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## Human Rights and the War on Terror: Chechnya

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## Chechnya<sup>1</sup>

by Kelley Laird

The root of animosity between Russians and Chechens extends for more than a century, beginning when Chechens opposed Russia's conquest of the Caucasus between 1818 and 1917. Tension reached an apex in the 1940s when Stalin deported thousands of Chechens to Siberia and East Asia in fear that they would collaborate with German Nazis.

However, most scholars would agree that the long-standing Russian-Chechen resentment truly exploded when Chechnya vied for autonomy as a separate Republic after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. In 1994 a war ensued between the Russian Federation and Chechnya after the Pro-Russian Chechen opposition failed to defeat the separatist regime. In August 1996 the Khasavyurt Agreement, a tentative peace accord, ended the hostilities and a peace treaty was signed between the elected President of Chechnya, Aslan Maskhadov, and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. Still, the peace was impermanent and human rights abuses continued against Chechen citizens, both from Russian military and Chechen insurgents. The autonomy Chechnya seeks was never realized by those negotiations.

After the failure of talks, both the conflict and the discussion about what constitutes human rights abuses and terrorism have become increasingly polarized and volatile. New Chechen insurgent tactics include terrorist attacks on Russian citizens. These actions claim to respond to continued human rights abuses taking place in Chechnya and against Chechen refugees in neighboring Republics like Dagestan. In turn, the Russian Federation renewed attacks against Chechnya in 1999, citing a response to Chechen terrorism and organized crime.

In the wake of September 11, the United States recast a new focus on terrorism, leading other political actors to adopt or reject the new discourse of terrorism according to their objectives. All over the world, revolutionaries and insurgents have been renamed as terrorists, and many protracted ethnic and regional conflicts have been considered in new light. If Chechnya originally had international and even Russian public support for secession in the 1994 conflict, today Chechen suicide attacks sway worldwide and public opinions to support Russia's war on Chechen terrorists.

Is Putin using riding this wave to further his suppression of Chechen secession? This, along with a number of other questions must be considered when examining the Russian-Chechen conflict. The articles in this database seek answers to these questions, along with elucidating other relevant information concerning this conflict, the politics, economics, cultural and social injustices behind it, as well as the complications surrounding future policy initiatives regarding Chechnya.

### **The Background to the Russo-Chechen Conflict**

Information in this section describes the various factors influencing the outbreak of both Chechen wars, and will give the reader a good background to this protracted conflict.

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<sup>1</sup> This section has a supplement that begins on page S-2.

Omar Ashour. 2004. "Security, Oil, and Internal Politics: The Causes of the Russo-Chechen Conflicts." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 27(2): 127.

Claims three variables caused the Russo-Chechen wars between 1994 and 1999: Russian national security interests, the value of the Caspian Oil pipeline, and Russian domestic politics all were primary factors causing war in Chechnya.

Stephen Blank. 1995. *Russia's Invasion of Chechnya: A Preliminary Assessment*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Delves into the background of the Russo-Chechen war, analyzing whether this invasion was necessary, successful, and viable. Considers the future of Russo-Chechen relations.

Nicholas Dima. 1995. "Russia, the Caucasus, and Chechnya." *Journal of Social Political and Economic Studies*. 20(2): 151.

Background information regarding the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the war in Chechnya. Looks at possible solutions to geopolitical and ethnic conflicts, in addition to Russian public opinion on these topics.

John Dunlop. 2000. *Chechnya Weekly*. [http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_view.php?publication\\_id=1](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_view.php?publication_id=1).

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

John B. Dunlop. 1998. *Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Provides the background to the Russian invasion of Chechnya in December 1994, tracing events from 4,000 BC to the time of the invasion. The genocide and oppression endured by the Chechens under the communists is discussed, along with the convulsive revolution of 1991. Excellent unbiased historical account of roots of separatist conflict.

Ib Faurby. 2002. "International Law, Human Rights and the Wars in Chechnya." *Baltic Defense Review*. 7(1).

Discusses the implications of the two Russian-Chechen wars for international law and the observance of human rights in Chechnya. Describes causes of the conflict; types of violations committed; legal definitions of the most serious crimes.

Pavel Felgengauer. 1996. "A War Moscow Cannot Afford to Lose." *Transition*. 2(11).

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation against the West." *Central Asian Survey*. 19(3/4): 315.

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geoeconomic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Carlotta Gall and Thomas De Waal. 1998. Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus. New York: New York University Press.

Written by two Russian reporters, gives background into the Chechen/Russian feud dating back to 1944, as well as current roots of conflict. Suggests that Russian leaders failed to review the context of the past as relevant to civil conflict of 1994. Argues that then President Yeltsin failed to “capitalize on moderate position” of Chechen leader to institute peace.

Stanley Greene. 2003. Open Wound: Chechnya 1994-2003. London: Trolley.

Written from a position more favorable to Chechens, this book is a resource of photos documenting the human rights implications of the destruction of Grozny. Discusses fall of the Soviet Union and claims for Islamic freedom for Chechnya. Indicates the importance of oil in Chechnya as a telling factor in the continued conflict.

Greg Hansen and Robert Seely. 1996. War and Humanitarian Action in Chechnya. Providence, RI: The Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies.

Paul B. Henze. 1996. “Russia and the Caucasus.” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 19(4): 389.

Describes history of Russian dominance in Caucasus, focusing particularly on the violence that began in 1994. Emphasizes that Russia must adopt coherent policies when dealing with the Caucasus, or the area will be unstable.

Dale R. Herspring. 2003. Putin’s Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain, 2nd Expanded Edition. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

This is a highly recommended reading for understanding Russian domestic politics impacts political, economic, and social dimensions of the conflict in Chechnya.

James Hughes. 2001. “Chechnya: The Causes of a Protracted Post-Soviet Conflict.” *Civil Wars*. 4(4): 11.

Examines the main explanations for the civil war in Chechnya, Russia in 1994. Background and causes of the Chechen conflict with discussion on the Russian strategies in Chechnya during the term of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Charles King. 2003. “Crisis in the Caucasus: A New Look at Russia’s Chechen Impasse.” *Foreign Affairs*. 82(2): 134.

Discusses Matthew Evangelista’s book The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union? Argues that Chechen violence of the 90’s was idiosyncratic. Explains Chechnya was an example for all Russian Republics, and discusses Putin’s renaming of war in Chechnya along with Russia’s support.

Stasys Knezys and Romanas Sedlickas. 1999. The War in Chechnya. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

This book discusses how Russia’s superior military had to withdraw and give way to stalemated peace to Chechnya after the first two-year civil conflict. It ties the failure to the “strategy of

ambush and military terrorist actions” by Chechen rebels. Its strength lies in the in-depth study of the war, its phases, and the internal documents accompanying these phases.

Rajan Manan. 2000. “Russia’s Ruinous Chechen War.” *Foreign Affairs*. 79(2): 32

Argues that the Russian Federation’s war with the breakaway Republic of Chechnya is indicative of much larger problems within the federation; Russia’s practice of inflating reports of military success. Gives history of Russian relations with the Caucasus, Islamic influences in Caucasus, and the inadequacy of military solution in Chechnya.

N. V. Markelov. 2002. “Where Martial Plunder Prowls the Mountains.” *Russian Studies in History*. 41(2): 21

Discusses the lessons to be learned from the Caucasus War and its link to Russia’s problems with Chechnya. Reviews key issues of interest, analyzes pertinent topics and relevant issues, and connects the implications of the conflicts in the Caucasus with Russian history.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

International pressure for Russia to reach a peaceful solution in Chechnya was intense until September 11. However since then, Putin has convinced the West that the Chechen conflict was a fight against Islamic terrorists, and international pressure has waned since. Background on Russia’s military involvement in Chechnya, and past, present and possible future implications are elaborated.

C. Cem Oguz. 2001. “Is Secessionism a Real Danger in the North Caucasus?” *Review of International Affairs*. 1(1): 53.

Explores the demographic and economic concerns of the North Caucasian regarding the war between Chechnya and Russia. Economic dependency of the North Caucasian republics on the center, and the legacy of the past in North Caucasian politics.

Scott Parrish. 1995. “A Turning Point in the Chechen Conflict.” *Transition*. 1(13): 42.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2004. *Chechnyan-Based Terrorists or Russian-Separatists*. <http://cfrterrorism.org/groups/chechens.html>.

Describes the background to Russo-Chechen conflict, discussing Chechens as terrorists and citizens. Discusses the fight for independence since 1992 and Russia’s response.

Stephen Shulman. 2001. “Justifying Forceful Resistance to Ethnic Separatism: The Case of Russia Versus Chechnya, 1994-96.” *European Security*. 10(1): 107.

ABSTRACT: *Investigates state efforts to justify armed resistance to ethnic secessionism on the 1994-1996 war fought by Russia against Chechnya. Strategies of justification which Russia used against Chechnya; Discussion of mass response to forceful resistance to Chechen separatism; Effectiveness of government to justify forceful resistance to Chechen separatism.*

Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. *Chechnya Weekly*. <http://www.jamestown.org/publications>.

Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Prague Watchdog. 2000. *Watchdog*. <http://www.watchdog.cz/>.

Prague Watchdog is an online service that collects and disseminates information on the conflict in Chechnya, focusing on human rights, humanitarian aid conditions, media access and coverage, and the local political situation. It is generally sympathetic to Chechen cause.

### **The Russian Connection with the “War on Terror”**

The documents here analyze Russia's links to terrorism, describing domestic terrorism in Russia perpetrated by Chechen insurgents, and reflecting on renaming the Russian-Chechen conflict as part of the global “War on Terror.”

Amnesty International. 2003. Human Rights and Counter-Terrorism. IOR 41/004/2003. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex>.

This document highlights the clash between conventional approaches to terrorism and upholding civil liberties and human rights.

Amnesty International. 2002. Russian Federation: Update on the Situation Regarding Chechens and in the Chechen Republic Following the October Hostage Taking Incident in Moscow. EUR 46/060/2002. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex>.

Human rights abuses have been committed by both sides in this conflict. However, since the terrorist attacks on the Moscow theatre the situation for refugees, civilians still within Chechnya, and Chechens throughout the Russian Federation seems to have worsened.

Pavel K. Baev. 2004. “Instrumentalizing Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in Putin's Russia.” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 27(4): 337.

Counterterrorism and Chechnya are different matters in Russian security policy. This article examines how the struggle against terrorism shapes essential features of Russia's domestic policies and international responses.

Stephen Blank. 2002. “Putin's Twelve-Step Program.” *Washington Quarterly* 25 (1): 417.

Discusses the Russian strategy in responding to threats from terrorists, and explains Putin's 12-step policy program which includes “finishing the job” in Chechnya, and the need for more military control within to discipline the ranks as well as in the Chechen region to maintain security.

Stephen Blank. 2003. “An Ambivalent War: Russia's War on Terrorism.” *Small Wars and Insurgencies*. 14(1): 127.

Relations between the U.S. and Russia have grown closer since September 11, especially regarding international terrorism. However, Russia's approach to fighting international terrorism is sometimes ambivalent, and their military lacks the infrastructure to be "tough on terror."

Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul. 2001. "America's Real Russian Allies." *Foreign Affairs*. 80(6): 46.

Focuses on the supportive relations between Russia and the United States since the September 11. Discusses difficulties surrounding the democratization of Russia and American promotion of democracy. Discusses President Vladimir Putin's crusade against rebels in Chechnya and the importance of Russia as an ally in the War on Terror.

2000. "Counter-Terrorist Operation in Northern Caucasus: Main Lessons and Conclusions." *Military Thought*. 9(3): 6.

Assesses the counter-terrorist operations (CTO) of the combined military forces and units of Russian Federation in Northern Caucasus, Russia. Implications of the operation on the military ability to perform constitutional duty. Advantages of using coordinated forces in a CTO; factors influencing the difficulty in combating terrorists.

2003. "Dying for Independence." *Harvard International Law Review*. 25(2): 32.

Analyzes separatist movements and terrorist issues up to 2003 from Sri Lanka, Russian Caucasus and northern Spain. Discusses the success and failure of separatists in politics.

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation Against the West." *Central Asian Survey*. 19(3/4): 315.

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geo-economic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Paul B. Henze. 1995. *Islam in the North Caucasus: The Example of Chechnya*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand, Inc.

Graeme P. Herd. 2000. "The Counter-Terrorist Operation in Chechnya: Information Warfare Aspects." *The Journal for Slavic Military Studies*. 13(4).

Charles W. Kegley. 1990. "Chapter One." *International Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

A reader providing an analytic framework for understanding the nature of terrorism and its causes. It brings together 28 readings--five specially written for this volume--written from a range of viewpoints and providing a balance between descriptive and interpretative approaches.

Stasys Sedlickas & Romanas Knezys. 1999. *The War in Chechnya*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

This book discusses how Russia's vastly superior military had to withdraw and give way to a stalemated peace to Chechnya after the first two-year civil conflict. It ties the failure to the guerilla tactics of Chechen rebels. The book's strength lies in the in-depth study of the war, its phases, and the internal documents accompanying these phases.

V. V. Kvachkov. 2000. "Special Operations: Basic Types and Forms." *Military Thought*. 9(5): 70.

Discusses the types, forms and methods of action by the Russian Armed Forces during special military operations. Differences between the antiterrorist operation by the Joint Force; Assessment of the antiterrorist operation in Northern Caucasus, Russia.

Gail W. Lapidus. 2002. "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 18(1): 41.

Examines Russian President Vladimir Putin's political backing behind the U.S. anti-terrorist campaign. Description on Putin's representations of the Chechen war; allegations of Chechen links with terrorism.

Gerard Libaridian. 2002. "A Reassessment of Regional Politics and International Relations in the South Caucasus." *Iran and the Caucasus*. 6(1/2): 237.

Focuses on regional politics and international relations in the Caucasus and Central Asia, following the September 11, 2001. Analyzes the impact of the terrorist attacks, and the attitude of citizens toward the international community. Discusses republics in south Caucasus that will be affected by the changes in the U.S. foreign relations with Iran and Russia.

Anatol Lieven. 2000. "Nightmare in the Caucasus." *Washington Quarterly*. 23(1): 145.

Focuses on the problems confronting Russia in concurrence with the proximity of the Caucasus to Chechnya. Impact of the failed peace settlement between Russia and Chechnya; Reason for the withdrawal of Russian control in Chechnya; Portrayal of Chechnya as an anarchical society; Influence of Islam on Chechen nationalism.

Rajan Manan. 2000. "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War." *Foreign Affairs*. 79(2): 32.

Argues that the Russian Federation's war with the breakaway Republic of Chechnya is indicative of much larger problems within the federation. Notes the Russian practice of inflating reports of military success. Gives history of Russian relations with the Caucasus, Islamic influences in Caucasus, and the inadequacy of military solution in Chechnya.

Stephen Lee Myers. 2002. "Russia Recasts Bog in Caucasus as War on Terror." *New York Times*. 152 (52262).

Reports on the violence in Chechnya, Russia. President Vladimir Putin has accused Georgia of sheltering what he calls Chechen and international terrorists. The article also details deadly clashes with rebels in Grozny

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

International pressure for Russia to reach a peaceful solution in Chechnya was intense until September 11. Since then, Putin has convinced the West that the Chechen conflict was a fight against Islamic terrorists, and international pressure has waned since. Background on Russia's military involvement in Chechnya, and past, present and possible future implications are elaborated.



Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "A Hotbed of Terrorism and Destabilisation" in *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

This book chapter discusses terrorism and destabilization in the Chechnya break-away republic and also throughout Russia by Chechen rebels. It discusses Russia's policy implications, and continued insistence for assistance from the West for this "War on Terror" in Chechnya.

Boris Nikolin. 1998. "The Threat from the Caucasus." *Russian Social Science Review*. 39(4): 46.

Focuses on the potential threats to the national security and territorial integrity of Russia, relating to boundary disputes with Chechnya in the North Caucasus. Identifies these threats, and details the boundary disputes. Gives insight into an interview with former Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation General Pavel Grachev.

John O'Loughlin and Gearoid Tuathail. 2004. "Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of 9-11: A Critical Geopolitical Analysis and National Survey." *Communist and Post Communist Studies*. 37(3): 281.

Examination of the Putin Administration's response in the aftermath of September 11. Equates Russia's war against Chechen terrorists with the U.S. attack on Al Qaeda. Made strong case for a Russian alliance with the U.S. against terrorists. Discusses two alternative storylines in opposition to Putin's response, and those who support all sides represented.

V. Ye. Pavlov and V. M. Azarov. 2000. "The Antiterrorist Operation in the Northern Caucasus: Main Lessons and Conclusions." *Military Thought*. 9(5): 5.

Focuses on the antiterrorist operation in Northern Caucasus, Russia. Missions performed by army aviation on orders of the Joint Armed Force commander; Organization of teamwork between army aviation and combined arms and artillery; Main shortfalls in airfield technical support; Command and control of army aviation subunits.

Michael Powelson. 2003. "U. S. Support for Anti-Soviet and Anti-Russian Guerrilla Movements and the Undermining of Democracy." *Demokratizatsiya*. 11(2): 297.

Explores the ways which the U.S. contributed to the spread of terrorism as it concerns the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Support of the U.S. for terrorist groups; Role of U.S. -trained terrorists in Russia's conflict with Chechnya.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2004. *Chechnyan-Based Terrorists or Russian-Separatists*. <http://cfrterrorism.org/groups/chechens.html>.

Answers questions regarding basic background information to Russo-Chechan conflict, discussing Chechens as terrorists and as citizens; also discussing the fight for independence since 1992 and Russia's response.

John Russell. 2002. "Mujahedeen, Mafia, Madmen: Russian Perceptions of Chechens During the Wars in Chechnya, 1994-96 and 1999-2001." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. 18(1): 73.

Discusses the perception of the Russian public concerning the Russo-Chechen wars, and the way in which former President Boris Yeltsin and incumbent President Vladimir Putin used the

war to their political advantage. Gives lessons learned by the government from the media during the war and the classification of Chechen insurgents.

Afanasy Sborov. 2002. "Russia Tries to Save the Caucasus from War." *Current Digest of Post Soviet Press*. 54(13): 13.

Reports on conflicts in the Caucasus, relevant political stakeholders and their actions to promote peace in the region, and discusses President Putin's need to stamp out terrorism in the regions.

Dianne L. Sumner. 2003. "Success of Terrorism in War: The Case of Chechnya." *Chechnya Revisited*. Yu. K. Nikolaev. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Discusses how the Chechen rebels have used terrorism to try to push their agenda in Chechen conflict; also discusses how Putin has used these actions to further his support for renewed aggression in Chechnya.

Celeste Wallander. 2003. "Silk Road, Great Game or Soft Underbelly? The New Us-Russia Relationship and Implications in Eurasia" in *Strategic developments in Eurasia after September 11*. Shireen Hunter. London and Portland, OR: 2004.

The impact of the U.S. war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan brought Russia closer with the United States, and set it firmly on the path of security, political and economic integration with the West. Will the United States and Russia succeed in defeating terrorist networks in Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Caucasus?

Tariq Yasn. 2002. "Chechen Chagrin." *Harvard International Review*. 24(1): 6.

Reports the abuses of human rights among Caucasus in the Russian Federation, and the increase in conflict between the residents and the occupying Russian forces. Gives origin of the conflict, and a brief comparison between international war against terrorism.

### **Russia's Suppression of the Chechen Secession**

This section examines Russia's reluctance to allow Chechen secession. Political and economic reasons for keeping Chechnya in the Russian Federation are cited.

Omar Ashour. 2004. "Security, Oil, and Internal Politics: The Causes of the Russo-Chechen Conflicts." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 27(2): 127.

Claims three variables caused the Russo-Chechen wars between 1994 and 1999: Russian national security interests, the value of the Caspian Oil pipeline, and Russian domestic politics all were primary factors causing war in Chechnya.

Stephen J. Blank. 2002. "Putin's Twelve-Step Program." *Washington Quarterly*. 25(1): 147.

Good discussion of Russian anti-terrorist strategy; including Putin's 12-step policy program which includes "finishing the job" in Chechnya. Of key interest is the need for more military control within to discipline the ranks as well as in the Chechen region to maintain security.

John Dunlop. 2000. Chechnya Weekly. [http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_view.php?publication\\_id=1](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_view.php?publication_id=1).

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Matthew Evangelista. 2003. *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* Washington D. C. : Brookings Institution Press.

Author claims Yeltsin and the Kremlin used Chechnya as an example to prevent a separatist domino effect in Russia, and Putin has since used the rise of crime during the "uneasy armistice" for renewed aggression in Chechnya. Claims the reasons for Chechen violence in the 90's stem from elite personality clashes and initiatives on either side of the conflict.

James Hughes. 2001. "Chechnya: The Causes of a Protracted Post-Soviet Conflict." *Civil Wars*. 4(4): 11.

Examines the main explanations for the civil war in Chechnya, Russia in 1994. Background and causes of the Chechen conflict with discussion on the Russian strategies in Chechnya during the term of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Charles King. 2003. "Crisis in the Caucasus: A New Look at Russia's Chechen Impasse." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(2): 134.

Discusses Matthew Evangelista's book *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* while purporting the idea that Chechen violence of the 90's "concerns idiosyncrasies of individual personalities and collective decision-making." Explains Chechnya was an example for all Russian Republics, and discusses Putin's renaming of war in Chechnya along with Russia's support.

N. V. Markelov. 2002. "Where Martial Plunder Prowls the Mountains." *Russian Studies in History*. 41(2): 21.

Discusses the lessons to be learned from the Caucasus War and its link to Russia's problems with Chechnya. Reviews key issues of interest, analyzes pertinent topics and relevant issues, and connects the implications of the conflicts in the Caucasus with Russian history.

Michael McFaul. 1997-1998. "A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security*. 22(3): 5

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

International pressure for Russia to reach a peaceful solution in Chechnya was intense until 9-11. After 9-11, Putin finally convinced the West that the Chechen conflict was a fight against Islamic

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C. Cem Oguz. 2001. "Is Secessionism a Real Danger in the North Caucasus?" Review of *International Affairs*. 1(1): 53.

Explores the demographic and economic concerns of the North Caucasian regarding the war between Chechnya and Russia. Economic dependency of the North Caucasian republics on the center, and the legacy of the past in North Caucasian politics.

Martha Brill Olcott. 1998. "The Caspian's False Promise." *Foreign Policy*. (111): 94.

The discovery of billions of dollars of energy wealth has put the Caspian Sea back on the map. Yet for most of the region's inhabitants, the oil boom has so far been more of a bust. It is also sparking developments that threaten to turn all of Central Asia into a zone of instability and crisis.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2004. Chechnyan-Based Terrorists or Russian-Separatists. <http://cfrterrorism.org/groups/chechens.html>.

Answers questions regarding basic background information to Russo-Chechan conflict, discussing Chechens as terrorists, and as citizens; also discussing the fight for independence since 1992 and Russia's response.

Afanasy Sborov. 2002. "Russia Tries to Save the Caucasus from War." *Current Digest of Post Soviet Press*. 54(13): 13.

Reports on conflicts in the Caucasus, relevant political stakeholders and their actions to promote peace in the regions, and discusses President Putin's need to stamp out terrorism in the region.

Stephen Shulman. 2001. "Justifying Forceful Resistance to Ethnic Separatism: The Case of Russia Versus Chechnya, 1994-96." *European Security*. 10(1): 6.

Investigates state efforts to justify armed resistance to ethnic secessionism on the 1994-1996 war fought by Russia against Chechnya. Strategies of justification which Russia used against Chechnya; Discussion of mass response to forceful resistance to Chechen separatism; Effectiveness of government to justify forceful resistance to Chechen separatism.

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Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. *Chechnya Weekly*. <http://www.jamestown.org/publications>.

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### Legal and Illegal Measures Towards an Independent Chechnya

Documents primarily analyze Chechen roles as freedom fighters, terrorists, victims, citizens, and politicians, and how the fight for independence manifests differently for Chechens. Reflects on relevant documents and events produced and perpetuated by Chechens.

John Arquilla and Theodore Karasik. 1999. "Chechnya: A Glimpse of Future Conflict?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 22(3): 207-230.

"Netwar"--a mode of conflict engaged in by networked, nonstate actors--is associated with social activism, terror and crime. The recent war in Chechnya shows how netwar can be used in ways to confront the larger conventional forces of nationstates. The Chechens employed a range of activities, from social activism to terror to complement their military netwar.

Francis Boyle. 2001. "Chechen Foreign Minister's Letter to the International Court of Justice." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. 21(1): 165-171.

Presents a letter from Chechen Republic of Ichkeria foreign minister Ilyas Akhmadov to the International Court of Justice regarding the independence of the republic upon the dissolution of the former Soviet Union.

2003. "Dying for Independence." *Harvard International Law Review*. 25(2): 32.

Analyzes separatist movements and terrorist issues up to 2003 from Sri Lanka, Russian Caucasus and northern Spain. Discusses the success and failure of separatists in politics.

Human Rights Watch. 1997. *Russia/Chechnya: A Legacy of Abuse*. Human Rights Watch. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/russia2/>.

Tensions between Russia and Chechnya are likely to remain, especially because the Khasavyurt agreements, which ended the war, did not resolve Chechnya's legal status, but postponed until December 31, 2001. Chechnya faces the challenge of creating state institutions that protect the rights of all its citizens, yet it's criminal conduct code is not on par.

1994. *International Law: Chechnya Constitution 1992*. Available through the Washburn University School of Law Library at [http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/cc01000\\_.html](http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/cc01000_.html).

A record of the constitution formulated by the Chechen Republic in 1992. Discusses *inter alia* the formation of Independent Chechen Republic, specifies respect for human rights, autonomy over resource use and management, and the right to self-determination primarily.

2003. International Law: Chechnya Constitution 2003. Available through the Washburn University School of Law Library at [http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/cc00000\\_.html](http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/cc00000_.html).

A record of the new constitution formulated by the Chechen Republic in 2002-2003.

2004. International Law: Chechnya Index. Available through the Washburn University School of Law Library at <http://www.washlaw.edu/forint/asia/chechnya.htm>.

Explains how Chechen Republic Administrators attempted to rewrite the constitution and hold a referendum in 2002, but shows how the Kremlin disagreed with part of the new constitution, thus slowing the process of referenda until 2003. Suggests referendum should not be upheld, as voters were intimidated and human rights abuses were recorded during voting process.

Anne Speckhard; Nadejda Tarabrina and Valery Krasnov. 2004. "Observations of Suicidal Terrorists in Action." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16(2): 305-328.

Hostage-taking coupled with suicidal terrorism is new, played out in a Moscow theater in late October 2002. Forty armed Chechen terrorists announced to 800 plus hostages that the event was a suicide mission. Suicidal terrorists are rarely observed in action. An American psychologist collaborated with Russian colleagues to collect interviews from the hostages.

Dianne L. Sumner. 2003. "Success of Terrorism in War: The Case of Chechnya." *Chechnya Revisited*. Yu. K. Nikolaev. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Discusses how the Chechen rebels have used terrorism to try to push their agenda in Chechen conflict; also discusses how Putin has used these actions to further his support for renewed aggression in Chechnya.

Prague Watchdog. 2000. *Watchdog*. <http://www.watchdog.cz/>.

Prague Watchdog is an on-line service that collects and disseminates information on the conflict in Chechnya, focusing on human rights, humanitarian aid conditions, media access and coverage, and the local political situation. It is generally sympathetic to Chechen cause.

### **Russian Public Opinions on Chechens, The War and Terrorism**

The information in this section elucidates Russian public opinions of Chechnya, the Chechen wars, and terrorism both before and after the first and second war, and since September 11, 2001.

Theodore P. Gerber and Sarah E. Mendelson. 2002. "Russian Public Opinion on Human Rights and the War in Chechnya." *Post Soviet Affairs*. 18(4): 271-306

Analyzes a survey on how Russians view human rights and the conflict in Chechnya. Discusses support for human rights; indifference to threats to human rights and censorship; views on Chechnya.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "A Hotbed of Terrorism and Destabilisation." *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

This book chapter discusses terrorism and destabilization in the Chechnya break-away republic and also throughout Russia by Chechen rebels. It discusses Russia's policy implications, and continued insistence for assistance from the West for this "War on Terror" in Chechnya.

John O'Loughlin and Gearoid Tuathail. 2004. "Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of 9-11: A Critical Geopolitical Analysis and National Survey." *Communist and Post Communist Studies*. 37(3): 281.

Examination of the Putin Administration's response in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks equating Russia's war against Chechen terrorists with U.S. attack on Al Qaeda. Made strong case for a Russian alliance with the U.S. against terrorists. Discusses two alternative storylines in opposition to Putin's response, and those who support all sides represented.

John Russell. 2002. "Exploitation in Islamic Factor in Russian-Chechen Conflict Before and After September 11th." *European Security*. 11(4): 96-120.

Examines the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the Islamic factor in the Russo-Chechen war. Role of the Russian media in maintaining and consolidating public support for the conflict in Chechnya during the second war; Information on the shifts in Russian popular attitudes toward the war.

John Russell. 2002. "Mujahedeen, Mafia, Madmen: Russian Perceptions of Chechens During the Wars in Chechnya, 1994-96 and 1999-2001." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. 18(1): 73-97.

Discusses the perception of the Russian public concerning the Russo-Chechen wars, and the way in which former President Boris Yeltsin and incumbent President Vladimir Putin used the war to their political advantage. Gives lessons learned by the government from the media during the war and the classification of Chechen insurgents.

2004. "Sociologists: Acts of Terrorism Are Intensifying Russian's Negative Feelings toward People from Caucasus; When Polled, Most Russians Say Such People Should Be Kept out of Russia." *Current Digest of Post Soviet Press*. 56(6): 6-11.

Discusses the increasingly negative attitudes Russian society has toward the Caucasus regarding terrorism in Russia. Discusses deporting terrorists out of Russia.

Alexander Verkhovsky. 2004. "Who Is the Enemy Now? Islamophobia and Antisemitism among Russian Orthodox Nationalists before and after September 11." *Patterns of Prejudice*. 38(2): 127-134.

This article discusses Russian Orthodox nationalist groups and the intense debates on how to rename Islamic fundamentalism. Previously, Islam was not a focused enemy like the West, but opinions have shifted in the wake of September 11 toward incorporating Islamic fundamentalists as enemies to the Russian Orthodox tradition.

Charlotte Wagnusson. 2000. Russian Political Language and Public Opinion on the West, Nato and Chechnya Securitisation Theory Reconsidered. Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Dept. of Political Science.

**Russian Relations with International Actors Regarding Chechnya**

Documents in this section are all linked with international opinions mostly regarding the current Russian-Chechen conflict. Some go into policy recommendations, while others decry human rights violations, but all give an interesting picture of various international actors' support or outrage regarding Chechnya.

Amnesty International. 2000. 2001 U.N. Commission on Human Rights: Bridging the Gap between Rights and Realities. IOR 41/014/2000. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGIOR410142000?open&of=ENG-RUS>.

Discusses the failure due to lack of funding of the National Public Commission that Russia set up to appease international actors during the 2000 U.N. Commission, as well as problems of the Office of the Special Representative of the President on Human Rights and Freedoms. Calls for these organizations to be strengthened and for Russia to be more accountable.

Amnesty International. 2001. Amnesty International: 57th Un Commission on Human Rights (2001). IOR 42/002/2001. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGIOR420022001?open&of=ENG-RUS>.

Reports on Amnesty International's global concerns. Urges the U.N. to pass a resolution of "serious concern" regarding human rights abuses by all parties in Chechnya with special request of Russian Federation to take steps to halt these abuses and to follow through on last year's resolutions. Also calls for international inquiry committee to examine abuses.

2000. Chechnya: Implications for Russia, and the Caucasus. Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, First Session, November 4, 1999.

2000. Chechnya: The Politics of Terror. Doctors Without Borders. [http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/reports/2000/chechnya\\_11-2000.html](http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/reports/2000/chechnya_11-2000.html).

A report describing the humanitarian actions Doctors Without Border took upon the request from the Council of Europe.

1995. Crisis in Chechnya: Hearings before the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, One Hundred Fourth Session.

2003. The Critical Human Rights and Humanitarian Situation in Chechnya: Briefing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe- 108th Congress 1st Session.

2003. Current Situation and Future of Chechnya.

1995. Hearing on Chechnya: Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, One Hundred Fourth Session.

2002. Russian Federation: Failure to Protect or Punish: Human Rights Violations and Impunity in Chechnya. EUR 46/004/2002. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex>.

Decries the Chechen conflict in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and calls for Russian government officials to investigate abuses committed by Russian military. Describes



forced disappearances, village clean-ups, and arson along with other rights violations committed by both sides.

Stephen Blank. 1995. *Russia's Invasion of Chechnya: A Preliminary Assessment*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Delves into the background of the Russo-Chechen war, and analyzes whether this invasion was necessary, successful, and viable. Considers the future of Russo-Chechen relations.

Leszek Buszynski. 2003. "Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2002." *Asian Survey*. 43(1): 15.

Discussion of Putin's initial economic and political policies and mandates as President. Discusses his "turn to the West," and how it has decentralized Russia's control over situations in the Caucasus and Central Asia, resulting in declining control in these areas.

John O. Cerone. 2001. "Legal Constraints on the International Community's Responses to Gross Violations of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law in Kosovo, East Timor, and Chechnya." *Human Rights Review*. 2(4): 19.

Examines the legal constraints on the international community's responses to gross violations of human rights and humanitarian law in Kosovo, East Timor and Chechnya. Nature of the international legal system; Relevant provisions of human rights and humanitarian law; Legal constraints and available remedies.

S. Chugrov. 2000. "Russian Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Conflicted Culture and Uncertain Policy." *Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy*. Tokyo, New York and Paris: United Nations University Press.

Analyzes Russia's foreign policy as a two-level system where both foreign and domestic factors should be identified. Argues that most states don't want to raise human rights standards over traditionally greater concerns like security and economics. Uses culture clashes in Russia as a main reason for the uncertainty in its foreign policy.

Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul. 2001. "America's Real Russian Allies." *Foreign Affairs*. 80(6): 46.

Focuses on the supportive relations between Russia and the United States since September 11. Discusses difficulties surrounding the democratization of Russia; U.S. promotion of democracy. Discusses President Vladimir Putin crusade against rebels in Chechnya, and the importance of Russia as an ally in the war against terrorism.

Rachel Denber. 1997. *Russia/Chechnya: Report to the 1996 OSCE Review Conference*. Human Rights Watch. <http://www.hrw.org/summaries/s.russia96n.html>.

This report identifies the failure of Russia and Chechnya to fully comply with the Code of Military Conduct, which was adopted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) before the Chechen war broke in 1994. Also updates the current status of human rights violations in Chechnya. Insists that action should be taken.

John Dunlop. 2000. *Chechnya Weekly*. [http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_view.php?publication\\_id=1](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_view.php?publication_id=1).

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

Ib Faurby. 2002. "International Law, Human Rights and the Wars in Chechnya." *Baltic Defense Review*. 7(1): 103.

Discusses the implications of the two Russian-Chechen wars for international law and the observance of human rights in Chechnya. Describes causes of the conflict; types of violations committed; legal definitions of the most serious crimes.

Rick Fawn. 2002. "Correcting the Incurable? Russia's Relations with the West over Chechnya." *Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics*. 18(1): 3.

Evaluates the ability of the Council of Europe to change the policy of Russia toward its conflict with Chechnya. Russian perceptions of the Council of Europe; reaction of Russian officials to the urges of the Council of Europe against its use of violence against Chechnya.

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation against the West." *Central Asian Survey*. 19(3/4): 315

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geoeconomic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Greg Hansen and Robert Seely. 1996. *War and Humanitarian Action in Chechnya*. Providence, RI: The Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies.

Eric A. Heinze and Douglas A. Borer. 2002. "The Chechen Exception: Rethinking Russia's Human Rights Policy." *Politics*. 22(2): 86.

Russia's adherence to emerging international human rights is commonly judged by the human rights disaster in Chechnya. Contested are the notions that human rights abuses in Chechnya fully illustrate Russia's stance on international human rights. Suggests that Chechnya is an exceptional case, and that Russia has brought human rights standards in line with the West.

Graeme P. Herd. 2002. "The Russo-Chechen Information Warfare and 9/11: Al-Qaeda through the South Caucasus Looking Glass?" *European Security*. 11(4): 110.

Focuses on the Russo-Chechen information warfare. Peacetime and wartime applications of the Information Security Doctrine in 2000; Impact of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the foreign policy of Russia; Factors that drive the information warfare.

Dale R. Herspring. 2003. *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain, 2nd Expanded Edition*. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

This is highly recommended reading for understanding how Russian domestic politics impacts political, economic, and social dimensions of the conflict in Chechnya.

Pamela A. Jordan. 2003. "Russia's Accession to the Council of Europe and Compliance with European Human Rights Norms." *Demokratizatsiya*. 11(2): 271.

Examines the reasons that allow the Russian Federation to enter the Council of Europe in 1996. Compliance with entrance requirements and human rights norms; Assurances made by Russia. Discussion on the political dialogue over human rights violations in Chechnya.

Mark N. Katz. 2004. "Saudi-Russian Relations since 9/11." *Problems of Post-Communism*. 51(2): 3.

This article examines the evolution of Saudi-Russian relations since September 11 focusing in particular on Chechnya and the Saudi role in the "global war on terrorism." Some analysts argue that the recent improvement in Saudi-Russian relations heralds the beginning of something akin to an alliance.

Gail W. Lapidus. 2002. "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 18(1): 41-9.

Examines Russian President Vladimir Putin's political backing behind the U.S. anti-terrorist campaign. Description on Putin's representations of the Chechen war; allegations of Chechen links with terrorism.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "Beyond Chechnya: Some Options for Russia and the West." *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Includes a chapter discussing Russia's relations with the West regarding Chechnya and options for policy and diplomacy.

P. & Giragosian Pavillionis, R. 1996. "The Great Game." *Harvard International Review*. 19(1): 24-32.

Investigates Russia's foreign relations with the former Soviet republics, focusing on conflicts over the energy resources in the former Soviet South, Central Asia and Caucasus. Discusses Russian control of the former Soviet republics' economic development and trade.

Michael Powelson. 2003. "U. S. Support for Anti-Soviet and Anti-Russian Guerrilla Movements and the Undermining of Democracy." *Demokratizatsiya*. 11(2): 297.

Explores the ways in which the U.S. contributed to the spread of terrorism as it concerns the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Support of the U.S. for terrorist groups; Role of U.S. -trained terrorists in Russia's conflict with Chechnya.

International Federation for Human Rights. 2001. Both Parties to the Conflict in Chechnya Continue to Commit Serious Violations. International Federation for Human Rights. [http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id\\_article=1402](http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id_article=1402).

Describes both parties human rights abuses towards Chechens, but especially the Russian Federation's tenuous accountability in the prosecution of perpetrators of human rights abuses on both sides. Calls for the European Parliament to take serious action in ensuring Russia is committed to ending the Chechen conflict.

International Federation of Human Rights. 2002. Chechnya, Terror and Impunity: A Planned System. International Federation of Human Rights. [http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id\\_article=1796](http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id_article=1796).

Decries the ongoing two year conflict to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and calls for member countries to insist Russian government officials commit to investigations of ongoing abuses committed by Russian military. Calls on Russia to stop citing terrorist threats as an excuse for military human rights abuses in Chechnya.

International Federation of Human Rights. 2001. The War in Chechnya: The Council of Europe Must Reinforce Its Pressure on Russia and Demand Political Negotiations. International Federation of Human Rights. [http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id\\_article=1379](http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id_article=1379).

Calls for Council of Europe to pressure Russian Federation to first follow up on charges of human rights abuses committed and sanctioned by Russian Federation. Points out Russia's culpability and hypocrisy in human rights abuses in Chechnya; even as it has passed resolutions to work for peace human rights abuses still occur.

Afanasy Sborov. 2002. "Russia Tries to Save the Caucasus from War." Current Digest of Post Soviet Press. 54(13): 13.

Reports on conflicts in the Caucasus, relevant political stakeholders and their actions to promote peace in the regions, and discusses President Putin's need to stamp out terrorism in the regions.

Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. Chechnya Weekly. <http://www.jamestown.org/publications>.

Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Human Rights Watch. 1995. Helsinki Watch. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/Russia.htm>.

Describes the indiscriminate bombing and shelling of civilians and their property in Grozny. Applauds Western Europe's quick response denouncing these actions, while urging Boris Yeltsin to condemn these attacks and follow through to punish those responsible.

Human Rights Watch. 2000. Russia/Chechnya: "No Happiness Remains," Civilian Killings, Pillage and Rape in Alkhan-Yurt, Chechnya. Human Rights Watch. [http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/russia\\_chechnya2/](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/russia_chechnya2/).

Describes the human rights abuses at Alkhan-Yurt including looting, rape, and murder of civilians and their property. Discusses Russia's responsibility to act in accordance with Protocol II of the Geneva Convention and with the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms which Russia has ratified.

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia/Chechnya: A Legacy of Abuse. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/russia2/>.

Tensions between Russia and Chechnya are likely to remain, especially because the Khasavyurt agreements, which ended the war, did not resolve Chechnya's legal status, but postponed until December 31, 2001. Chechnya faces the challenge of creating state institutions that protect the rights of all its citizens, yet it's criminal conduct code is not on par.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. Russia/Chechnya: Swept Under: Torture, Forced Disappearances, and Extra-Judicial Killings During Sweep Operations in Chechnya. Human Rights Watch. [http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/russcheck/.](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/russcheck/)

Human Rights Watch decries the continued human rights abuses in Chechnya committed by the Russian military. Calls for the international community to establish an independent monitoring committee to investigate human rights abuses, and for international actors to track these abuses and apply pressure on Russian Federation to reform.

Paul Wood. 2001. "The Pursuit of 'Terrorists' in Chechnya: Blood on Whose Hands?" Human Rights Review. 2(3): 128.

Examines if the Russian army were indeed guilty of human rights abuses, the nature of abuses and whether the military and political leadership could have chosen different methods. Evidence of human rights violations documented in Chechnya stem from tactics adopted by the Russian state; basis of the main Western allegation of human rights abuses.

### **Refugees from Chechnya**

Documents here reveal the dire circumstances of the internally displaced people who have had to flee their homes in the midst of this conflict, describing their plight, problems, and probable futures as refugees.

Amnesty International. 2002. The Russian Federation: Denial of Justice. EUR 46/046/2002. [http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex.](http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex)

This report points to serious violations of international human rights by Russian law enforcement and security forces; it emphasizes the obstacles faced by victims, particularly women, children and ethnic minorities, in obtaining justice. Accounts for the dramatic changes in the political, economic and legal systems of the Russian Federation and discusses impact.

Amnesty International. 2003. Russian Federation: The Chechen Conflict: Crimes against Civilians Continue Unchecked. EUR 01/016/2003. [http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex.](http://web.amnesty.org/library/engindex)

Describes the current state of crises in Chechnya by discussing continued human rights abuses like forced disappearances and torture from both sides. Claims that violence has now spread into neighboring areas where many refugees have fled. Discusses the referendum for a new constitution, and obvious signs of vote rigging.

Johanna Nichols. 2000. "The Chechen Refugees." *Berkley Journal of International Law*. 18(2): 241-260.

Interesting look at Russian human rights abuses against Chechens during first war, which caused mass migration and displacement. Describes the refugee population and the conditions refugees live in after the war. Gives civilian toll during the 1994 to 1996 war between Russia and Chechnya.

Robert Bruce Ware and Enver Kisriev. 1998. "After Chechnya: At Risk in Dagestan." *Politics*. 18(1): 39.

Population displacements in the aftermath of the Chechen conflict undermine a complex political balance existing among the numerous ethnic groups in the neighboring Republic of Dagestan. The destabilisation of Dagestan threatens to bring ethnic conflict to virtually the only state in the Caucasus to have avoided it thus far.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. Into Harm's Way: Forced Return of Displaced People to Chechnya. <http://hrw.org/reports/2003/russia0103/>.

Documents new attempts on the part of Russian government to force internally displaced persons living in Ingushetia back to Chechnya, and also looks at continued human rights violations by both sides within Chechen borders. Encourages the international community to prevent Russia from forcing refugees to return to an unsafe home.

Human Rights Watch. 2003. Spreading Despair: Russian Abuses in Ingushetia. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/russia0903/>.

The deteriorating security situation in Ingushetia shows compelling pressure on part of Russian Federation and pro-Kremlin Chechen government to force Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to return to Chechnya. Ingushetia has suffered many of the same human rights abuses as Chechnya due to its harboring of IDPs.

### **Russia's Future in Chechnya**

These articles and books consider future policy initiatives in Chechnya, and what their prospects for Chechen autonomy may be.

Stephen Blank. 1995. *Russia's Invasion of Chechnya: A Preliminary Assessment*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Delves into the background of the Russo-Chechen war, and analyzes whether this invasion was necessary, successful, and viable. Considers the future of Russo-Chechen relations.

Stephen J. Blank. 2002. "Putin's Twelve-Step Program." *Washington Quarterly*. 25(1): 147.

Good discussion of Russian anti-terrorist strategy; including Putin's 12-step policy program which includes "finishing the job" in Chechnya. Of key interest is the need for more military control within to discipline the ranks as well as in the Chechen region to maintain security.

Nicholas Dima. 1995. "Russia, the Caucasus, and Chechnya." *Journal of Social Political and Economic Studies*. 20(2): 151.

Background information regarding the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the war in Chechnya. Looks at possible solutions to geopolitical and ethnic conflicts, in addition to Russian public opinion on these topics.

John Dunlop. 2000. Chechnya Weekly. [http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_view.php?publication\\_id=1](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_view.php?publication_id=1).

Chechnya Weekly presents coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2000 with Volume I, Chechnya Weekly is written by John Dunlop.

Pavel Felgengauer. 1996. "A War Moscow Cannot Afford to Lose." *Transition*. 2(11): 28-31.

Michael Fredholm. 2000. "The Prospects for Genocide in Chechnya and Extremist Retaliation against the West." *Central Asian Survey*. 19(3/4): 315.

Account of the military operations of Russia in the North Caucasus; Geopolitical and geo-economic significance of the North Caucasus; Implications of the Russian strategy for Chechnya and the West.

Paul B. Henze. 1996. "Russia and the Caucasus." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 19(4): 389.

Describes history of Russian dominance in Caucasus, focusing particularly on the violence that took off in 1994. Emphasizes that Russia must adopt coherent policies when dealing with the Caucasus or the area will destabilize.

Dale R. Herspring. 2003. *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*. 2nd Expanded Edition. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

This is highly recommended reading for understanding Russian domestic politics impacts political, economic, and social dimensions of the conflict in Chechnya.

Stasys Knezys and Romanas Sedlickas. 1999. *The War in Chechnya*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

This book discusses how Russia's vastly superior military had to withdraw and give way to a stalemated peace to Chechnya after the first two-year civil conflict. It ties the failure to the guerilla tactics of Chechen rebels. It's strength lies in the in-depth study of the war, it's phases, and the internal documents accompanying these phases.

Miriam Lansky. 2000. "When Personalities Clash: Assessing the 1994-1996 Russian-Chechen War." *Nationalities Papers*. 28(3): 579.

Reviews the books *Russia Confronts Chechnya: The Roots of a Separatist Conflict* by John B. Dunlop, *Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus* by Carlotta Gall and Thomas de Waal, and *The War in Chechnya* by Stasys Knezys and Romanas Sedlickas.

Rajan Manan. 2000. "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War." *Foreign Affairs*. 79(2): 32.

Argues that the Russian Federation's war with the breakaway Republic of Chechnya is indicative of much larger problems within the federation. Russian practice of inflating reports of military success. Gives history of Russian relations with the Caucasus, Islamic influences in Caucasus, and the inadequacy of military solution in Chechnya.

Michael McFaul. 1995. "Eurasia Letter: Russian Politics after Chechnya." *Foreign Policy*. (99): 149.

Michael McFaul. 1997-1998. "A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security*. 22(3): 5.

Yu. K. Nikolaev. 2003. "Beyond Chechnya: Some Options for Russia and the West." in *Chechnya Revisited*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Includes a chapter discussing Russia's relations with the West regarding Chechnya and options for policy and diplomacy.

Boris Nikolin. 1998. "The Threat from the Caucasus." *Russian Social Science Review*. 39(4): 46.

Focuses on the potential threats to the national security and territorial integrity of Russian, relating to boundary disputes with Chechnya in the North Caucasus. Identifies these threats, and details the boundary disputes. Gives insight into an interview with former Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation General Pavel Grachev.

International Federation of Human Rights. 2002. *Chechnya, Terror and Impunity: A Planned System*. International Federation of Human Rights. [http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id\\_article=1796](http://www.fidh.org/article.php?id_article=1796).

Decries the ongoing two year conflict to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and calls for member countries to insist Russian government officials commit to investigations of ongoing abuses committed by Russian military. Calls on Russia stop citing terrorist threats as an excuse for military human rights abuses in Chechnya.

Dmitri V. Trenin, Aleksia V. Malashenko and Anatol Lieven. 2004. *Russia's Restless Frontier: The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia*. Washington, D. C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Distributor, Brookings Institution Press.

In *Russia's Restless Frontier*, the authors examine the implications of the war with Chechnya for Russia's post-Soviet evolution. Considering Chechnya's impact on Russia's military, domestic politics, foreign policy, and ethnic relations, the authors contend that the Chechen factor must be addressed before Russia can continue its development

Lawrence A. Uzzell. 2003. *Chechnya Weekly*. <http://www.jamestown.org/publications>.

Chechnya Weekly is the foundation's coverage of the crisis in the breakaway republic. Its mission is to inform policymakers, the media, and the public of developments in Chechnya, discuss the origins of the conflict and explore the possibilities for peace. Beginning January 2003 with Volume IV, Chechnya Weekly is written by Lawrence A. Uzzell.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. *The 'Dirty War' in Chechnya: Forced Disappearances, Torture, and Summary Executions*. Human Rights Watch. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/chechnya/>.

While fighting in Chechnya has ceased, forced disappearances continue. Little inquiry has been done by Russian Federation, and this report highlights disappearances. It also advises Russia to act according to 1992 U.N. General Assembly's Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Disappearances.