

:

2006 ( ) 11 – 55

**i** .....

**1**..... **.1**

2..... "( )" :

3..... "( )" :

6..... :

**8**..... **.2**

8.....

12..... :

15.....

**20**..... : **.3**

20.....

24.....

**25**..... **.4**

**28**..... **.5**

الملاحق

30.....

31.....

32.....

34.....

:

9

2004

:

:

:

.1

:

-

)

(

-

-

.2

:

2006

:

.3

:

-

-

-

2006

:

.4

.5

:

-

-

:

.6

4

. 5

.7

2006 ( ) 11 /

:

(3)

.1

– .( )

2004

(4)

32

.2005 ( )

275

(5)

1974

(1)

".[ ] (3)

(2)

[ ] 8 " .9-7 2003 ( ) 9 (Iraq's Shiites Under Occupation)

( ) (4)

.10-9

(5)

[www.muqtada.com](http://www.muqtada.com)

(1)

Les Processus du Courant Sadriste de Père en "

(2)

the Institut d'Etudes Politiques

" Fils

.2005 de Paris

.1992

1971

(6)

:

(9)

"

"

"

(7)

(10)"

( )

(11)"

"

(8)

( )

:

(9)

( )

( )

"

( )

...

" :

( )

"

.9

( )

" "

)

( )

( ..

.2006 ( )

"

(7)

Linda Walbridge (ed.),

The Most learned of the Shi`a. The Institution of the Marja`  
.2001Taqlid (Oxford, 2001)

(10)

(11)

" :

]

"[

.2005 ( )

Ayatollahs, Sufis and Ideologues.

(8)

(2002 ) State, Religion and Social Movements in Iraq.

.2006 ( )

( )

1993

(15)

(16)

(12)

(13)

(17)1991

1979

" "

1997

.1980 ( )

(18)

(19)

" "

:

(15)

1991

1941

Pierre-Jean Luizard, "Les Sadriyyûn en Irak: un défi pour l'Amérique, la marja'iyya et l'Iran"

- 1992

(14)

David Baran, *Vivre la Tyrannie et lui Survivre. L'Irak en Transition* (Paris, 2004)

(12)

(16)

(17)

[ ]

Nicolas Pelham, *The New Muslim Order: Iraq [*

" and the Revival of Shi`a Islam

(13)

(18)

- " " :

" : (19)

)" " (14)

" (

" : .2006 ( )

- ( )

1998

(20)

.( )

"

- "

(21)

1997

(22)

" "

" " "

- ( )

"

(23)

-

:

" "

(24)

- ( )

(25)

1999 ( )

( )

( )

.200

( )

(20)

( )

( )

(24)

Loulouwa al-Rachid, "Du bon usage du chiisme irakien",  
. *Politique Internationale*, no.101, Autumn 2003

(21)

"

" "

" "

(22)

) .2006 ( )

" :

" (

" ( )

.2005 ( )

"

.2006 ( )

(23)

(25)

(26)

( )  
(29)

(27)

(31)

(30)

(32)

( )

(28)

(29)

(26)

(27)

( )  
(30)

(31)

(32)

( )  
2006

Faleh A. (2003 )

(28)

Jabar, *The Shi'ite Movement in Iraq* (London, 2003)

Pierre-Jean Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporain*

(Paris, 1991)

(36)

"

":

(33)

:

" "

) "

"

(

(37)

(34)

(38)

" (36)

.( )

(35)

.2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

" (37)

(33)

.2006 ( )

" (38)

(34)

(35)

( )

.( )

(42)  
( )

)

1988

- (

(39)

( )

:

)

(

(43)

( )

( )

(44)

( )

(40)

2002

(41)

)

(42)

(

( )

.2006 ( )

(39)

.2006 ( )

.2005 ( 0

( )

(43)

.2006 ( )

.2005 ( )

(44)

. www.muqtada.com

(40)

Nimrod Raphaeli, "Understanding 2004 4 11 Muqtada al-Sadr", *The Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4, . 2004

( )

.2006 ( )

(41)

.2005 ( )

.2004 ( ) 13

" 48

.2

:

(47)

) " "

(45)(

(46)

" "

(48)

" "

(47)

: 27

.2004 ( ) 27 "

" "

(48)

" "

.2006 ( )

" " (45)

2004 ( )

.DVD

( )

2003 ( )

(46)

.2003

.2006 ( )

(

( ) " "

(49)

(51)

" " (52)

(53)

(50)

)

2003 ( )

(49)

( )

.2006 ( )

(51)

( )

.2006

.2006 ( )

(50)

(52)

.2006 ( )

(53)

( )

.2005

(55)

(54)

)

" : (

(56) "

(58)

(57)

11

2003 ( )

)

(59)

.(

(55)

.2005 ( )

(56)

(57)

.2003 ( ) - ( )

(58)

(59)

" :

(54)

[ ]

.( )

[ ]

. [ ]

.1991

.2006 ( )

."

2003 ( ) 10 .

(63)

(60)

(64)

(61)

(62)

.2003 ( )

" "

.2004

(60)

(65)

1992

(67)

(66)

( )

(63)

2003 ( )

(61)

" ...

(62)

(64)

" :

(65)

( )

.2006 ( )

" : (66) )

1999 " "

.(

2003 ( ) 12

( ) 18

" "

(68)

.2003 ( )

( )

2004 ( )

(69)

" " (70)"

.2006 ( )

" (67)

" : (69)

[ ]

" Iraq's Transition "

: 2003 ( ) (68)

" 200

.129 (2006 ) "

6000 2004 " (70)

" : "

(75)

(74)

(71)

2004 ( )

( )

( ) 11

(72)

(73)

( ) 28

(76)

( ) 3

(74)

.191-190

.325

%81

2004 ( )

(75)

(71)

15 "

www.brookings.edu/iraqindex 2004 ( )

(76)

.2003

.313

(72)

(73)

.355

."

(80)

2005 ( )

(77)

"

(81)"

(78)

(82)

(79)

(77)

.2006 ( )  
(80)

( )

(

( )

450

2005

" .2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

.2005 ( ) 11

La guerre après la -

(81)

.2005 ( )

"guerre

.2005 ( )

(78)

2004

2004 ( ) 12

.2006 ( )

" .2004 ( ) 16

(79)

.2006 ( )

(82)

2005 ( )

( ) 2004 ( )

.2005 ( ) 15

(88)

(89)

2004

(91)

(90)

"

(93)"

"

(92)

:

(83)"

:

( )

(88)

(84)

!

"

(85)

.2006 ( )

" (89)

(87)

(86)

:

"

.2006 ( )

(90)

13

(83)

2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

" :

2004 ( )

(84)

.2006 ( )

"

.2004 ( )

23

" (85)

2005 ( )

"

"

.2005 ( )

.2006 ( )

" :

(86)

2006 ( )

13

(91)

"

.2006 ( )

" (87)

:

"

(92)

.2004 ( )

28

"

275

( )

32

) 2005

(

(94)

(95)

(96)

2005

23

2005 ( )

:

) 2006 ( )

)

.(

":(

.2006 ( )

)

(

.2005 ( )

( )

"

.2006 ( )

(93)

.2005 ( )

(96)

(94)

.2005 ( )

(95)

13

.2005 ( )

2006 ( )

.2005 ( )

(97)

(98)

(103)

(99)

(100)

(104)

(105)

(101)

(102)

(103)

2006 ( )

2005 ( )

( )

(97)

2006

2006 ( )

(98)

(104)

2006 ( )

13

15

(99)

2005 ( )

2006 ( )

2006 ( ) 2005 ( )

(100)

2006 ( )

(105)

2005 ( )

DVD

(101)

(1 " :

(2 ...

2006 ( )

(102)

[ ]

2006 ( )

(106) )

(111) (107)(

(112)

(108)

(109)

2004

(110)

2005 ( ) 1 .

" "

(

2006 ( )

(113)

.2006 ( )

" (106)

:

.2006 ( )

( )

(107)

"

" :

.2006 ( )

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( )

[ ]

" (111)

" (108)

" "

( )

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( ) 6 ( )

(109)

.2006 ( )

(110)

2006

(112)

2005

" .

2005 ( )

( )

.2005 ( )

2006

( )

(113)

.2006

(119)

(114)

(115)

(117)

(116)

)  
(118)(

.2006 ( )

13

(114)

" :

(115)

"

[ ]

.2006 ( )

" (116)

.2006 ( )

( )

(117)

.2006

(118)

.2006 ( )

2006 ( ) 25-24

(119)

.2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

(123)

: .3

(124)

( )

(125)

(120)

( )

( )

)

- (

- ( ) -

.-[ ]

( )

(121)

(122)

-

(120)

"

(123)

Nir Rosen in Asia

"

"

- .2003 ( ) 16 ...Times,  
-( )

.2005 ( ) (121)

2004 (124)

) -

( : (125)

.[ ]

.[ ]

"

.2006 ( ) (122)

( )

.230-228

.2005 ( )

(131)( )

( )

(126)( )

( )

(127)

(128)

(129)

(130)

(132)

(133)

.2006 ( )

(126)

(134)

( )

( )

(131)

.2006 ( )

( )

(127)

( )

]

.[

(128)

.2006 ( )

(132)

.2005 ( )

.2006 ( )

":

(129)

[ ]

(133)

.2006 ( )

(130)

)

.(

.2005 ( )

(134)

.2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

( )

(135)

)

(

.(

)

(137) DVD

(138)

(139)

(136)

(140)

":

" (137)

.DVD

DVD

.2005 ( )

".2006 ( )

( )

" (138)

."

( )

."

)

(

.2005 ( )

.(

.2006 ( )

" :

(139)

" (135)

[

]

( 35 )

50.000

-

.(

)

.2006 ( )

".2005 ( )

( 700 )

" (140)

(136)

" . 2000

".2006 ( )

" .

.2006 ( )

(141)

(145)

(142)

(143)

(144)

(146)

(147)

( )

( )

.2006 ( )

2005 ( )

.2006 ( )

2006 ( )

(141)

.2006 ( )

6000

" (145)

" (142)

.2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

(143)

(146)

.2006 ( )

(144)

( )

( )  
.2006 ( )

.2005 ( )

" (147)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( )

( )

.2006

"

(148)

(153)"

(154)

( )  
)

(155)

( )

(151)

(149)(  
(150)

" "

"

( )

(152)"

" (153)  
.2006 ( )

(148)

" (154)

.2005 ( )

(149)

"  
.2006 ( )

" (155)

(

] - ( ) :

.2006 ( )

(150)

[

( )

.2006 ( )

(151)

] :

.2006 ( )

(152)

"[

.2005 ( )

.2006 ( )

4

(156)

2004

(159)

:

(157)

(158)

(160)

( )

(156)

555 2005 ( )

":

( )

" "

( )

.2005

(159)

(157)

(160)

(158)

.2006 ( )

.2006 ( )

(161)

(166)

2006 ( ) ( )

(167)

(162)

)  
(

(168)

2006 ( )  
(163)

(164)

(165)

22

(161)

2006 ( )

(162)

2006 ( ) 27

(166)

2006 ( )

2005 ( )

(163)

*The Christian Science Monitor*, :

21 September 2005

(167)

2005 ( )

*The Chicago Tribune*, 26 September 2005 :

(168)

( ) / ( )

2006  
(164)

2006 ( )

2006 ( )  
(165)

2006 ( )

:52

(174)

(169)

"

(175)"

2006 ( )

(170)

" "

(171)

(176)

600

(172)

(173)

( ) 9

" (169)

"

.2006 ( )

(170)

59

19

2005 ( )

(177)

40

.2005 ( )

28

( ) 9

"( )

.2005 ( )

" (171)

.[

] :

.2006 ( )

"

(174)

" :

.2006 ( )

(175)

.2006 ( ) ( )

.2006 ( )

:50

(176)

(172)

.22 2006 ( )

"

: "

.2006 ( )

10 " :

(177)

(173)

" 2006 ( ) 10

"

.2006 ( ) 10 B.B.C "

"

.5

(178) "

"

(179)

:

2004

(179)

"

10

"

(178)

( ) 9

( )

2006 ( ) 11 /



( ) 5 ( ) 100

12 CrisisWatch

(www.crisisgroup.org)

( )

( )

. 2000

50

(

---

## 2003

---

### 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°41, 10 May 2005 (only available in French)

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

*Political Transition in Mauritania: Assessment and Horizons*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°53, 24 April 2006 (currently only available in French)

### 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 (also available in Arabic)

*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

*The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative: Imperilled at Birth*, Middle East Briefing N°14, 7 June 2004

### 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

*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 (also available in Arabic)

*Enter Hamas: The Challenges of Political Integration*, Middle East Report N°49, 18 January 2006 (also available in Arabic and in Hebrew)

*Palestinians, Israel and the Quartet: Pulling Back From the Brink*, Middle East Report N°54, 13 June 2006

- 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 Background: 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 Shi'ite 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 (also available in Arabic)
- Jordan's 9/11: Dealing With Jihadi Islamism*, Middle East Report N°47, 23 November 2005 (also available in Arabic)
- In their Own Words: Reading the Iraqi Insurgency*, Middle East Report N°50, 15 February 2006 (also available in Arabic)
- Iran: Is There a Way Out of the Nuclear Impasse?*, Middle East Report N°51, 23 February 2006 (also available in Arabic)
- The Next Iraqi War? Sectarianism and Civil Conflict*, Middle East Report N°52, 27 February 2006 (also available in Arabic)

---

## 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](http://www.crisisgroup.org)

**Kim Campbell***Former Prime Minister of Canada; Secretary General, Club of Madrid***Naresh Chandra***Former Indian Cabinet Secretary and Ambassador of India to the U.S.***Joaquim Alberto Chissano***Former President of Mozambique***Victor Chu***Chairman, First Eastern Investment Group, Hong Kong***Wesley Clark***Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe***Pat Cox***Former President of European Parliament***Uffe Ellemann-Jensen***Former Foreign Minister of Denmark***Mark Eyskens***Former Prime Minister of Belgium***Joschka Fischer***Former Foreign Minister of Germany***Leslie H. Gelb***President Emeritus of Council on Foreign Relations, U.S.***Carla Hills***Former Secretary of Housing and U.S. Trade Representative***Lena Hjelm-Wallén***Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister, Sweden***Swanee Hunt***Chair of Inclusive Security: Women Waging Peace; former U.S. Ambassador to Austria***Anwar Ibrahim***Former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia***Asma Jahangir***UN Special Rapporteur on the Freedom of Religion or Belief; Chairperson, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan***Nancy Kassebaum Baker***Former U.S. Senator***James V. Kimsey***Founder and Chairman Emeritus of America Online, Inc. (AOL)***Wim Kok***Former Prime Minister of Netherlands***Trifun Kostovski***Mayor of Skopje, Macedonia; founder of Kometal Trade GmbH***Ricardo Lagos***Former President of Chile***Joanne Leedom-Ackerman***Novelist and journalist, U.S.***Co-Chairs****Christopher Patten***Former European Commissioner for External Relations, Governor of Hong Kong and UK Cabinet Minister; Chancellor of Oxford University***Thomas Pickering***Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Russia, India, Israel, Jordan, El Salvador and Nigeria***President & CEO****Gareth Evans***Former Foreign Minister of Australia***Executive Committee****Cheryl Carolus***Former South African High Commissioner to the UK and Secretary General of the ANC***Maria Livanos Cattau\****Former Secretary-General, International Chamber of Commerce***Yoichi Funabashi***Chief Diplomatic Correspondent & Columnist, The Asahi Shimbun, Japan***Frank Giustra***Chairman, Endeavour Financial, Canada***Stephen Solarz***Former U.S. Congressman***George Soros***Chairman, Open Society Institute***Pär Stenbäck***Former Foreign Minister of Finland**\*Vice-Chair***Morton Abramowitz***Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Turkey***Adnan Abu-Odeh***Former Political Adviser to King Abdullah II and to King Hussein and Jordan Permanent Representative to the 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***Shlomo Ben-Ami***Former Foreign Minister of Israel***Lakhdar Brahimi***Former Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General and Algerian Foreign Minister***Zbigniew Brzezinski***Former U.S. National Security Advisor to the President*

**Ghassan Salamé***Former Minister, Lebanon; Professor of International Relations, Paris***Douglas Schoen***Founding Partner of Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, U.S.***Thorvald Stoltenberg***Former Foreign Minister of Norway***Ernesto Zedillo***Former President of Mexico; Director, Yale Center for the Study of Globalization***Ayo Obe***Chair of Steering Committee of World Movement for Democracy, Nigeria***Christine Ockrent***Journalist and author, France***Victor Pinchuk***Founder of Interpipe Scientific and Industrial Production Group***Fidel V. Ramos***Former President of Philippines***INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL**

*Crisis Group's International Advisory Council comprises major individual and corporate donors who contribute their advice and experience to Crisis Group on a regular basis.*

**Rita E. Hauser (Chair)****Elliott F. Kulick (Deputy Chair)****Najib A. Mikati****Anna Luisa Ponti****Michael L. Riordan****Tilleke & Gibbins****Baron Guy Ullens de Schooten****Stanley Weiss****Westfield Group****Woodside Energy, Ltd.****Don Xia****Yasuyo Yamazaki****Sunny Yoon****Credit Suisse****John Ehara****Equinox Partners****Konrad Fischer****Alan Griffiths****Robert Humberson****Iara Lee & George Gund III  
Foundation****Jewish World Watch****George Kellner****Shiv Vikram Khemka****George Loening****Douglas Makepeace****Marc Abramowitz****APCO Worldwide Inc.****Ed Bachrach****Patrick E. Benzie****Stanley M. Bergman and  
Edward J. Bergman****BHP Billiton****Harry Bookey and Pamela  
Bass-Bookey****John Chapman Chester****Chevron****Companhia Vale do Rio Doce****Richard H. Cooper****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.*

Simone Veil

Michael Sohlman

Leo Tindemans

Ed van Thijn

Shirley Williams

Grigory Yavlinski

Uta Zapf

**As at July 2006**

Matthew McHugh

George J. Mitchell

Surin Pitsuwan

Cyril Ramaphosa

George Robertson

Michel Rocard

Volker Ruehe

Mohamed Sahnoun

Salim A. Salim

Malcolm Fraser

Bronislaw Geremek

I.K. Gujral

Max Jakobson

Mong Joon Chung

Bethuel Kiplagat

Todung Mulya Lubis

Allan J. MacEachen

Barbara McDougall

Diego Arria

Zainab Bangura

Christoph Bertram

Jorge Castañeda

Eugene Chien

Gianfranco Dell'Alba

Alain Destexhe

Marika Fahlen

Stanley Fischer