



Faallo Qoto-dheer No. 12

Janaayo 2026

Juqraafi-siyaasadeedka Badda Cas: Saameynta Aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Soomaaliland

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Ku saabsan Qoreyaasha

Farxaan Isak Yusuf waa Ku Xigeenka Agaasimaha Fulinta iyo Agaasimaha SPA Research. Sidoo kale waa Bare Sare ee Culuumta Siyaasadda. Farxaan waxa uu shahaadada BA iyo MSc ee Cilmiga Siyaasadda ka qaatay Jaamacadda Muqdisho iyo Jaamacadda Omdurman ee ku taalla magaalada Khartoum ee dalka Suudaan. Waxa uu khibrad dheer u leeyahay cilmibaarista iyo macallinnimada. Mowduucyada ugu waaweyn ee cilmibaarista ee uu xiiseeyo waxaa kamid ah dowladaha hoose, dimuqraadiyeynta, federaalaynta, iyo dib-u-heshiisiinta.

Aweis Axmed waa Agaasimaha SPA Policy Lab. Aweis waxa uu shahaadada PhD ee xiriirka caalamiga ah ka qaatay Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University ee dalka Turkiga, halka uu M.A isla takhasuskaas ah ka qaatay Jaamacadda Selçuk. Waxa uu shahaadada koowaad ee jaamacadda ka qaatay Jaamacadda Muqdisho oo uu ka bartay cilmiga maamulka. Sidoo kale waxa uu Jaamacadda Muqdisho ka qaatay diploma culuumta sharciga ah. Cilmibaaristiisu waxay diiradda saartaa siyaasadda iyo bulshada Geeska Afrika, isagoo si gaar ah diiradda u saara siyaasadda iyo adeegyada dowladeed ee Soomaaliya.

Tusmo

Nuxurka faallada	1
Hordhac	2
Maxaa keenay aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Somaliland.....	3
Gorfeyn saameynta aqoonsiga	6
Saameynta uu ku yeelan karo Somaliland	6
Saameynta uu ku yeelan karo Geeska Afrika iyo dalalka ka baxsan	10
Talooyin tixgelin mudan	11
Tixraac	13

Nuxurka faallada

- Faalladan qotada-dheer waxa ay falanqeyneysaa danaha suuragalka ah oo ay Israa'iil ka leedahay aqoonsiga Somaliland, arrimaha Somaliland ku dhiirageliyay inay taageerto hindisahan, waxa ayna sidoo kale faallada qiimeyneysaa saameynta uu aqoonsigan ku yeelanayo Somaliland, Soomaaliya iyo guud ahaan gobolka.
- Go'aanka Israa'iil ee aqoonsiga Somaliland waxaa riixaya danaheeda istaraatiiji oo ay ka leedahay Badda Cas, oo ay ka mid yihiin xakamaynta khatarta Xuutiyaanta, ka hortagga saameynta sii kordheysa ee uu Turkiga ku yeelanayo Soomaaliya, iyo yareynta takoorka diblomaasiyadeed ee Israa'iil ee sii kordhaya.
- Dhinaca Somaliland, tallaabadani waxay muujineysaa rajada aqoonsi caalami ah oo sii yaraanaysa, kala-qeybsanaanta gudaha kadib guuldarradii 2023 ee Laas Caanood, iyo walaac ku aaddan sumcadda heer caalami ee Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya oo soo hagaageysa.
- Inkastoo aqoonsigu uu hoggaanka Somaliland siinayo taageero gudaha ah, waxa uu sidoo kale wataa khataro dhowr ah: waxa uu carqalad ka abuuri kartaa gudaha Somaliland, wuxuu kicin karaa xiisadaha kala dhexeeya Soomaaliya, waxa uuna uga sii dari karaa amni-darrada ka jirta Geeska Afrika iyadoo uu abuuri karo loollan dalal kale iyo falcelin kooxo hubeysan.
- Dhinaca Soomaaliya, aqoonsigan wuxuu wiiqayaa madax-bannaanida qaran, wuxuu ka weecin karaa dowladda dadaallada lagu sugayo amniga, wuxuuna sii xoojinayaa kala-qeybsanaanta siyaasadeed xilli lagu wajahan yahay marxaladda kala-guurka siyaasadeed ee 2026.
- Dowladda Federaalka waa inay mudnaan siisaa midnimada gudaha ah. Waa inay isla markaana hoggaanka Somaliland la bilowdo wada-hadal wax-ku-ool ah, iyadoo si taxaddar leh u dheellitiraysa dadaallada diblomaasiyadeed ee dibadda iyo baahiyaha degdegga ah ee gudaha, gaar ahaan amniga iyo kala-guurka siyaasadeed.

Hordhac

Raysal Wasaaraha Israa'iil, Benjamin Netanyahu, ayaa 26-kii Diseembar 2025 ku dhawaaqay in xukuumaddiisu si rasmi ah u aqoonsatay Somaliland, taasoo ka dhigan inay tahay dowladdii ugu horreysay ee xubin ka ah Qaramada Midoobay ee aqoonsata Somaliland tan iyo markii ay 34 sano ka hor bilowday dadaallada ay ku raadineyso aqoonsi caalami ah. Wax yar kadib ku dhawaaqistaas, Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya ayaa kulan degdeg ah isugu yeertay golaheeda wasiirrada, waxayna soo saartay warsaxaafadeed ay si adag ugu cambaareysay tallaabadaas, islamarkaana ay ku adkaysay go'aankeeda buuxa ee ku aaddan ilaalinta madax-bannaanida iyo midnimada dhuleed ee Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka Soomaaliya.

Sidoo kale, Madaxweynaha Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka, Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, ayaa billaabay olole diblomaasiyadeed oo degdeg ah, isagoo khadka taleefanka kula xiriiray hoggaamiyeyaal caalami ah si uu u helo taageeradooda uguna adkeeyo midnimada ay la garab taagan yihiin Soomaaliya. Intaas kadib, dalal badan (UN, 2025) iyo ururro goboleed (Al Jazeera, 2025) ayaa si cad u cambaareeyay xad-gudubka Israa'iil ay ku samaysay madax-bannaanida Soomaaliya, iyadoo mar kale adkeeyay aqoonsigooda buuxa ee madax-bannaanida iyo midnimada dhuleed ee Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka Soomaaliya.

Ma aha markii ugu horreysay oo ay dowlad shisheeye ku xad-gudubto madax-bannaanida Soomaaliya; hase yeeshee, tani waa ku xad-gudubkii ugu weynaa ee taariikhda dhow. Bishii Janaayo 2024, Itoobiya iyo Somaliland ayaa kala saxiixday Is-afgarad kaasoo, sida la sheegay, Somaliland ay ku ballanqaaday inay muddo 50 sano ah Itoobiya ka kireyso dhul xeebeed dhererkiisu yahay 20 kiiloomitir, taasoo beddelkeeda laga yaabo in Itoobiya ay qaaddo tallaabooyin ku wajahan aqoonsiga Somaliland (Somali Public Agenda, 2024). Heshiiskaas ayaa sababay khilaaf xooggan oo u dhexeeya Soomaaliya iyo Itoobiya, wuxuuna horseeday xiisado diblomaasiyadeed oo jiidamay ku dhowaad hal sano, ilaa wada-hadallo ay dhexdhexaadisay dowladda Turkiga lagusoo afjaray Bayaankii Ankara ee 11-kii Diseembar 2024 (FGS Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2024). Inkastoo labada dal ay markale adkeeyeen ixtiraamka madax-bannaanida, Itoobiya si cad ugama laaban Is-afgaradkii, taasoo suuragal ka dhigaysa in ay dib u soo nooleyn karto wakhtiga ay u aragto in uu ku habboon yahay.

Iyadoo laga ambaqaadayo arrimahaan, faalladan qotada-dheer waxay gorfeyneysaa danaha suuragalka ah ee ka dambeeya aqoonsiga Israa'iil iyo arrimaha ku riixay Somaliland taageeridda tallaabadan, waxayna sidoo kale qiimeyneysaa saameynta ay arrintani ku yeelan karto Somaliland, Soomaaliya, iyo guud ahaan gobolka. Ugu dambayn, waxay soo jeedineysaa talooyin tixgelin mudan.

Maxaa keenay aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Somaliland

Sababaha iyo waxyalaha Israa'iil ku dhiirrigeliyay inay si rasmi ah u aqoonsato Somaliland weli waa kuwo aan la shaacin, islamarkaana fasiraad kala duwan laga sameyn karo. Taas cagsigeeda, aqoonsiga caalamiga ah wuxuu muddo dheer ahaa yoolka siyaasadeed ee ugu muhiimsan hoggaanka Somaliland. Waxaase aad u yaab badan sida hoggaamiyeyaasha hadda talada haya ee Somaliland ay ugu dhiirraadeen inay la saftaan Israa'iil oo ay aqoonsi ka raadsadaan, iyadoo og in Muslimiinta intooda badan—oo ay ku jiraan Soomaalida iyo hoggaamiyeyaashooda siyaasadeed—ay muddo dheer colaad xooggan u qabeen dowladda Israa'iil, oo dad badan oo dunida ku nool ay maanta u arkaan dowlad go'doonsan, takoor sameysa, islamarkaana ah dowlad xasuuq u geysatay shacabka Falastiin.

Sababo dhowr ah ayaa lagu sharraxi karaa sababta ay Israa'iil tallaabadan u qaaday. Ugu horreyn, Israa'iil waxay u muuqataa dowlad doonaysa inay saameyn istaraatiiji ah ku yeelato Badda Cas, oo ah marin muhiim ah oo ay hadda si isa soo taraysa u daneynayaan awoodaha caalamka. Daneynta Israa'iil ee gobolka ayaa xoogeystay kadib markii maraakiib ganacsi oo ay Israa'iil leedahay iyo kuwo kale ay weeraro isdaba joog ah kala kulmeen Xuutiyiinta Yemen oo sidoo kale gantaallo ku garaacay kaabayaal muhiim ah oo ay Israa'iil leedahay, ee uu ku jiro garoonkeeda diyaaradaha ee ugu weyn. Weeraradan ayaa mararka qaar hakiyay duullimaadyada, islamarkaana ku qasbay Israa'iiliyiin badan inay gabaad ka raadsadaan gantaallada Xuutiyiinta. Waxaa xusid mudan in Xuutiyiinta—oo ah mid kamid ah ururrada ugu adkaysiga badan oo ay Iiraan taageerto oo loo yaqaan “Isbahaysiga Iska-caabbinta”—ay weeraradan billaabeen iyadoo ka jawaabaya xasuuqa ay Israa'iil ka gaysatay Qasa.

Sidaas darteed, si ay u xakameeyaan ama u yareeyaan khatarta Xuutiyiinta, Israa'iil waxay u arki kartaa Somaliland goob ugu habboon, maadaama inta badan dalalka ku teedsan Badda Cas aysan oggolaan lahayn in Israa'iil ay u dhowaato ama ay gaarto Badda Cas, iyadoo arrintaas u arka mid khatar ku ah amnigooda. Sida la sheegayo, Israa'iil waxay qorsheyneysaa inay saldhig ka samaysato dekedda istaraatiijiga ah ee Berbera, taasoo u sahli karta inay si fudud u gaarto Badda Cas ayna fuliso howlgallo ka dhan ah Xuutiyiinta (Freeman, 2026). Sidoo kale, joogitaanka Somaliland wuxuu Israa'iil u fududeyn karaa howlgallo sirdoon iyo lasocod oo ay ka fuliso goobo u dhow bartilmaameedyadeeda.

Midda labaad, tallaabada Israa'iil waxaa loo fasiri karaa isku day ay uga hortageyso dalka Turkiga oo kula tartamaya gobolka, oo tobankii sano ee lasoo dhaafay si adag uga hana qaaday Soomaaliya. Turkigu wuxuu Muqdisho ku leeyahay saldhigiisa militeri iyo safaaraddiisa ugu weyn, wuxuuna la saxiixday Soomaaliya heshiisyo laba-geesood ah oo waaweyn. Sidoo kale, bilihii Febraayo iyo Maarso 2024, Turkigu wuxuu la galay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya labo heshiis oo muhiim ah oo ku saabsan iskaashiga badda iyo difaaca, iyo sahminta shidaalka iyo gaaska.

Midda saddexaad, marka lagasoo tago arrimaha istaraatiijiga ah, tallaabadan waxay sidoo kale u badan tahay inay riixeyso dano siyaasadeed oo gudaha Israa'iil ah. Ra'iisul Wasaaraha Israa'iil wuxuu u muuqdaa mid doonaya inuu aqoonsigan ku jebiyo go'doominta caalamka ee xukuumaddiisa, taasoo ka dhalatay dagaalka Qasa, isagoo ku muujinaya in “dowlad Muslim ah” oo cusub ay ku biirtay Heshiiska Abraham. Intaa waxaa dheer, maadaama taageeradiisu si weyn hoos ugu dhacday islamarkaana doorashooyin soo dhaw yihiin, wuxuu tallaabadan u qaaday si uu u badbaadiyo sumcaddiisa una xaqiijiyo guul doorasho (Ghebrezghiabher, 2025). Tani waxay sidoo kale diiradda ka weecineysaa musiibooyinka ka socda Qasa.

Dhanka Somaliland, arrimo kala duwan ayay u badan tahay inay hoggaankeeda ku riixeen inay raadsadaan ama aqbalaan aqoonsiga Israa'iil. Dagaalkii dhiigga ku daatay ee u dhexeeyay ciidamada Somaliland iyo maleeshiyaadka SSC-Khaatumo—oo hadda loo yaqaan Dowlad-goboleedka Waqooyi-bari—wuxuu Somaliland ka dhigay mid tabar daran oo dhinacyo badan ka nugul. Waxa uu maamulka lumiyay dhul uu horey ugu doodayay in uu ka mid yahay Maxmiyaddii hore ee Ingiriiska ee Somaliland. Sidoo kale, waxa uu maamulka Somaliland la kulmay khasaare naf iyo maalba leh, oo in ka badan 300 oo askari, oo ay ku jiraan saraakiil sare, ayaa gacanta u galay SSC-Khaatumo, halkaasoo ay weli ku xiran yihiin. Guuldarradii Laascaanood waxay horseedday dhismaha maamul kumeelgaar ah bishii Oktoobar 2024, kaasoo Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya ka dhigtay dowlad goboleed rasmi ah oo la yiraahdo Dowlad Goboleedka Waqooyi-bari bishii Luulyo 2025. Maamulkan cusub wuxuu mideeyay qeybo muhiim ah oo ka mid ah gobollada Sool iyo Sanaag— oo ah deegaanno ay Somaliland qeyb ahaan maamuli jirtay, muddo dheerna sheegan jirtay, islamarkaana u arki jirtay laf-dhabar in ay u yihiin mashruuca gooni-u-goosadka.

Dhibaataadii Laascaanood kadib, Somaliland waxay wajahday kala-qeybsanaan gudaha ah oo sii xoogeysatay. Dhacdooyinkaas waxay kiciyeen beelo si aad ah horey loo takooray, gaar ahaan beesha Gadabuursi (ama Samaroon), oo tabasho ka qaba metelaadda siyaasadeed iyo qeybsiga kheyraadka; qeybo muhiim ah oo ka mid ah beeshaas ayaa la sheegay inay u janjeeraan in lala midoobo Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya. Inkastoo dhaqdhaqaaqyadooda si degdeg ah loo xakameeyay, haddana xiisaddu weli way taagan tahay, waxayna sugaysaa xaalado kiciya.

Kala-qeybsanaanta ayaa sii xoogeysatay ka hor iyo kadib doorashooyinkii Somaliland. Doorashadii Noofembar 2024 waxay talada keentay Cabdiraxmaan Cirro, oo beddelay Muuse Biixi Cabdi, kaasoo si weyn loogu yaqaanay aragtida gooni-u-goosadka iyo siyaasad militeri ku dhisan. Gudaha Somaliland, Mr. Cirro waxaa loo arkayay mid aan si buuxda ugu heellanayn mashruuca gooni-u-goosadka, islamarkaana u janjeera in wada-hadallo lala yeesho Muqdisho si xal loo helo.

Isla xilligaas oo ay Somaliland sii tabar-darreynaysay, Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya waxay hagaajineysay sumcaddeeda caalamiga ah waxayna si tartiib ah dib ugusoo ceshaneysay madax-bannaanideeda. Dowladda Federaalka ayaa kala dhantaashay hamiga Somaliland markii Muqdisho ay si diblomaasiyadeed u fashilisay isku-daygii Somaliland ee ahaa inay aqoonsi ka hesho Itoobiya, taasoo lagu beddelanayo

marin-badeed kuna salaysan Is-afgarad uu maamulka la saxiixday Itoobiya horraantii 2024.

Isbiirsiga duruufahan ayaa wiiqay rajadii iyo kalsoonidii dadweynaha ee helitaanka aqoonsi, waxayna abuurta daal iyo niyad-jab baahsan, inkastoo hadallo siyaasadeed oo muddo dheer socday ay shacabka u ballanqaadayaan in aqoonsigu dhow yahay islamarkaana lagu boorinayay dulqaad. Xaaladahan ayaa ku kallifay hoggaanka Somaliland inay si degdeg ah oo aan taxaddar badan lahayn u raadsadaan aqoonsi wax-kastaba haku qaadatee si ay u dejiyaan dadkooda, kalsoonida mashruuca gooni-u-goosadkana usoo nooleeyaan, ugana hortagaan aragtida ah in Madaxweynaha Somaliland uu taageersan yahay midnimada.

Gorfeyn saameynta aqoonsiga

Saameynta uu ku yeelan karo Somaliland

Tallaabada Israa'iil ma noqon doonto dhacdo laga gudbayo, balse waxay saameyn ballaaran ku yeelan doontaa Somaliland, oo hadda ku jirta farxad iyo dabaal-deg (The Economist, 2025). Saameyntan waxay ka imaan kartaa gudaha iyo dibadda.

Waxaan ka billaabaynaa khataraha ka imaan kara gudaha Somaliland, oo ay ka mid yihiin saamaynta ay ku yeelan karto taageerada dadweynaha iyo halista ay u leedahay sii hurinta doodaha siyaasadeed ee horeyba u ahaa kuwo xasaasi ah.

Marka hore, culimada diinta ee sida weyn looga qadariyo guud ahaan Soomaaliya ee ku sugan Somaliland, ayaa is abaabuli kara oo ka hor iman kara tallaabadan. Waxaa jira caddeymo muujinaya in ay ka hadlayaan: 27-kii Diseembar 2025, maamulka Somaliland ayaa xiray [sheekh caan ah](#) oo si cad uga hadlay diidmadiisa aqoonsiga Israa'iil. Sidoo kale, 2-dii Janaayo 2026, maamulka Hargeysa ayaa xiray [sheekh kale](#) kadib markii uu dhaliilay Heshiiska Abraham, islamarkaana ka digay in haddii madaxweynaha Somaliland uu saxiixo, ay taasi ka hor imaanayso “mabaadii’da Islaamka”.

Sikastaba ha ahaatee, culimada kale ee caanka ah ee ku sugan guud ahaan Soomaaliya weli si cad ugama hadlin arrintan; waxaa suuragal ah inay sugayaan in shucuurta kacsan ee dadweynaha ay degto. Farriimahooda diimeed waxay gaaraan dad badan oo ku kala sugan Soomaaliya iyo dibadda. Haddii ay si cad u muujiyaan diidmada ay ka qabaan aqoonsiga Israa'iil, waxay keeni kartaa falcelin ka dhan ah maamulka Somaliland. Sidaas awgeed, maamulka Somaliland ayay u badan tahay in uu isku dayo aamusinta codadka diidan. Hase yeeshee, haddii culimadaas caanka ah—oo farriimahooda diimeed gaaraan dad aad u tiro badan oo gudaha Soomaaliya iyo dibadda jooga—ay aamusaan si ay uga fogaadaan ka xanaajinta maamulka, waxaa ay keeni kartaa in ay lumiyaan kalsoonidii ay ku dhex leeyihiin bulshada Soomaaliyeed ee gudaha iyo dibaddaba ku nool, waxaana loo arki karaa inay arrintan ku taageersan yihiin Somaliland.

Midda labaad, tallaabadani waxay kala-qeybsanaan cusub ka horseedi kartaa gudaha Somaliland, oo iyaduba horay u ahayd mid kala fog. Qaar ka mid ah siyaasiyiinta dhexdhexaadka ah iyo kuwa diiddan mashruuca gooni-u-goosadka—gaar ahaan kuwa qaba aragtiyo si adag uga soo horjeeda Israa'iil—ayaa u fasiran kara tallaabadan inay tahay xiriir lala sameynayo dowlad ay u arkaan inay cadaw ku tahay danaha Muslimiinta. Durba, qaar ayaa si taxaddar leh su'aalo miiska usoo saaray, halka qaar kalena si cad u muujiyeen diidmada ay ka qabaan aqoonsiga Israa'iil, kuwaasoo ay ku jiraan culimo uu maamulku xeray. Kooxdan waxaa si fudud uga faa'iideysan kara kooxo kale oo doonaya inay abaabulaan iska-caabin ka dhan ah maamulka Soomaaliland, iyadoo ka falcelinaya go'aanka uu maamulku qaatay.

Midda saddexaad, tallaabadani waxay wiiqi kartaa rajadii laga qabay wada-hadal siyaasadeed oo u dhexeeya Dowlad-goboleedka Waqooyi-bari iyo Somaliland. Somaliland waxay u arkeysay dhismaha dowlad-goboleed hoos taga Dowladda Federaalka inuu yahay isku day lagu wiiqayo mashruuceeda gooni-u-goosadka islamarkaana lagu carqaladeynayo amniga iyo xasilloonida ay ilaalineysay. Dhanka kale, Dowlad-goboleedka Waqooyi-bari waxay u fasiran kartaa xaaladdan mid toos uga hor imanaya dhismaha iyo khatar ku wajahan jiritaankeeda. Xiisadaha sii kordhaya waxay carqaladeyn karaan isu-socodka dadka iyo badeecadaha ee labada dhinac, waxayna sii adkeyn karaan dadaallada Somaliland ee ku aaddan wadahadallada lagu sii daynayo maxaabiista dagaalka ee uu hayo amaamulka Waqooyi-bari.

Aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Somaliland wuxuu u badan yahay inuu sababo saameyn siyaasadeed iyo amni oo kala duwan oo dibadda ah, oo ka imaanaya dhinacyo ka baxsan Somaliland. Waxaa ka mid ah, balse aan ku koobnayn, qodobadan soo socda:

Ugu horreyn, Jabuuti ayaa ka mid ahayd dalalkii ugu horeeyay ee cambaareeya aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Somaliland. Intaa waxaa dheer, 31-dii bishii Diseembar 2025-kii waxa ay [xirtay xafiiska Somaliland](#) ay ku lahayd Jabuuti. Dowladda Jabuuti ayaa joogitaanka Israa'iil ee Somaliland u arki karta mid khatar ku ah amnigeeda, Somaliland-na ka dhigi karta mid tartan kula jirta isheeda ugu weyn ee dakhli oo ah ka kireynta saldhigyada awoodaha shisheeye. Jabuuti waxa ay la xiriiri kartaa beelaha sida Ciise iyo Gadabuursi, oo tabashooyin ka qaba maamulka Somaliland, si ay uga soo horjeestaan aqoonsiga. Mar sii horeysay, maamulka Somaliland ayaa dowladda Jabuuti ku eedeeyay inuu taageerayo dhaqdhaqaaqyada loogasoo horjeedo Somaliland ee gobolka Awdal, inkastoo ay dowladda Jabuuti iska diiday (Somai Dispatch, 2024). Arrinkan ayaa Somaliland saaraya cadaadis ah in uu maamulka si dhab ah u xalliyo tabashooyinka gudaha ka jira oo ay beelaha Ciise iyo Gadabuursi qabaan.

Midda labaad, maaddaama aan filayno in ugu yaraan danta Israa'iil arrintan ku kaliftay ay tahay ka hortagga ama xakameynta khatarta Xuutiyiinta Yemen, waxaa in la tixgeliyo mudan in Xuutiyiintu ay si toos ah uga jawaabi karaan joogitaanka Israa'iil ee Somaliland. Xuutiyiintu waxay horay uga digeen in joogitaanka Israa'iil ee Somaliland loo tixgelin doono bartilmaameed militeri (Anadolu Agency, 2025). Xuutiyiintu waxay weerarro ku qaadi karaan kaabayaal muhiim ah oo ku yaalla Somaliland, kuwaasoo ay u maleynayaan inay saldhig u noqon karaan Israa'iil. Xuutiyiintu horey ayay u weerareen bartilmaameedyo ku yaalla Israa'iil, waxayna weerareen maraakiib ganacsi oo marayay Badda Cas oo ay u arkeen kuwo Israa'iil adeegsanaysay, qaarna way waxyeelleeyeen, iyagoo shacabka Qasa garab istaag ugu muujinaya (The Arab Weekly, 2025).

Midda saddexaad, Soomaaliya waxay Somaliland ku qaadi kartaa tallaabooyin kale, iyadoo uu maamulka dhawaan la daalaa-dhacayay hirgelinta nidaamka fiisaha elektoroonigga ah ee dadka imaanaya Soomaaliya, oo ay Somaliland ku jirto. Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya waxay madaxbannaanideeda u adeegsan kartaa xakameynta hawada, iyadoo culays dheeraad ah saari karta shacabka Somaliland. Sidoo kale, dowladda federaalka waxay sii adkeyn kartaa hirgelinta Lambarka Raadraaca Elektaroonigga ah ee Xamuulka (ECTN) oo ay soo rogtay bishii Sebtembar 2025,

kaasoo looga baahan yahay dhammaan maraakiibta ganacsi ee ku wajahan dekedaha Soomaaliya—[oo ay ku jirto dekedda Berbera](#). Hase yeeshee, tallaabooyinkan waxay ku riixi karaan hoggaanka Somaliland inuu qaato mowqifyo aad u khatar ah, islamarkaana ay kasbadaan sharciyad iyo taageero dheeraad ah oo gudaha ah.

Midda afaraad, dowladda federaalka ayaa maamulka Waqooyi-bari siin karta taageero, waxa ayna sidoo kale dardargelin kartaa in askar cusub laga qoro gobolada Sool iyo Sanaag laguna daro hay'adaha amniga ee kala duwan ee dowladda federaalka. Intaa waxaa dheer, waxa ay saldhigyo militeri ka sameysan kartaa dowlad-goboleedka Waqooyi-bari, iyadoo taas ay wiiqi karto arrinta gooni-u-goosadka. Tallaabadaan ayaa sidoo kale sii hurin kara xaallada adag ee ka jirtay deegaannada ay wada-degaan beelaha Dhulbahante iyo Isaaq.

Midda shanaad, aqoonsigan cusub ayaa xaddidi kara isu-socodka Muqdishu iyo Hargeysa, maadaama laga yaabo in labada maamul ay soo saaraan tallaabooyin lagu xakameynayo dhaqdhaqaaqyada iyadoo ujeedadu tahay ilaalinta amniga. Labada maamulba waxay baaritaan iyo wareysi ku samayn karaan dadka u kala safraya labada magaalo, taas oo safarrada la xiriira aqoon-is-weydaarsiga, shirarka, booqashooyinka reeraha, ama howlaha bani'aadannimo ka dhigi karta kuwo adag oo dhib badan. Sidaas awgeed, dadka qorsheynaya inay u safraan magaalooyinkan ayaa laga yaabaa inay gebi ahaanba ka baaqsadaan safarka, si ay uga fogaadaan dhibaatooyin iyo tacaddiyo ay kala kulmi karaan saraakiisha socdaalka ee labada garoon diyaaradeed. Xaaladdan waxay si weyn u waxyeelleyn kartaa ganacsatada labada dhinac, gaar ahaan shirkadaha duulimaadyada gudaha.

Midda lixaad, Somaliland waxa suuragal ah inay noqoto goob cusub oo ay ku tartamaan quwado is diidan, taas oo khatar gelin karta xasilloonida iyo amniga ay muddada dheer ku faani jirtay. Dalalka qatarta u arka joogitaanka Israa'iil ee Badda Cas ayaa isku dayi kara inay ka hortagaan kororka saamaynta Israa'iil. Islamarahaantaana, Israa'iil iyo xulafadeeda waxay dhisi karaan isbahaysiyo dheeraad ah si ay u xoojiyaan una ilaashadaan danahooda, taas oo wiiqi karta xasilloonida Somaliland.

Saameynta uu ku yeelan karo Soomaaliya

Tallaabadaan cusub waxay saameyn ku yeelan doontaa Soomaaliya gudaha iyo dibaddaba. Saameynta gudaha ee ka dhalan karta aqoonsiga waa ay badan yihiin, hase yeeshee waxaa aan tilmaameynaa kuwa ugu muhiimsan.

Midda koowaad, tallaabadani waxay sii wiiqaysaa madax-bannaanida Soomaaliya oo horeyba u ahayd mid daciif ah oo nugul. Soomaaliya waxay si tartiib tartiib ah dib ugu soo ceshanaysay madax-bannaanideeda, balse tallaabadaan cusub waxay dhabar-jab ku tahay midnimada iyo wadajirka dhuleed ee dalka. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, tani ma aha khatar kaaliya ee hortagaan madax-bannaanida dhabta ah ee Soomaaliya; balse joogitaanka kooxaha hubeysan ee aan dowliga ahayn, is-maamulka dowlad-goboleedyada federaalka, joogitaanka ciidamo shisheeye, iyo ku-tiirsanaanta gargaarka dibadda ayaa madax-bannaanida ka dhigaysa mid daciif ah oo nugul.

Midda labaad, tallaabadaan cusub ayaa fursad siinaysa kooxaha hubeysan ee aan

dowliga ahayn, iyadoo ka dhex abuuraysa fursado ay dad cusub ku qaataan. Al-Shabaab ayaa uga faa'iideysan karta diyaarinta farriimo ku saleysan diin iyo waddaniyad si ay u kiciyaan dareenka dadka. Tani waxay khatar weyn ku noqon kartaa Dowladda Federaalka, maadaama Al-Shabaab ay heli karto maleeshiyaad badan oo ay culays ku saarto ciidamada dowladda ama ku furto furimo dagaal oo cusub. Inkastoo Dowladda Federaalka ay qaadday dagaal ka dhan ah Al-Shabaab ayna horumar ka samaysay dagaalkaas sanadihii 2022 iyo 2023, haddana Is-afgaradkii Itoobiya iyo Somaliland ee Janaayo 2024 ayaa mashquuliyay Dowladda Federaalka, wuxuuna abuuray fursad ay Al-Shabaab ka faa'iideysato. Kooxdu waxay dib u qabsatay goobo istaraatiiji ah oo horey loogala wareegay, waxay kordhisay dakhligooda, waxayna soo jiidatay dad badan oo qabay dareen ka dhan ah Itoobiya kadib markii dowladda federaalku diiradda saartay heshiiskaas (Webb, 2024). Madaxweynaha Dowladda Federaalka, Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud, ayaa shir jaraa'id uu ku qabtay Addis Ababa ku sheegay in Al-Shabaab ay qoratay kumannaan xubnood sanadkii 2024 kadib saxiixa Is-afgaradka (Dawan Africa, 2025).

Midda saddexaad, tallaabadan waxay wiiqaysaa nidaamka federaalka, maadaama gaar ka mid ah dowlad-goboleedyada ay ku dhiirran karaan inay sii xoojiyaan xiriirro ay la leeyihiin dalal shisheeye oo lagu tuhunsan yahay inay ku lug leeyihiin falal aan dan u ahayn midnimada dhuleed ee Soomaaliya.

Marka afaraad, tallaabadan waxay ay ka jeedinaysaa in dowladda federaalka la dagaallanka Al-Shabaab, maadaama ay mudnaanta siin doonto difaaca madax-bannaanida dibadda halkii ay diiradda saari lahayd xaaladaha amni ee gudaha. Waxaa dhici karta in dowladda federaalka ay geliso waqti, tamar, iyo kheyraad, oo ay ku jiraan dadaallo diblomaasiyadeed, si ay u abaabusho taageerada beesha caalamka ee ka dhanka ah Israa'iil. In dowlada ay diiraddeeda ku koobto ka jawaabista tallaabadan cusub waxay saameyn doontaa amniga gudaha, sida dhacday sanadkii 2024, oo ay dowladda federaalka ka weecatay dagaalka Al-Shabaab—oo ay guulo la taaban karo ka gaartay—una jeesatay Is-afgaradkii Somaliland iyo Itoobiya, taasoo keentay in guulihii la gaaray dib loo lumiyo.

Midda shanaad, tallaabadan waxa ay sii kordhin kartaa kala-qeybsanaanta sii kordheysa ee doorashada 2026, maadaama madaxweynaha dowladda federaalka uu isku dayi karo in difaaca madax-bannaanida dalka uu u adeegsado ka mashquulidda doorashooyinka soo socda. Mucaaradku waxay ku doodayaan in dowlad federal ah oo muddo xileedkeedu ku egyahay bisha May ee 2026 aysan habbooneyn inay mudnaanta siiso la tacaalidda tallaabada ay Somaliland iyo Israa'iil qaadeen. Arrintan ayaa Soomaaliya gelineysa labo-labeyn ah in ay mudnaanta siiso doorashooyinka ama dadaallada diblomaasi ee ka dhanka ah aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Somaliland.

Tallaabadan cusub waxay sidoo kale Soomaaliya ku yeelan doontaa saameyn dibadeed. Ugu horreyn, dadaallada awoodaha shisheeye ee doonaya in dalku bur-buro ama uu ku jiro xaalad kala-qeybsanaan ah ayaa sii kordhi doona, maadaama Soomaaliya ay noqoneyso mid aad ugu nugul faragelin shisheeye. Kala-qeybsanaanta siyaasadeed ee dalka ka jirta ma aha mid dan u ah ilaalinta madax-bannaanida iyo midnimada

dhuleed ee Soomaaliya. Midda labaad, Soomaaliya waxay soo jiidan kartaa indhaha dagaalyahannada ururrada diimeed ee caalamka, maadaama goobihii ay horey uga hawlgalayeen ay sii yaraanayaan, taas oo culays dheeraad ah saaraysa xaaladda amni ee dalka oo horey u ahayd mid nugul.

Saameynta uu ku yeelan karo Geeska Afrika iyo dalalka ka baxsan

Aqoonsiga Israa'iil wuxuu saameyn ku yeelan karaa gobolka iyo caalamka.

Midda koowaad, Geeska Afrika, oo horeyba u ahaa gobol ay ka jiraan colaado soo noqnoqda iyo xasillooni-darro siyaasadeed, ayaa la kulmi kara saameyn ka dhalata isbeddellada cusub ee la xiriira aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee Somaliland. Kacdoon ama is-qabqabsi ka dhasha tallaabadan wuxuu sii adkeyn karaa caqabadaha bani'aadannimo ee ka jira gobolka, wuxuuna kordhin karaa qulqulka hubka, wuxuuna abuuri karaa fursado dheeraad ah oo ay kooxaha Islaamiyiinta ah ku kordhiyaan qorista xubno cusub iyo saameyntooda, taasoo sare u qaadi karta halista amni ee guud ahaan gobolka.

Midda labaad, joogitaanka Israa'iil ee Somaliland waxay dhaawici kartaa isu-socodka xorta ah ee maraakiibta ganacsiga ee Badda Cas, haddii Xuutiyiintu ay kordhiyaan weerarrada maraakiibta sida badeecada, taas oo keeni karta kororka caymiska maraakiibta iyo sare u kaca qiimaha badeecada.

Midda saddexaad, arrintani waxay horseedi kartaa dhisidda isbahaysiyo iska soo horjeeda: mid ka kooban inta badan dalalka ku teedsan Badda Cas—sida Sucuudi Carabiya, Jabuuti, Eritrea, iyo Masar—kuwaasoo u arki doona joogitaanka Israa'iil ee Somaliland mid khatar ku ah danahooda; iyo isbahaysi kasoo horjeeda—oo inta badan ay ku jiraan Israa'iil iyo xulafadeeda arrinkan kula jira—taas oo keena karta iska-hor-imaad ka dhaca Gacanka Cadmeed iyo Badda Cas, taasoo khataro amni ku soo kordhin karta Somaliland, Soomaaliya, iyo dalal ka baxsan.

Midda afraad, tallaabadan waxay tusaale ay ku daydaan u noqon kartaa dhaqdhaqaaqyada leh dareenka gooni-u-goosadka ee ka dagaallamaya dalalka Geeska Afrika iyo guud ahaan Afrika, kuwaasoo doonaya inay madax-bannaani ka helaan dalalka ay ka tirsan yihiin.

Ugu dambeyn, tallaabooyinka militeri ee dhawaan Ruushku ku qaaday Ukraine, iyo kuwa Israa'iil ka fulisay Iiraan, Qadar, iyo Suuriya, waxay si weyn u wiiqeen nidaamka caalamiga ah ee hadda jira. Aqoonsiga Israa'iil ee maamulka Somaliland—oo Taiwan ay sidoo kale ku leedahay xafiis—wuxuu dardargelin karaa tallaabooyinka Shiinaha uu ku doonayo inuu ku qabsado Taiwan, ka hor inta aan Israa'iil iyo xulafadeeda Reer Galbeed ku fikirin u aqoonsiga Taiwan dal madax-bannaan. Xaaladdan ayaa ugu dambayn horseedi karta isku dhac weyn oo dhex mara awoodaha waaweyn ee caalamka.

Talooyin tixgelin mudan

Si wax looga qabto tallaabadaan sida xawliga ah ku socota, faalladan qotada-dheer waxay soo jeedinaysaa talooyinka soo socda, kuwaasoo si gaar ah loogu talagalay in ay Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya tixgeliso:

Xoojinta midnimada gudaha: Si looga hortago khataraha ku wajahan madax-bannaanida qaranka, Dowladda Federaalka waxaa si degdeg ah looga baahan yahay inay tanaasul u muujiso mucaaradka gudaha oo ay isku khilaafsan yihiin arrimaha dastuurka, doorashooyinka, iyo qodobbada kale ee ay qaar ka mid ah dhinacyada ku marmarsiyoodaan si ay uga fogaadaan mas'uuliyadda wadajirka ah ee difaaca madax-bannaanida iyo midnimada dhuleed ee dalka.

Ha sii fogeyn shacabka Somaliland: inta lagu guda jiro dadaallada diblomaasiyadeed oo lagu diidayo tallaabada Israa'iil, dowladda federaalku waa inay ka fogaataa tallaabooyin kasta oo sii fogeyn kara dadka ku nool Somaliland islamarkaana qiil u siin kara qadiyadda gooni-u-goosadka. Qaar ayaa ku doodaya in howsha ay bilowday dowladda federaalka ee fiisaha elektaroonigga ah ay sii xoojisay ajendaha gooni-u-goosadka ka dib markii dad Somaliland kasoo jeeda oo kasoo safray dalal kale una socda Hargeysa ay dhibaato kasoo gaartay shuruudaha fiisaha elektaroonigga ah.

Raadi taageerada xulafada dhow: Waa in Dowladda Federaalka ay xiriirro dhow la yeelataa dalalka saameynta ku leh quwadaha waaweyn ee caalamka. Tani waxay ka caawin kartaa in hoggaamiyeyaasha quwadaha waaweyn ay arkaan halista arrintan, oo aanay fududeysan. In xiriir wanaagsan lala yeesho quwadaha waaweyn waa faa'iido weyn xilli dunidu u sii socoto xaalad fowdo ah, ixtiraamka xeerarka caalamiga ahna uu sii wiiqmayo.

khataraha jiro kala hadal hoggaanka Somaliland: Waa in waxgaradka dhexdhexaadka ah iyo kuwa waaqiciga ah, culimada, iyo ganacsatada ay ku qanciyaan hoggaanka Somaliland in khataraha ka dhalan kara tallaabadani ay ka badan yihiin faa'iidooyinka. Arrintani waxay dardargelin kartaa waddooyin kale, sida wada-hadallo lala yeesho Muqdisho si heshiis looga gaaro mustaqbalka Soomaaliya iyo Somaliland. Aayaha Somaliland wuxuu ku xiran yahay natiijada kasoo baxda wada-hadallada labada dhinac.

Ka faa'ideyso khibradda khuburada: Waa in dowladda federaalka ay ka faa'iidayataa aqoonta iyo khibradda muwaadiniinta ugu kartida badan, gaar ahaan dhinacyada ay ka mid yihiin la macaamilka warbaahinta caalamiga ah si fariinta dowladda loo gaarsiyo dhagaystayaal caalami ah. Waa inay sidoo kale ka faa'iidayataa diblomaasiyiinta Soomaaliyeed oo leh xirfado diblomaasiyadeed, si loogu guuleysto dadaallada lagu difaacayo madax-bannaanida dalka.

Isku-dheellitir difaaca madax-bannaanida dibadda iyo mudnaanta gudaha: Sanadkii 2024, kadib Is-afgaradkii Soomaaliland iyo Itoobiya, dowladda federaalka waxay diiradda ka weecisay arrimo muhiim ah. Isbeddelkaas wuxuu sababay dib-u-

dhac weyn oo ku yimid howlaha gudaha ee dowladda. Sidaas darteed, waa in dowladda federaalka ay si taxaddar leh isugu dheellitirtaa dadaallada ay ku xaqiijinayso madax-bannaanida dibadda iyo dadaallada lagu wajahayo arrimaha gudaha ee mudnaanta leh. Arrimahan waxaa ka mid ah dejinta hannaan wadar-ogol ah oo lagu hagayo kala-guurka siyaasadeed ee 2026, xoojinta amniga iyada oo la sii wadayo dagaalka ka dhanka ah Al-Shabaab, iyo wax ka qabashada arrimaha bulshada, sida ka jawaabidda abaaraha.

Ka faa'idayso fursadda si loo hormariyo wada-hadal lala yeesho Muqdisho: Maaddaama Somaliland ay soo jiidatay indhaha caalamka, waxaa habboon inay ka faa'idaysato xiisada iyo dareenka jira oo ay dardar-gelisaa wada-hadal lala yeesho Muqdisho. Waa in hoggaanka Somaliland uu Muqdisho kala hadlo mustaqbalkooda siyaasadeed, islamarkaana ku cadaadiyaan dalalka shisheeye inay taageeraan wada-hadalladaas.

Xiriirka beesha caalamka ee dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya: Beesha caalamka waa inay dib-u-eegtaa kaalinta ay ka qaadanayso dhismaha dowladnimada Soomaaliya, islamarkaana ay si dhab ah u qiimeyso doorkeeda. Waa inay taageeraan wada-hadal dhammeystiran oo ku saabsan nidaamka dowladeed ee ku habboon Soomaaliya. Xaaladda hadda jirta kama sii shaqeyn karto Soomaaliya. Beesha caalamka waa inay beddeshaa habka ay ula macaamilayso Soomaaliya, kana taageertaa Soomaalida inay iyagu sameystaan qaab-dhismeedyo dowladeed oo xoojin kara midnimada islamarkaana hagaajin kara hannaanka maamul. Arrintan waxay noqon kartaa natiijada wada-hadal iyo gorgortan dhex mara hay'adaha muhiimka ah iyo jilayaasha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya, oo ay ku jiraan dowladda federaalka, Somaliland, dowlad-goboleedyada, daneeyayaasha siyaasadeed ee kale, iyo bulshada rayidka ah.

Tixraac

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