



Soomaaliya & Ruwaanda: Saykooloojiyadda iyo falsafadda iskudhacyada Afrika

WQ: Maxamed Xaaji Ingiriis
WT: Cabdullaahi Shariif Xuseen



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Mucda waraaq-cilmiyeedka

Waayo-aragga daraaseeya Afrika waxa ay mararka qeybtood ku dhaca jahwareer iyo kala qeybsanaan. Bulshooyinka ay colaaduhu ragaadiyeen, lana nool doogta/uur-ku-taalada (trauma), waxa ay inta badan isla dhexmaraan sheekooyin gacan-ku-rimis ah, oo inta badan ka dhigta kuwo leh hab-feker colaadeed oo joogto ah (defeatist war logic); halkii ay sheekooyinkaas ka noqon lahaayeen kuwo garaad-sheekaysi ah, oo dhabta abbaara. Iyadoo dagaaladii sokeeye ee Soomaaliya ka dhacay 1991-dii loo qaadanaayo kees-daraasadeed (case study), qoraagu waxa uu naqdinayaa doodda shaacsanaha ah ee qabta in Soomaaliya uu ka dhacay “ciribtir-qabiil” (clan cleansing). Maqaalku waxa uu ku doodayaa in doodaasi ay tahay mid ka baddadnayso taariikhda kakan ee iskudhacyada Soomaaliya, iyadoo dagaalka kadibna abuurayda khilaaf dabo-dheeraada. Iyadoo la qiimeynaayo iskudhacyada reereed, lana adeegsanaayo aragtiyaha taariikheed iyo kuwa dagal-baariseed (anthropology) — qoraagu waxa uu ku doodaya in aanay jirin caddaymo sal-adag leh oo taariikheed amaba dagal-baariseed, kuwaa oo taageeraaya aragtida qabta in ciribtir-qabiil laga helaayo taariikhda Soomaaliya. Dooddu waxa ay salka ku haydaa cilmibaarisyo goobeed (field research) waqti badan socotay, waayo-aragnimo shaqsiyadeed oo la xariirta u joogiddii dagaalada sokeeye ee Soomaalida, iyo qoraha maqaalkaan oo shaqadiisu ahayd qoraalka, fadhigiisuna ahaa Muqdisho xilliyadii ugu qaraaraa ee colaadda. Daraasaddani waxa ay isticmaalaysaa aragtiyaha iyo isbarbardhigga cilmi bulsheed si ay su’aal u galido, isla markaana u durto doodda (ciribtirka-qabiil ee Soomaaliya), taa oo lagu faafiyay mareegaha Soomaalida iyo kuwa cilmiyeed.

Eryada furaha u ah waraaq-cilmiyeedka: *iskudhacyada Afrika, Colaado sokeeye, balhaysiyada iskudhacyada kadib*

¹ Ciribtir Qabiil: Waa in si qorsheysan oo abaabulnaani ku dheehantahay loo laayo/dilo reer gaar ah, si wax looga beddelo qaab dagganaashaha deegaannada, si loo abuuro deegaan amaba dal ay ku midaysanyihiin hal qolo.

Horudhac

28 Jannaayo 2013-kii, kulan reereed ka dhacday huteel ku yaalla magaalada Toronto ee dalka Kanada ayaa waxaa isugu yimid Soomaalidii qurbaha ku noolayd. Kooxdaas Soomaalida ah waxaa ka mid ahaa kuwo ka yimid Itoobiya iyo Keenya. Waxa ay kulanka ku sheegeen in uu yahay midkii ugu horreeyay ee lagu xusaayo wax ay ugu yeereen “ciribtirka-qabiil” ee Soomaaliya ka dhacay. Dad badan oo kamida kooxda soo agaasintay kulanka waxa ay xiriir dhow la lahaayeen dowladdii hore ee Generaal Maxamed Siyaas Barre, iyagoo horay uga faa’iday taliska inta aan meesha laga tuurin. Waxaa kiciyay oo saameeyay buug dhawaanahan la daabacay oo uu qortay gabar u dhalatay Nederlaan, oo lagu magacaabo *Lidwien Kapteijns*²; taa oo buggeeda ugu wanaqashay “*Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991*”/ “*ciribtirka-qabiil ee Soomaaliya: Dhaxalkii Hoogga ee 1991*”. Qoraagu waxa uu isku dayayaa in uu si akaadeemig ah u soo bandhigo aragtida qabta Ciribtir-qabiil ayaa Soomaaliya ka dhacay; walow aragtida markii danbe loogu dhex adeegsaday qaab aan caddayn doodaha dadweynah dhexdooda. Waxa ay isku dayayaan in ay taageeraan aragtida Ciribtirka-qabiil ee Soomaaliya, se waxa ay iska indhotirayaan sida mushkiladda iskudhacyada reeraha ay u tahay mid adag. Taas beddelkeed waxa ay isticmaalayaan luuqad ay ku dheehantahay xanaaq iyo dhaleecayn. Inta badan, xogtu waxa ay ka imaanaysaa koox hal reer isku ah kuwaa oo ku nool Maraykanka iyo Kanada. Sanado badan waxa ay isticmaalayeen “Ciribtir-qabiil” si ay sawir uga bixiyaan kaligitaaliyihii (Siyaad) iyo sidii uu uga cararay Muqdisho. Sababtaan darteed, sheekada kooxdaas waxa ay noqon doontaa aalad weerar ah oo loo adeegsado reeraha kale. Waxa ay aragtidaas u adeegsanayaan si ay u soo celiyaan qabkii reerka. Waxa ay taasi tari doontaa in ay ku biiraan jabhaddo reereedyada iyo in ay sumcad tiraan siyaasiyiinta iyo dadyowga caanka ah qeebtood. Dadaalada nuucaan ahna waxa ay sii kordhinayaan hirdanka colaadeed ee reeraha. Inkastoo aragtida “Ciribtirka-qabiil” ay sii labanlaabayso colaadaha, hadda na hadafka ugu weyn oo ay ka leeyihiin waxa ay tahay in ay ku gorgortamaan awoodaha siyaasadeed ee dowladda cusub.

Intii u dhaxaysay 30 Diseembar 1990-kii iyo 26 Jannaayo 1991-dii, reero hubaysan oo ay USC dhinac ka tahay, uuna hoggaaminaayo Jenaraal Maxamed Faarax Caydiid, iyo dhinaca kale oo SSDF ah ayaa meesha ka saaray taliskii militariga ee Soomaaliya. Dhammaadkii, waxaa dowladdii looga adkaaday dagaal socday afar isbuuc, kaa oo ku fiday caasimadda dalka, Muqdisho. Sheekooyinka siyaasadaysan ee kala dhanbalan ee ka dhex socda bulshooyinka la nool uur-ku-taalada (trauma) ee soo ifbaxay dagaaladii sokeeye kadib___ waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo dadkii ka dhigaaya aargoosadayaal: “Waxaan rabaa aarsi, waxaana filanayaa aarsi.” Isku dhacyada gacan-ka-hadalka ah ee Soomaaliya ma aanay abuurin oo kaliya deegaanno reereed, ee waxa ay sidoo kale shaaca ka qaaday sheekooyin cusub oo abuuraya dhibbanayaal reereed (clan victimhood) oo ka soo kala jeeda bulshooyin kala duwan. Xaaladdu marka ay sidaa tahay, waa ay adagtahay in aad noqoto qof xaqiiqada abbaara, dhabtana ka hadla; inta kuwa dagaalamaayo ay dhexdooda isugu yeerayaan dambiilayaal. Si kasta ba ha ahaatee, dadka qeybtood waxa ay waxa ay sii xoojiyeen sheegashadoodii, iyagoo isticmaalayaa shaabadda ah “Ciribtir-qabiil”. Waxa ay “Ciribtir-qabiil” ka dhigeen halhays ay ku beddelaan siyaasadda Soomaalida.

² Lidwien Kapteijns waa aqoonyahanad iyo qoraa taariikheed Nadarlaandiis ah, taa oo inta badan diiradda saarta cilmibarista suugaanta Soomaalida iyo tan Suudaan. Waxa ay heerka koobaad ee jaamacadda ka diyaariday suugaanta ingiliishka iyo taariikhda ee jaamacadda Amsterdam. Halka heerkeeda labaad na uu ahaa daraasadaynta Afrika, ee jaamacadda London. Hadda waa barofeyсарad taariikhda Afrika ka dhigta koleejka Wallesley. Waa qoraha buugga “*Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991*”. (T)

Sida Ruwaanda oo kale, aragtida “ciribtirka-qabiil” waa taktiko siyaasadeed oo ujeedkeedu tahay eed ka qaadidda maamulkii hore, iyadoo eedaas loo weecinaayo maamulka markaas jira. 2006-dii **Menkhaus**³ waxa uu tilmaamay in kaalmada shisheeye ee dowlad-dhiska ay mar waliba dhinac u janjeerto. Waxa uu ka digay in kaalmada shisheeye ay kaliya taageeri doonto hal dhinac oo kamida dhinacyada dagaalamayaa. Maanta, dowlad-dhisku waxa uu noqday mid reeraha lagu dhiso; waana arrin uu sii saadaaliyay **Menkhaus** in Soomaaliya ay noqon doonto deegaanno ay maamulaan qabaa’il kala duwan.

Dadaallo fara badan ayaa lagu bixiyay sidii ay innooga warrami lahaayeen falanqeeyayaal aan Soomaali ahayn. Badi dadaaladaas waa ay dhicisooheen. Inkastoo shaqooyinka qeybtood oo ay qabteen ay u muuqato kuwo akaadeemig ah, hadda na taariikh warintoodu ma aanay ahayn mid dhab hadal ah (objective history); waana waxa uu **Shokpeka** ugu yeeray taariikh dhinac-ka-raran ah, oo kaliya ka warramaysa khuraafaad reereed oo soo jireen ah (applied history).

Antaraboolojistihii Faransiiska ahaa **Lévi-Strauss** buugiisa “*The Savage Mind*” waxa uu tilmaamay, in taariikhdu aanay waligeed ahayn tagto kaliya, taas beddelkeed se ay tahay mid cid gaara u adeegaysa. Taariikhda cidda gaarka ah u adeegsaya waa mid shaacsane ka ah daraasaadka Soomaalida. Aqoonyahanno badan waxa ay u muuqdaan kuwo iska aqbalay sheegashooyinka ay reeraha la wadaagaan, iyagoo aan wax su’aal ah galin.

Buugii ugu danbeeyay ee **Kapteijns (Clan cleansing)** ee ka hadlaaya iskudhacyada Soomaalida wuxuu si cad u muujinaya in uu yahay mid hal reer oo kaliya ka warramaaya. Illaa inta qalinka loo adeegsanaayo qaab hubaysan Soomaalida dhexdeeda; qoraalku na wuxuu ahaan doonaa mid u xagliya qabaa’il gaar ah, halka uu wiiqi doono reero kale. Sida uu tilmaamay **Saciid Samatar**⁴, xilligaan la joogo, qabiil waliba waxa uu leeyahay u doodayaal ku dhex jira daraasaadka Soomaalida. Waxa uu farta ku fiiqay **Kapteijns** iyo faallo-bixiyayaal kale oo reer Galbeed ah, isagoo ku dhaleeceeyay in ay garab siinayaan labo reerood oo is haya mid kamida. Tani ma aha wax aanay ka war qabin badi falanqeeyayaasha daraasaadka Soomaalida. Daacaddii, qaar kamid ah falanqeeyayaashaas ayaa si kas ah ugu janjeera hal dhinac, halka qaarka ay xigsadaan hal dhinac iyagoo aan iska war hayn.

Kapteijns waxa ay soo bandhigtay sheeko eexaysan (biased story) oo ku saabsan sida siyaasiyiinta reeraha qeybtood iyo waxgaradka intiisa kale ay u arkayeen amaba u qeexayeen wixii dhacay 1991-dii. Waxa ay ku adkeysatay in wixii dhacay loo fahmo ciribtir-qabiil (clan cleansing). **Besteman** waxa ay sii tibaaxday malada iyo eexaha ay soo bandhigaan Antaraboolajistayaasha iyo aqoonyahannada kale marka ay isku dayaan in ay sharraxaan tacaddiyadii ka dhacay Soomaaliya. Waxa ay sidoo kale hoosta ka xarriiqday sida ay ugu arradanyihiin wax-isweydiinta-qumman iyo sida aanay u awoodin in ay kala

³ Kenneth Menkhaus waa caalin Ameerikaan ah, oo ku takhasusay culuunta siyaasadda. Waa mid kamid ah dadyowga loogu ixtiraamka badanyahay marka laga hadlayo siyaasadaha geeska Afrika, gaar ahaan tan Soomaaliya. Intii u dhaxeysay 1993-1994 waxa uu lataliye arrimaha siyaasadda ka noqday howlgalkii qaramada midoobay ee Soomaaliya. Waa qoraha buugga “Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism”. (I)

⁴ Saciid Sheekh Samatar waa taariikhyahan Soomaaliyeed, oo aad looga tixagaliyo daraasaadka Soomaalida. Digriigiisii koobaad waxa uu ahaa taariikhda iyo suugaanta, ee koleejka Goshen; halka darajada labaad na uu ka diyaariyay daraasaadka Afrika, ee jaamacadda Northwestern. Waa qoraha buug dhowr ah oo uu ka mid yahay buugga ay wada qoreen David Laitin, ee “Somalia: Nation in Search of a State”. (I)

shaandheeyaan tacaddiyada. Daacaddii, doodda kaliya ee ay halkaan ku soo bandhigayso *Kapteijs* waa mid ay kula safanayso reer gaar ah, halkii ay ahayd in ay si dhexdhexaadnimo ah wax u eegto. Balse dhibaata ugu weyn waxa ay la xariirtaa nuuca hadalhayntaan (narrative) loo qaabeeyay sida feejignaanta leh ee isbarbardhigaysa sheekooyinka dadka sida ay yihiin maanta iyo shalay siday ahaayeen. In la ballaariyo qeexitaanka ciribtir-qabiil, waxa ay keentaa in tagtadii (past) lagu xiro taaganta (present); siyaasaddu na waxaa saldhig u ahaan doonto sheekadaa. Jaldiga hore ee buugga *Kapteijs* ee 1991-dii, colaadaha qabaa'ilka waxaa hurinaayay qabka, islaweynida iyo maroorsiga awoodeed; ciwaan-hoosaadku na wuxuu farta ku fiqayay dhaxalkii Hoogga ee 1991-dii (ruinous legacy). Tani waa halka ay ka bilaabanayso dhinac la safashada iyo eeexysiga intii lagu gudajiray isu diyaarintii doorashada baarlamaanka ee 2016. Inkastoo dadka qaar ay yiraahdaan dagaaladii sokeeye waxa ay bilawdeen 1991-dii; isdilka waxa uu Soomaalida dhexdeeda kaga tagay gocashooyin, xitaa gumaystihii ka hor. Dagaalada Soomaalida ee sagaashameeyadii waxaa loo arki dagaalo qorsheysan oo ay ka tageen taliskii meesha laga saaray (kacaankii askarta). Colaaduhu waa kuwo wali socda. Dagaaladaasi waxa ay burburiyeen caasimaddii, taas oo aanay inta badan u fiiri yeelan dadka soo booqda, iyadoo na muujinaysa in dagaalada reeraha aanay ahayn mid iskadhacay.

Colaadaha dabo-dheeraaday ee Soomaaliya waxa ay abuurtay dood cusub oo akadeemig ah. Dooddan waxa ay isticmalaysaa astaamaha iyo iskalasaarka ay isku adeegsadaan reeraha isdagaalay, si midba midka kale u dadnimo tiro. Daraasaadka Soomaalida oo ah farac laameed oo hoostaga daraasaadka Afrika waxa uu noqotay goob dihan oo tijaabo kasta la marsiiyo, halkaa oo ay dadku u dhaqmayaan sidii aqoonyahanno oo kale, iyagoo dhinacyo kala duwan ku faafinaaya hadalhayn dhinac-u-janjeerta. Markii ay daabacday *Kapteijs* buugeedii, waxaa isbeddelay doodii afka ahayd ee iskudhacyda Soomaalida, iyadoo noqotay dood akadeemig ah. Su'aalaha ah yaa guuldarreystay 1990-kii, maxay wax u dhaceen, halkay wax ka dhaceen; yaa ka faa'iday___wax ay noqdeen mashaariic akadeemig ah oo siyaasadaysan. Tani sababteedu ma aha in ay adagtahay in la fahmo iskudhacyada Soomaalida, ee sababtu waa marka lafaguriddu (analysis) aan daacad iyo dhexdhexaad laga noqan, ee uu lumo fahamkii dhabta ahaa. In lagu guuldarreystay in la fahmo asalka iskudhacyada qabaa'ilka iyadoo lala akhriinaayo falsafadda iyo cilmi bulsheedka (sociology)___waxa ay dhashay fahamdarro. Aragtida ciribtirka-qabiil waxa ay u adeegsaysaa labo ujeedo. Kow, waxa ay abuuraysaa waxa *Prunier*⁵ uu ugu yeeray "*gacan-ku-samayska tagtada ee taaganta*" / "*artificial past of the present*" si maantada la joogo loogu diriyo awoodaha. Labo, ahna midda ugu khatarsan, waa in la beddelo taaganta (present), iyadoo la riixaaayo in siyaasadda maanta dib loogu celiyo shalay. Waxaa tusaale fiican sida *Kapteijs* u dadnimotirayso (dehumanize) reero qaar xilliyada qeybtood, gaar ahaan intii ay socotay musiibadii 1991-dii. Doodda ka badbadinta ah ee ciribtirka-qabiil ma tahay mid lagu dabbaqi karo waaqaca Soomaalida? yey tahay cidda ay ku dabbaqmayso "ciribtir"? ma dadka loo dilay sababo siyaasadeed mise kuwo reereed? Nin iska caadi ah oo dameer wade ah, jareerna ah (Bantu) oo lagu magacaabo Taliye, oo reer Shabeelle ah (dowlad deegaanka Soomaalida) ayaa si arxandarro ah loogu dilay magaalada Muqdisho, 1988-dii, kadib markii uu muran dhexmaray isaga iyo nin hubaysan. Waxaa isweydiin mudan haddii dhaxalka colaadaha ay soo bilawdeen 1990-kii amaba haddii ay horay u jireen? Haddii uu maanta noolaaln lahaa, waxa uu isweydiin lahaa: 1988-dii maka dhib yarayd 1991-dii?

⁵ Gérard Prunier waa taariikhyahan Faransiis ah, kaa oo inta badan diiradda saara colaadaha Afrika. Waxa uu qoray wax ka badan 120 maqaal iyo buug farabadan oo uu ka mid yahay "The Rwanda crisis" iyo "A country that does not exist: A history of Somaliland". (T)

U adeegsiga aragtiyo naqdineed (critical theories) daraasaadka isku dhacyada, iyo ka firshada si taxaddar ku dhisan doodaha isku dhacyada ka dib ee Soomaaliya; iyadoo fikrad ahaan iyo tijaabo ahaan ba (empirical) keeska Soomaaliya lala barbardhigaayo Ruwaanda___waxa aan gaashaanka u daruuri doonaa doodda ciribtirka-qabiil, anigoo si taxaddar ay ku dheehantahay u soo bandhigi doona isroogga kakan (complex dynamics) ee iskudhacyada Soomaalida soo maray. Ma aha in aan diidayo dagaalada reeraha ee daba socday rididii Siyaad Barre, ee laakiin waxaan iftiiminayaa in falalka bahalnimada ah ay ka dhibyaraayeen inta ay bulshada Soomaalidu mooday ka hor iyo ka dib 1991-dii. Waxa aan ku salayn doonaa u fiirsashadayda (observation), waayo-aragnimadayda ah u joogidda dagaaladii sokeeye ee Soomaalida, ka shaqaynayay qoraa lka ee Muqdisho xilligii dagaalada reeraha, tixraac ka dhigan doona aragtiyaha iyo tijaabooyinka faallo naqdineed (empirical critical analysis) ee culuumta bulshada; waxaan su'aal ka keeni doonaa is burinta aragtidaan (ciribtir-qabiil), taas oo fidinayaan Websaatiyada Soomaalida iyo qaar ka mid ah falanqeyyayaal akadeemig ah. Aqoonta durugsan iyo waayo-aragnimada dhacdooyinka waxa ay aqoonyahanka u sahashaa soo bandhigista daraasad dheellitiran, macna na leh. Si aad u fahamto iskudhacyada Soomaalida, waxa ay kaaga baahantahay in aad si dhow u fahansantahay bulshada, adigoo si dhow u eegaaya waxyaabaha keenay isku dhacyada. Sida uu **Boddy** inna xasuusinayo: “Antaraboolojistayaashu waa in ay keenaan wax ka guda ballaaran doodaha akadeemigga, waa in ay la falgalaan xaaladda markaas taagan, su'aal gali meesha loo badanyahay iyo afkaaraha khaldan si sababaysan, dadka kala na u fududeyn karta in ay fahmaan.” Beeninta doodda mala-awaalka ku dhisan ee “Ciribtirka” waxa ay muujinaysaa sida ay isaga indhotirayso in dagaalada reeruhu yihiin taariikh, taas oo luminaysa doodda taaganta (current debate).

Waxa ay ka midaysanyihiin daraasaadka Soomaalida iyo daraasaadka Ruwaandiiska

Waayo-aragga daraaseeya iskudhacyada Afrika waa kuwo koox gaara la safta, iyagoo dhinacyo gaara danaynaaya, isla markaana jahwareersan. Waxa ay daraasadahooda xoogga saaran bulshooyinka, se ma jirtaa daraasad iyaga laftooda daraasadaynaysa. Nacaybka reereed iyo iska hor imaadyadooda, oo ka dhex jiray bulshooyinka Afrikaanta fac-ka-fac ayaa ku faafay daraasaadka Afrika. Waa arrin u baahan baaritaan saykooloojiyadeed, sida dagaalada ragaadiyay bulshooyinka ay u saamaysay shaqooyinkii akadeemigga ahaa. U fiirsashada dhibtaan waxa ay innaga caawinaysaa in aan su'aal galino haddii “ciribtirka-qabiil” ay tahay aragti ku habboon iskudhacyada reeraha Soomaalida, taa oo jirtay muddooyin badan. Baahida waxa ay tahay in la helo sahmin taariikheed oo baaxad weyn (Braudelian historical exploration), iyadoo la adeegsanaayo nuucyo-aqooneed oo kala duwan, keenaysa na in la dhagaysto dhinacyo farabadan, halkii la samayn lahaa lafagur aad u kooban (narrow analysis). Waxaa Soomaalida dhexdeeda ka dhex jira dood akadeemig ah oo kooban, taa oo mararka qeybtood isu beddesha mid colaadeed, oo wuxuushnimo ah. Tani waxa ay keeni kartaa in aqoonyahannada Soomaalida ay u muuqdaan kuwo aad isu neceb amaba is yara jecel! Ma dagaaladaa qaabeeyay iyagoo iska warqaba amaba aan iska warqabin.

Shaki ma leh, in ka shaqeyntii deeganada colaadeed ay aqoonyahankii ku reebtay saameyn taban oo saykoolajiyadeed. Iyagoo aan isu war hayn, uur-ku-taalooyin dabo-dheeraaday (post-traumatic) ayaa qaabeeyay sida ay uga fekaareyaan iskudhacyada Afrika. Iyadoo ay cid waliba ku xirantahay siday wax u aragto, mid kasta oo kamida waxa uu noqonayaa mid **Huutuuga taabacsan (pro-Huto)** iyo mid **Tuutsiga la dhinac Ah (pro-Tutsi)**.

Daraasadda nuucaan ah, ee cilmi baarayaashu ay dhinac la safanayaan, ee ah nuuc darsaasadeed oo Ruwaandiis ah (Rwanda style)___kaliya kuma koobna Soomaaliya iyo bulshooyinka kala qoqoban (plorized societies). Tusaale ahaan, daraasaadka Ruwaandiiska ah; aqoonyahankooda daraaseeya xasuuqii kadib, waxa ay bilaabeen in ay la dareen noqdaan **Tuutsi** amaba **Huutuu**.

In kastoo **Prunier** uu u dabaaldegay qabashadii xukunka ee **Tuutsiga**, kadib dhicitaankii taliskii **Jufinaal Habyarimaana**, dhinaca kale **Mamdani** waxa uu u muuqday in uu la dhacsanyahay xukunkii **Huutuuga**. Labada aqoonyahan ba waxa ay lakala safteen labada dhinac. **Prunier** oo aad mooddo in uu naftiisa ka ceeb-tiraayo shaabadda **Tuutsiga**; waxa uu dib-u-sixid ku sameeyay buugiisa, isagoo ku soo daray cutub cusub. Tani waxaa sabab u ahaa dhaleecaynta xad-dhaafka ah ee ku dhacayday buugiisa, taa oo markii dambe keentay in uu la yimaado erayo u adeegaaya ujeedkiisa danbe (dib-u-sixiddii), oo labada dhinac ba daawo u ah. Seddex sanno gudahood, **Prunier** waxa uu taageeray Huutooga dhexdhexaadka ah, isagoo ka hor yimid shiiqinta xukun ee Tuutsiga ee Kigaali (Tutsi-dominated Kigali regime). Waxa uu siyaasiyiintii Huutuuga ahaa ka caawiyay in ay samaystaan xiriir caalami ah. **Prunier** waxa uu si dadban **Kigaame** ugu eedeeyay in uu ka danbeeyay dilkii qarsoodiga ahaa ee **Fered Riwijyeema**, oo ahaa Huutuu hoggaaminayay dhaqdhaqaaqii waddaniyadnimo ee Ruwaanda (Rwandan patriotic front)⁶; si uu u seeto-dheeraysto xukunkiisa. Sida uu xusay Mamdani: “Xilligii xasaasiga ahaa ee daraasaadka Ruwaandiiska ee xasuuqa kadib, xitaa koox yar oo aqoonyahanno reer galbeed ah, kuwaa oo daraaseeya Ruwaanda, una badan Bilgimees, Faranji, iyo waqooyi Ameerikaan___ma aanay noqon kuwo dhexdhexaad ah.”

Iyadoo la xiganaayo dhaqdhaqaaqii waddaniyadnimo ee Ruwaanda (RPF) amaba kooxihii hore ee taliskii hore, qoraayada xasuuqa Ruwaanda kadib waxa ay la kala safteen oo ay xogaha uga dabofadhiisteen kuwa xukunka haaya, halka kuwa kala na ay xogohooda ku tiirsanaayeen dad iyaga abuuranaayay sheeko ay isaga difaacaan dhinaca kale. Halka aqoonyahanka ku cusub daraasadaha uu yahay mid **Tuutsiga** taabacsan, inta badan aqoonyahankii hore waxa ay u badnaayeen kuwo la dhacsan **Huutuuga**___xaalad muujinaysa sida awooddu u qaabeesay aqoontii Afrika, waliba qaab “Faucaldian” ah.² Sida uu Timothy Garton Ash yiri: “Si aragga siyaasadda sida qiyaanada oo kale waa wax ku xiran waqti cayiman. Haddaad rabto in aad dood galido wax waliba oo ay shisheeyuhu ka qoraan waddan, waaa in aad ogaataa goortii ugu horreysay ee uu qoraagu tagay waddankaas. Ma waxay ahayd xilligii ay dadka u arkayeen maalmihii xumaa? Mise waxa ay ahayd xilligii ay dadku ugu yeerayeen maalmihii wacnaa? Ma waxay ahayd ka hor kacdoonkii, dagaaladii, afganbiyadii, guamaysigii, xorriyadii___amaba wax waliba oo qaabeeyay taariikhda waddaankaas? Dabcan waa muhiim sooyaalka hore ee qoraha iyo siyaasadda markaa taagan. Balse tan hore ayaa saamayn doonto si araga qoraaga (tagidda waddanka). Kadib waxa uu wax waliba ku dhisi doonaa tagiddii hore ee waddanka, isagoo aan isu warhayn. **Prunier** shaqsiyad ahaantiisa waxa uu isaga kala gudbay u sacabbo tume **Tuutsi** (pro Tutsi), isagoona markii danbe noqday mid ku xarig xirtay **Huutuuga**. Waxa uu xusay in saaxiibaddiisa **Lieve Joris** ay qiratay in aanay ka helin Tuutsiga, sababtu na ay tahay in Huutuugu ay ahaayeen ciddii ugu horreysay oo ay la kulanto, isla markaana ay is dhexgalaan. Soomaaliya, goortii ugu horreysay uguna danbeesy ee ay **Kapteijs** timaado dalka waxa ay ahayd 1989-kii, markii taliskii

⁶ Rwandan patriotic front waa xisbiga talada haya ee Ruwaanda. Taariikh ahaan, waxa uu soo maray marxalad jabhadnimo ah, kadib markii 1990-meeyadii ay duulaan Ruwaanda kaga soo qaadeen dalka Ugaandha. Waxa uu ahaa urur ay ku midaysan yihiin Huutuuga dhexdhexaadka ah iyo Tuutsiga, kaa oo bilawgii Juulaay 1994 la wareegay caasimadda Kigaali iyo guud ahaan dalka oo dhan. (I)

Maxamed Siyaad Barre ay wadeen ololihii baabi'inta ee ka dhanka ahaa reerka Isaaq ee daga waqooyiga (halka maanta loogu yeero Somaliland), taas oo ah sheeko aanay marnaba soo hadal qaadin.

Tusaalaha Ruwaanda, waxa uu ahaa kees aan waxbaba laga ogayn daraasaadka Soomalida dhexdeeda illaa **Kapteijns** ay ka daabacday buugeedii “ciribtirka-qabiil”; inkastoo daraasaadka suugaaneed (literature studies) ee ay soo saaraan dadyowga aan Soomaalida ahayn ee gumaystihii kadib ay yihiin kuwo leh hal dabeecad: buunbuuninta reeraha qaar, iyadoo hoos loo dhigaayo qaar kale. **Lewis** waxa uu si xooggan u taageeray go'itaanka Soomaalilaan ay kaga go'ayso Soomaaliya, taas oo reeraha aan Isaaq ahayn ee Soomaalilaan ka dhigtay kuwo bilawga hore aan raacsanayn aragtida go'itaanka, halka markii danbe ay si xooggan u taageereen. Inta badan qoraayada aan Soomaalida ahayn waxa ay ee wax ka qora Soomaalilaan waxa ay ku dabo-feeleen **Lewis**. Qaar ayaaba soo jeediyay in Hargaysa ay tixgalido cashiradii laga bartay dagaaladii go'itaanka ee Ereteriya, Kosofo, iyo Koonfur Suudaan; taas oo ah in la qaato hubka, ayna tahay waddada kaliya ee furan ee lagu heli karo aqoonsi caalami ah, si Soomaaliya ay uga go'do. Axmed waxa uu daraasadihiisa si qoto dheer ugu fiirayeeshay xaaladdahaan. Waxa uu tibaaxay: aqoonyahannada Soomaalida waxa ay qoraaladooda sal uga dhigaan macluumaad ay ka soo aruuriyeen ka warbixiyayaal siyaasadeeya xogaha ay bixiyaan. Si kastaba, waa in aan xasuusnaanaa in xogaha qaar ee ay aqoonyahanku heli karaan ay yihiin kuwo aan dhexdhexaad ahayn, mana aha wax ay khalad ku leeyihiin aqoonyahanka. Ka warbixiyayaashu (informers) waxa ay bixiyaan xogo kala duwan. Si kastaba, qoraalkii aqoonyahanka waxa uu noqday mid iska soo horjeeda, maadaama ay dhacdo waliba si isku mida u qaataan, iyagoo an wax su'aal ah galinayn. Danayn la'aanta nuucaan ah waxa ay xumayn kartaa daarasadda, marka aqoonyahanku ay ku adkaato in uu helo qoraalo hore.

Sida uu Axmed⁷ tilmaamay, lafaguridda eexaysan (biased analysis) ee kala dhiman, ee laga sameeyo waddamada colaaduhu ragaadiyeen sida Soomaaliya oo kale waxa ay sii hurinayaan colaadaha Soomaalida. Dadyowga u janjeera aragtiyahooda siyaasadeed iyo tan dhaqaale, kuwaa oo hal mar si isku mida isugu dayay in ay taageeraan labada dhinac 1991-dii (dowladda iyo xoogagii ka soo horjeeday). Waxa ay markii danbe waxsoosaaradoodu noqdeen kuwo u janjeera hal reer. Soomaaliya, sida Ruwaandka oo kale reer galbeedka waxa ay si fudud ugu milmeen hirdannada reereed (clan rivalry). Qaar badan oo ah qoraayo aan Soomaali ahayn ma dareemayaan wax yaxyax/wajigabax ah amaba ma garanayaan dhaqanka___waxa ayna matalaan danaha reeraha qeybtood.

Dhawaanahaan, qaar ayaaba bilaabay in ay si furan u taageeraan hal reer. Sida **Colette Braeckman** oo si aan ka leexleexasho lahayn u taageertay taliskii *Habyarimana* ee Ruwaanda sababo dhaqaalo awgeed, halka **Kapteijns** ay ciribtirka-qabiil u aragtay mid xaqiiqo ah. Arrin middaas ah la mid ah ayaa dhacday muddadii Siyaad Barre. Markii xukunka laga tuuray, falanqeeyayaal horay u taagersanaa ayaa xukunkiisii kadib dhaleecayn ku bilaabay.

⁷ Axmed Ismaaciil Samatar waa aqoonyahan, siyaasi iyo aasaasaha joornaalka Bildhaan. Waxa uu darajadiisa koobaad ee jaamacadda ka diyaariyay culunta siyaasadda. Waxa uu qoray wax ku dhow 50 maqaal cilmiyeed iyo buug dhowr ah oo labada ugu caansan ay yihiin “The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal” iyo “The African State: Reconsiderations”. Axmed, si ka duwan aqoonyahanka kale, waxa uu ku biiray siyaasadda, isagoo 2012-kii isu sharraxay madaxweynaha Soomaaliya. Hadda waa guddoomiyaha urur-siyaasadeedka “Hillaac” oo kamida urur-siyaasadeedyada ka jira Soomaalilaan.

Isugaynta cawaaqibtii ka dhalatay 1991-dii waxaa loo fahmi karaa sida **Kapteijs** ay wax uga qortay ee ahayd, “waxa uu nidaamkii bulsheed iyo kii dowladda ku burburay dagaaladii qabaa’ilka, taas oo ay dad badan oo Soomaali ah la yaabeen.” Haddii **Kapteijs** ay iskudhacyadii 2009-kii ku fasirtay “colaado reereed”; hadda ba maxay 2013-kii ay ugu dooday in uu ahaa ciribtir-qabiil? Muxuu yahay doorka qabaa’ilka kale ee lagu eedeeyay in ay qeyb ka noqdeen colaadaha? Maxaa diiradda loo saarayaa hal reer? Haddii dagaalada sokeeye ee 1991-dii u dhaxeeyay Hawiye iyo Daarood loo tixgaliyo in ay ahaayeen ciribtir-qabiil; hadda ba waa sidee “Hargaysa Holocaust”, halkaas oo 50,000 oo dad ah uu laayay taliskii Siyaad Barre ee ciidanku ahaayeen Daarood, taageera na ka helayeen Hawiye? Ka waran cayrintii Tuutsiga ee Ruwaanda, loona ceyriyay Ugaanda? Bal ka waran dilkii lagula kacay aqoonyahankii Tuutsiga ee Burundi 1972-dii? Haka reebin argagaxii casaa (red terror) ee xasuuqa ee Itoobiya, muddadii Mengistu Haile Mariam 1974-1991? Xasuuqa wadareedkii ka dhacay Ugaandha, xilligii Obote 2 1980-meeyadii? Liiska waa sii soconayaa. Xitaa haddii qof uu aqbalo malada ah in hal reer la ciribtiray (cleansed), waa sidee xaaladda ciribtir ee Hawiye, Isaaq, Raxanweyn, iyo bulshada kale ee aan hubaysnayn (waxa loogu yeero dadka laga tirada badanyahay) sida Banaadiriga, Baantuuga (Jareer), iyo dhammaan bulshooyinka kale? **Kapteijs** uma aanay fiioyeelan arrinkaan. Si kasta ba, jawaabta su’aalahaas waa ka guda ballaarrantahay iska dhihidda ah, taliskii reereed ee Millatariga (clan-military regime) waxa uu ahaa mid dulmi badan, aad u qaab daran, dadka na ka fogaysa siyaasadda.

Ciribtirka-qabiil ee Ruwaanda

Iyadoo la adeegsanaayo aragtiyaha la xariira daraasaadka xasuuqa (genocide studies), ee ay adeegsadaan dib-u-cusbooneeyayaasha (revisionists) iyo ka duulidda aragtiyaha aqoonyahankii culuumta siyaasadda ee Faransiiska ahaa ee **Compagnon**; habraacii **Kapteijs** ee ku aadanaa dagaaladii reeraha ee 1990-meeyadii waxa uu ahaa mid ku dhisan malo (assumption), halkii ay ahaan lahayd mid si qoto-dheer loo lafaguray; maadaama aan sababaha colaadaha aan loo darsin si nidaam ku dheehantahay. Haddii qof isku dayo in uu jawaab u helo su’aalaha kakan sida; maxaa Soomaaliya wixii ka dhacay loogu yeeraa ciribtir-qabiil, waa uu niyadjabi doonaa. Tani macnaheedu maaha in erayga “**ciribtir**” ay adagtahay in lagu dabbabo, ee waa in erayga laftiisa uu yahay dhibaato xaaladaha qaar, gaar ahaan marka dhincyada dagaalamaaya aanay isu arkayn shisheeye, ee ay isu arkaan qolo hal isir ka soo wada jeeda. Marka la joogo dunida Soomaalida, ma jirto in reeruhu ay u kala qeybsanyihiin qowmiyado. Tusaale ahaan, maleeshiyada *Hawiye* waxa ay maleeshiyada *Daarood* u arkaan kuwa la tartamaaya ama ay is hardinayaan; halka Ruwaanda ay *Huutuugu* aaminsanyihiin in *Tuutsigu* yihiin kuwo ajnabi ah, oo ka yimid Itoobiya. **Besteman** waxa uu tilmaamayaa in wixii dhacay 1990-meeyadii ay ahaayeen kuwo kadis ah, aadna u dhibaato weyn taa oo saamayday waddanka oo idil iyo koox kasta oo bulshada ka mid ah.

Aragtida ciribtirka ee Ruwaanda ma aha mid ku habboon dagaalada reeraha. Haddii qof isku dayo in wixii dhacay uu ugu yeero qasab ku barakicin (flushism)___halhays aan suurogal ahayn oo loo adeegsado colaadaha; iyadoo aanuu jirin waxciribtir ah, sababtu na ay tahay in aanay jirin koox Soomaali ah oo deegaankeeda si toos ah looga ceyriyay. Sababtu ma aha in aragtida ciribtirka-qabiil ay tahay mid bannaanka laga soo miinguuriyay, ee waa in aan la helayn eray Soomaali ah oo koobsan kara macnaha “cleansing”. Sidaas oo ay tahay, doodaha ciribtirka-qabiil, *Hawiye* waxaa loo arkaa *Huutuu*, halka *Daaroodka* la dhigo booska *Tuutsiga*, oo ah mid dhibaninimo ah. Waxaa xaqiiqo ah in cadaawaddii dhex matay Hawiye iyo Daarood ay si ula mid ahayd middii Tuutsiga iyo Huutuuga; se ma jirin arxan darrooyin sidaa u weyn oo ka dhacay Soomaaliya. Ruwaanda, rag ayaa laayay xaasaskooda sabab la xariirta isirka ay ka soo jeedaan. Ficilada qaar ee argagaxa ah ma aha kuwo ka dhacay Soomaaliya, in

kastoo ah ragga qaar ay fureen xaasaskooda sababo iskudhacyo reereed dartee 1990-meeyadii. Si kooban, ma dhicin wax u eg ciribtir-qabiil oo ka dhacay Soomaaliya, gaar ahaan Muqdisho, xilliyadii ay socdeen dagaaladii cuslaa ee 1990-meeyadii. Waa sida Ruwaanda tahaye, *Kapteijs* waxa ay tixraac ahaan u adeegsatay daraasado antarabooroolaji ah, taa oo ay ku dhistay maladeeda ku aaddan Soomaaliya. Xaqiiqado waxa ay tahay, in iskudhacyadii Soomaaliya aanay ahayn wax fudud___waxaa ku lug lahaa jilaayaal siyaasadeed (political actors), kuwaa oo leh ujeedooyin kala duwan. *Bakonyi* waxa ay tilmaamtay in marka iskudhacyada loo fasiro qaab dhaqamaysan, ay qasab noqoto in dadka intiisa kale ay kooxo ku kala biiraan. Sababtu waa in ay fududahay shaabadaynta (label) cidda nacabka ah iyo tan jaalka ah, taa oo qof waliba ku riixaysa in uu hannaanka nuuca ah (lakala safashada) ku dhex milmo.

Iyadoo la adeegsanaayo qeexitaanka nuuca Boosniyaanka ah (Bosnian-style definition) ee xasuuqa iyo doorashada ilo aan la magac-dhabin (unnamed sources) oo ku habboon aragtiyaheeda, *Kapteijs* waxa ay bilowday in erayga ciribtir-isir ay adeegsato, sidii horayba loogu adeegsaday Yuguslaafiyadii hore. Iyadoo Ruwaanda la barbardhigaysa Soomaaliya si ay doodeeda u xoojiso, waxa ay isla meel dhigtay dood iyo waaqac ka duwan kan Soomaaliya, oo ah iskudhacyadii reeraha Soomaalida ee 1991-dii iyo xasuuqii Ruwaanda ee 1994-ti, iyo waliba Yuguslaafiya 1995-tii. Si ay u difaacato doodeeda, waxa ay adeegsanaysaa siyaasiyiin kala duwan oo qeyb ka ahaa colaadaha. Si ay u bisho dooda ay qabto, waxa ay isticmaalaysaa aragtiyihii Foucauldian⁸___aragti loo adeegsado qaab aan habboonayn. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, aragtidaas waxaa horay daraasaadka Afrika ugu adeegsaday *Mamdani*⁹, oo qaaraan cilmibaariseed ku darsaday daraasaadka xasuuqa Ruwaanda. Daacaddii, wixii ka dhacay Ruwaanda kama dhicin wax u dhow Soomaaliya, laakiin *Kapteijs* waxa ay keeska Soomaaliya ku xiraysaa kan Ruwaanda. Si xaqsoor ah ugama aanay hadal mowduuca iyo xaaladihihi bulsho iyo siyaasad ee labada dhinac. *Kapteijs* waxa ay koobiyeeday *Mamdani*, se ka cagajiidayso adeegsiga afkaarhiisa ku qotama iskudhacyada isireed (ethnic conflict), ee keeska Soomaaliya. Waxa ay *Kapteijs* u qabtaa in fikradeheedu ay yihiin kuwo cusub oo hal abuur leh, se uma aragto in ay yihiin aragtiyo iyada ay dhoodhoobatay. Waxa ay taasi muujinaysaa sida ay ugu guul darraysatay in ay si qoto dheer u fahanto dagaalada reereed ee Soomalida ee kakan (complexity of the Somali clanised wars).

Isbarbardhigga khatareed ee xasuuqa Boosniya iyo Ruwaanda, ee lala barbardhigayo iskudhacyada reereed ee Soomaliya waa mid muuqda oo an u baahnayn sharraxaad dheeri ah. “*When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*”/ “*Marka dhibbanayaashu ay noqdaan dilaayayaal: gumaysiga, dballadnimada, iyo xasuuqa Ruwaanda*” ee *Mamdani* ayaa fuliyay baaritaanno iyo cilmibaaris uu

⁸ Michel Foucault waxa uu ahaa filasoofar Faransiis ah. Waxa uu qabay aragti ah: in awooddu ay tahay in loo arko si ka duwan 1880-meeyadii, markaa oo awoodda loo arkayay tan boqorka iyo tan dowladda. Waxa uu ku dooday in xilligaan la joogo ay awooddu baahsantahay, oo cid waliba ay awood adeegsan karto, ha ahaato awood aqooneed, mid dhaqaale, iyo mid xogeed. Waxa uu qabay in taariikhdu aysan meel kaliya taagnaan, ee taa beddelkeed ay isbedbeddasho, sababo la xariira cidda go’aaminaysa qoridda taariikhdaas. Malahayga, waa sababta uu qoraagu ugu eedaynayo Kaptiejn adeegsiga aragtidaan danbe ee Foucault. (T)

⁹ Mahmood Mamdani waa aqoonyahan Ugaandhis ah, oo Antaraboolojiste ah. Inta badan daraasadihiisu waxa ay diiradda saaraan waayaha Afrika iyo siyaasadda caalamiga ah. Waxa uu muddo fog ahaa agaasimaha mac-hadka culuunta bulshada ee jaamacadda Mekerere. Waa qoraha buug aad shaacsane uga ah qaaradweynaha Afrika, sida “Citizen and Subject”, “When Victims Become Killers” iyo “Good Muslim, Bad Muslim”. Waa aabbaha dhalay Mayor-ka cusub ee magaalada New York, Zohran Mamdani. (T)

goobjooge ka ahaa (eye-witness research) ee Ruwaanda, isagoo waraystay dhibbanayaashii iyo guulgaarayaashii labada ba. Si taa ka duwan, *Kapteijns* ma aanay Soomaaliya ka fulin cilmibaaris ay goobjooge ka ahayd, xitaa haba noqoto Muqdisho oo ahayd halka ay sheegashadeedu ku aroorto. Marka meel la iska dhigo sheegashadeeda iyo doodda ay ku adkaysanayso, marna uma safrin Soomaaliya (si muuqata iyo si aan muuqanba), si ay u dhisto aragti madaxa loo ruxi karo. Marna ma booqan goobihii la isku farasaaray (fighting sites), in kastoo ay marka horaba reer gaara la safatay, taa oo ku hoggaamiday in ay u kala warqaado reeraha, soona bandhigto sheekooyinka sii kala fogaynaaya qabaa'ilka. Wax ka qoridda dhacdooyin gaar ah oo ay soo tabiyaan warbaahinta__waxa ay wartabiyayaasha (reporters) ku dhaleecaysay in aanay soo warramin ciribir-qabiil__ciribtir-qabiil oo aanay waligood arag. Wixii 1990-meeyadii ka kala dhacay Siiraliyoon iyo Laabeeriya__ xitaa dhacdooyinkii 1990-meeyadii ee Soomaaliya uma qaabaysnayn sida kuwaa hore. USC ma ahayn koox midaysan sida dhaqdhaqaaqii kacaanka midaysnaa (Revolutionary United Front) ee Siraloyoon amaba dhaqdhaqaaqii waddaniyadnimo ee qaran (National Patriotic Front) ee Laabeeriya. Si ka duwan iskudhacyada Afrika, Soomaaliya waxa ka dhacay 1991-dii waxa ay ahaayeen xasuuq siyaasadeed (political masscare). Iyadoo la eegaayo doorka casabiyadda iyo tan isireed ee ku aaddan dagaaladaas, *Mamdani* waxa uu Ruwaanda ka ogaaday in colaadaha ba'an ee isirku aanay mar waliba ka dhalan xasuuq. Tusaale ahaan, *Prunier* waxa uu si cad u dafiray in aanay marnaba suuragal ahayn in Soomaaliya wixii ka dhacay 1990-meeyadii loogu yeero xasuuq. Sababtu waxa ay tahay, in colaadda Soomaalidu ay kaliya ahayd dagaal ay wax yeelo ka soo gaartay dhibbanayaal aan loo qasdin (secondary casualties). Dhaqanka Soomaaliga kama wanaagsana kan Ruwaanda; oo waa bulsho qofeed (individualistic) oo ay ku adkaanayso in ay isu laayaan qaab abaabulan. Tani waxa ay hurdada ka toosinaysaa falanqeyyayaasha uga warrama Afrika si aan ka fiirsasho lahayn, sida oo ay wadaagaan dhaqan isku mid ah.

Arrinta ugu qariibsan ma aha doodda ciribtirka-qabiil, balse waa doodda Hawiye iyo Daarood u aragta labo isir oo aan waxba ka dhaxayn; taa oo ah aragti aan si kutalagal ahayn dhabbaha u xaaraysa is baa'bin kale oo hor leh. Inta aan la adeegsan ciribtir-qabiil, *Kapteijns* waxa ay toban sanno kahor adeegsanaysay erayga "*hayb dumin*" / "*Ethnocide*", oo mararka qeybtood la mid noqon kara xasuuq, oo ah laakiin mid ka macno duwan, sababtu na ay tahay in uu la macno yahay baabi'in bulsho amaba reer dhan haybta ay ka soo jeedaan awgeed. Adeegsiga erayga "isir" waxa uu *Hawiyihii* iyo *Daaroodkii* __labadaa qolo oo uu taliskii kalitaliyaha ahaa madaxa isu galinjayay si uu u badbaado, ayay ka dhigeen labo isir oo Soomaali ah oo kala duwan, si la isula barbardhigo *Huutunga* iyo *Tuutsiga* Ruwaanda. In daraasaadka Soomaalida loo adeegsado hannaanka cilmibaariseed ee Ruwaanda, waa mid marin habaabin ah, oo la iska dhoodhoobay (fabricated). Ruwaanda, *Mamdani* waxa uu tibaaxay in gumaystuhu uu *Huutunga* iyo *Tuutsiga* u qaabeeyay labo isir oo aan meelna iska soo galin, taa oo noqotay istiraaijiyad ay markii danbe adeegsadeen madaxdii Ruwaanda ee gumaystaha kadib. Si taa lamida oo ah kala qeybinta iyo abuuridda dabaqad xukun (rule classic), qaar ayaa baadigoobay si loo kala qeybiyo Hawiye iyo Daarood, si looga dhigo labo isir oo kala jaad ah oo la mida *Amxaarada* iyo *Oromada* Itoobiya, amaba *Kikunyada* iyo *Kalenjiinta* Keenya.

U firayeelashada xaaladda Ruwaanda

Afrika waa goob ay adagtahay in la fahmo. Labaatan sanno ayaa laga joogaa xasuuqii Ruwaanda iyo isbeddeladii xukuumadeed ee ka dhacay Koonfur Afrika (south Africa). Tusaale ahaan, 1994-tii waxa ay Ruwaanda ku sugnayd taariikhdiisii ugu foolxumayd abid; halka Koonfur Afrika ay ku jirtay marxaladdeedii ugu wanaagsanayd. Sidee qof u sharrixi karaa labadaan xaaladood, oo ay wali ku

adagtahay waayo-joogga iyo hoggaamiyayaasha Afrika? La isma barbardhigi karo labadaan xaaladood ee 1994-tii__xilli Koonfur Afrika ay u ahayd waqti caaqibo leh, Ruwaanda na ay u ahayd xilli qaraar. Taas cagsigeed, waa in loo fiirsado iskudhacyada Ruwaanda, la iskuna xiro tagtadii iyo taaganta iyo taaganta iyo tagtadii (past into present vs present into past). Way adagtahay in colaadda Ruwaanda lala barbardhigo Afrika inteeda kale. Qof waliba oo ogaal u leh taariikhda fog ee Ruwaanda sida **Braudel** oo daraasadeeyay, wuu filan karay qaabka ay ku unkantay dowladnimadii gumaystaha kadib__in waddanku uu wajihi karo xasiloonni darro isir, oo aan ahayn xasuuq; maadaama labada isir__Huutuuga iyo Tuutsiga ay si nabad ah oo wadajir ah ay boqollaal sanno u noolaayeen. Iyadoo la tixgalinaayo xaaladda siyaasadeed ee Ruwaanda, ujeedka ugu weyn ee qeybtaan (ciwaan hoosaadkan) waa in tooshka lagu iftiimiyo jiridda dhibaataada ee xasuuqa, kuwaa wali caqabad ku ah nabad waarta oo Ruwaanda ka dhacda. Waxaa la joogaa waqtigii ugu mudnaa ee dib looga fakari lahaa halka ay sartu ka qurunsanayd Ruwaanda; maadaama xasuuqii laga joogo muddo labaatan sanno. In dib-u-qeexitaan iyo dib-u-jalleecid lagu sameeyo colaadaha Ruwaanda, halkii dhagta loo raaricin lahaa bulshada inteeda la maqlo (elites) sida ay wax uga dhaheen xasuuqa__waxa ay u baahantahay in si dhow loogu fiirooyeesho sida siyaasadda aan salka fadhida lahayn (political dynamics) ay u qaabeeyso siyaasadda isiraysan (political ethnicity).

Cilmibaarisba cilmibaarista ay ka danbeydo waxa ay ka duulaysay doodda *Huutuuga* u aragta hal koox oo si dhammaystiran uga tallaabsaday *Tuutsiga*. Inkastoo Huutuuga rayidka ah loo adeegsaday xasuuqa, hadda na “*Huutuunimadu*” waxa ay ahayd aalad siyaasadeed (political tool) oo ay adeegsanaysay xukuumaddii xasuuqa wadday; halka “*Tuutsinimadu*” ay iyadu na ahayd aalad siyaasadeed oo ay adeegsanayeen *jabbaddii dhaqdhaqaaqii waddaniyadnimo ee Ruwaanda (RPF)*, si ay ugu noqoto sillaa ay xukunka ku koraan. *Huutuuga* ma waxay *Tuutsiga* u dilayeen sabab la xariirta haybtooda *Tuutsinimo*, mise waxa ay ahayd taa cagsigeed? Qodobka ugu muhiimsan ee daraasadaha Ruwaanda ka maqan waxa ay tahay: markii *Huutuuga* shibilka ahaa ay laynayeen dhiggooda uma aanay dileen haybtooda oo qura. Taas cagsigeed, waxa ay u laynayeen in ay yihiin *jabbaddii dhaqdhaqaaqii waddaniyadnimo ee Ruwaanda (RPF)*. Si aragga xasuuqsameeyayaashii Huutuuga (Huto genociders), ma aanay dileen Tuutsiga, taas beddelkeed waxa ay laynayeen “baranbarayaasha”__eray bahdilaad oo ay u adeegsanayeen *jabbaddii dhaqdhaqaaqii waddaniyadnimo ee Ruwaanda (RPF)*. Eraygu kaliya looma adeegsanayn *RPF*, ee waxaa kaloo loo adeegsanayay taageerayaashooda, ha ahaadeen *Tuutsi* amaba *Huutuun*. Si kastaba, inta ugu badan wuxuu ahaa eray loo adeegsado *Tuutsiga*. Yay ahaayeen *RPF*? Qeexitaanka xasuuqsameeyayaasha, *RPF* waa qaxootigii Tuutsiga ee ka yimid Ugaandha, kuwaa oo isku dayaaya in ay dib u soo celiyaan qaab xukunkii gumaystaha. Waxa ay *RPF* u arkaan Tuutsi qaxooti ah oo soo guryo noqday, kuwaa oo doonaya aargudasho, sidii horayba ay dowladdii ugu geesatay xasuuq ka dhan ah iyaga. Cabsi laga qabo aargudasho ay samayn karaan *RPF* ayaa ka sii daray xasuuqii. Huutuuga iyagaa dhexdooda is dilijiray mararka qeybtood, si ay isaga aargutaan dilal qoyseed ay iyaga dhexdooda isu gaysteen. Dhinaca kale, *RPF* lama aanay dagaalamayn Tuutsiga, sida mar sii horraysa ba muujiyeen. Waxa ay kaliya isku dayayeen in ay la wareegaan gacan ku haynta dalka, si ay kansho ugu helaan kheyraadka.

Huutuuga iyo *Tuutsiga* waa bulsho dhaqameed hayb ahaan (traditional social identities), kuwaa oo gumaystihii Bilgimka ula dhaqmayay in ay yihiin labo isir oo aan waxba isu galin, taa oo sii socotay illaa dowladnimadii gumaystaha kadib. Iyadoo dhinac la iska dhigayo doodaha xilligii gumaysiga iyo kadib ee labadaa dhinac (*Huutuuga* & *Tuutsiga*) kala saarayay; aqoonyahanno badan waxa ay ugu danbeyn *Tuutsiga* u arkeen isir shisheeye ah (outside race). Iyadoo *Huutuuga* iyo *Tuutsiga* ay tahay in loo arko labo qolo oo ku baratamaaya awoodda xukun, een aan loo arag labo isir oo kala jaad ah; Mamdani waxa uu

Tuutsiga la barbardhigay caddaankii Koonfur Afrikaanka ahaa (white South Africans) amaba Hindidii Ugaandha. Tani waxa ay ka micno tahay in *Tuutsigu* yahay isir ka duwan walaalahooda Huutuuga. Sida Soomaaliya, waxa ay tani keentay cadaawad u dhaxayda *Huutunga* iyo *Tuutsiga* Ruwaanda. Sidaa daraadeed, kalahaadkii bulsho ee dhacay waxa uu soo bilaabmay kahor 1994-tii (xasuuqii Ruwaanda). Luuqaddii siyaasadeed ee dhaleeceynta ahayd ee lagala duldhicijiray gumaystihii, ayaa ugu danbeyn loo adeegsaday kuwa xukunka la wareegay (*Tuutsiga*). Xaqiiqada dhabta ah waxa ay tahay in la weeciyay dhammaan dhaliilihii ka dhanka ahaa gumaystaha, loona weeciyay *Tuutsigii* oo ahaa iridda amaba qoladii ku hoosjiray nidaamkii xukun ee gumaystaha (colonial power system). Waxaa isbeddel ku yimid sida loo arko *Tuutsiga*, kuwaa oo maamulkii gumaystaha uu ku tilmaamay Yurubiyaanka madmadoow (Europeans under a black skin), taa oo abuurtay nacayb xarga-goostay (oo ka dhan ah Tuutsiga), sabab la xariirta libintii dhaqaale iyo siyaasadeed oo ay ku heleen xiriir ay maamulkii gumatsaha la lahaayeen aawadeed.

Dhaqanno afeed (oral tradition) oo ay uruuriyeen taariikhyahanno iyo bulshoayaqaanno ayaa muujinaya xiriirka itaaleed (patron-client relationship) ee u dhaxeeya *Huutuga* iyo *Tuutsiga* ee nidaamka “Ubhake” __nidaam dadka itaalka yar ka dhigaaya kuwo hoosjooga kuwa itaalka roon. Natijjo aan la mahdin iyo colaado dhaqan-dhaqaale iyo kuwo isir ayaa ka dhex qarxay *Huutunga* iyo *Tuutsiga*. Aragtida labada gumayste, ee Bijimkii iyo Tuutsigii oo dhinac ah waxa ay u muuqataa mid shaacsane ah. Doodaha la xariira sida kala qeybsanka isir uu u huriyay xasuuqii, waa kuwo illaa maantadaan ka dhex socda daraasaadka akaadeemig ee Ruwaanda. Muuqal-warbixineed (documentary) ay dhawaan sii daysay BBC-da oo dib loogu qiimeynayay xasuuqii 1994-tii ayaa dhaliyay carada qurbojoogta Ruwaanda iyo kuwii daljoogta ahaa. Marka laga yimaado murannada soojireenka ahaa, muuqaal-warbixineedku waxa uu markii ugu horraysay bannaanka keenay siyaasadda ka danbeesay in *RPF* ay xasuuqa u adeegsatay aalad siyaasadeed. Marka laga tago in muuqaal-warbixineedku dhaliyay dood xooggan oo la xariirta cidda samaysay xasuuqa iyo cidda lagula kacay, waxa uu daaha ka qaaday aragtida dib-u-eegista (revisionist view) ee sheegaysa in tirada *Tuutsiga* ee la dilay ay ka yartahay *Huutunga* iyo in laga badbadiyay tirada guud ee dhimatay, oo dhimashadu waa ay ka yarayd sida dad badan malaynayaan. In muuqaal-warbixineedka la sii daayo waqti bulshada Ruwaanda ay ka soo kabanayaan dhaawacyadii maskaxeed/mahadhooyinkii xasuuqa (traumatic genocide), waxa ay dib-u-danqiday boogihii hore. Haddii ba ay BBC-du ay ka badbadisay qodobada qaar, wax loo qaadan waa ah noqonmayso in *Tuutsiga* iyo *Huutunga* ay labadoodu ba dhibannayaal u ahaayeen xasuuqa. Waa sabab maangal ah in dowladda Ruwaanda ay ka falcelido aragtida dhawaangalka ah ee dib-u-eegista, sababtu na waa in iskudayada qaar ay haadaan ka sii tuurayaan dhisidda midnimo bulsho, kuwaa oo kuwada nool nabad iyo is-aqbalid.

Ajendayaasha siyaasadeed ee dowladda Ruwaanda kaliya ma afqabtaan diidmooyinka kor loo yiri, ee waxa ay hor istaagaan cilmi baarisyada naqdineed (critical research) ee ka hor imaanaaya qorshayaashooda. Dowladda ayaa ka-biyo-diiday imaanshiyaha *Alison Des Forges* wax yar kahor dhimashadeedii, oo ahayd waayo-joogga kaliya ee ka digay in uu xasuuq dhici karo 1994-tii ayaa muujinaaya ficilka foosho xun ee lagu kacay. Si kastaba, in *Des Forges* laga celiyo in ay waddanka gasho waxa uu ahaa ficil aan laga fiirsan oo ay ku kacday dowladda Ruwaanda. Waayo-aragga caanka ah ee reer Ruwaanda *Filip Reyntjens* waxaa 1995-tii loo jaray in aan looga baahnayn sii joogista Ruwaanda (persona non grata), isagoo markaa kadib aanu dib ugu soo laaban dalka. Ficilladan siyaasadeed waxa ay muujinayaan sida aanu u jirin xusuus wadareed (collective memory) ku qotonta colaadihii kadib, taa oo sii adkaynaysa in ay labada dhinac ay wada bogsadaan. In la xannibo aqoonyahanka sida furan u hadli lahaa, waxa ay falanqeyayaasha ka dhigaysaa kuwo dowladda Ruwaanda ka qaata fikrad taban,

xitaa kuwa u danqanaaya waddanka, ee isku dayaaya in laga soo kabto sooyaalkii madoobaa ee xasuuqa. Ficillada kalitalisnimada ah ee dowladda waxa ay ugu danbeyn keeni karaan dhammaystir la'aan dimuqraadiyadeed amaba jiritaan la'aan dimuqraadiyadeed. Hadda ba, waxaa gar ah in wax la iska weydiyo in dimuqraadiyadda Ruwaanda ay hanaqaadayso iyo in kale, amaba hadii ay noqonayso goob khatar.

Isbarbardhigga iyo macno kala soo bixidda iskudhacyada

Qorshe lagu ballaarinaayo awoodda oo ay samaynayeen koox yar oo u dhow dowladda Kigaali ayaa ugu danbeyn noqday mid halis ah oo dhib horseeday, keentayna in haybta isireed marar badan la magacdhabo, balse qaab sireysan loo muujiyo. Maadaama siyaasaddu noqotay meel si weyn loogu kala aragti duwanaado, wali waxaa jira dareenkii dhibbaninimo (victimhood) oo wali ka dhex jira *Huutunga* iyo *Tuutsiga*—calaamad muujinaysa sida xasuuqu u saameeyay bulshada Ruwaanda, kuwaa oo doodihii tagtada ku milaaya doodaha siyaasiga ee casriga ah. Sida uu *Prunier* u fiirsaday: si aragga taariikhda, dunida, iyo siyaasadda ba; Ruwaanda iyo Burundi waxaa haga haybta *Tuutsiga* iyo *Huutunga*. Sida Soomaaliya, Ruwaanda waxa ay is-aaminaad la'aan ka dhexjirtaa dhibbanayaasha iyo kuwii geestay musiibada. Waxa ay Soomalidu ugu yeerto “Is-aaminaad” waxaa la mid ah erayga Ruwaandiiska ah ee “igihango”. Nukhbada labada dhinac ee *Huutunga* iyo *Tuutsiga* waxa uu midba midka kale ku eedeeyaa xasuuqii, inkastoo caddeymuhu muujinayaan in xasuuqa ay ka danbeeyeen koox yar oo nukhbada *Huutunga* ah, oo kamida xeyndaabka gudeed (inner cycle) ee *Habyarimana*, kuwaa oo caro galiyay *Huutugii* rayidka ahaa, si ay birta-uga-aslaan walaalahooda *Tuutsiga* ah, kaddib qurgoyntii loo geestay madaxweynihii, Abriil 1994. Marka dib loo jilleeco wixii dhacay waxa ay muujinayaan in intii ka hartay dowladdii *Habyarimana*, oo ku naxay warka walaaca ah ee sheegayay in diyaaradii madaxweynaha la soo riday, ay naf ka raadiyaan xasuuq geysasho, si ay ugu sii nagaadaan xukunka. Tani kama dhigna in xasuuqu ahaa mid aan horay u qorsheysnayn, laakiin waxa ay ka dhigantahay in soo rididii diyaaradda ay noqotay sabab lagu burburiyo RPF iyo taageerayaashooda.

Si kastaba, xasuuqii Ruwaanda waxa uu ahaa mashruuc dowladeed; ha ahaado mid horay u qorsheysnaa amaba in uu ahaa qorshe yimid kadib dilkii madaxweynaha. Maadaama madaxdii kale ee soo hartay ay abaabuleen bulshadii rayidka ahayd, si ay si dhaqso ah ugu aargudaan geerida madaxweynaha; waxaa haybta isireed loo adeegsaday qaab aydhiyoolajiyeed iyo si aaladeed. Meel waliba oo Kigaali ah waxaa ku faafay borobogaando sheegaysa, in RPF oo rabta la wareegidda xukunka ay ka danbeeyeen soo rididii diyaaradda. Inkastoo qolo badan ay ku lug lahayd xasuuqii, haddana waxaa la xusi karaa kiciyayaal (instigator) ay ugu waa weyn yihiin *korneel Théoneste Bagosora*, *generaal Augustin Bizimungu*, *Jean Kambanda*, *Frodwald Karamira*, *korneel Protais Mpiranya* iyo *qaar kaloo badan oo ay shaqo wadaag ahaayeen*. Dhinacyo kale oo dibadeed (daris iyo kuwo fog) ayaa qaab militari iyo mid siyaasadeed uga qeeb ahaa xasuuqa Ruwaanda, taa oo ka sii dartay xaaladdii. Inkastoo Maraykanka, Faransiiska, iyo Ingirisku ay baratamayeen; dowladdii *Museveni* waxa ay dhibtii gudeed ee Ugaandha ka jirtay u soo daabushay Ruwaanda. Inta badan dhinacyadii dibadda (external actors) waxa ay taageero siiyeen RPF. *Mamdani* waxa uu xusay, in aanay suurogal ahayn in la fahmo sida ay wax u dhaceen, illaa dib loo jalleeco sooyaalkii hore. In kaliya xasuuqii Ruwaanda lagu eego indho waddanka oo kaliya ah, iyadoo aan loo

firoyeelanayn saamayntii dibadda, waxa ay ka dhigantahay adigoo meel iska dhigaaya qeeb dhan oo kamida sooyaalkii xasuuqeed.

Isirnimada: haybta qaabaysa Ruwaandada maanta

Isirninimidu, aad bay ugu xoogantahay Ruwaanda. Iyadoo dadkii shibilka ahaa aanay ka qoomameynayn sannadihii inna weydaartay; kuwa loogu yeeray “xasuuqgeysashadayaasha” kuwaa oo geestay xasuuqii ayaa ka marag-kacaaya in ay wali muuqato, misana ay xoogantahay nacaybkii ugu danbeyn keenay xasuuqa. Wali waa ay noolyihiin iyagu, wayna karaan in ay dib u geestaan xasuuq kale. Hadii dowladda RPF ay sii wadayso cadaadiska ay iyagu ku haydo (xasuuqgeysashadayaasha), amaba ay furaydo dhabbo kale oo suurtoogalin kara in ay dib ugu soo noqdaan bulshada, waa mid ku xiran siyaasadda ay qaadanayso dowladda. Iyadoo dookhyadu ay aad u yaryihiin, ma jiro xal aan ka ahayn in dowladdu u ogolaato in ay qeyb ka noqdaan nabad-dhiska bulshada Ruwaanda ee xasuuqa kadib. Halka dowladda Ruwaanda ay u cuntamiweyday in ay dib u howlgalido siyaasiyiintii iyo askartii ka hoos shaqeeyay taliskii *Habyarimana*; taas beddelkeed Soomaaliya waxaa qalfooftii ka hartay Siyaad Barre loo arkaa dad garanaaya sida loo maareeyo ummuuraha dowladeed.

Saamaynta xooggan ee isiraysan (ethnicity) ee ka jirta Ruwaanda waxa ay keentay, in dowladda Kigaali ay si sharciyeysan u reebtay adeegsiga eryada ay ka mid yihiin: *Tuutsi, Huutuu, Tawa (Twa)*. Waa ay muuqatay in ay adagtahay in Afrika la is isirnimimo-tiro/reernimo-tiro (de-ethnicization& de-clanisation), sida laga dheehan karo dowladdii *Siyaad Barre* ee iskudaygaa samaysay 1971-dii, kadib markii taliskii militariga uu la wareegay xukunka 1969-kii. Si kastaba, keeska Soomaaliya waa uu ka yara duwanaan karaa, sababtu na waa in *Siyaad Barre* nafsad ahaantiisa uu ku faa’iday hannaanka reernimo, si xukunka u sii joogo, isagoo na ku tiirsanaa gaashaanbuursiga reereed ee *Marreexaan, Ogaadeen, iyo Dhublabante*. *Paul Kagame* isagu ba kama hanyarayn Siyaad Barre. Mar allaala markii ay xukunka la wareegtay RPF, waxa ay *Huutuunimada* ka dhigeen mid danbi ah, amaba sida uu yiri *Prunier*: qof waliba oo *Huutuu* ah halis joogto ah ayuu wajahayay, sababtoo ah *Huutuuga* waxa ay dowladda u arkaysay kuwo aad ugu dheereeya dilka, iyadoo mar waliba ay u nuglaayeen in la xiro. Sidaas oo ay tahay, RPF waxa ay ka biyo-diiday in uu jiro kala duwanaasho xaga isirka ah.

Iyadoo kor loo sheegaayo hadalhaynta ah, in uu dhacay “xasuuq *Tuutsi*”, iyagu na ay ahaayeen qolada kaliya ee la laayay; dowladda Ruwaanda waxa ay xasuuqa ka soo qaaday dhacdo hal isir koobsanaysa, ee aanu ahayn dhacdo saamaysay gabi ahaan ba Ruwaanda. Qaabab kala duwan oo ay dowladdu u taageereesay isirnimada waxaa kamida: reebidda adeegsiga isirnimada, halka dhinaca kala na la dhiirogalinaayo. Xaqiiqadu waxa ay tahay in dastuurka dib-u-eegista lagu sameeyay lagu xusay *Tuutsiga*, ee aanan lagu xusin *Huutuuga*__arrintaas oo caddeyneysa sida dowladdu ay isugu dayayso in ay xoogga saarto xasuuqyada lagula kacay *Tuutsiga*. Dhinaca kale, waxaa muuqata in ay iska horimaanayaan mowqifka dowladda. Halkii xasuuqa loo arki lahaa iskudhac ka dhex dhacay dadka reer Ruwaanda, dowladdu waxa ay iskudhacyada u aragtay mid u dhaxeeya *Tuutsiga* iyo *Huutuuga*. Inta xasuuqa loo arkaayo mid lagula kacay *Tuutsiga* oo qura, madaxweyne Kagame waxa uu haysan doonaa sabab uu xukunka ugu sii nagaado, sida madaxda kalitaliska ah ee Afrika oo kale. Su’aasha ay reer miyiga

Ruwaanda u qabaan cilmibaarayaasha reer galbeedka waxa ay tahay: aaway hoggaankii Afrikaanka ahaa ee Clinton sawiraayay 1994-tii? ¹⁰

Labaatan sanno kahor, Ruwaanda waxa ay dhexda kaga jirtay quus, iyadoo jiritaankii dadka la halis galiyay. Halka qolo daljoog ah iyo kuwa dibadjoog ah ay dusha sare ka daawanayeen xasuuqa, qolo ayaa seefta galka kala baxday, jaalalkoodii na ku dhiirogaliyay in ay qeyb ka noqdaan xasuuqa. Kaniisadda Ruwaanda waxa ay qeeb ka noqotay xasuuqa, halka masjidka Muslimiintu na uu daawade ka ahaa waxa dhacayay. Sida uu *Mamdani* tibaaxay, bulshada kaliya ee isaga fogaatay in ay ka qeyb noqoto xasuuqa waxa ay ahayd bulshada Muslimiinta. Marka dhinaca la iska dhigo cidda goobjoogaha ahayd iyo kuwa danbiilayaasha ahaaba, musiibada Ruwaanda waxa ay galaafatay nolosha dad farabadan. Sida *Prunier* laga wariyay, dhinaca muuqda ee waddanka (physical aspect) waxaa haleeshay musiibo; waxaa burburay dhismayaashii, guryihii ayaa la bililiqaystay, iyadoo maydad farabadanna ay daadsanaayeen hareeraha jidadka. Xaafadaha qaar, carruurta ayaa ku ciyaaraysay lafaha bini'aadamka sida oo ay yihiin kubbad. Soomaaliya na kama duwanayn, marka loo eego burburka dhaqaale iyo bulsho. Agoosto 1992-dii, suxufi Bititish ah oo ka soo warramayay Golweyn Soomaaliya ayaa sii daayay qiso xanuun badan: carruur agoon ah ayaa indhahooda oo shanta ah waxaa wiil yar laga soo bixiyay qol uu qiic hareeyay. Wiilka ayaa dhulka yaalay muddo lix saac ah, isagoo ku jifay maro wasaqaysan. Waxa ay xaqiiqsadeen in wiilku meyd yahay. Ma jirin qof sheegi karay halka wiilku ka yimid, halka ay joogaan qoyskiisa, iyo xitaa magaciisa. Seddex nin ayaa qaadday, iyagoo ku daboolay maradii uu ku geeriyooday. Waxa ay ka siibeen dharkii uu xirnaa, iyagoo middi/tooreey adeegsanaaya, kuna dul seexiyay sariir bannaan. Biyo badan ayaa ka soo qulqulayay guri saqafkiisa, iyagoo ka nadiifinaaya lafihii haraadiga ahaa ee wiilka__kadib dhimasho keentay muddo badan oo uu gaajaysnaa. Waxa ay meydkiisii ku dadeen maro cad, iyadoo seddex nin oo da'ah ay daqiiqado kooban ku tukaden salaad. Wiilkii yaraa ayay goob kula duugeen 1,200 oo qof oo aan haybtooda la aqoon, labadii bil ee u danbeesay. Kol aan u sii soconnay qubuuraha, ninka waday meydka wiilka waxa uu innoo sheegay in uu iilka geeyay in kabadan seddex qofood isla daqiiqadahaas kahor.

Fahmidda ciribtirka-qabiil

Ciribtir waxaa lagu halbeegaa hadba inta ay geeridu la egtahay iyo sida jilaayayaasha dhacdada ay fasiraad uga bixiyaan dagaalka kadib. Xukun ku dagaaliddii general *Maxamed Faarax Caydiid* iyo *Cali Mahdi Maxamed*__taa oo si khaldan loogu fasiro dagaalkii *Habargidir* iyo *Abgaal* ayaa jitamay waqti aad u fog, isagoo sababay dhimashadii iyo waxyeeladii ugu tirada badnayd ee 1991-dii. Waxaa in hoosta laga xarriiqo mudan, in Muqdisho 2007-dii uu Cali Mahdi qabanqaabiyay shir dib-u-heshiisiin ah, kaa oo reer waliba oo Soomaaliyeed uu raaligalin ka siiyay dhiggiisa wax waliba oo haybtooda loogu geestay. Odoyaal Daarood ah ayaa raaligalin siiyay Hawiye, halka odoyaal Hawiye ahna ay sidaa oo kale sameeyeen. Sidaa oo ay tahay, doodda ciribirika-qabiil waxa ay iska noqotay ereybixin siyaasadeed, halkii la lafaguri lahaa amaba cilmibaaris tijaabeed (empirical) lagu samayn lahaa, taa oo waxba kama jiraan ka soo qaadaysa iskudhacyadii reeraha; sababtu na waa in doodda lafteeda loo adeegsanayo aalad siyaasadeed, beddelkii laga abbaari lahaa runnimada dhacdadaas taariikheed. Tusale ahaan, waxaa erayga (ciribtir-qabiil) la adeegsadaa maantadan si dhulka loola galo sharafka siyaasiga, looga na fogeeyo

¹⁰ Madaxweynihii 42-aad ee Maraykanka, Bill Clinton ayaa 1994 aqalka cad ee Maraykanka ka sheegay, in talada Ruwaanda ay la wareegi doonaan hoggaan Afrikaan ah, oo ka wanaagsan kuwii hore. (T)

awoodda dowladeed__dowladdaa oo kaliya u jirta magac ahaan. Tani ma aha dood sahlan, inkastoo lafagurayaasha hab-fekerhooda ciriiriya (analysts so parochial) ay arrinka sidaa u ekeysiiyaan, marka ay ku doodayaan in iskudhacyadii reeraha uu ahaa ciribtir-qabiil. Goormee ayay iskudhacyada reeruhu noqdeen ciribtir-qabiil?

Ereyga ciribtir-qabiil marar badan ayaa loo isticmaalay Soomaaliya, sababo jiro aawadeed. Tusaalayaasha ugu badan ee arrinkaas lala xiriiro waxaa kamida macluushii darnayd ee Baydhabo. Inkasta oo ay *Kapteijns* si toos ah u xiganayn *Perlez*, oo ahayd qofkii ugu horreeyay ee adeegsada “ciribtir-qabiil”; sababta ay u adeegsatay na ay ahayd in ay waraysiyo ka qaaday reeraha qaar kamida. Si taas lamida, buugga *Lewis*, ee “taariikhda casriga ah ee Soomaalida/A Modern History of the Somali”, daabacaaddiisa afaraad ayuu si taxaddar leh u adeegsanayaa erayga “ciribtir-qabiil”, isagoo ku sababaynaaya xurguftii *Siyaad Barre* kala dhaxeysay *SSDF* iyo Taageerayaashooda. Si kastaba, dooddan waxaa nooleeya oo wali adeegsada siyaasiyiinta hoogay, ee ka faa’idi jiray dowladdii Siyaad Barre inta aan xukunka laga tuurin. Ereygan oo ah shaacsane dhawaangal ah (new phenomenon) lama adeegsan muddadii ay socotay iskudhacyadii reeraha ee dhacayay kadib dhacitaankii dowladdii Siyaad Barre. Marka laga tago in uu yahay eray la isku maandhaafsanyahay iyo in uu yahay eray sooyaaleed; dooddan (ciribtirka-qabiil) marnaba ma aanay sharraxin waaqaca qaraar ee iskudhacyada reeraha. Waa ay caddahay in kaliya la beddelay “ciribtir-isis” (ciribtir-qabiil ayaa loo beddelay), kaa oo ka dhacay Yuguslaafiya iyo haddii loo baahdo Ruwaanda. *Naimark* waxa uu xusay in eray-bixintan ay kaliya ku timid warbixinnada ay warbaahintu adeegsadaan, halkii ay noqon lahayd mid ka timaadda akaadeemigga amaba il sharci. Xitaa ereygan innagama kaalmayn doono fahamka sooyaalka amaba dagaalada Afrika, iskaba daa iskudhacyada reeraha ee Soomaalida. Iskudhacyadani waa kuwo aad u kakan, ayna adagtahay in bannaanka la keeno cidda ka danbeesay dilalka iyo sababihii ku dhaliyay ba. Khalad bay ahaan doontaa in dooddu noqoto qabiil X ayaa ku duulay qabiil Y, iyadoo aan la hayn sabab dhab ah. Marka kaliya ee Soomaaliya uu ka dhacay wax u eg xasuuq 1991-dii waxa ay ahayd “*geeridii seddex-xagalka*” ee Baydhabo 1991-1993. Magac-dhabid waliba oo ah “ciribtir”, oo lala xiriiro Soomaaliyadii 1991-dii waa dhibaato iskeed u taagan, sababtu na ma aha oo kaliya in aan xilligaa loogu yeeri karin waayihii xasuuqa, ee waa in dhacdooyinkii Ruwaanda iyo Yuguslaafiya aanay la mid ahayn kuwii ka dhacay Soomaaliya.

Haybta qabiilka ee loo adeegsanaayo awoodda xukunka waxa ay leedahay sooyaal soo jireen ah intii ka danbeesay 1969-kii. Waa halka ay ku biyo-shubanayso sooyaalka siyaasadeed ee *SSDF* iyo taageerayaashooda ba, kuwaa oo sannado badan adeegsanayay doodda ciribtirka-qabiil, si ay qiil ugu raadiyaan sababta ay kooxdoodu ugu mudanyihiin jagada ra’iisul-wasaaraha ee dowladdan federaalka ah ee Soomaaliya. Sida uu tilmaamay xubin dowladda ka mid ah; marka siyaasi reer *Buuntilaan* ah uu joogo xafiiska, ma maqli doontid doodda ciribtirka-qabiil iyo “guryahayagii ayaa xoog lagu heystaa.” Tani kama dhigna oo kaliya, in dadka bannaanka keenaya doodahaan ay ka dhaadhacsantahay in xukunkoo la haystaa ay ka tari karto dib-u-soo-cesashada hantidii ay lahaayeen 1960-meeyadii iyo 1980-meeyadii; ee waxa ay sidoo kale istusiyeen, in haysashada xafiiska ra’iisul-wasaaraha keeni karto xayuubsi hanti aad u farabadan. Faa’idada ku jiri karta in tiro badan oo kooxdooda ah ay joogaan jagooyinka, waxaa laga dheehan karaa baratankooda ku aaddan sida nidaamka dowladeed uu u shaqeynayay tagtadii. Dibadbaxyo siyaasadeed ayay sameeyeen qurbojoogta, kuwaa oo ku halqabsanaayay: “waa in qof innaga mid ah uu noqdaa ra’iisul-wasaaraha”, taa oo cadaadis saartay madaxweyneynayaasha, si ay u magacaabaan ‘qof *Buntilaander* ah’, iyadoo uu sidaa sameeyay madaxweyne sheekh Shariif sheekh Axmed 2011-kii, arrintaa oo uu markii danbe joojiyay madaxweyne

Xasan sheekh Maxamuud 2012-kii, inkastoo markiid danbe uu baddelay mowqifkiisa 2015-kii. Marka uu xilka tago ruux Buntalaander ah__kuwaa oo aan iyaguba sinnayn, waxaa gabi ahaanba saaxadda ka baxa doodda ciribtir-qabiil oo ahayd aalad siyaasadeed. Marka xaal halkaa joogo, in la xannibo hab-fekerka dadka (manipulated minds), oo dib loo majeerto waayihii wacnaa si xukunka loo hanto, waxaa loo arkay in ay tahay wax aan laga maarmin.

Si kastaba, waxaa meel waliba ku faafay doodda reeraha ee madaxda USC ku dhaleeceynaysa ceyrsashadii SSDF. Marka laga tago hoggaanka Soomaalida, *Kapteijns* waxa ay eed kala duldhaacaysaa jeneraal *Caydiid*, iyadoo ku dhaleecaynaysa geysashada ‘*danbiyo ka dhan ah aadanaba*’, kuna doodaysa in sababta ugu weyn ee keentay colaadda 1991-dii ay tahay iskudhacyada reeraha. Waxa ay ku saf noqotay ninka uu kala dhaxeeyay baratanka, korneel *Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmed*, kaa oo *Caydiid* ku eedeeyay laynta reerkiisa (qoraal ahaan ayuu u go’aansaday in uu ku burburiyo *Caydiid*, mar haddii uu dagaal kaga adkaan waayay). Si kastaba, ma jiro mid iyaga kamida oo ah *Axmed* iyo *Kapteijns* oo soo bandhigay hadaljeedinno, codad duuban, muuqaallo, amaba shey kale oo noqon kara caddayn la isku hallayn karo, taa oo gacansiin karta sheegashadooda. Sidee qof isu arka ‘*hoggaamiye qaran*’ uu sidaa ugu dhaqmi karaa, taa oo saameyn karta fursadda uu ku noqon karo madaxweyne? Dhinaca kale, waxaa jira muuqaallo ciidaa ka badan oo ku jira Yuutuubka (kuwaa oo si ula kac ah la isaga indhotiro), oo muujinaaya hoggaanka USC-da oo uu ku jiro jeneraal *Caydiid*, kuwaa oo si xooggan ugu amraaya askartooda in aanay xabbad liqsiin karin qof aan qeyb ka ahayn dagaalka. Muuqaal la duubay 1991-dii oo ahayd xilli dagaalada sokeeye ay cirka isku shareereen, ayaa waxaa ka soo muuqanayaa *Caydiid* oo ay garabtaagan yihiin labo sheekh oo aad looga tixgaliyo Muqdisho__*macallin Nuur Maxamed Siyaad* iyo *sheekh Shariif sheekh Muxyaddiin Cali*, kaa oo Malleeshiyadiisa faraaya in aanay geysan karin dhac iyo kufsi ka dhan ah dadka rayidka ah ee aan qeebta ka ahayn dagaalka. Waxaa fiidiyowga ka muuqanayaa labada sheekh oo *Caydiid* ka codsanaaya in uu caasimadda ka difaaco ciidamada *Siyaad Barre*. *Caydiid* ayaa dhankiisa makarafoonka qaadanaaya, isagoo ballanqaadaya in uu iska caabin doono *Siyaad Barre* iyo jaallayaashiisa u daacadda ah ee isku dayaaya in ay dib ula wareegaan magaalada. Intaa kadib, wuxa uu iska sii watay in uu askartiisa faro ilaalinta ‘*Soomaalinimada*’, isagoo hadalkiisa sii wata waxa uu yiri:

Annagu kama soo horjeedno Daarood, ee waxaan is haynaa taliskii cabburinta ee Siyaad Barre iyo cid kasta oo u kaba qaadda. Waa kuwaas kuwa aan la col nahay. Iyaga laftooda ayaa u baahan in laga xoreeyo taliska Siyaad Barre, si loo soo celiyo walaalnimadii iyo caddaladdii, si aanan loo oggolaan in dib loo gumaysto bulshada; maadaama bulshadu ay simantahay. Idinka na {USC} waa in aad qaddarisaan bulshada, ilaalisaan kuwa aad xoreynaysaan, sheekhyada, iyo masaajidda. Kaliya is farasaara cadowga idin xabbadaynaaya. Haddii ay ku kacaan gaboodfal {dagaalamayaasha Siyaad Barre}, ha samaynina waxa ay ku kaceen. Taas lidkeed, fala wanaagga uu Eebbebeen ina faray in aan samayno.

Muuqaalkaan caddaynta ah waxa uu burinayaa doodda *Axmed* iyo *Kapteijns* ee ah in hoggaankii USC ay qorsheeyeen, la socdeen, sidoo kale na abaabuleen xasuuq lagula kaco reer gaar ah. Nuxurka hadaljeedinta *Caydiid*, waxaan sinnaba maangal u ahayn nin badi Soomaalidu u aragto “*xoreeye*” iyo “*badbaadiye*” in uu dadkiisa gumaado xilligaa oo uu haysto taageerada shacabka. Waxaa muuqatay islaahaanshiyaha ballanqaadyadiisa.

Abriil 1991-dii, ciidamada *Caydiid* ayaa la wareegay magaalo xeebeedka koonfureed ee Kismaayo, halkaa oo ciidamadiisu ay gacanta ku dhigeen jeneraal *Maxamed Abshir Muuse*, oo ahaa nuuc shaqsiyadeed oo inta badan lagu muransanyahay ayaa lataliyayaashii *Caydiid* ku tuhmeen in uu fududeynayay wadashaqayn dhexmari karta haraadigii SSDF iyo koofiyad castii *Siyaad Barre*.

1991-dii, *Abshir* waxaa la kulmay suxufi Biritish ah, kaa oo booqday Kismaayo xilli dagaaladu ay cirka isku shareereen. Waxa uu suxufigii isugu qeexay: “*halkaan waxaa jooga dad wada caraysan...aniguna waxaan ahay reer hebel, waa in aan barbar istaago'tolkeyga'.*” Bilooyin kadib, *Abshir* waxa uu Kismaayo ugu gacangalay ciidamadii *Caydiid*, isagoo ka dhan ahaa USC.

Muuqaal laga sii daayay Yuutuubka ayaa muujinaaya *Caydiid* iyo lataliyayaashiisii oo ka doodaaya sii dayntiisa. Jananaayo 1991-dii, xilli dagaaladu ay aad u qaraaraayeen, ciidan kamida USC ayaa qabatay Abshir, kadib na ku wareejiyay odoyaashii loo yaqaannay “kooxda maanifeesto”, kuwaa oo magacu ugu baxay codsi-qoraalkii ay u direen *Siyaad Barre*, si uu xukunka u banneeyo. Sida aan ku ogaaday waraysi aan ka qaaday *Xasan Dhimbil Warsame*, oo ka mid ahaa saxiixayaashii Manifeesto; waxaa *Abshir* lala xiray general *Xoolif*, general *Cabdullaahi Xasan Matukade*, iyo *Cabdixamiid Suldaan*. Mar ay 500 oo askartii *Siyaad Barre* ah ay isu dhiibeen *Caydiid* 1992-dii, waxa uu ku wareejiyay hay'adda laanqeerta-cas (Red cross). Waxaa intaa dheeri ka ah, in uu sidoo kale gacanta ku dhigay ku dhawaad 500 oo kale oo dagaalyahanno ah, kuwaa oo Gedo uga dagaalamaayay digteetarkii meesha laga tuuray. Hadaladii *Caydiid* waxaa ka mid ahaa: “*waxaan hagitaan adag siiyay taliyayaasha USC, si ay u hubiyaan in aan xilli waliba waxyeelo la gaarsiin maxaabiista iyo dadka rayidka ah.*” Jeneraal Jaamac Maxamed Qaalib, oo ahaa taliyihii hore ee booliska xilligii *Siyaad Barre* ayaa xusay in *Caydiid* uu hay'adda laanqeyra-cas uu ku wareejiya shan boqol oo ah ciidan laga qabsaday *Siyaad Barre*.

Gabagabadii, si shaqsi ah (*Caydiid*) looguma soo eedeyn in uu ku kacay dil kas ah oo ka dhan ah dadyowga rayidka ah. Inkastoo aan caddeyn loo hayn in hoggaankii USC uu u ololeeyay in gabi ahaanba birta laga aslo reero gaar ah, marka laga tago ismaandhaafyada dhexdooda ahaa; taas beddelkeed waxaa jira muuqaal muujinaaya general *Maxamed Saciid Xirsi “Moorgan”* iyo *Maxamed Xaashi Gaani* oo amraaya in la laayo Hawiyaha, Isaaq, Raxanweynta iyo Jareerta ku sugan deegaanadooda. Dambiyadii ay ku kaceen (*Moorgan & Gaani*) waxaa waxba kama jiraan ka soo qaadday doorkii uu talisku ku lahaa garabgalka SSDF, si ay u caddibaan bulsho gaar ah.

Ciribtir-qabiil: dood aan meel qura ku aroori karin

Soomaaliya waa mid kamida waddamada ay colaaduhu ragaadiyeen ee qaarad-weynaha Afrika. Cunfiga ay dowladda ku kacayso ayaa caadiyeysmay tan iyo markii ay militariga xukunka la wareegeen Oktoobar 1969-kii. Kadib 1977-dii, waxaa abuurmay kooxo mucaarad ah, markii taliskii *Siyaad Barre* uu duulaan ku qaaday taliskii *Mengistus Derg* ee dowladda dariska ah ee Itoobiya. Muddadaa kadib, dalku waa uu sii hoobanayay. Dad badan oo Soomaali ah iyo kuwo aan Soomaali ahayn ba, waxa ay u muuqdaan in aanay wax cashar ah ka baran iskudhacyada jiidamayay muddo ka badan 30 sanno. Manaxayaashii qeybta ka ahaa colaadaha iyo kuwii ladnaa ee dagaaladu busaaradeeyeen__waa ay dareen cuqdadaysanyihiin, sababtu na waa in ay ka dhaadhacsantahay in ay dhaqaale ahaan hoogeen. Sida ay *Huutuugu* ay dhicitaankii diyaaradeed ee *Habyarimana* 1994-tii uga dhigteen xusuus siyaasadeed, ayaa si lamida qaar kamid ah reeraha 1991-dii ugu adeegsanaayaan sooyaal hal dhinac oo kaliya ka warramaaya, si ay u duraan xukuumadda markaas jirta. Kulan reereedkii ka dhacay Toronto waxa uu si cad u muujinayaa raadadkii foosha xumaa ee colaadaha, maadaama oo uu ahaa mid looga falcelinayay magacaabistii uu madaxweyne *Xasan Sheekh Maxamuud* ku magacaabay *Saacid Faarax Shirdoon*, oo ah ganacsade aan “*Buntilaander*” ahayn. Inta badan hadaljeedinnadii nacaybka ahaa waxa ay ka dhan ahaayeen madaxweynaha iyo reerkiisa “Hawiye”. Marka la eego hadaladooda, farriimaha hadaljeediyayaasha oo dhan waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo sumaysan oo aan lala barbardhigi karin Afrika, xitaa Ruwaanda. Siyaasadda gees u daaqa ah ee doonaysa in kheyraadka dowladda oo dhan ay ka

faa'idaan nuqbada reerka ayaa waxaa tusaale u ah, *Cabdimahaab Xaaji Xuseen* oo ah walaalka ka yar *Cabdirisaaq Xaaji Xuseen*, ahaa na ra'iisul-wasaarihii Soomaaliyadii gumaystaha kadib (1964-1967) ayaa muujiyay si aragiisa ku aaddan in aanay reerkiisa dib danbe ula noolaan "*tolka Muqdisho*". Isagoo hadaljeedin ku samaynaaya luuqad uu nacayb ka muuqda, waxa uu yiri:

"Ma nibin walaalo. Ma jiro wanaag aan ka filayno iyaga {Hawiye}. Wax ay ku tooranyihiin ma laba. Caasimadda iyagay caasimad u tahay. Ma aba caasimad Soomaali. Waanu dhisan karnaa dowlad iyo caasimad ba. Ebbe innama go'doomin...dumaroow waxaad tibiin cududeenna dhabta ah. Innagu kiciya si aan dhidabda ugu taagno caasimad, dowlad, iyo waddan innoo gaara, maadaama aynaan wadanoolaanaa karin iyaga."

Intaa waxaa dheer, *Kapteijns* waxsoosaarkeedii waxa uu noqday sida "*kitaab samaami ah*" oo wax badan taray shirkii reerka ee Toronto: kow, waxsoosaarkeedii waxaa loo adeegsaday in lagu caadiyeeyo, lana soo nooleeyo gocashooyin qabiileed oo aan badi xaqiiqo ku dhisnayn. Labo, in lagu kala horumaro ku baratamidda siyaasadda casriga ah. Maraka laga tago doodda ah in la ciribtiray, ka warramidda dowladda iyo caasimadda ee qaabka ay carada ku dheehantahay waxa ay ku tusinaysaa sida awoodooda dowladeed loogu raadinaayo qaab waliba__amaba ha ahaato in dadka lagu dhiirogaliyo in ay goostaan amaba in ay jaraan dabarkii isku hayay iyaga iyo inta ay isku waddanka yihiin. Rabitaanka loogu jiro in dib loogu soo ceshado awoodihii siyaasadeed, waa sabab kale oo ku tusinaysa sida colaadaha Soomaalidu ay aad ugu dabo-dheeraadeen, in ka abadan colaadaha Afrikada gumaystaha kadib. Deegaankaan siyaasaddu kala qoqobantahay, colaaduhu na ay ragaadiyeen, waa ay ka suurtoogali weyday awood qeybsi siyaasadeed. *Jason Sorens* iyo *Leonard Wantchekon* waxa ay ku doodeen, in saami qeybsi awoodeed uu shaqeynaayo oo kaliya marka ujeedka dhinacyada dagaalamaya uu yahay mid aydiyoolajiyadeed iyo marka kooxuhu ay kala baqayaan (El salvador iyo South Afrika oo kale); taas beddelkeed se aanu ka shaqeyn karin kooxo kaliya ku diriraaya ujeedooyin dhaqaale.

Dhinaca kale, colaadaha sokeeye ee lagu riiqmay (Siira-liyoon, Angoola, Sayiir, koonfurka Soomaaliya) waxaa lagu diriraayay gacan ku haynta ilaha dhaqaale. Dadka ugu badan ee ka qeeb galay kulankii reerka ee Toronto waxa ay ahaayeen kuwii ugu ladnaa xilligii taliska Siyaad Barre. Sida dhacday ba, intooda badan waxa ay ku qasbanaadeen in ay ceyr qaataan amaba in ay ka shaqeeyaan shaqooyinka la liido. Natijada waxyeeladii dagaalka waxa ay noqotay in ay aad u korodhay culaysyadii dhaqaale, ismarinwaagga qoysaska dhexdooda ah, dhibaatooyinka guurka, iyo kuwo kaloo badan ba, in ka badan inta aanay colaaduhu bilaaban. Adeegsiga luuqad dhibbaninimo, taa oo inta badan shaacsane ka noqotay doodaha siyaasiga ah__waxa ay sababtay in ay dadku isku dayaan in ay ka aargutaan cadow aan xaqiiqo ahaan muuqan maantadan. Iyadoo sababta ugu weyn ay tahay dagaaladii sokeeye, waxaa wiiqmay "Soomaalinimadii" dadka isku haysay: waxaa lumay dareenkii ummadnimo, taa beddelkeed se waxa ay noqotay in qolo ba qolada kale ay ku duusho amaba, koox ba kooxda kale in ay u keeblayuurarto. Sidaa darteed, waxaa iska caadi noqotay in colaadda Soomaalidu ay harayso is shaabadayn iyo fasiraado colaadeed__kuwaa oo dhammaantood ah natijjo ka dhalatay uur-ku-taaladda dabo-dheeraatay ee sida taban u saamaysay siyaasiyiintii iyo guud ahaan bulsho weyntii. *Mamdani* waxa uu xal ahaan u soo jeediyay in qodobka ugu muhiimsan ee ay tahay in la helo marka la rabo in la sameeyo dib-u-heshiisiin siyaasadeed ay tahay, in la helo caddaalad siyaasadeed (political justice), ee aan la isku howlin in caddaaladda la mariyo danbiilayaasha amaba helidda caddaalad bulsho. Laakiin sidee caddaalad siyaasadeed loo heli karaa, iyadoo awoodihii ba si caddaalad darro ah loo qeebsaday?

Hadafka ugu weyn ee laga leeyahay ciribtirka-qabiil, sida ay u arkaan reeraha kale ee Soomaalida, ma aha oo kaliya in ay kaliya isla doonayaan awood, ee waxa ay doorbidayaan in awoodaa si muuqata u

isticmaalaan, kana dhaliyaan il dhaqaale, si ay saaxadda uga saaraan cid waliba oo ay u arkaan in ay yihiin “*tartamayaal muuqda*”. Awoodda siyaasadeed kama dhigna oo kaliya in kheyraadka dowladeed uu gacantaada ku jiro, ee sidoo kale waxaa loo adeegsadaa baqdin galinta waxa loogu yeero “*reeraha kale ee cadong ab*”. Marka ay arrin sidaa tahay, doodda ciribtirka-qabiil waxa ay u muuqataa mid aan faylkeeda la iska soo xiri karin (have no conclusion).

Soo gunaanad la’aanta jirta aawadeed, waxa ay ka sii dari kartaa dedaallada loogu jiro in dib-u-qoris lagu sameeyo taariikhda hore, taariikhdaa oo aan la mid ahayn tii hore ee la iska dhoodhoobay. Marka la joogo Soomaalida dhexdeeda, tijaabo cilmiyeed la sameeyay ayaa muujinaaya in waxa qolo u aragto “*taariikh run abbaar ab*” ay qolo kale gaashaanka u daruurayso.

Sida uu qoray Scott: “*taariikhda qoran waxa ay ka tarjuntaa hadba cidda itaalka roon.*” Cidda taariikhda lagu soo daraayo amaba laga tagaayo, dhacdooyinka loo arko kuwa ugu muhiimsan, iyo sida loo xukumayo tagtada intu ba kuma salaysna dhexdhexaadnimo, ee waxa ay ku salaysanyihiin ujeedooyin siyaasadeed. Waxa aan u arkayno taariikh, waa natiijo ka dhalatay siyaasadihii tagtada ahaa; halka hirdanka maanta taagani uu yahay sida taariikhdaas u qaabayn karto taaganta (present).

Haddii taariikhdu ay tahay siyaasaddii tagtada, qabanqaabiyayaasha shirkii Toronto wax ay tagtada (past) u adeegsan doonaan aalad siyaasadeed maantadaan la joogo, iyagoo loollanka siyaasadeed ee xilligaan u arki doona natiijo ka dhalatay sooyaalkii siyaasadeed ee hore.

Marka wax laga qorayo iskudhacyadii hore, sida uu qabo *Ginzburg*, taariikhyahannadu ma aha in ay isu arkaan garsoorayaal, kuwaa oo isku dayaya in ay dib ugu laabtaan tagtada, si ay go’aan u gaaraan. Hadafka ugu weyn ee cilmibaaris taariikheedkaan, waa in dib loo dhiso oo la isku xiro dhacdooyinka ay goobjoogga u ahaayeen shaqsiyaadka iyo sida uu waaqacu ahaa markaas. *Certeau* ayaa laga hayaa in uu yiri: “Taariikhdu waligeed ba waa ay kala dhimantahay.” Taariikhyahanku ma aha ruux boolis ah oo go’aan ka gaara tagtada. Hadafkiisu waa in uu noqdaa sidii uu dhacdada si qotodheer ugu fahmi lahaa iyo in aanuu noqon ruux mar walba isla saxan.

Shaqadiisu ma aha in uu isku howlo xaqiiqo sheegis, ee waa in uu bannaanka u soo saaro beenaha faafay. *Kaptein* iyadoo wax waliba ku salaynaysa ficiladdii taliska (Siyaad Barre), shaqadeedii akaadeemig waxa ay kaliya noqdeen kuwo faalleeya aragiyo, ee iskuma aanay howlin ka warramidda xaqiiqada, taa oo ka fog xaqiiqada dhabta ah ee Soomaalida.

Aragtida ciribtirka-qabiil waa hadallo dhibbaninimo ah oo la suuqgeeyay, taa oo kaliya dalbanaysa in kheyraadka dowladeed la wadaago. Se taas cagsigeed, *Kaptein* arrinkiiba dhinac kale ayay la aadday, iyadoo kaliya dhagaha u raaricinaysa hal reer, iska na fogeyneysa reerka kale. Dadaal kuma aanay bixin in ay bulshada kale xisaabta ku darsato. Waxaa wax lala yaabo ah, in ay hal reer mas’uuliyadda u saariday dhammaan xadgudubyadii tagtada, iyadoo taasi u arkaysa in sees looga dhigo dib-u-heshiisiinta. Haddii erayadeeda loo raaco, waa in meel la iska dhigaa isbaryeelidda ay badi samaynayaan reeraha. Yoolkeedu waa in ay hal reer danbi u saarido. Sidaas oo ay tahay se waxaa iska hor imaanaya hadafkeedii ay xustay, maadaama oo ay hal reer ka soo qaadayso dhibbanaha dhabta ah. Waa halkan marka shaqo akaadeemiggeeda (her academic work) uu ka weecanaayo halkii la rabay, una weecanayo jiho aad u qarriban; sababtu na waa in aanay kaliya dib-u-soo celinayn doodo hore, ee waxa ay jidbixin doontaa colaad hor leh oo reeraha dhexdooda ah (kas amaba kama mid ay ka tahayba), taa oo dib innoogu celin karta halaagii Soomaaliya ay faraha la gashay 1991-dii.

Gunaanad

Sheegashooyinka xargaha goostay ee ku aaddan ciribtirka-qabiil waxaa lala barbardhigi karaa sheeko xariirada Soomaalida ee seddexda nin ee araga la' uu mid waliba taabanayo qeeb kamida jirka xawayaan, se kala sheegi doono seddex aragtiyood oo kala geddisan. Isagoo *Ranger* dib-u-eegis samaynaaya, waxa uu daraasadda *Kapteijs* (clan cleansing) ku tilmaamayaa mid hal dhinac u janjeerta. Sidaa darteed, sheegashooyinkeedu waa kuwa aan sal iyo raad toona lahayn. Waraysi uu tilifishin Soomaali ah ka qaaday *Kapteijs* waxa ay xustay in ay ooyday markii ay qorayday buugeeda. In wax la qoro iyadoo dareemuhu ay aad u kacsanyihiin, taa oo keeni karta cadaadis maskaxeed, waxa ay ugu danbeyn qoraaga ku keentaa in uu “eexaysi” ku kaco, iskana fogeeyo dhexdhexaadnimada. *Frevert*, buugeeda *“Emotions in History: Lost and Found”* waxa ay ku sheegtay sida dareennadu ay u saameeyaan maankeenna, gaar ahaan marka ay qofka ku sababaan in uu lumiyo dheellitirnaantii fikireed, taa oo keenta in qofku sida aytahay u abbaari waayo shaqada uu hayo. Marka la joogo ciribtirka-qabiil, *Kapteijs* meel isugama ay keenin dhinacyadii ay diritu ka dhaxeysay, si ay uga fogaato eexaysi reereed (clan bias). Sheekooyinka kooxihii hubaysnaa ee Soomaalida lagama helayo buugeeda, marka laga reebo SSDF. *Kapteijs* waxa ay si shaqsi ah uga qeeb noqotay colaadihii qabaa’ilka, iyadoo cid waliba oo dhaleecaysa ku shaabadaysay “isdiidsiiyayaal” iyo in ay yihiin kuwo “nacab” ah. Shaqadeedii akaadeemig waxaa lagu adeegsaday shir reereed ka dhacay Toronto__reerkaa oo dowladda Muqdiso ka dalbanaaya jagada ra’iisul-wasaaraha, ayaa caddeyn u ah in doodaaheedu ay yihiin kuwo siyaasadeed. Sida uu tilmaamay qof u fiirsaday *Kapteijs*, daraasaddan ay samaysay ma aha mid dhab hadal ah, ee taas beddelkeed waa sheeko-baraleey loogu talagalay bulsho gaar ah. *Kapteijs* waxa ay u muuqataa mid aan dheg jalaq u siinayn dood aan taageerayn middeeda ciribtirka-qabiil, inkasta oo ay meel kale ku xustay fasiraad ka hor imaanaysa doodda ay xilligaan la soo taagantahay:

Malleeshiyaadka iyo kooxaha gaangiska ah si dhammaystiran uma matalaan reerka ay ka dhasheen. Waxaaba dhacda, in dadyow badan oo reerkaas ah aanay doonayn ku lugyeelashada xadgudubyada dhacaya, kana biyo-diideen, iskuna dayeen joojintooda, iyagoo sidoo kale na badbaadiyay qolo si gaar ah loo beegsanayay. Waxaa la mid ah hoggaanka reeraha hubaysan ee USC, ee inta badan dagaalyahannada qortay. Tiro badan oo hoggaankan ka mid ah waa ay ka soo horjeedeen xadgudubyada, waxa ayna isku dayayeen ba in ay ka hortagaan, isla markaa na soo affaraan {qiraalka qoraha}.

Dib-u-milicsi uu *David Laitin* ka qoray *Kapteijs*, uguna magacdaray *“Some Reflections Lidvien Kapteijs”*, ahna caalin culuunta siyaasadda aad looga tixgaliyo ayaa bannaanka keenay isburinno dhowr ah oo ka dhan ah doodda ciribtirka-qabiil. *Laitin* waxa uu ku dooday in *Kapteijs* ay qabiilka u aragto “aragti” oo kaliya, sidaas oo ay tahay na waxa ay u adeegsanaysaa doodeeda la xariirta siyaasidda reeraysan ee casriga ah. Waxaan si naba suuragal u ahayn, in colaadaha reeruhu aanu ka dhalan hal sabab, balse sababuhu ay ahaayeen kuwo dhinacyo badan, oo had iyo goor isbedbeddela. Sida ay *Kapteijs* ku dooday, dagaalada qabaliga ah ma ahayn oo qura aalad loo adeegsado gaarista ujeedooyin siyaasadeed. Si taas cagsigeed ah, kala baahsanaanta reeraha Soomaalida waa ay ka gudaballaarantahay aragtida *Lewis* ee qabta in bulshada Soomaalidu ay u qaabeysantahay sida qoys-geedeed oo kale(family tree), kaa oo laamihiiisu ay yihiin qabiillo, iyo jufooyin kale oo ka sii hoos baxa__aragtidaa oo malaha laga soo miinguuriyay *Rousseau*. Dad badan ayaa isku howlay in ay fasiraad u raadiyaan colaadaha reeraha iyo micnaha dhabta ah ee “reernimada”. Inkastoo xaaladda Soomaalida ay tahay mid maalinba meel taagan, sidaas oo ay tahay juquraafiyaqaanno (*Cabdi Samatar* oo kale) iyo siyaasiyiin uu ka mid yahay *Maxamed Warsame Cali “Kiimiko”* ayaa isku dayay in ay si qotodheer u fahmaan hannaanka reereed ee

siyaasadaysan (politics of the clan system). Tani waxa ay muujinaysaa sida aragtida qabiilka looga dhigay mid mar waliba ku habboon xaaladda Soomaalida, taa oo iyadu ba ah fahamdarro hor leh.

Waxa aan maqaalkan ku muujiyay sida lafaguriddu (analysis) ay u shidaalin karto iskudhacyada siyaasadeed, ama haloo qasdo amaba yaan loo qasdine. Xadgudubyadii 1991-dii waxa ay ahaayeen kuwo “beeleysan”, hadda ba maxaa la isaga indhotirayaa doorka qabaa’ilka kale iyo jufooyinka kale ee qeebta ka ahaa xadgudubyada. Maxaa diiradda loo saarayaa hal reer? Xitaa akhristaha aan waxbaba uga bilawnayn dhacdooyinkii kakanaa ee Soomaalida ayaa fahmi kara in wixii Muqdisho ka dhacay aan loogu yeeri karin “ciribtir-qabiil”. *Kapteijs* waxa ay xoogeeda isugu geysay ‘waxa dhacay’, halkii ay u fiioyeelan lahayd waxa keenay in ay wax dhacaan: sababha iyo jiridda dhibaataada. Waxa ay waxba kama jiraan ka soo qaadaysaa sooyaalka fog oo ay leeyihiin siyaasiyiinta ay xiganayso, kuwaa oo meel kaga dhacay “Soomaalinimadii”, iyagoo aan sharrixi karin sababta ay u shaqeysay midnimada Soomaalida xilligii gumaystaha 1940-meeyadii iyo 1950-meeyadii; se taas beddelkeed ay u shaqeyn weysay muddadii colaadaha reeraha ee 1980-meeyadii iyo 1990-meeyadii. Maxay “Soomaalinimo” ka tari kartaa colaadaha sokeeye? Qofbaa diidi kara “Soomaalinimada” dhalanteedka ah ee kaliya u adeegaysa danaha reerka. Si guud, sheekooyinka ay isla dhexmaraan bulshooyinku ay colaaduhu ragaadiyeen waa kuwo inta badan hal dhinac ah, ayna adagtahay in ala aamino. Si weyn bay suurogal u tahay in aad weydo xaqiiqada dhabta ah ee dagaalka. Kas amaba kama mid ay ka tahay ba, *Kapteijs* waa ay ku dhacday dabinkan. Gabagabadii, intee sanno ayuu halhayska “ku-qabso ku-qadimaysid” ee ay ku caano maalaan kuwa xukun doonka ah iyo halhayska kale ee “kan-aamusan-hooyadiiba-waa-qadisaa” ee bulshada kale ee Soomaalida ka dhanka ah uu sii shiiqin doonaa saaxadda siyaasadda ee iskudhacyada kadib.

Qoraal-hoosaadyo

- ¹ Daawo Beesha Daarood oo Samaysatay Xus Ay ugu Magac Dareen Xasuuqi 1991; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzPL-ePKfCU>, accessed on 4 ugust 2014
- Kapteijs (2013a) is heavily politicised as it describes the clanised wars in advocacy and activist manner, taking a highly partisan position (Ingiriis, 2013b, pp. 112-114). The constructivist theories of kinship used in Kapteijs's seems to have derived from Simons's book (1995) without acknowledgement.
- Said Samatar himself, a Daarood academic who recently passed away in the U.S., viewed the Somali government in Mogadishu as a Hawiye government, because it was led by Hassan Sheikh, a Hawiye (see Samatar, 2013). Nuruddin Farah has also hinted that he does not recognise Hassan Sheikh as a Somali President nor does he sees him someone representing him or his clan. In short, to his mind, Hassan Sheikh is a rival clan President (Farah, 2013). Farah's diatribe came after the heated dispute between Hassan Sheikh and Farah's clan Ogaadeen élites over the partial declaration of the clan mini-State of “Jubbaland,” backed by neighbouring Kikuyu-led Kenyan government. This despite the fact that Farah himself has admitted that he met his father in a refugee camp in Kenya wherein the father verbally assaulted (even insulted) a rival clan (in a plain language). He wrote during the height of the war between the Hawiye and the Daarood: “I asked my father why he thought he would be killed, simply because he was from

another clan [...] 'Mogadiscio has fallen into the clutches of thugs,' my father went on, 'no better than hyenas. Now, could you depend on a hyena to know what honour is, what trust is, what political responsibility means?'" (Farah, 1996, p. 6, 9).

4. The book has endangered a controversy among Somali popular media and chatting groups. For an open letter, see Abdulkadir Osman "Aroma", "An Open Letter to Professor Kapteijns: A Rejoinder," *Hiiraan Online*, March 28, 2013. www.hiiraan.com/op4/2013/mar/28686/an_open_letter_to_professor_kapteijns_a_rejoinder.aspx (accessed on 17 April 2013). Most recently, one wondered Somali blogger posed a serious question about the political benefits of the book for one community against the other over the State spoils. Available at: <http://www.somaliaonline.com/community/topic/faisal-roble-seems-pretty-obsessed-with-the-book-clan-cleansing/> (accessed on 19 October 2014). For a poem (with explanation) critiquing the book, see Eno (2013).
5. Author's notes, Mogadishu (Somalia), August 1998.
6. On 27 November 2014 at the University of Oxford, I observed two renowned Rwanda specialists looking each other in a very hostile way. So were the interaction between two renowned Sudan specialists who strongly defended their ground with somewhat bitterness. In Lund University in Sweden, two years prior, I also witnessed two other Somalia specialists refusing to greet each other.
7. Prunier went far in publishing another book that blames the RPF for using the genocide as an exercise for their brutality (2009). It appears that he retracted his earlier sympathies with the RPF after the Kigali government had reacted angrily to his work, with one mid-level civil servant describing him a man 'who claims to be an academic' and writes a "pseudo-analysis of Rwandan society" (quoted in Reyntjens, 2009, p. 188). For anti-Tutsi attitudes, see also Lemarchand (2011) and Reyntjens (2009). The latter author was expelled from Rwanda by the RPF.
8. Nowhere is this more informative than the cases of Samatar brothers where one of them campaigned against Somaliland by considering an "Isaaq project" but now Ahmed reversed his position by lobbying for Somaliland secession (Samatar and Samatar, 2005). The case of Ahmed Mohamed Adan "Qaybe," a former ambassador, was also similar. In 1994, before assuming a series of top political position in Somaliland, he told a journalist that Somaliland is "a one-tribe issue," adding that "[t]he Isaaq want to secede and the other clans are saying no. The others are willing to manage their own affairs locally until such time as a central government is formed" (quoted in Noakes, 1994, p. 53).
9. It is interesting that Kapteijns (2010b) blames Abdi Samatar, a Somali geographer, for giving "a highly partisan lecture mobilising Somalis and raising funds in support of the 'jihad of national liberation' from U.S.-supported Ethiopia and the TFG in Mogadishu".
10. In siding with one clan-group to the detriment of other, Kapteijns (2013a) fits perfect for those championing clan interests by joining the clan conflicts.
11. On post-conflict study concerning with South Africa, but close to the Somali case, see Grunebaum (2010).
12. For further revelations on Rwanda, see Mamdani (2001); Melvern (2000); Pottier (2002); and Prunier (1995).
13. For an excellent socio-historical studies on the explosion of the Somali uncivil wars, based on interviews and primary documents from the armed resistance movements, see Bongartz (1991) and Ingiriis (2012a).

14. Kapteijns (2013a) puts adopted clan in the position of the Tutsi victims, the other as the Hutu perpetrators.
15. Literature on Rwandan genocide is extensive and growing and follow the dichotomy of the Hutu versus the Tutsi (Lemarchand, 2011; Mamdani, 2001; Pottier, 2002; Prunier, 1995; Straus, 2006). Rwanda – ruled since the genocide by the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) – is now reputedly considered both as a ‘gatekeeper state’ or even a ‘developmental State’, a reputation which has been affirmed not uncritically by recent scholarship (Booth and Golooba-Mutebi, 2012).
16. Observations drawn from Rwandans in Brussels and London.
17. The colonial authorities preferred the Tutsi to the Hutu. As evident in elsewhere in Africa, the colonial authorities often preferred those held (or were held) to have come from afar. Indeed, colonialism created rapprochement with these groups very easily as they perceived them to share with them the label of “foreign” or “alien” in contrast to those who considered themselves as ‘autochtones’ (natives). Mamdani (2001) has a point – and a very fierce at that – to go as far as to declare that colonialism was the culprit behind the Tutsi and Hutu enmity that resulted in the 1994 genocide. Prunier (1995) has also argued that ethnic favouritism was ‘absent-mindedly manufactured’ in colonial literature.
18. Only time will tell which policy was correct. But one may discern that both policies have their weaknesses.
19. For other similar fictitious stories, see Kapteijns (2013a). Kapteijns has made a peculiar argument that those who were “cleansed” from Mogadishu – Daarood clan-community, to be specific – were ‘as much as one half of the population of the capital alone’. If one takes her clan-oriented assumption at face value, all the other Somali clan-groups, clans and communities, who lived in Mogadishu at the time, were the other half, suggesting that Siad Barre's supporters were the dominant in the city, which is not true. With usual contradictory and inconsistency, she has recently retracted her statement and came up with a much smaller number by observing (obviously with a second-thought) that the “clan-based mass killings and expulsions” in 1991 affected only “tens of thousands of individuals”.
20. The only time wherein what close to genocide occurred in Somalia *after* 1991 was the time of the Baydhabo death tringle in 1991-1992 (see Prendergast, 1994a).
21. For this observation, see Compagnon (2012).
22. One way one could identify with the identity of the Hawiye and the Daarood élites is to closely follow the tone and tactical arguments crafted through “federal” or “non-federal” lines. Anyone who closes his eyes could discern and distinguish the Hawiye from the Daarood and the Daarood from the Hawiye. The valid question one might pose is this: where are other Somali clans and communities who are more numerous than these two clan-groups? The valid answer is this: they either support one against the other. Had other Somalis stood up and pursue different nationalistic agenda, they would have probably superseded and surpassed both the Hawiye and the Daarood politicians.
23. Oral information from F.A.H., 6 October 2014.
24. The immediate statement released by the Puntland authorities within less than an hour, when Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was appointed Prime Minister in Mogadishu speaks volumes for

this political opportunism. See “Puntland oo si Buuxda u soo Dhaweysay Magacaabidda R.W. Cumar C/rashiid.” Available at: http://hiiraan.com/news/2014/Dec/wararka_maana-ta17-89388.htm (accessed on 17 December 2014).

25. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1oUCpFagnXc>, accessed on 30 April 2014.
26. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iMYEwtPyoyQ>, accessed on 30 April 2014.
By contrast, another video clip on the YouTube shows Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf declaring an all-out-war between his clan and another soon after an interim government was formed in Arta, Djibouti, in August 2000, stating that “the Hawiye were now prepared for war [against the government formed in Arta, led by none other than a Hawiye President].” Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C0ri6N5WXi0>, accessed on 9 May 2014. The exploitation of Hawiye division worked well with Abdullahi Yusuf who later succeeded to have been selected as Transitional Federal President in a Nairobi hotel in October 2014.
27. This is in part because of selective use of existing data, drawing mainly from media reports at the time.
28. Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TFRpRW_JGkI, accessed on 5 August 2014.
Later, Abshir attempted to build an Islamic emirate based on clan and had been sympathetic to Al-Itihad Al-Islami, one of the most hard-line Islamist movements that emerged out of the chaotic post-Siad Barre Somalia (*Africa Confidential*, 1992:8). This is not surprising, given the unpredictable behaviours of post-colonial Somali leaders to switch not just sides, but also try new ideologies. Abshir was one of the few clan politicians who came to power through the clan nepotism policies in the 1960s Somalia.
29. Telephone interview with Hassan Dhimbil Warsame, 16 April 2014.
30. “Top Secret Tape – Jen. Morgan “Waa Dagaal Daarood iyo Hawiye”, www.Keydmedia.net Exclusive, (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Dae00I_qtQ, accessed on 10 July 2014). Following Deyr (1997), Kapteijns (2013a) sympathises with General Morgan. For a recent study on the Bantu plight, see Ingiriis (2012b).
31. “Daawo Beesha Daarood oo Samaysatay Xus Ay ugu Magac Dareen Xasuuqi 1991,” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzPL-ePKfCU>, accessed on 4 August 2014. This was similar to the women in Kismaayo under General Morgan whom Deyr (1997), an SSDF warrior, described – with nostalgic memories – “*lafdhabarta dagaalka*” (the backbone of the war). For more of these stories, see Ingiriis (2014:225-240). For analyses of gendered power politics, see Ingiriis (2015) and Ingiriis and Hoehne (2013). Achebe (2012, p. 58) reminds that “it is important to state that words have the power to hurt, even to denigrate and oppress others [...] there is a moral obligation, I think, not to ally oneself with power against the powerless”.
32. Similar to the ethnic logic of the Kigali government authorities who hold that all moderate Hutus were killed alongside with the Tutsi victims during the genocide, so all the living Hutus are *génocidaires*, Hawiye civilians in the eyes of Kapteijns (2013a) are guilty of chasing Daarood out of Mogadishu.
33. “SAADAASHA DHACDOOYINKA Wareysi Prof Lidwein Oo Qortay buug Xaaladaha Soomaaliya 30 10 2013.” Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZmKD1Bb9-sU> (accessed on 27 December 2013).

34. "An Interview with Prof Lidwien Kapteijns (Ladan) on Somali Arts and Literature," June 20, 2014. Available at: <http://www.wardheernews.com/interview-prof-lidwien-kapteijns-ladan-somali-arts-literature/> (accessed on 19 November 2014). The genealogy of the romantic relationship between Kapteijns and Wardheernews is interesting. This interview was the second within a year conducted by Wardheernews staff, who did not lose any opportunity to exploit Kapteijns's close affiliation with their clan-group. It is in this spirit that she also went so far as to chastise the UN authorities for not distinguishing "friends and foes" (Kapteijns, 2013b:433) – which is to say, differentiating the Hawiye foes from the Daarood friends. It is understandable, but undesirable, that the Somali websites from which Kapteijns gleanes information are clan-based and sectarian online tools, such Wardheernews, a website that propagates the interest of the same clan-group she tries to exculpate, while criminalising all others. Indeed, Wardheernews is among the many Somali websites which compellingly "compete to promote and disseminate the interests and interpretations (of their often clan-identified) target groups" (Kapteijns, 2009). Elsewhere, she had recommended her readers to glance at a more clannish website 'allpuntland.com' (Kapteijns 2013a). For an overview critique, see Ingiriis (2013b, 2013c).
35. This claim was contradictory to her later "clan cleansing" argument in which she accused the same leaders of complicity (cf. Kapteijns, 2013a: chapters 3 & 4). This was part of Kapteijns's routine targeting of the USC leaders in the clanised conflicts.
36. Southgate's argument is acutely fitting here that of all people, historians are not like geographers "who drew their maps in terms of their own sometimes very limited perspectives".

Tixraacyo

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