



**Qoraal Ioo Adeegsanayo Kulan-hawleedka
Lahaanshaha, Maamulka, iyo Wadaagga
Khayraadka Dakhliga ka soo baxa
Shidaalka ee Dawladaha Fadaraalka iyo
kuwa Horumaray**

Waxa qoray George Anderson

Lahaanshaha, Maamulka, iyo Wadaagga Khayraadka Dakhliga ka soo baxa Shidaalka ee Dawladaha Fadaraalka iyo kuwa Horumaray

George Anderson

Waxa maqaalkan loo diyaariyay oo uu qayb ka yahay Mashruuca Bangiga Aduunka iyo Kulamo loogu talo galay in lagu dhiso Aqoonta Maamulka Khayraadka Shidhaalka

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1. Hordhac

Shidaalku waa ka ugu xasaasisan khayraadka dhamaantii, sidaas darteed ma aha wax lala yaabo in arimaha Lahaanshaha, Maamulka, iyo Wadaagga Dakhliga Khayraadka Shidaalku ay noqdaan arimo mar walba taagan oo aad u ugu adag dalalka federaalka ah ee leh deeqo shidaal oo muhiim ah. Khubarada dhaqaalaha federaalku waxa ay dajiyeen mabaadii arimahan wax ka qabanaya, laakiin hab-dhaqanka dalalka fadaraalka ahi aad buu u kala duwan yahay badankana waxa ka muuqda in aan si fiican loo raacin mabda'yo isku xidhan. Maqaalkan/qoraalkani waxa uu soo bandhigayaa muuqaalka guud ee doodaha mabaadii'da ku salaysan ee tilmaamaya habka ugu wanaagsan ee nidaamyada shidaalka faderaalka ah iyo sidoo kale waayo aragnimo dhab ah oo laga soo ururiyay dalal kale oo federal ah ama u dhaw fadaraal oo leh khayraad badan oo shidaal.

Maqaalkani waxa uu u qaybsan yahay saddex qaybood oo waawayn, kuwaas oo u dhigma saddexda su'aalood ee udub-dhexaadka ah ee lahaanshaha, maamulka iyo wadaagga khayraadka. Qayb walba, waxa ku jira oo lagu soo qaadayaa mabaadiida lagu dhaqmo iyo arima kale oo ina tusaya sida lagu dooranayo nidaamyada federaalka gudhihiisa. In kasta oo ay jiraan "habab wanaagsani", ma jiro hab kali ah oo isagu ugu wada fiican oo lagula tacaali karo arimaha shidaalka ee xaaladaha dalalka fadaraalka ah ama kuwa horumaray. Wax badani waxa ay ku tiirsan yihiin dabeecada iyo ahamiyada khayraadkaasi leeyahay iyo sidoo kale astaamaha nidaamyada siyaasadeed iyo kuwa bulsho ee halaasi ka jira. Marka aynu hab-dhaqanada dhabta ah fiirino, waxa ay ujeedada ugu wayni noqonaysaa in nidaamyada Lahaanshaha, Maamulka, iyo Wadaagga Khayraadka Dakhliga ee dalalka fadaraalka ah ama kuwa horumaray ay iskula xiriiraan/fal-galaan hab aad u la yaab badan—dawladda lahaanshaha leh nidaamkeedu ma aha lagama maarmaan in ay iyadu gacanta ku hayso maamulka khayraadka Sidaa daraadeed dhamaan qodoban mid walba waxa uu leeyahay madaxbanaanida u gaar ah, taas oo macnaheedu tahay in uu mid walba mudan yahay in la tixgaliin isaga iyo xidhiidhka uu kuwa kale la leeyahayba.

Qeexitaanka inta badan la siiyo kalmada faderaalku waa nidaam dawladeed oo ay ku guda jiraan laba (ama saddex) nidaam oo dawladeed oo dastuuri ah, kaas oo mid kastaaba dhankiisa si toos ah dadka ula fal-galayo isaga oo si dhab ah uga madaxbanaan ka kale¹. Taariikh ahaan, nidaamka "qadiimiga" ah ee fadaraalka waxa si wayn loogu yaqaanay inuu ahaa nidaam laba dabaqadood leh, kaas oo awood qaybsigiisa lagu garto tiro awoodo gaar ah oo mid walba kalidii uu iska leeyahay iyo waliba in meelaha qaar midba ka kale si ka madax banaan uu u shaqeeyo. Nidaamkan laba dabaqadood ah waxaa ka soo horjeeda wax waqtiyada badhkood loo yaqaano fadaraal "isku dhaf ah" (ama "maamul ah"), halkaas oo ay ka jiraan wadaag maamul oo tiro-badani, sida dawlad fadaraal ah oo leh xaqa ay kaga hirgaliyayso shuruucdeeda meelaha ay ka wada shaqaynayaan gobolada. In kasta oo ay jiraan dhab ahaan faraq u dhexeeya labadan nooc ee fadaraalka ah, waxa aynu arki doonaa in dabaqadaha dawladda fadaraalku dhamaantood noqdeen kuwo ilaa xad si wayn isku dhexgalay/iskugu-dhafmay.

Waxa sidoo kale mudan in la xuso in ay jiraan nidaamyo kale oo dawladeed oo leh awood daadajin siyaasadeed hase yeeshee aan ahayn fadaraal. Waxana ka mid ah nidaamka dawladda maamulka qudha leh "unitary regimes", halkaas oo maamul daadajinta lagu gaaro hab xeer waafaqsan, oo aan ahayn dastuurka, sidaa darteed madaxbanaanidaasi uu xeerku dhigayo ee dawladda ka jira heer gobol fikir ahaan

¹ Eeg Watts, Ronald L., *Isbarbardhiga Nidaamyada Fadaraalka ah*, (Dab. 3^{aad}), Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008, pp. 8-9. Other characteristics can include provision for regional views in central institutions, normally through a second house, and an umpire of the constitution, normal a high court.

waa mid aanay damaanadeedu xooganayn. Dhab ahaana, dawlado lagu magacaabo inay yihiin kuwo maamul-kaliya leh ayaa sameeya maamul daadajin ka badan tan dawladdaha fadaralka ahi sameeyaan inkasta oo ay maamul-daadajintu xeer noqon karto, siyaasadda wadanka ayaa laga yaaba in ay noqoto mid aad u xadka xuquuqda goboladu ay leeyihiin. Waxa kale oo jira dawlado aanay awoodu isku dheeli tirnay oo mid ama gobolada qaar ay leeyihiin nidaam maamul daadajin oo iyaga u gaar ah—taasina waxa ay noqon kartaa arin dastuuri ah amaba mid aan ahayn. Markaa waa in aynu ka fogaanaa in aynu si kooban isbarbar dhiga aynu wax ka baranayno u samayno waana in aynu ku darsanaa oo aynu soo qaadanaa meelaha ku haboon tusaalayaasha dawladdaha “qayb ahaan federaalka ah” ama kuwa aan isku dheelitnayn.

Maqaalkani waxa uu soo bandhigayaa dawlado fadaraal ah oo kooban ayaa leh nidaam ay si dhab ah ugu wadaagayaan maamulidda qaybaha shidaalka – mid ka mid ah dabaqadaha dawladda ayaa inta badan si cad hogaanka ugu haya in kasta oo laga yaabo in uu jiro nidaam loogu talo-galay in laga yeesho “wadaag” qaybo ka mida siyaasadaha iyo maamulka shidaalka. Taa ka soo horjeedkeedu waxa weeye in badanka ay jirto in dakhliga shidaalka ay wadaagaan dabaqado kala duwan oo dawladda ka tirsan iyo in ay wadaagaan deegaanada soo saara shidaalka iyo kuwa kale ee aan soo saarin ee fadaraalka ka tirsanba, in kasta oo habka, iyo ilaa xadka la wadaagayaa uu aad u kala duwan yahay. Waxa ay u muuqataa in lacagta wadaageedu ka fududahay maamulka in la wadaago.

2. Lahaanshaha

Inkasta oo “lahaanshuhu” uu noqon karo arin siyaasadeed oo aad u xasaasi ah, luqada la xidhiidha lahaanshaha iyo ahamiyada dhab ahaan ay leedahay aad ayay u kala duwan yihiin dalalka fadaraalka ahi. Xitaa dalalka lahaanshaha khayraadka shidaalka la aaminsan yahay in ay dhulka leeyihiin deegaano ka tirsan fadaraalku, shidaalka baddu waxa uu hoos yimaaddaa maamulka dastuuriga ah ee fadaraalka. Kala qoondaynta awoodaha maamulka iyo kuwa maaliyadda ee la xidhiidha khayraadka shidaalku aad ayay muhiim u tahay waxana ay abuuri karaan lahaansho farsamo oo ay keeni karto ahmiyad fiican oo aan la siisin gaar ahaan marka ay gacanta ugu jirto dawlad kale. Xitaa marka ay bixiyaan/siiyaan xuquuqo kala duwan shirkadaha shidaalka, dawladuhu waxa ay ilaashadaan lahaansha khayraadka ka-hooseeya dhulka korkiisa. In si gaar ah loo yeesho shidaalka waxa keeni kara oo ay ku xidhan tahay khayraadka in la soo saaro marka hore.

Maadaama oo uu yahay shidaalku mid aad u qiimo badan, waxa ka iman kara murano sharci ama siyaasadeed oo kulul oo ku saabsan “Waa ayo cidda iska leh shidaalku?” iyo waxa waliba arintaas macnaheedu tahay. Dastuurada dalalka fadaraalka ah qaarkood ayaa u siiya “lahaansha” shidaalka mid ka mid ah dabaqadaha dawladda (ama labadooda oo wadajir ah), xaga kuwa kalana aanay istimcaalin gabi ahaan kalmadda “lahaansho” (iyo wax kale oo la mid ah toona). Waliba, meelaha loo adeegsado kalmadda lahaansho waxay leedahay macnayaal kala duwan marka la joogo xaaladaha kala gadisan. Waxa kale oo ka sii muhiimsan isticmaalka kalmadda “lahaansho” waxa weeyaan xuquuqda iyo waajibaadka ay dawlad kastaa gaar u leedahay (ama shakhsi gaar ahi u leeyahay ama wadajirkooduba ay leeyihiin) ee la xidhiidha shay kale, ha ahaado khayraad, dhul, dhismayaal, shirkado, hanti maskaxeed, ama wax kalaba.

2.A Luqadda Dastuurka ee la xidhiidha lahaanshaha

Dastuuro badan oo ay leeyihiin dawlado fadaraal ahi ayaa si cad u tixgalinaya lahaansha khayraadka shidaalka:

- Kanada: “Xuquuqda mulkiyada khayraadka dabiiciga ah ee aan la cusboonaysiin Karin waxa iska leh gobolada.” (Qodob. 92a). India: “gobolada ayaa iska leh gabi ahaan dhulka iyo khayraadka deegaankooda” (Qodob. 294). Iraq: “Saliida iyo Gaasta waxa leh dhamaan dadka reer Ciraaq ee gobolada iyo dagmooyinka” (Qodob. 111). Maalaysiya: khayraadka dhulku “waxa iska leh” gobolada (Qodob. Xx). Meksiko: “Dhamaan khayraadka dabiiciga ah ee dhulka qaranku leeyahay ku jira waxa iska leh qaranka” (Qodob. 27). Nayjeeriya: “lahaanshaha mulkiyada federaalka” ee macdanaha, khayraadka saliida, iyo gaasta dabiiciga aha waa la xaqiijiyay (Faqradda 44.3). Ruushka: “wada lahaanshaha” dhulka iyo khayraadka (Qodob. xx). Fenesuweela: dhamaan haydarokaarbooniska “waxa iska leh jamhuuriyadda” (Qodob 12).

Kuwo kale ayaa iyagu maldahay lahaanshaha iyaga oo aan isticmaalin kalmahada oo ku qeexay luqad la xiriirta awoodaha, sida “gacan ku haynta”, “kaantaroolidda” “xuquuqda maamulka” iyo “awoodaha”:

- Kiiniya: dhamaan macdanta iyo khayraadka saliida “waxa wakiil ka ah xukuumadda qaranka” (Art.

62). Baakistan: saliidda iyo gaasta ku jirta gobalada iyo deegaanada dhincaca ku haya ee badda “waxa si isku mid ah gacanta ugu haynaya gobolada iyo dawlada fadaraalka” hadii ay tahay badda gudaheedana “waxa gacanta ku hayn doona dawladda fadaraalka ah”. Arjentina: “goboladu waxa ay leeyihiin kaantaroolka asalka ah ee khayraadka dabiiciga ah ee ku jira dhulkooda” (Art. 124). Booliifiya: dawladda dhexe waxa ay leedahay “xuquuqda maamulka” ee la xidhiidha haydrokarbonada iyo siyaasadda dhulka (Qodobka. 298) iyo “kaantaroolka iyo hagitaanka sahaminta, soosaaridda, warshadaynta, dhoofinta/safrinta, iyo iibinta khayraadka dabiiciga ah” (Qodobka 351). Indoniisiya: “dhulka, biyaha iyo khayraadka dabiiciga ahaba, ... waa inuu hoos yimaaddaa awoodda Dawladda waana in loo isticmaalo sida dadka ugu faa’iidada badan” (Qodobka 33.3).

Waxa jira dastuurro aanay luqada ku qoran Still ka muuqan wax lahaansho amah anti sheegayaa..

- Maraykanka iyo Ustareeliya si toos ah uma tilmaamayaan lahaanshaha ama kaantaroolka khayraadka dhulka ku jira. Labadan dalba, waxa fadaraalkoodu uu ka abuurmay gumaystayaal hore oo “isku tagay” oo noqday midow fadaraal ah oo dastuurkooduna waxa uu cadaynayaa federal union and their constitutions assign any subjects not explicitly assigned to the federal government to the states through the so-called “residual” power. Xaalka Ustareeliya marka la eego, dhamaan goboladu waxa ay ansixiyeen sharciyo boqolaal sano ka hor iyaga oo ku cadaynaya sharciga lahaanshahooda khayraadka dhulka hoose ku jira sidoo kalana “Dastuurka Ustareeliya go’aanadaa muu faragalinin”², inkasta oo uu arintaa ka aamusay. Xaalka markaykanka hadii aynu isna ka hadalno, lahaansha wixii dhulka hoose ku jiraa waxa uu la socdaa lahaanshaha dhulka korkiisa, ha ahaado dhul dad gaar ahi leeyihiin ama dadwaynuhuba, in badan oo ka mida dawladda reer galbeedka ayaa wali iyagu ah deegaano fadaraal ah (oo aan marna isbadanlin kadib markay dawladda cusubi samaysmeen) oo dawladda fadaraalka/dhexe ayaa iska leh lahaanshaha wixii dhulka hoose ku jira.
- Dood badan ayaa ka dhalatay Lahaanshaha khayraadka dabiiciga markii laga xaajoonayay Heshiiskii loo dhannaa ee Nabadgalyada Suudaan ee 2005ta. Waxa ugu dambayntii lagu heshiiyay in Heshiiska nabadgalyo (CPA) iyo dastuurka kumeelgaadhka ah labadooduba aanay ka hadal arintan lahaanshaha, waxaase lagu soo qaatay qodobo shidaalka la xidhiidha oo ku kooban nidaamka maamulka iyo wadaaga dhakhliga oo kali ah.³

2.B Lahaanshaha Badda iyo “dhulka federaalka”

Faraqa u dhexeeya badda iyo dhulku waa muhiim dawlado badan oo fadaraal ah dhexdooda. Tusaale ahaan, xuduudaha badda ee deegaanada uu fadaraalku ka kooban yahay ayaa waxa loo aqoonsan yahay in ku eegyihin xariiqda biyaha dhow, sidaa darteedna maamulkoodu uma fidsana badda hore, taas oo ay maamulkeeda iska leedahay fadaraalku. (Deegaanada fadaraalka ah dhulkoodu waxa uu qayb ahaan ku fidsan yahay badda sida arjantiin, jasiiradda Maalaysiya, Baakistaan, Maraykanka, kuwaas oo dhamaantood loo tixgaliyo in qayb ka mid ah badda dhulka dhinaca ku haysaa ka tirsan tahay deegaankaas, taas oo fidsanaan karta ilaa 12 mayl oo badda ah.) Si kastaba, dhulka deegaanada kala duwan ee fadaraalku iyo maamulkoodu kumaaraan badanka lahaanshahooda soonaha Ganacsiga loo xidhay oo fidsan ilaa 200 oo mayl ama cidhifka geeska qaaradda continental shelf (waxaa ka reebban Maalaysiya oo gobolada Borneo ee Sarawak iyo Sabah waxa loo tixgaliyaa in soonaha baddu qayb-ka yahay sababtuna waxa weeye waxa ay ku soo darsameen Fadaraalka Maalaysiya kadib markii la sameeyay Xeerka Heshiiska Badda).

In kasta oo dhamaan ama inta badan ee dhulka baddu uu hoos imanayo maamulka fadaraalka, dastuuradu kama hadlaan badanka arinta lahaanshahamar mar dhif ah ayaanay adeegsadaan kalmadda “lahaansho” taas oo xiriir la leh Soonaha Ganacsiga u Gaarka ah ee Dalka.

Dawladda fadaraalka ah ee wax-soo-saarka badankiisa ay maamulaan deegaamada gobalada, waxa ay ay dawladda fadaraalku u adeegsan kartaa kaantaroolka badda iyo dhulka fadaraalka arin lagu gaari karo siyaasad shidaal oo guud. Sidaa darteed, Maraykanka siyaasadda dawladda dhexe iyo danaha ay ka leedahay qaybinta iyo suuqyada shidaalka ayaa saamayn ku yeeshay heerka ay hawlaha kor ugu qaaday dhulka fadaraalka ee Gobolada Galbeedka iyo Alaska iyo baddaba. Kanadana, waxa ay dawladda fadaraalku samaysay iskuday fashilmay bilawgii 1980kii si ay uga leexiso sahaminta shidaalka meelaha goboladu ay maamulaan oo ay u leexiso deegaanada waqooyiga iyo badda oo labadoodaba ay maamusho dawladda

² Crommelin, Michael, “Australia” in George Anderson (ed.) *Oil and Gas in Federal Systems*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012

³ Haysom, Nicholas and Sean Kane, *Negotiating natural resources for peace: Ownership, control and wealth sharing*, Geneva: Humanitarian Dialogue, 2009

fadaraalku.

2.C Ahamiyadda kooban ee ay leedahay luqada lahaanshuhu

Luqad kasta oo la isticmaalo (ama aan la isticmaalin) oo ku saaabsan lahaansho, waxa ka sii muhiimsan qaybsiga awoodda iyo masuuliyadka la xidhiidha maaraynta shidaalka iyo qaybsiga khayraadka ka soo baxa shidaalka. Masuuliyadka maamulka iyo qoondaynta faa'iidada shidaalku ma aha qasab inay ku xirnaadaan lahaanshaha. Sidaa darteed, khayraadka dhulka korkiisa, masuuliyada koobaad waxa iska leh dalka Hindiya, Maalaysiya, Baakistaan iyo Ruuskha dawladda fadaraalka, in kasta oo la aaminsan yahay in goboladdu ay leeyihiin khayraadka labada dal ee hore marka la eego ama lahaanshuhu yahay mid la wadaago marka laga hadlo labada dal ee dambe. Dastuurka Ciraaq ee 2005 waxa uu si la wada ogyahay ugu guul daraystay in uu xal ka gaadho arimaha aasaasiga ah ee maamulka saliida, in kasta oo ay ku jirto qayb ka hadlaysa lahaansho sida (Qodobka 111aad) ee kor ku xusan. Marka laga haldo wadaaga khayraadka, dakhliga maaliyada ee ugu wayn ee ka yimaada khayraadka shidaalka waxa hela dawladda fadaraalka dalalka Hindiya, Maalaysiya, iyo Ruushka, In kasta oo deeganaddu ay lahaansha ku magacaaban yihiin amaba lahaanshuhu wadaag yahay, xaga Baraasiilna dakhliga shidaalka ay helaan gobolada iyo dawladdaha hoose, inkasta oo lahaanshihiisa ay dawladda fedaraalku leedahay (in kasta oo saamiga ay helaan gobolada shidaalka soo saara marka kuwa kale loo eego waayadan dambe aad loo yareeyay).

Badanaa dawladdaha fadaraalka ah Dastuurka ayaa waxa uu dajiyaa qorshaha salka u ah nidaamyada shidaalka, laakiin waa la badali karaa marka ay duruufuhu is badalaan. Hadaba, dalka Baaistaan waxa uu 2010kii meel mariyay wax-ka-badalkii dastuurka ee 18^{aad}, kaas oo tusaale u ah awoodsiin badan oo la siiyay gobolada, waxana ku jira dastuurka qayb cusub oo sheegaysa wadaagga lahaanshaha khayraadka shidaalka ku jira xuduudaha gobolada. Sidoo kale, awoodaha gobolada dalka Kanada ee khayraadka dabiiciga ah khuseeya ayaa la xoojiyay taas oo qayb ka ahayd dib-u-habayn balaadhan oo lagu sameeyay dastuurka 1982.⁴ Waxa laga yaabaa in isbadalka ugu layaabka badani uu yahay kan Maalaysiya markii 1974kii dawladda fadaraalku ay soo bandhigtay *Xeerka Horumarinta Shidaalka*, kaas oo si buuxda u siiyay xuquuqda lahaanshaha khayraadka shidaalka ee waddanka shirkadda saliida dawladda oo dhawaan la aasaasay, ee loo yaqaan Betronas, kaas oo maamulkeeda la hoos keenay Raysal Wasaaraha, in kasta oo dastuurku uu sheegay (ilaa haatana ay ku xusan tahay) in khayraadka shidaalka ee gobolada ku jira ay "leeyihiin" goboladu. Hirgalinta Xeerkani waxa uu u baahday, in talaabo siyaasadeed oo la isku mari wayay, goboladu ay ugu wareejiyaan lahaanshaha iyo iyo dhamaan sahaminta iyo soo hawlaha soosaaridda shirkada Betronas iyaga oo loogu badalayo boqolkiiba 5 percent dakhliga waxa ay ka soo saaraan dhulkooda ah. Taas waxa dheer, waxa uu Xeerku sheegayaa in lahaanshaha iyo xuquuqda gaarka ah iyo awoodaha shirkada Betronas "aan dib loo badali karin" (Qodobka 2.3).

Dalalka Ustareeliya, Kanada, iyo Naygeriya, waxa ay maxkamadda sare dhamaantood u qirtay in shidaalka baddu ka madax banana yahay gobolada oo sidaa darteedna ay dawladda fadaraalku maamulkiisa leedahay. Laakiin dal kasta, dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay la gaadheen tanaasul siyaasadeed oo ay kusoo dhawaynayaan gobolada dhinaca ku haya badda. Ustreeliya dhexdeeda, gobolada ayaa lagu wareejiyay lahaanshaha iyo maamulka "biyaha u dhaw badda" ilaa la gaadhayo saddex mayl marka xeeliga laga dhaqaaqo waxana sidoo kale la siiyay kaalin taageero in ay ku yeeshaan maamulka wadaag ah oo ay yeelayaan khayraadka baddu. Kanada dhexdeeda, gobolada waxa la siiyay awood isku mid ah dhanka nidaamka maamul wadaagga waxana loo ogolaaday in ay ka faa'iidaystaan dakhliga shidaalka badda si la mid ah ka dhulka siday uga faa'iidaystaan. Nayjeeriyana, gobolada xeebaha waxa ay ku goolaysteen in ay helaan badda dakhli la mid ah ka ay ka helaan dhulka.

Dawladda maraykanku waxa ay leedahay nidaam aad u kakan oo khuseeya lahaanshaha shidaalka, waxana jira dhul balaadhan oo dawladda daraalku leedahay oo ku dhex yaalla gooblada—gaar ahaan Galbeedka iyo Alaska, deegaanka gobolku xukumaana waxa uu gudaha u galaa badda; xuquuqda waxa dhulka hoose ku jira badanka waxa iska leh cida leh dhulkaasi, oo noqon kara dad gaar ah, taas oo ah arin badanka aan dhicin marka la eego maamulada kale.⁵ Sida uu yahay xaaladda aynu kor kusoo xusnay, waxa ay dawladda

⁴ Howlett, Michael, "The Politics of Constitutional Change in a Federal System: Negotiating Section 92A of the Canadian Constitution Act (1982)", *Publius*, Vol. 21.1, 1991

⁵ It exists in Canada for lands transferred to the Canadian Pacific Railway as part of the inducement for building the railway in the nineteenth century.

fadaraalku mudo ku samaysay isbadalo lagu wax loogu ogolaanayo gobolada maamulka iyo iyo dakhliga shidaalka kasoo baxa dhulka fadaraalka—kaas oo hada ay helaan boqolkiiba 50 gobolada soosaara iyaga oo boqolkiiba 40 kalana ay ku helaan lacag si gaar ah dib loogu soo celiyo 17 gobol oo ah kuwa Galbeedku—iyada oo la joogtaynayo lahaansha. Dhawaan, heshiisyada wadaagga dakhliga ee badda Gacanka Meksiko waxa laga dhigay kuwo u gacan furan/deeqsi ah gobolada badda dhinaca ku haya.

2.D Lahaanshaha, damaanad, iyo heshiisyada

Dawlada waxa laga yaabaa in ay xuquuqaha iyo waajibaadka sahmintu iyo iyo soosaaridda khayraadka shidaalka mustaqbalka ay ku wareejiyaan shirkado ama kuwo kale oo sharci ah. Sharciyadda nidaamyadadu waxa ay noqon karaan laba qaybood oo waawayn: Nidaamyo damaanadeed, iyo nidaamyo heshiis, waxana faraqa ugu muhiimsan ee u dhexeeyaa uu la xidhiidhaa lahaanshaha khayraadka dabiiciga ah:

- Nidaamka damaanada ah, xuquuqda lahaansha ee haydrokarboonadu waxa ay u gudubtaa cidda maalgalinta samaynaysa ceelasha laga qodayo. Waxa ay dawladu heshaa khidmad iyo cashuuro loogu magdhabayo khayraadka uu isticmaalayo maalgaliyuhu.....
- Nidaamka heshiiska ah, maalgaliyuhu waxa uu yeelanayaa lahaanshaha saamiga waxa la soosaaray marka hawshu marayso marxaladda wareejinta.⁶

Sidaa darteed labada nidaamba, dawladdu ma wareejiyo lahaanshaha khayraadka dhulka hoostiisa ku jira: laakiin waxa ay badalkii bixisaa xuquuqda la xidhiidha maamulka iyo soosaaridda kaliya.

Inta badan, arimha khuseeya lahaanshaha farsamo ee dawladda ee khayraadka dhulku ma sii xumeeyo xidhiidhka ka dhexeeya dawladda iyo maalgaliyayaasha. Haseyeeshee, Meksiko dhexdeeda, dastuurka ayaa hore u xusay, oo aasaasay in qaranku leeyahay “lahaanshaha tooska ah” ee shidaalka, kaas oo ah “mid muhiim ah oo lagama maarmaan ah”, waxana la aaminsan yahay in laga reebi karo arintaas nidaamyada ogolaanshaha/damaanada iyo heshiisyada halkaas oo shirkaduhu ay ugu dambaynta sheegan karaan ugu dambaynta saami ka mid ah shidaalka la soo saaro. Waxa la aaminsanaa in dastuurku xadiddayo hawlgal kasta oo lagu siinayo mar walba saami khayraaka ma mid ah hayadaha qaranka (ha ahaato dawladda fadaraalka am acid ka wakiil ahaba) waxana ay taasi meesha ka saarayeen shirkadaha saliida ee caalamiga ahi in ay ogolaasho helaan, heshiisyo khatarta ka gaadhaan, iyo heshiisyo dheeri galin leh inay ka gaaraan. Mudaba, waxa ay xadidaadahaasi dhaliyeen saamayn ba’an oo khusaysa helitaanka lacag raasamaal ah oo maalgalin lagu sameeyo iyo tiknoolajiyada gaarka ah ee ay ku soo saarayan shirkadaha shidaalka ee Meksiko, sidaa daraadeed 2013kii dastuurka ayaa la badalay isaga oo lagu xusay in: “Dhamaan khayraadka dabiiciga ah...waxa iska leh dawlada, waxana cid gaar ihi fulin kartaa sahmin hadii ay jirto damaanadi” (Qodobka. 27). Dibuhabayntani waxa ay Meksiko si way ugu furtay qaybaha shidaalka. Waxa ay luqadaasi inoo qabanaysaa in la kala sooco faraqa guud ee u dhexeeya lahaanshaha khayraadka, oo ay dawladu wali gacanta ku hayso, iyo waliba xuquuqaha kooban ee cida damaanadaha haystaa ay leeyihiin.

3. Maamulka

Nuxurka farsamada maamulka waaxda shidaalku wax uu ku qotomaa bixinta xuquuqaha iyo rukhsadaha si loo sahmiyo ama loo soo saaro khayraadka shidaalka. In kasta oo maamulkaasi uu ka mid noqon karo nidaamka dawlada fadaraalka ah ee iska leh khayraadka, laakiin marwalba sidaas uma dhacdo. Guud ahaan, dawladda fadaraalka ama dawladda dhexe ayaa iska leh gacan ku haynta xuquuda shidaalka marka laga hadlayo dawlada fadaraalka ee dalalka soo koraya, laakiin gobolada dawlada fadaraalka ee soo jireenka ah ayaa iyagu iska leh lahaanshaha iyo xuquuda maamulka khayraadka barriga. Dawladaha Fadaraalka ayaa maamula khayraadka badda, inkasta oo ay jirto marmar maamulka lala wadaago. Awoodo dastuuri ah oo dhawr ah oo ay ka mid yihiin xuquuqda maamulka ayaa saamaynta ku leh maamullada qaybaha shidaalka; waxaa ka mid ah awoodaha cashuuraha iyo dakhli ururinta, iyo awoodaha sharci dajinta ee deegaankaas, suuqayta shidaalka iyo waliba safrinta/dhoofintiisa. Dawladaha fadaraalka ee leh xuquuqo maamul oo la daadajiyay dhexdooda, waxa ay dawladda fadaraalku marmar adeegsataa awoodo kale si ay ugu yeelato saamayn ballaadhan horumarinta qaybaha shidaalka. Taa waxaa ku lidi ah, dawlada fadaraalka ee leh maamul dhexe, oo waxa ay gobolodu iska leeyihiin awoodo xadidan oo sidan oo kale ah si ay saamaynta ugu yeeshaan maamulka qaybaha.

Culayska farsamo ee qaybaha shidaalka, waxa dhici kara mustaqbalka iyo saamaynta uu ku yeelan karo

⁶ Tordo, Silvana, *Fiscal Systems for Hydrocarbons: Design Issues*, Washington DC: World Bank, 2007, pp. 7-8

bulshada, iyo muhiimadda dhaqaale iyo tan siyaasadeed ee uu leeyahay ayaa laga yaaba in ay dhamaantood dhib ku dawladdu in dawladdu si wanaagsan u maamusho. Waxa laga yaabaa in ay waliba tani si gaar ah u taabanayso dhab ahaan dalalka soo koraya, iyaga oo leh awoodo farsamo oo xadidan aadna ugu tiirsan khayraadkaasi. Marka uu jiro khayraad shidaal oo muhiim ah waxa uu wadanka u noqonayaa hanti aad u wayn hadii si fiican loo maamulo, laakiin in badan hantida saliida laga helaa waxay horseeddaa musuqmaasuq, kala qaybsanaan siyaasadeed iyo siiyaasado dhaqaale oo liita— taasoo caan ku noqotay in loogu yeedho “inkaarta saliida”.

In la maamulo saliidda dalalka fadaraalka ah ayaa noqon kara mid ka dhib badan dalalka dawlad kaliyaadka leh, waayo waxa ka dhex dhici kara khilaaf dawladda dhexdeeda kaasoo ku saabsan go'aamada khuseeya sahaminta iyo soo saaridda shidaalka iyo qaybsiga faa'iidada ka soo baxda in kasta oo qayb ka mid ah dawladdu ay leedahay hogaaminta siyaasadda iyo hawlaha shidaalka ee dawladda fadaraalka—oo ay dhab ahaana jiraan tiro kooban oo dhab ahaan ah maamul “wadaag ah” oo fadaraalka iyo goboladu ay leeyihiin—waxa jira dawlado fadaraal ah oo goboladu ay ku leeyihiin masuuliyad cad hogaaminta maamulka hawlaha shidaalka ee bariga khusaysa, waxa laga yaabaa in dawladda fadaraalku ay leedahay awoodo muhiima oo ah siyaasad, maaliyad iyo sidoo kale awoodo. Taas lidkeedu ma dhacdo: dawlad goboleedyadu waxay badanaa leeyihiin hab xadidan oo ay saamayn ugu yeelan karaan shidaalka marka ay maamulka gacanta ku hayso dawladda fadaraalku. Waxa qaybtan aynu ku fiirin doonaa maamulada sharci ee kala gadisan ee dawladda, fadaraalka iyo gobolku, ay adeegsadaan si ay saamayn ugu yeeshaan maamulka shidaalka.

Nidaamyada sharci ee maamula sahaminta shidaalka iyo soosaaritaankiisu waxa ay badanka ku tacaluqaan dhawr arin ee waawayn:

- Xuquuqda Haydarokaarboonada iyo isticmaalkooda;
- Arimaha dakhliga, oo cashuurtu ka mid tahay;
- Ilaalinta deegaanka;
- Safrinta iyo Suuq-gaynta shidaalka.

In kasta oo ay suuro gal tahay—oo si ahaana loo jecel yahay— in la sameeyo nidaam sharci oo midaysan kaas oo sharciga haydarokaarboonadu uu la tacaali karo dhamaan arimahaasi ama uu soo qaadan karo shuruucda kale isaga oo tixraacaya, arintan badanka lama dabaqo kamana ay suurtoobin dawladda fadaraalka ah dhexdooda, sababtuna waxa ay tahay labda dabaqadood ee dawlada ayaa laga yaabaa in ay leeyihiin awoodo kala duwan oo u gaar ah mid kasta. Wada-hadalada maamulka saliida iyo gaasta khuseeyaa waxa ay badanka xooga si gaar u saaraan xuquuqda iyo isticmaalka haydarokaarboonada—iyada oo dawladduna ay kaantarooloyso iyaga oo ah “maaareeyaha”— laakiin dhaqan ahaan shuruucda iyo xeerarka la xidhiidha mid kasta oo arimaha kor lagu xusay ka mid ahiwaxa laga yaabaa in uu sameeyo nooca iyo xawaaraha ay ku socdaan hawlaha shidaalka ee dalku sida darteed waa muhiim in la adeegsado nidaam balaadhan oo maamul—kaas oo ay ku jiraan dhamaan sharciyada muhiimka ah ee laga yaabo in la adeegsado.

In badan oo ka mid ah xogta caadada ah ee maamulka shidaalku waxa ay diiradda saaraan ujeedooyin u gaar ah shidaalka sida efficiency iyo effectiveness, iyo waliba sidoo kale maamulka saamaynta maaliyadda khayraadka shidaalku. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, maamulka qaybaha shidaalku waa in lala fiiriyaa arimaha dhaqaale iyo siyaasadeed ee ka jira fadaraalka dhexdiisa. Ujeedooyink dawladda fadaraalka iyo dawladda kale ee gobolada soo saara shidaalka iyo kuwa aan soo saarin waxa laga ayaabaa in ay ku kala duwanaadaan arima badan oo ah maamulka dhaqaalaha, siyaasadda warshadaynta, ujeedooyinka deegaanka, qaybsiga maaliyadda iyo nafciga kale ee dhaqaale ee kasoo baxa qaybaha shidaalka. Hadaba marka fadaraal dhexdiisa goboladu ay hormood ka yihiin maamulka saliidda iyo gaasta, dawladda fadaraalku waxa laga yaabaa in ay cabasho wayn ka muujiyaan “maamulidda” khayraadkeeda gaarka ah, isbadallada dhaqaalaha eel eh koriinka iyo joogsigaba, iyo isku dheeli tirka horumarka iyo isku miisaamidida maaliyadda gobolada, iyo amaanka tamarka/saliidda, iyo waliba ilaalinta deegaanka. Marka ay dawladda fadaraalku kaalin hormood ah ka ciyaarayso maamulka saliidda iyo gaasta, goboladda—kuwa wax soo saarka leh iyo kuwa kalaba—waxa ay cabasho ka muujinayaan wadaagga dakhliga, shaqo ee degaankaas iyo fursadaha warshadaha iyo waliba saamaynta uu ku yeelanayo bulshada iyo deegaankaba. Hadaba baahi ayaa jirta, gaar ahaan dawladda fadaraalka khusaysa, oo ah inay qaataan muuqaal balaadhan oo ah sida loo maamulayo saliidda iyo gaasta oo ah arimo ka dhacaya meel ay dawlado badani ka jiraan kuwaas oo leh ujeedooyin badan oo iska hor imaanaya.

Dib ayaynu u fiin karnaa afartan arin inaga oo diiradda saarayna kalinta mid walba uu ku leeyaay maamulka,

gaar ahaan nidaamyada fadaraalka ah dhexdooda.

3.A Nuxurka maamulka shidaalka: Xuquuqda iyo sida loo adeegsanayo

Nuxurka nidaam kasta oo saliid iyo gaastu ay leeyihiin waa sharci, am tiro xeerar ah, kuwaas oo dajiya maabiida iyo hababka loo qoondaynayo xuquuqda sahaminta iyo soosaaridda shidaalka, ciqaabta iyo ganaaxa, ansixinta hawlgal gaar ah looga baahan yahay, habka maamulka, iyo tilmaamaha khuseeya dhqaalaha iyo maaliyadda ee hawlaha maalgashiga⁷. In kasta oo loo haysto in xeerarkan ay xaq u leedahay dawladda “leh” khayraadku⁸, waxa aanu aragnay in fadaraalada qaarkood dawladda maamusha xuquuqda saliidda iyo gaasta in loo siiyo awood dastuur inay maamulaan khayraadkaasi, in kasta oo aanay dastuur ahaan ahayn kuwa iska leh.

Badanka dawladdaha fadaraalka ah, dawladda masuulka ka ah sharciyadda xuquuqaha saliidda iyo gaasta—ha ahaadaan dawladda fadaraalka ama dawlad gobole—waxa ay sidaas yeelaan iyaga oo aan ka qayb galin dawladda kale. Hadaba khayraadka barriga ee Arjentiina, Ustaraaliya, Kanada, iyo Maraykanka, gobolada ayaa si ka madax banana dawladda fadaraalka u meel mariya oo maamula xeerarka shidaalka, halka Braasiil, Hindiya, Maalaysiya, Meksiko, Nayjeeriya, Baakistaan, Ruushka iyo Vansuweela dawladda dhexe waxa ay u dhaqantaa si ka madax banana goboladda marka ay ansixinayaan ee ay dhaqan galinayaan xeerarkooda shidaalka. Dawladda masuuliyadda lihi waxa ay u hirgalin karaan xeerarkooda dhawr hab: badnaa hawshan waa qabta Waax ka mid ah dawladda (sida wasaaradda shidaalka), laakiin hab kale oo can ah ayaa waxa uu yahay in la sameeyo cid gaar ah oo maamusha ama wakiil hawl maalmeedka maamula, in kasta oo wasaaraddu ay masuul ka tahay siyaasadda iyo sharciga guud. Dalal dhawr ah sida Maalaysiya, ayaa maamulka qaybaha shidaalka lagu wareejiyay shirkadda qaranka ee shidaalka, taas oo wada haysa masuuliyadaha sharci ilaalinta iyo hawl-socodsiintaba.

Waxa jira tusaalayaal kooban oo dawladdo fadaraal ah oo dawladda masuulka ka ah xeerarka shidaalku ay ka qayb-galisay dawladda qaybaheeda kale diyaarinta xeerka ama maamulkiisaba, laakiin heerka ay gaadhsiisan tahay ka qayb-galintaasi aadbay u kooban tahay.

- Baakistaan dhexdeeda, dawlada fadaraalku waxa ay leedahay masuuliyad cad oo ah inay kaantaroosho oo ay maamusho qaybaha shidaalka (in kasta oo ay lahaanshaha la wadaagto gobolada), laakiin awoodda fadaraalku waxa ay ku jirtaa qaybta dastruurka ee, ilaa 2010kii, kaas oo dawladda fadaraalka laga doonaya in ay ka qayb galiso samaynta siyaasadaha xeer nidaamiyayaasha Guddida Danaha la Wadaago, oo ah madal ay iskugu yimaadaan hogaamiyayaasha goboladu. Gudidani waxa ay isku dayaysaa in ay ku shaqayso isla-qaadasho/heshiis, laakiin hadii uu is marin wayaa ku yimaado arinta la isku mari waayo waxa ansixinaya dawlada fadaraalka iyo hal dawlad goboleed. Hadii ay dawlad gobo loo kali ahi xitaa ogolaan waydo talo-soojeedinta fadaraalka, waxa arinta loo gudbin doonaa kal-fadhi labada aqal ee Baarlamanku u dhan yihiin, Kuwaas oo la siiyay awoodda ay ku siin karaan amar Gudida Danaha la Wadaago (CCI). Ilaa 2010kii, Guddidu waxa ay ku luglahayd ansixinta siyaasadaha shidaalka iyo bixinta meelaha la sahaminayo, laakiin saamaynta goboladdu aad ayuu u yaraa.⁹
- Hindiya dhexdeeda, waxa uu dastuurku sheegayaa in dawladda dhexe oo kali ahi ay samayn karto xeerar kusaabsan saliidda iyo gaasta. Hase yeeshee, xeerka qaranka ayaa u ogolaanaya goboladda, oo sharci ahaan iyagu iska leh khayraadka, in la siiyo rukhsado iyo hab ay ku soo saaraan waa hadii ay ka soo si adag u raacaan sharciga dawladda dhexe u dajisay. Sidaa darteed goboladu go'aamo aad u kooban ayay ku leeyihiin arimahan.
- Dawladda Maraykanka, Koongareska ayaa xaq u leh in uu maamulo hawlaha sharciyada saliidda iyo gaasta ee dhulka fadaraalka ee gobolada dhexdooda laakiin goboladdu maamulka way la wadaagayaan, taas oo macnahedu tahay in ay iyaguna sharci soo saari karaan, inta aanay sharciyadoodu meesha ka saarayn kuwan dawladda fadaraalka; dawladda fadaraalka ahi way sii saadaalin kartaa suurtagalnimda in ay yimaadaan xeerar goboladu leeyihiin oo meelo gar ah khuseeya xaalado gar ah. Koongarsakuna waa suurogal in uu sarciyada gobolada iyo degmooyinka

⁷ Ororato, William T., *Legislative Frameworks Used to Foster Petroleum Development*, Policy Research Working Paper, Washington DC: World Bank, 1995

⁸ Boadway, Robin and Anwar Shah, *Fiscal Federalism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 207ff.

⁹ Ahmed, Gulfaraz, “Pakistan”, in Anderson *op. cit.*, p. 267 and private correspondence

ula xaalo kolba sida ay u soobaxaan, isaga oo ogolaanaya ama diidaya, waxana xeerarka fadaraalku ay u baahan yihiin in shuruucda dawladda fadaraalku la jaanqaada xeerark iyo qorshayaasha gobolka. Taariikhda marka la fiiriyo, dawladda fadaraalku gobolada waligeed way kala shaqayn jirtay arimaha soo dhawaynta iyo xadiga hormarinta iyo waxsoosaarkaba. Soo dhawayntaas waxa lagu gaadhay siyaasat laakin dastuurku ma dhigayo.¹⁰

- Arjantiin dhexdeeda, dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay maamulaysay ilaa 1992 xuquuqda saliida iyo gaasta ee gobolada laga abuuray dhulka fadaraalka 1950kii. 1994kii gobolada dhamaan waxa la siiyay xuquuqda kaantaroolka saliida iyo gaasta deegaamadooda iyada oo taasi lagu gaadhay waxkabadalidda dastuurka, laakiin dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay ilaashatay in ay kaalin muhiim ah ku yeelato hawlgallo badan sababta oo ah iyada ayaa leh shirkadda saliida qaranka, YPF, taas oo haysata xuquuq badan oo hore dawladda fadaraalku hore u siisay. Xuquudaasi lahaanshaheedu waxa uu ku eegayahay waqti.

Saddexda xaaladood ee hore dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay iska leeyihiin masuulidda koobaad ee xuquuqda shidaalka barriga, laakiin goboladu waxa ay kaalmo aad u xaddidan ku leeyihiin go'aaminta iyo maamulka xeerarka shidaalka. Arjantiina dhexdeeda, dawladda fadaraalka ayaa loo siiyay, si ku meel gaadh ah, kaalin maamul oo dadban oo ay ku gaadhay lahaanshaha YPF dawladaas oo goboladu ay gacanta ku hayaan xuquuqaha.

Qaabka ugu wanaagsan "maamulka wadaagga ah" ee xuquuqda shidaalka ee u dhaxaysa dawladda waa kan ka jira badda ee dawladda Ustareeliya iyo Kanada. Labada dalba, Maxkamadda Sare ayaa go'aamisay in maamulka baddu hoos yimaaddo dawladda fadaraalka, laakiin dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay doorbideen in ay ku gorgortamaan in ay maamulka la wadaagaan gobolada.

- Ustareeliya dhexdeeda, Barwaaqo-sooranka iyo dawlad goboleedyada ayaa ka gorgortamay dajinta Dastuurka Badda 1979dii. In kasta oo ay xukuumadda awoodda ugu saraysa ee dastuurka, waxa ay ku wareejiisay awoodda sharci dajinta goobaha badda ah ee ku jira xuduuda saddexda mayl ee xeeliga soo xiga ee gobolada xeebaha ku yaalla waxana ay u dajisay nidaam lagu wadaagayo maamulka badda inteeda kale. Meelaha deeganada badaha ah ee balaaran, waxa loo ansixiyay sharci maamulka hawl-maalmeedka ee badaha gobolada u ogolaanaya "maamul gaar ah oo loo magacaabay", kaas oo ah wasiir iyo saraakiil gobol. Waxa ay sidoo kale u samaysay "maamul wadaag ah" goob kasta kaasi oo ka kooban wasiir fadaraal ah iyo mid gobol, waxana ay masuul ka yihiin go'aamada waawayn, sida meelaha loo ogol yahay in laga fuliyo hawlo shidaal, bixinta xuquuqaha sahaminta iyo soosaaritaanka shidaalka, iyo go'aaminta xaaladaha shaqada iyo maalgashiga. Marka labadan wasiir ay is waafaqi waayaan, wasiirka fadaraalka aya ayeelanaya awoodda ugu dambaysa ee go'aanka la qaadanayo.¹¹
- Kanada dhexdeedana, dawladda fadaraalka ayaa wadaxaajood kala samaysay Nova Skotiya iyo Niyuufowndland heshiisyo badda khuseeya 1980aadkii. Tanna waxa laga soo dheegtay qaabka Ustareeliya, laakiin waxbadan ayay kaga duwan yihiin. Maamulka hawl-maalmeedka goob kasta oo badda ah waxa lagu magacaabay wakaalad arm's-length agency, kuwaas oo guudidooda dhexe ay ka samaysan yihiin xubno is tiro lee goo ka kala socda dawladda dhexe iyo dawlad goboleedyada iyo hogaamiye ay isla qaateen. Go'aamada qaar, kuw la mid ah kuwa Ustareeliya, ayaa loo arkaa in ay yihiin "aasaasi" waxaanay u baahan yihiin in ay isku waafaqaan labada wasiirba, laakiin dawladda fadaraalku ma aha in ay muquuniso.¹²

Ladan qaab midna si buuxda uma aha wadaag dhamaystiran, halkaas oo ay go'aamada oo dhan si wada jir ah u gaadhaan labada dawladdood ee ay khusaysaa. Labada dalba, sharciga waxa qaabilsan fadaraalka, hawl-maalmeedkana waxa qaabilsan oo loo daayaa (wasiir gobol Ustareeliya dhexdeeda, Kanadana waxa lagu wareejiyaa wakaalad arm's length). Go'aamada aasaasiga ah, kanada nidaamkeedu dhab ahaan waa wadaag, xaga nidaamka Ustareeliyana uu u dhaafayo xaqa ugu dambeeya ee go'aan gaaridda wasiirka dawladda fadaraalka ka socda, xitaa hadii isla qaadashadu ay tahay ujeedo la caadaystay iyo habdhaqanka

¹⁰ Mieszkowski, Peter and Ronald Soligo, "United States", in Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-20

¹¹ Commonwealth of Australia, *Offshore Constitutional Settlement*,

<http://www.ag.gov.au/Internationalrelations/InternationalLaw/Documents/offshore-constitutional-settlement-a-milestone-in-cooperative-federalism-pages-1-10%20ocr.pdf>

¹² Cairns, Robert .D., "Natural Resources and Canadian Federalism: Decentralization, Recurring Conflict, and Resolution", *Publius*, 22.1, 1992

jira. Waxa sidoo kale xusid mudan in qaabkan lagu dabaqo badda, halkaasi oo qiyaasta hawlga kastaaba uu yahay mid aad uga balaaran (hadana go'aamadu way ka yar yihiin) kuwa berriga badnaka. U adeegsiga qaababkan berriga ayaa waxa soo wajihi kara arimo ka duwan.

Tixgalin ayaa la siiyay nidaayada wadaagga ah Ciraaq dhexdeeda. Waxa uu dastuurku siinayaa dawladda fadaraalka iyo dawladaha iyo gobolada soosaara shidaalka "in ay hirgaliyaan maamulka saliidda iyo gaasta laga soo saaro boobaha hadda la qodo" waana in ay dawladahaasi "si wada jir ah u sameeyaan siyaasado istaraatiiji ah si ay u hormariyaan hantida saliidda iyo gaasta ..." (Qodobka 112), laakiin labada xaaladoodba macnaahaasi ma uu cadayn walina laguma heshiis lagama gaadhin xeerka shidaalka fadaraalka sided sano kadib. Waxa qaybaha shidaalka si wanaagsan u maamula dawladda fadaraalka wixii ka baxsan Kurdistaan iyo Dawlad Goboleedka Kurdiyiinta ee gobolka; hase yeeshee, Diisambar dhexdeedii, 2014tii, labada dawladood waxa ay gaadheen heshiis ka qayb galinaya Kurdistaan kaas oo balan qaaday in la siiyo qayb wayn oo ka mid ah saliidda Hay'adda Suuqaynta Shidaalka ee dawladda fadaraalka, xaga KRG ay helayaan maaliyad balaadhan iyo waliba soosaarid shidaal dadban oo suuro gal ah oo dheer inta la siinayo dawladda fadaraalka ah.¹³

3.B Cashuuraha maaliyadda shidaalka oo loo adeegsanayo hab maamul

Kharashaadka lagu raadinayo iyo kan lagu soo saarayo shidaalku aad ayuu uga yaryahan inta laga helo dakhli. Tan ayaa dawladda ka dhigaysa in ay aad u danayso nidaamka maaliyadda ee lagu maamulayo qaybaha shidaalka sababta oo ah waxa laga yaabaa in ay dakhli badan ka helaan. Dhab ahaan, waxa lagu doodi karaa dawladaha intooda badani waxa ay aad u dhawraan inta ay ka helayaan maaliyadda oo ah ujeedadooda koobaad ee la xidhiidha qaybaha shidaalka—laakiin tani waxa ay ku lug leedahay go'aamada iyo waxa la doorbidayo ee la xidhiidha xiliga dakhliga la helayo iyo arimo kale. Lacagaha la qaado waxa lagu gaadhi karaa qaadida khidmadaha, cashuuraha kirada khayraadka, cashuuraha dakhliga shirkadaha, cashuurta dhoofinta iyo soo dajinta, cashuuraha iibka, gunooyinka, ka qayb-qaadashada dawladda, macaashka saliidda, iyo qaabab kale. Badanka dakhligaasi waa mid cadaan ah marka ay gacanta ku hayaan maalgaliyayaal gaar ahi, laakin dawladu badanoo aad u adeegsada shirkadaha saliida ee qaranka ayaa uga soo saara dakhli NOC hab iska furan oo aan ahayn mid cad/hufan.

Inta badan fadaraalada dhexdooda, dawladda leh masuuliyadda tooska ah ee maamulka qaybtan (oo laga yaabo in ay leedahay ama aanay "lahayn" khayraadka) ayaa go'aamiso lacagaha la qaadayo ee muhiimka ah ee qaybtaha shidaalka. Hase yeeshee, go'aminta inta lacagaha la qaadayaa noqonayaan waxa uu ka duwanaanaayaa sida loo qaybinayo dakhliga ka soo baxa shidaalka, sida lagu sharxi doono qaybta hoose ee wadaaga dakhliga. Ma aha ujeeda hadalkani in laga hadlo mudnaanta ay leeyihiin cashuuraha kala duwani ama qaabka ugu wanaagsan ee loo qorshayn karo nidaamka maaliyadda shidaalka.¹⁴ Ujeedadu waxa ay tahay, oo intaaba ka duwan, in laga hadlo kaalinta ay ku leeyihiin cashuur ururintu maamulka qaybaha shidaalka iyo waxa ay arintani macno ugu fadhido masuuliyadaha maaliyadda ee nidaamka fadaraalka ah dhexdiidsa ka jira.

Waxa muuqda in uu jiro nidaam guud oo ay leeyihiin dawladaha fadaraalka ah iyaga oo ay dawladda fadaraalku ay maamusho lahaansha iyo isticmaalka xuquuqda haydarokaarboonada, waxa ay sidoo kale go'aamisaa dhamaan—ama si dadban gabi ahaanba—go'aamada maaliyadda ee qaybaha shidaalka khuseeya. Dhamaan dalalka Barasiil, Maalaysiya, Meksiko, Nayjeeriya, Baakistaan, Ruushka iyo Fensuweela, goboladu wax go'aan ah kuma laha cashuuraha maaliyadda ee laga qaado qaybaha shidaalka ama awood aad u kooban ayay ku leeyihiin. Dalalka qaar qoboladu waxa ay qaadaan cashuuraha sida balaadhan ay u hirgaliyaan, sida cashuurta iibka, taas oo soo gaadha qaybaha shidaalkana. Laakiin xitaa sidani hadii ay jirto, sida Barasiil oo kale, dawladda fadaraalka ah ayaa laga yaabaa in ay leeyihiin awoodo ay ku samayn karaan sharciyo kabaya kuwa fadaraalka, kuwaas oo dajiya nidaamyadaya aasaasiga ah ee cashuuro gaar ah oo goboladu ay qaadaan.¹⁵ Fensuweela dhexdeeda, waxa laga yaabaa in ay goboladu cashuuraan qandaraaslayaasha aan qabanin hawl maalmeedka kuwaas oo ka hawlga qaybaha saliidda si

¹³ Knights, Michael, "Here's What the Big Iraqi-Kurdish Oil Deal Really Means", <http://www.businessinsider.com/what-the-big-iraqi-kurdish-oil-deal-really-means-2014-12>

¹⁴ For this, see Tordo, *op.cit.*, and Cottarelli (ed.), *Fiscal Regimes for Extractive Industries: Design and Implementation*, Fiscal Affairs Department, International Monetary Fund, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/pp/eng/2012/081512.pdf>

¹⁵ Rezende, Fernando, "Federal Republic of Brazil", in Anwar Shah (ed.) *The Practice of Fiscal Federalism: Comparative Perspectives*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 84

la mid ah sida ay qaybaha kale uga hawlgalaan waxana ay tani ilo dhaqaale oo aan waynayn u ahayd dhawr gobol oo saliidda soo saara.¹⁶ Gobolada Hindiya waxa ay ka qaadi karaan cashuuro kala duwan qaybaha shidaalka marka uu marayo marxaladaha kala duwan ee soosaaritaanka waxa kale oo ay ururiyaan cashuuro kale oo ay u qaadaan dawladda fadaraalka; si kastaba ha ahaatee, waa wax aad u yar¹⁷ suuro galna mana aha in ay saamayn ku yeelan karaan hab-dhaqanka, xawaaraha iyo “maamulka” hawlaha shidaalka.

Awoodda xadidan ee goboladu ay ku leeyihiin mamulka shidaalka fadaraalka kuwaas oo dawladda fadaraalka ahi ay maamusho xuquuqda, Waxa ku lidi ah dawlado fadaraal ah oo dal fadaraal ah ka jira oo goboladda gacan ku haya xuquuqdu ay leeyihiin awoodda maaliyadeed oo suuro gal ah oo loo adeegsan karo—ama looba adeegsaday—in ay saamayn ugu yeeshaan hab-socodka iyo dhaqanka horumarinta shidaalka, iyo waliba sidoo kale gaaritaanka ujeedooyinka waawayn ee dakhli ururinta iyo kuwo kale ee uu fadaraalku leeyahay. Waxa laga yaaba in ay tahay Arjantiin tusaalaha ugu xiisaha badan ee hadda la soo qaadan karno: xaga ay goboladau maamulaan shidaalka oo ay sidoo kale leeyihiin xaqa ay ku soo rogi karaan kuna ururin karaan khidmad iyo cashuuro kale oo kala duwan oo laga qaado shidaalka, dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay awoodeeda u isticmaashay in ay cashuurto wixii dhoofaya (iyo sidoo kale awoodeeda ay ku kaantaroolayso waxa dhoofaya iyo waxa soo dagaya) si ay ugala soo baxdo shidaalka dakhli laba jeer ka badan kan goboladu ay ka helaan khidmadda. Isticmaalka dawladdu ay adeegsatay nidaamkan aya waaxyaha shidaalka ku reebay saamayn xun, sababtuna waa misaanka maaliyadda ay qaadanayso iyo waliba iyada oo ku qasabtay qiimayaasha saliida iyo gaasta ee guduhu in ay ka hooseeyaan kuwa heerarka caalamiga ah (kadibna tani waxa ay yaraysay qiimaha khidmadda ay goboladu heli lahaayeen). In kasta oo ay ujeedooyinka dawlaadda fadaraalku ahaayeen kuwo maaliyadeed, waxa ay faragalinteedu muujinaysaa sida dhakhsaha ah ee nidaam maaliyadeed uu u saamayn karo hawlaha arimaha shidaalka.

Kanada dhexdeeda, si wayn ayay dawladda fadaraalku u soo faragalisay kadib markii uu dhacay layaabkii labaad ee ku yimi saliidda caalamka 1979kii si ay wax uga badalaan qaabka iyo dariiqo uu ku socdeen waaxyaha shidaalka ee wadanku. Barnaamijka Tamarkta Qaranku waxa uu ahaa mid meel-dheer la gaarsiiyay si dib loogu qaybsado dakhliga saliidda ee dawladda, looga dhawro macaamiisha waxyeelada qiimayaasha caalamka, iyo in la dhiirigaliyo hawlo aad u balaadhan oo la xiriira shidaalka badda iyo deegaanada waqooyiga ee si toos ah u hoos yimaadda dawladda fadaraalka ah. Goboladu iyaga ayaa maamulayay xuquuqda shidaalka, sidaa darteed Barnaamijka Tamarkta Qaranku waxa ay si wayn igu tiisanayd nidaamo maaliyadeed, oo ay ka mid yihiin cashuuraha dhoofinta, cashuuraha dakhliga shidaalka iyo gaasta laga qaado, isbadal lagu sameeyay cashuuraha shirkadaha, iyo hanti dhiirigalin ah oo laga bixiyo sahaminta lagu sameeyo dhulka ay maamusho dawladda fadaraalku. In kasta oo Barnaamijka Tamarkta ee Qaranku uu ku guuldarastay siyaasadda gudaha iyo qiimaha saliida ee hoos u socda, waxa uu soo bandhigaa sida awoodaha dakhliga ee fadaraalku ay u noqon karaan hab lagu saameeyo maamulka shidaalka fadaraal dhexdiisa ay goboladu iska leeyihiin maamulka xuquuda shidaalka ku jira xuduudahooda. Muddo dhawayd, oo ah 1997kii, Dawladda Kanada ee fadaraalka ah ayaa soo faragalisay si ay u dardar galiso horumarinta khayraadka saliidda ee Alberta iyada oo bixinaysa ogolaansho bixinta kharashyo ku lid ah cashuuraha shirkadaha; kuwaas oo hadda la jooiyay.

Amaanka tamartu/saliiddu waa arin in badan dawladda Marykanku ay ku warwaraan, waxana jira taariikh ahaan “in la doorbido dhanka keenidda shidaalka” taas oo siinayay dhiigi galin gaar ah in laamaha shidaalku jeclaystaan horumarinta/soo saarista. Waxa dhiiri galintaasi ku jiray in si gaar ah loo dhimo kharashaadka la cayiman iyo waliba sidoo kale in lagu bixiyo gunooyin la xidhiidha soo saaritaanka. Qiyaasaha isku gaynta cashuuraha loo tixgaliyay laamaha shidaalku waxa uu 2009kii u dhexeeyay \$3 bilyan ilaa \$6 bilyan.¹⁸

3.C Nidaaminta Shuruucda Deegaanka ee qaybaha shidaalka

Dhamaan dalalka leh shidaalku waxa ay cadeeyeen balamohooda ku wajahan amniga iyo ilaalinta deegaanka. Laakiin dhab ahaan ilaa heerka balamahaasi gaadhsiisan yihiin ayaa aad loogu kala duwan yahay waxana jira dhacdooyin badan oo sheegaya dhaqan xumada qaybaha shidaalka ka jirta iyo gaabiska nidaam sharciyeedka dawladdaha. Nidaaminta Shuruucda Deegaanka waa qab muhiim oo ka mid ah masuuliyadka xeer ilaaliyaayaasha qaybaha saliida iyo gaasta, laakin marka cida xeerka ilaaladiisa haysaa ay tahay wasiirka saliida, wakaalad gaar ah oo qabilsan nidaaminta xeerarka saliida ama— oo kasii badan—

¹⁶ Manzano, Osmel, and Francisco Monaldi, Jose Manuel Puente, and Stefania Vitale, “Venezuela”, in Anderson *op.cit.*, p. 355.

¹⁷ Noronha, Ligia and Nidhi Srivastava, “India” in Anderson *op.cit.*, pp132-3

¹⁸ Mieszkowski and Soligo, *op.cit.*, pp325-6.

shirkadda qaranka ee saliida, waxa ka jira iska hormaad aan laga fakan Karin oo ka imanaya masuuliyadaha. In si adag loogu hogaansamo ilaalinta deeganku waxa ay soo kordhinaysaa kharash waxa sidoo kalana ay keenaysaa dib u dhac waxana ay sidaasi dhaawac u gasan doontaa dakhliga dawladda, waxa la dhoofiyo, iyo wax kalaba—taas macnaheedu waxa ay tahay waa in heerka ilaalinta deegaanka laga gaabiyo. Khilaafyada noocan ah ee gudaha ka socda iyo gaabiska iman kara waxa ay dawladda badan koodu ku yareeyaa xeerar iyo wasaarad deegaanku leeyahay oo dajisa heer ay dhamaan waaxyaha kala duwan khuseeya, waaxyahaas oo tan shidaalku ay ka mid yihiin. Dalalka qaarkood, waajaqidda heerarkaas waxa loo igmadaa xeer-nidaamiye shidaalka loo sameeyo (kaas oo samaynaya korjoogid wayn ama mid ka yar tan maamulka deegaanku); dalal kale, waaxda deegaanka ama wakaalad ka shaqaysa ayaa gacanta ku haysa masuuliyada xeer nidaaminta ceelasha qaybaha shidaalka.

Waxa aan laga baxsan karin, oo ay arintu sii cakirmaysaa hadii nidaamku uu yahay mid fadaraali ah. Marka cidda xeer nidaaminta ku shuqul lihi ay ka mid tahay dabaqadaha dawladda mid ka mid ah (dawladda dhexe ama gobolada midkood) suaashu waxa ay noqonaysaa miyay waaxda shidaalku u hogaansamaysaa xeerarka deegaanka ee ay dajiyeen qayb ka mid ah dawladdu. Jawaabtu waxa ay la mid tahay han cashuuraha maaliyadda ee ay qaadaan dawladda fadaraalku marka dawladda fadaraalku ay xeer nidaaminta qaybaha shidaalk ay ku shuqul leedahay, markaasi goboladu waxa ay leeyihiin awood sharci oo daciif ah (ama awoodba kuma laha) saamaynta deegaanka ay ku leedahay waaxda shidaalku. Marka cida maamulaysa xeerka shidaalka gacanta ku haysaa ay tahay heer gobol, waxa ay dawladda fadaraalka ahi leedahay awood sharci oo wayn. Dhamaan dalalka oo dhanna, natiijada dhabta ahi waxa ay ku xidhnaanaysa doonitaan siyaasadeed iyo waxa mudnaanta la siinayo iyo waliba awoodda ay dadwaynuhu ku saari karaan dawladda cadaadis midha dhal ah.

Dalka Nayjeeriya ayaa waxa uu yahay tusaale aad u layaab badan oo sheegaya awood darrada ka jirta dhanka bii'adda maxaliga ah kaas oo ay maamulka xeerarka dawladdu gacanta ku hayso. Gobolada iyo xaafaduhu “ma laha xuquuq dastuuri ama sharci ah, cod, ama xitaa doonitaan khuseeya mashaariicda saliida iyo gaasta ee ka jira goobhooda.” In laga “caydhiyo/loo diido” ka qaybqaadashada arimaha shidaalka “waxana taas u weheliya iyo la duudsiyo arimaha bii'ada, kuwa dhaqan-dhaqaale, iyo arimaha siyaasadda ee gobolka si ay u abuuraaan olole halgan olole ay gobolada iyo degmooyinku u galayaan “mamaulka khayraadka’ ee Delta”.¹⁹ Fansuweella waa la mid Nayjeeriya.

Badanka dalalka fadaraalka ah ee leh maamulka xuquuqda saliida iyo gaaska oo ay dawladda dhexe maamusho, goboladu kaalin aad u yar ayay ku leeyihiin xeer nidaaminta deegaanka ee waaxyaha shidaalka. Maalaysiya dhexdeeda, Sarawak ayaa waxa ay u muuqataa in ay ku guulaysatay loolan siyaasadeed oo ay ku gaadhayeen baahiyahooda, kaas oo ku yimi hab sharci oo aan cadayn, iyaga oo qiiman ku samaynaya sida ay hawlo gaar ahi u saamanayaan deegaanka.²⁰ Meksikona, dawladda hoose waxay leeyihiin awoodo sharci oo xadidan, laakiin waxa soo kordhayay cadaadiskooda siyaasadeed ee ay saarayaan Shirkada Bemekes si ay ugu hogaansanto sharciyada deegaanka.²¹ Baraasiil dhexdeedana, dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay leedahay karti u gaar ah oo ku saabsan sahaminta khayraadka dabiiciga ah, laakiin ilaalinta deegaanku waa meel wax laga qaban karo; dhab ahaan, goboladu waxa ay u muuqdaan in ay ku leeyihiin kaalin aad u yar sharci-ku dhaqidda deegaanka ee saamaynta hawl-galadda shidaalka, in kasta oo ay in kasta oo ay codkooda ugu darsan karaan habab la talo bixin ah oo kala duwan. Dawladaha hoose ee qaranka ee Hindiya iyo Baakistaan waxa ay leeyihiin masuuliyad sharci oo xoogan oo ay ku maamuli karaan laamaha shidaalka. Dalka Baakistaan, gobolada waxa ay maamulaan hawlaha waawayn ee la xidhiidha sahaminta habka gariirka la adeegsado iyo sidoo kale qodida shidaalka, kuwaas oo aan waxba laga qaban Karin ilaa lagu seemyo qiimayn deeganka oo la helo cadayn ogolaansho.²² Dastuurka Hindiya ma laha ciwaan ka hadlaya deegaanka, laakiin arintaasi waxa uu kaga hadlay ciwaano kale dhexdooda, sida dhulka iyo biyaha, kuwaas oo ah arimo gobol, iyo kaynta, oo ah mid dawladda fadaraalku la wadaagto; guud ahaan, awood dhexe ayaa la jecelyahay waayo waxa ay ku kaantaroolaysaa xayndaab sharci, laakiin goboladu waxa ay kaalin ku leeyihiin maamulka. In badan oo ka mid ah dooaha deegaanka laga yeesho ee waaxyaha shidaalka Hindiya ayaa ku lugleh waxyeelada ku timaada deegaanka oo aan laga samayn mawdhaw ku filan. Gobolo dhawr ah oo ku yaala waqooyi-bari oo leh qabiilo tiro badan ayaa leh mudnaan gaar ah oo ay ku maamulaan khayraaka dhulk iyo ka dabiiciga ah.

¹⁹ Iledare, Wumi, and Rotimi Suberu, “Nigeria” in Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.243.

²⁰ Hui, Chong Wee, “Malaysia” in Anderson, *op.cit.*, pp182-3

²¹ Carreon-Rodriguez, Victor G. and Juan Rosellon, “Mexico”, in Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.218

²² Ahmed, *op.cit.*, p.277

Waxa ay arintu ka duwan tahay marka laga hadlayo dawladda fadaraalka ah ee goboladu ay maamulaan xuquuqda shidaalka sababta wax ay tahay dawladda fadaraalka aya dalalkaasi iska leh awooddo ay wax kaga qabtaan deegaanka, kuwaas oo si toos ah u saamayn kara waaxda saliidda. can impinge very directly on the oil sector. Utareeliya, Kanada iyo Marykanka ayaa dhamaantood leh dastuuro qadiim ah oo aan si cad loogu sheegin deegaanka, laakiin dhamaan dawladdaha fadaraalku waxa ay leeyihiin awooddo kale oo badal ah oo u ogolaanaya in ay dajiyaan dhamaan heerarka sharci ee deegaanku leeyahay. Dastuurka dalka Arjantiin waxkabadal waxa lagu sameeyay 1994 si loogu daro sharci cusub (Qodobka 41) kaas oo ka hadlaya xaqa dadka deegaanka ahi u leeyihiin “bii’ad/deegaan fayo qaba, oo isku dheeli tiran” iyo mid ka yeelaha shuruucda deegaanka masuuliyad ay wada leeyihiin dawladda fadaraalka ah iyo kuwa goboladu halkaas oo sharciga fadaraalku uu uu leeyahay saraynta. Dhamaan afartan dal ee fadaralk ahi waxa ay leeyihiin halbeegyo khuseeya ilaalinta deegaanka oo aad u sareeya halkaasi oo dawladda fadaraalka ahi ay hogaaminayso oo agaasin balaadhana laga sameeyay, waxana ka mid ah in ay dawladda fadaraalku ay masuuliyadaha badhkood ku wareejiso mamuladda gobolada iyo deegaamada. Inkasta oo xeerarka fadaraalka aan loo qaabayn hab cad oo ay saamayn ugu yeelan karaan dabciga iyo qaab-socodka hawlaha shidaalka, marmar ayay saamayntaasi yeeshaan sababta oo ah baahida loo qabo in si wayn dib loogu baadho int aan la ansixin ka hor ama in marka la qaaday talaabo culayska lagu yaraynayo oo aad u qaali ah. Fadaraaladan, dawladda fadaraalka ah waxa ay yeelan karaan awoodda ay ku soo rogi karaan qiimo laga qaado kaarboonka— hadii ay tahay cashuurta kaarboonka ama dhiirigalin ganacsiyada lasiiyo si ay u yareeyaan siidaynta kiimikada wasakhda ah—kaas oo ku yeelan kara saamayn aadu u balaadhan waaxyaha shidaalka, laakiin wali dalna sidaas ma yeelin.

3.D Gaadiidka shidaalka iyo suuq-gayntiisa

Ugu dambayntii, Meel way oo la “wadaagi” karo marka la maamulayo qaybaha shidaalku waxa ay la xidhiidhaa gaadiidka iyo suuq-gaynta shidaalka marka dhulka laga soo saaro. Dalalka fadaraalka ah ee ay goboladu maamulaan xuquuqda shidaalka, awoodda dawladda fadaraalka ah ee la xidhiidha gaadiidka iyo suuq-qaynta ayaa saamayn wayn ku yeelan karta laamaha shidaalka oo noqon karta mid kaantarool wayn ku leh halka ay dawladda fadaraalku saamayn ku leedahay siyaasadda shidaalka, in kasta oo aanay maamulin xuquuda badankooda. Awoodahaasi fadaraalka ah waxa loo adeegsan karaa in lagu dhiiri galiyo horumarinta laamaha shidaalka ama xakamayntooda.

Markaykanka sanadihii 1930aadkii waxa hoos u dhacay qiimaha saliidda markaas oo foostada shidaalka ahi ay noqotay toban senti—taas oo ka sii hoosaysay qiimihii lagu soo saaray—sababta waxa ay ahayd soosaaridda shidaalka oo badatay kadib markii laga helay shidaal gobolada Teksas iyo Oklahoma. Teksas waxa ay u guureen wax soo saar k u salaysan saami qaybsi si loo kobciyo qiimayaasha, laakiin waxa dadaaladoodii wiiqay waxa loo yaqaan Saliidda Diiran “Hot Oil”, kaas oo ahaa maxsuul dhaafay kootadii sharci ahaan la ogolaa dadaalkaasina waxa uu si wayn ugu guul daraystay in uu qiimayaasha kor u qaado. Khalkal ayaa ku yimi shidaalkii, kadib Dawladdahan fadaraalka ayaa soo dhex gashay si ay uga mamnuucdo Saliida Diiran xuduudaa gobolada waxana ay talo ugu soo jeedisay dhamaan gobolada kala duwan in ay raacaan heer wax-soosaar oo quman. Waxa ay ku soo rogtay cashuuro saliidaha dabadda laga soo dhoofiyo. Labadan talaabo oo la isku daray ayaa kor u qaaday qiimayaasha saliida oo dib xasiloondii ugu soo celiyay waaxyahay shidaalka.²³ Sandihii 1950kii, Dawladda fadaraalka ayaa waxa ay u dajisay heer waxa la soo dhoofin karo, taas oo keentay in qiimayaasha saliida ee wadanka gudihisu inay ka sareeyaan boqolkiiba 50 qiimaha waxa la soo dhoofiyo; kuwana waxa la tirtiray 1970kii kadib markii uu dhacay khalkalkii koowaad ee qiimaha saliidda markaas oo Dawladda fadaraalkun ay isku dayday in ay qiimayaasha kaantarooшо. Dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay sidoo kale ku leedahay awood dhuumaha shidaalka iskaga gudaba gobolada, marka laga hadlayo gaasta dabiiciga ahna waxa ay dawladdu qiimaha ku ilaalisay ka ceelka afkiisa uu ka taagan gaasta dabiiciga ahi ka taagan tahay oo loogu talo galay gacasiga u dhexeeya gobolada.²⁴ (in kasta oo dawladd fadaraalka ahi ay maamushu dhuumaha shidaalka iskaga gudaba gobolada , gobolada Maraykanku waxa ay awood ku leeyihiin meesha la “dhigayo” dhuumahaas, tusaale ahaan, si looga ilaaliyo meelaha deegaan ahaan xaasaasiga ah, iyo waliba sidoo kale arimaha farsamo iyo dhisme ee ay yeelanayaan dhuumuhu.)

Kanada dhexdeeda, dawladda fadaraalka ahi waxa ay 1950kii saymayay faragalin ay ku dhiiri galinayso

²³ Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*, New York: Free Press, 1991, pp. 248-59

²⁴ Mieszkowski and Soligo, *op.cit.*, pp 313-16

dhaqaalaha saliidda wadanka ee soo korayay iyada oo taageertay in la sameeyo dhuumo gaasta qaada oo Kanada iskaga gudbaya iyo in loo kaydiyo suuqyada saliida ee wadanka gudhiisa dhuun galbeedka ah oo u dhaw xuduuda u dhaxaysa Ontariyo iyo Quebec si ay ugu qaybiyaan Kanada, oo ay qiimaha gobolada Galbeedka u wanaajiyaan. Si kataba ha ahaatee, kadib khalkhalkii ku yimi saliidda 1974, siyaasadda fadaraalku waxa ay u gudubtay helitaanka shidaalka iyo dhawrida macaamiisha—kaas oo lagu gaadhay in la xadido dhoofinta shidaalka lana kaantaroolo qiimayaasha saliida laga soo saaray gobolada dibadooda. Xadidaada dhoofinta ayaa la sii adkeeyay taas oo ka mid ah talaabooyin balaadhan oo ay dawladda fadaraalku qaaday, oo ay ka mid yihiin in la cashuuraha saliidda la dhoofiyo, kadi markii uu yimi khalkhalkii saliiddu.²⁵ In kasta oo siyaadda Kanada ay tahay mid suuqu maamulo, waxa jiray sheegasho ka soo yeedhay dadka deegaanka askalka ah iyo dawlad goboleedyada oo ku saabsan faa’iidada ay ka helayaan dhuumaha mara deegaanadooda. Mawqifka dadka deegaanka waxa xoojiyay Maxkamadda Sare oo xukuntay in ay xaq u leeyihiin in lala tashado—taas oo macnaheedu yahay in si dhab ah loo tixgaliyo oo loo soo dhaweeyo marka ay suuro gal tahay; dhab ahaan, tani waxa ay siinaysaa awood ay ku heli karaan faa’iido maamiyadeed. Goboka British Colombiya ayaa hadda aad ugu sii doodaya in ay ka helaan faa’iido maaliyadeed dhuumaha deegaanadiisa mara, waayo waxa ay xisabta ku darsanayaan khatarta deegaanka ku iman karta. Labadan isbadal waxa ay dhalan-rogayaan xaaladaha ay dawladda fadaraalku ku maamulaan dhuumaha shidaalka sidoo kalana gobolada soosaara shidaalka ayaa dhinacooda isku dayaya in ay ka helaan shidaalka la soo saaro faa’idada dhaqaale ee ugu badan ee suuro galka ah.

Tusaale kale oo kaantaroolka suuq-qaynta ku saabsani waa faragalinta dheeraadka ah ee ay dawladda fadaraalka ee Arjantiin samaysay iyaga oo adeegsanaysa in ay kooto ka dhigto dhoofinta gaasta, ay xadidaad saarto gaasta dabiiciga ah ee loo adeegsanayo korantada, ama han utu muhiimsan oo ah, in ay cashuuro aad u sareeyo ka qaado gaasta iyo saliidda la dhoofinayo. Dawladda Ustareeliya waxa ay leedahay awoodo dastuuri ah oo la mid ah oo u ogolaanaya in ay kaantaroolaan qiimayaasha gudaha iyo waxa la dhoofiyo iyo waliba inay cashuuraan waxa la dhoofinayo, laakiin umay adeegsan in ay habkaas oo kale faragalin ugu sameeyaan. Ugu dambayntiina, dawladda ciraaq waxa ay awood u yeelatay in ay adeegsato awoodeheeda khuseeya suuq-gaynta saliida la dhoofiyo si ay heshiis ugala gaadho dawlad goboleedyada Kurdiyiinta arimaha suuq-gaynta iyo maaliyadda, sida hore loo soo xusay.

Tusaalayaashani waxa ay ina tusayaan sida dawladaha fadaraalka ah ee ku leh awoodo dheeraada dhinacyada suuqaynta, dhoofinta iyo gaadiidku/safrintu ay saayn ugu yeelan karaan waaxyaha shidaalka xitaa haddii dawlad goboleedyadu ay masuul ka yihiin xuquuda maamulka shidaalka. Awoodahaas fedaraalka, oo lagu daray awoodaha kale ee cashuurta ee fadaraalku leeyahay iyo kaantaroolka dhulka babadd iyo baririga fadaraalka, ayaa waxa ay ahaayeen hababka ugu muhiimsan ee ay dawladaha fadaraalku u adeegsadaan inay saamayn ugu yeeshaan siyaasadaha shidaalka ee heer qaran. Adeegsigooduna waxa uu la xiriiraa taageerada iyo khilaafka kaga yimaadda gobolada soosaara dhidaalka (ama sidoo kale kuwa aan soo saarin shidaalka).

3.E Isku xidhnaanta maamulka shidaalka ee dawladaha fadaraalka ah

Muuqaalkan kooban waxa loogu talo galay in uu fikir kaa siiyo habaka iyo maamuladda shidaalka ee dawladaha fadaraalka ah. Waxa aynu u qeexnay maamulka si guud waxana ka mid ah awoodaha ama kaantaroolka laga ayaabo in ay dawladdu adeegsato—ha ahaato dawlad fadaraalka ama mid gobole—si ay saamayn ugu yeelato siyaasadda iyo hawlaha shidaalka. Way iska caddahay in ay aasaasi tahay qaybsiga masuuliyadka muhiimka ah ee maamulka xuquuqaha shidaalka iyo sida loo adeegsanayo dawladaha fadaraalka ah dhexdooda. Waxaa loo igman karaan dawladaha la aamin san y ahay in ay “leedahay” khayraadka, laakin maaha mar kasta dhab sidaasi. Waxa sidoo kale aanu aragnay in awoodo kale iyo masuuliyad kale ay saamay ku leeyihiin maamulka shidaalka. Hadaba sawirka guud ee soo baxayaa waxa uu yahay mid sheegaya in uu iska hor imaad wayni ka jiro dawladaha ay xuquuqda shidaalka gacanta ku hayaan dawladda fadaraalka ah iyo kuwa kale oo ah dawladaha ay gacanta ku hayaan dawlad goboleedyadu.

- Tan hore, dawladda fadaraalka ayaa badanaa kaantaroolaysa awoodaha oo dhan; xaga ay goboladuna ay leeyihiin awoodo maaliyadeed ama deegaan oo kooban oo u ogolaanaya in ay saamayn ugu yeeshaan sida ay dawladda fadaraalku wax u maamulayso, awoodahaasina badanka way kooban yihiin, xitaa meelaha ogolaanshaha la siiyay badan yahay. (Nidaamyada gaarka ah eek

²⁵ Plourde, André, “Canada”, in Anderson, *op.cit.*, pp.90-94

a jira badda Ustareeliya iyo Kanada waa arin ka reeban inta kale oo dhah ahaan iyaga waxa jira iskaashi dhab ah.) Waxa hadaba dalalkan runtu tahay waa siyaasadda oo u diyaarsan in ay la tashaadaan oo ay istaageeradaan dawlad goboleedyada.

- Waxa taas ku lid ah, marka ay dawlad goboleedyadu gancta ku hayaan mamaulka xuquuqda shidaalka, dawladda fadaraalku wali waxa ay ku leeyihiin awoodo balaadhan oo ay saamayn ugu yeelan karaan siyaasadda dhidaalka: waxana ka mid ah cashuurta iyo talaabooyin kale oo maaliyadeed: sida awoodaha sharci ee la xidhiidha deegaanka, gaadiidka, suuqyada wadanka iyo ganacsiga dibadda; iyo marmar, kaantaroolidda, dhulka “fadaraalku” leeyahay ee badda, eek u yaala goobaha fadaraalku maamulo ama gobolada dhexdooda. Hadaba arimaha farabadan ee siyaasadda shidaalku ma aha kuwo dhinac u janjeedha laakiin waa kuwo dhinac kasta oo dawladda ka mid ihi ay leedahay ahmiyad sharci. Tani waxa ay aloosi kartaa iskaashi ama khilaaf qaybaha dawladda ka dhex dhaca, taas oo ku xidhan cida dawladda maamulaysa iyo nooca ay yihiin danaha laga hadlayo ee markaasi taagani.

4. Wadaagga Khayraadka Shidaalka iyo Dhismaha Maaliyadda Fadaraalada

Muhiimadda shidaalka wadanku u leeyaay shaqaalah iyo dakhliga dawladda ee fadaraaladu aad ayuu u kal aduwan yahay. Dalaka qaarkood, dadkhliga shidaalku waa isha ugu balaadhan—oo xitaa ugu xoog—ee dakhliga dawladda. Fadaraalada dhamaantood, dawladda fadaraalka ayaa go’amisa cashuuraha iyo khidmadaha badan ee maaliyadeed; waxa sidoo kale ay qaadaan dakhli ka badan ka ay danhooda uga baahan yihiin kaas oo marmarka qaar dib loogu qaybiyo gobolada iyaga oo la adeegsanayo qaaciidada wadaaga khadliga ama kabka miisaaniyadda fadaraalka ama labada hab oo isku jira. Marka laga hadlayo duruufaha guud ee habka loo qaybiyo dakhliga dawladda, waxa jira hab gaar ah oo loo wadagi karo dakhliga ka soo baxa shidaalka. Dawlad kastaa waa in ay goaan ka gaadhaa miisanaka saami qaybsiga meesha laga keenay (meesha dakhlig ka soo baxay) iyo baahida loo qabo qoondaynta dakhligaasi. Dawladaha qaar kood ayaa miisaan wayn siiya meesha laga keenay dakhliga shidaalka, laakiin saamaynta ugu damaysaa waxaa ay ku xidhan tahayhadii ay qoondayntu uu xisaabta ku darsan doono dakhliga kale shidaalka ka soo gala dawlad goboleedyada. Waxa jiro fikiro u doodaya ama ka dhan ah tixgalinta gaarka ah ee dakhliga shidaalka, kaas oo lagu xalin karo in la gaadho isku dheeli tirnaan sax ah. Waaya aragnimada dawladdaha fadaraaladu arintan aad ayay ugu kala duwan yihiin.

Muuqaalka muhiimka ah ee fadaraaladdu waa hab dhismeedka maaliyadooda: kaas oo sheegaya awoodaha dakhli ururin kara; sida goaan looga gaadhayo qaybsiga dakhliga; iyo cidda iska leh masuuliyadka kharashka. Suaalahan waxa laga eegi karaa laba dhinac sida dhinaca kala saraynta dawladda—ee u dhexeeya dawladda fadaraalka iyo dawlad goboleedyada—ama sida ay u simayn yihiin—ee xidhiidhka u dhexeeya goboladda. Dawladaha fadaraalku waxa ay ku kala duwan yihiin ilaa heerka ay dawladda dhexe ururinayso dakhliga, hanaanka ay u marayaan qoontayda dakhliga, iyo sida ay u wadaagayaan masuuliyadaha kharashaadka. Dhamaan dawladdaha fadaraalka ah dhexdooda, in ka badan kharashka ku baxa dawladda ayay dawladda dhexe ururisa, sidaa karaadeed waa in uu jiraa hab dib loogu celinayo dakhligii dawladda dhexe qaaday dawlad goboleedyada (ama xitaa dawladdaha hoose dalalka qaarkood dhexdooda). Qaar ka mid ah dawladdaha fadaraalka ah, sida Maalaysiya, ayay xoog dawladda dhexe ugu haysaa gacanta kharaashka iyo dakhli urunita labadaba, dalal kalena xitaa waxa gacanta ku haya a dawladda dhexe dakhli ururinta laakiin aad ayay u yihiin kharashaadka dawladda ayaa la baahiyaa maamulkooda (taas oo lagama maarmaan ka dhigaysa in si wayn loo wadaago lacagaha iyo kabka ay dawladda dhexe ururiso), dalado faro ku tiris ah ayaana iska leh dakhli ururin iyo masuuliyad kharash oo isku miisaaman (tani waxa ay keenaysaa inuu yaraado kabka dawladda dhexe waxna yar la wadaago).

Saliida iyo gaasta soosaaritaankeedu waxa uu u soo xerayn karaa dawladda dakhli aad u badan. Dalalka ku dhaqalaahoodu tiistan yahay saliidda, sida Nayjeeriya iyo Fansuweela, cashuuraha shidaalka ayaa waxa ay noqdaan boqolkiiba 80 ama 90 ka mid dhamaan dakhliga dawladda ee fadaraalka. Xitaa dalalka dhaqaalahoodu kala duwan yahay, sida Meksiko iyo Ruushka, waxa uu noqon karaa dakhliga shidaalku mid u dhigma boqolkiiba kontan dakhliga guud. Sababtuna waxa weeyaan kharashka ku baxa soosaaridda shidaalku waxa uu ka yahay qiimaha lagu iibiyo wax aad u yar, dawladdu waxa ay ka qaadi karaan cashuurta ay gacacisyada kalba ka qaadaan oo lagu daray cashuurta loo yaqaan *kirada-khayraadka*, taas oo dheer macaashka suuro galka ah ee ay maalgaliyayaashu rabaan caadi ahaan (kani aad ayuu u kala duwanaan kara waxana uu ku xidhan yahay khataraha dhulka ama siyaasadda ee ka jira meesha). Dhab

ahaan, nidaamyadada dakhli oo kooban ayaa kala sooca kirada khayraadka iyo dakhliga kale ee shidaalka,²⁶ dawladdaha qaar waxa ay adeegsadaan nidaam aad u fudud oo ah hal cashuur, halka kuwa kalana ay qaadaan tira badan oo nidaamyo maaliyadeed ah.

Fadaraalada qaar dhexdooda cashuurah amaaliyadda shidaalka dhamaantood waxa qaada dawladda fadaraalka; kuwa kalana, labada daqadood ee dawladduba way wada qaadaan cashuuraha shidaalka. Waxa makraa muhiim ah cida go'aanka ka gaadhaysa cashuuraha nooca laga qaadayo shidaalka iyo sida ay u qaybsanaan dakhliga shidaalka fadaraalka, gobolada iyo dagmooyinku. Xaqiiqdii, qabinta dakhliga shidaalka wa loo tixgaliyay in ay arin muhiim ah tahay dalalka Baraasiil, Nayjeeriya iyo Baakistaan halkaas oo sharciga lagu qaybsanayaa uu si cad ugu xusan yahay dastuurka.

Qaybinta dakhliga shidaalka waa in si wayn loola fiiriyo dhamaan dakhligyada kale. Fadaraaladu waxa ay arimahan ku gaadhaan habab kala gadisan. Qaarkood waxa ay ula dhaqmaan kharaadka shidaalk si gooni ah; kuwo kalana sidaasi ma yeelaan. Dalalka qaar kood ayaa ogol faraqa u dhexayn kara khayraadka ay helaan dawladda goboladyada kala duwani; kuwa kalana waxa ay isku dayaan in ay simaan ama ay yareeyaan faraqa u dhexeeya gobolada. Inta aynaan eegin faahfaahinta hababkan kala duwan ee maamulka iyo wadaaga khayraadka shidaalka ee fadaraalada, waxaa muhiim ah in aynu dajino nidaam guud oo khuseeya mabaadiida iyo qaaciidada lagu qoondaynayo dakhliga.

4.A Hababka dheegashada, habka baahida iyo wadaagga, iyo habka kabka

Mid ka mida mabaadiida qoondanta ayaa ah “dheegashada”, oo macnaheedu uu yahay in dakhliga (ama qayb ka mid ah) lagu saleeyo siyaasadda gobolada laga soo saaray. Fadaraalada goboladu ay leeyihiin awoodo dakhli ururin ah oo aad u badan, waxa ay haystaan dakhliga ay urursadaan²⁷; sidaa darteed, in maamul daadajin lagu sameeyo awoodaha cashuur qaadida ayaa waxa ay si dadban ugu xidhan tahay fahanka deegashada.

Waxa ay arintu sii adkaataa marka dakhliga ay ururiso dawladda fadaraalku. Xaaladahan oo kale, in badan oo ka mid ah dakhligaasi waxa uu ku bixi doonaa kharashaadka dawladdu ay gashay sidoo kalana kharashaadkeeda oo ay u qaybiso goobaha ay ka yimaadeen ma sheegi doono meelaha ilaha dakhligooda ay ka hesho. Laakiin fadaraalada dhamaantood qaybo ka mid ah dakhliga ay dawladda dhexe ururiso ayaa dib loogu qaybiyaa gobolada (ama sidoo kale dawladdaha hoose) waxana sidaasi loo yeeli karaa iyada oo laba hab la adeegsanayo kuwaasi oo kale ah wadaagga dakhliga iyo kabka dawladda dhexdeeda:

- *Wadaagga dakhliga:* habkani waxa uu tilmaamayaa in ay wadaagaan goboladu qayb ama dhamaan dakhliga dawladda fadaraalka iyaga oo raacaya hab loo dajiyay. Habkaasi waxa uu sheegayaa dakhliga la wadaagayo iyo saamiga ay ka helayaan goboladu. Dakhliga la wadaagayaa waxa uu noqon karaa mid ay ku jiraan dhamaan dakhliga fadaraalku ama mid ku kooban dakhliga soo ka baxa cashuuro iyo khidmado gaar ah. Wadaagidda dakhliga waxa ay goboladu ka helaan lacag duuduub ah oo aan shardi ku xidhnayn—runtiina, in badan oo ka mid dawladdaha fadaraalka ah inta ay ka qaadanayaan dakhliga la wadaago goboladu laguma muujiyo miisaaniyadda fadaraalka. Laakiin, dhamaan dakhliga ay tahay in ay wadaagaan dawladda fadaraalka iyo dawladda goboleedyadu waxa ay ku dhacaan sanduuq qaran oo midaysan (oo ka baxsan miisaaniyadda fadaraalka) halkaas ayaana looga qaybigyaa dawladdaha kala duwan. Sidaa darteed dakhliga noocan oo kale ah waxa loo tixgaliyaa badanka “dakhli ay iska leeyihiin”, xitaa hadii aanay goboladu go'aan ku lahayn ama aanay soo ururin.
- *Kabka qaybaha dawladda u dhexeeya:* habka kale ee lagu badalan karo in la wadaago in ka id ah ama dhaan dakhliga fadaraalku waa in loo codeeyo in lacag kab ah laga wareejiyo jeebka dawladda fadaraalka ah oo lagu wareejiyo gobolada. Kabkaasi waxa uu noqon karaa mid ujeedo guud loogu talo galay iyo mid aanay shuruudi ku xidhnayn, ama mid ay ku xidhan tahay sida dakhliga la wadaago oo kale, kaas oo ay goboladu u adeegsadaan dano gaar ah oo ay shuruudi ku xidhan tahay. Kabka ay shuruudu ku xidhan tahay waxa uu u baahnaan karaa in la helo saami u dhigma oo ah lacag oo ka timaada dhanka gobolka. Waxana loo siiyaa gobolada si loogu dhiiri galiyo mashaariga ay dawladda fadaraalku danaynayso in kasta oo ay mabda' ahaan goboladu iska dayn karaan inay

²⁶ Australia's Petroleum Revenue Rent Tax is an exception. <https://www.ato.gov.au/Business/Petroleum-resource-rent-tax/>

²⁷ Germany is a rare exception amongst federations in that the richer provinces make some transfers directly to the poorer provinces. These supplement other revenues flowing to the provinces from the federal government as well as locally raised revenues. Feld, Lars. P. and Jurgen von Hagen, “Federal Republic of Germany” in Shah, *op.cit.*, pp.143-46

qaataan (taas oo marmar dhif ah dhacda).

Dawladaha fadaraalka ah qaarkood ayaa adeegsada dakhliga la wadaago iyo kabaka dawladdu dhexdeeda isa siiyo labadaba.

Mabaadiida haga habka wax loogu qoondaynayo gobolada ee labadan hab ayaa leh meelo ay iskaga mid yihiin iyo meelo ay ku kala gadisan yihiin. Labada habba waxa ay bixin karaan kab aanay shuruudi ku xidhnayn labadoodubana waxa ay samayn karaan qaaciido wax lagu qoondeeyo oo ku salaysan qiyaaso badan oo baahi ah (sida tirade dadka, awooda maaliyadeed, baaxadda deegaanka, qaabka kharashaadka). Laakiin habka wadaagga dakhliga oo kli ah ayaa sameeya qoondayn dheegasho ah oo ku salaysan meesha shidaalka laga keenay, habka kaba dawladda ka dhexeeya oo kali ah ayaa isna ayaa samayn kara in uu sameeyo qoondayn shardi ku xidhan yahay.²⁸ Dhab ahaan, *mabda'a dheegashada ee lagu wadaago dakhliga ayaa mar walba u muuqda inuu ku xidhan yahay qoondaynta qoondaynta nooc gaar ah oo ka mid ah dakhliga*, maaha dakhli kasta. Sidaa darteed Hindiya oo isku wada darta dakhliyada dhamaan oo kadibna la wadaagta in ka mid ah gobolada, mabda'a dheegashadu saamayn kuma laha sida loo qoondaynayo. Laakiin Baakistaan dhexdeeda, isku darka dakhliga oo dhan waxa la wadaagaa iyada oo aan la tixraacin dheegasho, laakiin dakhliga khayraadka ee ay dajiso isla markaana ay ururiso dawladda dadaraalku, ayaa lagu qabtaa meel ka madax banaan darka guud ee dakhliga oo kadibna loogu qoondeeyaa si aan ka leexleexad lahayn habka dheegashada.

Faderaaladu waxa ay si wayn ugu kala duwan yihiin heerka inta ay ku maalgaliyaan gobolada dakhliga ay iyagu ururiyaan, dakhliga ku yimaadda hab wadaag ah (ha noqdo isku darka dakhliga guud ama dakhli gaar ah), iyo kabka dawladaha (ha ahaado mid aanuu shardi ku xidhnayn iyo/ama mid shardi kuxidhan yahay) eek a yimaadda miisaaniyadda fadaraalka. Makra laga hadlayo labada qaybood ee dambe, faderaalada qaarkood sida Nayjeeriya ayaa si wayn ugu tiirsan wadaagga dakhliga; kuwo kalana, sida Hindiya, waxa ay isku daraan labada hab ee dakhli wadaagga iyo kabka dawladaha; kuwa kale oo aan iyaga ahayna sida Kanada iyo Meksiko, ayaa leh in yar ama aan lahayn wax dakhli wadaag ah kuwaas oo ku shaqeeya habka kabka ee dawladda.

Waa in uu fadaraal kastaa helaa isku dheelitirka isaga ku haboon ee mabaadiida kala ah dheegashada iyo ka baahida. Sababta loo adeegsanayo mabda'a dheegashada marka awoodda cashuur qaadista ay dawlad goboleedu leeyihiin, ayaa waxa uu dhiigi galin ku siiyaa goboladu in ay ka faa'iidaystaan awoodda cashuur qaadida si ay danahooda ugu gaadhaan. Dhiigi galintaasi ma jirto marka ay dawladda fadaraalku go'aaminayso oo ay ururinayso cashuurta, sidaa darteed xaaladahan oo kale sababta loo adeegsanayo mabda'a dheegashadu waxa uu u muuqdaa in nooc ka mid ah cashuurta ay si uun "u leeyihiin", intay doontaba ha leekaatee, gobolada laga soo ururiyay. Tani waxa laga yaabaa in ay ku xidhnaato lahaanshaha, sida ka muuqata arimaha khayraadka dabiiciga ah, laakiin sida la iskugu xidhi kartaa waa xoogana ama marmarka qaardoona maba jirto. Inkasta oo khayraadka dabiiciga ahi laga yaabo in uu yahay isha dakhliga ee ugu muhiimsan kaas oo lagu dabaqo mabda'a dheegashada dakhliga dawladda fadaraalku ay ururiso, waxa jiro dalal kuwaas ka soo hadhaya oo muhiim ah: Ruushka, tusaale ahaan, dheegadsada waxa loo adeegsaday in lagu qoondeyo cashuuraha dakhliga shirkadaha ee qaranka laakiin ma aha dakhliga khayraadka dabiiciga ah. Ugu dambayntii, mabda'a dheegashada waxa loo adeegsan karaa heerar kala duwan—ma ah lagama maarmaan in dhamaan dakhliga meel ka soo baxa lagu qoondeeyo habka dheegashada; Nayjeeriya, tuusale ahaan, gobolada soo saara ayaa waxa ay qaataan boqolkiiba 13 ka mid ah dakhliga saliidda, laakiin inka kasoo hadha waxa lagu daraa darka guud ee dakhliga si loogu qaybiyo dawladaha dhamaan, ta fadaraalka iyo ta gobolkaba.

Mabda'a baahidu waa uu ka dabacsan yahay kuwa kale waxana loo adeegsadaa siyaabo kala duwan sidoo kalana waxa loo adeegsadaa hab kala duwan faderaalada oo kaliyana ma aha laakiin sidoo kale wixii la xidhiidha ilaha dakhliyo gaar ah. Dalalka badhkood, gaar ahaan dawladaha fadaraalka ee OECD sida Ustareelya, Jarmalka, iyo Iswiisariyaan ayaa si wayn u hormariyay guud ahaan nidaamyada sinaan abuurka, in kasta oo qaabka nidaamyadaasi ay kala duwan yihiin (sida. qiyaasidda awoodda lagu qaadi karo cashuur kaliya ama cabirka arintaas iyo sidoo kale cabirka baahida kharashka) iyo inta ay leegtahay heerka ay iskugu tijaabinayaan in ay gaadhaan *sinaan dhamaystiran oo ku lid ah yaraynta faraqa jira*. Fadaraalo kale oo badan, gaar ahaan kuwa dalalka soo koraya, ayaa iyagu aan lahayn qeexid ishayata oo isku-dhaf ah oo sheegaysa waxa ay baahidu tahay mana laha barnaamuj sinaan abuur ah oo sidaas ah. Laakiin, waxa ay

²⁸ For a much fuller discussion, see Boadway and Shah, *op.cit.*, pp. 291-391

dabaqaan shuruudo dhawr ah oo ay ku qaybinayaan dakhliga isku darka ah. Tani waxa laga yaabaa in ay wali keento faraq maaliyadeed oo wayn oo u dhexeeya gobolada marmarka qaarkoodna qaaciidooyinka loo adeegsado qaybinta ayaa sii balaadhiya fogaanshaha. Maraykanku waligii iskuma uu dayin in uu sameeyo barnaamuj sinaan abuur ah badalkiisana waxa uu sameeyay kab badan oo shuruudo ku xidhan, kaas oo mid walba oo ka mid ahi uu leyahay qaaciido wax lagu qaybiyo; qaybinta kabka fadaraalke ee guud ee Marykanku ma tilmaamayaan baahida sidaa darteedna waxa uu faraq u dhexeeyaa khayraadka maaliyadeed ee goboladu ay heli karan.

4.B Xeerarka iyo habka loo maamulo qoondaynta dakhliga

Sharciyada ugu muhiimsan ee la xidhiidha dakhliga ee ku jira dastuurka fadaralku waxa ay cadaynayaan awoodaha cashuur qaadida iyo dakhliga kale. Fadaraalada qaarkood waxa ay awoodsiyaan labada dabaqadood ee dawlada iyaga oo siinaya awoodo dakhli ururin oo balaadhan, xaga kuwo kalana ay u badan tahay in ay xooga saaraan hababka ugu muhiimsan ee dawladda fadaraalka ah. Fadaraalada qaarkood, sida Kanada iyo Ustareeliya awoodda ay u soo rogi karaan cashuuro waxa ay ku xidhan tahay lahaanshaha gobolka ee khayraadka la soo saarayo. Sida lagu soo sharaxay qaybta dakhli ururinta, fadaraalada badankooda ee dalalka caalamka soo koraya waxa ay u badan yihin in ay maaliyadooda dawladda dhexe maamusho, gaar ahaan marka la eego dakhli ururinta, in kasa oo masuuliyadka kharashaadka aad loo daadajiyay—labadan xaaladoodbana, waxa loo baahan yahay inay jiraan wadaag dakhli iyo kabka fadaraalka oo la siiyo gobolada.

The more fiscally centralized a federation, the more important the principles and provisions relating to the allocation of centrally raised revenues. Some federations have constitutional provisions relating to the principles for allocating revenues amongst governments.

- Germany: the federal government may legislate in areas of concurrent legislation with the provinces where necessary to provide for equal living conditions (Art. 72) throughout the country. Canada: there should be “equalization payments to ensure that provincial governments have sufficient revenues to provide reasonably comparable levels of public services at reasonably comparable levels of taxation” (Art. 36.2). South Africa: there should be “the equitable division of revenue raised nationally among the national, provincial and local spheres of government” (Art. 214.1). Iraq: the federal government shall distribute “its revenues in a fair manner in proportion to the population distribution in all parts of the country” (plus some transitional provisions) (Art. 112). The Nigerian constitution specifies a number of principles for making allocations from the Federation account, including “population, equality of States, internal revenue generation, landmass, terrain as well as population density”. (Sec. 162)

A few federal constitutions have explicit formulas for the allocation of petroleum revenues amongst governments.”. In addition to the principles cited above, the Nigeria constitution provides that not less than 13 percent of natural resource revenues shall go to the producing states (Sec. 162). The Brazilian constitution has had detailed formulas for allocating petroleum revenues amongst the federal government, the governments of producing and other states, and the governments of producing and other municipalities. The Malaysian constitution guarantees five percent of royalties to producing states. In general, these arrangements have proven unsatisfactory and given rise to serious fiscal imbalances within the federations, especially when oil revenues are very large—in Nigeria, for example, the richest oil producing state has on occasion had over fifteen times as many revenues per capita and the poorest non-producing state. While in principle it could be possible to design a formula that would be appropriate for very different oil prices and production, in practice these constitutionalized formulas have had the same sharing ratios whatever the circumstances.

This is why there are real advantages to limiting constitutional provisions to a set of principles for guiding the allocation of revenues. Whatever these principles may be, there needs to be mechanisms to consider and decide on the matter. In Canada, this is strictly the prerogative of the federal government, which can consult the provinces as much or little as it pleases. But in several federations there are independent advisory bodies that play an important role. The constitutions of India, Nigeria, Pakistan and South Africa establish such bodies, but they can also be established by federal legislation, as in Australia. In Germany, Ethiopia and South Africa, the constituent units have a formal role in reviewing the sharing of revenues through the upper houses, but in Germany's case the final decision rest with the lower house. Finally, the courts have sometimes played an important role in interpreting constitutional provisions on revenue allocation.

Because government priorities and capabilities change over time, it is best not to have too rigid a system for revenue allocation. In most federations, the federal government has significant discretion not just over the allocation of revenues amongst the constituent units (and in some cases the local governments), but also what share it shall have for its own purposes. In federations with revenue sharing, there may also be intergovernmental transfers, so there can be a mixed system of revenue sharing; in these cases, such as India (and to a lesser extent Nigeria) the mandate of the finance commission might be restricted to revenue sharing and not include fiscal transfers.

4.C Are natural resources special?

Revenues from natural resources are just one source of government revenues, but it is striking how often in federal systems they are treated differently from other sources, notably with a special fiscal benefit going to the constituent units where the resource was produced (or in the case of the offshore, in the zone adjacent to the constituent unit). There are arguments for and against treating natural resources as special:

For:

- Where constituent units “own” the resource, they should get a material advantage. However, even when a constituent unit may have no legal claim of ownership, its population may still feel that the resource “is ours” so it should get some benefit.
- Producing regions should get some special revenues as compensation for local environmental damage, for infrastructure and manpower training costs associated with servicing the industry, and for investments needed to prepare for the time when the resource is depleted. In practice, no federation have implemented such concepts with any rigour, though they account for very small payments in Mexico.
- Resource revenues are a depleting asset and should not be treated the same as income or other current revenues.
- When resource rights management and some relevant revenue-raising powers are decentralized, the constituent units need an incentive of net fiscal gain if they are to have appropriate taxation and royalties; otherwise, they will under-tax and seek to extract benefits in other ways.

Against

- Federal governments are better able to manage the major swings in revenue from the petroleum sector than are constituent unit governments: they have a broader fiscal base, easier access to debt markets, and more flexibility in spending than constituent units normally do.
- Where the petroleum sector is a major part of the economy and/or a major source of government revenues, the management of the sector and its taxation will have a major bearing of macroeconomic policy, which is a responsibility of the federal government.
- Assigning too much to resource producing regions in a federation could lead to major fiscal disparities between constituent units. Such disparities could be inequitable and also cause economic inefficiency if resource rich regions are able to use their fiscal advantage to lower taxes and enhance services, thus leading to “fiscally induced migration” of people and capital.
- A dollar from resources is not fundamentally different from a dollar from other sources. If there is concern about a depleting capital asset, the resource revenues could be assigned to a wealth fund, but income from that fund should be treated like other income.
- Producing regions get non-fiscal benefits, such as employment and investment, from the resource sector and do not need special fiscal benefits.

Economists tend to argue for quite strict limits on treating resource revenues as special, but the politics of many countries have often resulted in many fiscal benefits accruing to producing regions. We now turn to a review of comparative experience.

4.D Is-barbar dhigga waayo aragnimo dhawr dal oo fadaraal ah oo ku saabsan sida ay u qoondeeyaan dakhliga kasoo gala khayraadka

Fadaraaladu waxa ay ku kala duwan yihiin arimahn:

- Dawladda qaybtee ama qaybehee ayaa ka qaada cashuuro khayraadka shidaalka;
- Miyaa qaybsiga dakhliga shidaalka (ama noocyo ka mid ah khayraaka shidaalka) lagu go'aamiyaa

gabi ahaamba ama qayb ahaan mabda'a dheegashada, hadii ay sidaasi tahayna waa maxay sharciga loo cuskanayaa;

- in ka qaybgalinta khayraadka shidaalka goboladu ay saamayn ku leedahay qaybta ay ka helayaan dakhliga kale ee dawladda dhexe ururisay iyo in kale.

Jawaabta arimahani way kala duwan yihiin dawladdaha fadaraalka ah dhexdooda oo qudhana ma aha ee laakiin xaaladaha qaar dawladda kale ah dhexdeeda marka dakhliyada kala duwan (sida. Ka barriga iyo ka badda) loola dhaqamo hab kala duwan.

Jaantuska koobaad ee hoosku ku qorani waxa uu muuqinayaa sida ay u kala duwan yihiin una adag yihiin nidaamyada ku saabsan qoondaynta awoodaha dakhliga ee macaashka laga helo shidaalku. Kuwani waxa ay in yar ka bayaaminayaan xaaladda ay ku jiraan dawladdo fadaraal ah am ku leh maamul daadajini.

- *Arjantiina*: waxa ay dawladda fadaraalku soo dajisay cashuuro badan oo laga qaadayo waxa la dhoofinayo, taas oo noqotay laba meelood oo ka mid ah dakhliga shidaalka, in kasta oo goboladu ay leeyihiin khayraadka oo ay khidmadna ka qaadaan. Intii ay qaadan lahaayeen laakiin waxa hoos u dhimay markii cashuurta waxa la dhoofiyo ay ku keentay qiimayaasha wadanka gudihisu in ay hoos u dhacaan.
- *Ustareeliya*: Waxa laga yaabaa in ay leedahay nidaamka fadaraalka ah ee ugu sinaanta badan dhamaan fadaraalada: wadaaga dadkhliga dawladda fadaraalka iyo kabkaba waxa waxa ay xisaabta ku darsadaan dhamaan dakhliga iyo waliba iyo noocyada kharashaadka kala duwan ee la xidhiidha bixinta gobolkaastaa uu bixinayo tiro adeego dadwane ah. Hadaba mar hadii ay goboladu leeyihiin dakhliga dhulka, waxa ay ka helaan macaash maaliyadeed oo saafi oo yar. Tani waxa laga yaabaa in ay ku dhiiriso in ay diiradda saaraan hawlo in ay qabtaan halkii ay isku dayi lahaayeen in ay dakhligooda urursadaan iyaga oo cashuuro qaada. Inkasta oo dawladdu leedahay khayraadka badda, waxa ay dawladda fadaraalku soo rogtay cashuurta Kirada Khayraadka Shidaalka oo lagu dabaqo gobolada oo ururiya qaybo ka mid ah "kiradaasi"
- *Boliifiya*: Waxa in badan laga dooday in laga dhigo fadaraal, waxana taageerayay gobolada shidaalka soo saara ee qaniga ah. Hanaan siyaasadeed oo wakhti dheer qaatay kadibna, dastuurka cusub waxa uu si rasmiya u noqday mid dawladda dhexe oo kaliya ah, halkaas oo wadladda dhexe ay gacanta ku sayso maamulka shidaalka iyo qaybsiga dakhligiisa. Waxa jira waaxyo dawladdo ah oo la doorto: waaxyaha waxsoosaarka lehi waxa ay helaan boqolkiiba 12.5 dakhliga guud ee shidaalka halka kuwa aan soosaarka lahayna ay helaan 31.25; tani waxa ay faa'iido u tahay waaxyaha waxsoosaarka leh, gaar ahaan kuwa dadkoodu uu yaryahay.²⁹
- *Baraasiil*: Baraasiil waxa ay leedahay nidaam aan danaynin kaliya gobolada soosaarka shidaalka leh, laakiin sidoo kale "degmooyinka soosaarana" way siisaa tixgalin, ay ka mid tahay dakhliga goobaha badda ah ee dhanka barriga soo xiga goboladaasi. Markii la ogaaday shidaal kale oo badan oo badda ku jira, qoondaynta faa'iidada maaliyadda—gaar ahaan kan u dhexeeya dagooyinka soo saara shidaalka iyo kuwa aan soo saarin—waxa uu ku noday arin aad u wayn siyaasadda Baraasiil. 2014kii, wakiilo ka socda goboladda saliidda soosaara ee Kongraska ayaa ayaa xoog ku mariyay sharci kor u qaada boqolkiiba xadiga dakhliga dhidaalka ee ay helaan gobolada iyo degmooyinka shidaalka aan soosaarin, iyada oo la yaraynayo inta ay helaan gobolada soosaara shidaalka, iyadoo intaa in ka yar ay helayaan dawladda fadaraalku.
- *Kanada*: waxa ay leedahay barnaamuj wax lagu simayo, oo loogu talagalay in kor loogu sooqaado gobolada saboolka ah heerka qiyaasaha qaranka. Laakiin gobolada qaniga ah hoos uguma soo celinayso qiyaasaha heerka wadanku uu yahay, gobolada qaniga ahina waxa ay kabka dawladda u helaan si la mid ah sida gobolada saboolka ah. Soosaaritaanka sare ee shidaalka iyo qiimayaasha shidaalku waxa ay abuureen in gobolada shidaalka soosaara ay ku laba jibaarmaan gobolada aan soosaarin marka la eegayo dhanka nidaamka awooda khayraadka maaliyadeed ee qofka. Dawladda fadaraalka ah, oo ay yar tahay gacan ku haynteeda khayraadka shidaalku (oo badanka qaadda cashuuraha dakhliga shirkadaha, oo aan sidoo kale caquuro gaar ahna ka qadin shidaalka), may awoodin in ay si wayn u yarayso faraq u dhexeeya gobolada soosaara shidaalka iyo kuwa aan soo saarin.

²⁹ Just Quiles, Marco, *The Bolivian Hydrocarbon Revenue Sharing System and its Impact on Territorial Inequalities*, Berlin: Free University MA Thesis, 2013, <http://www.social-globalization.uni-kassel.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Just-Quiles-The-Bolivian-Hydrocarbon-Revenue-Sharing-System-and-its-Impact-on-Territorial-Inequalities.pdf>

- *Hindiya*: In kasta oo ay dawladdu leedahay, in badan oo ka mida khayraadka shidaalku waxa uu u tagaa dawladda dhexe, halkaas oo lagaga sii daro dakhliyo kale si qaab guud loogu wadaago iyada oo aan la tixraacayn meesha laga soosaaray shidaalka. Hindiya ma laha hab rasmiya oo ay gobolada ku simayso, in kasta oo wadaaga dakhligu uu yareeyo faraqa u dhexeeya. Gobolada shidaalka soosaaraa waxa ay ka cawdeen saamiga yare ee ay ah maaliyadda ay helaan iyo inaanay saami ka helin dakhliga badda wixii kasoo baxa.
- *Indooniisiya*: Indooniisiya waxa ay leedahay hab kala duwan oo ay ku qoonsayso khayraadka saliida iyo ka gaasta: khayraada saliidda waxa uu u tagaa boqolkiiba 84.5 dawladda dhexe, boqolkiiba 3.1 waxa hela gobolada, boqolkiiba 12.4 degmooyinka ayaa hela; dakhliga gaasta dabiiciga ahna boqolkiiba 69.5 waxa qaata dawladda dhexe, boqolkiiba 6.6 gobolada iyo boqolkiiba 24.5 oo ay dagmooyinku ay qaataan. Labada xaaladoodba, saamiga ay helayaan degmooyinku waa badhka inta ay helaan degmooyinka soosaara shidaalka iyo badh inta kale ee soo hadhay ah. Habkani waxa uu soo saarayaa faraq maaliyadeed oo u dhexeeya degmooyinka iyo gobolada. Wax aka mid ahaa heshiiskii nabadda ee 2005, Akeh inuu helo boqolkiiba 70 dakhliga shidaalka sagaal sano kadibna uu helo boqolkiiba 50 intaa wixii intaa ka dambeeya. Babua iyo Babua Barat, kaas oo leh waxsoosaar intaas ka yar, in uu helo noqolkiiba 25 sano, kadibna boqolkiiba 50.³⁰
- *Ciraaq*: Nidaamyada shidaalku aad ugu ma cadda dastuurka fadaraalka ee dhamaystirkiisa la boobsiiyay 2015kii. Intaa kadibna dawladda fadaraalka ah ayaa maamulka shidaalka gacanta ku haysay gaar ahaan inta ka baxsan Kurdistan halka ay dawladda Kurdiyiintuna ay gacanta maamulka ku haysay gobolada dhexdeeda. Attempts to draft a Petroleum Law, which would clarify matters, have failed. Kurdistan was meant to send 83 percent of its oil revenues to the federal government and in exchange it was to receive 17 percent of the federal budget, equivalent to its share of the population; it produces about 10 percent of the country's oil. This arrangement was frequently violated by both sides, but in December, 2014, the Iraqi and Kurdish governments agreed on a cooperative arrangements regarding exports from Kurdish controlled areas and revenue sharing.
- *Malaysia*: Because Malaysia's states are very weak fiscally compared to those in most federations, their share of royalties, while only a small part of total petroleum revenues, has been important for producing states and they are seeking to enlarge it. Petronas is the major source of petroleum revenues for the government and the system is not transparent.
- *Mexico*: Mexico has always had a highly centralized regime, with the states fiscally very dependent on the federal government. However, producing states get almost no advantage from production, except for small amount in limited conditions. For many years, the government decided on what revenues it would take from the national petroleum company in a non-transparent manner. It has recently moved to a transparent fiscal regime for petroleum.
- *Nigeria*: Oil dominates government revenues in Nigeria and the distribution of these revenues is a perennial political issue. The system gives producing state 13 percent of oil revenues plus all the other transfers that other states receive, so Nigeria has huge fiscal disparities between states, with per capita differences as much as fifteen times or more, depending on prices. Even so, the producing areas in the Niger delta have had poor economic and social development, partly because of bad local governance, partly because of federal neglect. The poor conditions have led to widespread crime and oil theft. The federal government has accelerated its direct efforts to aid development in the delta through special regional agencies.³¹
- *Pakistan*: As part of far reaching reforms to its federalism in 2010, Pakistan amended the constitution to acknowledge joint ownership of natural resources between the federal and provincial governments. In addition, it was agreed that the producing provinces would receive all petroleum revenues. Pakistan is a small producer, so the revenues are not important nationally, but they are significant for Baluchistan, which has a small population and large share of production.
- *Russia*: Russia amended its constitution to deprive the producing "subjects of the federation"—which had huge territory but mostly very small populations—of any control over the petroleum industry or special benefit from petroleum revenues. However, the derivation principle does influence the distribution of corporate and income taxes, so the producing regions enjoy a significant indirect fiscal benefit because of high local corporate and personal incomes.

³⁰ Agustina, Cut Dian, and Ehtisham Ahmad, Dhanie Nugroho and Herbert Siagian, *Political economy of natural resource revenue sharing in Indonesia*, London School of Economics, Asian Research Centre Working Paper 55, March 2012, http://www.lse.ac.uk/asiaResearchCentre/_files/ARCWP55-AgustinaAhmadNugrohoSiagian.pdf

³¹ Osaghae, Eghosa E., *Resource Curse or Resource Blessing: The Case of the Niger Delta "Oil Republic" in Nigeria*, Okada: Igbinedion University, mimeo, 2013, osaghaeeghosa@yahoo.co.uk

- *Maraykanka:* inkasta oo ay waaxda shidaalka ee Maraykanku ay aad u wayntahay, waxa ay ka noqonaysaa wax yar dhaqaalaha qaranka, sidaa daraadeed dakhliga kasoo baxaa wadanka muhiim uma sii aha, laakiin waxa uu u yahay dhawr gobo loo soosaara. Kuwaas oo leh dakhli maaliyadeed oo qofkiiba inta ku soo beegmaysa aad uga sarayso gobolada kale. Sharing with states of mineral revenues from federal lands within states started in the nineteenth century and increased to a fifty percent share by 1970, with another forty percent going into a fund for reclamation and infrastructure projects in 17 western states. Coastal states with offshore production receive only a very modest share of some offshore petroleum revenues and are campaigning for more.

Waxa jira dhawr fikir oo guud oo lagala soo bixi karo waayo aragnimooyinkaasi. Dalalka qaar, sida Arjantiin, Baraasiil, Kanada, Indooniisiya, Nayjeeriya, Baakistaan, iyo Maraykanka ayaa siiyaa faa'iido dheeraad ah gobolada soosaara shidaalka, xaga kuwo kale oo ay ka mid yihiin Ustareeliya, Booliifiya, Hindiya, Ciraaq, Meksiko, iyo Ruushku aanay sidaas yeelin. Baakistaan waxa ay hadda ku talaabsatay in ay kobciso faa'iidada ay helayaan gobolada soosaara shidaalku xaga Baraasiil iyo ruushkuna ay ku talaabsadeen in ay arintaa xadidaan. Heerka faa'iidadu waa ay kala duwan tahay Nayjeeriya, halka ay ay Baakistaan ay aad u sarayso ama ay aad u hoosayso. Ustareeliyana arinteedu waa mid gaar ah waayo iyadu "dib ayay u claws back" faa'iidada maaliyadeed ay helaan gobolada soosaara shidaalku iyaga oo yaraynaya kabka kale ee ay siiso. Kanada iyo Indooniisiyana waxa jira habab sidan oo kale u shaqeeya, laakin iyagu waa dhex-maaha. but they are partial.

Jaantuska koobaad: Go'aaminta khayraadka shidaalka iyo sida loo qaybinayo Dawladda Fadaraal ah dhexdooda

Wadanka	Cidda go'aamisa cashuurta	Kala qaybsiga dakhliga	Saamaynta uu ku leeyahay qoondaynta khayraadka kale	Ahamiyadda uu leeyahay dakhliga shidaalku
<i>Arjentiina</i> -Barriga -Badda	Gobolada iyo Fedaraalka (cashuurta dhoofinta) Fedaraalka	Haa. Dawlad kastaa dakhligooda ayay gaar u haysataa. Maya	Saamayn malaha Ma jiro	Ahmiyad meel dhexe ah ayuu u leeyahay qaranka; mid aad u saraysana waxa uu u leeyahay gobolada shidaalka soo saara
<i>Ustaraaliya</i> -Barriga -Badda	Gobolada ayaa khidmad ka qaada; Khayraadka Shidaalka ee dawladda fedaraalka waxa laga qaadaa cashuur Fedaraalka (3 mayl marka laga gudbo)	Haa. Dawlad kastaa dakhligooda ayay gaar u haysataa Maya	Haa. Saamay wayn. Waxa ay ku jiraan xisaabta dawladda ee awoodaha maamliyadda, waana mid go'aan wayn ku leh lacagaha dawladdu ay dadka u gudbis Ma jiro	Ahmiyad yar (laakiin dakhliga khayraadka kale ayaa ahamiyadoodu tahay mid meel dhexaad ah ama aad u saraysa)
<i>Booliifiya</i>	Dawladda dhexe	Haa.	Maya	Ahmiyad wayn ayuu u leeyahay qaranka iyo goboladaba
<i>Braasiil</i> -Barriga -Badda	Fedaraalka Fedaraalka	Haa, waa isku mid barriga iyo baddaba:	Maya	Moderate nationally, high for

		waxa loo qaybiyaa afar qaybood oo ah fadaraalka, gobolada soo saara, dawladda hoose, iyo gobolada kale		key producing states and municipalities
<i>Kanada</i> -Barriga -Badda	Gobolada Gobolada federaalka	Haa. Goboladu dakhligooda ayay gaar u haysataan. Haa.	Haa iyo Maya. Dakhliga khayraadka badda iyo barrigu waxa ay keeni karaan in uu yaraado lacagaha dadka lagu simo dhaqaalahooda ee ay xaq u yeeshaan gobolada (saboolka ahi), laakiin saamayn kuma laha lacagaha kale ee dawladda fadaraalku gobolada siiso.	Ahmiyad meel dhexe ah ayuu u leeyahay qaranka; mid aad u saraysana waxa uu u leeyahay gobolada shidaalka soo saara
<i>Hindiya</i> -Barriga -Badda	Fedaraalka Fedaraalka	Haa. Goboladu waxa ay qaadaan cashuur dawladda fadaraalku go'aamisay, laakiin waxa cashuuraha intooda badan qaada dawladda fadaraalka ah. Maya.	Maya. Khidmadda ay qaadaan goboladu saamayn kuma laha wadaaga dakhliga ama lacagaha kale ee dawladda fadaraalka ka yimaada Ma jiro	Ahmiyad yar ayuu u leeyahay qaranka; mid meel dhaxaadana waxa uu u leeyahay mid ama laba gobol.
<i>Indoonisiya</i> -Barriga -Badda	Dawladda dhexe Dawladda Dhexe	Haa. Gobolada soo saara iyo dagmooyinku waxa ay helaan saamigooda. Waxay helaan saami gaar ah gobolada Akeh iyo Babua Maya.	Haa. Qaybo ayaa loogu miisaamaa iyada oo la adeegsanayo lacag gudbin guud. Some offset through general transfer. Ma jiro.	Ahmiyad yar ama dhexe ayuu u leeyahay qaranka. Ahmiyad yar ama mid sare ayuu u leeyahay gobolada soo saara shidaalka. Ahmiyad yar ayuu u leeyahay qaranka
<i>Ciraaq</i>	Fedaraalka iyo Kurdiyiinta	Ma aha si rasmi ah. Waxa loogu qaybiyaa dakhliga fadaraalka goboladu siday u kala dad badan yihiin. KRG waxay ay si sharci daro ah ula hadhay in ka mida dakhliga ka soo baxa waxa ay soo saaraan.	Dawladda fadaraalku marmar ayay ka haysaa lacagaha KRG taas oo ay kaga jawaabayaan dhoofinta saliida sharci darada ah iyo dakhliga ay la hadhaan KRG.	Mid aad u wan ayuu u leeyahay dhamaan laamaha dawladda, kuwa soo saara iyo kuwa kalaba.
<i>Maalaysiya</i> -Barriga	Fedaraalka	Haa. Goboladu waxa ay ka qaadaan 5%	Maya. Khidmada ay shidaalka ka qaadaan, ha	Ahmiyad yar ama mid sare ayuu u

-Badda	Fedaraalka	khidmada barriga (ilaa 3 mayl bada loo galo). Arimo kale ayay ku xidhan tahay. Gobolada Borneo waxa ay khidmad ka qaataan dhamaan badda. Gobolada kale kama qaataan.	ahaadeen badda ama barigaba eh, kuma laha saamayn waxa dawladdu u qoondayso gobolada.	leeyahay qaranka. Mid yar ama shexe ayuu u leeyahay gobolada soo saara shidaalka.
<i>Meksiko</i> -Barriga	Fedaraalka	Way xadidan tahay. Gobolada soo saaraa xaalado gaar ah ayaa la siiyaa lacago aad u yar.	Kuma laha saamayn lacagaha kale ee dawladdu u gudbiso dadka	Ahmiyad sare ayuu u leeyahay qaranka. Mid aad u yarna waxa uu u leeyahay gobolada soo saara.
-Badda	Fedaraalka	Lama wadaago khayraadka badda	Ma jiro	
<i>Nayjeeriya</i> -Barriga	Fedaraalka	Haa. Waxa ay helaan gobolada soo saaraa 13% ka mid ah dakhliga, inta kalena dawladda fadaraalka ayaa qaadata.	Maya	Mid aaw u wayn ayuu u leeyahay qaranka iyo gobolada soo saara labadaba.
-Badda	Fedaraalka	Gobolada xeeliga ku yaala ayaa ka qaata 13% badanka badda dhinacooda soo xigta, laakiin dhamaan sidaas ma aha.	Maya	
<i>Baakistaan</i> -Barriga	Fedaraalka	Haa. Cashuuraha shidaalka laga qaado (ilaa may loo badda ah) waxa qaata gobolada soo saara.	Kuma laha saamayn lacagaha kale ee dawladdu siiso gobolada.	Ahmiyad hoose ayuu u leeyahay qaranka. Mid hoose ama dhex ena waxa uu u leeyahay gobolada soo saara.
-Badda	Fedaraalka	Maya.	Ma jiro	Mid aad u hoosaysa.
<i>Ruushka</i> -Barriga	Fedaraalka	Maya. Qaybsiga dakhliga kuma jiraan oo laguma dabaqo cashuuraha shirkadaha iyo ashkhaasta.	Ma jiro	Ahmiyada sare ayay qaranka u leeyihiin.
-Badda	Fedaraalka	Maya.	Ma jiro	Ahmiyada hoose ama dhexe ayay qaranka u leeyihiin.
<i>United States</i>				

-Barriga: Dhulka gobolada	Gobolada	Haa. Goboladu dakhligooda ayay gaar u haysataa.	Maya. Marykanku malaha hab isku xidhan oo lagu wadaago ama la isgugu gudbiyo wax, laakiin waxa uu leeyahay lacag bixin oo inta badan ku salaysan shuruudo. Ma jiro	Ahmiyad hoose ayay qaranka u leeyihiin. Mid sarana gobolada soo saara shidaalka.
-Barriga: Dhulka fadaraalka	Fedaraalka	Haa. Dawladdu dakhliga way gaarsiisaa gobolada.		
-Badda	Fedaraalka	Maya		Ahmiyad hoose ayay qaranka u leeyihiin
Venesuweela	Fedaraalka	Maya	Ma jiro	Ahmiyad aad u saraysa ayuu qaranka u leeyahay.

5. Maamul Wanaagga iyo Anshaha Maaliyada

Jiritaanka khayraad shidaal oo wayni waxa uu keeni karaa jaanis wayn oo horumar lagu gaadhi karo, laakiin sidoo kale waxa uu caqab kusoo kordhinayaa dadaaladii lagu gaadhi lahaa dawladda wanaag—kaas oo lagula dagaalamayo musuqmaasuqa oo sidoo kalana lagu maamulayo dhaqaale ku tiirsan khayraadkan oo marwalba in kasta oo mabaadiida maamul wanaag—ee ay ka mid yihiin bayaaminta masuuliyadka, hufnaanta iyo anshaxa wanaagsan—laga wada dharagsan yahay, hadana waxa ay caqaladi kaga iman kartaa jiritaanka jawi macaash badan leh oo ka jira qaybaha saliida waxa sidoo kale maamulka sii adkayn kara jiritaanka nidaam dawladeed oo hoos loo daadajiyay ama fadaraal ah. Qaybo ka mid ah dalalka shidaalka soo saar ayaa isku dayay in ay wax ka qabtaan caqabadahaasi iyaga oo abuuraya sanduuqyo ay wax ku xasiliyiyaan oo kayd ah waxa sidoo kale ay dawladda fadaraalka ahi soo kordhinayaan samynta sharciyo loogu talo galay masuulidda maaliyada, iyo sharciyo faahfaahsan oo dhuseeya maamulka maaliyada ee deegaamada gobolada.

Waxa aynu mar horeba la kulanay waxa loogu magac daray “inkaarta saliida”. Dhinac ka mid ah halistaasi waxa weeyaan dakhliga shidaalka oo musuqmaasuq ku iman karo, dhanka kale, oo isagu aad uga duwani, waa caqabadda qaybaha shidaalka oo balaadhani ku keeni karo maaraynta dhaqaale iskudhaf ah oo lagu gaadhay marxaladaha isbadala ee dhaqaalaha. Nasiib wanaag, “lagama baxsan karo inkaartan saliida: dalal badan oo leh dhaqan maamul oo hufan oo waaqici ah (oo ay ka mid yihiin Bootsuwana, Kanada, Jili iyo Noorway) ayaa ka faa’iidaystay khayraadka hantidan”.³² Caqabadda in si wanaagsan oo maamulo dakhliga khayradku waxa ay ku sii xoogan tahay dalalka soo koraya ee leh khayraad badan. Waxa ay caqabaddu sii kordhaysaa marka nidaamka dawladdu uu yahay mid dadladdu kala sarayso, sida nidaamka fadaraalka ah oo kale. Sanduuqad Lacagta Adduunka iyo Baanka Adduunka ayaa waxa ay sameeyeen talooyin lagu gaadhi karo dhaqan maaliyadeed oo wanaagsan oo uu leeyahay maamulka dakhliga khayraadka ka soo baxa. Dib ayaynu u eegi karnaa qaybo ka mid maabaadiida muhiimka ah, inaga oo sigaar ah isha ugu hayn doona siday ugu dabaqmayaan dawladda fadaraalka ah.

Mabaadiida waxa ka mid ah:

- Baahida loo qabo in *la cadeeyo kaalmaha iyo masuuliyadka*, ay ka mid yihiin nidaamka sharciga, nidaamka maaliyadda, iyo hufnaanta ku wajahan qulqulka dakhliga iyo daymaha iyo waliba sidoo kale khayrashaadka ay uga baahan yihiin shirkadaha khayraadku arimaha bulshada iyo kuwo la xidhiidha dhawrida deegaanka ama rabitaankooda ku wajahan in ay dadka u jabiyaan shidaalkaba, iyaga oo aan lahayn miisaaniyad taageeraysa oo cad. Nidaamka lagu kala siinayo ama lagu wadaagayo khayraadka dawladda dhexe iyo gobolada waa in la qeexaa oo si toosa ay ula jaanqaadaa siyaasadda qaranka ee maaliyadda iyo ujeedooyinka dhaqaalaha guud.
- Baahida loo qabo nidaam maaliyadeed oo furan. Qorshaha miisaaniyadda waa in lagu daro siyaasad

³² International Monetary Fund, *Guide on Resource Revenue Transparency (2007)*, p.3

cad oo ku wajahan xadiga uu noqonayo waxsoosaarka khayraadka dabiciga ahi, iyada oo loo eegayo ujeedooyinka guud ee dhaqaalaha iyo maaliyadda. Lacagaha dakhliga la xidhiidha khayraadku waa in uu yeeshaa xeerar uu ku hawlgalayo oo waafaqsan siyaasadda maaliyadda iyo siyaasadaha maalgashiga si ay lacagahaasi u noqotaad kuwo xalaal ah. Nidaamka xisaabta dawladda ama ama nidaamka sanduuqyada gaarka ahi waa in ay soo bandhigaan risiidhyada/waraaqaha laqa qabashada ee dakhliga khayraadka si dhakhso ah oo la wada arki karo.

- Baahida loo qabo *dadwaynuhu ay xogta helaan*. Waa in uu jiro warbixin hufan oo balaaran, oo ay ku jiraan dhamaan hantida iyo daymuhu. Qaybaha maaliyadda ee aan ahayn waxa khayraadka kasoo baxa, waa in la soo bandhigaa iyaga oo muujinaya saamaynta dhaqaalaha guud iyo sii jiritaankiisa. Warbixinta daymuhu waa in ay soo bandhigtaa damaanadaha la tooska ah ama dadban ee la xidhiidha khayraadka mustaqbalka la soo saarayo, iyo waliba khatarta ka dhalan karta waajibaadka dayntaasi bixinteeda. Qiyaasaha qiimaha hantida shidaalka la soo saari doono waa in la cadeeyaa, iyo waliba daymaha xidhiidhka la leh qaybaha dakhliga. Ugu dambaytii, dulsaarka qiimaha halista iyo daymaha khidmadda ee la xidhiidha dakhliga khayraadka waa in la tixgaliyaa in lagu xuso qoraalada miisaaniyadda.
- Baahida loo qabo *la xaqiijiyo anshax wanaagsan*. Nidaamyo dabagal iyo kaantarool gudaha ah oo cad iyo waa in uu jiro. Waajibaadka iyo xuquuqda cashuurtu waa in ay cadaadaan iyo heerka uu gaadhayo talaabada iyo go'aamada ay gaadhayaan masuuliyiinta cashuurta waa in la qeexo. Waa in xafiiska hantidhawaraha garanku uu ka warbixiyaa si joogta ah qulqulka dakhliga u dhexeeya shirkadaha iyo dawladda.³³

Mabaadiidani waxa ay dajinayaan heerar dalalka in yari, hadiiba ay jiraan, ay si buuxda u aqoonsadaan. Waxa taasi dheer, u hogaansankooda, gaar ahaan ka khuseeya siyaasadda maaliyadeed ee la isku dubariday, ayaa noqonaysa mid aad u dhib badan marka la eego dawladda fadaraalka eel eh maamul maaliyadeed iyo cashuuro oo aad loo daadajiyay. Waxa aynu aragnay dawladdu badan oo fadaraal ah oo iska leh xeerar adag oo lagu wadaago dakhliga khayraadka ama khayraad ay dawladda dhexe si guud u goaamiso taasina waxa ay caqabad ku noqon kartaa maamulka maaliyada dhaqaalaha guud kaasi oo aan dakhliga gobolada la siiyo aanu ku xidhnayn siyaasadda maaliyadda. Mabda' ahaan arintan waxa wax lagaga qaban kara dawladda fadaraalka ee iska leh wadaag dhakhli iyaga oo marka horeba iska leh nidaam khayraadka dabiiciga ah (ama si guud dakhligoo dhanba) lagu wadaago oo aan ahayn kaliya mid ka dhex eeya qaybaha dawlada ee sidoo kalena khuseeya sanduuqa dakhliga khayraadka (ama sanduuqyada—ka xaasilina iyo ka kaydka). Ruuskha ayaa adeegsaday sanduuqa xasilinta 2004tii waxana uu noqday hab muhiim ah oo lagu xakameeyo socodka xad-dhaafka ah, oo hoosna loogu dhigo cadaadiska sicirbararka marka qiimayaasha shidaalku cirka isku shareeraan. 2008dii wax a uu u wareegay nidaam cusub oo dakhliga saliidda iyo gaaska gaar looga soocayo xisaabtooda dakhliyada kale, qaybo ka mid ahna waxa lagu daray miisaaniyada fadaraalka, qaybtan waxa loo bixiyay inta dib loo celiyo ee saliida iyo gaasta /oil and gas transfer. Xadiga lacagta dib loogu celinayo dadka ayaa la dajiyay, lacagaha kale ee soo hadhana waxa la dhigay sanduuqa kaydka, xadigaas wixii kasii sareeyana waxa lagu kaydinyaa sanduuqa hantida qaranka³⁴. Nidaamkan rasmiga ahi kama jiro Nayjeeriya oo talaabooyinka dawladda fadaraalku ay dib ugu hayn lahayd dakhliga ay dawladda dhexe ururiso oo loogu talo galay ujeedooyin kala duwan, oo ay ka mid yihiin in lagu xasiliyo dakhliga, maxkamadda sare ayaa ka dhigtay sharci darro goboladuna waa ay diideen, laakiin dawladdu wali way ku adkaysanaysaa.³⁵

Dawladdo badan oo fadaraal ah ayaa isku dayay in ay wax ka qabtaan caqabadaha agaasinka maaliyadda iyaga oo u sameeyay xeerar masuuliyadka maaliyadda. Xeerarkaasi waxa ay dajinayaan bartilmaameedyo maaliyadeed iyo habab sharci oo loo maro hufnaanta iyo isla xisaabtanka. Waxa xeerarkan ka mid noqon kara xeerarka amaahda iyo abaal-marinta lagu abaalinayo maamul wanaagga³⁶. In kasta oo sharciyadaasi ay noqon karaa kuwo faa'iido badan, waxa hadana caqabad ku noqon kara helitaanka heshiis siyaasadeed oo lagu meelmariyo. Tani waxa laga yaabaa in ay ka dhacdo meelaha kacdoono wax laga qabanayo, markaas oo ay dawladdu soo faragaliso, sida ka dhacday Baraasiil 1990aadkii. Sidoo kale, hadii ay dawladda fadaraalku ay gobolada siiso kab balaadhan oo ah discretionary, waxa laga yaabaa in ay adeegsato hab lagu raadinayo iskaashi. Haseyeeshee, waxa ay noqon kartaa caqabad mid aad u wayn

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Kuryandskaya, Galina and Gleb Pokatovich, Mikhail Subbotin, "Russia", in Anderson, *op.cit.*, pp298-300

³⁵ Iledare and Suberu, *op.cit.*, p240

³⁶ Liu, Lili and Steven B. Webb, *Laws for Fiscal Responsibility for Subnational Discipline: International Experience*, Washington DC: World Bank, 2011

marka qayb aad u balaaran oo dakhliga ka mid ah ay goboladu ay ku qaataan habka wadaagga dakhliga sababta oo ah dawladda fadaraalka ayaa laga yaabaa in ay leedahay awood xaddidan, sida aynu ku aragno dalka Nayjeeriya.

Arimaha hufaantu waxa ay yeeshaan muhiimad dheeraad ah marka laga haldayo dawladda fadaraalka ah ee dakhli wadaagga ka jiro halkaas oo dawlad goboleedyadu ay kaalin way ku yeelanayaan in ay si toos ah u ogaadaan inta uu yahay dakhliga la ururiyay. Haseyeeshee, ma jirto dawlad fadaraal ah oo kaalin ka siisa gobolada dabagalka xisaabaha fadaraalka, halkaas oo xafiiska dabagalka qaranku uu ku magacaaban yahay dawladda dhexe, lagana yaabo in baarlamaanku ansixiyay. Dawladaha fadaraalka ah qaarkood, sida Hindiya, waxa jira xafiis hantidhawr oo qudha oo u wada shaqeeya dawladda dhexe ee qaranka iyo goboladaba. Tani waxa ay leedahay faa'iido dhanka dhaqaalaynta ah laakin waxa ay xadidaysaa inta ay dawlad goboleedyadu ay faragalin karaan hawlaha dabagalka— taas oo dhibaato ku ah dalka Nayjeeriya, oo gobol kastaa gaarkii u leeyahay xafiis hantidhawre. Qaybo ka mid ah dastuurada fadaraalada cusub, sida ka Koonfur Afrika, (Faqrada. 213-218) iyo kan Kiiniya (Faqrada. 220-229), ayaa u siinaya awood dawladda dhexe in ay dajiso xeerarka la xidhiidha anshaxa wanaagsan ee maaliyadda.

6. Soo koobidda aragtiyaha iyo dhawr talo

Nidaamyo badan oo dawladeed oo fadaraal ah iyo kuwo kale oo le maamul daadajin ayaa isku dayaya in ay wax ka qabtaan arimaha lahaanshaha, maamulka iyo sida loo wadaagayo hayraadka saliidda iyo gaasta. Hababka ay raaceena waxa ay wax ka tilmaamaysaa taariikhda dastuurkooda (markaas oo laga yaabo saliida iyo gaastu aanay ahayn arimaha taagan markii la sharciga la qoray), dhaqankooda siyaasadeed, iyo ahmiyada khayraadku dalka gudhiisa ku leeyahay. Dawladaha fadaraalka ah ee leh maamul daadajintu waxa ay u badan yihiin dawlado fadaraal ah oo da' wayn oo qaybta shidaalku aanay ugu muhiimsanayn dhaqaalahooda ama dakhliga dawlada soo gala. Xitaa hadii ay sidaasi jirto, fadaraaladaas dawladohoo ayaa leh awoodo maaliyadeed iyo kuwo sharci oo ay u adeegsadaan in ay saamayn ku yeeshaan horumarinta qaybaha shidaalka. Dawladaha fadaraalka ah ee dalalka soo koraya waxa ay u badan yihiin in ay siiyaan dhamaan awoodaha maamul ee la xidhiidha qaybaha shidaalka dawladda dhexe. Dalalka badhkood, sida Maalaysiya iyo Ruushka, the dawladda fadaraalku waxa ay ku hanteen awoodahaas hab sharci ama dastuur ah marka ay qaybta shidaalku noqotay mid muhiim ah. Kaantarooka maamulku waxa uu ku xidhnaan karaa lahaansho, laakin badanka sidaas ma aha—gaar ahaan dawladda fadaraalka ee dalalka soo koraya.

Dawladda soo koraya ee leh nidaamka fadaraaliga ah, waxa jira cadaadis dabiici ah oo ku haysta in ay sameeyaan qaybaha saliida maamul dhexe, laakiin badanka tan waxa la yeelaa iyada oo aan dareen badan la siinin duruufaha gobolada soo saaraya shidaalka:

- Arimuhu aad ayay u adag yihiin, shirkadaha saliida ee waawayn ayaa ah kuwo aad u horumarsan, xaga awoodda dadka iyo dhaqaalaha ee dalku ku saman lahaa maamul ku filanna ay xadidan tahay. Haddii khayraadku badan ayahay dalka muhiim ayay u tahay. Qodobadan oo dhamaa waxa ay sabab u noqonayaan samaynta maamul dhexe.
- Tan waxa ka soo hor jeeda, gobolad soo saara shidaalku dabici ahaan waxa ay aad u daneeyaan sahaminta saliidda gobolkooda sababtuna waxa ay tahay saamaynta laga yaabo in uu ku yeesho deegaanka, shaqada iyo bulshada. Sidaa daraadeed waxa jira sababo xoogan oo taageeraya in la siiyo kaalin muhiim ah gobolada soosaarka iska leh.
- Waxa ay dhibtu ka taagan tahay sidii loo heli lahaa isku dheeli timaan lagu shaqayn karo, taas oo ogolaanaysa in la gaaro go'aamo waanagsan oo dagdag ah isla mar ahaantaana ka hortagaysa dawlado is-hirdinaya oo awoodahooda u adeegsanay kala-qaybsanaan yar ama dano shakhsiyeed oo gaar ah.

Dawladda fadaraalka ahi waxa ay leeyihiin haba aad u kala duwan oo ay ku ururiyaan ama qoondeeyaan dakhliga. Dhamaan dawladda fadaraalka ah, dawladda ayaa ururisa dakhli badan oo ay ka hesho cashuuraha iyo daymaha, kuwaas oo ka badan inta ay kharashaadkeeda uga baahan tahay, sidaa daraadeed dakhliga dawladda fadaraalku ururiso waxa dib loogu soo celiyaa gobolada, iyada oo la adeegsanayo wadaag dakhli ama kab maaliyadeed ama laban oo la isku darayba. Marka la adeegsado dakhli wadaagga, qaybinta dakhliga waxa go'aan looga gaadhi karaa iyada oo la isticmaalayo shuruudo kala duwan, oo ay ka mid yihiin baahida (or rough proxies for need) iyo derivation. Si kastaba ha ahaatee, shuruuda ay dawlad kasta oo fadaraal ihi dooranayaan waa mid siyaasad badan ku xidhan. Marka dakhliga khayraadka laga sooco dakhliyada kale si loo wadaago, mabda'a derivation ayaa la siiyay. Laakiin

dawladaha fadaraalada ah qaarkood ayaa dakhliga khayraadkaku dhex dara dakhliyada kale si loo wadaago—markaas oo loo adeegsado qoondaynta mabaadii kale oo aan ahayn derivation. Kuwo kalana wali waxa ay ku tiirsan yihiin kabka maaliyadda dawlada dhexe—xaaladan oo iyadna aan la dabihiin mabda'a derivation (dhab ahaan, waxa ay saamayn xun ku yeelan kartaa kabka hadii gobolku uu si toos ah u heli karo dakhliga khayraaka).

- In kasta oo ay farsamo ahaan ka dhib yartahay wadaagga dakhliga khayraadku in la wadaago maamulku, hadana waxa ay noqon kartaa arin aad u xasaasi ah. Waxa jira sabab loo siin karo faa'iido dheeraada gobolada soosaarka iska leh, laakiin waa in arintan lagu gaadho hab aan khalkal dhex galinayn gobolada wadanka. Waxa garaadku ku jiraa in aan loo adeegsan qaaciidooyin aad u qalafsan dastuurka dhexdiisa, tas oo laga yaabo in aanay shaqaynin ama aanay sax noqon xaalad walba.

In kasta oo ay jiraan sharciyo tiro yar oo aad u adagi, cida qorshaysa dawladda fadaraalku waa ay ku fiicnaan karaan in ay tix-galiyaan maabaadiida aasaasiga ah ee dhaqaalaha sida efficiency iyo sinaanta, iyo sidoo kale faa'iidada ay leedahay hufnaanta iyo isla xisaabtanka, marka ay qorshaynayaan hababka maamulka iyo dakhliga khayraadka dabiiciga ah. Sidoo kale waxa ay u baahan yihiin in ay tixgaliyaan ahamiyadda ay leedahay qaybta khayraadka dabiiciga ah ee dalka iyo xaaladaha iyo fahanka siyaasadda guud ee wadanku ku sugan yahay.

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Bangiga Adduunka ma damaanad qaadayo saxsanaanta xogta ku jirta qoraalkan mana qaadanayo masuuliyadda caqaaqib kasta oo kal dhalata isticmaalkiisa. Xuduudaha, midabyada, qiimayaasha/denominations, ama xog kale oo lagu muujiyo khariirad kasta oo qoraalkan ku jirtaa ma sheegayso go'aanka Kooxda Bangiga Adduunka ee xaaladda sharcinimo ee dhul kasta ama ansixinta ogolaanshaha xuduudahaasi.

Xuquuqaha iyo Ogolaanshaha

Qoraalka maqaalkan ku jiraa wuu xafidan yahay. In min-guuriyo iyo/ama in qayb ka mid ah ama dhamaan qoraalkan la naqilo/raro iyada oo aan ogolaansh loo helin waxa ay noqon kartaa xadgudub sharciga arintaasi khusayso. Bangiga Caalamiga ah ee dib-u-dhiska iyo Horumarka/Bangiga Adduunka waxa uu dhiiri galiyaa baahinta shaqooyinka uu qabto waxana uu u siin doonaa ogolaansho in dib loo isticmaalo qaybo ka mid ah qoraalkan sida ugu dhakhsaha badan.

Waydiimaha xuquuqaha iyo rukhsadaha khuseeya, ee ay ka miy yihiin xuquuqaha qiima dhimista, waa in lagu aadiyaa Xafiiska cidda soo Daabacday ee, Bangiga Adduunka, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433, USA; fax: 202-522-2422; e-mail: pubrights@worldbank.org.