

:

2006 () 18 – 49

i.....		
1.....	:	.1
3.....		.2
3.....	.	
4.....	.	
6.....	.	
6.....	.1	
7.....	.2	
10.....		.3
10.....	.	
13.....	.	
14.....	:	.4
14.....	.	
15.....	.	
18.....	.	
21.....		.5
22.....	.	
23.....	.	
27.....	.	
28.....	.	
31.....	.	
33.....	.	.6
33.....	.	
34.....	.	
36.....	.	
38.....		.7
40.....	.	
41.....	.	
42.....	.	
44.....	.	

2006 ()

18

49

:

2005 ()

.

.

.

)

(

.

.

:

.1967

.

.

.

:

.

.

-

.

.

.

-

.

.

-

-

.

.

-

-

.

.

.

.

.5

:

100

.1

.6

() ()

.

100

.2

()

()

:

()

()

()

()

()

.7

.3

.8

:

()

()

()

.4

()

:

.14

.

.9

2006 ()

18

/

:

:

.10

()

.

()

.

()

.

.11

.

.12

.

.13

-

.

2006 ()

18

49

:

1993

: .1

⁽¹⁾()

1993-1987

⁽²⁾

" : ⁽¹⁾

" ⁽²⁾

" : 21

18-4 2004 () 26 *Dealing with Hamas*

" : 13

*Islamic " :
Social Welfare Activism in the Occupied Palestinian
2003 () 2 Territories: A Legitimate Target?*

: . :] 6-3

Ziad Abu Amr, *Islamic
Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim
[(1994) Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*

Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: : :*

] [2000 . *Political Thought and Practice*

Beverly Milton- : -

] [1996 Edwards, *Islamic Politics in Palestine*

- :

Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas:
] [2000 Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*

:

: -

Graham Usher, "What Kind of Nation?

The Rise of Hamas in the Occupied Territories", in Joel
Beinin and Joe Stork (eds.), *Political Islam: Essays from*

-339 1997 *Middle East Report* (Berkeley, 1997)

.[354

⁽³⁾

700

"

.2005 ()

:

1990

%40

(4)

(5)“

”

()

29

1994

(6)

()

()

/

1996

1994

(7)

.1993-1987

(5)

.2006 ()

1994 () 25

(6)

29

40

8

1994 ()

13

1996

1994

” :

.2005 ()

”

(7)

)

.(

1990

.7-5

.95-94

:

(4)

.

2002 ()

1996-1994

.

-

-

.

.

2000 ()

.

.

(8)

:

.

.

() 5

.

2004

.

-

.⁽⁹⁾2004 () 23 -1996

-

-

.

" (8)

2000

"

.

.

.2003

.2005 ()

11

26

(9)

11

.

.2005 ()

.2004 ()

.2003 ()

.2.

.

.2004

.

() 22

.

.

() 11

1967

.

.

.

()

-

.

.

.

-

-

.

.

.

.

(19)

2005 ()

1988

(16)

(20)"

(17)

(18)

(16)

.2005 ()

(17)

.2005 ()

(19)

(20)

.2004 ()

(18)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

- - .

.

. 2005

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

" : (21)

.

(22)"

.

:

)

(

(24)

(25)

(23)

Agha and Malley, "The Lost " " :
Palestinians"
(24)

" (21)

.2005 ()

(25)

2005 () 12

" " : ."

Agha and Malley, "The Lost Palestinians"

.2005 () 9

(22)

-

-

.2005 ()

(23)

. ()

.2005 ()

.2005

- (28)

- (29)

(30) (26)

(31)

.1

2005

(32)

(28)

.2005 ()

" " (29)

(30)

2005 ()

.2005 ()

" " (31)

" .2005 ()

"

.2006 ()

"

" (32)

()

(26)

.2005

(27)

2005 ()

.2005 ()

2005 ()

-

"

(34)"

"

-()

"

"

"

.

-

-

.()

.

(35)

.

.

23

()

(36)

(33)

(34)

.2005 ()

(35)

" :

7

()

2

.2006

.2005 ()

(36)

.2006 ()

3

(33)

.2006 ()

:

(37)

.2

2005 ()

.2006

(38)

(39)»

)

(4

()

(37)

":

(40)»

.2005 ()

(38)

.2005 ()

(39)

.2005 ()

(40)

.2005 ()

()

%30

2005

%20

2006

-

- ()

. ⁽⁴¹⁾ %40. ⁽⁴³⁾

2004 ()

⁽⁴⁴⁾

2005 ()

12

26

7

:

9

7

⁽⁴⁵⁾

()

2005 ()

9

.television station in the Gaza Strip”

.2006 ()

. ⁽⁴²⁾⁽⁴³⁾

.2005 ()

" :

⁽⁴⁴⁾

.2005 ()

⁽⁴¹⁾

2004 ()

%18

2005 ()

%30

.2004 ()

%41

⁽⁴⁵⁾

.www.pcpsr.org :

.2005 ()

“ Hamas launches ”

" ⁽⁴²⁾

2005 ()

2005

(46)

2005 ()

(50)

(47)

(51)

(52)

(48)

(49)

.2006 ()

(50)

. 3

" " (51)

(46)

%70

%73

(47)

.2006 ()

Only "

" :

1.1" :

(48)

Halpern, "A pragmatic mayor for Nablus"

"1.1 Palestinians live in councils controlled by "

.2005 ()

17

.2005 ()

18

Hamas"

81

121

(52)

(49)

:

(53)

(58)

" :

"

(59)

(54)

6000

31.000

.%20

(60)"

[]

(55)"

2005

%30

-

-

(56)

(57)

(61)

(53)

.2005 ()

-

9

(58)

(54)

2005 ()

)

.2005 ()

(59)

(

(60)

.2005 ()

(55)

.2005 ()

15

45

(61)

15

(56)

(57)

8

PSR

.%3

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

3

:

-

.

.

.

.

2005 ()

-

-

.

-

:

.

:

▪

.

.

(62)

.

:

2005 ()

.

12

:

2005 ()

" (64)

"

.

(63)

.2005 ()

(64)

.2005 ()

30

.2005 ()

(62)

(63)

:

"

(65)"

(69)

(66)"

"

(67)

2005 ()

"

(68)"

(70)

1967

(71)

(72)

(65)

"

(69)

.2005 ()

()

28

"

(66)

.2005

.2006 ()

.2006 ()

" (67)

(70)

"

" "

(71)

.2006 ()

(68)

.2005 ()

(72)

.2005 ()

:

(76)

(77)

5

(78)

(73)

" :
(79)

" :

" :

"

(80)

(74)

" :

(81)

(75)

:

"

()

(76)

.2006

()

(77)

2006

(78)

50

(73)

300

.2005 ()

"

"

(74)

2005 ()

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(75)

()

(79)

.2005 ()

.2005

(80)

" :

"

.2005 ()

()

(81)

.2005

2005

.2006

(86)〃

(82)

:

)

(87)〃

〃

(5

(83)

〃

(88)

(84)〃

〃 :

(89)

(85)〃

〃 :

(90)〃

〃

:

〃 (86)

〃

[]

〃

〃

(82)

()

.2005

.

〃

(83)

:

.

〃

.

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(87)

.2005 ()

:

.2005 ()

〃

〃 (88)

〃

〃

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(89)

(84)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(90)

(85)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

:

" : (91)

(96)

"

(92)"

(93)

"

" :

:

(94)

(97)

(95)

(98)"

" :

" (91)

."

(96)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(92)

()

(93)

20

(97)

.2005

:

.2005 ()

(94)

.

"

2005 ()

.2005 ()

(95)

...

10

10

."

.2005()

(98)

10

."

.2006 ()

.2005 ()

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

"

"

" :

.

.

" :

" :

(101)"

(99)"

.

(102)"

.

.

.

1993-1987

.

"

"

"

2006 ()

(100)"

(103)

.

)

(

.2005 ()

(101)

(99)

(102)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(100)

(103)

.2005 ()

9

2006 ()

.2006 ()

:

(109)

(104)

()

(105)

(107)

(106)

(108)

(104)

(7 8) :

(3 10) (3 10)

(6 7) (3 6)

8) (3 8) (5 6)

.(7

(105)

15

(106)

.2005

.2005 ()

(107)

.2005 ()

.2006 ()

(109)

.2005 ()

(108)

4.

2005 ()

95

(113)

30

2003

()

(114)

-

"

(115)"

300

(116)

(110)

(111)

(113)

.2005 ()

-

"

1995

600

...

"

(112)

() 18

" " " "

:

"

Gideon Alon, "MI chief: West "

() 19 Bank, Gaza Strip may split"

:

(110)

.2005

. www.mfa.gov.il

(114)

(111)

(115)

2005 () 12

.2005 ()

(116)

.2005 ()

2

3-3

(112)

.www.mideastweb.org :

(120)

.

(121)

" :

2005 ()

(117)"

▪

1967

.

(122)1993-1987

2005 ()

.

.

(123)1978

"

"

()

.

1979

.

(118)

.

()

15

(120)

.2006

2

"

.

.

.2006

16 www.haaretz.com "

" (121)

(119)

() 15

"

.2005 ()

12

"

"

.

"

50"

—

"

"

1987 ()

8

(122)

.2005 ()

(117)

.2005 ()

(118)

[]

" (119)

.1988

(123)

"

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

25

—

(127)

(124)

25 "

(125)"

]

"

[

(128)" 2000-1994

(126)

" (129) 2001 11

—

(130)"

(127)

(2001) (2003)

(2002) (2001) (2004)

2003 () " 1993-1987 (124)

" "

]

(128)

[

"

) "

50 .2005 ()

47

(63)

2005 () 21

(130)

.2005 ()

" :

Dealing " (126)

.10-8 With Hamas

(135)

(136)

(131)

(137)

(132)

" :

(138)

(133)"

[]

(135)

.2005 ()

(134)

100

(136)

100

.2005 ()

"

Khaled Abu Toameh, "Kalkilya "

28

talks electricity with Israelis"

."

.2005 ()

()

" (137)

.2005

(131)

()

.2005

(132)

.2005 ()

(138)

.2005

(133)

"

."

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(134)

:

" : (139)

:

(143)

(140)

(141)

(142)

"

()
(144)

"

(139)

(145)

.2005 ()

(140)

.2005 ()

" " (143)

2003

[] ()

.2005 ()

.2004
(141)

" : ()

.2005

.2005 ()

(144)

" .2005 ()

Nadav Shragai, "Israel holding secret talks with Hamas
.2005 () 7 over Gaza synagogues"
(142)

.2005 ()

(145)

.2005 ()

.2005

" 2004 (156) .

" 2005 (152) .
(157)"1967 2002 (153) .

"1967

(158) .

" 1948

1967 : (154) .
(159)" 15

(160) .

1967 .

(161) .

:

()

[] " 2005
(162)" .

(155) .

" :

.16-13 (156) .

" (157)

Graham Usher, "The assassination of Shaikh Yasin"
.2004 () (158)

.2002 () (159) .2005 () 16 (152)
() (153)

.2005 () .2003 (160) .2005 () (154)
" " " :

.2005 () 21

.2005 ()

() (161)

2005 ()

(155)

.2005 ()

"

.2005 () 23 " (162)

Dealing With Hamas "

：
“ (163)
：
“ ”
- 1996
(166) 2006
1967
1967
1967
(164)
：
1967 1993
78
(167)
2005 ()

() 15 () (163)
2005
() (165)
： 2005
“ 18
“ 2005 ()
- 30
() “
2005 () (166)
2006 ()
2005 () (164)
2005 (167)
2005 ()

:

:

.

.

-

-

" .

(168)

:

:

(171)"

-

-

.

.

.

" .

.

.

(172)

"

.

(169)

-

(170)

:

:

:

:

.

1967

www.al-

(168)

.2005 ()

12 jazira.net

.

"

"

(169)

(171)

.28-10

(170)

2005 ()

.2005 ()

(172)

2004 ()

(176)

"

(173)

(177)"

(174)

[]

(175)"

"

.1967

()

2006

...

." "

":

."

(178)

1-1

."

5-1

[1967]

(173)

.2005 ()

"(174)

:

(176)

. <http://www.elections.ps>

."

" (177)

Arnon Regular, " Hamas charter mentions armed "

"

11 struggle, but not Israel's destruction"

."

.2006 ()

.2005 ()

":

(178)

()

(175)

.2006 ()

15

"

.2005

(181)

5

()

.

.

(182)2005 ()

:

)

(183)()

.

(

(179)

400

1994

1992 ()

.

.

(USAID)

"

(180)"

.

()

(181)

27 ()

2001

2001 ()

... " (2001/931/CFSP)

.

"6 "

2003 1997

2003

14

.()

. CFSP/PRES/LUX/0768/05 2005 ()

17 2005/722/EC () (182)

2003 () (

2005 () (183)

.

(179)

() "The Palestinian Hamas"

.119

(180)

.196-195

) Islamic Social Welfare Activism

(

(184)„

"

(185)

(187)„

(188)

9

(189)(ATCs)

– (186)2008

USAID West Bank and Gaza Strategic Statement, " (184)

) "30 August 2005

(190)

() 30 (

at <http://www.usaid.gov/wbg/> 3 2005

. misc/Public_WBG_Strategic_Statement.doc

4.5

(GDP)

(185)

.2005 ()

3000

2006

960

28

(187)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(188)

"

.2005

...

) *Islamic Social Welfare Activism*

(

(189)

"

"

http://www.usaid.gov/wbg/misc/2004.Certification_Regard

. ing_Terrorist_Financing.pdf

2004 (190)

-

2005

–

3

40 60

.2005 ()

-

Economic Report to the "

) "Ad Hoc Liaison Committee

18 2005 ()

(

Macroeconomic Developments and Outlook in the West "

) " Bank and Gaza

.2005 () 14

(

2005 ()

(186)

" : (191) " "

(195)" (192)

— — :

"

(196)

(193)"

(197)

—

" (198)

" (ATCs)

—

(195)

(194)

.2005 ()

(196)

(Thomas Neu)

(191)

.()

.2005 ()

/

(192)

.2005 ()

(197)

" "

.

" "

" "

(Intel)

(ANERA)

)

(

)

.

.(

" "

" :

.

.

(

)

" "

(193)

.2005 ()

.

".

(

)

"

.2005 ()

" .

(198)

" .

"

2005 ()

.

"

(194)

.2005 ()

.

(202)

() " .
(199)"

.2005

25

(203)

(200)

(204)

(205)

(202)

2005 ()

(The British Council)

(203)

.2005 ()

" "

U.S. to shun Hamas " .2005 ()

) "members, even if democratically elected

(201)

7 (

.2005 ()

() (204)

.2005

.2005 ()

"Hamas-run municipality finishes two crucial projects"

Palestine-Info News ()

(199)

.2005 () 11 () agency

.2005 ()

" (205)

" (200)

" ()

.2006 ()

(201)

:

(221)

"

(216)

(217)

(222)"

(218)

(223)

(219)

(220)

.2005 ()

(221)

.2005

(222)

.2005 ()

()

(216)

" (223)

.2005

()

(217)

KfW Bankengruppe

.2005 ()

(218)

.2005 () 7

(219)

Kalkilya talks electricity with "
(

.2005

.2005 ()

".

) "Israelis

()

.2005 () 28

2005

.2005 ()

2004 (220)

20

.2005 ()

·

“ ”

(228)

·

— “ ”

(229)

·

(224)

·

[] “ () ()

(230) “ (225) 38

“ ” (226)

·

“ (231)

(232)

(228) (227) 2005 ()

· 2005 ()

“ ” (229)

() “

2005 2005 () (224)

(230) “

2005 ()

(231)

() 2 “ ”

2005 2005 () (225)

· 2005 ()

(232) (226)

2005 () 2005 () (227)

“ ”

() “ ”

· () 2005 ()

” :

10

(233)“

)

(236)(UNRWA)

(

(234)

” .

()

”

(237)

(238)

(239)

(UNSCO)

2005 ()

2005

2005

.2006

(235)

)

30

(

()

3

.2005

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(233)

(236)

.2005 ()

.2006 ()

(234)

(237)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(235)

”

” (238)

.2005 ()

.2006 ()

” ”

. www.un.org/Docs/sc/committees/1267/1267ListEng.htm.

353

2005

476.8

(239)

.2005 ()

(Ad-Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLIC))

(242)

“ ”

—

—

57

.()

()

2004

“

(243)”

— 2005

—

“

...

(244)”

—

—

(245)”

“

”(240)

“

“

(242)

(241)”

.2005 ()

”(243)

EU denies secret talks with “ ”.

(

) “ Hamas

.2004 () 25 (BBC News Online)

(244)

13

http://www.parliament.the-stationery- 2005 ()

office.co.uk/pa/cm200506/cmhansrd/cm050613/text/50613

.w36.htm

(245)

.2006 ()

.2005 ()

“

Today Programme ”.

(241)

.2005 ()

7

/ 4

.2006 ()

(250)„

(246)

(251)

:

2005

B.B.C

(252)

(247)

.()

(253)

()

2005

2005 ()

(248)

(254)

(249)„

„

(246)

.2005 ()

(250)

(247)

.2006 ()

.2005 () 15

(248)

.2005 ()

.2005 () (251)

Israel attacks EU over meetings with " (252)

) " Hamas official

.2005 () 17 *The Guardian* (

() (253)

EU denies .2004 () 25 / ()

. secret talks with Hamas

.2005

() (254)

.2005

(259)

(255)

()

"

.

.

(260)"

.

▪

.

"

"

.

(256)

()

.

"

"

.

"

"

...

(261)"

—

—

(257)"

(258)

.

)

(

(259)

.2003

(255)

.2005 ()

Ex-MI6 man starts U.S.-"

(256)

(16) " Hamas talks

2005

.2005 27

.2005 ()

(260)

(257)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

11

(261)

(258)

.2006 ()

.2005 ()

.⁽²⁶²⁾2005 ()

2005 ()

()

45

.⁽²⁶³⁾

.⁽²⁶⁷⁾

135

50

"

.⁽²⁶⁴⁾"

(265)

"

"

.⁽²⁶⁸⁾"

.⁽²⁶⁶⁾

20

(262)

.⁽²⁶⁹⁾

2005 ()

(270)

"

"

-

"

...

(267)

...

(268)

."

(269)

(263)

()

17

397

.2005 ()

"

Palestinian leader is urged to confront "

(264)

.<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/575>

".

) " militant groups

.2005 ()

21

(

(265)

()

"

"

.2005 ()

.2005

:

" (270)

(266)

.2005 ()

(274)

(275)

(271)

(272)

2005 ()

(273) " " "

2004 ()

21

(274)

.2005 ()

(271)

.2005 ()

(272)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

3

" "

.2005 ()

" (273)

... " :2005 ()

28

...

... " "

Yoav Stern, "Foreign ministry slams EU (

()

12

talks with Hizbollah, Hamas"

5

".

2005

.2006 ()

:

(280)

2005 (281)

— (276)„

270

45000

:

„

„

(277)„

„

(282)

:

(283)

(278)

„

...

(279)„

(280)

.2005 ()

—

280

(281)

„

(276)

10

.2005 ()

.2006 ()

„ (277)

()

.2005 ()

28

12

(278)

70

()

(282)

.2005 ()

(283)

.2005 () -()

„

„

.2006 ()

(279)

()

http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_

.2006

.Data/docs/pressdata/EN/declarations/87668.pdf

Development Alternatives, Inc. ()

6

(284)

()

.()

(285)„

(286)„

„ (284)

132

(285)

.2005 ()

(286)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(291)〃

〃

(287)〃

(292)〃

(288)

(289)〃

(293)

(294)〃

(290)〃

() 70

(291)

.2005 ()

(292)

[http://www.elections.ps/atemplate.aspx?](http://www.elections.ps/atemplate.aspx?id=353)

id=353

.2005 () 7

〃 (293)

2005 ()

(287)

(288)

15

〃.[]

.2005 ()

(289)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(290)

(294)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

()

" :

□

(295)"

()

□

" .

"

" .

(296)"

□

(297)

(299)"

(298)

(295)

.2005 ()

(296)

.2005 ()

(297)

.2005 ()

(298)

(299)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

" .

" .

"

.6

(303)"

2004

:

"

(300)"

"

(301)"

(304)

2006

31

2005 ()

(305)"

(302)

(306)

:

"

—

—

.2005 ()

(303)

Dealing with Hamas

(300)

.2005 ()

(304)

.29

()

"

(301)

" .

(302)

.2005 ()

" :2005 ()

12

.2006 ()

10 *Al-Quds*

(305)

(306)

www.palestine-pmc.com/

"

.2005 ()

.details.asp?cat=1&id=1057

:

(310)„

(307)„

(311)

(308)

(309)

.2005 ()

(307)

(308)

(310)

100

(309)

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

(311)

9000

8000

.2005 ()

18000

(314)

(315)

(316)

78

(317)

(312)

(313)

": ()

":

80

(314)

.2005 ()

62

(315)

11

20

3

(312)

()

.2005

(313)

.2005 ()

(316)

2005 ()

(317)

2005 ()

()

.2005

.2005 ()

:

)

(318)^u

(

.

:

" (320)

.

"

(321)

(319)

(318)

.2005 ()

(322)

(319)

"

.2005 ()

...

[]

The "

".

() " Lost Palestinians

"

.2005 ()

2005 ()

(320)

.2005 ()

(321)

.2005 ()

40

(322)

2005 ()

" .2005 ()

2005 ()

"

.2005 ()

.2005 ()

"

40

.

.

(326)

-

-

.

.

(323)

.

.

(324)

.

(325)

.

(323)

.2005 ()

.

.

-

34

40

-

.

.

.

-

-

.

()

.

.

.

(324)

.2006 ()

2005 ()

"

(326)

" (325)

"

"

.2005 ()

.2006 ()

□

.

.

.

:

.

—

—

.

.

.

.

.

”

□

(332)”

(335)”

”

(333)”

(334)”

”

:

:

□

.2005 ()

(332)

.2005 ()

(333)

” (335)

”

(334)

: .” (1998)
) [http://www.pnic.gov.ps/arabic/law/ law_b26.html](http://www.pnic.gov.ps/arabic/law/law_b26.html)
.(

Craig Smith, “Election role won’t soften Hamas ”
() 12 anger at the Israelis”
.2006

□

(336)

□

(337)

□

(336)

(337)

... " :

"

.2005 ()

.7

" :

1988

(338)¶

(339)¶

(338)

2005

(340)

(343)

(341)

عمان/بروكسل 18 كانون الثاني (يناير) 2006

rm/2005/54178.htmv.

(342)

1996

.2005

(340)

.2005

(341)

.2005

.2005

(343)

30

(342)

.2005

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/>

.2005



<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/gz.html>



<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/we.html>

() 5 () 100

· ,
/ ·

12 [CrisisWatch](#)

:

· (www.crisisgroup.org)

()

() · 2000

)

2002

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Islamic Social Welfare Activism in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: A Legitimate Target?, Middle East Report N°13, 2 April 2003

A Middle East Roadmap to Where?, Middle East Report N°14, 2 May 2003

The Israeli-Palestinian Roadmap: What A Settlement Freeze Means And Why It Matters, Middle East Report N°16, 25 July 2003

Hizbollah: Rebel without a Cause?, Middle East Briefing N°7, 30 July 2003

Dealing With Hamas, Middle East Report N°21, 26 January 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Palestinian Refugees and the Politics of Peacemaking, Middle East Report N°22, 5 February 2004

Syria under Bashar (I): Foreign Policy Challenges, Middle East Report N°23, 11 February 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Syria under Bashar (II): Domestic Policy Challenges, Middle East Report N°24, 11 February 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Identity Crisis: Israel and its Arab Citizens, Middle East Report N°25, 4 March 2004

The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative: Imperilled at Birth, Middle East Briefing N°13, 7 June 2004

Who Governs the West Bank? Palestinian Administration under Israeli Occupation, Middle East Report N°32, 28 September 2004 (also available in Arabic and in Hebrew)

After Arafat? Challenges and Prospects, Middle East Briefing N°16, 23 December 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Disengagement and After: Where Next for Sharon and the Likud?, Middle East Report N°36, 1 March 2005 (also available in Arabic and in Hebrew)

Syria After Lebanon, Lebanon After Syria, Middle East Report N°39, 12 April 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Mr Abbas Goes to Washington: Can He Still Succeed?, Middle East Briefing N°17, 24 May 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Disengagement and Its Discontents: What Will the Israeli Settlers Do?, Middle East Report N°43, 7 July 2005 (also available in Arabic)

The Jerusalem Powder Keg, Middle East Report N°44, 2 August 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Lebanon: Managing the Gathering Storm, Middle East Report N°48, 5 December 2005

EGYPT/NORTH AFRICA

Algeria: Unrest and Impasse in Kabylia, Middle East/North Africa Report N°15, 10 June 2003 (also available in French)

The Challenge of Political Reform: Egypt after the Iraq War, Middle East/North Africa Briefing N°9, 30 September 2003

Islamism in North Africa I: The Legacies of History, Middle East/North Africa Briefing N°12, 20 April 2004

Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's Opportunity, Middle East/North Africa Briefing N°13, 20 April 2004

Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page, Middle East/North Africa Report N°29, 30 July 2004 (also available in Arabic and in French)

Understanding Islamism, Middle East/North Africa Report N°37, 2 March 2005 (also available in Arabic and French)

Islamism in North Africa IV: The Islamist Challenge in Mauritania: Threat or Scapegoat?, Middle East/North Africa Report N°93, 10 May 2005 (only available in French)

Reforming Egypt: In Search of a Strategy, Middle East/North Africa Report N°46, 4 October 2005

IRAQ/IRAN/GULF

Yemen: Coping with Terrorism and Violence in a Fragile State, Middle East Report N°8, 8 January 2003

Radical Islam in Iraqi Kurdistan: The Mouse That Roared?, Middle East Briefing N°4, 7 February 2003

Red Alert in Jordan: Recurrent Unrest in Maan, Middle East Briefing N°5, 19 February 2003

Iraq Policy Briefing: Is There an Alternative to War?, Middle East Report N°9, 24 February 2003

War in Iraq: What's Next for the Kurds?, Middle East Report N°10, 19 March 2003

War in Iraq: Political Challenges after the Conflict, Middle East Report N°11, 25 March 2003

War in Iraq: Managing Humanitarian Relief, Middle East Report N°12, 27 March 2003

Baghdad: A Race against the Clock, Middle East Briefing N°6, 11 June 2003

Governing Iraq, Middle East Report N°17, 25 August 2003

Iraq's Shiites under Occupation, Middle East Briefing N°8, 9 September 2003

The Challenge of Political Reform: Jordanian Democratisation and Regional Instability, Middle East Briefing N°10, 8 October 2003 (also available in Arabic)

Iran: Discontent and Disarray, Middle East Briefing N°11, 15 October 2003

Dealing With Iran's Nuclear Program, Middle East Report N°18, 27 October 2003

Iraq's Constitutional Challenge, Middle East Report N°19, 13 November 2003 (also available in Arabic)

Iraq: Building a New Security Structure, Middle East Report N°20, 23 December 2003

Iraq's Kurds: Toward an Historic Compromise?, Middle East Report N°26, 8 April 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Iraq's Transition: On a Knife Edge, Middle East Report N°27, 27 April 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Can Saudi Arabia Reform Itself?, Middle East Report N°28, 14 July 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Reconstructing Iraq, Middle East Report N°30, 2 September 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who are the Islamists?, Middle East Report N°31, 21 September 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Iraq: Can Local Governance Save Central Government?, Middle East Report N°33, 27 October 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Iran: Where Next on the Nuclear Standoff, Middle East Briefing N°15, 24 November 2004

What Can the U.S. Do in Iraq?, Middle East Report N°34, 22 December 2004 (also available in Arabic)

Iraq: Allaying Turkey's Fears Over Kurdish Ambitions, Middle East Report N°35, 26 January 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Iran in Iraq: How Much Influence?, Middle East Report N°38, 21 March 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Bahrain's Sectarian Challenge, Middle East Report N°40, 2 May 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Iraq: Don't Rush the Constitution, Middle East Report N°42, 8 June 2005 (also available in Arabic)

Iran: What Does Ahmadi-Nejad's Victory Mean?, Middle East Briefing N°18, 4 August 2005

The Shiite Question in Saudi Arabia, Middle East Report N°45, 19 September 2005

Unmaking Iraq: A Constitutional Process Gone Awry, Middle East Briefing N°19, 26 September 2005

Jordan's 9/11: Dealing With Jihadi Islamism, Middle East Report N°47, 23 November 2005

OTHER REPORTS AND BRIEFINGS

For Crisis Group reports and briefing papers on:

- Asia
- Africa
- Europe
- Latin America and Caribbean
- Thematic Issues
- *CrisisWatch*

please visit our website www.crisisgroup.org

Chair

Lord Patten of Barnes

Former European Commissioner for External Relations, UK

President & CEO

Gareth Evans

Former Foreign Minister of Australia

Executive Committee

Morton Abramowitz

Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Turkey

Emma Bonino

Member of European Parliament; former European Commissioner

Cheryl Carolus

Former South African High Commissioner to the UK; former Secretary General of the ANC

Maria Livanos Cattai*

Former Secretary-General, International Chamber of Commerce

Yoichi Funabashi

Chief Diplomatic Correspondent & Columnist, The Asahi Shimbun, Japan

William Shawcross

Journalist and author, UK

Stephen Solarz*

Former U.S. Congressman

George Soros

Chairman, Open Society Institute

William O. Taylor

Chairman Emeritus, The Boston Globe, U.S.

**Vice-Chair*

Adnan Abu-Odeh

Former Political Adviser to King Abdullah II and to King Hussein; former Jordan Permanent Representative to UN

Kenneth Adelman

Former U.S. Ambassador and Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Ersin Arioglu

Member of Parliament, Turkey; Chairman Emeritus, Yapi Merkezi Group

Diego Arria

Former Ambassador of Venezuela to the UN

Zbigniew Brzezinski

Former U.S. National Security Advisor to the President

Kim Campbell

Secretary General, Club of Madrid; former Prime Minister of Canada

Victor Chu

Chairman, First Eastern Investment Group, Hong Kong

Wesley Clark

Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe

Pat Cox

Former President of European Parliament

Ruth Dreifuss

Former President, Switzerland

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

Mark Eyskens

Former Prime Minister of Belgium

Leslie H. Gelb

President Emeritus of Council on Foreign Relations, U.S.

Bronislaw Geremek

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Frank Giustra

Chairman, Endeavour Financial, Canada

I.K. Gujral

Former Prime Minister of India

Carla Hills

Former U.S. Secretary of Housing; former U.S. Trade Representative

Lena Hjelm-Wallén

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister, Sweden

James C.F. Huang

Deputy Secretary General to the President, Taiwan

Swanee Hunt

Chair of Inclusive Security: Women Waging Peace; former U.S. Ambassador to Austria

Asma Jahangir

UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions; former Chair Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

Shiv Vikram Khemka

Founder and Executive Director (Russia) of SUN Group, India

James V. Kimsey

Founder and Chairman Emeritus of America Online, Inc. (AOL)

Bethuel Kiplagat

Former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya

Wim Kok

Former Prime Minister, Netherlands

Trifun Kostovski

Member of Parliament, Macedonia; founder of Kometal Trade Gmbh

Elliott F. Kulick

Chairman, Pegasus International, U.S.

Joanne Leedom-Ackerman*Novelist and journalist, U.S.***Todung Mulya Lubis***Human rights lawyer and author, Indonesia***Ayo Obe***Chair of Steering Committee of World Movement for Democracy, Nigeria***Christine Ockrent***Journalist and author, France***Friedbert Pflüger***Foreign Policy Spokesman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag***Victor M. Pinchuk***Member of Parliament, Ukraine; founder of Interpipe Scientific and Industrial Production Group***Surin Pitsuwan***Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand***Itamar Rabinovich***President of Tel Aviv University; former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. and Chief Negotiator with Syria***Fidel V. Ramos***Former President of the Philippines***Lord Robertson of Port Ellen***Former Secretary General of NATO; former Defence Secretary, UK***Mohamed Sahnoun***Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on Africa***Ghassan Salamé***Former Minister Lebanon, Professor of International Relations, Paris***Salim A. Salim***Former Prime Minister of Tanzania; former Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity***Douglas Schoen***Founding Partner of Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, U.S.***Pär Stenbäck***Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland***Thorvald Stoltenberg***Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway***Grigory Yavlinsky***Chairman of Yabloko Party and its Duma faction, Russia***Uta Zapf***Chairperson of the German Bundestag Subcommittee on Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-proliferation***Ernesto Zedillo***Former President of Mexico; Director, Yale Center for the Study of Globalization***INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD***Crisis Group's International Advisory Board comprises major individual and corporate donors who contribute their advice and experience to Crisis Group on a regular basis.***Rita E. Hauser (Chair)****Marc Abramowitz****Anglo American PLC****APCO Worldwide Inc.****Patrick E. Benzie****BHP Billiton****Harry Bookey and Pamela****Bass-Bookey****John Chapman Chester****Chevron****Peter Corcoran****Credit Suisse Group/Credit****Suisse First Boston****John Ehara****Equinox Partners****Dr. Konrad Fischer****Iara Lee & George Gund III
Foundation****JP Morgan Global Foreign
Exchange and Commodities****George Kellner****George Loening****Douglas Makepeace****Anna Luisa Ponti****Quantm****Baron Ullens****Michael L. Riordan****Sarlo Foundation of the Jewish
Community Endowment Fund****Tilleke & Gibbins****Stanley Weiss****Westfield Group****Don Xia****Yasuyo Yamazaki****Sunny Yoon****SENIOR ADVISERS***Crisis Group's Senior Advisers are former Board Members (not presently holding executive office) who maintain an association with Crisis Group, and whose advice and support are called on from time to time.***Oscar Arias****Zainab Bangura****Christoph Bertram****Jorge Castañeda****Eugene Chien****Gianfranco Dell'Alba****Alain Destexhe****Marika Fahlen****Stanley Fischer****Malcolm Fraser****Max Jakobson****Mong Joon Chung****Allan J. MacEachen****Barbara McDougall****Matt McHugh****George J. Mitchell****Cyril Ramaphosa****Michel Rocard****Volker Ruehe****Simone Veil****Michael Sohlman****Leo Tindemans****Ed van Thijn****Shirley Williams****As at January 2006**