

DIMUQRAADIYEYNTA PUNTLAND:

GEEDI-SOCODKA, CAQABADHA IYO XALALKA

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Somali Public Agenda

Mahadcelin

Cilmibaaristaan waxaa lagu sameeyay taageerada International Media Support (IMS). Warbixinta waxaa tifaftiray Peter Chonka, oo macallin ka ah King's College London sidoo kalena ah Somali Public Agenda Fellow.

Ku saabsan Qoraaga

Cabdimaalik Cabdullaahi waa cilmibaare ka tirsan Somali Public Agenda. Sidoo kale waa falanqeeye siyaasadda Soomaaliya iyo tan gobolka. Cilmibaaristiisa waxa uu diiradda ku saaraa nabadda, dimuqraadiyadda, maamulka iyo arrimaha bani'adamnimada.

Ku saabsan SPA

Somali Public Agenda (SPA) waa hay'ad aan macaash-doon ahayn oo ka shaqeysa cilmibaarista arrimaha jaangoyn taas oo maareynta siyaasadaha dalka xarunteeduna tahay magaalada Muqdisho. Ujeedka hay'adda waa hagaajinta maamulka dowliga ah iyo horumarinta adeegyada dowladda ee Soomaaliya iyadoo loo marayo cimibaaris iyo falanqeyn aqoon ku dhisan.

Sawirka bogga hore: Transitional Puntland Electoral Commission (TPEC) team registering voters.

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Nuxurka Qoraalka

Puntland waa Dowlad Goboleedka ugu da'da weyn shanta Dowlad goboleed ee xubnaha ka ah Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya waana hormuudka dhismaha goleyaasha degmooyinka. Waxaa goleyaasha degmooyinka markii ugu horreysey laga hirgeliyey Puntland sanadkii 2008 iyadoo hoos imaanaysay Barnaamijka Wadajirka ah ee Dowladaha Hoose ee Qaramada Midoobay (JPLG). Doorashadii ugu horreysay ee baarlamaanka Puntland ayaa la qabtay sannadkii 2005 halkaas oo ay odayaasha beeluhu soo xuleen 66 xildhibaan, kuwaasoo iyaguna u doortay madaxweyne Maxamuud Muuse Xirsi "Cadde Muuse". Madaxweyne Cadde Muuse wuxuu muddo yar kadib dhisay Guddi Dib-u-eegis Dastuurka oo ka shaqeeya dastuurka Puntland.

Bishii Disembar 2012, waxaa markii ugu horreysey laga diiwaangeliyey Puntland lix urur siyaasadeed. Baarlamaankii iyo maamulkii Puntland ee xilligaas waxay doorbideen doorasho kale oo ku salyesan nidaamka wax-qeybsiga beelaha oo la qabtay bishii Janaayo sanadkii 2014 kadib markii dadaallo lagu doonayay in la qabto doorasho qof iyo cod ah aysan hirgelin. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, xilligii Madaxweyne Faroole (oo beddelay Cadde Muusesanadkii 2009), waxaa la ansixiyayxeerka guddiga doorashada ee Puntland, waxaa sidoo kale la ansixiyey bishii Abriil 2012 dastuurka Puntland. Bishii Janaayo 2014, Cabdiweli Maxamed Cali Gaas – oo beddelay Faroole kadib doorasho baarlamaan oo aad loogu tartamay – ayaa magacaabay Guddiga Kumeelgaarka ah ee Doorashooinka Puntland sannadkii 2016. Hase yeeshee, kadib magacaabista TPEC, howlihiidimugraaddiyadda ee Puntland ayaa hakad galay TPEC-na si dardar leh uma shaqayn ku dhawaad saddex sano.

Saciid Deni – oo la doortay 8-dii Janaayo 2019 – iyo maamulkisu waxay muujiyeen sida ay uga go'an tahay dardargelinta hannaanka dimugraadiyadda oo hakadka ku jirtay. Deni si degdeg ah ayuu dib ugu aasaasay TPEC. Ka go'naanshahan wuxuu komishanka siiyay jadwal shaqo iyo waqtihawleed habboon oo dabacsan. Maamulka hadda jira ayaa sidoo kale ballanqaad lacageed u sameeyay TPEC, inkastoo aysan wada bixin lacagihii ay ballan qaadeen. Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha, Federaalka, iyo Dimugraadiyeynta Puntland ayaa iyaduna ka shaqaynaysa xadeynta degmooyinka waxaana la filayaa in lasoo bandhigo hindise shariyeedka xuduudaha doorashooinka. Soohdinta saddexda degmo – Qardho, Eyl iyo Ufeyn – oo ah halka lagu qaban doono doorashooinka hordhaca ah ee dowladaha hoose ayaa durba lasoo gabagabeeyay. Baarlamaanka Puntland, ayaa dhinaca kale, dhammeystiray dhammaan shariyada la xiriira doorashada iyagoo kaashanayo MOIFAD iyo TPEC.

Waxaa jira fursado iyo caqabado la xiriira geeddi-socodka dimugraadiyeynta Puntland, iyo casharro muhiim ah oo laga baran karo howlaha doorashooinka dowladaha hoose. Casharrada muhiimka ah waxaa kamid ah in dadka gudaha ku barakacay lagu daro diiwaangelinta, doorka wanaagsan ee odayaasha dhaqanka, muhiimadda ay leedahay in laga billaaboo diiwaangelinta dadka heerka Dowladaha xubnaha ka ah Dowladda Federaalka, iyo waayo-aragnimada dhiirri-gelinta leh ee diiwaan-gelinta cod-bixiyeyaasha Soomaaliya.

Warbixintani waxay usoo jeedinaysaa talooyin daneeyeyaasha kala duwan, kuwaasoo haddii ay tixgeliyaan, wax weyn ka tari karta sare-u-qaadista iyo hagaajinta daahfurnaanta iyo tayada Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose ee Puntland iyo geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda guud ahaan. Talooyinka waxaa kamid ah: in dowladda Puntland ay sii joogteyso ka go'naanshaheeda siyaasadeed, taasoo muhiim u ah dhammaystirka doorashada; in TPEC ay sii waddo dardar-gelinta howlaha doorashada oo ay ka fogaato wax kasta oo carqaladeyn kara shaqada ama muujin kara eex iyo dano gaar ah; in ururrada siyaasadeed ay muhiim tahay inay ku daraan haweenka iyo dhalinyarada qaab-dhismeedkooda urur, iyo inay soo bandhigaan hoggaamin iyo dhalil wax dhiseysa marka ay ololeynayaan ama iibinayaan ajendayaashooda siyaasadeed. Bulshada rayidka ah ee Puntland waxaa lagu dhiirrigelinayaa in ay dardar geliyaan oo ay billaabaan wacyi-gelin isku-dhafan si loo yareeyo baahida weyn ee loo qabo maclumaadka doorashada. Dhinaca kale, daraasaddu waxay ku talinaysaa Dowladaha kale ee xubnaha ka ah Dowladda Federaalka Soomaaliya inay halbeeg ka dhigtaan hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland oo ay ka qaataan tijaabooyinka ugu wanaagsan ee lagu guuleystay. Saaxiibada caalamku iyaguna waa inay sii wadaan taageerada farsamo iyo maaliyadeed ee ay ku taageeraan geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland.

Gundhigga Dimuqraadiyadda Puntland

Puntland waxaa la aasaasay bishii Ogoosto 1998-kii waxaana lagu dhisay shirweyne ay beeluhu hoggaaminayeen, waxaana kasoo qaybgalay odayaasha dhaqanka, aqoonyahannada, siyaasiyiinta, wakiilo ka socday bulshada rayidka ah iyo ganacsato. Shirkan waxaa ka dhashay maamulkii ugu horreeyey ee Puntland oo uu hoggaaminayey marxuum Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmed. Shirka ayaa sidoo kale lagu ansixiyay axdi saddex sano ah, kaasoo dhigayay in Puntland ay ka gudubto nidaamka awood qeybsiga qabiilka una gudubto nidaam dimuqraadi ah oo buuxa. Maamulka cusub waxaa loo xilsaaray inuu Puntland u diyaariyo dastuur cusub, inuu afti u qaado, sameeyo tirakoob, iyo inuu dhiso guddiga doorashooyinka Puntland (PEC) si loogu diyaariyo nidaamka xisbiyada badan (PDRC, 2015).

Puntland saddexdii sano ee ugu horreysay waxay la kulantay qalalaase siyaasadeed iyo isku dhacyo. Sanadkii 2001, madaxweynihii Puntland ee xilligaas, Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmed, iyo Jaamac Cali Jaamac labaduba waxay sheegteen inay yihiin madaxweynaha sharciga ah ee Puntland waxayna ku dagaallameen gacan ku haynta gobolka kadib markii uu Cabdullaahi Yuusuf kordhiyey muddo xileedkiisa. Puntland xilligaas ma lahayn wax dastuur ah, riyadii ahayd in doorasho toos ah la qabto waxaa halis geliyay xasilooni-darrada siyaasadeed ee ka dhalatay murankan. Colaadani waxay sidoo kale sababtay barakicinta dadka rayidka ah iyo khasaaro nafeed ilaa labada hoggaamiye ay ka heshiyeen sannadkii 2003 kadib markii odayaasha iyo bulshada rayidka ahi ay waanwaan sameeyeen (IRIN, 2003).

Doorashadii ugu horreysay ee baarlamaanka Puntland waxaa la qabtay sanadkii 2005 waxayna odayaasha beelaha soo xuleen 66 xildhibaan. Maxamuud Muuse Xirsi "Cadde Muuse" ayaa loo doortay madaxweyne sanadkii 2005. Cadde wuxuu dhisay Guiddi Dib-u-eegista Dastuurka oo ka koobnaa xildhibaanno, wasiirro ka tirsan xukuumadda, iyo garyaqaanno bishii Maajo 2005. Wuxuu markii dambe kala diri doonaa guddiga iyadoo aysan jirin duruuf cad oo sababtay (PDRC, 2015).

Cabdiraxmaan Maxamuud Faroole ayaa xilka kala wareegay Madaxweyne Cadde Muuse sannadkii 2009. Dowladda Faroole ayaa isla sannadkaas dib-u-eegis iyo dhammaystir ku samaysay dastuurka kumeelgaarka ah ee Puntland. Tani waxay ahayd tallaabo muhiim ah oo loo qaaday dhinaca hirgelinta nidaamka siyaasadeed ee xisbiyada badan ee Puntland. Faroole wuxuu sameeyay isku-day wanaagsan maamulkiisuna wuxuu ahaa mid farsamo ahaan diyaar ah oo karti leh. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, ma uusan helin taageero ku filan wuuna qancin kari waayay siyaasiyiinta Puntland. Waxaa xilligaas la heystay dhaqaale howlaha doorashada ku filan, waraaqaha codbixinta xitaa waa la daabacay oo howlaha doorashada waxay gaartay heer wanaagsan, laakiin aakhirkii ma qabsoomin doorashadii.¹

¹ Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland ahna wasiir hore ee heer federaal, Garowe, May 2021.

BOX: Chronology of the election process

- July 2011: TPEC established
- 15–18 April 2012: Constitutional Convention approves the constitution and extends President Farole's term by one year (it had been due to expire on 8 January 2013)
- June 2012: Puntland Local Elections Law passed by parliament
- July 2012: Political Associations Act passed
- August 2012: District Electoral Law passed
- September 2012: political association registration starts, extended by three weeks in December (to 31 December)
- September 2012: four Bari region clans issue statement opposing presidential term extension, protests in Qardho, Galkayo, and other major towns
- October 2012: Horseed Radio shut down, accused of false reporting online
- 31 December 2012: political association registration closes, six associations are cleared to contest the election
- March 2013: Midnimo, UDAD, PDP, and Wadajir political associations send a joint letter to TPEC and authorities calling for six reforms to be implemented before the election
- 15 April 2013: TPEC announces election will take place on 30 June
- May 2013: Council of Ministers approves the Constitutional Court law
- 13 July 2013: election materials distributed to all uncontested districts, violent protests in Qardho, Galkayo, and other towns
- 13 July 2013: Puntland president announces elections are postponed

Xigasho: Puntland at the polls, Saferworld 2013

Dhammaadkii muddo xilleedkiisii sanadkii 2012, Faroole wuxuu isku dayay inuu soo bandhigo nidaam doorasho oo dimuqraadi ah. Dadka siyaasadda daneeya ayaa shaki ka qabay tallaabadan, oo uu qaaday sanadkii ugu dambeeyay ee uu xukunka hayay. Wuxuu kordhiyay muddo xilleedkiisa, isagoo ku dooday in dastuurka cusub ee Puntland uu siiyay shan sano beddelkii afartii sano ee caadiga ahayd ee madaxdii isaga ka horreysay ay xilka hayeen. Qdobkan muddada madaxweynenimo wuxuu ahaa qdobka ugu muranka badan, maadaama dastuurka kumeelgaarka ah uu siiyay ugu badnaan afar sano. Wuxuu sidoo kale wax ka beddelay dastuurka si muddo-xileedka madaxweynaha looga dhigo shan sano, sanadkii shanaad ee u dambeeyayna wuxuu isku dayay inuu soo bandhigo nidaamka xisbiyada badan. Mucaaradkii dowladdiisa waxay ku tilmaameen sanadkii ugu dambeeyay ee uu xilka hayay muddo kordhin sharci darro ah. Rabitaankii Faroole ee ahaa in doorasho la qabto sanadkii ugu dambeeyay ee uu xafiska joogay ayaa sidaas darted noqotay mid aan macquul ahayn.²

² Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland ahna wasiir hore ee heer Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

Maamulkii Faroole ayaa sidoo kale diyaariyey xeerka guddiga doorashada Puntland, kaasoo saldhig sharci u ah in la dhiso guddiga kumeelgaarka ah ee doorashooyinka Puntland. Dastuurka Puntland waxaa sidoo kale ansixiyay muddadii uu xilka hayey bishii Abriil 18, 2012 478 ergo (Interpeace, 2012) oo ka koobnaa madaxda bulshada, mas'uuliyiin ka tirsan dowladda, iyo wakiilo ka socday qurbojoogta. Baarlamaanka Puntland ayaa ansixiyay Xeerka Doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanka bishii Sebteembar 2012. Xeerka Ururada Siyaasadda ayaa sidoo kale la ansixiyay bishii Juun 2012 waxaana saxiixay madaxweynaha bishii July. Sharcigan ayaa markii dambe wax laga beddeli doonaa Sebteembar 2012.³

Bishii December 2012, markii ugu horraysay Puntland waxaa laga diiwaangaliyay ururada siyaasadda. Lix urur siyaasadeed oo kala ah HORCAD, Horseed, Midnimo, UDAD (Ururka Dadka Puntland/Puntland People's Party), PDP (People's Democratic Party), iyo Wadajir ayaa la diiwaangeliyey. Dood siyaasadeed socotay muddo labo bilood ah oo u dhexeysay ururada siyaasadda iyo TPEC oo ku saabsanayd arrimaha doorashada ee ka dhashay soo jeedinta wax-ka-beddelka Xeerka Doorashooyinka ayaa dhacday. Maalintii doorashada – 14-kii Luulyo 2013 – qalabkii codbixinta oo la gaarsiiyey deegaannada Karkaar (gobol cusub oo ay Puntland magacowday), Bari, Sanaag, iyo Mudug waxaa ka hor yimid bulshadii deegaanka oo iska caabin xooggan sameeyay. Tani waxay ku dambaysay dhowr qof oo rayid ah iyo taliye ciidan oo la dilay. Madaxweyne Faroole ayaa markii dambe joojiyay doorashada sababo la xiriira rabshado aan horey loogu xisaabtamin oo uu dhaliyay. Dhacdooyinkan waxay halis gelyieen geedi-socodkii dimuqraadiyadda, kaasoo la gelyiy dadaal aad u weyn oo ka yimid dowladda, dadweynaha, iyo beesha caalamka. Ugu dambeystii, Baarlamaanka Puntland iyo maamulkii waqtigaas jiray waxay go'aan ku gaadheen in la qabto doorasho kale oo ku salaysan awood qaybsiga beelaha oo la qabtay Janaayo 2014.

Cabdiweli Maxamed Cali Gaas – oo ahaa Ra'iisul Wasaarihii dowladdii Kumeelgaarka ahayd ee uu hoggaaminayay Shariif Sheekh Axmed – ayaa noqday madaxweynihii afaraad ee Puntland. Wuxuu xukunka la wareegay xilli isku daygii ka horreeyey ee ahaa in la qabto doorashada goleyaasha deegaanka uu guuldareystay inuu hirgal, shacabka Puntlandna ay u hammuun qabeen cod toos ah. Ra'yii ururin ay Xarunta PDRC samaysay sanadki 2014, 91% kamid ah jawaabeyaasha ayaa sheegay inay rabaan inay codkooda dhiibtaan doorashooyinka mustaqbalka. Tani waxay muujisay niyadsami balaadhan oo ku wajahan codbixinta guud (PDRC, 2014).

Dadka dhaliila Madaxweyne Gaas ayaa sheega in uusan waqtii badan gelin geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda. Wuxuu magacaabay TPEC sanadkii 2016 laakiin 3-dii sano ee ku xigay si fican uma shaqaynin, howlihiin dimuqraadiyaynta Puntland-na waxay galeen hakad. Qeybo kamid ah dadka daneeyayaasha siyaasadda ayaa u arkayay in tani ay tahay mid afka uun laga sheegayo iyo calaamat muujineysa in dowladdu aysan ka go'anayn barnaamijka dimuqraadiyadda.⁴ Ma jirin wax taageero maaliyadeed ah oo TPEC la siiyay, komishankana wuu awoodi waayay inuu kasbado kalsoonida daneeyayaasha maxalliga ah waqtigaas, iyo beesha caalamka oo taageeradooda maaliyadeed ay muhiim ahayd. Dowladdu mudnaan ma siinin dimuqraadiyadda, TPEC-na sidaas owgeed waxey noqtotay mid fadhiid ah.⁵

³ Wareysi lala yeeshay xildhibaan ka tirsan Baarlamaanka Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

⁴ Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

⁵ Wareysi lala yeeshay mas'uul ka socda Komishanki hore ee TPEC, Garowe, May 2021.

Sannadkiisii ugu horreeyay ee xafiiska, Madaxweyne Saciid Deni – oo la doortay 8-dii Janaayo 2019 – wuxuu muujiyey sida ay uga go'an tahay dardargelinta hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda oo hakad ku jiray. Deni wuxuu aasaasay TPEC waqtii fican. Ka go'naanshanan waqtiga fican yimid wuxuu komishanka siiyay jadwal shaqo iyo waqtihawleed habboon oo dabacsan.



Saciid Deni, Madaxweynaha Puntland, oo isku diiwaangeliyay doorashada dowladdaha hoose ee Degmada Qardho (Sawirkha: TPEC)

Baarlamaanka Puntland ayaa dhankiisa billaabay bishii Juun 2019 dood ku saabsan sidii wax looga beddili lahaa nidaamka doorashooyinka Puntland. Waxaa la magacaabay guddi baarlamaan oo go'aamiya sida ay Puntland uga gudbi karto hannaanka doorasho ee hadda jira. Kalfadhigii xigay ayay xukuumaddu ku magacawday shan xubnood oo guddiga doorashada ah, afar xubnoodna waxaa soo magacaabay Baarlamaanka. Komishanka TPEC oo ka kooban sagaal xubnood ayaa ugu dambayntii waxaa ansixiyay baarlamaanka Puntland 16-kii November, 2019.⁶

Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha, Federaalka, iyo Dimuqraadiyeysta Puntland (MOIFAD) ayaa iyaduna door muuqdo ka qaadatay geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda. Waxay hormuud ka ahayd aasaaskii (dib-u-dhiskii) TPEC. Komishankan waxaa ugu horrayn loo abuuray inuu qabto Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose oo marka ay waajibaadkooda gutaan, guddi kale oo qabta doorashooyinka baarlamaanka ayaa la dhisi doonaa. MOIFAD ayaa sidoo kale ka shaqeeyneysa soohdinta degmooyinka waxaana la filaya in dhawaan lasoo bandhigo hindise shariyeedka xuduudaha degmo doorashooyinka. Soohdinta saddexda degmo – Qardho, Eyl iyo Ufeyn – oo ah halka lagu qaban doono Doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee Dowladaha Hoose ayaa durba lasoo gabagabeeay.⁷

⁶ Wareysi lala yeeshay Xildhibaan ka tirsan Barlamaanka Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

⁷ Wareysi lala yeeshay mas'uul ka socda MOFIAD, Garowe, May 2021.

Dowladda Puntland ayaa sidoo kale dhaqaale ku taageertay TPEC. Inkastoo uu dhaqaalahan ku jiray miisaaniyadda sanadkii 2020, lacagta la siiyay TPEC sannamaaliyadeedka 2020 wuxuu ahayd 15% oo keliya lacagtii ay ballan-qaaday Dowladda Puntland oo ahayd \$1,613,804.⁸ Sida la fahmi karo, COVID-19 ayaa saameeyay awoodda dhaqaale ee dowladda.

Habka Daraasadda Loo Sameeyay

Daraasaddan ku saabsan dimuqiraadiyeypnta Puntland waxaa la sameeyay ayadoo la adeegsanayo habka qualitative-ka ah. Xogta waxaa lagusoo uruuriyay wareysiyo lala yeeshay Dadka Xog-ogaalka ah iyo dadka saameynata ku leh hannaanka dimuquraadiyeypnta Puntland.

16 wareysi ayaa laga sameeyay Garowe, oo ah magaalo madaxda Dowlad Goboleedka Puntlad intii u dhexeysay 23-30 May 2021. 15 kamid ah 16-ka qof ayaa si toos ah loo wareystay, halka qofka kale lagu wareystay qadka taleefanka. Dadka daraasaddan lagu wareystay waxa ay isugu jireen sidan:

- Saraakiil ka tirsan Wasaaradda Arrimaha Guddaha, Federaalka iyo Dimuquraadiyeypnta
- Saraakiil ka tirsan Wasaaradda Dhallinyaradda iyo Isboortiga
- Xubno ka tirsan TPEC
- Wakiilo ka socday urrurada siyaasadda
- Xubno ka tirsan Baarlamanka Puntland
- Wakiilo ka socday Midowga Urruradda aan Dowliga aheyn ee Puntland
- Xubno ka tirsan Ururka Warbaahinta Puntland
- Saraakiil ka tirsan Xafiiska Difaacayaasha Xuquuqda Aadanaha ee Puntland
- Wakiilo ka socday xarumaha cilimibaarista sida PDRC
- Haweenka iyo dhallinyaradda
- Odayaasha Dhaqanka
- Xubno ka tirsan haya'daha caalamiga ah.

Wareysiayda laga qaaday dadka xog-ogaalka ah waxaa lagu kaabay xogta hore loo daabcay ee mowduucan khuseysa.

Inkastoo la adeegsaday soo xigashada ilo aad u fara badan iyo xog markaas lasoo uruuriyay, haddana cilimibaaristan waxaa lagu sameeyay kaliya magaalada Garowe. Intaa waxaa dheer, tiradda dadka la wareystay way koobneyd, muddada ay socotay xog urruintuna waxa ay ahayd kaliya hal todobaad. Qaar kamid ah dadka xog-ogaalka ah ayaa ka fogaa goobta cilimibaarista ama joogay goobo aan loogu tagi karin. Qaar kalena dalka ma joogin, halka qaar kale aysan suuroobin in qadka teleefanka lagu haleelo. Ayada oo ay jiraan caqabadaan haddana warbixnta –

⁸ Wareysi telefanka gacanta lagula yeeshay mas'uul ka socda TPEC, June 2021.

ayada la adeegsanayo xog cusub iyo sidoo kale xogtii hore loo dabacay ee la heli karay – waxa ay ifineysaa sooyaalka nidaamka dimuqraadiyadda ee Puntland, hannaanka dimuqraadiyeeynta ee hadda socota iyo caqabadaha uu wajahayo. Warbixintu waxa ay soo bandigeysa talooyin tixgelin mudan oo khuseeya mustaqbalka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland.

Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose ee Puntland

Baarlamaanka Puntland waxa uu si rasmi ah u meelmariyay guddiga TPEC 16-kii Nofembar 2019-ka. Guddiga waxaa loo asaasay maamullidda iyo qabashadda Doorashooyinka Dowladda Hoose, diiwaangelinta urruradda siyaasadda iyo muwaadiniinta xaqa u leh in ay wax dortsan, iyo diiwaangelinta saddexda xisbi ee ugu horreeya kadib guusha laga gaaro qabashada Doorashooyinka Dowladda Hoose (TPEC Annual Report, 2020). Waajibaadka ugu muhiimsan ee TPEC iyo qeybaha ay wada shaqeeyaan waxa ay tahay in ay xoogga saaraan in laga guul gaaro daadajinta siyaasadda iyo dimuqraadiyeeynta Puntland xilliga u dhxeeyaa 2020-2021.

Qeyb muhiim ah oo hannaanka dimuqraadiyeeynta ee ay hormuudka ka tahay Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha ee Puntland, islamarkaana ay hireglineyso TPEC waxa uu yahay horumarinta xeerar qaabeynaya dimoqraadiyadda kuwaaasoo asaas u ah hannaanka doorashadda. Qaar kamid ah xeeraarka la meelmariyay ee la xirriira hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda waxaa kamid ah:

1. Dastuurka Dowlad Goboleedka Soomaaliyeed ee Puntland
2. Xeerka Guddiga Doorashada Puntland
3. Xeerka Doorashada Golayaasha Deegaanka Puntland (Xeer No. 7)
4. Xeerka Xisbiyada/Ururrada Siyaasadda
5. Xeerka Diiwaangelinta Codbixiyeyaasha

Wadarta sagaal Urur Siyaasadeed ayaa isdiiwaangeliyay si ay uga qeyb galaan doorashooyinka soo socda ee dowladaha hoose. Waxa ayna kala yihiin:

1. Urur Siyaasadeedka Run iyo Cadaalad
2. Urur Siyaasadeedka Shaqaalahaa
3. Urur Siyaasadeedka Dhalinyarada
4. Urur Siyaasadeedka Cadaaladda iyo Sinaanta
5. Urur Siyaasadeedka Kaah
6. Urur Siyaasadeedka Mideeye
7. Urur Siyaasadeedka Mustaqbal
8. Urur Siyaasadeedka Horseed
9. Urur Siyaasadeedka Ifiye



EARLY THREE DISTRICT LGE: (Qardho, Ufayn & Eyl)



NO.	ACTIVITY	TIME
1	Publish FVL	02 August, 2021
2	Submission list of LGE candidates	20 Aug – Sun 19 Sept, 2021
3	Final resignation day of government employees interested in participating LGE	25 Aug, 2021
4	Establishment of Election Security committee	01 Sept, 2021
5	Certification and publishing of LGE candidates	20-24 Sept, 2021
6	Submission of political association representatives list for LGE	20-29 Sept. 2021
7	Submission of observers list for LGE	20-29 Sept. 2021
8	Distributing Voter cards	20 Sept-10 Oct, 2021
9	LGE Campaign period Opens and Closes	24 Sept-23 Oct, 2021
10	Vetting and approval of Observers and Political Association Representatives list for LGE	01-5 Oct, 2021
11	Final Campaign period (mid-night)	23 Oct, 2021 (Mid-night)
12	E-day	Mon, 25 October, 2021

TPEC waxa ay xiriir joogto ah la laheyd daneeyeyaasha kala duwan. Waxa ay si joogto ah ula xiriiraan daneeyasha, ayagoo la wadaaga bil walba waxa soo kordha, si dhawna kala shaqeeya qeybaha ay shaqada kala dhexeyso/bulshada rayidka arrimaha ay tahay in la iska wacyigeliyo. Farsamo ahaan, nidaamka diiwaangelinta codbixiyeyaasha ee saddexda degmo, oo ay tahay hore in loogu qabto doorashooyinka dowladaha hoose, ayaa si habsami leh u socda. Nidaamka diiwaangelinta ayaa ogaaday in dadka qaar ay labo jeer is diiwaan geliyeen, waxaana lagu wadaa in TPEC ay saxaan. Bulshada Rayidka ayaa bilowgii qeyb ka ahhaa hannaanka, laga bilaabo wadatashiga hababka sharci dejinta ilaa hannaanka diiwaangelinta.⁹

Inkastoo aysan jirin xeerar degsan oo salka ku haya xulashada saddexda degmo, haddana ururo badan oo siyaasadeed ayaa kasoo horjeeday doorashooyinka lasoo hormariyay ee Dowladaha Hoose ee saddexda degmo Qardho, Ufeyn, iyo Eyl. Xeerarka Puntland u yaalla ayaa dhigaya in doorashooyinka mar la wada qabto, sidaas awgeedna ma jiro wax xeer ah oo uu ku salaysan yahay in doorasho laga qabto 3 degmo oo keliya, iyadoo inta kalena waqt dambe loo madlayo. Balse marka danta guud la joogo, (maladuna ay tahay in ay doonayaan fursadda ay ku noqon karaan xisbiyo diiwaangashan, taas oo aysan heli kari laheyn haddii aysan ka qeyb galin), ururrada siyaasadeed waxay go'aansadeen inay sii wadaan la shaqaynta TPEC oo ay qeyb ka noqdaan geeddi-socodka.¹⁰

Iyadoo ay horudhac u tahay Doorashooyinka guud ee Dowladda Hoose iyo si oo helo kalsoonida dadka go'aamada wax ku leh iyo saaxiibadda beesha caalamka, TPEC waxay go'aansatay inay marka hore qabato Doorashooyinka Dowladda Hoose oo kaliya saddex degmo ah. Shuruudaha lagusoo xushay saddexda degmo waxaa kamid ahaa:

- In degmooyinku aysan ka tirsaneyn hal gobol. Waa in ay ka tirsan yihiin saddex gobol oo kala duwan.
- Degmadu waa inay leedahay xasillooni ku filan, islamarkaana amniga xuduudaheeda la isku halleyn karo, si ay u fududaato in si xor ah ay isugusoo bixi karaan dadka codeynaya. Sidoo kale degmadu waa inay leedahay maamul shaqeeya oo sal adag leh.
- Saddexda degmo waa inay lahaadaan astaamo siyaasadeed iyo mid deegaan oo kala duwan, si ay ugu muuqdaan halbeeg la tiigsan karo. Sidaas awgeed, hal degmo ayaa lagasoo xulay degmooyinka ay dadka badani ku nool yihiin (Qardho), midna waxa lagasoo xulay deegaannada xeebaha ah (Eyl), iyo midda saddexaad oo lagasoo xushay gobollada ay sida weyn u deggan yihiin reer guuraaga/xoola dhaqatada/beeraleyda (Ufeyn).¹¹

TPEC waxaa taageera ururrada bulshada rayidka maxalliga ah ee ay howlwadaagga yihiin, sida Ururka Jilaayaasha aan Dowliga ahayn ee Puntland (PUNSAA), Xarunta Cilmi-baarista iyo Horumarinta Puntland (PDRC), iyo Ururka Warbaahinta Puntland (MAP). Ururadda aan dowliga aheyn ee calaamiga ah, kuwaasoo ay kamid yihiin Interpeace iyo Diakonia ayaa sidoo kale taageero farsamo siiya TPEC iyo howlaha taxanaha ah ee dimuqraadiyaynta.

⁹ Wareysi lala yeeshay PUNSAA, Garowe, May 2021.

¹⁰ Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland politician iyo wasiir hore, Garowe, May 2021.

¹¹ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin katirsan TPEC, July 2021

13-kii May 2021, MAP waxa ay heshiis la saxiixatay TPEC, kaasoo ku saabsanaa xeerka anshaxaa suxufiyiinta Puntland ee wacyigelinta doorashooyinka maxalliga ah. MAP waa haya'ad shaqo-wadaag muhiim u ah TPEC labada dhan ee warbaahinta iyo ururada bulshada.



Guddoomiyeyaasha TPEC iyo MAP oo saxiixaya Xeerka Anshaxaa Saxafiyiinta Puntland ee ololaha wacyigelinta Doorashooyinka Degmooyinka (Sawirka: TPEC)

Kaalinta PUNSAA ee hannaanka doorashada waxa uu ka kooban yahay saddex qeyb: la socoshadda shaqada TPEC, sameynta wacyigelin dadweyne oo ku aaddan muhiimadda diiwaangelinta iyo doorashooyinka, iyo abaabulidda goleyaal iyo goobo toos loogu wadahadlo, iyo su'aalo iyo jawaabo u dhexeeya dadweynaha iyo TPEC. PUNSAA waxa ay tababartaa, kuna dhiirrigelisaa wakiillada ururrada siyaasadda hannaanka dimuqraaddiyadda, diiwaangelinta codbixiyeyaasha, kaalinta iyo mas'uuliyadaha, iyo dhinacyada kale ee muhiimka u ah hannaanka doorashada. Tusaale ahaan, daahfurka diiwaangelinta codbixiyeyaasha ee degmada Qardho, PUNSAA oo taageero ka heleysa Midowga Yurub waxa ay tababartay korjoogeyaa iyo wakiilo ka socda ururrada siyaasadda.¹²

¹² Wareysi lala yeeshay PUNSAA, Garowe, May 2021.

PDRC waxa ay bilowday, oo ay martigelisay doodo iyo garnaqsi ku saabsan arrimaha doorashooyinka iyo guud ahaan geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland. Hay'addu waxay sannado badan xoogga saartay waxbarashada madaniga ah iyo sare-u-qaadista wacyiga dadweynaha. Howlaha la xiriira dimoqraadiyadda ee PDRC wuxa uu soo bilowday sanadkii 2005 markii hay'addu martigelisay Guddiga Dib-u-eegista Dastuurka. PDRC waxay sameysaa madallo TPEC kula hadasho dadka. Wuxa kale oo ay leedahay habab awood u siin kara faafinta macluumaadka dadka xataa meelaha fogfog oo ay adag tahay in la gaaro. Qeypta maqalka iyo muuqaalka ee PDRC waxay taageertaa hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda iyadoo soo saarta farriimo gaagaaban. Hay'addu waxay kale oo ay TPEC siisaa taageero iyo dhiirrigelin, ayadoo la hagaajinayo, islamarkaana sare loo qaadayo xiriirka ka dhixeyya TPEC iyo ururrada siyaasadda. PDRC waxa ay sameysay daraasad sanadkii 2014-ka, taasoo ku saabsanayd dimuqraadiyadda Puntland, waxana ka qeyb galay in ka badan 2,500 oo qof, oo ka kala socday 22 degmo oo ka tirsan sagaalka gobol ee Puntland.¹³ PDRC waxa ay sidoo kale sameysay u kuurgal la xirriira aragtida dimoqraadiyada, taasoo muujinaysa natiiijo togan oo heer sare ah (in ka badan 70%) oo ku wajahan in Puntland laga qabto doorashooyin dadweyne oo loo dhan yahay ka hor dhammaadka sanadka 2021-ka.

Q) Do you plan to vote in the upcoming local council elections in 2021?

S) Ma ku talojirtaa in aad ka codayso doorashooyinka Golayaasha degaanka ee 2021?

77%



Democratic perception survey, PDRC 2021

Interpeace (Ururka Caalamiga ah ee Nabadeynta) waxa uu taageeraa wacyigelinta bulshada. Mid kamid ah kaalinta muhiimka ah ee Interpeace ee gobolka ayaa ahayd taageeridda geeddi-socodka dhisidda nabadda, u doodista kuwa liita, iyo wacyi-gelinta arrimaha sida dimuqraadiyadda iyo ka qeybgalinta haweenka ee siyaasadda, xallinta khilaafaadka, iyo dhisidda awoodda guddiyada doorashada.¹⁴

¹³ Wareysi lala yeeshay PDRC, Garowe, May 2021.

¹⁴ Wareysi lala yeeshay Interpeace, Garowe, May 2021.

Diakonia, ayada oo u sii maraya haya'daha ay shaqo-wdaaga yihin sida PUNSAA, waxa ay ka shaqeysaa ka qeyb galka haweenka iyo dhallinyarada ee diwaangelinta doorashooyinka. Ururrada ay bahwadaagta yihin ee maxalliga ah waxa ay ka shaqaynayeen waxbarashada madaniga ah, iyo sidoo kale wacyigelinta arrimaha dastuurka iyo dimuqraadiyadda. Waxa kale oo ay taageereen TPEC, gaar ahaan tayeynta shaqaalhooda. Diakonia waxa ay sidoo kale taageertaa ururrada bulshada rayidka ah ee kormeera doorashooyinka.¹⁵

Madalahda dhalinyarada sida Madasha Haldoor waxaa ay taageeraan hannaanka doorashada ee socda iyagoo wacyigelin ka samaynaya aaladaha dijitaalka ah iyagoo u sameeya habab muuqalo gaagaaban ah iyo fariimo gudbinaya fariimo waxbaris ah oo ku saabsan hannaanka iyo shaqada guddiga kumeelgaarka ah ee doorashooyinka Puntland (TPEC), dowladda, iyo bulshada rayidka ah. Waxaa ay sidoo kale qabtaan doodo iyo wadahadalo. Waxa kale oo ay daabacaan maqaallo ku saabasan hannaanka dimuqraadiyadeynta.¹⁶

Dhanka maalgelinta, TPEC waxay heshay lacag wadarteedu tahay **\$554,016.76** sanadkii 2020-ka oo ay ka heshey dhammaan saxiibadeeda oo ay ku jirto dowladda Puntland (TPEC, 2020). Lacagta ay heshey TPEC heshay sannadka 2020 waxaa loo kala bixiyey:

- Dowladda Puntland- \$254,877
- Sahan/Swiss/Danish- \$238,000
- Interpeace/Sweden- \$16,490
- Lacagaha diiwaangelinta ururada siyaasadda- \$44,590

Switzerland iyo Denmark ayaa ahaa dalalkii ugu horreeyey ee ballan qaaday taageero farsamo iyo mid dhaqaale. Sanduuqa Xasilinta Soomaaliya ee SSF ayaa sidoo kale taageero farsamo siisay TPEC.¹⁷

TPEC waxa uu diyaariiyay Hagaha Xallinta Khilaafaadka Doorashada. Qdobka 8-aad ee Xeerka Guddiga Doorashada Puntland (2014) ayaa TPEC awood u siinaya inay maamulo wixii khilaafaad maamul ah ee ka dhalan kara inta lagu guda jiro doorashada iyo ka dib-ba. Khilaaf kasta oo ka dhasha natijoooyinka doorashada iyo wixii la xiriira waxaa xukumi doona Maxkamadda Sare. TPEC ayaa sidoo kale ku baaqday dhisidda Maxkamadda Dastuurka.¹⁸

Xaaladda warbaahinta iyo helitaanka macluumaadka la xiriira hannaanka dimuqraadiyadeynta guud ahaan waa mid wanaagsan. Ugu horrayn, ma jiraan suxufiyiin la xirey, loo haysto ama lagusoo oogey dambiyoo la xiriira doorashada. Waxedajiray ilaa afarkiisoon noocan oo kale udhowooahaa intii udhexeysay December 2020 iyo Febraayo 2021 markii hannaanka doorashada heer federaal ee Soomaaliya si dhab ah loogu loolamayay. Midda labaad, marka laga hadlaayo warbaahinta iyo helintaankeeda macluumaadka la xiriira hannaanka doorashada, Ururka Warbaahinta Puntland (MAP) waxa ay TPEC la saxiixatay Xeerka Anshaxa Saxafiyiinta

¹⁵ Wareysi lala yeeshay Diakonia, Garowe, May 2021.

¹⁶ Wareysi lala yeeshay hoggaamiye urur dhallinyaro, Garowe, May 2021.

¹⁷ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin katirsan TPEC, July 2021

¹⁸ Ibid

Puntland ee Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose. Wasaaradda Warfaafinta, PDRC, iyo PUNSAA ayaa goobjoog ka ahaa saxiixa xeerka anshaxa. Heshiiskani waxaa ku jira qodobbo ka hadlaya xuquuqda iyo waajibaadka saxafiyiinta Puntland. Qdobka 4-aad waxaa uu ka mamnuucayaa warbaahinta inay faafiyaan xog aan la isku haleyn karin oo wax u dhimi karta xasiloonida iyo habsami-u-socodka doorashooyinka. Waa kale oo uu qeexaya in saxafiyiinta aysan helin ama raadin maclummaad ama sawirro iyagoo adeegsanaya cabsi-gelin. Qdobka 5-aad waxaa uu taxayaa xuquuqda warbaahinta oo ay kamid tahay in ay awood u yeelan karaan in ay raacaan nidaamka diiwaangelinta iyo doorashada, waxaana la siin doonaa maclummaad la xiriira habka diiwaangelinta sida isdiwaangeliyasha, musharraxiinta, ururrada/xisbiyada, codbixiyasha, goobaha codbixinta, xarumaha diiwaangelinta iyo diiwaangeliyasha. Waxaa kale oo uu Xeerka hoosta ka xarriiqayaa xuquuqda suxufiyiinta oo uu raadinaya in uu ka ilaaliyo nooc kasta oo dhibaato iyo ciqaab ah.¹⁹

Marka laga eego dhinaca xuquuqda aadanaha, cabashooyin guud ayaa jira, balse ma jiraan xaalado gaar ah iyo kiisas waaweyn. Ma jiraan cabashooyin rasmii ah, gaar ahaan arrimaha xuquuqda aadanaha ee la xiriira hannaanka doorashada, oo soo gaaray Xafiiska Difaacaha Xuquuqda Aadanaha ee Puntland.²⁰

Diiwaangelinta cod-bixiyeyasha ee saddexda degmo ayaa si rasmii ah loosoo afjaray 7-diiJuun, 2021. TPEC ayaa hadda ka shaqaynaysa liiska diiwaangelinta. Liis kumeelgaar ah ayaa lasoo saaray 27-kii Juun, 2021 oo loogu tala galay daneeyayaasha ka hor inta aan lasoo saarin liiska kama dambysta ah ee cod-bixiyayaasha. Waxaa ku xigi doona daabacaadda kaararka cod-bixinta iyo codeynta, oo loo asteyey 25-ka Oktoobar.²¹ Tiro dhan 46,187 cod-bixiyeyaal ah ayaa iska diiwaangeliy doorashooyinka hordhaca ah ee dowladda hoose; Qardo – 24,921; Eyl – 11,364; iyo Ufayn – 9,902.²²



Diiwaangelinta cod-bixiyeyasha ee kooxaha guurguura ee TPEC oo ku sugan baadiyaha hoos yimaada degmada Eyl (Sawirka: TPEC)

¹⁹ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin katirsan MAP, Garowe, May 2021.

²⁰ Wareysi lala yeeshay Xafiiska Difaacayaasha Xuquuqda Aadanaha ee Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

²¹ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin katirsan TPEC, July 2021

²² TPEC, Garowe, August 04, 2021.

Haweenka Puntland ayaa si muuqata uga mid ahaa dimuqraadiyadeynta Puntland iyo saddexda degmo ee dooraashooyinka hordhaca ah ee dowladaha hoose lagu qaban doono. Haweenka Puntland waxa ay iska diiwaangeliyen heer sarreya (50.5%) marka loo eego ragga (49.5%). Dumarka ayaa ugu yaraan 50% ka ah bulshada, balse la kulma hoos u dhigid joogta ah oo la xiriirta dhanka metelaadda nidaamyada siyaasadeed. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, caqabadaha nidaamka, xaddidnaanta maaliyadeed, iyo fikradaha bulshada ee ka dhanka ah ka qeybgalka haweenka ee siyaasadda ayaa sii wiiqaya ka qeybgalkooda iyo metelaaddooda siyaasadda oo ay kamid yihiin inay qaataan doorka hoggaamineed ee ururada siyaasadda.

Inkastoo ay soo baxeen aqoonsiyo ka hooseeya mudda qaran ee Soomaaliya iyo murannada la xiriira hannaanka federaaleyn, haddana dad badan oo barakacayaal Soomaaliyeed ah oo ku nool gobollada Puntland ayaa ku jira diiwaangelinta. Tusaale ahaan, ku dhawaad 1,500 oo qof ayaa iska diiwaangeliyey xerada barakacayaasha Qardo.²³ Sida ku cad qdobka shanaad ee Xeerka Diiwaangelinta Cod-bixiyayaasha Puntland, muwaadin kasta oo Soomaali ah oo ku noolaa Puntland ugu yaraan toban sano wuxuu xaq u leeyahay inuu isku diiwaangeliyo codbixiyeye ahaan. Tani ayaa ah tallaabo weyn oo horumar leh oo loo qaaday dhinaca ka qeybgalka iyo dimoqraadiyadeynta loo dhan yahay.



Beeldaa je Cali Faarax, oo ah oday dhaqameed caan ah, ayaa ku sawiran kaarkiisa diiwaangelinta codbixiyaha Ufayn ee Gobolka Bari photo courtesy)

Fursadaha Hannaanka Dimoqraadiyadeynta Puntland

Waxaa jira fursado badan oo dimuqraadiyadeynta Puntland ka jira xilligan. Waxay la xiriiraan arrimaha soo socda (yo kuwo kale):

- Ballan-qaadkii siyaasadeed ee waqtigiisii yimid ee dowladda-goboleedka Puntland ee uu hoggaamiyo Madaxweyne Siciid Cabdullaahi Deni. Dowladdu waxa ay dhistay TPEC waqtii wanaagsan, waxay dejisay tusaalooyin waxayna muujisay aaminaad wanaagsan. Dadaalladii maamulladii hore waxaa qeyb ahaan curyaamiyey dhismihii guddiga maareynta doorashada oo dib-u-dhac ku iman jiray.
- Hufnaanta shaqada TPEC waa fursad muhiim ah oo si weyn wax ugu taraysa tallaabooyinka ilaa hadda la qaaday. TPEC waxay soo bandhigtay heerar wanaagsan oo diyaarsanaan ah, xagga saadka iyo farsamadaba.
- Waxaa jira dareen yididiilo leh oo ka dhexjira dadka ugu sareeya siyaasadda, jiilka soo koraya ee Puntland, iyo guud ahaan dadweynaha. Waxaa jira dareen guud oo ah in haddii dadaallada dimuqraadiyadeynta hadda socda lagu guuleysto, ay astaan u noqon doonto dib u dhalashada Puntland. Sikastaba ha ahaatee, haddii rajadaas la fulin waayo, waxaa dhici karta in ay burburto himilooyinkii dimoqraadiyadda ee dadka reer Puntland, taasoo halis gelin karta danayn mustaqbal ama niyadjab ku yimaada geeddi-socodkii dimuqraadiyadeynta oo muddo dheer soo jiray.²⁴
- TPEC ayaa hadda ku naalooneysa wadashaqayn wanaagsan oo ay la leedahay dhammaan daneeyayaasha hannaanka dimuqraadiyadeynta. Waxaa ay taageero farsamo iyo mid maaliyadeed ka heshaa dowladda Puntland iyo saxiibbada caalamiga ah. Guddiga ayaan ilaa hadda la kulmin caqabado ka hor istaagay inay gutaan waajibaadkooda.²⁵ Wacyigelinta iyo isku duubnida bulshadeed ee dadweynaha Puntland ayaa ayadana ah fursad kale. Howlaha dimuqraadiyadenta ee hadda jira waxay ka dhasheen hindise kasoo bilowdey hoos. Puntland maamul ahaan waxaa lagu dhisay hindisayaal ay hoggaaminayaan dadka deegaanka oo inta badan maalgelintiisa ay iyagu leeyihiin. Ku dhawaad lix doorasho oo wakhtigooda ku qabsoomey (doorashada madaxtinimada iyo xulashada baarlamaanka) ayaa lagu qabtay Puntland, inkastoo aysan jirin codbixin guud oo dadweynaha reer Puntland ay codadkooda ka dhiibteen. Waxaa xigay xil wareejin si nabad ah ku dhacdey.²⁶ Rabitaanka dadka reer Puntland iyo sida ay u go'aamiyeen intooda badani in ay toos u doortaan wakiiladooda ayaa ah fursad kale oo weyn.²⁷
- Dhinaca kale, dadku waxay ka daaleen nidaamka qabiilka ku salaysan ee oday-dhaqameedyada siinaya awood badan, culeysna ku ah inta badan dhallinyarada iyo haweenka. Odayasha dhaqanka ayaa dhankooda waxaa culeys ku ah eedeynta iyo cabashooyinka ka imaanaya beelaha ay metelaan.²⁸ Jahwareerkaan waxaa keenay nidaamka awood qeybsiga qabiilka ku saleysan, kaasoo soo jiray

²⁴ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin katirsan PDRC, Garowe, May 2021.

²⁵ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin horey uga tirsanaa TPEC, Garowe, May 2021.

²⁶ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin katirsan PDRC, Garowe, May 2021.

²⁷ Wareysi qadka taleefoonka ah lala yeeshay guddoomiyaha TPEC, June 2021.

²⁸ Ibid

in ka badan labaatan sano. Ku-qanacsanaan la'aanta dadka ee nidaamka hadda ku dhisan qabiilka waxay geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyadeynta siineysaa fursad iyo meel wanaagsan oo ay ku kobcaan waxayna abuureysaa niyad-wanaag guud oo ka imaaneysa dadka reer Puntland ee Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose.

- Dhallinyarada, oo dadka ku nool Puntland oo ka ah 75%, aad bay ugu qanacsan yihiin hannaanka. Dhammaan ururrada siyaasadda ayaa ka qeyb geliyey dhallinyarada ololaha diiwaangelinta saddexda degmo ee lagu wado inay ka qabsoonto doorashada hordhaca ah ee Dowladaha Hoose. Tiro wanaagsan oo dhallinyaro ah ayaa sidoo kale ku jira heerarka kala duwan ee hoggaamineed ee ururrada siyaasadeed ee dhawaan la diiwaangeliyey. Ururada siyaasadeed ayaa sidoo kale bartirmaameedsanaya dhalinyarada si ay u hubiyaan inay gaaraan abaabul hoose iyo ka qeybgal weyn.²⁹ Wacyiga guud ee dadweynaha ayaa sidoo kale ah mid rajo leh. Tusaale ahaan, Wasaaradda Dhallinyarada iyo Ciyaaraha waxay dhallinyarada u qabatay munaasabado si kor loogu qaado wacyigooda ku aaddan geeddi-socodka dimuqraaddiyadeynta ee socota. Dallado dhalinyaro kala duwan ayaa waxaa dhisay Wasaaradda Dhallinyarada waxayna kaalin muhiim ah ka qaateen abaabulka dhallinyarada iyo xubnaha kale ee bulshada si ay tiro badan isu diiwaan geliyaan.³⁰
- Hannaanka Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose ayaa ku bilowday dariiq hufan. Dhammaan daneeyayaashu waxay ahaayeen kuwo isku tallaabo ka ah, oo laga qeyb geliyey hawlaha muhiimka ah iyo wadatashiyada TPEC. Diiwaangelinta ururrada siyaasadda iyo diiwaangelinta cod-bixiyeyaasha oo guulaysata ayaa sahli karta in lagu guulaysto codbixinta guud.³¹
- Puntland waxaa ay isticmaaleysey hab qabiil ku salaysan tan iyo markii la aasaasay. Oday dhaqameedyada ayaa cod weyn ku lahaa maamulka, maadaama ay yihiin kuwa soo xulaya xubnaha baarlamaanka Puntland oo ka kooban 66 xubnood. Odayaasha dhaqanka ayaa hadda kala shaqeynaya TPEC dhanka xaqijinta cod-bixin toos ah. Waxbarashada madaniga ah ee tuulooinka fogfog waxaa mararka qaarkood xitaa hoggaaminayay odayaal la ixtiraamo.
- Ugu dambayntii, TPEC waxa ay adeegsanaysaa nidaamka diiwaangelinta cod-bixiyeyaasha casriga sare ah ee biometric-ga. Waxaa uu ka kooban yahay astaamaha aqoonsiga wejiga iyo indhaha oo ay isku hallayntoodu sareyso. Nidaamku wuxuu hore u aqoonsaday kiisas diiwaangelin oo laba jeer soo laabtay, taasoo guddigu ku xallin doono, sida ay sheegeen, adeegsiga hababka sharciga ee jira.³²

²⁹ Wareysi lala yeeshay hoggaamiye urur dhalinyaro, Garowe, May 2021.

³⁰ Wareysi lala yeeshay xubin sare oo katirsan Wasaaradda Dhallinyarada iyo Ciyaaraha, Garowe, May 2021.

³¹ Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

³² Wareysi qadka taleefoonka ah lala yeeshay guddoomiyaha TPEC, June 2021.

Caqabadaha Hortaagan Hannaanka Dimuqraadiyadda Puntland

Ka sokow fursadaha jira ee geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyeenta Puntland, waxaa sidoo kale jira caqabado kala duwan oo geedi-socodka doorashada socda ay wajahayaan. Kuwaas waxaa ka mid ah, laakiin aan ku koobnayn:

- Faafidda COVID-19 oo saamayn weyn ku yeeshay waqtiyadii ay TPEC dejisay. Waxa kale oo ay saamayn ku yeelatay filashada maalgelinta ee beesha caalamka.³³
- Sida la fahmi karo, dowladda Puntland si buuxda uma maalgelin karto geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyeenta. Taageerada saaxiibada caalamiga ahna hadda ma bixin lacagihii laga filay.
- Soohdinta degmooyinka ma ahan mid dhameystiran inkastoo dowladda ay arrintaas ka shaqeyneyso. Tani waxaa laga yaabaa inay dib u dhigto hawsha degmooyinka hadhay oo aan kala soociddoodu cadayn.³⁴
- Ololaha wacyi-gelintu waxay bilaabmeen xilli dambe, iyadoo si kumeelgaar ah loo qorsheeyey inta u dhxeysa Noofambar 2019 iyo Janaayo 2020, laakiin waxaa carqaladeeyey COVID-19 (oo markii ugu horreysay laga helay Puntland bishii Maarsio 2020). Xasilooni-darrada siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya iyo xiriirka aan wanaagsaneyn ee ka dhxeeyaa Dowladda Federaalka iyo Dowladaha xubnaha ka ah Federaalka ayaa sidoo kale carqaladeeyay qorshaynta iyo diyaarinta hore ee hawlaha wacyi-gelinta.³⁵
- Maqnaanshaha hab garsoor oo adag (gaarahaan la xiriira madax-bannaanida iyo dhex-dhexaadnimada maamullada) ayaa ururrada siyaasaddu ku tilmaameen caqabad la saadaalin karo. Maxkamadda Dastuurka weli lama dhisin.³⁶
- Nidaamka axsaabta badan ee doorashada iyo doorashada dowladaha hoose oo toos ah waa nidaam ku cusub Puntland, iyo guud ahaan Soomaaliya. Waxay qaadan doontaa wakhti ay dadku fahmaan oo si buuxda ula qabsadaan codbixinta guud. Waxaa jira heer aad u hooseeya oo wacyigelin ah marka laga hadlayo geedi-socodka diwaangelinta, ururada siyaasadda iyo ahmiyadooda, kaalintooda iyo waajibaadka Golayaasha Dowladda Hoose.³⁷
- Tirakoob guud lama samayn. Tirakoobku wuxuu gacan ka geysan doonaa soohdinta iyo kala-xadaynta degmooyinka hadda jira iyo kuwa cusub, iyo sidoo kale qoondaynta kuraasta.³⁸ Tani waxay keenaysaa su'aal ah sidee metelaadda noqoneysaa mar haddii aanan tirakoob la sameyn.
- Doorashooyinka qaran ee Soomaaliya waxay u badan tahay inay saamayn ku yeelan doonaan waqtiga loo qabtay Doorashada Dowladaha Hoose ee Puntland.

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Wareysi lala yeeshay MAP, Garowe, May 2021.

³⁶ Wareysi lala yeeshay Ururrada Siyaasadeed, Garowe, May 2021.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

- Qaar kamid ah ururrada siyaasadda ayaa walaac ka muujinaya fursadaha uu heysto Urur-siyaasadeedka Kaah, oo ay rumaysan yihin inuu ku xidhan yahay dowladda Puntland. Walaacan ayaa laga yaabaa in uu rumoobo culeysna keeno marka ay soo baxdo natijada Doorashada Dowladaha Hoose ee soo socota iyo sida ururrada siyaasadeed loo siiyo fursado isku mid ah.
- Ugu dambeyn, dimuqraadiyadantu waxay ujeeddadeedu tahay dhisidda qaab-dhismeedyo maamul oo ah kuwo loo dhan yahay balse ku salaysan tartan iyo afkaar siyaasadeed oo ka madhan hab fikir beeled. Caqabada ugu weyn ee hadda jirta waa is-waafajinta iyo sida loo dheellitiri karo danaha beelaha, ururrada siyaasadda, iyo doorashooyinka.

Casharrada Laga Baran Karo Geeddi-socodkii Dimuqraaddiyeynta Puntland

Puntland waxay ku naaloonaysay xasilooni siyaasadeed iyo mid amni la isku hallayn karo in ka badan labaatan sano tan iyo markii la aasaasay 1998. Dowladdu waxay bilowday oo hormuud ka ahayd dhowr hindise siyaasadeed iyo maamul, ee uu kamid yahay nidaamka federaalka, oo markii dambe lagu dabaqay qeybaha kale ee Soomaaliya. Geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyeynta ee socota ayaa lagu wadaa in uu noqdo halbeeg macne u leh dowlad-goboleedyada kale waxaana uu leeyahay casharo badan oo laga dheegan karo.

- Ku-daridda Barakacayaasha ee diiwaangelinta waa cashar muhiim u ah dowlad-goboleedyada. Maaddaama ay jiraan doodo badan oo ku saabsan mawduuca muwaadinnimada Soomaaliya iyo gaar ahaan qaadashada nidaamka federaalka, waxaa yididiilo ah in Puntland ay go'aansatay inaysan ka tagin barakacayaasha Soomaaliyeed ee ku nool Puntland. Dadkaas badankoodu waxay ka yimaadeen meelo kale oo Soomaaliya ah mana kasoo jeedaan beelaha waaweyn ee Puntland deggan. Tani waxay ahayd tallaabo mudan in lagu daydo xilli ay sii kordhayaan kaalinta beelaha dega dowlad-goboleedyada ee doodaha siyaasadeed ee Soomaaliya. Ka qeybgelinta dadka kasoo hayaamay gobol ka baxsan midka hadda ay degenyihiin waxay yareyn kartaa aragtida ah in dowlad-goboleedyada ay ku badan yihin qabiilooyin gaar ah, waxayna dhiirrigelin kartaa ka qeybgalka beelo badan ee dowlad-goboleedyada.
- Maalgelinta aasaasiga ah ee dimuqraadiyeynta waxaa bixinaya dowladaha hoose. Lahaanshaha maxalliga ah, oo ka bilaabaneysa dowlad-goboleedka, waa hab istaraatiiji ah oo ku wajahan dimuqraadiyad buuxda. Dhaqaalaha maxalliga ah iyo bulshooyinka ayaa muhiim ah waana inay si buuxda uga faa'iidaystaan maamul kasta oo doonaya dimuqraadiyadyn.
- Qaddarinta doorka wanaagsan ee odayaasha dhaqanka xitaa marka loo gudbayo dimuqraadiyad buuxda iyo doorasho toos ah waa cashar kale oo muhiim ah. Waa in la xoojiyaa oo lagu daraa dadaallada dimuqraadiyadda maadaama ay yihin awood toggan oo laga faai'daysan karo.³⁹

³⁹ Wareysi lala yeeshay oday dhaqan, Garowe, May 2021.

- Diiwaangelinta degmooyinka laga soo bilabaayo waa inay noqotaa dhabbaha dimuqraadiyadda Soomaaliya. Si doorasho guud loogu qabto Soomaaliya mustaqbalka dhow, diiwaangelinta dadka waa in laga bilaabaa dowlad-goboleedyada gaar ahaan meelaha galaangalka loo yeelan karo.⁴⁰

Talooyin Tixgelin Mudan

Dadka reer Puntland, gaar ahaan haweenka iyo dhallinyaradu, waxay u arkaan habka hadda socda fursad weyn oo keeni kara matalaad dhab ah iyo isla-xisaabtan. Si geedi-socodku u guulaysto, daneeyayaasha geedi socodka dimuqraadiyeysta Puntland waa inay tixgeliyaan talooyinka soo socda:

Dowladda Puntland

- Dowladda Puntland waa in ay ilaalso ballanqaadkii siyaasadeed ee ay sameynsay tan iyo markii geeddi-socodka doorashooyinku bilaabmay. Hannaan doorasho oo guulaysta oo dadka reer Puntland ay si toos ah u doortaan wakiilladooda waxay sumcad weyn u tahay maamulka hadda jira. Waxaa jirta fursad weyn oo tan looga dhabeyn kaaro. Maamulk Puntland ee uu hoggaamiyo Madaxweyne Saciid Cabdullaahi Deni waa in uu ilaaliyo ballanqaadka siyaasadeed ee ilaa hadda u horseeday TPEC jawi ku habboon in uu shaqadiisa qabsado.
- Dowladda Puntland waa inay sidoo kale diyaar u noqotaa inay samaysa dadaallo siyaasadeed oo dhab ah oo ay ku raadinaysa inay xalliso mushkilad kastaa oo siyaasadeed oo hor istaagi karta geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda.
- Dowladda waa in ay tixgelisaa sameynta Maxkamadda Dastuurka si kor loogu qaado aaminaadda iyo ku kalsoonida xallinta khilaafadka ka dhalan kara doorashada iyo ka dibba. Waxaa jiri kara khilaafyo uu xalkoodu dhaafsiisanaan karo awoodda maxkamadaha Puntland ee hadda jira. Sidaas darteed, waxaa si degdeg ah loogu baahan yahay in la dhiso maxkamad dastuur oo madax bannaan.
- Dowladda Puntland waa inay ka dhabeysaa ballanqaadyadii maaliyadeed ee ay markii hore sameysay. Waxaa bogaadin mudan inay xoogaa taageero maaliyadeed ah u fidisay TPEC mar hore laakiin waa in inta dhiman la dhammeeyo. Maamulka Puntland waa inuu sidoo kale u qoondeeyaa xoogaa taageero maaliyadeed ururrada siyaasadda si loo helo tartan siyaasadeed.
- Waxaa jira doorashooyin is barbar socda, heerkulka siyaasadduna waxa uu u muuqdaa mid kulul. Dowladda Puntland waa inay ka fogaataa iska horimaad aan loo baahnayn oo ka dhaca “aagagga lagu muransan yahay” ee ku xeeran xuduudaha dowlad goboleedku la wadaagto Somaliland. TPEC waa inay sidoo kale tixgelisaa suuragalnimada in la tegi karo deegaannadaas oo ay qaadataa siyaasad aan waxyello lahayn oo ay doorashooyinku kaga dhacayaan oo keliya meelaha ammaankooda iyo xasiloondooda siyaasadeed la isku hallayn karo.

⁴⁰ Wareysi lala yeeshay siyaasi Puntland, Garowe, May 2021.

Wasaaradda Arrimaha Gudaha, Federaalka iyo Dimuqraadiyeenta waa in ay dedejisaa hawlaha kala xadeynta degmooyinka Puntland iyo in ay soo saarto xeerar lagu kala xadeeyo degmooyinka Puntland iyadoo lala kaashanayo bulshada rayidka ah iyo odayaasha dhaqanka, lagana fogaado wax kasta oo kicin kara colaad iyo isku-dhac.

- Kaddibmarka uudhammaadowaajibaadka TPEC, oo ay dhacaan Doorashooyinka Dowladaha Hoose, xukuumaddu waa in ay si degdeg ah u dhistaa guddiga doorashada ee qaban doona doorashooyinka baarlamaanka. Dib-u-dhacyo laga baaqsan karo ee geedi-socodka dimuqraadiyeenta ayaa dili kara niyadsamida, dib u celin karta jihada wanaagsan oo kor u kacaysa waxayna halis gelin kartaa guulaha dimuqraadiyadeed ee la gaaray.

Guddiga Kumeelgaarka ah ee Doorashooyinka Puntland (TPEC)

- TPEC waa in ay howsha meesheeda kasii waaddaa oo ay ka fogataa in khilaaf kasta iyo isku dhaac dano. Tan waxaa lagu gaari karaa iyada oo lala joogteynaayo xiriir furan dhammaan daneeyayaasha. Sida ay hadda tahay, TPEC waa in ay sii wado siinta farsamooyinka iyo xogaha maaliyadda dhinacyada wax kala dhexeeyaan, daneeyayaasha hannaankaa, iyo dadweynaha.
- Ka sokow farsamooyinka iyo qaab -dhismeedka xallinta khilaafaadka gudaha ee hadda jira, TPEC waa inay tallaabo hore u qaaddaa oo ay riixdo dhisidda Maxkamadda Dastuurka, oo ah aalad sharci oo muhiim ah oo sare u qaadi karta kalsoonida daneeyayaasha ee hannaanka socda.
- Puntland, iyo guud ahaan Soomaaliya, ma laha khibrad hore oo ku saabsan dimuqraadiyadda iyo codbixinta dadweynaha. Ololeyaal wacyigelin oo xooggan iyo ka-qeybgal ayaa shardi u noqon doona geeddi-socod doorasho oo guuleysta. Maaddaama dimuqraadiyadda ay inta badan ku cusub tahay jiilka codeynaya, in la sii ogaado caqabadaha iman kara loonasii raadiyo xalal ayaa iyana muhiim ah.
- TPEC waa in ay ka faa'iidaysataa niyadsamida iyo wada shaqaynta odayaasha dhaqanka mar haddii ay yihin marin muhiim u ah bulshooyinka oo saamayn xooggan ku leh dadka ay matalaan. Odayaasha dhaqanka waa in loo tixgeliyaan daneeyayaasha aasaasiga ah oo la tixgeliyo talooyinkooda wanaagsan.
- TPEC waa in ay tixgelisaa waqtiga doorashada federaalka ee Soomaaliya oo ay dabacsanaan dhanka jadwalka muujisaaa. Ma jiro hannaan dhammaystiran laakiin TPEC waa inay xoogga saartaa fulintaa hannaan hufan, nidaamsan, iyo doorashooyin Dowladaha Hoose oo waqtiyeysan

Ururrada Siyaasadda

- Ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay ku daraan haween iyo dhallinyaro qaab-dhismeekooda – labadaba hoggaanka fulinta iyo golaha guud. Ka tagista labada qeybood ee ugu badan bulshada waxay ka hortegi doontaa rajada dimuqraadiyad buuxda.
- Ururrada siyaasadeed waa inaysan ku tiirsanaan taageerada dowladda. Waxay u baahan yihiin inay la yimaadaan qorshayaal maaliyadeed oo gudaha ah si ay ku maalgeliyaan waxqabadkooda. Habka ugu habboon wuxuu noqon karaa in laga qaado tabarrucaad lacageed ee xubnahoo.
- Ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay muujiyaan in ay noqon karaan hoggaan islamarkaana noqdaan kuwo jeediya dhaliil wax saxda gaar ahaan marka ay iibinayaan ajendayaashooda siyaasadeed. Waa inay ka fogaadaan kicinta iyo/ama hurin colaado xitaa marka ay qabaan walaac dhab ah. Iyadoo lagu saleynaayo mabda'a "Waxyeello Ha Gaysan", waa in mar walba la raadiyo habab nabdoon oo tabashada loo xalliyo. Ururrada siyaasaddu waa inay daacad ka ahaadaan fikradaha dimuqraadiyadda oo ay dhaqdhqaqyadooda ku qabtaan si waafaqsan Xeerka Ururada Siyaasadda iyo xeerkarka Puntland. Intaa waxaa dheer, waa inay ka fogaadaan inay u maamulaan ururrada siyaasadeed hannaan u faa'iidaynaya keliya danaha shakhsigyaad.
- Si kor loogu qaado kalsoonida ururrada siyaasadda meeshana looga saaro isku dhaca danaha, Urur Siyaasadeedka Kaah (oo inta badan xubnihiisa sarsare ay kamid yihiin dowladda hadda jirta ee Puntland) waa in uu xuduud cad u sameeyaa ururka siyaasadda iyo dowladda. Tan waxaa lagu gaari karaa iyadoo aan la isticmaalin dhaqaalaha dowladda, iyadoo la qaato kaalin siyaasadeed oo la siman ururrada siyaasadda ee kale, lagana fogaado dhammaan arrimaha muujin kara eexda dhinaca dowladda ee Urur Siyaasadeedka Kaah.⁴¹

Bulshada Rayidka Puntland

- Ururada Bulshada Rayidka ah ee Puntland waa inay dardar geliyan oo ay billaabaan obole wacyigelin ah oo si fiican loo agaasimay kadib marka hawsha diiwaangelintu dhammaato. Waxaa jira farqi u dhexeeya macluumaadka dadweynaha heystaan iyo caddayn la'aanta hannaanka geedi-socodka. Hay'adaha sida MAP iyo PUNSAA, iyagoo kaashanaya TPEC, waa inay yareeyaan farqiga macluumaadkan iyagoo abaabulaya doodaha, la shaqaynta qeybaha kala duwan ee bulshada, iyo wacyigelinta si loo abaabulo dadka si ay usoo baxaan tiro badan muddada diiwaangelinta iyo maalinta codaynta.
- MAP waa inay tababarto oo ku dhiirrigelisaa warbaahinta iyo suxufiyiinta Puntland sidii ay u tabin lahaayeen xilliga doorashada, xuquuqdooda iyo waajibaadkooda, iyo tallaaboooyinka badbaadadooda.

⁴¹ Wareysi lala yeeshay ururrada siyaasadeed, Garowe, May 2021.

Dadweynaha Puntland

- Dadweynahu waa inay muujiyaan midnimada ujeeddada iyo inay xaqiijiyaan lahaanshaha hannaanka dimuqraadiyaynta. Lahaanshahaani wuxuu ka hortegi doonaa suurtagalmada guuldarrada. Dadweynaha guud waa inay sidoo kale kala shaqeeyaan TPEC gudasahada waajibaadkooda.
- Dadweynuhu waa inay ka fogaadaan wax kasta oo wax u dhimi kara nabadda iyo xasiloonida. Dadweynuhu waa inay sidoo kale wax walba oo tabasho iyo dhaliil ah usoo bandhigaan si wax-ku-ool ah oo wax ku kordhin kara hannaanka socda.

Dowlad Goboleedyada

- Dhammaan dadka Soomaaliyeed waa in ay taageeraan hannaanka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland ee haddajira oo ay ilgaarahkueegaan. Saamaynta togan ee geeddi-socodkani waxay noqon kartaa dib-u-nooleynta rabitaanka dadka Soomaaliyeed oo fursad ay ku isticmaali karaan xuquuqdooda dimoqraaddiyadeed muddo dheer xaddidneyd ama aanayba jirin.
- Dowlad-goboleedyada waa inay halbeeg u qaataan geeddi-socodka dimuqraadiyadda Puntland. Waa inay dhiirrigeliyan wax is dhaafsi oo ay midba midka kale ka barataa dhaqannada ugu fiican.

Saaxiibbada Caalamka

- Saaxiibbada Soomaaliya waa inay sii wadaan niyadsamida, taageerada farsamo iyo dhaqaale ee ay u fidiyeen taageerada dimuqraadiyadda Puntland.
- Maalgelinta dimuqraadiyadda Puntland waa tilaaboo wanaagsan waxayna hordhac wanaagsan u tahay dimuqraadiyeynta ballaaran ee Soomaaliya. Saaxiibbada caalamku waa inay laba jibbaaraan taageerada ay siyaan TPEC iyo dhinacyada kale ee Puntland. Tan waxaa kamid ah, siinta taageero dhaqaale oo ku filan gaar ahaan si waafaqsan shuruudaha TPEC iyo MOFAID ay sameeyeen.
- Beesha caalamku waa inay sidoo kale taageertaa hay'adaha u riixi kara daahfurnaanta iyo isla-xisaabtanka si tartiib-tartiib ah. Hay'adahaas waxaa kamid ah Maxkamadaha, Guddiga La-dagaalanka Musuqmaasuqa, Xafiiska Difaacaha Xuquuqda Aadanaha Puntland, iyo Ururada Bulshada Rayidka.

Tixraac

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