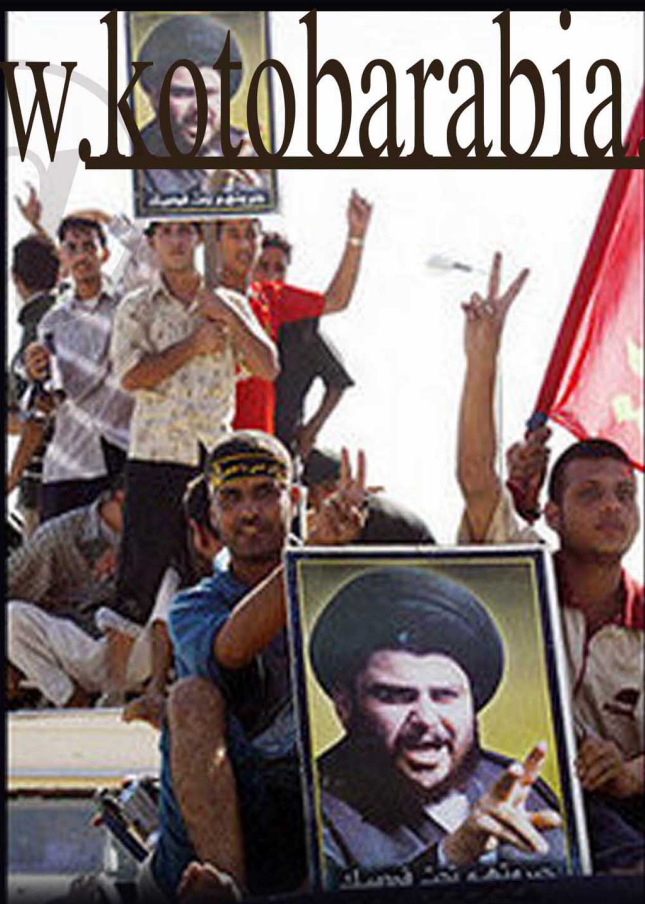


www.kotobarabia.com

مركز الدراسات الاستراتيجية



www.kotobarabia.com

العراق: وقيام المقاومة

آن ألكسندر
وسيمون عساف

العراق: وقيام المقاومة

آن ألكسندر
وسيمون عساف

مركز الدراسات الاشتراكية

فہرست

- :
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-

.

.

" "

.

.

.

!

.

" "

- -

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

- -



.

.

.

.

- -

.

.

.

.

.

()

:

- -

.

"

" .
.

"

..

"
.

"
...
.

"



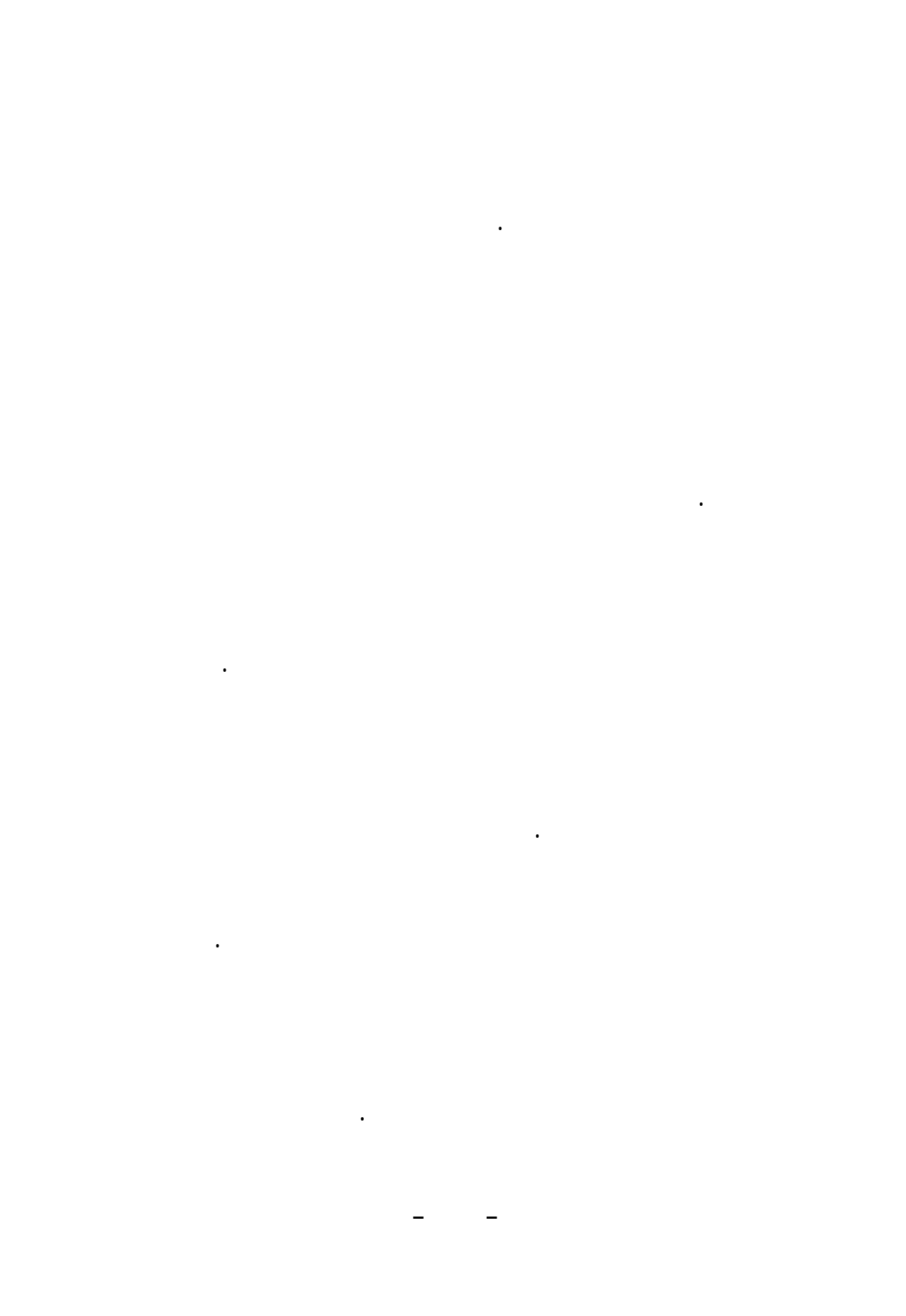
.

.

.

.

- -



.

.

.

.

.

()

"

"

.

.

:

.

.

•

•

”

”

•

•

•

•

••

”

”

-

-

"

"

.

"

"

.

"

"

.

-

-

•
•

”

”

”

.

.

.

.

-

-

()

.

.

.

.

"

()"

.

- -

.

"

"

.

.

.

-

-

.

.

%

%

.

%

.

.

.

- -

.

:

"

"

.

() .

.

- -

)
(

"

"

:

..

)

(

().

- -

)

(

"

"

"

"

- -

"

"

.

.

.

.

.

.

-

-

·
()

·

·

" " " "

·

" " " "

" " " "

- -

:

.

.

() .

.

.

.

.

()

- -

"

.

:

"

.

/

.

-

-

.

.

.

"

"

.

.

.

.

-

-

()



:

)

(

()

" "

·
:

·
()



()

()

()

“ ”

() .

() .

.

() .

- -

“ ” “ ” “ ”

.

.

:

() .

- -

USAID

" "

"

"

"

"

()"

%

() .

() .

() .

.

.

.

- -



"

"

KDP and PUK

-

-

)

(

%

.

%

%

.

%

%

() .

%

.(MI6) (CIA)

()

"

"

.

.

.

.

.

.

-

-

.

:

.

.

.

- -

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

.

" "

:

" :

..

"

.

.

"

"

.

- -

.

:

()

UPI

⋮

⋮

⋮

⋮

— —

)

(

"

"

:

- -

()

.

.()

.

.

"

"

:

- -

.

.

"

"

"

"

.

"

"

-

-

“ ”

()

“ ”

.

.

.

- -

()

“ ”

"

"

"

"

() .

"

"

.

"

"

:

.

.

“ ” ”

”

.

.

.

.

%

.

- -

”

”

”

”

"

"

.

"

"

.

.

-

-

.

"

()"

" "

.

" "

.

- -

() .

" "

" "

- -

•

•

- -

.

.

.

%

.

- -

%

%

%

() .

" "

.

.

.

.

.

"

"

:

-

-



() .

" "

" .

"

" "

:

" "

() . " "

“

”

.

.

()

”

()

”

”

”

.

. " "

.

.
" "

.

.

- -

.

"

"

"

.

"

"

"

.

() .

.

- -

.

" : " "

:

"

.

" "

" "

.

.

"

"

- -

"

"

"

"

.

.

:

.

.

.

-

-

·
" "

·
·

·

()
·

- -

"

.

"

() .

.

.

- -

.

.

"

"

.

.

.

.

-

-

:

.

() .

.

- -

()

” :

()”

- -

“

”

：

% -

- -

() .

.

.

.

- -

"

"

"

"

.

.

"

"

.

-

.

-

-



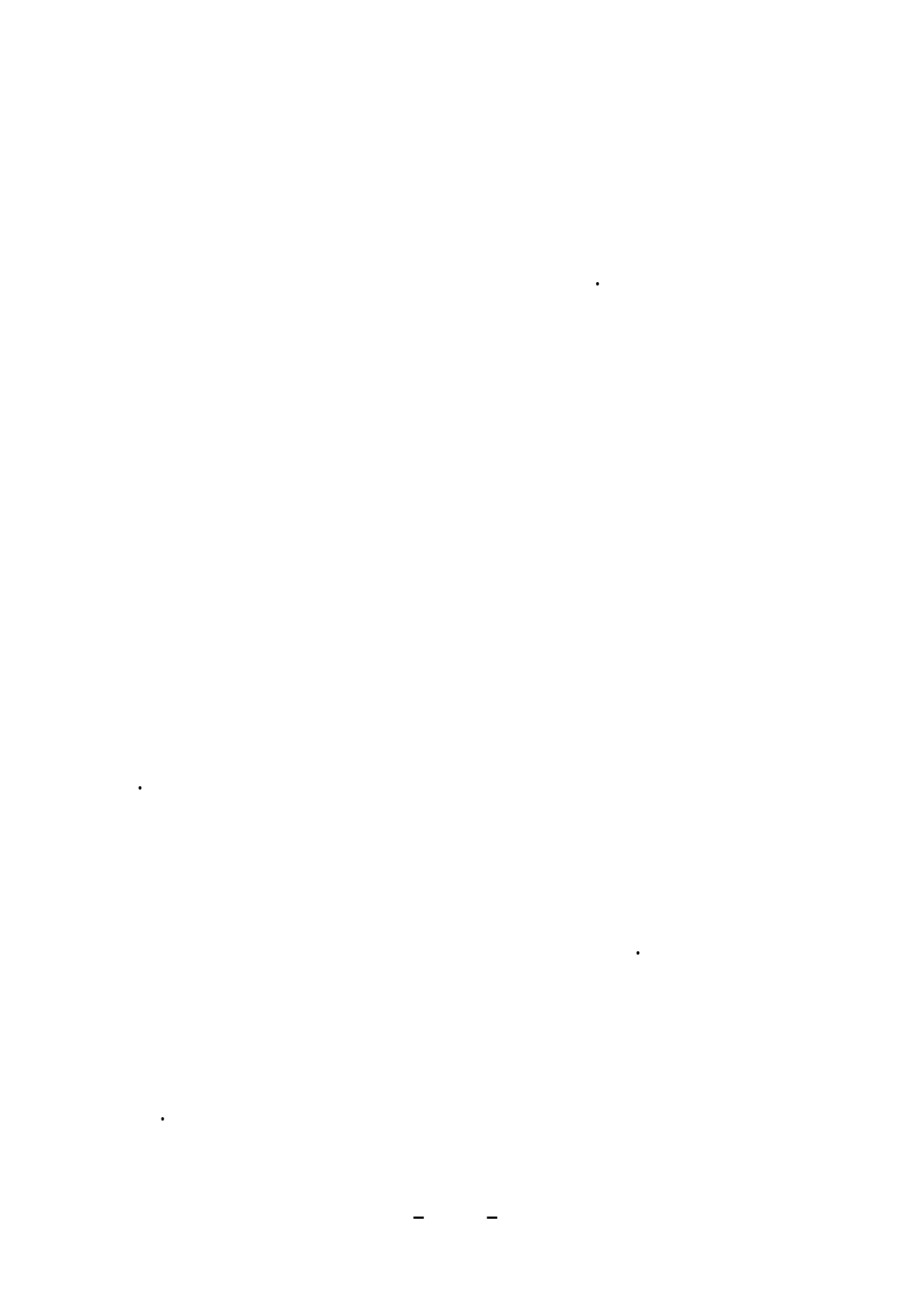
.

"

"

-

-



.

.

"

" : "

"

- -

.

.

.

.

.

- -

:

..

..

() .

" "

.

.

.

.

- -

- T. Ali, *Bush in Babylon* : -
(Verso, 2003), p.50
- 2- G. Bell, Letter, 2 July 1921, Gertrude Bell Archive,
Robinson Library, University of Newcastle,
available online at
www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/index.htm
- : -
- A. Alexander, "Daring for Victory: Iraq in Revolution"
in *International Socialism* 99 (Summer 2003).
- 4- D. McDowell, *A Modern History of the Kurds*
(London, 2000), pp.297-299.
- 5- H. Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the
Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* (Princeton,
1978), pp.901-902.
- 6- Confidential memo from British Embassy, Baghdad,
to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 20
December 1969, National Archives, FCO 17/871.
- 7- S. Ramadani, "Open Letter to Alex Gordon", 30
October 2004, available online at
www.socialistworker.co.uk/article.php4?article_id=3121

" " " "

F. A. Jabar, *The Shi'ite Movement in Iraq* (Saqi, 2003), pp.296-307

⁹⁻ F. A. Jabar, as above, p.78.

"

"

.SAIRI SCIRI

¹¹⁻ A Alkazaz, "The Distribution of National Income in Iraq, with Particular Reference to the Development of Policies Applied by the State" in D Hopwood (ed), *Iraq: Power and Society*, (Ithaca, 1993), p.198.

¹²⁻ M. Farouk-Sluglett and P. Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship*, (IB Tauris, 2001), p.173.

¹³⁻ UN-World Bank, "United Nations/World Bank Joint Iraq Needs Assessment," October 2003, p.8, [http://lnweb18.world-bank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/Iraq+Joint+Needs+Assessment/\\$File/Joint+Needs+Assessment.pdf](http://lnweb18.world-bank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/Iraq+Joint+Needs+Assessment/$File/Joint+Needs+Assessment.pdf)

¹⁴⁻ P. Ording-Becroft and S. Ethelston, "Facts and Figures: the Impact of Sanctions on Iraq," *Middle East Report* (Spring 1998).

:

A. Arnove (ed), *Iraq under Siege: the Deadly Impact of Sanctions and War* (Southend Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁻ UN/World Bank, as above, p.21.

:

N. al-Radi, Baghdad Diaries: 1991-2002 (Saqi, 2003).

¹⁸⁻ UN/World Bank, as above, p.29.

()

21- A Baram, "Neo-tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Tribal Policies 1991-96", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no.29 (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

22- As above, p.7.

" " -

24- A. Baram, as above, p.18.

-

26- A. S. Hashim, "The Sunni Insurgency in Iraq," Centre for Naval Warfare Studies, 15 August 2004.

27- M. Gordon, "The Conflict in Iraq: Road to War; the Strategy to Secure Iraq did not Foresee a Second War," *New York Times*, 19 October 2004.

28- As above.

29- As above.

- -

- 30- H. Zangana, “What’s Happening to Women in Occupied Iraq?”, talk given on 15 March 2004 at London School of Economics.
- 31- United States General Accounting Office, “Rebuilding Iraq,” GAO, June 2004, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04902r.pdf>
- 32- M. O’Hanlon and A. Lins de Albuquerque, *Iraq Index*, Brookings Institution, 12 November 2004, p.24, www.brookings.edu/iraqindex
- 33- H. al-Amin, “The Republic of Muqtada al-Sadr and the New Iraq – Part 3,” *Al-Hayat*, 12 July 2003, p.16, <http://www.daralhayat.com/special/features/07-2003/20032711-12p16-01.txt/story.html>
- 34- T. Kafala, “Iraq’s Media Free-For-All,” *BBC News Online*, 27 June 2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3023752.stm
- 35- A Sennitt, “Mosul TV Fights for Independence,” *Radio Netherlands Wereldomreop website*, 14 July 2003, <http://www.enw.nl/realradio/features/html/mosul030714.html>
- 36- M Gordon, as above.
- 37- Abt Associates website, “Project Brief: Iraq Health System Strengthening,” no date. <http://www.abtassociates.com/Page.efm?CSB=1&OWID=2109766860&PageID=8800>

“ ” “ ” -

) *Bouvier's Law Dictionary* .

) "usufruct" (

(

"

."

" "

N. Klein, "Bring Halliburton Home," The Nation, 6 November 2003,

<http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml%3Fi=20031124&s=klein>

USAID

-

)" "

.(

"Video: Electric and Water Systems Sectoral Conference," USAID website, 29 April 2003, http://usaid.gov/iraq/vid_live042903.html

" -

- -

Danielle Pletka, of the American Enterprise Institute, to *USA Today* reporter J. Drinkard, in "Allawi's Ascent Follows Extensive PR Campaign," *USA Today*, 2 June 2004,

http://usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2004-06-02-allawi-rise_x.htm

42- M. Hirsch, "Grim Numbers," *Newsweek*, 16 June 2004.

:

<http://msnbc.msn.com/id/5217741/site/newsweek>

43- P. Cockburn, "Exiled Allawi was Responsible for 45-minute WMD Claim," *Independent*, 29 May 2004.

44- "The Imminent Transfer of Sovereignty in Iraq," US State Department website, 13 May 2004, <http://www.state.gov/p/32467.htm>

and Office of Management and Budget, *Quarterly Update to Congress 2207* report, July 2004,

http://www.white-house.gov/omb/legislative/2207_exec_summary_final.pdf

45- <http://cpa-iraq.org/arabic/prisoners/index.html>

- 48- S. Ritter, "Defining the Resistance – It's Not Foreign and it's Well Prepared," *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 November 2003.
- 49- A. S. Hashim, "The Sunni Insurgency in Iraq," Centre for Naval Warfare Studies, 15 August 2004.
- 50- M. Prothero, "Inside the Iraqi Resistance," *United Press International*, 5 December 2003.
- 51- As above.
- 52- P-M de la Gorce, "The United States Caught in a Trap: the Post-war War in Occupied Iraq," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, 15 March 2004.
- :
- C. Harman, "The Prophet and the Proletariat," *International Socialism* 64 (Autumn 1994).
- 54- Z. Chehab, "Inside the Resistance," *Guardian*, 13 October 2003.
- .
- 56- Z. Chehab, "Inside the Resistance," *Guardian*, 13 October 2003.
- 57- A. Panketh, "Poll Reveals Hostility to US and Support for Rebel Clerics," *Independent*, 17 June 2004.
- 58- "Iraqi District Advisory Council Chgairman Dies From Gunshot Wound," Defend America website, 10 November 2003,
<http://www.defendamerica.mil/iraq/update/nov2003/iu11103.html>

- 59- E. Sanders, "Sadr City's 'Daily Massacre' Rages as Death Toll Soars," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 June 2004.

www.sistani.org

- 61- "Key Findings: Nationwide Survey of 3500 Iraqis," *USA Today*, 28 April 2004, <http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2004-04-28-gallup-iraq-findings.htm>

<http://cpa-iraq.org/arabic/prisoners/index.html>

62- M. Hirsch, "Grim Numbers," *Newsweek*, 16 June 2004.

:

<http://msnbc.msn.com/id/5217741/site/newsweek>

63- R. Chandrasekaran, "Anti-US Uprising Widens in Iraq; Marines Push Deeper into Fallujah," *Washington Post*, 8 April 2004.

64- T. Ricks, "Iraqi Battalion Refuses to Fight Iraqis," *Washington Post*, 11 April 2003.

67- "Troubled Province Tries Democracy," IWPR *Iraqi Crisis Report* 49, part 1, 23 February 2004.

69- FBIS report, Abu Dhabi TV, 5 August 2004.

http://tides.carebridge.org/TIRR/DT-IRR278.htm#_Abu_Dhabi:_Al-Zarqawi_Group_Release

70- "US to 'Capture or Kill' Muqtada al-Sadr," Aljazeera.net, 12 April 2004,

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/4206FF30-F162-471A-A3DC-0FFA68953C08.htm>

⁷¹⁻ “Signs that Shiites and Sunnis are Joining to Battle Americans,” *New York Times*, 9 April 2004.

⁷²⁻ H. Heidawi, “Disarmament is a ‘Mirage’” Associated Press, 13 October 2004.

C. Hauser, “Self-rule is Test of Nerves for Local Iraq Councils,” *New York Times*, 30 May 2004.

⁷⁴⁻ M. Scwartz, “America’s New Strategy in Iraq,” *Asia Times*, 29 September 2004.

⁷⁵⁻ B Graham and W. Pictus, “US Hopes To Divide Insurgency,” SOURCE, 31 October 2004.

⁷⁶⁻ J. Newsinger, *British Counter-insurgency: From Palestine to Northern Ireland* (Palgrave, 2002).

⁷⁷⁻ M. Schwartz, as above.

78- "Final Stand for Fallujah Rebels," *The Mercury*, 15 November 2004.

80- Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Playing the Course: A Strategy for Reshaping US Policy in Iraq and the Middle East," p.20.

()

83- Center for Strategic and International Studies, as above, p.21.

84- V.I. Lenin, "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up," *Collected Works* (Moscow, 1965).