

2005 ( ) 6 -

40

<b>i</b> .....			
<b>1</b> .....	:		<b>.1</b>
1.....		-	
2.....		-	
3.....		-	
<b>6</b> .....			<b>.2</b>
6.....		-	
8.....		-	
11.....		-	
<b>13</b> .....	:		<b>.3</b>
14.....		-	
15.....		-	
18.....		-	
18.....		.1	
18.....		.2	
19.....		.3	
20.....		-	
21.....			
<b>23</b> .....	:		<b>.4</b>
25.....		-	
26.....		-	
27.....		-	
29.....		-	

70

2001

( ) ( )

( ) ( )

: .3 ( )

( ) ( )

( )

( ) ( )

( ) ( )

( ) ( )

.4 : .2

( ) ( )

( ) ( )

( )

( )

2001

( ) ( )

.  
:  
: .5

( )

( )

( )

2006 ( )

.6

.7

.  
:  
.8

1973 2002 ( )

( )

2005 ( ) 6 /

: .1

290.000

(2)

40

-2001

(3)

213.000-

64

700.000

(4)

1999 1961

(1)

31 1991

36

(2)

1981

(3)

31

.2003 ( )

**70**

(4)

(1)

Eric Hooglund, "Bahrain", in Helen C. Metz, ed., (1994)  
*Persian Gulf States: Country Studies* (Washington DC: U.S.  
 .123 Government Printing Office, 1994)

Juan Cole, *Sacred " :  
 Space and Holy War: The Politics, Culture and History of  
 .3 (2002 ) Shi`ite Islam*

1994

(8)

1973 ( )

(5)( )

( )

(6)

1975

1973

"

(7)"

(8)

.4

1994

" :

( )

1975 ( )

" 18-167 (1997 )

"The Uprising in Bahrain: An Assessment", in Gary G. Sick and Lawrence G. Potter (eds.), *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion* (New York, 1997), pp. 167-188; Joe Stork, "Bahrain's Crisis Worsens"

( )

204 35-33 (1997 - / - )

.1975

143-129 (2000 ) 3 11

" : " 13-6 (2000 / ) 100 9

.( 5)

Naomi Sakr, 2001 ( ) 2 28

"Reflections on the Manama Spring: Research Questions Arising from the Promise of Political Liberalisation in Bahrain", *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2 (November 2001) 231-229

(5)

Human Rights Watch, "Routine Abuse, Routine Denial: Civil Rights and the Political Crisis in Bahrain" 3 1997 Bahrain"

J.E. Peterson, "Bahrain's First Reforms Under Amir Hamad"

( ) ( ) 2 33

1973

Crisis Group (6)

Fred H. (2003 ) : Lawson, "Repertoires of Contention in Contemporary Bahrain," in Quintan Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Bloomington, 2003)

.2005 ( ) 12

(7)

Human Rights Watch, "Routine Abuse, Routine Denial" .18

(12)

(9)

(10)

.1999

1997 ( )

(13)

(11)

(14)

2004

Crisis Group

(12)

(9)

.2005 ( ) 5

Crisis Group

(13)

-179

(10)

2002

1980

.180

Aljazeera.net 2004 ( ) 22

(14)

( ) 21

.2004 ( ) 23

1982

4.000

72

1971

1973

(11)

1994 ( )

24

.37



( )  
100

(15)

(19)

65.000

( )

" Crisis Group

( ) 25 .2004 ( )

(20)"

Crisis Group

(16)

(17) 4.000-3.000

20 (18)

(21)"

2004 ( )

(22)

(15)

2004

2005 ( )

5 Crisis Group (19)  
.2005 ( )

75.000

" " (16)

.2005 ( ) 5 Crisis Group (20)  
Crisis Group (21)

.2005 ( ) 2

Crisis Group (17)

( )

2005

.2005 ( ) 9 Crisis Group "  
Crisis Group (22)

.2004 ( ) 4

4

.2005 ( ) Crisis Group (18)

.2005 ( )

Crisis Group

2005 ( ) 25

( )

Crisis Group

(27)

(23)"

(28)

Crisis Group

(29)

( )

2005

(Bloggers)

( )

(24)

3.000

(25)

"

(30)

(26)

(31)

---

	80.000	(27)
Crisis Group	.50.000	
	2005 ( )	
	2005 ( ) 26	(28)
	2005 ( ) 26 Crisis Group	(29)
	2005 ( ) 4 Crisis Group	(30)
	2005 ( ) 1 Crisis Group	(31)

---

8	Crisis Group	(23)
	2005 ( )	
	2005 ( ) 12	(24)
	2005 ( ) 28	(25)
	2005 ( ) 7	(26)

.2

2001

" "

1973

(32)

2002 ( )

( )

2004

(33)

(34)

.2000

2002 ( ) 7 (32)

1973

Crisis Group

2001 ( ) 98

(1994 )

1973

.2005 ( ) 2 (1996 )

2 Crisis Group (33)

.2005 ( )

100 (34)

47 24 572

-300

1.300

(37)

.1973

40

40

2002

(38)

(35)"

"

1973

2001

(36)

50

25

160

(37)

2003

" " 2002

" :1973

56

(McKinsey & Co.)

"Princes and Parliaments in the Arab World", *Middle East* 3

.376 (2004 ) *Journal* vol. 56, no. 3

(\$)

(38)

26.500)

10.000

" "

(35)

(

.(BMW)

.Crisis Group

.58

"

Crisis Group

( )

(36)

Crisis Group

Crisis Group

[ ]

Crisis Group

"

"

Crisis Group

.2004 ( ) 6

Crisis Group

.2005 ( ) 2

1973

" " (42)

-

2002

(43)

(2002 / ) 16 )

2000

-

-

"

"

)

.(

(39)

2002

(40)

"

(41)

"

Crisis Group (39)

.2005 ( )

(40)

:

Crisis Group (42)

.2004 ( ) 20

Crisis Group (43)

.2005 ( ) 7

Crisis Group (41)

2005

Crisis Group .2006

.2005 ( )

"

27 (48)2004 ( )

(49) 40  
: ( ) □

.( )

-  
-

" 60.000 50.000  
(50)

" " " (44)"

(45) " " -  
Crisis Group

(46)"

( )

:

: □

8 8 9 .2002 ( )  
: .6 9

2003  
" 398

13655  
2003 ( ) -2001 ( )  
.12

(47)

Crisis Group (48)

.2004 ( ) 7 Crisis Group (44)  
Crisis Group (45)

.2005 ( ) Crisis Group  
" : " (49)

.2005 ( ) 12  
.2004 ( ) 4 Crisis Group (46)  
(47)

5 .2002 ( ) 1 ( )  
Crisis Group (50)

%50

.2005 ( )

(2002 " " 31-24

2003

:

51 " "

572

8000

18

101

( )

47

Crisis Group

%21

2004 ( )

(54)

(52)

%50

.2002 ( )

1000

" "

1979

" :

(53)2001

(55)"

:

□

(56)

Crisis Group

( ) 2

Crisis Group

51

:

"

(54)

.2005

10

2003 ( )

"

32

( )

.2004 ( )

Crisis Group

(55)

Crisis Group

(56)

.2004 ( )

Crisis Group

(52)

.2005 ( ) 9

.2004 ( )

Crisis Group

(53)

(62) " :  
 21 (57) "

(63) - (58)

%15 ( )

(64) %35 2013 ( )

100.000 (60)

(65) 40.000

(66) " "

(67) %3 (61)

Crisis Group	(62)	.2005 ( ) 5	Crisis Group	(57)
.2005 ( ) 12	(63)	.2005 ( ) 11 - -	Crisis Group	(58)
" "	(64)	Crisis Group	Crisis Group	(59)
.4 2004 23	(65)	.2005 ( ) 11		(60)
Crisis Group	(66)	Crisis Group		
.2005 ( ) 8	(67)			
Crisis Group	(67)	12	Crisis Group	(61)
.2005 ( ) 12			.2005 ( )	



(70)

(71)

:

.2005 ( )

....

- -  
(68)

%70

.2013

1990

84000

67000

2002

420

1990

530

200

2002

%80

352

%53

(69)

2013

200

(72)

300

( 928 ) 350

Crisis Group

(68)

40000

Crisis Group

1500

1000

)

( 3979 2643

7

Crisis Group (70)

9

2005 ( )

.2004 ( )

3

"

"

(69)

( ) 4

Crisis Group (71)

.2004

(

110

) %113

.4

"

"

(72)

.10

(

150

:	<b>.3</b>
---	-----------

(73)

(74)

(75)

(76)

-" "

Crisis Group (73)

.2005 ( ) 11

Crisis Group (74)

.2005 ( ) (75)

(77)

2003 ( )

1200

26 " :Crisis Group

2004 ( )

)

(

Crisis Group ( ) 7

Group

.2004

(76)

Crisis Group

%300

Crisis Group

.2005 ( ) 12

.2004 ( ) 8 (77)

%3

1996

(78)

(82)

(79)

1979

(83)

1979

1979 " :

(80)

1980

(

(81)

Crisis Group

(82)

1995

( )

Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America* .281-280 (2004 )

" :37

Crisis Group

(78)

.20 2005 ( ) 2 "

(79)

(80)

:"

(81)

2

Crisis Group

(83)

Graham Fuller and Rend Rahim Francke, *The Arab*

.2005 ( )

.134 (1999 ) *Shi`a: The Forgotten Muslims*

"

(84)"

" "

" :

(87)"

(88)

" "

" :

" :

(89)"

(85)

2005

( )

( )

(90)

2005 ( )

Crisis Group (87)

.2005 ( ) 12

-( )

Crisis Group (88)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( ) 4

Crisis Group (89)

( )

Crisis Group (90)

.2005 ( ) -

(86)

Crisis Group

.2005 ( ) 2

Crisis Group (84)

.128 ( ) (85)

.2005 ( ) 12 (86)

( )

(94)

(95)

"

(91)"

(96)

( )

(92)

" "

)

(

2002

(93)

(97)

( )

(94)

( )

( )

.2005 ( ) 12 Crisis Group  
Crisis Group

1

Crisis Group (95)

.2005 ( ) (96)

.2005 ( ) 4 Crisis Group (97)

.2005 ( ) 15 Crisis Group

Juan Cole, *Sacred Space*

*and Holy War*

.20 (91)

Moojan Momen, An (92)

*Introduction to Shi`i Islam: The History and Doctrines of*

.188 (1985 ) *Twelver Shi`ism* (93)

.2005 ( ) Crisis Group

(101)

(102)

1971

(103)

Crisis Group

%70

(98)

2001

(99)

(104)

(100)

( ) 25

2005

Crisis Group

(101)

80.000 50.000

20.000

.2005 ( ) 25 Crisis Group 30.000

2006 2005 ( )

12

Crisis Group

(98)

.2005 ( )

.2005( ) Crisis Group (102)

( ) 7

Crisis Group

(99)

.2005( ) 6 Crisis Group (103)

.2005

.2005( ) Crisis Group (104)

.2005 7 Crisis Group (100)

" :

(105)

(108)"

(109)

2002

(110)

(111)

.1

:

.2001 ( )

(106)

(65.000)

(112)2002

(107)

.2

.2005 ( )

Crisis Group

(108)

(109)

.2005 ( )

Crisis Group

(110)

(111)

Human Rights Watch, "

.33-28

"Routine Abuse, Routine Denial"

.2005 ( )

Crisis Group

(112)

.( )

(105)

1

Crisis Group

(106)

.2005 ( )

1

Crisis Group

(107)

.2005 ( )

(114) %55 %45

2002

(115)

(113)

.3

" "

" "

.2004

30 25

(116) 100

99

1980

Crisis Group  
(20.000)

.2001

12 Crisis Group (114)

.2005 ( )

Crisis Group (115)

(113)

11 Crisis Group (116)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( ) Crisis Group

Crisis Group



(119)

2002

(117)

2001

2002 ( )

( )

(118)

(120)

Crisis Group

.2005 ( )

Crisis Group

(117)

":

(118)

2001

(119)

Crisis

.2005 ( )

1 Crisis Group

Group

8

Crisis Group

(120)

.2005 ( )

(124)

2005 ( ) 25

(121)

(122)

" (125)

2002

(126)

"

"

(127)"

2004

( )

.2005 ( ) Crisis Group

(123) 2006

.2005 ( ) Crisis Group (124)

1 Crisis Group (125)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( ) 8 Crisis Group (121)

2 Crisis Group (126)

Crisis Group (122)

.2005 ( )

.2005 ( ) 31 (123)

1 Crisis Group (127)

.2005 ( )

2004

2005 ( )

( )

(132)

(128)

Crisis Group

(129)

(133)"

(130)

(131)

( ) 8 Crisis Group (128)  
.2005

Crisis  
.2005 ( ) 4 Group (129)  
.2005 ( ) 4 Crisis Group (130)  
" ( ) (131)

" Crisis Group "  
.10-9 "  
" 74 Crisis Group

*Indonesia Backgrounder: Jihad* " :  
Crisis 2004 ( ) 3 *in Central Sulawesi*  
" : 12 Group

*Islamism in North Africa I: The* " :1  
Crisis 2004 ( ) 20 *Legacies of History*  
" 13 Group

*Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's* " :2  
Crisis Group 2004 ( ) 20 *Opportunity*  
.. .. " 29

*Islamism, Violence, and* " :  
2004 ( ) 30 *Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page*  
" 31 Crisis Group  
*Saudi Arabia Backgrounder:* "  
.2004 21 *Who are the Islamists?*  
.2005 ( ) 11 ,Crisis Group (132)  
.2005 ( ) 5 Crisis Group (133)

: .4

.2001

Crisis Group

.2001

(137)

(134)

2005

(138) ( )

(135)»

(136)

(134)

2005 ( ) 6 /

http://www.state.gov/g/drl/ : "2005-2004  
rls/shrd/2004/43111.htm

( ) 2 (135)

http://www.whitehouse.gov/news : 205  
/releases/2005/02/20050202-11.html

.2005 ( ) -( ) Crisis Group (136)

.2005 ( ) 5 Crisis Group (137)

.2005 ( ) 4 Crisis Group (138)



40

(

( )

( ) 5

( ) 100

/

12

[CrisisWatch](#)

:

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

( )

. 2000

)

## 2002

## EGYPT/NORTH AFRICA\*

- Diminishing Returns: Algeria's 2002 Legislative Elections*, Middle East/North Africa Briefing N°1, 24 June 2002
- 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 Briefing N°9, 30 September 2003
- Islamism in North Africa I: The Legacies of History*, Middle East and North Africa Briefing N°12, 20 April 2004
- Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's Opportunity*, Middle East and North Africa Briefing N°13, 20 April 2004
- Islamism, Violence and Reform in Algeria: Turning the Page*, Middle East and North Africa Report N°29, 30 July 2004 (also available in Arabic and in French)
- Understanding Islamism*, Middle East Report N°37, 2 March 2005

## IRAQ/IRAN/GULF

- Iran: The Struggle for the Revolution's Soul*, Middle East Report N°5, 5 August 2002
- Iraq Background: What Lies Beneath*, Middle East Report N°6, 1 October 2002
- Voices from the Iraqi Street*, Middle East Briefing N°3, 4 December 2002
- 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

## ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

- A Time to Lead: The International Community and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Middle East Report N°1, 10 April 2002
- Middle East Endgame I: Getting to a Comprehensive Arab-Israeli Peace Settlement*, Middle East Report N°2, 16 July 2002
- Middle East Endgame II: How a Comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian Settlement Would Look*, Middle East Report N°3; 16 July 2002
- Middle East Endgame III: Israel, Syria and Lebanon – How Comprehensive Peace Settlements Would Look*, Middle East Report N°4, 16 July 2002
- The Meanings of Palestinian Reform*, Middle East Briefing N°2, 12 November 2002
- Old Games, New Rules: Conflict on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, Middle East Report N°7, 18 November 2002
- 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)
- Afraid of 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

\*The Algeria project was transferred from the Africa Program to the Middle East & North Africa Program in January 2002.



***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

---

## 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)

***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)

**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***Stanley Fischer***Vice Chairman, Citigroup Inc.; former First Deputy Managing Director of International Monetary Fund***Leslie H. Gelb***President Emeritus of Council on Foreign Relations, U.S.***Bronislaw Geremek***Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland***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***Ellen Johnson Sirleaf***Senior Advisor, Modern Africa Fund Managers; former Liberian Minister of Finance and Director of UNDP Regional Bureau for Africa***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.**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 Cattau\****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***Victor Chu***Chairman, First Eastern Investment Group, Hong Kong***Wesley Clark***Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe*

**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***Joanne Leedom-Ackerman***Novelist and journalist, U.S.***Todung Mulya Lubis***Human rights lawyer and author, Indonesia***Barbara McDougall***Former Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada***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***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)****Tilleke & Gibbins  
International LTD****Baron Ullens****Stanley Weiss****Westfield Group****Yasuyo Yamazaki****Sunny Yoon****George Kellner****George Loening****Douglas Makepeace****Anna Luisa Ponti****Quantm****Michael L. Riordan****Sarlo Foundation of the Jewish  
Community Endowment Fund****Marc Abramowitz****Anglo American PLC****John Chapman Chester****Peter Corcoran****Credit Suisse Group****John Ehara****Equinox Management Partners****JP Morgan Global Foreign  
Exchange and Commodities****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****As at May 2005****Matt McHugh****George J. Mitchell****Mo Mowlam****Cyril Ramaphosa****Michel Rocard****Volker Ruehe****Alain Destexhe****Marika Fahlen****Malcolm Fraser****Max Jakobson****Mong Joon Chung****Allan J. MacEachen****Oscar Arias****Zainab Bangura****Christoph Bertram****Jorge Castañeda****Eugene Chien****Gianfranco Dell'Alba**