shall involve the recruitment of:

4 professional secretaries,

3 assistant secretaries;

2 professional translators;

2 computer operators;

3 photocopy operators (production of NRC documents);

5 auxiliary staff.

2) Advisory Board.

Assumption is made that up-dating the participants on issues relevant to the NRC proceedings through back-ground information, official documents, specialized papers, clarification on thorny issues, etc; would considerably help the participants in addressing properly NRC agenda. For the purpose, an

Advisory Board made-up of 9 (nine) experts on reconciliation matters shall be hired.

3) Post-conflict Resource Persons

Assumption is made that informing the participants about the reconciliation experiences of African post-conflict societies would immensely have constructive influence on their deliberations. To that effect, benefiting from the experience of Rwanda and South-Africa would be helpful. As a corollary, inviting two teams of 10 (ten) persons each from these countries seems quite appropriate.

III. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN OF THE ROADMAP TO GOVERNANCE, NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND RECONCILIATION

III.1. In order to start implementing the Roadmap as promptly as possible, the following plan of action is proposed:

III.2. The plan would identify the activities to be undertaken each month/week, by the institutions and stakeholders involved in the process.

III.3. CALENDER

February 15 -March 15, 2007: The President of the Transitional Federal Government announces the scope and focus of the Roadmap for the National Reconciliation Dialogue. He will launch and outline the detailed plan and explain that the process would be implemented in a transparent and inclusive manner.

The President officially holds consultations with the Speaker, the Prime Minister and prominent stakeholders on the selection and appointment of the National Governance and Reconciliation Committee (NGRC).

The President directs the Government to initiate contacts with various potential internal and external contributors in financing the activities of the Congress. These include business community, non-governmental institutions, government and international organizations.

March 16 -April 10, 2007: The President approves Security Plan and implementation modalities of the NRC. He inspects Congressional

infrastructure.

April 10-15, 2007: TFIs meets with National Governance and Reconciliation Committee to assess the overall readiness of the activities of the impending Congress. NRC delegates arrive in Mogadishu.

April 16, 2007. Opening Ceremony of the NRC.

June 15, 2007: Closing

LIFAAQ F

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION CONGRESS BUDGET

In US dollars US\$

I. PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES: 250,000.00

1. Preparation, publication and

Distribution of NRC documents

2. Appointment of Key Sub-committees

3. Recruitment of Key Personnel

4. Identification of NRC sites in Mogadishu

5. Establishment of contacts

with external consultants, Advisory Board, Resources

Persons and international organizations

II. OFFICIAL LAUNCHING OF NRC ACTIVITIES 4,000,000.00

1. Development of Peace,

Reconciliation and Communication Package 2,000,000.00

- a) Mobilization of national media
- b) Organization of workshops, seminars, public Debates .etc
- c) Organization of poetry and drama scripts and Organization of theatre
- d) Promotion of Qur'an reading, poetry recitation, Sports and inter-regional folklore contests.
- e) Awareness campaign materials: T-shirts, bill-board, postcards, and calendars .etc

**2. ACTIVITIES OF JUMP-STARTING THE
NRC AT REGIONAL LEVEL: 2,000,000.00**

- a) Visits and tours of Federal MPs and National Commissions to their constituencies. 800,000.00
- b) Provision of support funds to regional and district administrations for the selection process. 1,200,000.00

III. ESTABLISHMENT OF NRC FACILITIES 6,000,000.00

- 1. Rehabilitation and remodeling of NRC Conference Halls. 2,300,000.00
- 2. Plenary, Committees and Secretariat seating and working facilities: 700,000.00
- 3. Rooms, chairs, tables, etc
 - a) Ventilation system (Air-conditioners, fans, etc)

- b) Public address systems
- c) Electric generators
- d) Technical equipments) Computers with heavy duty printers and photocopy machines, fax machines, internet access and accessories).
- e) Water and sanitation at NRC sites.

4. ESTABLISHMENT OF SECURITY SYSTEM 500,000.00

- a) Gate-scans
- b) Handheld detectors
- c) Walky-talkies
- d) Vehicles with mounted Radio.

5. TRANSPORT 2,500,000.00

Purchase of:

- a) Large buses
- b) 4-wheel drive picks for security support
- c) Ambulances
- d) Motto-cycles for traffic and security use

IV. NRC GENERAL MEETING 8,400.000.00

1. ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT 500,000.00

- a) National Governance and Reconciliation Committee
- b) TFIs Support Organs (Ministerial Committee,

Parliamentary Committee and National Reconciliation Commission).

c) Secretariat

d) Operational Sub-committees

e) Support personnel

2. NRC TECHNICAL SUPPORT 1,000,000.00

a) Local Advisory Board

b) Post-conflict societies's Reconciliation

Experts (Rwanda, South-Africa, etc).

c) International Consultants on reconciliation strategy

d) International Technical assistance

e) Security Support

3. PARTICIPANTS 6,000,000.00

a) Transport 1,500,000.00

i) Participants

ii) Diaspora

iii) Post-conflict resource persons

b) Accommodation and catering: 4,500,000.00

i) Participants

ii) Observers

4. PROCUREMENT AND OPERATIONAL

EXPENSES 900,000.00

a) Opening and Closing Ceremonies 100,000.00

b) Office rent and facilities for the
Preparatory Committee 20,000.00

c) Vehicle rentals (buses, lorries
And cars 100,000.00

d) Fuel and lubricants 150,000.00

e) Stationery and supplies 50,000.00

f) Medicare 150,000.00

g) Communication charges 50,000.00

h) Public relations and entertainment 200,000.00

i) Consumables 30,000.00

j) Miscellaneous 50,000.00

V. PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION 50,000.00

OF NRC RESOLUTIONS

VI. PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES FOR THE

REGIONAL/DISTRICT GOVERNANCE

AND RECONCILIATION COUNCILS 100,000.00

SUB-TOTAL 18,800,000.00

VII. UNFORSEEN EXPENSES (about 10%) 1,880.000.00

TOTAL 20,680.000.00

**Estimated Budget for the Regional/District Governance
and Reconciliation Councils as follow-up of the NRC
at National Level (58% of twenty million six hundred eighty) 12,000,000
GRAND TOTAL 32,680.000.00**

LIFAAQ G

THE CHAIRING NGRC

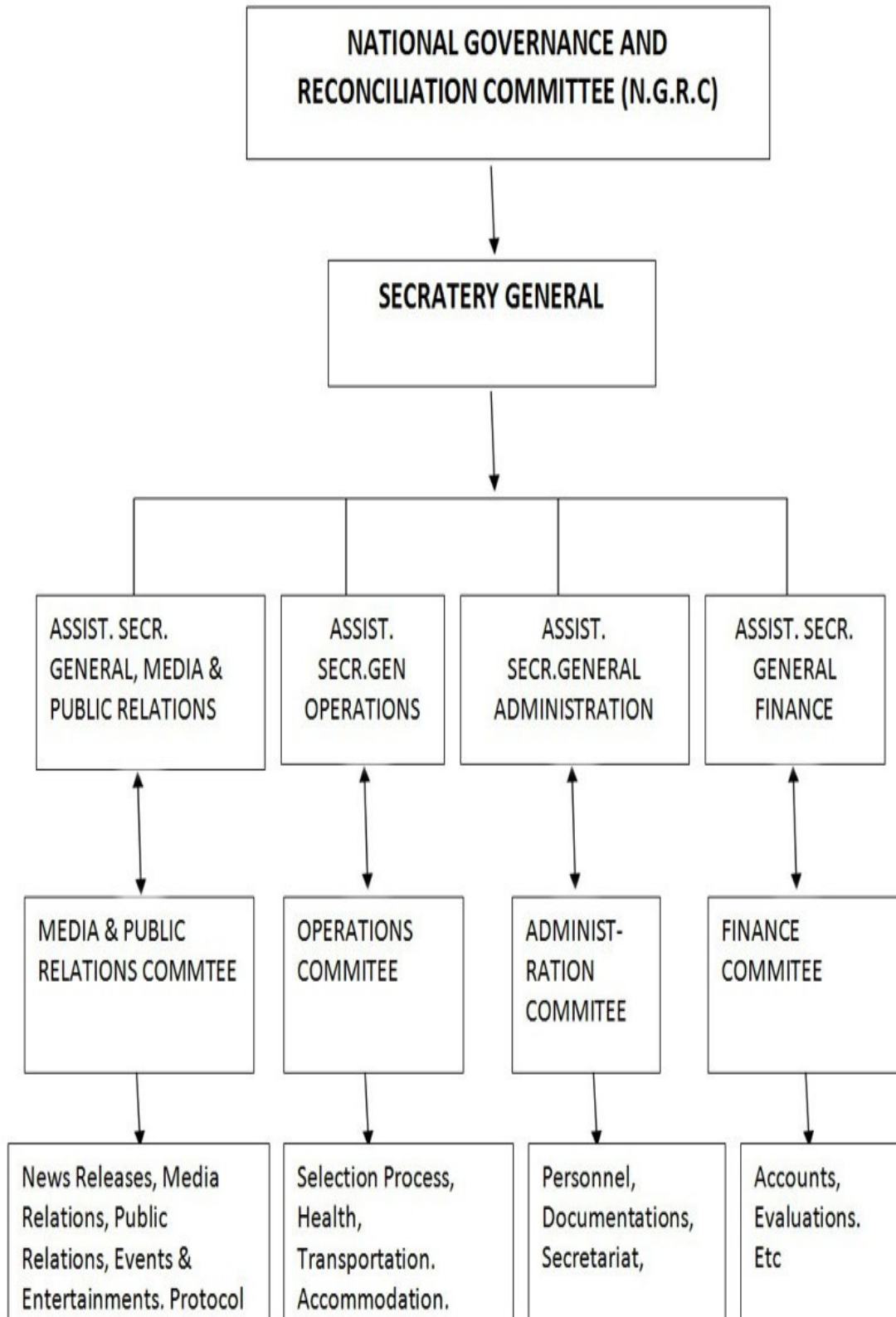
- 1. Ali Mahdi Mohamed Chairman**
- 2. Mohamed Yusuf Muro Vice Chairman**
- 3. Farah Wa'ays Dhuule Vice Chairman**
- 4. Ahmed Sheikh Mukhtar Vice Chairman**
- 5. Mohamud Jirde Hussein Vice Chairman**
- 6. Abdirahman Abdi Hussein Vice Chairman**

THE SECRETARIAT

- 1. Abdirahman Mohamed Yusuf Secretary General**
- 2. Dr. Abdulkadir Mohamed Muse Press and Public Relations**
- 3. Omar Sheikh Adam Operations**
- 4. Sharif Mohamed Hassan Abdulle Finance**
- 5. Ms. Haredo Ibrahim Boolis Administration**

LIFAAQ H

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION CONGRESS IN SOMALIA
MANAGEMENT OF THE CONGRESS



SOMALI RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

LIFAAQ I

DEEPENING PEACE AND REDUCING POVERTY

THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Prepared for the UN and World Bank by Mohamud Weirah, former Minister of Finance of the Somali Democratic Republic during the Military Government, and the author, Ismail Warsame.

Volume I

The establishment of peace and security, especially in the Southern and Central regions of Somalia, where the security situation remains fluid and unpredictable and as such constitutes both a critical challenge, and a key precondition for achieving effective and sustainable reconstruction throughout the country.

To that effect, the international assistance is needed in this process. Experience from the two northern administrations, namely Northwest Regions (Somaliland) and Northeast Regions (Puntland) shows that governance can be achieved through internally driven reconciliation taking advantage of traditional norms and power structures, as well as the involvement of the civil society. This may offer a useful lesson for S/C regions reconciliation. Puntland has a draft constitution ready for popular ratification along with parliamentary elections in 2008-9, while Somaliland constitution was ratified in 2001, local elections were held in 2002, Presidential elections in 2003 and parliamentary elections in 2005.

The challenges facing R&D efforts are enormous. These include:

- the vastly different current situations for various regions;
- the destruction of infrastructure and the gap in access to service and economic opportunities and incomes;

- the impact of decades of war and insecurity on an entire generation of young people;
- The fact that the TFIs and the CHARTER reflect power sharing without deeper grass-roots reconciliation.

The future and prosperity of the Somali people will be heavily influenced by the state structures that are established, and significant thought will need to be given to the further

Consolidation and development of the decentralized governance system, regardless of its political leaning, and the role of Puntland (PTL) and Somaliland (SL)

While there have been positive developments to this end over the past two years, any future governance system in Somalia will have to be viewed to the context of the legacy of state failure and existing structures which emphasize regional differences and localized power bases.

It is thus important to recognize that any reconstruction and development efforts needs look at solutions that are adaptable to the Somali context. (RDP-pg4)

During the period of the collapse of the Central Authority, local communities and civil society have emerged as an important social and political force, playing a significant role in peace and governance, and in wide ranging services.

A peaceful solution of the Somali conflict, given its strategic location, would favorably impact the stability and the economic activities of the entire region, and create viable inter-regional cooperative environment by strengthening regional bodies: IGAD, COMESA, EAST AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, etc. Equally important is the fact that peace in Somalia would lessen the refugees and security burdens on neighboring countries.

Conflict sensitive and even conflict-mitigating R&D

Two directives stand out from previous experience and analysis of the Somali situation:

- do not build from scratch but rather capitalize on community strengths and

structure already in place, reinforced by the vibrant private sector; and

- Combine broad institutional development with cross-group, community-driven approaches at the local level, as a simultaneous development of good governance from the top down to bottom up accountability.

Over the past 15 years, Somalia have already adopted these principles in development and strengthening existing complex coping mechanisms, informal support system in trade, remittances, xeer...such systems not only empower and give voice, ownership and responsibility to the communities, but they also foster cross-group cooperation for a common goal. (pg 5).

3. THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

To respond to the three key groups (establish good governance at all levels, improve social services, and achieve rapid equitable private-led sector economic growth) a three pronged Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is proposed, composed of the following pillars:

(i) Deepening peace, improving security and establishing good governance

through DDR and the establishment and strengthening of core public and private sector institutions (including security institutions), decentralization and conflict resolution mechanisms;

(ii) Investing in people through improved social services (especially education,

health and water supply) to raise human skills, and actions and actions to address the needs of specific vulnerable groups such as IDPs; and

(iii) Establishing a sustainable enabling environment for rapid poverty-reducing development, to expand employment and reduce poverty. This in-

cludes infrastructure, policies and actions to overcome constraints facing the livestock and agriculture sectors and to ensure protection of the environment

and sustainable use of natural resources.

Criteria used in prioritizing initiatives

In keeping with the basic objectives of JNA, together with global experience with post conflict reconstruction and development initiatives, the following four core criteria have been used:

- impact of peace building ,
- contribution to sustained equitable poverty reduction,
- opportunity for effective implementation and capacity transfer, and
- cost effectiveness.

The first two criteria relate directly to the impact of initiatives on the two foci of this RDP - deepening peace and reducing poverty. The third and fourth criteria relate to how effective initiatives are at achieving these outcomes in the context of two key constraints: implementation (or absorptive capacity) and the availability of financing.

In keeping with the current situation, and experience from other countries (transitioned to reconstruction and renewed development, these core prioritizing criteria have been complemented by the adoption of the following broad guiding principles and basic assumptions:

a. Responsiveness to existing realities while maintaining equity.

Accommodate differences in priority needs and absorptive capacity between South-Central Somalia, Puntland and Somaliland.

b. Transparency and accountability. Involvement and participation of all stake holders during implementation, and corrective mechanisms.

c. Keep the public sector small and focused. Lean, transparent and efficient public sector complementing the existing strengths of the private sector and NGOs. At Federal level, the capacity to perform core regulatory functions, including the constitutional process and peace and reconciliation challenges should be established. This means building on existing successes and strengths evident in the remarkable resilience and ingenuity of SML pp and

establishing smart and innovative public-private partnerships.

d. Decentralization. In the planned decentralization system of governance and service delivery, ensure that local communities and administrations at district level are empowered to respond to the needs in service delivery, thereby reducing the risk of localized conflict over resources, or the persistence of grievances that might prompt a return to outright war.

e. Build on success. Lessons learned from recent achievements in SL and PTL should be incorporated and built upon. Similarly, achievements of civil societies, NGOs, religious groups and the private sector in providing services can be built upon.

f. Recognize specific challenges in the transition period. The proposed initiatives will have a distinct impact on the future sustainability of the R&D processes, in particular on social and state institutions. Given the initial limitations to absorptive capacity and financing, while international partners will initially be crucial to ensure the improvement of pp's daily lives, such initial arrangements should be transitional and have a clear sunset clause.

A. 3.8 The first pillar includes the following:

- i. Reconciliation, conflict resolution and peace building;
- ii. Security and rule of law;
- iii. Administrative governance ;
- iv. Macroeconomic stability and data development;
- v. Public finance management.

(i) Reconciliation, conflict resolutions and peace building

3.9 Reconciliation. Somali stakeholders emphasized the urgent need for reconciliation and placed particular focus on the grassroots and local level..... at a regional and national level reconciliation is fundamentally a political process combining mediation and settlement of disputes, both those that are underpinning conflict and those disputes that have arisen from or

were aggravated by violent conflict.past experience suggests that no one group is in a position to impose its authority on the SML pp.

THE SNRC in Kenya, which led to the est. of the TFIs, brokered a power sharing arrangement rather than a genuine reconciliation. Some sensitive issues, such as return of stolen or occupied real estates, political and military control over territory, or the multiple judicial system will require a process of consensus building....Competition over access to resources - especially land and water - has been a key driver of conflict and need to be addressed in order to sustain and deepen peace, and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms will be important in this.

Human rights abuses, both perpetrated by members of the former regime and linked to some current parliamentarians and leaders, are an important problem with regard to reconciliation. While the Transitional Federal Charter (art.35) recognizes most international human rights conventions and treaties it appears to provide extensive immunity from persecution for members of parliament. In keeping with international accepted practice, such immunity should generally exclude immunity for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Constitutional process. Preparation of a new constitution for a federal Somalia in an inclusive, participatory manner, and its adoption by popular referendum, will be critical for deepening long-term peace in Somalia.

Democratization and the electoral process. Elections are an essential instrument for building the legitimacy of governance institutions, improving accountability, and giving power to people. In post-conflict society without much experience of democratic elections, this is not only a complex technical exercise, but risks being another dividing factor creating winners and losers in a perceived zero-sum game, thereby reasons for resumed conflict.

There are three priorities for the democratization process:

- In Southern and Central regions of Somalia, following progress with security, peace building and reconciliation, establish an independent electoral commission and support it with the necessary legal framework.
- Strengthen Somaliland electoral commission.the next stage will be to

prepare for and hold successful Somaliland local and presidential elections in 2007/2008.

- Support the democratic process in Puntland by establishing electoral bodies, preparing and conducting civic education, and preparing and conducting presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for 2008.

(ii) Security and rule of law

Security is an essential precondition for basic governance, economic and social development. This section looks at the key aspects of security sector reform: (a) the demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of militia, (b) the training and deployment of a civil police force, and (c) judicial system. In all this the experience of SL and PTL can provide valuable experience for S-C- regions and the essential role of community processes in achieving the objectives of security sector reform is acknowledged. The DRAFT NATIONAL SECURITY AND STABILIZATION PLAN (NSSP) has been passed by Parliament but is currently under revision and lacks detail on the time frame and exact number of militias to be demobilized, de-armed and reintegrated.

(iii) Administrative governance

Architecture of government. Years of dictatorship and political mismanagement have created widespread misgivings regarding government, which is perceived to be an oppressive instrument for the benefit of a minority, rather than a critical provider of public services to SML pp. The TFG specifies that SML shall have a decentralized system of administration based on federalism with four tiers of administration - federal, state, regional and district. However, much of the specifics regarding the role and functions of the various levels of government are yet to be clarified and accepted. Even some of the items that are specified in the Charter (e.g. the assignment of trade taxes to a federal government) do not appear to be widely accepted. Meanwhile, SL and PTL both have constitutions, a further challenge to negotiations regarding a federal structure.

Local governance

Local governance structures have played an active role in peace and consensus

building in SL and PTL. To provide a prime source of governance, with primary responsibility for land management and dispute settlement, coexisting with shari'a and secular courts to provide justice.

Capacity building for government institutions

Building a state does not require a heavy set of government institutions, but the challenge of building even the core government institutions form the SML baseline for the various levels of government is enormous taking into a/c the difference between the TFG, SL and PTL a joint strategy needs to be developed to build institutional capacity of government and the civil service, with a vision for lean, professional, efficient institutions functioning with competent civil servants, capable of planning, providing key regulatory functions and engaging partners to deliver social services and promote human development.

(iv) Macroeconomic stability and data development

A key goal of macroeconomic policy management during the first five years of reconstruction and development is to establish and maintain economic stability. For the first year, the objective is to avoid fiscal deficits and domestic financing while building a sustainable and growing public revenue base.

- **Fiscal and monetary policy**

The two key instruments for maintaining macroeconomic stability are the budget and the supply of local currency. Given the widespread polarization of the economy the overall money supply cannot be strictly controlled, but containing the supply of local currency will still be important to maintaining stable local currency prices.

- **Revenue mobilization**

Whereas external support would initially be necessary for most expenditure, domestic resources should cover the government payroll and all recurrent expenditure by the end of the five year RDF period. The target for combined tax collection in the country should amount to at least 6 percent of GDP within five years, as it was in the early 1980s.

- **Collection of basic statistics and data development**

There is an urgent need to design and implement a national strategy for data development

(National income, balance of payment, money supply and social statistics).

The major statistical need all others is the human pp census, since it is essential for socio and macroeconomic policy analysis, and would provide a framework for almost all further data collection activities (e.g. household survey

(iv) Public financial management

All level of government need an efficient and sustainable financial management system that provides relevant, accurate and reliable financial information to management at each of the decentralized levels, in a timely and transparent manner, not only to ensure that resources are well used for intended purposes, but also to rebuild public confidence.

There are five public financial management priorities:

- Establish sound and transparent public financial management. Recruit a financial management agent,
- Strengthen procurement capacity. Hire a procurement agent,
- Establish participatory, transparent and gender sensitive budget preparation processes at all administrative levels,
- Promote effective and equitable fiscal decentralization. Implementation of planned fiscal and functional decentralization ,
- Ensure transparent monitoring of public financial management and procurement through the active involvement of civil society, NGOs, private sector and the media.

B. INVESTING IN PP THROUGH IMPROVED SOCIAL SERVICES

Throughout SML the coverage and quality of social services such as health, education, water and sanitation provision is extremely low. This combined with high levels of poverty and unemployment, is reflected in negative welfare outcomes such as unacceptably high infant and maternal mortality rates, critical

malnutrition levels, very low primary school enrolment rates, and extremely limited access to safe water and sufficient dietary quantity and diversity.

Against this backdrop the key will be to invest in pp. The following areas of intervention are proposed:

- (i) expanding education and training service,**
- (ii) improving health services,**
- (iii) improving provision of water, sanitation and shelter,**
- (iv) assisting displaced persons, and returning refugees,**
- (v) protecting vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.**

(i) expanding education and training services

The outcome target for the five-year RDP period is to more than double the primary enrolment rate from 22 percent to 48 percent, significantly balance the enrolment of girls to boys at all levels and improve the quality of education. For S&C regions, PTL and SL, the targeted gross primary enrolment increases are from 16 to 24 and 33 percent to 41, and 52 to 53 respectively. Overall this will require the recruitment of about 11 thousand teachers for over half a million new students over the five years.

There is currently only limited provision of NON-FORMAL EDUCATION (NFE) PROGRAMMES. NFE will need to focus on assisting the “lost generation” of young pp who was unable to pursue education during the conflict.

LIFE-SKILLS education development will be crucial for preventing a major HIV/AIDS epidemic. LITERACY AND NUMERACY are critical for sustainable development, as prerequisites for vocational training for different life skills, as well as for the reintegration of ex-militia.

The target by 2011 are to have 15 percent of youth between 18-35 years, 20 percent of adults, 50 percent of women and 60 percent of ex-soldiers/militia enrolled or graduated from the NFE programmes.

(ii) improving health services

The Long-Term Vision for interventions in the health sector is to reduce the high levels of mortality and morbidity (esp. among women and children) and reduce the prevalence of key diseases (such as malaria and TB) by improving and expanding the health system. There are five health priorities:

- Developing and implementing capacity building, institutional development and manpower development strategy to build needed administrative capacity for effective health authorities at central and local levels. This will involve expanding training facilities in association with universities, to increase the number of doctors and nurses, and in-service training and accreditation
- Rehabilitating health infrastructure and ensure that they have adequate equipment and materials.
- Ensuring that communicable diseases (e.g. malaria, TB, HIV/AIDS and respiratory tract infections) receive necessary attention.
- An integrated approach to social provisions through community empowerment and participation in service delivery interventions supporting community based initiatives to ban and eradicate FGM and the use of KHAT; and
- Improving health information, monitoring and awareness programmes to provide policy makers and administrators with needed information, and to help change behavior with regard to issues such as nutrition and dietary diversity and sexually transmitted diseases.

(iii) Improving provision of water, sanitation and shelter

More than 70 percent of the SML pp was without access to improved water sources in 2000 (SML-served 26.6%, o/w urban 56.2% and rural 10.5%; - unserved 73.4% o/w 43.8% urban, and 89.5% rural), and 75 percent had no toilet facilities.

The vision for this area of intervention is to increase environmentally sustainable and equitable access to safe and affordable water and sanitation facilities, and develop services to satisfy basic domestic needs.

The targets are to provide improved water supply and sanitation facilities for 400,999 urban and 830,000 rural/nomadic pp.

When achieved the overall target of having an additional 1,230.000 pp accessing safe drinking water will increase the coverage from below 20% in 2000 to over 30% within five years' short of Target 10 of the MDGs. Achieving the target by 2015 would require tackling the basic needs of nearly 4,000,000 pp

(v) assisting displaced persons and returning refugees

In 1991-1992, more than one million pp fled war and famine to seek refuge to neighboring countries, and many rural and urban poor became internally displaced after fleeing violence. Nonetheless, currently approx 400,000 IDPs and 250,000 refugees

(around 8% of SML pp) is seeking protection and assistance in achieving durable solutions. The VISION for this are of intervention is to support existing livelihoods and create new and enhanced livelihoods,,, Specific targets are to support the return of 40% of refugees to communities of origin or alternative place of choice, while resettling 10% of refugees to a third country, and to integrate 200,000 IDPs. (???)

(vi) Protecting vulnerable and disadvantaged groups

Include an estimated 770,000 paternal/maternal orphans (0-17 years), child laborers (approx. 30% of all children aged 10-14), minority groups, disabled persons, and pp perpetually facing severe drought, this group constitute a disproportionate share of the pp that lives below the poverty line.

There are three key priorities:

- Improve the community based identification of disadvantaged groups,
- Provide targeted services and assistance,
- Expand the protection, monitoring and coordination system.

C. CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR PRIVATE SECTOR-

LED GROWTH TO EXPAND EMPLOYMENT AND REDUCE POVERTY

Broad-based growth to generate employment and incomes is central to effective consolidation of peace and reduction of poverty....The key to rapid equitable economic growth will be to support the already vibrant SMI private sector and expand productive capacity in the traditional agriculture (?) livestock and fishery sectors.

Peace and security are necessary for rapid and sustained poverty-reducing economic development.

The third pillar complements the first two to achieve a sufficient set of actions to achieve the rapid and sustained poverty reducing growth that is necessary to achieve the overall objectives of this RDP.

To do this it includes the following:

- (i) rebuilding infrastructure;**
- (ii) expanding financial services**
- (iii) rebuilding key productive sectors;**
- (iv) developing other productive sectors;**
- (v) ensuring environmental sustainability; and**
- (vi) improving livelihood and food security.**

(i) Rebuilding infrastructure

For physical infrastructure (such as roads, other transport facilities and power), the needs are immense. Limited maintenance and investment over the past 16 years has resulted in widespread deterioration of infrastructure.

Rehabilitating transport infrastructure will help establish the physical links torn by war, facilitate the strengthening of social links, and expand regional trade.

The short-and medium-term priorities are:

(a) Road transport. Initial focus on feeder roads with labor intensive community-

led rehabilitation (districts!), coupled with design work and the preparation and implementation regulatory capacity for larger projects.

(b) Ports. Determining priorities among ports (!) and, refining plans for improvements and expansions and then proceeding with the necessary investments to

achieve this.

(c) Airports. Rehabilitate the int. Mogadishu airport and refine plans for other

int, and regional airports as a prelude to further investment.

(d) Power. Initially focus on rehabilitating power generation and local distribution

system. ..development and promotion of renewable energy sources and alternatives to charcoal. In the medium-term, expand generation capacity, establish an interconnecting power grid and expand the distribution system.

(e) Urban. Urban infrastructure needs are enormous due to increased urbanization and dislocation. Water and sanitation services are an immediate

Need priority. .. integrated urban development plans needs to be developed

so reconstruction can proceed in a coordinated manner. Reconstruction could be phased (given limited overall implementation capacity) with the initial focus being on a few geographically spread centres and then moving on to others.

(f) Institutional development. Begin immediately to establish institutions to

build capacity to plan, prepare and implement infrastructure investments and maintenance in South-Central SML and strengthen those existing in PTL and

SL.

(ii) Expanding financial services

In most conflict-ridden countries, the mistrust in government owned banks runs deep.

Existing financial services in SML are now largely organized around xawala dealers and focused on money transfers through informal networks. Hopefully,,,, will be able to function or enter into joint-ventures with foreign banks to expand into a broad range of banking service.

Second, small scale credit facilities or microfinance institutions need to be established to provide financial services to micro-enterprises'

Thirdly, insure services are urgently needed to support trade.

(iii) Rebuilding key productive sectors.

Livestock production. A key source of household income and hence livelihoods.

It has been seriously threatened by repetitive droughts, environmental degradation of rangelands, the threat of serious notifiable livestock disease, and the ban imposed by KSA. If SML livestock exports are to regain their former prominence then effective control or eradication of major diseases.... There is already a substantial trend towards increased carcass meat export. Reforming livestock production strategy for small ruminants that focuses on turnoff at younger ages in line with seasonal shifts in the carrying capacity of the rangelands, and the expansion and improvement of meat processing facilities in strategic locations.

Crop production. Once there is sustained peace, the rehabilitation of flood levees and irrigation systems in the Shabelle and Juba river basin would do much to generate a quick recovery of crop production and generate extensive employment. Strong demand of food crops within SML, and well established export markets for such items as sesame, banana, and other tropical fruits suggest that this would be and economically sound J.

High value specialized crops such as dates, yicib, vegetables, fodder plants,

frankincense and myrrh, gum Arabic, honey and a range of medicinal plants...could

be developed into significant sources of income for farmers and pastoralists. It is recommended that the RDP supports the est. of extension programmes to support the production and marketing of these crops.

Fishing. Needs to be rehabilitated to recover from the predation experienced over the last 15years... control and license of boats fishing in SML waters. Coastal service guards needed to enforce this. Regulatory framework J in public infrastructure in coastal towns , private Js in onshore fish processing (freezing) plants along the coast.

(iv) Developing other productive sectors.

The private sector will be the driving force for economic growth in SML, but can only achieve its potential if key constraints are removed. Key among this is lack of peace and security, the development of a skilled workforce and improvements in infrastructure. There is also a need for improvement in policy and regulatory environment to help reduce the cost of doing business.

(v) Ensuring environmental sustainability

The environment has been severely damaged because of (a) the absence of regulation, (b) irresponsibility on the part of greedy and powerful groups exploiting the fragile environment, and (c) the desperate search for livelihoods. Urgent and rigorous actions are needed to address the issue and to ensure environmental sustainability.

The key priority areas are:

- Enforce the charcoal ban;
- Intensify pilot reforestation programmes;
- Undertake a thorough “State of the Environment” report;
- Investigate the alleged toxic waste sites.

(vi) Improving livelihood and food security

The nature and uncertainty of livelihoods in SML at present mean that livelihood and food security is widespread and closely associated with poverty. To improve and diversify livelihoods and to reduce livelihood insecurity it is critical that:

- The key productive sectors are rehabilitated and their use of natural resource is sustainable;
- Alternative livelihood opportunities are expanded through private sector development of other activities;
- Infrastructure is rehabilitated to link markets and reduce cost of doing business;
- Financial services are expanded, especially microfinance provisions;
- Workplace skills are improved through education, training and improved healthcare, nutrition and water supply;
- Stable macroeconomic management;
- Conflict over land and water are resolved and secure access to land is restored; and
- Peace, security and the rule of law are established in all areas and sustained.

4. IMPLEMENTATION, FUNDING, AND COORDINATION.

Implementation. All the three pillars of this RDF are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Ideally all three pillars would be concurrently implemented and nothing less would be certain to sustainably generate the desired outcome in terms of deepened peace and reduced poverty. The benefits achieved by partial implementation would be fragile and could actually exacerbate tensions. (JNA doubts about implementation - overcome).

Financing Framework. The most cost effective and coordinated way for the international community the SML reconstruction and development effort is by pooling financial resources in a Multi Donor Trust Fund (MDTF), a financing mechanism with one set of standardized administration, appraisal, implementation, monitoring and fiduciary rules for all participants. Given the blend of short-term needs requiring quick action

(UN-expertise) and large long-term needs for which rigorous preparation is needed (WB-expertise), having both the UN and WB involved and complementing each other's strengths, seems most appropriate. In designing the MDTF It will be important to be very clear about what it is to finance and to clarify its relationship with any other financing arrangements, such as CAP. It will need to be flexible in accommodating the differing needs of South-Central Somalia, PTL and SL (while ensuring geographic balance). It will important to have strong Somali involvement at the strategic and programming levels but not necessarily in appraisal or managerial levels.

Coordination and Monitoring Arrangements. Int. experience has highlighted the importance of having a:

- Strategic Oversight Committee responsible for approving work programmes, appraising projects and implementing agencies and providing general oversight, and an
- Executive Committee responsible for mobilizing resources, endorsing priorities and general criteria used to determine geographical, sectoral and temporal allocations, reviewing performance and results. In addition there needs to be an
- Administrator and Secretariat responsible for the day-to-day management, ensuring the rules and regulations for the MDTF are respected and followed'
- Monitoring Agent responsible for reviewing and reporting on procurement, disbursement, and implementation progress.

Some aspects of the implementation, coordination and monitoring can be outsourced to lessen the burden on limited (public sector) existing capacity in the country. Possibility

For this include procurement, accounting and public finance management. An added benefit to this can be the avoidance of accusation of favoritism among local interest groups. (such initial arrangement that respond to specific implementation challenges need to be transitional and phased out as local capacity is developed.

RECOMENDATIONS:

1. THE SOMALI RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (RDF) change to THE SOMALI RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP).

- a) Change Somaliland to Northwest regions (Somaliland).
- b) Change Puntland to Northwest regions (Puntland).
- c) Change South Central Somalia to:
- d) Central regions of Somalia.
- e) Southern regions of Somalia

2. LEVELS OF FUNDING PROPOSED:

Funding proposed in the RDP should be realistically formulated to reflect on the real rehabilitation, reconstruction and development needs of Somalia. Therefore, it is strongly recommended to consider the following three options:

- a) Optimal funding level. i.e. a funding commensurate to enable Somalia reach at pre-war (1990) development level.
- b) Achievable funding level. i.e. a funding commensurate to enable Somalia reach at 75% of the Pre-war development level.
- c) Indicative funding figure. i.e. a funding proposed in the Somali Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Needless to add that Option One and Option Two shall involve a substantial revision of the RDP:

3. MDGs.

Whatever the funding level might be, it is important that the implementation of RDP should insure that Somalia achieves at least 80-90% of the MDGs targets by the year 2015.

MoU BETWEEN THE EU AND TFG

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and



ACKNOWLEDGING the legitimacy of the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) and the TFG respectively as the legislature and executive of the Republic of Somalia during the five-year transitional period provided for in the Transitional Federal Charter,

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HAVE DECIDED TO CONCLUDE THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING:

1. Objectives

The partnership between Somalia and the EC shall centre on the goals of promoting peace, democracy, security and the eradication of poverty. These overarching goals shall be underpinned by the following objectives:

- (i) consolidate the TFP and the TFG (the Transitional Federal Institutions – “TFIs”) as a vital step towards sustainable peace and security in Somalia and developing effective and accountable institutions at all levels;
- (ii) strengthen democracy, the rule of law and human rights for all Somalis on the basis of reconciliation, stability, reconstruction, development and the principles of the Transitional Federal Charter;
- (iii) create an enabling environment based on market principles for the development of livelihoods and social and economic services, with the ultimate aim of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

2. Political and security aspects

Recognising the importance of an intensified political dialogue between the EC and Somalia to enhance understanding and facilitate the convergence of positions, the EC and the TFG shall strengthen political and security-related dialogue at all levels with a view to:

- (i) engaging, in coordination with EU partners and the international community, in regular consultations and partnership-building measures on political issues of mutual concern in view of the objectives of this MoU, such as reconciliation, state-building and the safe installation and efficient functioning of institutions;
- (ii) identifying common ground on security issues based on the conception and implementation of a National Security and Stabilisation Plan (NSSP);
- (iii) cooperating on possible arrangements for conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, including measures to encourage the peaceful settlement of conflicts and disputes. The efforts of the parties should aim at democratic and sustainable solutions forged and managed by effectively functioning Somali institutions, encouraging and progressively promoting peace and security within Somalia, preserving and nurturing areas that have already achieved relative tranquillity and maintaining viable, friendly relations with Somalia's neighbours.

3. Guiding principles of EC-TFG cooperation

- (i) The TFG and the EC shall take into account the principles enshrined in the Somali Transitional Federal Charter and international commitments such as the Declaration of Principles of 12 February 2005.
- (ii) The TFG and the EC shall strongly and actively support the Joint Needs Assessment (JNA), recognising that a successful outcome of this exercise is of central importance to their future collaboration.

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- (iii) The TFG and the EC shall promote local and decentralised ownership at all levels of the development process.
 - (iv) The TFG and the EC shall ensure the necessary linking of relief, rehabilitation and development (LRRD) operations and shall adhere to the OECD DAC fragile states principles.
 - (v) In the event of violent conflict, the TFG shall take appropriate and rapid action to prevent an intensification of violence, to limit its spread and to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the disputes.
 - (vi) The TFG shall take all possible measures to secure humanitarian access to the needy and provide guarantees for the safety and security of aid workers and installations.
 - (vii) The actors in EC-Somalia cooperation shall include:
 - (a) State:
 - Federal government;
 - Regional states;
 - Regional and district administrations;
 - (b) Non-State:
 - Private sector;
 - Economic and social partners;
 - Civil society (including traditional Somali civil society groups).

4. Programming priorities and cross-cutting issues

In the light of the findings of the Joint Needs Assessment (JNA) and allowing for the activities of other donors, the post-EDF 9 programming process shall draw on lessons learned in the following sectors in particular:

- i. Governance, security and the rule of law;
- ii. Livelihoods;
- iii. Social services, with particular emphasis on education.

In addition to these three sectors, the EC/TFG shall give due consideration to the following cross-cutting issues:

- Peace-building, reconciliation and conflict prevention;
- Capacity-building and institutional development (for state and non-state bodies);
- Basic infrastructure.

The TFG and the EC may consider revising the abovementioned priorities as appropriate.

Humanitarian and emergency assistance funded by DG ECHO - Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid or under Chapter 6 of the EU-ACP Agreement shall be delivered on the basis of objectively identified needs, without regard for political considerations of any kind.

5. Mechanisms for consultation

The following consultation mechanisms shall be applied:

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- (i) The TFG and EC shall use agreed consultation mechanisms between the international community and TFG including those set out in the Declaration of Principles. Interactions shall be combined with other partners to reduce the transaction burden and ensure a coordinated international response.
 - (ii) The TFG shall appoint a senior coordinator who shall hold regular and *ad hoc* meetings with the Head of Delegation and/or his nominated representative. The senior coordinator shall be consulted on and provide inputs to operations funded by the European Development Fund (EDF).
 - (iii) The EC and the TFG shall consult on:
 - (a) the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) and the related National Indicative Programme (NIP), including the objectives and priorities on which the NIP is based;
 - (b) the annual review of the NIP;
 - (c) formulation of cooperation programmes in areas of mutual concern;
 - (d) implementation of cooperation projects and programmes in areas of mutual concern.

Subject to contractual confidentiality, the EC shall provide full information on all EC-funded projects and programmes at the request of the TFG.

6. Accompanying measures

- The EC, in consultation and collaboration with other partners, shall provide the TFIs with a calibrated package of assistance for progressive development of the institutions' capacity. The aim of this assistance shall be to enable the TFP to play its full legislative role during the transitional period and to enable the TFG to develop its own policies and strategies, set priorities for cooperation, manage development aid effectively and engage in political dialogue.
 - EC cooperation shall also help to restore and/or enhance critical public-sector capacity and support the institutions required to underpin a market economy. This objective shall also be achieved by accompanying measures to build the requisite capacity in regional and district development processes.
 - Based on mutually agreed milestones, EC cooperation shall build the appropriate capacity to allow the TFG to assume in due course the functions of National Authorising Officer (NAO).
 - Finally, EC cooperation shall develop the capacities of Non-State Actors and provide platforms for information, dialogue and consultation between them and the authorities, including at regional and district level.
- [Signature] [Signature]

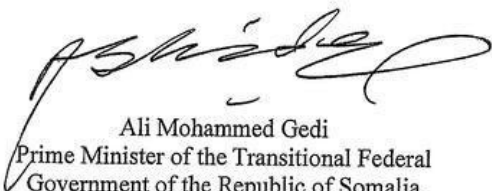
Done in Brussels, 28 March 2006



Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed
President of the Transitional Federal
Government of the Republic of Somalia



José Manuel Barroso
President of the European
Commission



Ali Mohammed Gedi
Prime Minister of the Transitional Federal
Government of the Republic of Somalia



Louis Michel
European Commissioner for
Development and Humanitarian Aid

The author had participated in international conferences on Africa Inter-connectivity in Transport, Energy, Water, Agriculture and livelihood. Below are some of the documents that came out of these meetings.

LIFAAQ K

HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE INTERCONNECTIVITY IN THE ENERGY SECTOR

Executive Summary

The energy working group identified energy interconnectivity in the Horn of Africa and increased power production using renewable energy sources as the main action areas for consideration. The proposed actions will facilitate regional integration by strengthening a regional energy network and eventually facilitating power sharing between the seven countries of the region. This programme will be implemented through a phased approach: a market study will review the existing situation and define future investments, which will then be gradually implemented ensuring the application of lowest-cost solutions in order to optimise long-term investment plans. In parallel, assistance will be provided to national utility companies to strengthen their technical and managerial capacity.

Funding required for the inclusion of all Horn of Africa countries in the regional power pool is estimated at EUR 450,000 per annum in the short term, while activities related to the institutional aspects of the inter connectivity actions are estimated to approximately EUR 12 million over the coming 4-5 year period. The cost of unfunded studies and works activities related to infrastructure investments to be implemented in the short to long term is estimated at EUR 8.5 million and EUR 389 million respectively. Immediate activities related to the exploration of the potential for increasing energy production in the Horn countries through renewable energy resources (hydro, geothermal, wind and solar) is estimated at EUR 3.5 million. COMESA will - primarily through the East African Power Pool (EAPP) - play a leading role in coordinating and managing the different actions and ensuring their overall coherence throughout the region.

3. Introduction

Energy security has become a top priority both for Africa and Europe. Rising oil prices and fear of future resource shortages combined with a greater awareness of climate change and the need to diversify energy sources have brought the issue to general attention. Against this background, it is evident that Africa and Europe have common interests in the field of energy and it is in this context that the EU-Africa Energy Partnership has been established in order to support and endorse the launch of initiatives for the energy access and security.

The Horn of Africa states acknowledge the key role of energy in development and are in agreement with NEPAD's recommendation to rationalise the territorial distribution of existing but unevenly allocated energy resources and to develop renewable energy resources.

The countries of the Horn of Africa are lagging behind in terms of energy access compared to other regions of Africa. This is partly due to continued insecurity, vulnerability to climate-related phenomena and the generally low levels of development in the region.

Since fossil fuels account for a large proportion of energy consumption in several countries of the region, NEPAD and COMESA priority projects include the expansion of hydropower capacity (in particular in Uganda and Ethiopia), as well as the exploration of the potential of additional renewable energy sources (in particular wind and solar).

NEPAD has identified the need for pan-African interconnection of power networks as one of the key elements to sustain the continent's long term economic growth. In this framework it has supported the creation of regional power pools which will ultimately also be interconnected.

The East Africa Power Pool (EAPP) was set up in February 2005 when the Ministers responsible for energy of several countries in the region signed an Inter-Governmental Memorandum of Understanding creating the pool. EAPP is a specialised institution under the auspices of COMESA and is responsible for energy projects in parts of the COMESA region.

Three of the seven Horn of Africa countries (Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan) are presently members of the East Africa Power Pool (EAPP); the other four (Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and Uganda) have expressed their interest in joining

them as soon as possible.

The EAPP's mission is to make affordable, sustainable and reliable electricity available to the Eastern African region by pooling electrical energy resources in a coordinated and optimised manner in order to increase access to electricity by and thereby promote regional integration.

As NEPAD has highlighted, EAPP is the youngest of the African power pools and as such is deserving of special support. An EAPP master plan is being prepared under the auspices of COMESA, and the EC is finalising a EUR 2.6 million technical assistance and capacity building project for EAPP financed by the EU Energy Facility. This project will strengthen EAPP planning capacity and enhance its exposure to technical issues related to interconnected networks and regulatory issues, especially at regional level. More generally, it will develop a regional pool secretariat tasked with internal regulation, coordination and follow up with members, and initiating and strengthening relations with regional and international stakeholders such as financing institutions and donors. A fundamental component of this project will be the preparation for the EAPP of an Eastern Africa Power Market Development study, strategic and business plans, power market rules and standard commercial agreements.

Within this framework, the energy experts have identified interconnectivity and increased power production using renewable energy sources as the key action areas for consideration.

The proposed actions will facilitate regional integration while enhancing the capacity in the sector in the region by strengthening a regional energy network and eventually facilitating power sharing between the seven countries of the region.

2. Outline of Programme Proposal

4. Objective

In order to integrate the African economic bloc into the world economy, the overall objective of the programme is to improve energy supply to support poverty reduction and economic growth in the Horn of Africa region.

The specific objectives of the programme are:

1. To promote the inclusion of the all countries of the Horn of Africa in the EAPP.

2. To promote energy connectivity among the countries of the Horn of Africa by assisting them to integrate their respective networks into the EAPP.

3. To explore the potential for increasing energy production in the Horn of Africa through renewable energy resources, namely hydro, geothermal, wind and solar power.

5. Proposed short-, medium- and long-term actions, including cost estimates

The following tables include the actions to be implemented under each specific objective. The tables identify the actions concerned and in each case the agent responsible for implementation and funding as well as an indication of the expected timeframe. In this context, “short term” refers to actions to be initiated within the coming 18-24 months, “medium term” refers to the following 2-3 years and “long term” is the subsequent period.

Specific objective 1: Promote the inclusion of the all countries of the Horn of Africa in the EAPP

No	Action	Prime responsibility for implementation	Funding agent	Timing	Indicative cost (EUR)
1.1	Integrate Eritrea, Uganda, Somalia and Djibouti into the EAPP	Member states (MS) and COMESA Secretariat	n/a	Short term	n/a
1.2	Establish consultative inter-governmental committee (IGC) of experts chaired by EAPP; EC to be represented as observer	MS through COMESA Secretariat	COMESA and EC	Short term	300,000 p.a. for meetings
1.3	Establish a sub-committee of the IGC for the Horn of Africa, to facilitate coordination and exchange of views in the area of renewable energy	MS through COMESA Secretariat	n/a	Short term	150,000 p.a. for meetings
Subtotal					450,000 p.a.

Specific objective 2: Promote energy connectivity among the countries of the Horn of Africa by assisting them to integrate their respective networks into the EAPP

Institutional actions and general studies

No	Action	Prime responsibility for implementation	Funding agent	Timing	Indicative cost (EUR)
2.1	Finalise ToR for a study on 'TA and capacity building for EAPP', ensuring coherence with COMESA's M-LT energy master plan (see Annex 1)	MS through COMESA Secretariat with EC	EC	Short term	Included below
2.2	Strengthen EAPP's capacity in planning and in technical issues related to interconnection, regulatory frameworks, interrelation with financiers	MS through COMESA Secretariat	EC	Medium term	2.6M (already earmarked)
2.3	Update EAPP supply and demand status and prepare a lowest-cost long-term investment plan.	MS through COMESA Secretariat	EC	Medium term	Included above
2.4	Strengthen the national energy utility companies in the Horn of Africa in their technical and managerial capacities.	MS through COMESA Secretariat with EC	MS and EC	Medium term	7M
2.5	Prepare ToR for a study on energy connection in regions with high agricultural potential to permit the development of food transformation and refrigeration and thereby promote food security in the region.	MS through COMESA Secretariat	EC	Short term	500,000
2.6	Integrate the studies above into the national and regional energy investment master plan to ensure optimal phasing of investments; mobilisation of funding	MS through COMESA Secretariat	MS	Medium term	200,000
2.7	Prepare studies to link bilateral inter-connections to a comprehensive pool in the Horn and the larger EAPP	MS through COMESA Secretariat	EC and other donors	Long term	3.5M
2.8	Establish a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) committee consisting of M&E experts to ensure that the investment programmes run according to budget within the specified time frames and according to the required specifications	MS through COMESA Secretariat	MS and EC	Short term	100,000 p.a. for meetings
Subtotal (unfunded)					11.3-12M

The following table includes regional actions on interconnectivity, but does not include additional investments required in power generation, which are ultimately the responsibility of individual countries and are normally financed on Public Private Partnership (PPP) terms.

Actions related to infrastructure development (feasibility and design studies and works)

Support to known interconnectivity initiatives within the Horn

No	Action	State of progress and timing	Funding agent	Indicative cost (Euro)	
				Studies	Works
2A	Djibouti – Ethiopia	Study completed	ADB,	2.5M*	50M*
		and works contracted	GoE, GoD		
2B	Djibouti/Ethiopia – Somalia	Feasibility study to be prepared. Long term	To be defined	2M	60M
2C	Eritrea – Sudan	Feasibility study to be prepared. Short term	To be defined	2.5M	70M
2D	Ethiopia – Sudan	Study completed and works being contracted	World Bank, India	1M*	50M*
2E	Ethiopia – Kenya	Study partially completed. Works in the short term.	ADB, EIB, DBSA, AFD, KFW	1.65M*	65M*
2F	Kenya - Somalia	Feasibility study to be prepared. Long term	To be defined	2M	120M
2G	Kenya – Uganda	Feasibility Study completed. Works in the medium term	To be defined	2.5M*	65M
2H	Sudan – Uganda	Feasibility study to be prepared. Long term.	To be defined	2M	74M
Subtotal (funded – marked with *)				7.65M	165M
Subtotal (unfunded)				8.5M	389M

Specific objective 3: To explore the potential for increasing energy production in the Horn of Africa through renewable energy resources, namely hydro, geothermal, wind and solar power.

No	Action	Prime responsibility for implementation	Funding agent	Timing	Indicative Cost (Euro)
3.1	Develop and carry out feasibility studies of national renewable energy projects.	MS through COMESA Secretariat	MS, EC and other donors	Short term	3.5M
3.2	Potential support to the African Rift Valley Geothermal Development Facility (ARGEО) covering Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti.	MS	MS, EC and other donors	Short term	15M
Subtotal					18.5M

6. Compatibility of the proposed actions with ongoing or proposed regional (NEPAD, COMESA, IGAD) and EU support programmes

The actions listed above dovetail with the programmes established by regional agencies.

In terms of energy, the NEPAD medium to long term strategic framework (MLTSF) study on infrastructure highlights the importance of sharing production and the management and operation of energy infrastructure facilities to support poverty reduction and economic growth. Further, the study emphasises the need to build the necessary human and institutional capacities for the energy sector in regional and sub-regional organisations.

COMESA - primarily through the EAPP - and the EC are playing a leading role in coordinating and managing the different actions and ensuring their overall coherence throughout the region. The technical assistance and capacity building study financed by the EC will be a key element of the successful implementation of the networks' interconnection.

Contributing to the establishment of the African power pools has been an EIB priority for a number of years, and this action plan is consequently consistent with the Bank's overall strategy for East Africa. The Bank will closely follow the evolution of the energy sector and contribute to the financing of priority investments as they come to maturity and once their financial and economic justification is fully established. Regional projects may be eligible for support under the EU-Africa Infrastructure Trust Fund, notably if they include social or environmental protection components.

7. Tentative cost estimate for individual actions and estimated total

See section 2 above.

4. Possible needs for additional expertise and next steps

All the Horn of Africa countries which are already EAPP members or are proposing to join the pool soon should be fully associated from the outset with the activities envisaged in the forthcoming EC project to provide “technical assistance and capacity building for the EAPP”, financed under the EU Energy

Facility. Studies and long-term plans for the energy sector will thus include the seven Horn of Africa countries, all of which will also benefit from the activities planned in the fields of capacity building and training.

A further elaboration of the project proposal is necessary to arrive at a more concrete and refined set of actions and associated budget. Expertise may be required from specialized institutions in the respective countries to elaborate on the current situation in the sector and build consensus in areas of intervention as outlined in this proposal

The yet-to-be completed EAPP energy master plan will provide a more concise picture of intended interventions in the region in the area of energy. The actions proposed by this Horn of Africa initiative need to be integrated into the master plan; it will therefore be essential to link this proposal with the work programme for the implementation of the master plan.

Further consultations will be held among the JAM energy experts to determine whether - in the light of the next Ambassadors' meeting - it is necessary to reconvene to deliberate on refining this proposal for possible funding by the European Commission and other donors.

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TFG LETTER TO EU



Embassy of the Somali Republic
Nairobi - Kenya

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EC DELEGATION KENYA		
21 NOV 2006		
REG. NO. A/5649	ADDN. TO	FOR ACTION
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The Embassy of the Somali Republic to Kenya presents its compliments to the European Commission Delegation to Kenya and has the honour to request to forward a letter addressed to H.E Jose Manuel Baroso, President of the European Commission, and H.E Louis Michel, EC Commissioner.

This letter co-signed by H.E Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, President and Hon. Ali Mohamed Gedi, Prime Minister of the Transitional Federal Government is highlighting some of their concerns about the Cooperation in between EC and Somalia.

The Embassy of the Somali Republic in Kenya avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the European Commission Delegation to Kenya, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Nairobi, 20th November 2006



European Commission Delegation
Nairobi

Reg. No:	Somalia Operations							
Date:	HOD	H/OPS	OPS	OPS	POL	TA	F&C	ADM
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MADAXWEYNAHA DOWLADDA FEDERAALIGA KU MEEL
GAARKA AH EE JAMHUURIYADDA SOOMAALIYA

PRESIDENT OF TRANSITIONAL FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT OF SOMALI REPUBLIC

الرئيس الحكومتية الاتحادية
الحكومة الاتحادية الصومالية

Baidoa, 15.11.2206

TO: H.E. Josep Manuel Barroso
President of the European Commission
And Commissioner Louis Michel
Brussels, Belgium.

We would like to renew our satisfaction to permanent effort of the European Commission and member States of the European Union to promote Peace and security in our wounded Country.

The constant support as well as the constructive ideas of Commissioner Louis Michel and his concern about the stability and development of the Eastern Region of Africa are getting our full commitment.

In particular we noted and welcome his perspective and vision regarding long term development interventions of the Sub-Region which he presented while attending the last Ministerial Meeting in Nairobi.

Your Excellencies,

The purpose of this letter is to, first, make a point of clarification regarding the bitter experience Transitional Federal Government has faced in its negotiations with Islamic Courts during Khartoum I and II rounds and secondly, the reactions of the International Community and in particular, the statements made by certain individuals claiming to be expressing the views of the European Union.

At both Khartoum I and II negotiations the TFG has made all necessary efforts to accommodate and respect all the issues agreed upon in these discussions. However, it has become clear that the Islamic Courts continued to systematically violate the signed agreements.

Unfortunately, it is now clear to everybody that the essence of the intentions of the Islamic Courts is, first, to prey on to the fledgling democratic TFG and keep the Country in a state of anarchy.

If and when this intention is fulfilled, the second move, according to the objectives of the Islamic Courts, is to use our Country as a hub for undertaking irrational alien ideas and engage terrorist activities and operations targeted against the International Community.

If and when this intention is fulfilled, the second move, according to the objectives of the Islamic Courts, is to use our Country as a hub for undertaking irrational alien ideas and engage terrorist activities and operations targeted against the International Community.

In this very tense situation we were expecting a co-ordinated and strong reaction from the International Community; unfortunately the condemnations of these violations were scattered and sometimes clashing each other; in particular, some individuals from EU member states and from EC have decided to interfere heavily and somewhat tactlessly within this highly intricate situation. On the other hand, these confusing statements sent a wrong signal to the Islamic Courts encouraging them further to continue with their adventuristic and irrational attitudes and operations.

Your Excellencies,

As far as TFG- EU relationship is concerned; we would not attach much importance to these past incidents except that the lessons learned are used to the benefit for the future so that repetition of similar mistakes could be avoided. Accordingly, we suggest that constant consultations be strengthened and maintained.

We would like to summit some issues which could start a new era of fruitful and confident cooperation according to the Guiding Principles of EC-TFG cooperation as defined under the MoU we signed last March in Brussels.

We would like to express our satisfaction for the appointment of a senior political special envoy to Somalia; we are convinced that his impending arrival will cut down some damageable drifty attitudes among the young EC-Somalia Unit team in Nairobi.

We are fully releasing on him to expedite the proper and complete implementation of the MoU, particularly the points related to:

- The secondment of the senior Government Advisory team: the repetitive delays in their recruitment are weakening the progressive development of the institutions' capacity.
- The preparation of the CSP: the MoU is emphasizing the role of the CSP as a case study for the training and sharing ownership in between the Commission and the TFG. The general process has been presented to the Parliament and to the Cabinet. TFG has been informed that an expert was committed for this exercise and went on mission in Nairobi but TFG was not consulted or invited to attend this phase mainly on the definition of the objectives neither the member states except those chosen by the EC Delegation in Nairobi. We are concerned about the fact that two main contributors to the 9th and 10th EDI' (France and Germany) have been kept at distance.

We have no doubt that they could have brought a lot of positive experiences from a wide range of strong bilateral cooperation in Africa. We had the opportunity at several

occasions to say our commitment and respect for the professionalism and the efficiency of the German Cooperation Agency (GTZ). We are convinced you will share our concern to see these major cooperation and development players be fully integrated in CSP exercise for Somalia.

The exercise properly implemented would have facilitated training of future Somalia civil service managers of the 10th EDF.

We take this opportunity to compliment the Presidency of the European Commission and the Commissioner for their constant support to the Republic of Somalia.

Respectfully Yours


Ali Mohamed Gedi
Prime Minister




Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed
President of Somalia



LIFAAQ M

LETTER FROM UN SOMALIA TO TFG PRIME MINISTER

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

Office of the United Nations Resident & Humanitarian Coordinator for Somalia

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.O. B ox 28832,00200N, airobi,K enya

Tel.(25420)4 183&0,4183642/31F4a;x (25420)4 r83&r

April 12, 2007

Dear Prime Minister,

I would like to share my compliments and take this opportunity to draw your attention to several matters which seriously threaten the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population. These include the recent issuance of administrative directives to the IIN and its parbrers by the TFG that will restrict the effectiveness and impartiality of our humanitarian response, as well as the apparently systematic harassment of humanitarian workers by military forces.

Continued insecurity, militia checkpoints, especially along the Mogadishu-Merka road, and threats and intimidation of humanitarian personnel have made it impossible to deliver even minimal assistance to tens of thousands of extremely vulnerable IDPs who have recently fled Mogadishu. The current situation for civilians remaining in Mogadishu is perhaps the worst in fifteen years, with the most recent round of fighting having resulted in as many as 1,000 civilian deaths. Reports of indiscriminate shelling by all sides of the conflict, if confirmed, would be in breach of International Humanitarian Law. To compound this humanitarian response problem, pre-positioned emergency supplies in UN and NGO warehouses in Mogadishu, especially those near the stadium, are inaccessible because of the heavy military presence and fears of renewed fighting.

Furthermore, during the past two weeks three letters have been sent from the

Ministry of Interior to the humanitarian community. Those letters are in need of clarification of content and, more importantly, an analysis of their impact on humanitarian operations. More specifically these letters include:

- . Denial of access to K50 airstrip and designation of Mogadishu as the entry point for Benadir, and Middle and Lower Shabelle, in a situation where we are finding it almost impossible to source a company that will fly to Mogadishu International Airport. In addition, are the four named airstrips the only ones that can be used? If so, what is the status of other airstrips we have been or are currently using, such as Wajid and Jowhar?

- . A directive that the TFG should inspect all relief items (food and non-food) before delivery, although it is unclear whether the inspection refers to documents or to the goods. Further, it raises the question of current physical and human capacity to rapidly carry out such work. Without modalities for implementation, this directive may jeopardize our capacity to deliver assistance in a timely manner and save lives.. A directive that all implementation and data-gathering be carried out exclusively through the National Refugee Commission (NRC), which again raises the question of current capacity and the independence and impartiality of humanitarian response. Although the humanitarian community welcomes efforts to strengthen coordination and improve information exchange, this decision should be seen within the context of the NRC's acknowledged role as a partner and the TFG's representation and participation in the present system.

As a result of the current situation and the above directives, most humanitarian interventions in Afgoye and Merka, which, as you know, received a large-scale influx of internally displaced from Mogadishu, have effectively stopped. For example, a WFP food distribution planned for 7 April in Afgoye, which would have benefited 32,000 individuals, and a registration for the immediate distribution of shelter materials and other non-food items, was turned back at a military checkpoint on the grounds that clearance had not been obtained from the TFG. Those parafirers that continue to try to deliver assistance in Lower Shabelle, are now being subjected to unacceptable interference, including death threats, from a military group based at the Afgoye junction reportedly calling itself the 'Anti-Terror Unit'.

On behalf of the humanitarian community, I would ask for your support in increasing our access to the affected population. This would be specifically through issuance of the necessary instructions to facilitate the resumption of

humanitarian activities and the re-engagement of UN agencies and NGOs in Afgoye, Merka, and in other areas in Benadir and Lower Shabelle Regions, and to immediately end the intimidation and abuses that have become routine at militia checkpoints. Again as discussed last Friday, such actions would, and should, reinforce the positive role that the TFG can play in support to humanitarian assistance.

Many signs indicate that the humanitarian situation will continue to deteriorate further, within a matter of weeks. Given this urgency and the fundamental nature of the above issues, I believe that a direct, face to face meeting would be both useful and appropriate. Therefore, a small team, likely including the WFP Representative, the Head of OCHA, and myself is available to meet with you, either in Baidoa or Nairobi, at your earliest convenience. Similarly, given the worrying potential for a rapid deterioration of health and access due to environmental issues, I would propose that this meeting take place within the next seven to ten days.

With assurances of my highest consideration.

Acting UN Resident Coordinator for Somalia

Honourable Ali Mohamed Gedi

Prime Minister of the Transitional Federal Government of the Somali Republic

CC: Minister of Interior, TFG

Minister of Air and Land Transport, TFG

National Refugee Commission, TFG

Eric Laroche, RC/HC

IJN Somalia Country Team

Somalia Inter-Agency Standing Committee

LIFAAQ N



**THE TRANSITIONAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SOMALI
REPUBLIC**

**OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL COORDINATOR,
(NATTCO)**

November 17, 2006

**A BRIEF NATTCO PRESENTATION TO THE MEETING OF THE EU
DEVELOPMENT COUNSELLORS, EMBASSY OF FINLAND, EU
PRESIDENCY SECRETARIAT, NAIROBI, KENYA.**

Personal Introduction

In the way of introduction, my name is Ismail Warsame, the National Technical Coordinator designate for assistance projects to Somalia. The EC Somalia Operations would perhaps circulate my CV, if done so already, to you. Two points, however, to make a remark on my CV.

1. I was raised and schooled formally in Mogadishu, have close family connections in Somaliland and worked in Puntland, a diverse background that gives me the opportunity to express the needs and views of all regions of Somalia in terms of development and humanitarian interventions.

2. I enjoy the dual citizenship granted by the Transitional Federal Charter as a Somali and Canadian Citizen at same time. So, I will not have such obstacles as Visa restrictions if I am given the opportunity to go for workshops and training in the way of capacity building for NATTCO, to any of your country of origin.

**NATTCO VISION AND OPERATIONS AS A DEVELOPMENT
PARTNER**

Before I talk on NATTCO, not as a person, but as an institution and challenges ahead, allow me to thank the Embassy of Finland, EU Presidency Secretariat, EC Somalia Operations and EU Development Counselors for giving me this golden opportunity to introduce myself to you as a partner in development cooperation.

With regards to NATTCO launching and operations, I am not sure whether it is behind or ahead of the schedule. First of all, when a humble official like me is designated or appointed to the position similar to that of NATTCO, it takes sometime for diplomats to take in, asking themselves all sorts of questions, like: who is this guy? What is his/her background? Which faction or Wing of the TFIs does he or she belong to? Is he or she a person we can work as a partner? Does he or she have a sense of humor? And so on and so forth. I guess such questions are natural in today's urban life.

Secondly, I don't have to elaborate here today the ups and downs of the TFIs, their re-locations and re-relocations, the opportunities lost in bickering and efforts exerted to reconcile the Federal Institutions themselves, lack of occasional institutional quorums and inertia in decision-making. Etc Amid all these, NATTCO has been designated and had to be put into institutional framework. NATTCO has been moving slowly but surely with the kind help and guidance of the EC Somalia Operations. Now NATTCO is legally about to be launched. Under the Office of the President, NATTCO also may act as a Coordination Secretariat for the Line Ministers of Planning, International Cooperation and Finance, a necessary mechanism to curtail duplications, conflict of interests and disputes on ministerial mandates as well as parallel institutional and development initiatives. With your kind support, I believe, we can do it.

On the first point, let me say from the onset that I am one of the very few who do not belong to any interest groups within the TFIs. That is why I can always speak out my mind to say humbly what is right or wrong without fear. That does not mean, however, that I underestimate the importance of public relations, the power of lobby to affect the desired positive outcome of issues under discussion to bring about changes, neither have I to deviate from necessary sound advice to my bosses while always protecting one's integrity. A good portion of my duties involves in diplomacy and bridging diverging views to a consensus. It also requires patience and communication skills as well as high degree of integrity, transparency and accountability in all its operations. Good networking is an essential factor in the success of the Office of the National Technical Coordinator. Soliciting for assistance to solve operational and diplomatic difficulties has been always the secret of CEOs of business enterprises, politicians and diplomats alike.

That is why I am here today to ask for your assistance in launching NATTCO and build its capacity in Somalia.

On its part, NATTCO's vision and commitments are:

- 1. To assist in a flexible and tactful manner in facilitating better working dialogue, optimum understanding and effective cooperation between TFIs and donor community**
- 2. To help insure that assistance programs for Somalia are better utilized for the benefit of the people of Somalia with the provision of technical advice based on local conditions, absorption capacity, regional diversity, feasibility and urgency needs level.**
- 3. To give due attention and necessary coordination at technical level to the important activities of funding by national and international organizations and Somali Non-State Actors (NSAs) to insure harmony and cooperation between all actors involved in development and humanitarian assistance.**
- 4. To follow up and monitor the performance of the on-going projects in the country and help to identify concrete developmental and humanitarian needs in countrywide field assessments.**
- 5. To maintain strict neutrality/impartiality with regards to interested groups and regions of Somalia.**
- 6. To assist and facilitate donors' technical missions to Somalia.**
- 7. To seize every opportunity for technical training in and outside Somalia and participation in the donor-Somalia conferences and talks on technical cooperation and**
- 8. To advise, in technical terms, all stakeholders including Somali leaders and donors, on ways of utilizing resources in cost-effective ways and fighting corruption.**

Let me also pick up this opportunity to say, in concrete terms, that NATTCO will focus on working with partners. We are all in the same team, therefore:

- We need to internalize the RDF and be pragmatic: Somalis must own the RDF and the proposed pillar approach.

- As I said the main priorities outlined are very relevant, but need to be more towards a programmatic framework and link it to TFIs and regional authorities' budget cycles.

- Main pillar priorities:

- (i) Pillar: State building - constitution development, support to Parliaments, creation of civil service, development of local/regional administration and security (police and DDR)**

- (ii) Pillar: Public/private partnerships; priority to access in education and public health and water; need to pay recurrent costs (salaries etc).**

- (iii) Pillar: Orientation of rural and urban development towards economic growth and allow Somalia to become a knowledge based service driven economy.**

- We need regular joint reviews of RDF and CSP between donors and TFG and regional authorities.

- We need to look at NATTCO not as a person, but as an institutional set up and interactive unit for donors. NATTCO is very keen to work with you all together rather than one by one - we need to engage in coordinate donor/TFG dialogue.

- NATTCO wants to revitalize sector working groups (health, water etc) so that

in each sector there is a Minister following that area engaging in policy issues together with all donors. We also involve Somaliland and Puntland authorities - we have not got the politics from allowing us to work together.

- NATTCO is in favor of common funds rather than single projects - we have limited human resources and NATTCO does not wish donors undertaking parallel initiatives but working together.

- We cannot only channel funds through UNDP although important; World Bank, NGOs and consultancies are also essential.

I am not only a technician, but also a politician and have a lot to learn from all of you. I hope we can together achieve something worthwhile for the Somali people.

CSP AND RDF

Now that the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) and Reconstruction and Development Framework (RDF) are being prepared. These are critically important documents where NATTCO can be of some assistance. Ownership of these documents should always be taken into account, not to mention the need to get involved in as a symbolically national representative. These documents should be prepared and finalized, in my opinion, for the Somali people despite the success or failure of formal institutions of Somalia as we are also required to do things that beneficially last for the future generations.

In the RDF, although the Three Pillars of priority needs are very much relevant as:

(i) Deepening peace, improving security and establishing good governance through DDR and the establishment and strengthening of core public and private sector institutions (including security institutions), decentralization, and conflict resolution mechanisms;

(ii) Investing in people through improved social services (especially education, health and water supply) to raise human skills, and actions to address the needs of specific vulnerable groups such as IDPs; and

(iii) Establishing a sustainable enabling environment for rapid poverty-reducing development, to expand employment and reduce poverty. This includes infrastructure, policies and actions to overcome constraints facing the livestock and agriculture sectors and to ensure protection of the environment and sustainable use of natural resources,

I have a feeling that the following sectors can be further improved or incorporated to the RDF:

1. Development of coastal communities as an alternative livelihood as Somalia's tremendous marine resources can support the entire population of the country and still export huge tonnage of fish food for foreign exchange earnings . The development of coastal communities along the Indian Ocean and Red Sea and optimum use of marine resources would bring permanent food security and take off population pressure on inland urban centres by the rural areas especially during droughts. This development strategy also reduces severe unemployment in these centres. Coastal areas are however inaccessible by road network especially in Somaliland and Puntland and basically have no infrastructure to support livelihood and marketing of marine resources as there are no access to public services.

2. The severe problem of illegal fishing and destruction of fish habitat by foreign vessels using worldwide banned methods of fishing. There is also dangerous sea piracy, which requires concerted action by the international community and support to Somalia's law enforcement institutions.

3. The problem of rapid urbanization as southern Somalia residents return to their roots following the Civil War. There are considerable also number of IDPs inflating the statistics of residents of urban centres. The problem requires urgent urban planning and capacity building for regulatory bodies on land, water and sanitation management.

4. The problem of over-grazing and deterioration of grazeland affecting the health and quality of livestock for local use and export. Scarcity of water

resources in the rural areas and destruction of trees as fences for the construction of the so-called Berkeds (small rural cemented water-catchments) for commercial use is another severe problem affecting badly the rural environment.

5. Volume One of the RDF puts more emphasis on rehabilitation and reconstruction and has no strategy or development vision taking into account the dramatic demographic change that has been occurring since the start of the Civil War; increasing expansion of old urban centres and spiral creation of new cities with poor road accessibility, affecting trade and delivery of public services (education, health, etc).

6. Rural education needs:

- a) Mobile or various centre points of formal and literacy primary schools.
- b) Seasonal Vet and environment protection schools and mass awareness on the dangers of deforestation.

Country Strategy Paper (CSP)

It is NATTCO assumption that CSP will mainly draw from the RDF, but again ownership is important here. Consultations on the stages of preparation are necessary as NATTCO would prefer to be invited to such events as group sessions and retreats on the CSP and RDF.

Thank you. (To be circulated to the EU Development Counselors at the start of the Friday meeting).

National Technical Aid Coordinator, NATTCO

Ismail H. Warsame

FOR FURTHER DETAILS:

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Brussels, 14 November 2006

S309/06

Statement by

Javier SOLANA,

EU High Representative for the CFSP, and Commissioner Louis MICHEL on the reconciliation process in Somalia

EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Javier SOLANA and European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian aid, Louis MICHEL expressed their concern regarding the deteriorating situation in Somalia and its impact on the region. They stressed the importance to resolve differences through peaceful and political means.

Javier Solana and Louis Michel call on all the leaders of the Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs) and the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) to establish a conducive environment for the progress of the political process started in Khartoum and to show readiness to consider the agreements reached as the basis for a political solution of the Somali crisis and the alternative to any form of confrontation.

In this context, they welcome all initiatives for reconciliation between the TFIs and the UIC including the joint communiqué of 10 November 2006 between the joint committee of the Somali Transitional Federal Parliament and the Union of Islamic Courts which provides a contribution in revitalizing the Khartoum dialogue process.

Javier Solana and Louis Michel appeal to the UIC to fully respect the security of Somalia's neighbors and urge all regional partners to refrain from intervening militarily in Somalia and to foster the ongoing inter-Somali dialogue.

High Representative Solana and Commissioner Michel remain committed to support the TFIs as the only legitimate framework for governance in Somalia.

LIFAAQ O

ASSESSMENT ON THE ICU DRAFTED MoU FOR KHARTOUM TALKS

By author, then as Director of NATTCO

The cited memo is a cleverly drafted document with the following implicit intention: 1. to erode eventually the international recognition of TFIs currently in force as the TFG fails to honour its strict implementation points. 2. To prevent war between TFG and ICU so that TFG slowly loses legitimacy as its predecessor, the TNG. 3. to respond to and counter the USA support to TFIs under the banner of EU. 4. The Draft EU MoU is a strange way to negotiate for outside the real parties to the Somali conflicts.

Possible response to this document: draft TFG counter-proposals e.g. 1. ICU to show negotiation in good faith by withdrawing from all occupied and captured lands after Khartoum I. 2. ICU to recognize TFG as the National Authority and Charter. 3. Consider all ICU arms as illegal. 4. ICU to accept the principle of 4.5 clan formula. 5. ICU to negotiate with TFG, not with individuals having no TFG mandate to negotiate. 6. Instead of EU MoU, the parties to the Somali conflicts should negotiate and EU/EC should be facilitating the negotiations, not imposing solutions on parties. 7. By engaging in unilateral official contacts and talks with the ICU, EU/EC is extending recognition to an entity led by foreign militants and extremists with invitations to as far places as Brussels.

Nairobi, October 10, 2006

DECLASSIFIED

Mr President,

Confidential, for the eyes of the President only.

Mario Raffaelli came from Mogadishu having met with ICU Leadership, Hassan Dahir Aweys and Sheikh Sharif in particular.

In a telephone call today, he has informed me of the following points:

1. Hassan Dahir Aweys and Sheikh Sharif have committed themselves to power-sharing, but they are not happy with the Prime Minister.
2. The two has no problem with the TFG President as the Head of State in a coalition Government to be negotiated in Khartoum Three.
3. On security issue, they do not trust IGAD forces, but they have in the final analysis no objection of neutral forces to monitor the situation between TFG and ICU forces to avoid further escalation of hostilities before negotiation.
4. They are of the opinion that confidence building measures are needed before Khartoum Three starts, like consultative dialogue.

Raffaelli informed me that there are three ICU power structures:

1. The Leadership
2. The Shabab (Youth) and
3. Hassan Dahir Aweys

Finally, he conveyed to me the message that he was insisting on the implementation of the Khartoum Two and Three during his meetings with ICU Leaders. He has also conveyed to them the concerns of the TFG President. Hassan Dahir and Sheikh Sharif were complaining that the TFG President sometimes act as a national leader and sometimes as a faction leader.

When I asked him, “ who was in charge in the ICU, Hassan or Sheikh Sharif, Raffelli seemed to indicate that they were both.

I also know that Abdirashid Cirro has been in communication with the Raffaelli from Mogadishu and while here. Please compare notes and in the future let us have a written record of these diplomatic developments for oral communications are prone to misinterpretation.

The Italian diplomat is leaving for Addis Ababa shortly, returning to Nairobi on Friday.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW OF ANY COMMENTS, ADVICE OR MESSAGES TO ITALY OR TO THE DIPLOMAT.

Ismail Warsame, NATTCO, Nairobi

LIFAAQ P

POLICY PAPER: CALL FOR CONFEDERATION, WARNING OF ANY TERM EXTENSION AND FREEZE THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW PROCESS UNTIL AFTER THE 2020/21 ELECTION

September 21, 2019

A- Introduction

We, the intellegensia and politicians, representing the views and wishes of the majority of Puntland society, have resolved to issue this Policy Paper on the short-sighted, revisionist and divisive policies of the current leaders of the

Federal Government of Somalia.

The objective of this Policy Paper is to shed some light on the latest dangerous policies of the FGS to roll back the recent gains and modest political achievements by the Somali people on ending the Civil War and restoring public trust. It is also our intention here to spark off and contribute to a public debate on the wrong-headed policies of Farmaajo- Khayre Government.

In this Policy Paper, our thoughts and conclusions are limited to the following pressing topics of national interest:

B- On Federalism or Confederalism

The people of Somalia had agreed upon and adopted the Federal System to be only the viable governance option, until that time public trust is fully restored among warring and conflicting Somalis, and to avoid further harm done to Somali unity. To dig Somalia out of that deep hole, the nation, under the auspices of national congresses, had agreed, on June 2012, upon the Provisional Federal Constitution with powers of the Central Government and then existing FMS explicitly defined. In this context:

We have concluded that the current leaders of the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) are engaged in dangerous and unconstitutional steps and policies of dismantling the Federal system - policies that may lead to disintegration and dismemberment of Somalia as we know it.

2. We think that the best course of action to counter-act such threatening policies of Somalia's leaders is to warn and inform all Federal Member States, and, first and foremost, the people of Puntland.

3. We have also resolved that the Confederalism, a type of Federalism with more devolution of the powers of the Central State to member states, is now a more viable governance option for public debate, given the resistance and violations of the FGS against the Federal Constitution and stability of FMS.

4. We strongly oppose the notion that Somalia could return to the 1960 Constitution of a highly centralized unitary system, that led to state failure, in the first place. Federalism or

2 Confederalism is a governance option that enables Somalia to rebuild from the

status of failed state she had suffered.

5. To dig Somalia out of that deep hole, the nation, under the auspices of national congresses, had agreed, on June 2012, upon the Provisional Federal Constitution with powers of the Central Government and then existing FMS explicitly defined.

6. The leaders of FGS had moved to ignore it by resisting completion of the Constitutional Review Process or doing it behind closed doors to avoid public scrutiny and inputs. Now they move to announce it is done in a fait accompli fashion to the FMS and general public in a manner designed for 2020/21 electoral advantage on their own self-preservation in power.

C. On the Role of Civil Society,

We call upon people of Puntland, traditional leaders, intellectuals, members of civic organizations and civil society as whole to be extra vigilant on the destructive and destabilizing policies of the current leaders of FGS and their hateful campaigns intended to dismantle FMS in contravention with the Provisional Federal Constitution.

People of Puntland should rise up to defend the gains of their long struggle for civil and human rights. Federalism, and now, possibly, Confederalism, pending popular consensus, is a major historical achievement of the residents of Puntland State, together with their brothers and sisters throughout Somalia, who are now enjoying the benefits of their own respective federal member state.

D. On the Role of Puntland Government,

We urge and advise all branches of Puntland Government, namely the Executive, House of Representatives and Judiciary to close ranks and confront all sinister machinations of Somalia's Central Government led by President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo and Prime Minister Hassan Ali Khayre. In this regard, we aren't calling for boycott of the FGS, but to engage in constructive dialogue to ascertain the rights of the people of Puntland to run their internal affairs under the Federal Constitution, the basis of which the Federal leaders were elected and sworn in to respect and adhere to.

E. On the Provisional Federal Constitution Review

We know the Review Process took many years to agree upon and complete due to resistance and obstacles put forward by the policies of the current Somalia's Central Government leaders. The whole Review Process was devoid of transparency and public debate.

The so-called Review Process was conducted in secrecy and in a suspicious fashion, making any outcome unpalatable as it is legally unacceptable to the people of Somalia. Therefore, we recommend holding off the current Constitutional Review until after 2020/2021 election.

F. On the 2020/2021 Federal Elections

We call for fresh public debate on the possibility of holding One-Person-One-Vote general election, and on the modalities of a Federal Election in 2020/21. We are submitting this recommendation on the basis that the Review Process of the Federal Constitution is not done properly as legally required with adequate public inputs and in consultation with FMS. It is also noteworthy here that any constitutional review would be subject to further review and changes before a national referendum.

We suggest that leaders of the Federal Member States, traditional leaders and civil society should renew their vigor to meet the challenges of both the Constitutional Review Process and Elections in 2020/21. In this context, term extension of the current leaders of Somalia's Central Government should adamantly be excluded in any option in this public debate.

G- Conclusion

The purpose of this Policy Paper was to contribute to the public debate on moving Somalia forward by highlighting the problems that the leaders of the Federal Government had intentionally created to do harm to the aspirations of Somali masses to end the Civil War, restore trust among Somalis, revive the failed Central Government and to institute a better governing system for Somalia. We believe these are unrealistic objectives under the current leadership of Somalia.

Our leaders are doing more harm to these long-sought aspirations held by people caught up in prolonged civil strife, caused in the first place, by sectarian, naive, clannish and poor leadership at all levels of our society.

Ahmed Abdulahi Yusuf “Ahmed-Dawlad”Faarax Ali Shire Eng. Mohamud
Ahmed Hassan “Dhegaweyne” Omar Mohamud Farah “Dhollowaa” Ismail
Haaji Warsame Abdi Farah Said “Juhaa” Issa Mohamud Farah “Dhollowaa”





Figure 1 Leaders of SSDF and SNM, Hilton, Addis, Ethiopia 1984



Figure 2 SSDF Emblem

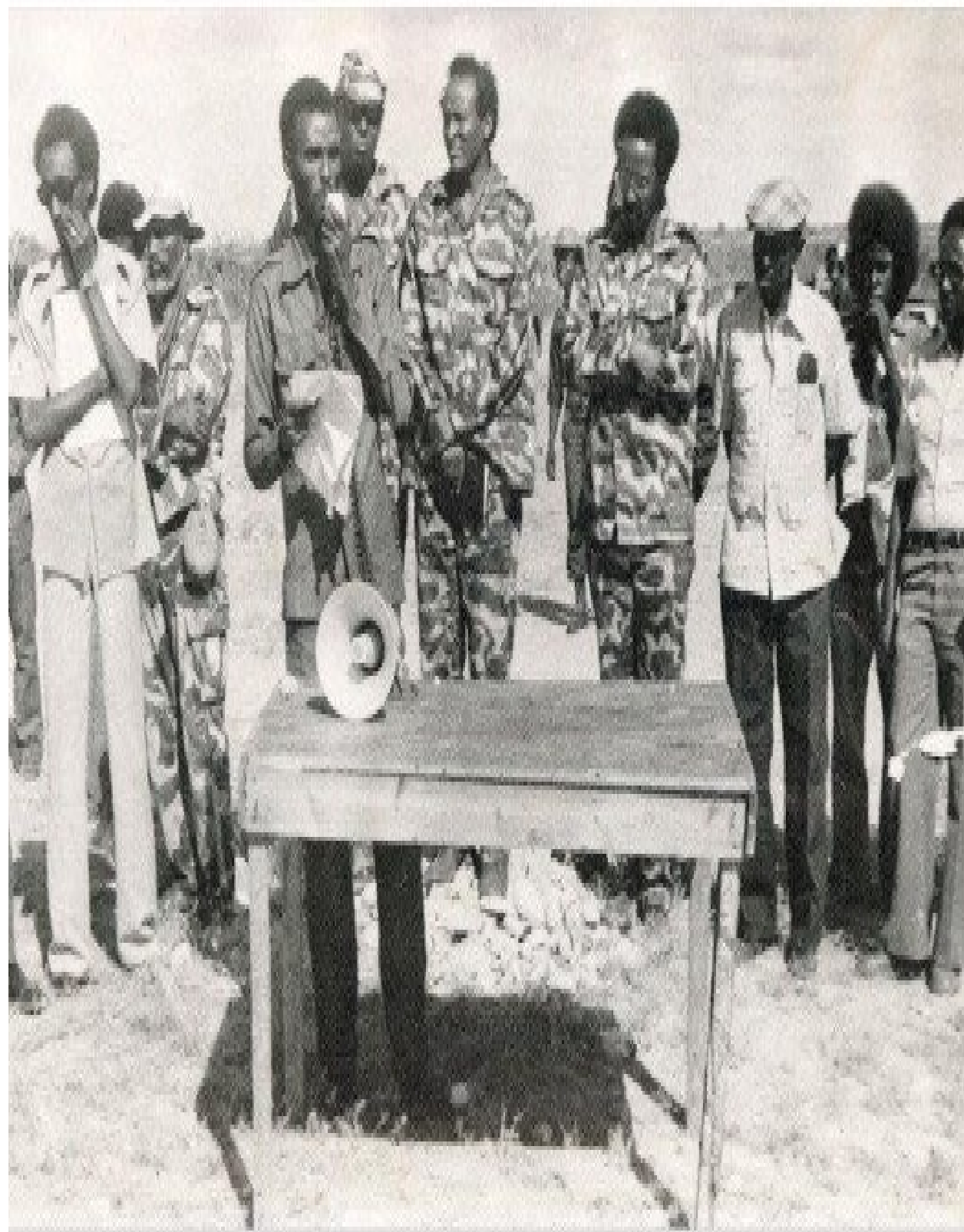


Figure 3 SSDF Chairman, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, with other prominent leaders of the organization



Figure 4 Baydhabo 2006 Adbullahi Yusuf and Ismail Haji Warsame with Jendyi Fraser, US Under-secretary for African Affairs



Figure 5 A Goup of SSDF fighters, Galladi 1984.



Qoraaga oo bixinayaa wareysi, Garowe, 2020

