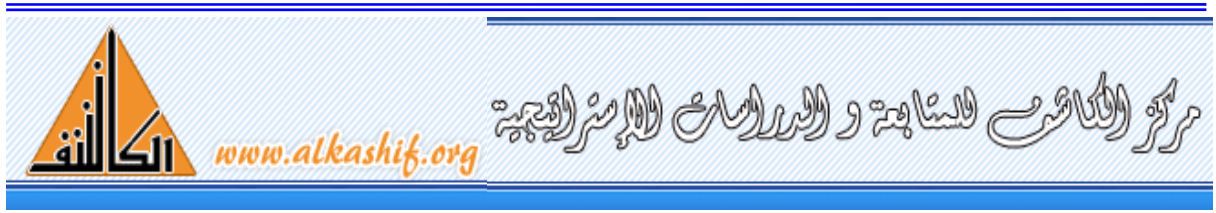


()



▪
▪

/ /



:

()



⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮



⋮

·

() —

i.....	
.....	I.
.....	II.
.....	.
.....	.
.....	.
.....	.
.....	III.
.....	.
..... " "	.
19.....	IV.
19.....	.
23.....	.
25.....	.
27.....	.
28.....	V.
28.....	.
31.....	.
32.....	VI.
32.....	.
34.....	.
35.....	: VII.
37.....	VIII.
38.....	.A
39.....	.B
40.....	.C
42.....	.D

()

:

□

□

□

□

)

(

-

:

()

.

()

()

:

()

()

:

-

()

-

:

()

()

:

()

()

()

()

()

()

-

.

:

-

.

-

.

-

. -

:

-

.

()

.

:

-

.

()

/

()

:

I

()

)

(

(1)

.()

()

()

/

()

()

)

(

" :

()

() " (4)

() "

" ()

John

Fawcett and Victor Tanner, "The Internally Displaced People of Iraq", Brookings, Washington DC, October 2002

: " <http://www.brookings.edu>

"Iraq: Forcible Expulsion of Ethnic Minorities", Human Rights Watch, New York, March 2003
<http://www.hrw.org> :

.()

" : " (5)

"Iraq's Crime of Genocide: The Anfal Campaign against the Kurds", Human Rights Watch, New York, 1995

. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1993/iraqanfal> (6)

[]

() (2)

. ()

. (3)

" " []

" "

<http://www.iraqrevenuewatch.org> :

()

—

()

$$(\quad)$$

()

()_{II}

$$\begin{pmatrix} & \\ & \end{pmatrix}$$
$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \right)$$

(

()

■

•

()

"

11

11

11

()

()_{II}

(7)

• ()

(8)

$$(\quad , \quad , \quad , \quad)$$

,)

$$\cdot (\quad , \quad , \quad)$$
$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \right) \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \right)$$
$$\cdot (\quad , \quad)$$

.()

(9)

• 11

•

—

11

•

(13)

(10)

"

11

(14)

11

•

11

11

() -

$$\frac{\partial \mathcal{L}}{\partial \mathbf{w}_i} = \frac{\partial \mathcal{L}}{\partial \mathbf{w}_i} + \frac{\partial \mathcal{L}}{\partial \mathbf{w}_i} \quad (1)$$

()

(15)

)

$$\cdot (16)$$
$$= (17)$$

11.

11

|| •

...

]

[

• •

)
(-

.
() .

)
" " "
.() " _ () "

()

-

-

" "

.()

" :

"

"

"

.() "

.()

" "

.

.()

"

"

.()

(18)

(19)

.

.

.

(22)

(23)

"

"

() "

() "

.(:)

(24)

(25)

.

"

"

(20)

<http://www.krg.org>.

"

."

"

(21)

() ()

()

()

-

()

" :

-

"

()

()

:

"

.

.

[]

()

-

■

.

" : (31)

" (26)

()

.

"

"

()

" (27)

"

"

" :

()

.

()

(28)

.

()

(29)

" (32)

"

"

()

(30)

()

()

()

—

· ·

-

()

()

()

" "

()

()

·

·

"

·

:

()"

·

"

"

()"

"

()

· ()

"

"

()

() ·

·

()

·

"

()

· ()

(33)

· ()

(34)

(37)

)

·(

· —

· ()

(38)

(35)

()

"

"

()

· <http://www.iwpr.net> :

" :

(36)

· - () " :

(39)

· ()

· ()

·

" :

III

- " ")

(" "
()

()
.()

()

-

()

.()

()

.

.

()

.()

.()

()

()

()

.

.()

.

)

(

.

.

,

.()

()

()

.()

()

)

()

(

.)

) (

(

)

]

(45)

.[

(42)

" :

."

<http://www.ieciraq.org> :

.()

) ()

(46)

()

(43)

(

.

.

.

" :

(44)

"

: " ()

."

.

. -

()

.

()

·
· ()

· ()

· ()

· ()

· ()

(47)

()

()

" :

· "

()

()

()

(48)

()

()

()

· "

" :

" :

(49)

· "

(IWPR)

· <http://www.iwpr.net> : ()

()

()

(50)

()

()

" :

(51)

()

()

" ()

· "

· "

()

()

()

()()

()

.()

()

.()

:

.()

:

□

%

.()

(54)

" :

()

."

:

()

(55)

()

.

□

(56)

"

()

()

"

"

()

()

."

" :

()

(57)

."

()

()

"

."

.

"

Tom Lasseter, "Kurds in Iraqi army
proclaim loyalty to militia", Knight Ridder Newspapers

()

(52)

(53)

()

()

()

：

() -

.

.

□

.

. ()
()

"

]

.

."["

□

"

[]

.()"

□

.

□

-

.

()

()

" ；

.

()

.

.()"

(58)

" ；

]

" ；

(60)

."

.

.[

.

."

()

(61)

()

.

， ；

， ， ；

， ， ；

， ， ；

.

" ；

()

(59)

.

.

()

.

()

.

□

“ ” □ ()

□

.

“ ” .

□

- -

“ ”

“

□

()

()

“

()

:

-

()

□

-

: ()

□

“

“

() ()

“ : (62)

: (64)

<http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL.html>
(65)

: ()
http://www.ieciraq.org/final%20cand/Draft%20Constitution_2005%5B1%5D.09.20_En.pdf

:

<http://www.iraqigovernment.org>

()
(63)

()

" :

() " "

" :

()

() ()

" "

()

:

.()

()

" :

.

,

,

· , ,

,

.()"

,

.()

,

()

(66)

(KRG)

" :

" "

)

(-

()

.()

"

"

()

()

)

()

(68)

)

()

(

(

.

()

"

()

" :

()

" :

"

()"

()

"

"

"

" :

"

[]

()

()"

" :

()"

)

(69)

(

"

"

Human Rights Watch, "Iraq's Crime of "

"
Genocide"

()

"

" :

()

" :

"

()

()

(72)

(70)

" " " "

()

()

(73)

()

(74)

(71)

()

.()

.()"

" :

)

.()"(" "

()

.()

()

()()

()

()

) " .

(78)

()

.()

" :

[]

(.(" "

" :

."

(79)

()

(80)

(75)

: ()

"

" :

<http://www.iraq4allnews.dk/>

(81)

()

."

()

()

(76)

)

)

(

:

(77)

()

IWPR

(

()

()

()

" <http://www.irwpr.net> :

..

.()

. ()

"

.

()

." ()([]

"

.()"

.()

.()

()

.() ()

()

" :

()

.()"

(82)

()

(86)

()

()

" "

.()

(83)

()

(84)

()

()

(87)

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

(88)

()

"

."

" :

()

(85)

" :

"

()

()

."

:

()

()

()
()

()

" :

" :

()"

()"

() (92)

" (89)

"

() " "

" ()

(90)

" :

()

" "

"

"

" []

"

()

" :

(93)

()

(91)

IV

.

.

" " ()

.

.

()

.

.

.

.

()

"

()

()

(USAID)

()

(95)

"

()

"

"

" :

"

" :

(96)

"

()

(94)

"

()

(97)

()

" :

-

-

:

() -

-

.

.()

:

.

.

.

-

_()

.

.()

.

"

"

.()

.

()

(100)

.()

()

.

()

.

(101)

.

.

.

.

()

.

()

(99)

-

.

."

()

:

(98)

() " " ()

.

()

()

.

.

)

(

()

()

(104)

.

(102)

()

()

() ()

"

"

"

()

(105)

"

"

()

(106)

" :

[]

)

()

"

(103)

(

(SOMO)

()

()

()

() - ()

" :

()

()

"

(107)

IRIN .

()

IWPR

()

. <http://www.iwpr.net> :

())
(

() ()
()

()

:

()
()

()"

()

(108)

ITF

()

(109)

()

(111)

" "

" "

" :

" :

"

()

()

()

"

(112)

(110)

()

()

" ")

()

(

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

(115)

()

()

(116)

()

()

1

()

)

() (

()

()

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \end{array} \right] \quad \cdot \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \end{array} \right]$$

11

11

()

(121)

[]

.()

[]

||

()

—

%

.()

)

(ITRAC

ITRAC

()

(122)

11

11

() ()

$$\begin{array}{c} \parallel \\ \bullet \\ \bullet \end{array}$$

()

||

()₁₁

()

()

)

()

()

■

• ()

(123)

()

•

•

:

11

()

(124)

• ()

(125)

• ()

()

$$\begin{array}{cc} \parallel & \bullet \\ & \bullet \end{array}$$

(127)

■

•

•

11.

•

()
(126)

|| .

()

()

(128)

."

1

.(" "

.

()

()

.

.

.

.()

.()

"

.

.

.

.()

.()"

.

▪

.

()

)

(135)

.

.

.()

(136)

" :

"

(137)

."

.()

(138)

" :

.

.

.

.()

.()

."

()

()

()

()

()

(139)

()
David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London, 2000)
(140)

" : " : (141)
Kerim Yildiz, *The Kurds in Iraq: The Past, Present and Future*
" : () .(London, 2004)

Jonathan C. () ."
Randal, *After Such Knowledge, What Forgiveness? My*
Encounters with Kurdistan (New York, 1997)
(142)

()

() - ()

"

(

()

()

()

()

" :

()"

"

(143)

()

()

()

(146)

(147)

" "

(144)

()

()

(145)

()

- " :

()

:

()

.

" "

" "

()

()

()

()

.

()

.

"

.

()

:

.

"

()

(148)

" "

" "

()

.

()
)

(153)

-

(149)

.

(

.

-

"

(150)

"

.

.

"

"

"

"

"

()

"

()

(154)

()

(151)

-

" :

"

-

()

()

()

(155)

"

"

()

"

(152)

.

()

.()()
()
)
(

.()
"
-
-
.()"
.

(168)

()

.()
" : () (169)

(170)

()

.()

" :
:[] " : "
() "

Jonathan Morrow, "Iraq's Constitutional Process II: An Opportunity Lost", U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC, December 2005

■

■

•

•

•

II II

■

•

•

■

—

■

|| || || || || ||

II II

()

■

■

()

11

■

■

()_{II}

(174)

11

•

11

()

11.

(172)

11

()

(173)

: .VII

.()

()

.()

.()

()"
()
.()

(175)

": (176)

(177)

.

.

.

.

.

-

-

.

.

:

.

.

.

.

.

.

()

.()

()

()

.()

- - -

.

.

.

()

(

)

.()

.

)

(

.

.

"

:

"

.

"

.

:

"

.

()

.

: " :

: .

"

.

()

()

()

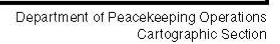
()"

)

.(

()

/



()

:

/

.

:

.

.

.

:

.

"

"

:

.

()

. www.crisisgroup.org:

.

()

.

.

.

/

.

()

)

.

(

.

/

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

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

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 (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)

Iraq's Muqtada Al-Sadr: Spoiler or Stabiliser?

Crisis Group Middle East Report N°55, 11 July 2006

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

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; Senior Vice-President, International Relations, Boeing

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 Cattai*

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

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.***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***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*

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)****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****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****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**

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.***Diego Arria****Zainab Bangura****Christoph Bertram****Jorge Castañeda****Eugene Chien****Gianfranco Dell'Alba****Alain Destexhe****Marika Fahlen****Stanley Fischer****Malcolm Fraser****Bronislaw Geremek****I.K. Gujral****Max Jakobson****Mong Joon Chung****Bethuel Kiplagat****Todung Mulya Lubis****Allan J. MacEachen****Barbara McDougall****Matthew McHugh****George J. Mitchell****Surin Pitsuwan****Cyril Ramaphosa****George Robertson****Michel Rocard****Volker Ruehe****Mohamed Sahnoun****Salim A. Salim****Simone Veil****Michael Sohlman****Leo Tindemans****Ed van Thijn****Shirley Williams****Grigory Yavlinski****Uta Zapf****As at July 2006**