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Master thesis

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Chechnya as Russia's dangerous frontier: On the Nature of Suicide Terrorism

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Abstract

Ever since World War II up to the 80`s the world had not witnessed any form of suicide terrorism. Since then the rate of such attacks have been growing on a global level. Nowadays, suicide terrorism is one of the most researched and still not fully explained syndromes that imposes threat to nations, societies, individuals, groups, governments and other parties. Many studies and analyses focus on determining the reasons and the motives for such acts, including the damages that suicide terrorism causes on global level. There have been multiple variables determined as key factors influencing suicide terrorism, including religion, political occupation, nationalism and many others, yet there is no single answer as to why organizations and/or individuals decide on such radical tactic. Thus, as a modern phenomenon, suicide terrorism triggers the analysis from several perspectives of the individual, organizational and psychological background.

This master thesis deals with the case study of Chechen suicide terrorism and its implications in the studies of suicide terrorism. The main focus of the research is on determining main motives and reasons of Chechnya to use suicide bombing against Russia. The analysis uses the Robert Pape's theory on suicide terrorism and done by using qualitative research, with representation of dependent (suicide attacks) and independent variables (foreign occupation, religion, nationalism, geographical location). Future research is focused on explaining how the implementation of suicide bombing affected the Russian-Chechen relations and how Russian Policy changed towards Chechnya after the suicide attacks.

Bibliographic note

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Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague 02/01/17   Karyna Loginova   Signature:

Acknowledgments

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List of abbreviations

CASE - Critical Approaches to Security

ETA - Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ("Basque Homeland and Liberty")

IR – International Relations

IRA – Irish Republican Army

R2P - Responsibility to protect

PKK - Turkey's Workers Party of Kurdistan

WWII – World War II

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INTRODUCTION

Suicide attacks by nature are offensive operations whose execution depends upon the death of the perpetrator. In most cases when the suicide attack is committed, the decision and behavior involves certain degree of rationality, where individuals, organizations and social movements usually behave like rational actors (Coleman 1990). These actors believe that they are using such attacks in order to defend best interests for the nation, the region, the cause or the organization that they are fighting for, religious motives and other. Most of suicide attacks do not establish isolated incidents but are grouped in campaigns, according to a precise goal, schedule, training and guidelines (Scaine 2013) and this imposes additional perspective for analysis. Additionally, groups and leaders that promote suicide attacks select this specific method and tactic, among many others, in order to achieve certain strategic goals. Therefore, analyzing suicide terrorism and its main motives is fairly broad and very complex process.

Scope of thesis

The thesis is divided into five parts. The first part is the introduction that deals with a literature review on security concepts, critical perspectives, and the role of the sovereign states in fighting terrorism. Furthermore, the post 9/11 events have been intensifying the events on the subject of suicide terrorism. There are an increasing number of studies elaborating the course of events which became one of the largest terrorist attacks in the world. In this part, origins of suicide terrorism are explained as well as several examples provided in order to understand the nature and motivations of the suicide attacks in the history. This very much relates to the analysis of the profiles of the suicide terrorists and organizations supporting these activities.

The second part is the theoretical scope. It elaborates on Robert Pape`s theory of suicide terrorism, including key variables determined for the empirical part of the study. This part represents Pape`s major findings, but at the same time provides limitations to his theory. This serves as a base for the research and analysis in the empirical part.

The third part elaborates the methodological and data collection that is qualitative and analytical-descriptive, while presenting the key research questions and type of analysis used in the case study of Chechen suicide attacks. Key research question is to determine **what are the main motives/reasons of Chechnya to use suicide bombing against Russia?** Furthermore, the fourth part deals with the representation of the Chechen case study, historical overview, past wars and ongoing events between Chechnya and Russia, including the emphasis on the major shifts in the Chechen suicide attacks. The final part, deals with research and findings, based on the empirical study and the variable analysis through testing 2 hypothesis. Hypothesis tested are below:

❖ **Hypothesis 1: Suicide terrorism occurs due to the foreign occupation, nationalism and religious difference.**

❖ **Hypothesis 2: Suicide terrorism occurs in geographical locations such as capitals, or cities where there are main events happening such as sport matches, fairs, concerts etc.**

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Concept of Security

When speaking of security, one of the most crucial questions and dilemmas is where can we distinguish the difference between 'Security' and 'Insecurity'? Moreover, there have been many studies and approaches towards explaining what (in)security means, how it should be defined, how does it influence the relationship between countries, how does it affect the people and how does it affect the international politics in general. Some would argue that it needs to be approached by purely realist doctrine, where the focus will be state-centered, pessimistic for the cooperation with other countries and focused on sustaining and improving the capabilities of the state. On the other hand, some argue that security needs to be explained through the lenses of the liberalism, where closer cooperation between states in the international politics is needed, mutual trust gained and similar tasks for multilateralism incorporated.

However, focusing on the social aspect in the process of explaining what (in)security means is a key driving point before the analysis in this master thesis. According to Balzacq (2010), a security cannot be considered as a concept that can capture a coherent set of practices. Instead, it is a result from the securitization process, whereas a particular dominant group justifies and imposes a political program by asserting who needs to be protected, sacrificed and so on (Ibid). In order to understand this, it is important to draw the lines between the referent object and the subject. In the process of insecuritization, the subject is the one who acts upon something/someone and the object is the one to whom is acted on. Therefore, it can be said that the process of obtaining maximum security leads towards obtaining maximum insecurity, and this is resulting from the fact that people become objects of fear, uncertainty and control. Moreover, if we aim to understand the securitization process as a speech act or as a result from the linguistic approach, it can perfectly fit the agenda of the politicians in the process of creating the enemy and justifying their actions in the name of security.

Another important differentiation to be included is the concept of defining external vs. internal security fields. This leads to the argument that the traditional role of the military – to wage war outside and the traditional role of the police to maintain law and order inside had shifted its primary tasks due to changing discourse in the 19th century and onwards. Today for example we are witnessing armed forces in the process of controlling riots or national gendarmerie serving as a police force. On the other hand, we have seen increasing transnational cooperation between police institutions, which imposes the question of where the line between the military and the police is drawn? A specific example for the clarification of the internal/external, inside/outside boundaries is the fact that the concept of 'global terrorism' has justified military presence in the defense of the homeland (the national territory) against various terrorist groups. On the other hand, opposing the above course of events and preserving security, we have the ongoing growing support for the suicide terrorism as a response to the above-mentioned security measures or preserving a territory imposed by the governments and/or the international community. This creates two or more opposite parties, where on one hand we have the "good" side, and on the other we have the "bad" – suicide bombers and terrorists. These terms cannot be discussed as such, due to the reason that some might use the term "terrorists", while others might use "freedom fighters". Therefore, using the term terrorists or suicide bombers is very sensitive when elaborating the reasons and the events that caused such acts.

Framing a threat by the (in)security professionals cannot be done without the modern technological devices or the so called "security tools". The process of contemporary (in)security practices and processes is the following:

- Giving background knowledge of the threat and the way how it needs to be confronted

- Information gathering, storage, duration

- Set of rules and procedures that frame the interactions between the individuals and the organizations

- Attracting public opinion by embodying a specific image of the large threat

Therefore, various tools such as regulatory and capacity are used. For example, regulatory refers to the normalization of the behavior of the target individual including certain practices to reduce the threat. Capacity tool on the other hand refers to the skill that enables individuals, agencies, or organizations to carry out actions with reasonable probability. This includes training, force, protocols and so on. These however are very likely to change or upgrade since there is always a need to adopting new strategies, extending functions and similar. Such practices do not only relate to the sovereign countries, but also to the terrorist organizations and any other militant groups operating for a cause.

1.1.1 Critical Approaches to Security

One of the most important factors influencing the development of the CASE is the end of the Cold War and the new social movement of the late 70s (Shepherd 2013). This approach also defines security as a speech act, and the security issues as political outcome. The main focus is put on the state, modern politics, empirical investigations of various actors – police and the military, anti-terrorist measures and migration and asylum databases. It argues that critical security approaches have shifted geographically, but also that the idea of securitization has been using identity as referent object. Therefore, the geographical location is one of the independent variables analyzed in the empirical part of the thesis. This means that migration, land preferences and aim for liberation have often been treated as a security issues and threat to the national identity of a country. It is important to mention that this statement appeals to the emotions of the audience and identity as a result can be a very dangerous weapon used securitization purposes. Therefore, if the securitization process can be defined as opposition to the normal politics, the de-securitization process can be seen as an attempt to retrieve normality of politics (Ibid).

1.1.2 Securitization

The field of security studies has become one of the most dynamic and challenging areas in the International Relations, especially by the fact that the contemporary social

constructivist approaches (Williams 2003) such as the theory of securitization mentioned above, developed by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and their collaborators. It has developed a broad and powerful research agenda of significance across the field of security studies.

The Copenhagen School in particular describes securitization as the inter-subjective and socially constructed speech act process by which a threat to a particular referent object is acknowledged and deemed worth protecting (Charret 2009). What is important segment of the analysis, as well as for the research on suicide terrorism, is the social interaction between the securitizing actor and the target audience, which includes the external or the contextual factors, the social capital of the speaker, the nature of the threat and the extent to which legitimacy is gained in such discourse. As Buzan (1998, 32) states: "*Based on a clear idea of the nature of security, securitization studies aim to gain an increasingly precise understanding of who securitizes, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results and, not least, under what conditions (what explains when securitization is successful).*"

Therefore, in the process of fulfilling the security criteria we must understand the operating moves and means used by the securitization actors, the securitizing speech-acts, the 'status' of the securitization actors (for e.g. state or non-state actors) and other factors that determine the level of success. One of the greatest challenges comes with the fact that while the securitization process on one hand is completely open because anyone can attempt to securitize any issue and referent object; on the other hand, the differential capacity of actors to make socially effective claims about threats and at the same time to be recognized and accepted as convincing by the relevant audience is challenging the effectiveness and the success of the securitization process. This means that not all claims are socially effective, and not all actors are equally powerful to achieve the goals set before the securitization attempt. The Copenhagen School therefore claims that security is not just any kind of speech-act or any form of social construction or accomplishment, but what makes securitization useful is the successful call for extraordinary measures beyond the routines and norms of everyday politics (Taureck 2006). A successful securitization therefore has three components (or steps): existential threats (such as

suicide bombers), emergency action, and effects on inter-unit relations by "breaking free of rules" (Buzan 1998). These components can be linked to the initial sign of successful securitization – the securitizing move (ibid), which is an option open to any unit because only once an actor has convinced an audience of its legitimate need to go beyond otherwise binding rules and regulations (emergency mode). Again, this is closely linked to the power and the capabilities of the securitizing actor in the process of social and political construct of certain threat.

The "Paris School" on the other hand critically reviews the concept of securitization explained above, by focusing not only on the speech act, but on the securitizing actors and their strategies (Bigo 1996). It is important to outline the so-called security field (ibid) and the social space where different actors are competing for hegemony, resources and influence.

For the purpose of the thesis, it is crucial to understand the concept of securitization. We must bear in mind that this is the process of incorporating a vision that the threat is global phenomenon and de-territorialized one. Since the enemy is somewhere around and it cannot be clearly identified, the population must be protected (from the suicide terrorists for example). Technology nowadays plays huge role in the security practices worldwide and this must be noted as a concluding point. Clear example for this are the biometrics, the interconnection of weapons systems, digital tools, already mentioned electronic databases etc. Therefore, we must understand that if the IR literature on one hand explains security as survival of the states and their armies, the process of (in)securitization is not a definition, but a process of speech act based on the rapid social changes and interactions among/within states, individuals, organizations and institutions.

1.1.3 Critical perspectives affecting securitization 'success'

Examining the factors that may contribute towards failed securitization and misrepresentation of the goals set before the securitization are playing crucial role in determining to what extent the securitization had been successful and what were the reasons that have influenced the process. The speech act therefore is not enough to explain

the significance and the need of urgent securitization, but the specific vision of 'security' itself contributes towards framing the social conditions and certain forms of rules. Therefore, the act itself links the securitization decision to the notion of ''breaking free of rules'' and suspension of normal politics by 'political' or ideological groupings in order to achieve the desired 'security'. The securitizing actors at the same time feel so intensely about a given issue that they are willing to act and defeat the existential threat and by this act to construct their vision of the 'right' type of security.

What needs to be addressed later on as a potential reason for failure is the 'identity' of the securitizing actor. According to Schmitt (1996), the logic of friends and enemies is invoked and this leads towards the politics of exclusion. Therefore, the difference between the identity of the issue (the situation itself) that has been securitized, and one that remains simply politicized opens a question for overlap of ideologies, strategies, goals and desired outcomes. A successful securitization of an identity therefore involves precisely the capacity to decide on the limits of a given identity, to oppose it to what it is not, to cast this as a relationship of threat or even enemy, and to have this decision and declaration accepted by a relevant group (ibid). For the purpose of study below (the Chechnya one), it is crucial to bear in mind that there is a chance that the society enjoys mixture of identities and this is why the attempt for securitizing an identity and imposing crucial transformation may be unsuccessful move for the securitizing actors. In extreme cases this may lead towards violent secessionist movements within existing states, where the conflict over societal security becomes a conflict over sovereignty, over the right and ability for the decision making by the local people on the ground.

This notion leads to the next crucial segment, whether the state's right to decide whether something is about to be securitized or not, is directly challenging the 'legitimacy' and the role of the non-state actors in their attempt to securitize an issue. As already mentioned, the non-state actors may even securitize the existing state, treating it as a threat to their identity, and thus challenging the state's claim to sovereignty. The role of the state must therefore not be underestimated. Even Buzan (1998) in this regard acknowledges in his own analysis of the securitization of terrorism, state elites' ability to disclose, withhold

or even fabricate evidence enabling the actor to inflate the threat of terrorism in order to maintain its securitization. Thus state elites and their institutional contextualization may have the greater power to influence the 'successes' of the security discourses and the capacity to create 'truth' regarding threats in contrast with the other non-state actor/party. For example, according to Buzan and Lobasz (2007), the securitization of terrorism in the post-9/11 period in the United States demonstrates the capacity of state elites to fix meanings and dominate policy.

1.1.4 Security beyond sovereignty

Speaking of the traditional idea of sovereignty, it can be argued that it refers to the possession of absolute authority within a bounded territorial space, whereas internal factors such as sovereign government or monopoly of use of force, as well as external factors such as recognition, diplomacy and involvement in the international organizations; are amongst key dimensions of the concept (Benoist 1999). However, it has to be noted that recent developments after the Cold War, as well as after the end of the WWII indicate that there has been much emphasize put on the idea of genocide, war crimes tribunals, human rights, humanitarian intervention (R2P) (Ibid), bio politics, human security etc. This means that the idea of sovereignty is challenged by the idea of security in terms of self-determination, creations of International Covenants for protection of Human Rights (UN, 1966), various non-state actors, economic globalization and similar.

Human security and the individual-centric approach in particular, where protection from violent, health, social, economic vulnerabilities is one of the key focuses, is representing the important shift from traditional state`s sovereignty and its defense mechanisms from macro threats such as nuclear wars for example. Additionally, basic human rights have been prioritized and this is closely related to the idea of humanitarian intervention or the R2P from genocides, mass atrocities, mass killings and other violations of human rights. However, despite various attempts to authorize humanitarian interventions in certain conflict regions worldwide, it has to be noted that some of the facing challenges are who is fully eligible to authorize or veto such intervention, under what circumstances, what

are the historical ties/colonial past, capacities, financing. Moreover, apart from the concept of R2P, the international community is facing the challenge of post-conflict reconstruction, peacekeeping, peace building and state building. One of the greatest challenges in terms of security beyond sovereignty can for example be seen in the discourse of the EU post-liberal governance. On one hand, the EU seeks to avoid direct political responsibilities associated with power in some of the countries where it intervenes, but on the other instead of legitimizing policy making on the basis of representative democracy, the EU administrative and regulatory frameworks problematize the autonomy and self-government (Chandler 2010). By the above mentioned concepts we can closely relate the topic of humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping to the concept of new wars, warlords, as well as private security protectors.

It is very crucial that we understand contemporary conflicts from different perspective, rather than the traditional "war between states" perspective. The difference can be located in the fact that the context of disintegration of today`s states includes wars fought by networks of state and non-state actors, more often without uniforms, new type of friend-enemy distinction and so on (Kaldor 2005). Some of the additional characteristics show that these wars are actually not fought by traditional battles, but rather aimed towards usage of massive violence against the civilians such as suicide terrorism. This is another argument that the need for individual centric approach is essential in today`s idea of modern state sovereignty and human security. There are however various limitations apart from the above mentioned shift of the nature of war. As a result of ongoing shortages of troops in conflict areas, weak states or failed states; the 'need' for private contractors is constantly expanding and we are witnessing massive influence of the private security contractors in different war zones across the world. Speaking of the management of economic and military efficiency, it can be argued that opposite of the 'economic rule', the military/conflict view is creating the demand itself by offering greater number of military supplies. To some extent this would mean – the more weapons, more wars. One of the greatest dangers of these contractors is the fact that they pose a direct threat towards the legitimacy and the nature of the state. In other words, in reality private security

contractors do not care about the future of the civilians, their legal responsibility or the rule of law. They do not have the exact legitimacy to act upon someone, but the profit may become their greatest leverage tool, at the same time threatening the legitimacy of the state. The most endangered places are the above mentioned weak or failed states. Therefore, there should be a great emphasize put on the concept of the new forms of decentralized imperialism that weakens even the weakest states (Leander 2009).

A focus must be also put on the concept of identity, whereas many argue that the concept of identity is a social construct, and so is security (Bilgin 2010). On the other hand, many neo-realists tend to believe that identity is a given and constant, where neo-liberals again tend to argue that identities are given to change (Ibid). Based on these two approaches, it is important to note that the latter is leading us to the point that in the world of international relations & politics, the nature of the transformation and shift of identity has the potential to transform the politics of security and the course of events in the terrorist (suicide) attacks. This means that there is a space for responding differently to the threats, to the security dilemma and to the state of anarchy. However, one of the greatest concerns is whether societal security indeed has the ability to persist the essential character under changing conditions and actual threats (Weaver 1993) or the identity as a set of negotiated processes among people and interest groups (McSweeney 1999).

It has been shown that new and more 'sophisticated' view of sovereignty is challenging the traditional forms of security and state sovereignty. It has to be noted that non-state actors as more deeply engaged in a continual process of renegotiating the nature of sovereignty; but also the new security gap, where every day millions of people live in constant fear of violence and other threats, raise the questions of how (in)security is affecting people, what has to be urgently securitized and how can the international community will gain political legitimacy in solving ongoing security issues.

1.2 Post 9/11 events

The post 9/11 course of events have brought significant changes to the perception of security across the world. People, nations, governments and international community

have become familiarized to a range of new, often previously unbelievable security measures in places like airports and multiple transportation hubs, public spaces, hotels, bars and office buildings, as well as sports stadiums, concert halls, schools, hospitals and many other public target spots. Such security measures are often target for debates, ongoing research and analysis whether they are effective or not. Still, it is a fact that nowadays they have become much more intense, but widely accepted by the majority of the population, especially in the western world. As new threats to the international security arise, people feel more vulnerable compared to few decades ago. Therefore, many people accept the fact the more radical security checks need to be implemented across the globe.

Moreover, the concept of "suicide bombers" has become commonly used since the attack on the World Trade Center in on September 11, 2001. People who commit such act are perceived as irrational, and they commit to their willingness to kill themselves while killing many other people. According to Jeffrey William Lewis (2012), it is more useful to think about suicide bombers as a type of human military technology that is controlled by an organization rather than as a form of individual fanaticism. Therefore, one of the goals of the thesis is to determine the motives and driving forces for such act in today`s world.

In regard of the concept of suicide bombing, the act still remains quite mysterious to most nations, especially in the post 9/11 America. The horror, the devastation and the perception of the people regarding the mindset of suicide bombers have kept many people distant, afraid and reluctant to obtain deeper understanding on the concept. For the purpose of explaining the fear that suicide bombers spread among mostly targeted nations, it is worth mentioning the concept of gothic politics with the logic of horror and politics of fear. The initial association with Gothicism is related to injury, trauma, fears, monsters, horror etc. Looking back in the history, the traditional approach had dramatized a modern preoccupation with boundaries and their collapse (Valier 2002); but nowadays the complex series of networks and flows cross remake the borders and the boundaries of the old. In other words, we are witnessing erosion of the traditional approach of public and

private spheres, what is legal or extra-legal, information and entertainment and similar. Additionally, Kristeva`s concept of abjection as "something that disgusts you, something that makes you vomit and something that gives you extremely strong feeling that is somatic and symbolic", can help us to understand the failure of maintaining clear collective boundaries (Kristaeva 1984, 118). In other words, premeditated crime, cunning murder and hypocritical revenge are precisely abject and therefore they index the fragility of the law. As a result, the abjection therefore explains an impossible logic of the limits, the boundaries, borders, enclosures and similar.

The powers of horror are closely related to the concept of contemporary punishment, mostly because power in this regard operates not only under what is has been seen, known or displayed. Instead, it additionally includes imaginative engagement through dramatizing crime, representations of the enemy, of the individual criminal. It is important to understand such discourses due to fact that creating a social fear is very useful political tool. This can be also linked to the notion of moral panic, which is in many contemporary cases related to emotionally persuasive means in responses to certain crimes. On other words, it theorizes the temporary overreaction, where the societies are becoming subjects of the moral panic, especially when analyzing suicide acts. Even though the desired level of moral panic requires consensus, it cannot be purely determined as homogenous social regulation (Cohen 1980). Furthermore, speaking of the concept of (national) security for instance, we can also determine the logic of the gothic narrative through the representation of fear from equally dark terrorists, suicide bombers, rogue states and dark places that are associated as uncertainty and insecurity. Rather than disappearing, they are perceived as becoming greater threat to the societies and here is where the politics is using the notion of reminding us of the powers of the enemy and their ongoing mysteries. In many cases these 'creatures' are represented as those ones who challenge the 'borders' and the 'normality'. If we for example examine the contemporary representation of 'terror', it can be linked to the things that are unclear and unpredictable.

Therefore, the encouragement of creating fear is greater, simply because the concept of terror has been portrayed as something that astonishes and fills the mind with horror and

fear, at the same time freezing and paralyzing the body, such as the fear of someone blowing him/herself with a bomb in public. Thus, this is very much related to the fear between people from the suicide bombs. Defining the above mentioned 'borders' and the 'normality' is a very difficult task. For this purpose, a closer look at the role of passions and sentiments in the civil society must be examined. The relationship between the body and the mind, the cognition and the sensation, the reason and corporeality, depend on the perception and the experience on how the external world is engaged with the individual. This leads to the fact that the human interaction with the world and the rest of the humans cannot actually be separated from the sensate nature of the human being (Devetak 2005). The body cannot be perceived as purely physical receptor of external information, but rather as a producer of feelings that at some point may threaten to pull society apart by driving individuals into potentially conflict situations and suicide acts. The question that appears here is to what extent the discipline of the physical body is coordinated with the civil, political and societal expectations and moral requirements. This will be analyzed in the empirical part of the master thesis and will help to determine the motivations of the individuals or groups committing to suicide terrorism.

Important consideration that needs to be made is the concept of defining enemies and the profiles of people within societies that are labeled as such. Enemies in the past had been associated with great and powerful armies that have threatened to endanger industrial or democratic values of the western societies. Nowadays however the concept of the enemy is shifted towards the shadowy networks of individuals who can potentially bring chaos to the societies, such as suicide bombers. Therefore, the Gothicism in the contemporary politics is representing them as too dark and un-illuminated creatures, which by their mad ambitions are trying to kill on massive scales and destroy the ongoing development of the nations (Bush, 2002). Finally, the dangerous obsession with such notions and perceptions imposes the question of the discourses of further military tactics and their preventive security measures in identifying the threat. It must be however noted that identification of the threat is practically not possible in today`s matrix of modernity and continuous globalization. Instead, the focus should be put on managing the risk effectively rather than

eliminating the threat completely. This will be discussed in the empirical part, in the chapter for prevention and security measures. To summarize, the gothic politics is at the same time shifting the notion of safety and the enemy – are we safe inside, but unsafe outside? It can be rather put the other way around, nowadays the 'inside' is also dangerous, which at the same time opens space for greater imagination rather than enforcement of intelligence services that fight any kind terrorism, including suicide one. Additionally, instead of examining only the mindset of the bombers, it is crucial to address the motivations of the organizations that deploy them and the cultures that approve of their violence. In this regard, suicide bombing becomes understandable as modern type of weapon. The origins and its development will be elaborated below.

1.3 Origins of suicide terrorism

As mentioned already, nowadays we are witnessing larger number of suicide attacks, where in most of the cases various organizations are increasingly sponsoring and facilitate suicide bombings. On the other hand, some of the attackers are not necessarily supported by specific organization and therefore we should be careful who do we "blame" for these attacks. For this reason, these acts have become very much difficult to analyze and understand, as they are classified as self-sacrificial act of violence. Explained by the simplest words, suicide terrorism includes individuals that are in most cases sponsored by organizations and they are perceived as victims or individuals who sacrifice their lives for a cause. Due to the reason that suicide bombing and terrorism by its nature often imposes significant and unselective damage, many of the analysts explain that suicide bombing cannot be understood in terms of conventional death. This concept nowadays is defined as the willing sacrifice of one's life on behalf of a larger cause, such as belief, religion, organization or community. If we look back in the history, the decision to die on behalf of others has been perceived as unique right of the individual.

Today however many events have shown that such acts have been partially appropriated by organizations that focus on training and deploying suicide bombers. One of the main motivations is the fact that individual suicide bombers will be remembered as victims

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dying for their organization, belief, or community. Therefore, the suicide act fills the role of suicide bomber with respect and heroism, which in most cases is very attractive to recruits worldwide. In this regard, the role of the organizations that train and guide suicide terrorists should not be perceived as "brain-washing," but as a reciprocal process accepted by both sides. Suicide bombers are loyal to become glorious by dying and they perceive their deaths as necessity for themselves, the organization, their beliefs, values etc. Thus, the mixture of reliability and creativity is what makes suicide bombers so dangerous and difficult for analysis. They are entitled to both, individual and organizational motivations, and therefore it is indeed different from most historical instances of deaths. In the cases of suicidal terrorism, it is important to analyze the role of the organizations that participate in what would otherwise be an individual act. But it must also be noted that in some cases some suicide attackers seem to be motivated by hopelessness, fatalism, and even self-glorification rather than social motivations (Hoffman 2003). Due to these reasons, it is not easy to fit the suicide bombers into either of the above-mentioned categories.

There are various motivations and reasons for suicidal terrorism such as national ideologies, religious grounds, determination for self-glorification, dedication to a doctrine or certain set of values and beliefs, nationalistic ideologies, obedience, desire for political change and many other. People committing these acts can attach the tools everywhere on their body, in the car, in some object or anywhere where it is powerful enough to cause a damage to big group of people, governments, military and police targets, public places and other. The operations that suicide bombers use also depend on the nature of the doctrine they are following. It can be a desire for changing regimes and rulers, or to obtain various demands or spread a message for self-determination of some groups or nations.

In the history, there are numerous examples and cases that represent the origins of the suicide terrorism and the bombings that have happened in the last decades. Starting with the Russian revolutionaries against the Russian state, which are among the most dramatic and memorable attacks, it can be noted that they have influenced the course of events in regard of the suicide terrorism to a significant way (Lieven 1999). One key point is that in all of their missions, there was death of the attacker. The second point is the fact that

the people committing these acts are in full possession of power in terms of gaining control instead of being agents of violence. They are emotionally and psychologically powerful, where they are always able to recognize the exact time and place to activate their weapons for maximum effect.

1.3.1 Understanding suicide terrorism

The nature of the suicide terrorism is one of the global threats to the modern democracies that is very hard to understand, as well as fastest growing trend in the past decades. Due to the fact that these tactics and suicide attacks are fairly cheap (around 150$ per attack)[1], but still very effective, they are causing constant fear and they are upsetting the social, political, economic and security situation within the regions affected. It is imposing direct threat to the peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts of the nation states and to the international community. Despite the traditional ways of attacking, via wars, troops, aircrafts and similar; the modern suicide terrorism brings devastating results with relatively small expenses and without battles that involve thousands of people. Few of the examples in the recent years on the western societies are the 9/11 attacks of the USA, the spring 2004 Madrid train bombings, London bombings, as well as cases in Israel, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Russia and many others (ibid). This makes it clear to the public that none of the societies is prone on defending its own citizens or remaining immune to such threat.

In the suicide attacks or the so-called suicide terrorism, the death of the committer is a key component to determine the success of the mission, especially after the 9/11 (Cronin 2005) events. Therefore, in today`s literature there are various studies that analyze the suicide operations from the perspective of range of disciplines conducted prior and post the attack. In the studies, there are various geographical regions included for analysis, one of which is the case in this research. In terms of the literature review, the

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[1] Hoffman, Bruce. 2003. Hoffman, Bruce. 2003. "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism." The Atlantic, June.
   http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2003/06/the-logic-of-suicide-terrorism/302739/.

case of Chechnya has not been specifically researched as most of the focus is put on other regions. It does not mean that there is no research on this case, but only several important authors such as Gambetta (2005), Richardson (2006) and Pedazhur (2006) have been focusing on the motives and events on the Chechen case.

Additionally, Pape`s theory (2005) has been one of the very influential literatures that tries to identify general trends in suicide attacks through the process of statistical analysis on the North Caucasus. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Pape`s research and contributions to the academic world has been criticized as it is very doubtful whether the applicability of qualitative analysis to different case studies is really effective and serve its purpose in the suicide terrorism analysis. This has been widely criticized by Moghadam (2006) and Cook (2007). They are criticizing the fact that this kind of analysis does not incorporate the terrorist campaigns, including failed attacks, limited obligation of groups, networks and individuals that have used radical tactics for attacks. Also, in order to explain the nature of the events and the suicide attacks, it is crucial to describe the context why and when they occurred. This is one of the limitations in Pape`s theory (and this will be elaborated in more details in Chapter 4), where key methodological problems remain unanswered, including relying too much on some secondary literature and the slipping out key works on suicide attacks and terrorism which are linked to the North Caucasus.

1.3.2 Examples of suicide terrorist groups

Even though there are theories and research studies that indicate that suicide bombing has emerged in Imperial Russia, this is not really supported by valid arguments. All of these groups who were operating in this region were never entitled into actions for recruiting and training people for the group, as well as deploying attacks in public places, where the rest of the population (apart from the king) is affected. It is crucial to determine various types of suicide attacks, since on one hand we might have a decision to die being conducted by the person who is carrying out the attack. This means that the decision has remained in the control of the individual bomber rather than with the organization.

The findings by Action on Armed Violence (AOAV) affirms that 21 countries witnessed suicide attacks in 2015, where 10,696 people were reported killed or injured (combats and non-combats) in 253 separate incidents (AOAV 2016). Speaking of the modern types of suicide bombing, most of them have been introduced by Hezbullah in 1983 in Lebanon, and it was in Lebanon that this modus operando was refined throughout the 1980s (ibid). according to statistics, there have been in total around 50 suicide bombings that were carried by secular communist and nationalist organizations, such as the Lebanese Communist Party, the Socialist-Nasserist Organization, the Syrian Ba'ath Party, the PPS, and the other half by Hezbullah and Amal (ibid). all of these acts were considered as achievements by other similar groups, and the case of Lebanese suicide terrorism has become a symbol of respect and sacrifice, as well as ground of inspiration for numerous organizations across the world in countries like Sri Lanka, Egypt, Turkey, and Chechnya. To some extent, the groups in these countries have adopted slightly different approaches and improved techniques for the suicide attacks compared to the Lebanese groups. Below are some examples that indicate the doctrine and the approaches that are used by these groups.

Tamil Tigers

The focus of this group is the creation of independent Tamil state, and for this reason there have been multiple suicide bombings in the 80`s. those attacks have been fatal and deadly to hundreds of people affected. The main targets of this organization are senior political and military officials in Sri Lanka and therefore this organization is the only one in the world to succeed in assassinating two heads of state by suicide bombings (Moorcraft 2014). The centers of the attacks are boats, facility centers, and economic connections, such as fuel yards where the organization does not pay attention to the random people passing by. These people are never spared out from the attacks of the Tamil Tigers. Therefore, as one of the most active groups for suicide terrorism, this organization serves as an inspiration for strong nationalistic motive and the charismatic leader as head of the organization.

Nevertheless, it has still not achieved its main purpose to create a state for the Tamil people in the northern and eastern portions of the Island of Sri Lanka; but for the purpose of analyzing suicidal terrorism is it crucial to mention the main characteristics of this powerful and influential organization. Due to its leader, all members used to be well disciplined and actions were centralized, where each movement is under extraordinary control. Group members used to show great loyalty towards the leader who is considered as cruel and powerful, and focus on mastering the process of suicide bombing. After the murder of the leader in 2009 (Ibid), as time passed by, the discipline of the group was slightly destroyed.

This case is an example that clearly shows that suicide bombing and religious fanaticism do not always go hand in hand as many people believe. Tamil Tigers have nothing to do with religion in their cause of fights[2], and yet they are one of the most organized, effective and brutal terrorist groups in the world.

This trend will be also tested in the empirical part, in order to show to what extent, the religion is influencing suicide terrorism and what is the dependent variable. In the case of the Tamil Tigers it is crucial to mention that obsession towards religion does not exist and is not a factor for committing the acts, but rather it is the dedication and individuals who are ready and willing to fight and die for a cause without any doubts.

Kurdish PKK

Labeled as a secessionist "secular" movement, the PKK has committed 16 suicide attacks during the 90`s. The attempt for creating Kurdish autonomy from the Turkish state, has not been achieved. The movement, same like the Tamil Tigers, had a charismatic leader perceived as a "Light to the Nations." Upon his arrest and death sentence in late 90`s, this organization terminated its suicide bombings.

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[2] The majority of Tamil Tigers are Hindu

Al-Qaida

Al-Qaida is Osama bin Laden's organization that was responsible for various suicide bombings and attacks, such as U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, 9/11 attacks and many others that were either committed by this organization or supported by collaboration with other similar organizations. It is very broad topic for analysis in regard of the operations, causes and explanations how this organization operates, but it is crucial to mention it in order to present it as an example of an organization dealing with suicide terrorism. Hundreds and thousands of people were either injured or killed in Al-Qaida`s attacks, but still even despite its size and spread across the Arab world, it still has not reached its strategic political aims, apart from the politics of creating fear, devastating attacks and recruiting people from all over the world. What is the most worrying in this case is the fact that it is spreading very fast in terms of its number of participants and therefore it is hard to fight this kind of terrorism in a conventional way by militaries and traditional wars.

To summarize, there are much more groups around the globe that operate similarly to the above-mentioned cases, and that focus on the suicide terrorism. They all have different causes and reasons why they commit suicide attacks, and in most of the cases they have still not reached their primary goals. The Chechen case below will elaborate the reasons and course of events of a similar group that uses suicide attacks in order to gain and reach the legacy wanted.

Japanese Kamikaze

In the course of events during the WWII, there were various and powerful, organizational groups such as the Japanese Kamikaze, who have committed devastating and one of the most productive suicide bombing system in the world against the American naval forces. Due to the fact that the Japanese land has been subject to progressively brutal airborne bombings, these attacks have been committed during desperation. The clear message was to show fanaticism and determination to Japan's enemies and to enforce fear among the enemy of the future attacks in Japan.

One very important note is crucial to be done when analyzing the Kamikaze suicide bombers. Later on in the empirical part, it will be noted that Pape analyzed the course of events in regard of the suicide terrorism, but he failed to analyze at the government sponsored suicide terrorism. This is the case with the Japanese Kamikaze pilots who crashed planes into American ships in order to cause the greatest amount of damage. Therefore, it is crucial to make a difference between the two kinds of suicide attacks. One is related to the willingness to inflict massive deaths on the enemy, including civilians, and second, the willingness to incur massive deaths in order to achieve victory.

1.3.3 Common characteristics

Based on the example above, apart from the fact that there are various reasons and motivations why such organization commit suicide attacks, one of the fundamental characteristics of suicide terrorism and its strong attraction towards its organization is the fact that such attacks are not very much expensive and in majority of the cases they are effective and devastating. Organizations decide on this kind of attacks and acts of violence due to the fact that they are less complicated and compromising compared to other kinds of terrorist operations. They always attract the media attention and appear on the front pages in the world news. Therefore, suicide bombers or attackers are very much flexible, effective and innovative, since they are much more dangerous when a person is carrying a bomb, instead of leaving the bomb in a public place to explode. The so called human weapons system can always decide on the last-minute changes and therefore the argument that the individual is having the biggest control during the time of the attack instead of the organization is supported. Additionally, the person can change the path of the attack and focus on public places where there are more people present in order to do bigger damage. This creates huge psychological effect among the people exposed to such attacks or living in conflict areas where these attacks are more often. According to the French philosopher Gaston Bouthoul, "anonymous, unidentifiable threat creates huge anxiety, and the terrorist tries to spread fear by contagion, to immobilize and subjugate those living under this threat" (Bouthoul 1975,10).

1.4 Islamist jihad

In this paragraph, the role of the modern Islamic jihad will be elaborated, as it is often linked to the perception of the suicide terrorism and damaging security. The rise of the modern Islamist jihad movement (Bar 2006) is often interpreted as a legal religious obligation which at the same time defines clear guidelines in the process of definition and identification of the battle space in which jihad is to be undertaken, who must participate in jihad and how, what are the legitimate means and who are the legitimate targets of jihad; the legitimacy of suicide attacks, the political doctrine of the movement and similar.

The call for revising the doctrine of the Jihad itself (Hakim 2010) is directly related to the securitization attempt, which in most contemporary cases is reflected by the political and the ideological circumstances of legitimizing self-defense, helping the Muslim brothers worldwide, but at the same time gaining secular political interests and 'moral justification' for defeating the 'enemy' by using force rather than the real spiritual meaning of the Jihad ideology. As Heck (2004), Bassiouni (2008) and Cook (2009) suggest, the violent actions conducted by jihadist groups contributed to the public acceptance within the Muslim community which justified the jihadist violence in order to fulfill their political interests and political resistance in war against what they perceived as 'evil' and enemies of Islam.

1.4.1 Jihadist transformation → Political violence → Going Global

The jihadist transformation in the modern world, particularly the idea of offensive jihad has influenced the doctrine of warfare in the contemporary jihadist groups. By Jihadist transformation we can tackle the 'justification' for the use of force and violence in the process of Jihadist movement against the enemies of the Islam. The modern doctrine has nowadays become a source of inspiration for Jihad offensive movements, legitimized suicide attacks and similar actions going beyond the boundaries of pure Muslim nations. The transnational Islamists radical movement encompasses an Islamic ideology detached from local culture, traditions and teachings, with multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic leadership and militant members (Morgenstern 2009). This pattern is very important because the process of inspiring diverse group of Muslims in different countries across

the world can be a difficult task in the process of maintaining and enforcing the Jihadist ideology. The contemporary formulation of global jihadist ideology and the moral justification of expanding the offensive jihad through global violence in non-fundamental societies had led to variety of contradictions such as lack of legitimacy, limited and/or instant success and potential failure of establishing long term political and ideological goals.

Some of the jihadists are entitled to enforce and legitimize unusual and extreme measures in order to fight the threat and achieve their higher aim. This has been shown by sending humanitarian, financial, military aid and volunteers to remote places in conflict countries like Bosnia, Chechnya and other. The initial help however have later on been interpreted as an attempt to initiate and organize the Jihad, roughly translated as "struggle" or "Holy War" in various areas inhabited by minorities of Muslims. The securitizing actors in this case had claimed right to extraordinary measures in order to ensure referent object`s Muslim`s survival.

Some of the jihadists vision`s states that virtuous society can only be attained by establishing pure Islamic state that would act faithfully upon the Sharia`s principles (Mitchell 2008), it can be noted that the Qur`anic faithful practices are expected to exist in all levels of the society. Some doctrines are driven by the idea of liberating the territory from non-Muslim population but on the other hand it is crucial to determine how local Muslims are viewing the conflict in their own terms rather than the imposed ones by the messages spread across the Arab world. Moreover, the Mujahedeen vision for not fighting 'outside' of their own land, but fighting for defending the entire umma (Kobrin 2012) is challenging the Jihadist ideology and vision enforcement among the local population, mostly because it has been largely driven by political and religious sympathies. Therefore, this leaves space for increased suspicion by the local population (the target audience of the securitizing actor) in regard of the real agendas of the foreign fighters. Alienating the local population is directly related to the failure of the securitization process and this can be seen the process of determining what is legitimate and what is illegitimate in the fight against the 'enemy'.

To summarize, the jihadist ideology and claimed legitimacy has been driven by religious and military capabilities that at the same time have created tactical and instant success, but on the other hand they gained strategic failure. The local population might not easily undermine the role of the government in this case and therefore it can be argued that the automatic approval of jihadist legitimacy might fails in some societies.

Finally, in order to understand the notion of legitimacy of the (non) state actors, we must go back at understanding of national security and threat-defense mechanism from the military sector of the state, rather than non-state actors. In more details, taking in consideration Buzan`s and Lenne's argument on securitization as "the inter subjective establishment of an existential threat, which demands urgent and immediate attention, as well as the use of extraordinary measures to counter this threat" (Buzan & Lene 2009, 25); we must address the question whether such legitimacy is prescribed only for the state actor.

1.5 Profiles of suicide terrorists

In regard of the analysis for the people who are committing suicide attacks, their profiles have changed since the early years of terrorism compared to today's profiles of people. In the beginning of the suicide terrorism, the attackers were much easier to spot as they used to carry their bombs or different weapon in backpacks or bags, compared to today`s way of carrying it in belts or vests hidden beneath their clothing. The technology has influenced the way how suicide terrorism is conducted and has made it more difficult for the intelligent services to discover it or predict it, but easier for the attackers to conduct it.

Additionally, the conventional profile of a person committing suicide used to be male, aged between seventeen to twenty-three and mostly unmarried (Merari 2004). Today, there is a variety of profiles representing the people committing these crimes, as there is a mix of genders, marital status, origins and nationality etc. Not necessarily the person who is committing the crime is a national of the country where the organization is located or originated, or not necessarily the person is from the same religion. Therefore,

it is much more difficult to track and predict any upcoming attacks. Additionally, it is frightening the fact that it is very often the case that children are trained for these activities (Ibid). This leads to the statement that at the moment there is no clear profile anymore of a suicide terrorist.

Another important note is related to the social status of the attackers. It has been widely known that mostly people from lower societal ranks and educational background are more prone to suicide attacks, compared to the well-educated ones and the ones who are economically and financially stable (Ibid). This leads to the argument that suicide terrorists are not coming exclusively from the ranks of the poor. There are examples where the attackers (including the 9/11 case) are university graduates, some with master's degrees. This shows a clear message, that suicide terrorists are not entitled to a crime of poor and miserable people but in some cases of highly educated people who are using their intelligent minds to work for these organization and fight the target.

2. THEORETICAL SCOPE

2.1. Robert Pape's theory of Suicide Terrorism

For the purpose of doing the empirical study, the theory that will be tested is one originating from Robert A. Pape, on *"Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" (2005)*. The theory studies suicide terrorist attacks from 1980 until 2003 (ibid), arguing that suicide terrorist attacks follow a tactical plan. This means that they are not spontaneous acts which are committed by unreasonable and irrational individuals and/or groups. The author posits that this study regarding the political logic of the suicide terrorism is significantly much more important compared to the previous studies developed on this subject. Also, he presents the lack on analyzing the suicide terrorism from a different perspective rather than only the organizational role, the motives and personal beliefs of the attackers. Pape gives further details such as providing sufficient reasons why the individuals have committed these acts, and also why the organizations are adopting this type of attacks on a global level. Therefore, his book claims that suicide terrorism is strategic (Pape 2005, 344). Starting with the definition of terrorism: "*Suicide terrorism is the most aggressive form of terrorism*" (345) due to the reason that it emphasizes priority of pressuring a target above the retaining of the organization's members, and the recruitment of future members.

One of the main objectives of such terrorist attacks is gaining publicity and support of the actions of the group, while the main determination in the suicide terrorism is a coercion. The author supports this argument by stating that terrorist organizations are present in weaker states or in organizations targeting the stronger ones. Since organizations that employ the tactic of suicide terrorism are always weaker, they always rely on a tactic called punishment. A punishment refers to proclaiming terrorist aim in order to "*cause mounting civilian costs to overwhelm the target state's interest in the issue in dispute and so to cause it to concede the terrorists' political demands*" (Pape 2005, 346).

Even though the testing, which is done below, does not focus on the strength of an organization as such, but rather it analyzes different independent variables, it must be noted that Pape`s theory in this regard is not providing enough arguments for support. Not

necessarily it means that the terrorist organizations are weaker compared to the party that they are fighting against. It might be the case that they are not officially proclaimed as sovereign entities, with its own authorized military and institutional support. But rather they are operating with no official places or headquarters. Therefore, terrorism cannot be carried out in a conventional way. Additionally, key differences need to be made between groups such as al Qaeda and ISIS. Terrorist networks, such as al Qaeda, generally have only dozens or hundreds of members, attack civilians, do not hold territory, and cannot directly confront military forces. ISIS, on the other hand, boasts thousands of fighters, holds territory in both Iraq and Syria, maintains extensive military capabilities, controls lines of communication, commands infrastructure, funds itself, and engages in sophisticated military operations (Cronin 2015).

If ISIS is purely and simply anything, it is a pseudo-state led by a conventional army. And that is why the counterterrorism and counterinsurgency strategies that greatly diminished the threat from al Qaeda will not work against ISIS. Because of this modern threat called ISIS, we cannot claim that the terrorist organizations and their suicidal attacks are much weaker than the party that they are fighting against. On the contrary, ISIS is the modern threat which is not weak at all, and countries who target ISIS cannot find a way to prevent the attacks. Therefore, the argument that terrorist organizations are always weaker is not supported, especially not with the recent attacks and events across Europe, Asia and especially Turkey.

Furthermore, in his study he is making differentiation between suicide attacks and "regular" terrorism. On one hand, we have the groups such as IRA, ETA or the PLO that focused on limiting the number of their victims, while on the other hand suicide attackers aspire to murder as many people as possible on a grand scale. Pape also states that their main purpose is not to gain publicity and to be broadcasted in the news, but to punish their enemies in the most brutal manner possible (Pape 2005, 188). This however is not always true, as there were some cases such the Chechnya that wanted to gain more publicity and they moved their geographical area of attacks from Russian military targets, to places in Russia such as Moscow and similar. In terms of the numbers of victims, Pape is stating that since the suicide attackers do not bother with institutions or bureaucratical

procedures, they are able to impose more damage, killing 21 people on average as opposed to one victim for the typical non-suicide assault (ibid).

Furthermore, his analysis shows that suicide attacks are almost always directed against democracies, as on one hand there are the democratic regimes that are not as strong in fighting back their authoritarian counterparts, and on the other hand terrorist organizations have lower threshold of tolerance for civilian casualties (Cook 2007). This argument is also not very well supported, as we have cases where the democratic regimes have the equipment, the people on the ground and the mechanisms to fight the terrorism effectively. For example, if we take in consideration the United States, proclaimed as a superpower, it cannot be claimed that this country is much weaker than any terrorist organization existing nowadays. Instead, the key issue and concern comes with the means of fighting terrorism, the concept of sovereignty and counterterrorist actions, the people on the ground, as well as the role of the international community in the R2P process and its involvement in such actions against terrorist organizations.

In order to support his theory, he is showing the examples of Hezbollah's campaign against U.S. and French forces in Lebanon in 1983, which resulted in the removal of both nations' troops (ibid). In Sri Lanka, even though the suicide-bombing campaign of the Tamil Tigers in the 1980's and 90's did not yield them an independent homeland, it did force the Sri Lankan government to sit on the negotiating table and start the peace talks. These two cases show that sometimes democracies are prone on making a deal with the terrorist organization, but not necessarily this is always the case.

Apart from this statement regarding the weaker and the stronger, or democracy vs. non-democracy, Pape is focusing on the reasons why individuals become suicide terrorists and why terrorist organizations are increasingly relying on this form of attack. Thus, he believes that his study that focuses on the political logic of suicide terrorism is much more important than previous studies developed on the subject. His is proclaiming the logic that the individuals that are willing to die magnifies the coercive effects of punishment in two ways:

1. Suicide terrorism to cause more damage than other forms of terrorism. The attacker has no escape plan and is ready to die. Therefore, there is no fear during the time of the attack, but only the will to complete the mission. Additionally, last minute adjustments are always possible and can make the attack more successful.

2. As Pape is stating that suicide terrorism is strategic, he is advocating three main principles such as timing, nationalist goals, and target selection. In regard of the nationalistic goals, the main aims of the suicide terrorist attacks are nearly always the same: to expel foreign democracies from their nation. Therefore, according to Pape, "*the targets of suicide terrorism are always those with a democratic government and who are currently occupying a weaker country. Because the terrorist organizations strategically plan their targets, the timing of the attacks, and are fueled by nationalist goals, the attacks cannot be classified as random acts of hatred*" (Pape 2005, 346).

2.1.1 Pape`s database

Using his database, Pape was able to draw several conclusions about why suicide bombings happen by constructing a model and addressing three main questions (Pape 2005, 21):

1. *What is the strategic logic of suicide terrorism? Why do suicide attacks make political sense for an organization?* – He concludes that suicide terrorism works best against democracies by weak organizations that have no other way to achieve their political objectives, which is almost always to eject foreign troops from the terrorist organization's homeland. This is related to nationalistic motives.

2. *What is the social logic of suicide terrorism and why do these attacks receive mass support in some societies only?* - He develops a theory that nationalism and religious difference between the rebels and the dominant democratic state are the main conditions under which the organization is likely to promote a campaign of suicide terrorism. He concludes that religion is not as effective in this segment as expected.

3. *What is the individual logic of suicide terrorism and what are the main motives that drive particular people to give up their lives and carry out terrorist attacks?* - Pape analyzes different kinds of suicide, such as "egoistic suicide" which is done alone, in isolation; and the "fatalistic suicide" occurs from immersion in a small group, often a cult.

In regard of the types of the suicides practiced, he is claiming that most common form is the so called altruistic suicide, opposed to an egoistic suicide. In the first type, the suicide terrorist willingly accepts a voluntary death mostly because the organization supports and honors the act. In one word, according to his analysis, a person is dedicated to committing suicide terrorism in order to become a hero within the organization. The main objective is to expel foreign troops from the terrorist organization's homeland.

2.1.2 Variables

According to Pape (2005), there are several variables that affect the suicide terrorism and these factors will also be used in the empirical analysis below.

❖ Speaking of nationalism, he claims that it is a belief among members of a distinct ethnic, linguistic, or historical group community that they are entitled to govern their national homeland without any involvement from other parties. He presents Al Qaeda, for instance, he cites a May 1998 statement in which Osama bin Laden declares, "*The call to wage war against America was made because America has spearheaded the crusade against [Saudi Arabia] over and above its meddling in its affairs and its politics, and its support of the oppressive, corrupt, and tyrannical regime that is in control*" (Pape 2005, 83).

❖ In regard of the religion, this variable is not entirely irrelevant to suicide terrorism, in Pape's view, but what matters most is not the particular faith but whether it is different to the one of the occupier. If it is, the statement that religion plays a role is more supported. He tries to prove mathematically that there is no special connection between Islam and terrorism, where he is using 66 known al-Qaeda suicide terrorists into groups based on national origin. When he is comparing these groups with the total number of Muslims in each country he concludes that there is significant statistical relationship between these two.

2.2 Limitations

Even despite the fact that Pape has offered substantial evidence to his study, there are few limitations where he writes one-sided argument with a failure to consider other

relevant forces in his writing and therefore is prone to weak claims. For instance, when he is analyzing the profiles of the suicide terrorists, he is describing that they can vary from college educated or uneducated, from married to single, mixed gender, from socially isolated towards integrated, from age 13 to 47 (Pape 2005, 344). Compared to the history when they used to be classified as uneducated, unemployed, socially isolated, single men in their late teens and early 20's (Ibid). What he fails to determine and analyze is the role of the women terrorists and what percentage of the entire statistics they are representing in the suicide attacks.

He claims that "*the more suicide terrorists justify their actions on the basis of religious or ideological motives that match the beliefs of a broader national community, the more the status of terrorist martyrs is elevated, and the more plausible it becomes that others will follow in their footstep*" (Pape 2005, 347). Additionally, he has mentioned that "*maximizing the number of enemy killed alienates those in the target audience who might be sympathetic to the terrorist's cause, while the act of suicide creates a debate and often loss of support among moderate segments of the terrorists' community*" (345). Even though these two statements make sense on their own, they explain the same concept in two ways that do not overlap easily. This might confuse the reader and make the arguments of the study weak.

In terms of the occupying force, Pape is stating that almost all of the suicide attacks are linked to a revolt against those perceived as an occupying force. Some critiques point out that what is important to note and ask is the question: "Why supporters of a single religion seem systematically willing to express their complaints, territorial and otherwise, in the most unselective and barbaric way possible?"

Finally, what he argues is the scenario where three conditions must be met in order for a suicide terrorism campaign to be launched:

1. Circumstance of national resistance to foreign occupation of lands strongly associated with a nationalist identity (variable 1 in this thesis);

2. The occupying force originates from a democracy or democracies;

3. There is a difference in religion between those being occupied and those doing the occupying (variable 2 in this thesis).

Additionally, suicide operations are shown not to be isolated or random incidents accomplished by singular fanatics. Instead, it is part of a planned terrorist campaigns with specific strategic goals in mind. As a concluding remark, he argues that one of the main reasons that suicide terrorism has flourished in the recent years is the perception on the part of terrorists of the probable success of suicide campaigns for achieving their immediate strategic goals, which are usually the withdrawal of combat forces generated and deployed by a democracy (Pape 2005, 110).

3. METHODOLGY AND DATA COLLECTION

3.1. Research questions and hypotheses

Research questions that will be used in order to conduct the analysis regarding the suicide terrorism are the following:

1.   What are the main motives/reasons of Chechnya to use suicide bombing against Russia?

Questions to be disclosed in the conclusion and will serve as a ground for future research are the following:

2.   How the implementation of suicide bombing affected the Russian-Chechen relations?
3.   How Russian Policy changed towards Chechnya after the main suicide attacks?

This explanatory qualitative study uses foreign occupation, nationalism, religious difference and geographical location as four distinct independent variables (occupation, nationalism, religious difference and geographical location), and occurrence of suicide terrorism as the dependent variable, to test R. Pape's theory on Chechnya case using the descriptive historical analytical framework. Below are the 2 main hypothesis that will be tested in the study, by an analytical-descriptive method:

❖   **Hypothesis 1: Suicide terrorism occurs due to the foreign occupation, nationalism and religious difference.**

❖   **Hypothesis 2: Suicide terrorism occurs in geographical locations such as capitals, or cities where there are main events happening such as sport matches, fairs, concerts etc.**

3.2. Research structure

There will be one theory used in the study in order to test Robert Pape's theory (2005). In short, the theory argues that occupation, nationalism, and religious difference cause a rebellion which leads to mass support for martyrdom, which in turn leads to suicide

terrorism. Essentially, foreign occupation by a superior military power combined with nationalism and a difference in religion between the occupier and the occupied are the main conditions under which suicide terrorism occurs.

Thus, independent variables are:

1. **Foreign Occupation**
2. **Religious difference**
3. **Nationalism**
4. **Geographical location**

In order to test the theory, the research uses database for testing Pape's theory. There were 86 suicide attacks perpetrated by Chechens on Russian soil from 2000 to 2016 (CPOST and GTD; Appendix 4), and this serves as a starting point for analysis. The database will be constructed in the following way, including the following independent variables and unit of measures:

1. Occupation = yes/no = 1/0

2. The level of nationalism = scale is created from 1 to 10.

3. Religious difference = tested as yes/no possibilities.

4. Geographical location = distance = Google Earth. Average is calculated to determine 1) low or 2) high distance from the capital – Grozny.

Thesis uses increasing gradation, which means that if it is a binary variable = yes/no, or 0=minimum value and 1=maximum value. This means that yes is 1 and no is 0. Such descriptive analysis will help us to understand how the value of dependent variable changes with the change of independent variable by using graphs and selected data, as well as selected events within the period of the most intense years of suicide attacks. In general, this research will tie all the values of the dependent and independent variables to a specific set of data for analysis out of which results will be analyzed via analytical-descriptive method.

4. CASE STUDY: CHECHNYA

4.1 Changing targets

During the first two years of 2000 and 2001, since the Chechen suicide terrorism evolved, there used to be only military bases targeted inside the country. This however has changed as time passed. Since there was a success in these types of attacks, the other side was the fact that the country has faced increasing news shutdowns in Russia from Chechnya, which caused anger and frustration between the terrorist groups in regard of their legacy for independent state and improved national situation. Therefore, upon 2002 (Balmfort 2012), the Chechen terrorists have moved their suicide operations to Russia, focusing intensively on Moscow itself. One of the examples is the dramatic hostage-taking event of the Dubrovka Theater, where 40 armed terrorists (19 of which were women with bombs) held approximately 800 hostages in the theatre for nearly 3 days (Ibid). In the end, one hundred twenty-nine hostages were killed in this attack, but the majority had died from gas that launched into the theater by Russian Special Forces.

This event has changed the situation and brought huge media coverage within the news, where the cause of the Chechen terrorist groups has been presented. This was one of the most influential coverages not only within Russia but with the rest of the world. Therefore, their legacy has continued with the attacks of civilians inside Russia on concerts, on public places and metro stations, as well as airports. Statistics show that during the 2003 and 2004, 63% of suicide attacks have happened in these areas (Speckhard and Ahkmedova 2006a). On the other hand, this has resulted in increased number of counterterrorism campaigns from the Russian state. Such response has only created greater motivation between the Chechen terrorist groups and inspiration to continue and enlarge their operations in order to fight for their legacy against the enemy.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the fact that Chechen-related suicide attacks did not begin until 2000, as there were no Chechen suicide bombings in the first Chechen War. During 2003, there is a record of highest concentration of suicide attacks, which has been inspired by the Chechen constitutional referendum (Ibid).

To summarize, due to the course of events above, it can be stated that the Chechen case is the one that is related to a nationalist struggle. This has happened after the two major conflicts that appeared after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Office of the Historian, 2016). In this specific case, there have been multiple causes imposed such as historical, structural and strategic factors that contributed to a result of an implosive crisis between these two countries. On one hand, the Chechen people that are widely recognized for their courage and warrior spirit, have been guarding their independence and have resisted all attempts to give up. Many studies link the Islam as an integral element that serves as a unification tool. Nevertheless, it must be noted that their Caucasian identity is crucial in this case and they have overcome their internal divisions for the purpose of standing united against Russian intervention. Therefore, the religion serves them more like a tool, rather than a legitimate ideology for which they would fight.

4.2 Motivations determining suicide attacks

As it was already elaborated, suicide terrorism is used in a way of undeclared wars, unlike the traditional battles and often between groups that are unequal in armed power. Thus, in most of the cases such suicidal and terrorist acts result from a failed political process between the parties involved. Bearing in mind that the current conflict between Chechnya and Russia has long-established roots within the history and it is dating back to 1858 when Chechen Iman Shamil and his fighters attempted to establish an Islamic state (Galeotti 2014), the resentment and the wish to win over Russia for decades is higher and higher. This is more intensified, as in some periods in the past the resistance has becoming more violent and bitter, especially in 1944 when the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has been accused by Stalin for collaborating with the Nazis (ibid). Upon intensive mass deportations, where thousands have died, the Chechen nation have considered that as a punishment from Soviet Union. The only time when they were allowed to be back was after Stalin`s death in 1953. Such tender event in the history is still brightly alive in the memories of older Chechens and it is one of the reasons why many Chechens are obstinate about never being driven from their country again.

Nowadays, there are many confirmations that the entire population is tired from the ongoing conflict, unrests, attacks and terrors. The human rights violations on both sides is a constant event, and even some people whose family have participated in the terrorist attacks are aware that hostages or the random people passing by are not guilty for what is happening. But on the other hand, they still bear in mind that many Chechen civilians were killed as well, which also shows injustice and it is not fair to both populations, Chechen and Russian. Thus, many Chechens support the idea that apart from the terrorist attacks, they do not have any other rational way of solving the conflict with Russia.

Based on the above-mentioned reasons for the attacks, as well as the historical path, it is clearly visible that the terrorist organization on the Chechnya ground are clearly nationalistic and independence-oriented, rather than driven from the religious motives and Islamism supported ideologies such as the Wahhabis ideology (The Telegraph post, 2015). The fact that these groups have become increasingly religiously oriented does not mean that religion is playing a key role in motivating the attacks. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the individual motives, which are quite difficult to separate them from the societal and organizational impacts simply because the political cause in this case is not strong enough to motivate volunteers and recruits alone. Such cause is not enough for the individuals or groups to decide for a suicide terrorist act. Therefore, the organizational role is playing an important role, as it is moving the fighters to fighting for a political cause that the organization adopts. The organizational ideology provides them with hope of achieving a degree of social justice, liberation and self-determination through causes of terrorism. Here we also need to include wider political realities, including individual and family`s traumatization and sadness during the conflicts, as well as by the lack of practical alternatives for achieving their goals. Therefore, it can be argued that the motives of the Chechen terrorist attacks are purely political, and their fight involves terrorism as a driving force and justification for their actions. In some radical cases, unfortunately the truth is that politics of nationalism and constant war do not necessarily motivate these people to become terrorists for any cause. Nevertheless, in many cases they cannot escape the political forces surrounding them and they decide to move on with the terrorism and

fight for the nation. These are one of the key reasons why there is a constant process of developing a martyr Chechen suicide terrorism.

To summarize, looking at the motivations behind suicide operations in Chechnya, there are few major reasons determining the motives, such as:

- **Nationalism**, which is used to recruit suicide bombers as part of the need to defend the national identity, to preserve the national dignity and fight the Russian occupying force. Due to the various humiliations of the Chechen population, as well as the multiple historical grievances, the nationalism plays a key role in the conflict and decision for suicide terrorism.
- **Religion** comes as a second motive, which serves more as a tool, rather than as main motivation for the terrorist attacks. The prominent belief for the Jihadist ideology and the promise of the paradise is in some cases very strong personal motivation to commence suicide operations.
- **Personal motivations** are driven from the loss of a family member and loved ones.

Thus, analyzing the cases of suicide terrorist attacks committed by the Chechens, it is crucial to point out the fact that suicide bombers did not transmission their intentions before the attack or make statements on behalf of Islam. This suggests that religious grounds and martyrdom is not the primary motivation which is used by most suicide terrorists in Chechnya. Instead, the main underlying motivation is the revenge for all victims of the brutal Russian 'counter-terrorist' operations. People who are committing the attacks are therefore not known for their religious fundamentalism or for being socio-economically marginalized. Instead, they are finding their motivation in their hopelessness and wish for justice to the Chechen people.

4.3 Comparison: Chechnya vs. other regions

In order to conduct better analysis of the Chechen case, it is important to compare it with the other regions and their practices related to suicide terrorism. It is key to

distinguish this case, so that the empirical part will be more clear for analysis. Looking back in the history, the modern suicide terrorism roots bask in 1963 with Hezbollah attacks in Lebanon (Speckhard 2005), while by 1987, the tactic migrated to the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka. Additionally, the Palestinian Hamas has accepted in in 1993, which was followed by the Turkey's Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) in 1996 (ibid) and Al-Queda in mid-1990s. Speaking of the religious grounds, due to the Russian brutality there has been a growing trend of supporting Wahabbi ideological influence in Chechnya, even though this does not come directly from the Chechens. Therefore, we cannot compare the religious grounds in Chechnya with the other regions mentioned above. However, the influence had been driven by the Arab fighters from Afghanistan, supported by foreign aid and training. The doctrine of the Wahabbist ideology proclaims that there needs to be a revenge towards the enemy for the deaths of the family members (The Telegraph 2016). The personal trauma is mostly used to manipulate with the attackers and to promote killing of innocents for the purpose of satisfying the desire for punishment. Thus, the Chechen suicide bombers experience radical personal change and they start following strong commitment to a terrorist group, including suicide planning and trainings. The religion in these cases help these individuals to overcome the fear of death, bring hope for the future and promise of paradise. This is how the Islam religion is twisted and used for the purposes of proclaiming attacks and suicide acts. It can be noted that the Islam in the Chechen case is not being used as a self-sacrifice, but it serves as a comfortable zone to help the individuals psychologically and emotionally to commit the act.

Apart from the religious difference of the Chechen case compared to the rest of the suicide terrorist, it can be said that in other counterparts there is strong support from the society for the suicide terrorism practice. This is not the case in Chechnya, as most of the Chechen population does not believe that suicide bombers will bring benefit to the nation and to the current status. The Chechens are more prone to finding a peaceful path rather than using violence for their national independence. Therefore, disturbing videos of suicide terrorism are not broadcasted to the Chechen population on the news.

In short, these are the main motives, reasons and actions that differentiate the Chechen case with the rest of the suicide terrorism tactics and motivations. Such analysis is crucial to determine the variables in the empirical part of this inquiry.

4.4 First Russian-Chechen War

"War is a mere continuation of policy by other means" (Clausewitz 2008).

Countries usually resort to implement the military force when the other tactics of struggle have failed. Conflict occurs when one nation is not capable to convince another country to accept their will in a peaceful way. Tension between the Chechens who are concerned about the national self-determination and Russians who are worried about its territorial integrity have been leading this conflict through the centuries. Starting from the formal annexation of Chechnya in 1859 by Russian Empire, which led to the gradual fragmentation of Chechen homeland; going through the massive deportation of Chechen society by Stalin in 1944 (where over 500 000 of people died or were relocated to the severe environment), and living under the constant abuses and suppressions, have produced the determined desire to separate from the savage neighbor. Trenin and Malashenko (2010) argue that *"whereas the war is largely peripheral to Russia and is largely perceived that way (except after each new terrorist attack in Moscow), the conditions that have either been created or greatly amplified by Chechnya have spread all across Russia"* (1). Accordingly, the relations with Chechnya greatly affect Russian politics, its cultural sphere, the military capacity, and the direction of its foreign relations.

Right after the collapse of Soviet Union the Chechen leader Dzhokar Dudayev has decided to seize the moment of Russia's weakness and declared independence of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria in 1991. The Russian authorities refused to recognize the unilateral declaration, which eventually caused the ripening of the conflict over the Chechen territory. Besides, scholars believe that "radically changing Chechnya's status by recognizing its independence and inviting it to join the CIS at that time would have created a dangerous precedent for the other regions of the Russian Federation" (Ibid). Nevertheless, Russia had no intention to suppress forcibly the independence movement in Chechnya because it was preoccupied with the internal instabilities during this period.

Between May and July three hostage cases in southern Russia, which implemented the bus hijackings by Chechen separatists, prompted Yeltsin to recommence coercion over the Chechen independent movement. The renewed control and following denial by the Chechen authorities to surrender provoked Russian forces to send their troops to Chechnya in December 1994. Yeltsin has justified his actions by claiming that *"the region of banditry on Chechen soil poses a danger to our entire community"* and adding that *"no territory has the right to secede from Russia"* (Efron 1994, 22). Despite the fact that Chechens always perceived themselves as an independent and free nation, Russia was never willing to accept this fact.

Chechens did not expect that their troops would have deal with powerful and enormous Russian forces during the first Russian-Chechen war in 1994-1996. Incapable to resist the Russian troops through classic methods of warfare, Chechens decided to strengthen their position by the implementation of acts of terrorism. In June 1995, the first terrorist attack took place in Budyonnovsk, the small provincial city about 110 kilometers north of the Chechen border, which was held by the Chechen field Commander Shamil Basayev. He claimed that their goal was to reach Moscow and not to bomb the small city. Basayev and his soldiers were on their way to the capital when Russian police officers were not eager to let them pass further without the large bribe, which Basayev could not afford at that time. Therefore, 250 Chechen militants started the hostage operation.

"After storming the police station and briefly holding the town hall, they [Chechen soldiers] rounded up several hostages and confined them in the hospital, threatening to kill them if the Russian Army would not withdraw from Chechnya. He [Samil Basayev] did in fact reportedly execute several wounded Russian soldiers in the hospital, and some ninety-one people were killed in the Chechen attack, including policemen and local civilians…" (Lieven 1999, 124).

However, Basayev had justified his actions by claiming that *"we are not bandits… we are country at war with another state … they have taken our families, our land and our freedom… and out purpose is to stop this way by any means"* (Specter 1995, 97). For few days 1 500 people were held in the hospital and five of them were shot to death in front of the hostages in order to show the Basayev's serious intentions. The New York

Times (1995) cited the chief doctor of the seized hospital, who stated that *"several of the Chechens had just grabbed five hostages at random and shot them to show the world they were serious in their demands that Russian troops leave their lands"*. Siege has ended after three days before Russian authorities agreed on the local ceasefire, renewing the negotiations and guarantee of safe transportation of Basayev and his troops to the separatist-held territories of Chechnya. Approximately 166 people were killed during the insurgent attacks and failed Russian commando raid (BBC 2016).

Nevertheless, the relative peace lasted only few months until the car bomb exploded next to the Russian administration headquarters in Grozny on December 4th, 1995. The Chechen Government, which was supported by Kremlin, announced that *"attack was meant to intimidate Chechens before elections to the Chechnya's administration scheduled for December 17th"* (Ap 1995). This attack triggered Russia to withdraw from the ceasefire and cross the border into Chechnya and declare war on December 11th. Russian authorities decided to put a stake right to the heart of their enemy and attack Grozny on New Year's Eve on December 31, 1995. This war was proclaimed not only against Chechen rebels; on the contrary, it aspired to inflict the pain all over the Chechen community. One of the journalist, Ana Cataldi (1995), who covered the fight at that time, described what she saw in Grozny, *"In other wars I have seen the slow, painful exodus of refugees. I have seen them trudging along, dragging their little cart, their bundles, a few household goods. But the refugees from Grozny fled in their bedroom slippers, running blindly from the fiery inferno descending on them from the skies"*. It took two month of heavy fighting, which killed almost 2,000 Russian soldiers, before Russians were able to seize Grozny. Russian Army had suffered great losses and almost a total collapse of moral in the Russian troops. Tens of thousands of Chechen and Russian civilians lost their lives in this battle and witnessed the heaviest bombardment in Europe since the end of World War II (Williams 2001).

These obstacles have urged Basayev to resist with threats of the eventual terrorist attacks against Russian civilians. He warned Kremlin that Chechens will employ more disruptive methods if Russia continues its military presence in Chechnya:

"I have said unambiguously and I repeat once again: we do not intend to fight longer on our own territory. It's enough. After all, only the mountains remain untouched here. I have radioactive material. This is a good weapon. I will spray it anywhere in the centre of Moscow and to the glory of God, I will turn that city into an eternal desert. That can be done. With this, everything we have experienced, everything they have done here, can be revenged. If the Russians lengthen this war, we will have to resort to what I have been speaking of" (Pokalova 2015, 48).

In order to prove his intentions to conduct the terrorist attack in Moscow, Basayev notified the Russian television network, NTV, that there is a package of low-level radioactive caesium hidden around Moscow. Afterwards journalists discovered the 32 container of caesium in Islamovsky Park in Moscow. Despite the fact that Russian authorities *"largely dismissed the nuclear threat, claiming that the material was cesium-137, used in X-ray equipment capable only of emitting 100 times the background amount of radioactivity",* they took the threat in earnest and send the *"emergency search teams out around the city with Geiger counters"* (Cameron 1999, 143).

Since the Chechen separatist guerrillas believed that terrorist attacks have a great impact on Russian authorities, they had no intense to cease its implementation. The unit named *"Lone Wolf"*[3]*,* which was led by the commander Salman Raduev, who acted on Dzhokhar Dudayev's order, embarked on the attack against the helicopter military flying field in Kizlyar, Dagestan, on January 9, 1996. After Chechens blow up three helicopters and killed 33 people, they perceived this mission as a failure and decided to compensate it with the hostage taking of the hospital. The Russian newspaper Izvestia named this incident "*Ten Days of Pain, Impotence and Shame"* (Dementyeva 1996) and referred to the bloodshed in Budyonnovsk last year. The Chechen separatist group *"seized the main hospital there, along with 2,000 hostages, and the Russian Army failed twice to defeat them"* (Specter, 2016). Russian authorities promised the safe homecoming for the

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[3] To the Chechens wolf symbolizes courage and love of freedom, but also implicitly a predator's spirit. Chechens perceive themselves as wolfs and their famous saying reads as follows "We are free and equal, like wolves".

Chechen rebels if they release the hostages. Guerillas took 160 hostages as human shields to the village of Pervomaiskoe, which is nearby to the Chechen border, in order to prevent the Russian unexpected attack *en route.* Chechen insurgency was keeping the village in captivity for six days until the Russian troops launched a full-scale attack on Pervomaiskoye and released all hostages. Specter (2016) noted that *"Chechens are weaker than they were a year ago, but they are well-trained and committed fighting force, which is not going to give up; and it is hard to imagine this will be the last such hostage on Russian soil"*.

Nevertheless, Russian authorities were afraid that their country might be drawn into a swamp in Chechnya because Russian military have suffered heavy losses and a great number of civilians were killed in the crossfire. Russian presidential election was about to be held in June 1996 and due to the devastating war in Chechnya there was not a great number of people who support Yeltsin. According to the polls 51.1 percent demanded troop withdrawal from Chechnya and only 3.2 percent of the Russian public advocated continued military action at that time (Trenin and Malashenko 2010, 50). Since Yeltsin was desperate for an end of the war in Chechnya, he decided to engage the international support to the conflict. Therefore, the international community decided to find the political solution and in 1995 the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) set up its presence in Chechnya. Despite the fact that Yeltsin won the bid for president, he renewed the fight in Chechnya. The Russian authorities insisted on the negotiations for peace with the Chechens, but Yeltsin coerced more military action and he did not have intention to yield up anything to the Chechen rebellions. Since Russian troops outnumbered the army of their enemy, Chechens had no other option as to keep on fighting, because there was a high possibility of the deportation or mass extermination of Chechen community like in 1944.

Eventually, the end of the war came along with the peace deal signed on August 31, 1996. The Kremlin Security Council Secretary Alexander Lebed and the chief Chechen field commander Aslan Maskhadov signed the Khasavyurt Peace Accords which states the following:

1.   "A Joint Commission shall be established by 1 October 1996, composed of representatives of the organs of state power of the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic, the tasks of which shall be:

> a. Federation of 25 June 1995 and to prepare proposals concerning the completion of the withdrawal of troops;

> b. To prepare and monitor the fulfilment of agreed measures against crime, terrorism and manifestations of ethnic and religious enmity;

> c. To prepare proposals for the restoration of currency, financial and budgetary interrelations;

> d. To prepare and submit to the Government of the Russian Federation programmes for the restoration of the socio-economic structure of the Chechen Republic;

> e. To monitor the coordinated interaction of the organs of state power and other interested parties in the provision of food and medicines for the population.

2.   Legislation of the Chechen Republic shall be based on the observance of human and civil rights, the right of peoples to self-determination, the principles of equality among nationalities, the guaranteeing of civil peace, interethnic accord and the security of those residing on the territory of the Chechen Republic, irrespective of their ethnic origin, religious beliefs or other distinctions" (UN Peacemaker 2016).

Eventually, none of these objectives were ever achieved. Malashenko and Trenin (2010) stated that *"the three years of independence revealed that Chechen elite was unable to get on with building a nation state, consolidate its various social groups and traditional factions, work out and efficient model of government, or make any progress towards modernizing Chechnya's political culture"* (29). Besides, the Khasavyurt Peace Accords have not brought an end of war and have not reduced the Chechen terrorist attacks. According to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe*, "at the end of the 1997 71 hostages remained in captivity, including 15 foreign nationals, five of whom are journalists and 10 are NGO representatives"* (Justice.gov 1997). Since the Chechnya's industries had been completely destroyed after the First Russo-Chechen War

and 80 percent of Chechen men were unemployed, they turned to the old highlander method of kidnapping and selling hostages.

According to director of the Center for Caucasian Studies in Moscow, Alexander Iskanderyan, *"the Chechen independence movement had no Islamic dimension at all… Chechen rebellion remains a secessionist struggle and needs a political solution, not military one"* (Weir 2002). Nevertheless, as a result of Chechnya's deterioration after the First Russo-Chechen War and global media coverage of the crisis, the external flux of money and Middle East's ideology started to migrate to North Caucasus. Most notable is a Saudi national Amir al-Khattab who brought the foreign fighters and money to Chechnya in a show of Islamic solidarity in 1995 (Lyall 2009). The Federation of American scientists affirms that *"Mujahidin with extensive links to the Middle Eastern and Southwest Asia terrorists aided Chechen insurgents with equipment and training"* (FAS.org 2010). Along with the flow of foreign fighters the flow of new version of Islam, named Wahhabism[4], have penetrated Chechnya. Consequently, the Chechen rebellion groups were divided into the traditional elements (Tarekat or Sufism) and those attracted to the new Islamic fundamentalism (Wahhabism/Salafism). Groups, which supported Sufism, believed that Wahhabism is alien to the Chechen mentality because it restricts personal freedom and prevents Chechens to follow the traditional roots of their ancestors. Thus, tension was growing between opponents and led to a series of bloody clashes.

The internal political and religious confrontations were devastating Chechnya and forced its population to undertake the efficient measures and held the presidential elections. They believed that this election was the best option to provide the Chechen Republic with a legitimate leader, who could stabilize the state internally and establish relations with Russian Federation. On 27 January 1997, a leader of the Chechen independence movement, Aslan Maskhadov, won more than 60 percent of the votes and became a third president of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. Right after the presidential race Maskhadov has signed an agreement "on the principles of mutual relations between

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[4] Branch of Sunni Islam found in Saudi Arabia

the federal center and the Chechen Republic" with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Besides, Mashkadov accused both countries for the violent conflict and believed that *"Russia can live without Chechnya, but Chechnya would not be able to live without Russia"* (Trenin and Malashenko 2010, 29).

Meanwhile, separatists from the neighboring Russian Republic of Dagestan, who also supported the Wahhabi Islam, joined the Emir al-Khattab's training camps in southern Chechnya. Feeling the need of the maverick leader, both the Chechen and Dagestani separatists chose Shamil Basayev to lead their opposition. Eventually, he started the institutionalization of the idea of the integration of Chechnya and Dagestan into a single Islamic imamate (a theocratic state) (Ibid). Besides, the Chechen independence was no longer the main goal of the Islamic radicals, rather the spreading of the ideological and political ideas to the neighboring North Caucasian states.

Both Chechnya and Russia began to fear the new union of opposition groups whose objective was nothing less than the "re-establishment of the nineteenth-century Immate" (Williams 2001, 133). In 1999 Basayev called for the "decolonization" of Dagestan by Russian unbelievers and unification for the sake of great anti-Russian holy war. Another key point to remember is that Dagestan occupies 70 percent of the Russia's Caspian Sea coastline, thus the unification of Chechen and Dagestani Islamic radicals was an imminent danger for the Russian Federation. Since *"it is all-year warm-water port of Makhachkala and is the conduit for oil transported by pipeline from Azerbaijan"* (Ibid), its loss would mean a strategic disaster.

Moreover, Russia had its own geopolitical and economic reasons, which prevented to provide Chechnya with full independence.

> 1.   Russian Federation has never seen Chechnya as a separate state and was afraid to encourage other territories to follow Chechnya and secede;
>
> 2.   Russian authorities believed that if Chechnya becomes independent, it would result anarchy over the whole North Caucasian region;
>
> 3.   The biggest concern was the oil factor, because the main pipeline transfers oil from fields in Baku at the Caspian Sea and Chechnya towards Ukraine and Europe.

4.5 Second Russian-Chechen War

"We are like a herd of horses. When we sense danger, we unite immediately in order to confront it. As soon as the danger disappears, however, we start turning on one another."
– Chechen proverb (Souleimanov 2005, 48)

During the First Russo-Chechen War Shamil Basayev has conducted short but intense campaigns, which helped to bring this war to the end and provoked Kremlin to launch the second one. Since Basayev was widely supported by Chechen and Dagestani separatists, he decided to take over the neighboring Dagestan and launched its invasion on August 7, 1999.

The Russian authorities perceived this act as the ascension of the Chechen conflict to the international level, because Basayev acted on behalf of Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs (RSRSBCM)[5] in order to free 'Islamic brothers' from the oppressive Dagestani regime (UN.org 2013). The Islamization of the conflict had laid the beginning of the violent sectarian conflict between Salafism, a radical form of Islam that follows the sharia law, and Sufism, a more traditional from which follows the local customs.

Basayev had conducted the integration of Wahhabism into the Chechen war, which formerly had a nationalistic nature. The external Salafist sponsors were the main cause that switched the form of the Chechen conflict from nationalistic to one based on Salafism and Islamist ideas. Moreover, the Chechen separatists had gained the support and resources throughout the Caucasus, including Dagestan, North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Georgia and Kalbardino-Balkaria, in order to conduct a successful guerrilla war.
In August 1999, Basayev led "*roughly 1,500 armed Dagestanis, Chechens, and Arabs-predominantly Wahhabis and occupied several Wahhabi villages in the border districts of Botlikh and Tsumadi without firing a shot*" (Souleimanov 2005, 62). Soon after the

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[5] Later became he Islamic International Brigade

Russian forces and Interior Ministry divisions entered Dagestan and repelled Basayev's troops back to Chechnya. This was followed, days later, by the incident that plunged into shock the whole Russian community. In the beginning of September 1999, a series of explosions that destroyed four apartment blocks in the Russian cities Buynaksk, Moscow and Volgodonsk, killed approximately 300 people and injured around 600. The expert on Soviet and Russian politics, John Dunlop (2016), stated the following:

"The attacks were the equivalent for Russians in September 11,2001, for Americans. They aroused a fear of terrorism – along with a desire for revenge against the Chechens – that Russians had not known since Stalin used the supposed terrorist threat as a pretext to launch his bloody purges of the 1930s".

Russian officials claim that Chechen rebels are responsible for these bombings, while huge amount of sources argue that Kremlin leadership and FSB had launched the attack as an excuse for beginning the war against Chechnya. A long-time correspond in Moscow for the Italian Newspaper La Stampa, Giulietto Chiesa, called this act of "state terrorism" in Russia and pointed out the following:

"Often terrorist acts that stem from a 'strategy of building up tension', are the work of a secret service, both foreign but also national… Terrorism of this type (is sometimes called state terrorism' since it involves simultaneously both state interests and structures acting in the secret labyrinths of contemporary states) is a comparatively new phenomenon… With a high degree of certitude, one can say that explosions of bombs killing innocent people are always planned by people with political minds. They are not fanatics, rather they are killers pursuing political goals, who are interested in destabilizing the situation in a country… It could be foreigners… but it could also be 'our own people' trying to frighten the country" (Dunlop 2014, 20).

These obstacles created a convenient background for Russia to send its troops to Chechnya on October 1, 1999, which meant the beginning of the second Russo-Chechen war. Despite the fact that the Khasavyurt Peace Accords forbade Russia to invade Chechnya, the new Prime Minister Vladimir Putin (former head of the FSB and the National Security Council secretary) justified the intervention with the threat to internal

Russian security that was posed by Basayev's acts and Maskhadov's loss of control over Chechnya. The newly appointed Prime Minister of Russia clearly stated the Kremlin's desire for revenge by saying,

"We will pursue the terrorists everywhere. If they are in an airport, then in airport, and, forgive me, if we catch them in the toilet, then we'll rub them out (mochit) in the toilet… The question is closed once and for all" (Satter 2016).

Due to the ongoing conflict in Chechnya and North Caucasus President Boris Yeltsin was throughout hated by the Russian community. Thus, Yeltsin decided to step down six months before the end of his term, and declared that he demands Putin, who month before was almost totally unknown, to be his successor. On March 26, 2000 Putin gained 53 percent of the vote and became a second president of Russian Federation. Nevertheless, many analysists believe that invasion of Dagestan by Basayev and bombings in Russia, and, consequently, president elections were purposely planned by the Kremlin. Trenin and Malashenko (2010) claim that *"Moscow's tactical success at the beginning of the second campaign in Chechnya was, above all, a political instrument to create a springboard for Putin's leap to the presidency and then boost the new Russian leader's authority in society"* (36).

However, Russian authorities were not willing to provide Chechnya with the complete independence; instead, they decided to establish a civilian administration. In June 2000, Putin had replaced Aslan Maskhadov with former Chief Mufti Akhmad-Khadzhi Kadyrov and installed him as a head of the administration of the Chechen Republic. Many politicians believed that setting Kadyrov was a secure and logical move by Kremlin. However, few issues interfered Chechnya to become a stable state with Kadyrov in power. Trenin and Malashenko (Ibid) distinguished the following obstacles:

1. Kadyrov's influence was weak at Chechnya's northern and north-eastern regions, where separatist attachments were usually weaker and federal controls tighter;

2. Kadyrov had never been supported by the majority, especially by the Chechen society;

3. The new administration was only nominally autonomous due to the dependence on Russian authorities, which completely assured its very existence;

4.   Many influential people of Chechen community rejected to accept and recognize the Kadyrov's authority.

The main problem that Kadyrov faced at this period was the separatists' unwillingness to cooperate with him and Russian authorities. Chechen rebels were not ready to give up fighting for independence of their country to the man who was cooperating with their enemy.

In the beginning of 2000 Russia felt very confident about its position in Chechnya and had declared the official end of the second war. Nevertheless, it was first but not last declaration of the end of the war and armed clashes continue up to the present along with the violent terrorist attacks. Armed occupation of Chechen territory created a huge amount of fearsome checkpoints and numerous savage *zachistki*[6], which forced Chechen separatists to change their tactics of warfare. Due to the proclaimed end of the Russo-Chechen War, separatist rebels could not act openly anymore. They started to implement suicide attacks, which were used for the first time in the Russian history. The Russian authorities perceived the switch of the Chechen fight for independence as an influence of al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups on the nature of the struggle, which were eager to extend the Islamic state to the northern Caucasus. Basayev adopted the Wahhabism identity, changed his name to Imir Adullah Shamil Au Idris and renamed Chechnya to "the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria". This moment was used by Russians to link the Chechen rebels to international Islamic Jihadist organizations and portray all Chechens as 'terrorists'. It helped Kremlin to *"justify war and brutalities as part of war on terror undertaken by the United States after September 11, 2001"* (Leghari 2016, 22). Nevertheless, many analysists believe that shift of perceptions in Chechen society was mostly influenced by the Russian oppression and barbaric behavior for a long period of time.

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[6] Cleansing operations that typically resulted in the detention, torture, and disappearance of the male populations of entire towns and villages.

The unification with Dagestani insurgents and support of radical Islamist groups transformed Chechens into powerful and dangerous force. From 2000 to 2002, Chechen rebels carried out few suicide attacks that were targeted on the Russian military installations on Chechen territory. Since, Russian military responded by toughening its security inside Chechnya, the terrorists moved their operations, which targeted civilians, directly to Russia. There are following attacks:

1. The "Nord Ost" in October 2002, which killed 129 of the hostages and 39 of the terrorists;

2. The Tushino bombing on July 5, 2003, that killed 15 people;

3. The Moscow metro bombing on February 2004 killed 41 people;

4. The Beslan tragedy on September 1, 2004, where 334 hostages, 186 of the children were reported killed.

The most cold-blooded terrorist acts were the 'Nord Ost' and Beslan school siege have stayed in the memory of Russian society up to this day. Methods of Russian government to deal with the terrorist acts, which were ruthlessly mishandled, have raised a lot of questions among the human right organizations. In October 2003, the Amnesty International have released the report where the following was claimed:

"In the early hours of 26 October the authorities released a soporific gas into the theater. Within minutes Alfa troops (Special Group A troops attached to the Federal Security Service) stormed the building, shot dead 50 hostage-takers and evacuated the hostages, most of whom were incapable of independent movement at that time. At least 37 hostages died in the theater. Some 646 were taken to hospitals and by 28 November around one in six of them had died. A total of 129 hostages are known to have lost their lives as a result of the usage of soporific gas" (Amnesty International 2003, 37).

These attacks had both strengthened Basayev's position among the terrorist organizations and spread and raised fears of a fresh wave of terrorism across Russia. Speckhard (2006) claims that *"the worst years for suicide attacks were 2003 and 2004 with sixty-three percent of attacks occurring during these years"* (119). Most of the researches argue that these attacks were the Chechen's response to the most violent period

of Russian counter-terrorism operations, which motivated Chechen rebels to enhance their tactics and perpetrate them inside Russia, preferably in Moscow.

Basayev claimed the response for these attacks, which soon led to his death. He was killed in an explosion during the raid in neighbouring Ingushetia. According to Kavkaz Center, *"the Chechen commander dies as a result of an accidental spontaneous explosion of a cargo vehicle with explosives on July 10, 2006, in Ekazhevo village, Ingushetia"* (kavkazcenter.com 2016). Nevertheless, many theories affirm that assassination was conducted by Russian intelligence services, because right after the attack Putin claimed that *"Basayev 'deserved retribution' for his multitude of terror attacks in the Russian Federation"* (Roggio 2016).

After the death of Maskadov in 2005, and main Chechen terrorist, Basayev, in 2006, Putin seized the opportunity to tighten control over Chechnya and installed the leader of Chechnya who was loyal to Kremlin and was both Muslim and an ethnic Chechen. Thus, in February, 2007 Ramzan Kadyrov, the son of Akhnad Kadyrov, at the young age of thirty replaced the Chechen President Alu Alkhanov with the Putin's blessing. Many analysists believe that Putin purposely appointed Alu Alkhanov as Chechen President for few years (2004-2007), until younger Kadyrov will be eligible to become president at the age thirty (Finn 2007).

Ramzan Kadyrov was a prominent figure, who was seen as the destroyer of lives from one hand, and the saviour of Chechnya from another hand. Galeotti (2014) marked the following:

"Akhmad and more especially Ramzan Kadyrov have been crucial instruments of Putin's success in Chechnya. By installing a Chechen government – and two presidents who fought against the Russians in the First Chechen War – Moscow can claim a degree of legitimacy, even of international assessments are that elections held to elevate both Kadyrovs were neither free no fair" (84).

Since then, Kadyrov took on the problem with the Chechen separatists with an intense hostility towards the radicals fighting against the Russian federation. In order to suppress the growing support of the Islamist rebellion throughout the Second Russo-

Chechen War, Kadyrov established the Sharia law. Chechnya has hitherto been following the Sharia law. However, Kadyrov has gained the reputation of violent leader, who was accused responsible for killing journalists, torturing enemies and human right leaders. Many analysists believe that Kadyrov was involved in both deaths of human right activist Natalia Estemirova and journalist of Novaya Gazeta. Anna Politkovskaya (The New Yorker 2016). Despite the image of ruthless leader, Kadyrov has been awarded the Hero of Russian medal by Putin for stabilization the region and bringing the peace to war-torn Grozny. Since acts of terrorism never stopped in Chechnya, Kadyrov claims *"my method is simple. Those who [terrorists and rebels] disrupt the people's peace must be dealt with harshly, cruelly even"* (Oriental Review. 2010).

Nevertheless, Kadyrov's brutal regime couldn't fully suppress the Chechen separaists, which continue to fight for the Chechen independence and. Despite of the fact that Russia had claimed the end of its counterterrorist operations in Chechnya in April 2009, the dreadful attacks on the Russian soil had been continuing. The Moscow metro bombing in March 2010 showed that Chechen rebels were not willing to give up without gaining the independence from Russia. Doku Umarov (Chechen rebel leader) claimed responsibility for this attack and said the following:

"You Russians only see the war on television and hear about it on the radio, and this is why you are quiet and do not react to the atrocities that your bandit groups under Putin's command carry out in the Caucasus. I promise you that the war will come to your streets, and you will feel it in your lives and under your skin" (Pan 2010).

Few more bombings had followed the next years: bombing of Domodedovo International Airport in Moscow on January 24, 2011, and suicide attack at a railway station in Volgograd on December 30, 2013.

However, Kadyrov's authority, which allows him to suppress dissent and support the stability of Chechen region had increased the backing from the Kremlin regime. This support, which is mostly political and financial, had helped Kadyrov to gain the control over every sector of Chechen community. Thus, the separatist groups were greatly impacted by Ramzan's strict control over the territory and steadfast Putin's sustain of his

ongoing govern. Therefore, Kadyrov was approved as a head of the Chechen republic for the second term on May 2011, which was stressed out by Putting saying *"based on what has been done in recent years for the Chechens, for the inhabitants of the republic, first of all, and as a derivative for the whole Russia, I have signed a decree today appointing you acting head of the Chechen Republic"* (UAWIRE 2016).

With the death of Doku Umarov on 7 September 2013 and the rule of the Kadyrov's government, Chechen separatists were forced to fight for the attention, which led them to join the most powerful terrorist organizations. Great number of sources claim that Chechen rebels had joined the terrorist organizations in Middle East. Chechen law-enforcement agencies *"estimate that between three and four thousand Chechens have travelled to Iraq or Syria to join the [terrorist] groups"* (The New Yorker 2016). In addition, the recent suicide attacks on April 11, 2016 in Novoselitsky (Southern Russian province) and bombing on May 9, 2015 at a checkpoint that leads into Grozny were claimed to be the ISIS responsibility. These evidences raise the Chechen issue to the international level and hardens position of Russia's counter-terrorism operation towards Chechen rebels.

Geopolitical interests have been leading the conflict between Russia and Chechnya for centuries. Maintaining stability and keeping someone who is loyal to Kremlin is a paramount issue for Russian Federation. Islamist influence, energy resources and nationalist sentiments turned Chechnya into a pivotal area for setting the stability and security in the rebellious North Caucasian region. In this regard, these factors guarantee Russian dominance over the whole North Caucasus region, including Dagestan and Ingushetia, and control over the terrorist organizations and their future threats.

In general, this conflict still remains unsolved and prone to mutual violence, even despite some agreements and actions by both sides. Below is the empirical part where statistical data is presented in regard of the number of suicide attacks in certain regions, committed by the Chechen suicide terrorists.

5. EMPIRICAL STUDY

The data presented below is representing the statistical data in regard of the Chechen suicide campaigns that have been occurring since year 2000. In total, there were 59 suicide attacks by 2009, while 97 in total up to 2016 (Suicide Attack Database Chicago). All of these attacks have been deadly for many people, and on average, there are 15.83 individuals killed and 40.13 wounded per each attack. 19 of these attacks have been carried out by female attackers (Ibid). According to the analysis of Speckhard & Ahkmedova (2005) one of the most common reasons and motivations for conducting the attacks is revenge and despair against the Russian occupying forces, out of which many of the female perpetrators are victims from the Russian counterterrorism operations. Comparing the above presented numbers, it can be said that more than 30% of all suicide attacks in Chechnya have been conducted by females (Zedalis 2004). This is very problematic for the supporters who claim that radical Islam is the main cause of suicide attacks. According to Zedalis (2004) such actions that include female suicide actions conflicts with many fundamental Islamic beliefs. Another important trend which is crucial for the analysis, already mentioned above, is the fact that at the very beginning of the suicide operations, the Chechen suicide attackers have been targeting only occupying military forces located in Chechnya. Upon 2003, the course of events has changed and the Chechen separatists moved their attacks on Russian territory, and this included targeting civilians instead of military targets. For example, one of the most devastating even happened in 2004, where an attack has been conducted in Beslan School by Shamil Basayev, where he was holding a school hostage for three days (Satter 2006). This has become an international event, that attracted the attention to the entire world, and the total outcome of the victims was death of 331 hostages, out of which 186 were children (Kramer 2006). Upon this event, which was one of the most devastating ones, the Chechen attackers have returned to target occupying forces or any pro-Russian Chechen

government forces. In order to represent the data between 2000 – 2016, there is a graph below that shows total number of suicide attacks[7].

Figure 1: Suicide attacks in Chechnya per year
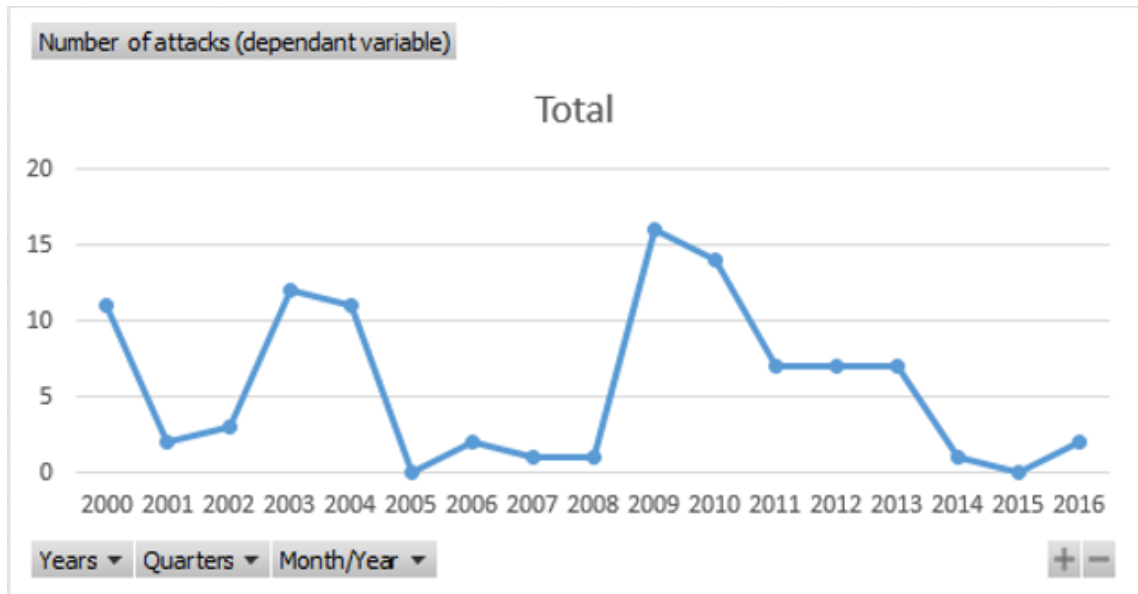
Based on this figure, the biggest number of attacks have happened in 2000, 2003 and 2009. After 2009 it is very visible that the number of attacks is constantly decreasing. Analyzing year 2000, it has happened after the invasion in 1999 from the Russian forces, which have taken all major cities and seized the capital Grozny. Therefore, the Chechen fighters have been unable to act in any other way or in a conventional way by warfare. This was the reason why they started with the insurgency against the Russian occupiers. Year 2000 was regarded as the worsening situation for the Chechen rebels, which resulted in attacks of the Russian checkpoints and target strategically sensitive locations deep within Russian occupied territories. Year 2003 is characterizing new element was introduced in the Chechnya suicide campaign, where the attacks were shifted from Chechnya towards Russian territory. Prior to this shift, the Chechen resistance was nothing more than a guerilla war. Additionally, Russian forces and authorities have been launching a campaign

[7] Data is combined from Global Terrorism Database, and Suicide Attack Database
On the Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism, with elimination of duplicates (Appendix 4).

for marginalizing the Chechen issue. For example, there was a media shutdown on the reporting for the ongoing war, for the purpose of removing the conflict as an issue in the upcoming Russian election the following spring 2004. In addition, Spekhard and Akhmedova (2006) believe that the main reason of shifting targets to the capital is that Russian military hardened defenses inside Chechnya that prevented suicide terrorists to achieve the planned targets. These were the key reasons why the Chechen rebels moved their attacks to the Russian ground, with major focus on the civilians (non-combatants), unlike before where the major targets were military points (combatants). The main reason and goal that the Chechen rebels wanted to cause is to create fear among the people and shift the Russian public opinion against the occupation of Chechnya. This was partially achieved, since the fear was growing, mostly due to the fact that Chechens have been targeting rock concerts, public events, subway stations, airports and areas near the Parliament buildings in Moscow. The logic behind this events is followed by the historical events in the 90`s, where similar campaign had succeeded in removal of Russian troops from Chechnya in 1990 (Dyck 2014).

Finally, the last big and significant suicide attack in 2009 has marked the end to counterterrorism operations in Chechnya (Wingfield 2009). After Ramzan Kadyrov took over leadership of Chechnya in 2007, the country was ruled on a totalitarian repressive regime that was built on fear and intimidation (Harding 2008). The last events in 2009 showed an attempt of the Chechen separatists to defeat the credibility of Russian influence and the foreign occupation in Chechnya. They were also against the President Kadyrov's so called puppet government.

To summarize, all of these three major suicide attacks of the Chechen rebels have various motivations and reasons why the attacks were committed. In none of these, the religion plays a major role, but rather the willingness to get rid of the foreign occupier – Russia. The continuous attacks during this decade are showing the effort by the Chechen rebels to demonstrate their commitment and strength in continuing their insurgency. In some cases, according to some studies, these events characterize a method of last resort options for overwhelming military advantage of the Russian forces present in Chechnya. Upon the attack of the civilians in 2003, there was a huge attempt to shift the Russian public opinion against the ongoing war, as well as to bring close attention to the Chechen struggle for

independence. According to the poll held by the Levada Center, Russia's top independent polling agency, 25 percent of Russian citizens said that Chechen separation should be "prevented by any means, including military ones" (Левада-Центр 2016).

The main factors, reasons and variables that influence such course of events will be tested below, based on the statistical data presented above. The purpose of the testing is to show to what extent the key independent variables (foreign occupation, nationalism, religion and geographical distance from Grozny), influence the decision to implement suicide campaigns.

The appendix 1 is showing the selected events that would determine whether the variables listed were influencing the decision for suicide attack or not.

5.1 Variables

Variable 1: Foreign Occupation

As suicide terrorism is driven based on different ideologies, one of the crucial one is the idea to portrait the enemy in the worst scenario, due to the occupation of these territories. In the Chechen case this is not an exception, and therefore the Chechen terror ideology tends to demonize and dehumanize the Russian enemy, at the same time by glorifying self-sacrifice for the cause of independence. In this regard, the Chechen case is similar to the ones in Palestine and Al Qaeda, but in regard of the political goals, the aim of the Chechens differs a lot from these two. Chechen goals are nationalistic and they tend to end the foreign occupation by moving foreign troops off their territory and to bring freedom to Chechnya. Additionally, they want to claim the right to establish an Islamic state, which is the next variable analyzed in this thesis.

The campaign for suicide terrorism has come after a period of intensive foreign occupation and not very much fruitful period of engaging in other forms of terrorism. By targeting military establishments of the foreign occupation, it has been shown that the success was limited. Therefore, a major shift from targeting military bases has been

conducted towards civilian victims and this is very much related to the move of the geographical location of the target (variable 4).

The struggle for independence against the foreign occupation has transformed the conflict into an ideological struggle due to its brutalities and human rights violations from the occupier. The Chechen people are committed to liberation from the occupation and creation of independent country, while attempting to forget or forgive Russia for Stalin's genocidal deportations in the 40`s. Due to these reasons, for many Chechens Russian enemy is a picture of foreign occupation that preserves the portrait of autocratic and oppressive invader who has for centuries suppressed Chechen nation, culture and freedom to practice their religion.

Variable 2: Religion

When analyzing the motivations and the causes of the suicide attacks, in many cases Islam is perceived as a religion that is used as an instrument for political and terrorist attacks in the conflict regions across the world. Even though this trend is not new, and it carries out revolutionary motives for social justice backed up with religious grounds, it is worth mentioning that Chechens rely on religious solidarity against those seen as outsiders and oppressors within limited grounds. In other words, the fight for nationalist independence movement in Chechnya is not initially religiously based. This trend of the religious involvement is used in a negative connotation in order to involve the religion and justify the actions. After 1992 (Mulcahy 2005), there was a constitutional amendment that defined Chechnya as an independent secular state governed by a president and parliament. The wish for independence and the fact that there were multiple statements says that both countries have failed to find a suitable end to the war of independence, has led to a murder of the newly selected president. Upon his death, there was a new president selected in 1999 (ibid), and the Chechen leaders who capitulated during the continuing struggle for independence had focused on increasing pressure and funding from religiously based foreign sponsors. Such pressure had led to declaring Shariah law in the country and increased foreign sponsors. These events show that the decision to take on

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the religious path was not according to the will of the nation but it happened due to the internal issues and weakness that happened during the 90`s in the fight for independence and the incapability to find a solution with Russia. The religious turn seems to be an optional tool instead of key driving force for suicide terrorism in Chechnya. This will be tested below.

To summarize, the use of the religion is not new in the process of presenting the nationalistic and independence aspirations, as well as pursuit of social justice in the conflict regions across the world. The religion is often used for political gain and Islam specifically, like any other religion, can be used as an instrument for political and military aims. Going back in the historical cases, the Chechen leader, Imam Shamil had been striving to establish an Islamist state and the religion has been used as a force for the purpose of establishing solidarity against the oppressor. Nevertheless, these attempts have been marginalized and stopped during the Soviet times, when a religion was not practiced in none of the countries and when atheism has been imposed. Even despite the fact that many Muslim Chechens continued to practice their religion during the decades of Soviet Union, it was still not possible to express it publicly. It has been practiced secretly and with high risk. This very much influenced the generations that came up after the fall of the Soviet Union, as many Chechens were not aware about their faith's roots. This has resulted in a basis for radical change and willingness to adopt radical beliefs, but not necessarily as main driving force for the suicide terrorism in Chechnya.

Variable 3: Nationalism

Nationalistic conflicts around the world are entitled to proclaiming the fight for independence and self-governance. Therefore, the perception of the enemy is often driven by the thoughts that it is the occupying force and it often leads to incorporating terror within the nation`s strategic goals. One of these tactics is the use of suicide terrorism for the purpose of nationalistic ideas and wishes. On one hand, the nationalistic movements in Chechnya, along with Palestine or Lebanon are using suicide terrorism, while cases like Ireland has relied on terror operations, but never used suicide terrorism. This can

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serve as a counterexample towards the nationalistic variable elaborated in this thesis. Many researchers involve religion in this analysis, as Ireland shares Christian roots on both sides, while other conflicts include religious and ethnic divides, which might be the additional variable for suicide terror in the process of brutalizing and demonizing the enemy. This will be additionally tested, as it does not serve as a final argument.

Furthermore, nationalism comes out from oppressed and militarily out powered nations that face limited capabilities in fighting back the occupier. Therefore, they use other means of fights in response to the occupation such as suicide terrorism towards the more powerful and repressive opponent in order to achieve freedom and nationalistic aspirations.

To summarize, the nationalistic motives tend to bring an end to what Chechens claim is foreign occupation (variable 1), to move foreign troops off their territory and to bring freedom to Chechnya. Additionally, they tend to claim the right to establish an Islamic state (variable 2).

Variable 4: Geographical Location

The last variable is exploring the relation between the suicide terrorist targets such as capital cities and other locations being subject of attack. In the Chechnya case, as it was already elaborated – the main shift in regard of the location was done once there were no major successes when the Chechens have been attaching military bases in their region. Spekhard and Akhmedova (2006) believe that the main reason of shifting targets to the capital is that Russian military hardened defenses inside Chechnya that prevented suicide terrorists to achieve the planned targets. Due to the willingness to attract greater attention and publicity, the suicide attacks have been moved to the Russian ground, especially on places where public events were happening. For the purpose of this research, Google Earth will be used in order to calculate the distance from the capital Grozny to other locations prone to suicide attacks.

5.2 Results and findings

This chapter uses foreign occupation, nationalism, religious difference and geographical location as the independent variables. Suicide terrorism is the dependent variable. The data that is used for the analysis is represented in Figure 1. The criteria set for analyzing results are the following:

1. The attack to be classified as suicide attack;
2. The attacker must have died during the attack;
3. The attack harmed, killed, or damaged civilians apart from other military targets;
4. The attack was confirmed and published by two media sources.

5.2.1 Hypothesis 1

The hypothesis that is tested in this part is the following: **Suicide terrorism occurs due to the foreign occupation, nationalism and religious difference.**

The data used is as per the number of attacks which were mostly intensive during period of 2000, 2003, 2009 (therefore the years in the below line are not aligned in order, but they are aligned according to the number of attacks – from most common to least common).

**Figure 2: Most intense suicide attacks**
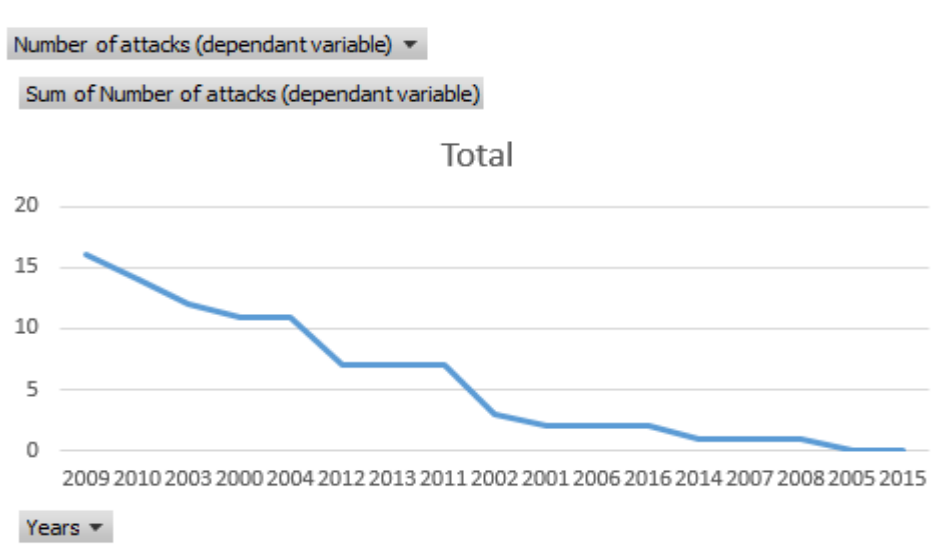
Based on the data above, suicide terrorism was not implemented by the Chechen insurgency during the first Russian-Chechen war, but started in 2000. This shows that in many cases, such suicide attacks are implemented only as last resort, when the occupied population does not have any other choice. On the other hand, as long as the rebel groups are strong and persuaded that they will reach their targets either via conventional ways, guerrilla means or negotiations, then there is no need to for committing suicide attacks. The research presents the case during the first Russian-Chechen war, when the Chechen insurgency was able to resist the Russian military through traditional guerrilla warfare. However, when Russia invaded Chechnya for the second time in 1999, the Chechen insurgency did not respond with the same tactics due to limited resources and capabilities. This meant that they were no match for Russia's superior military power. In short, prior to analyzing the independent variables, *foreign occupation, nationalism and religious difference,* it must be noted that one of the main reasons for shifting from guerrilla war to suicide attacks was that at some point the initial tactic was not successful.

Foreign (Russian) Occupation

Foreign occupation plays a huge role in the decision for suicide attacks, and its roots are coming from the 90`s after the first Russian-Chechen war and continuing 5 years later, accompanied with the second invasion of Chechnya in 1999. This was the key turning point for the Chechen rebels for moving towards the suicide campaigns. Prior this, there were multiple violations of human rights displayed by the Russian forces during the invasion and the first Russian-Chechen war, accompanied with unselective bombing of civilian areas, unjustified executions, sufferings, massacres, and spread of land mines throughout Chechnya.

One of the key factors in order to determine the role of the foreign occupation is that Chechnya perceived Russia as occupier. In fact, Chechnya has never considered itself as part of the Russian federation, which clearly shows how the role of the foreign occupation is negatively affecting the nation and motivates (suicide) attacks. This leads to further variables, such as nationalism and religion. The figure below shows that foreign occupation did not play key role in the Dubrovka theater attack, but the main reason was media coverage and publicity (see also Appendix 1).

Figure 3: Foreign Occupation
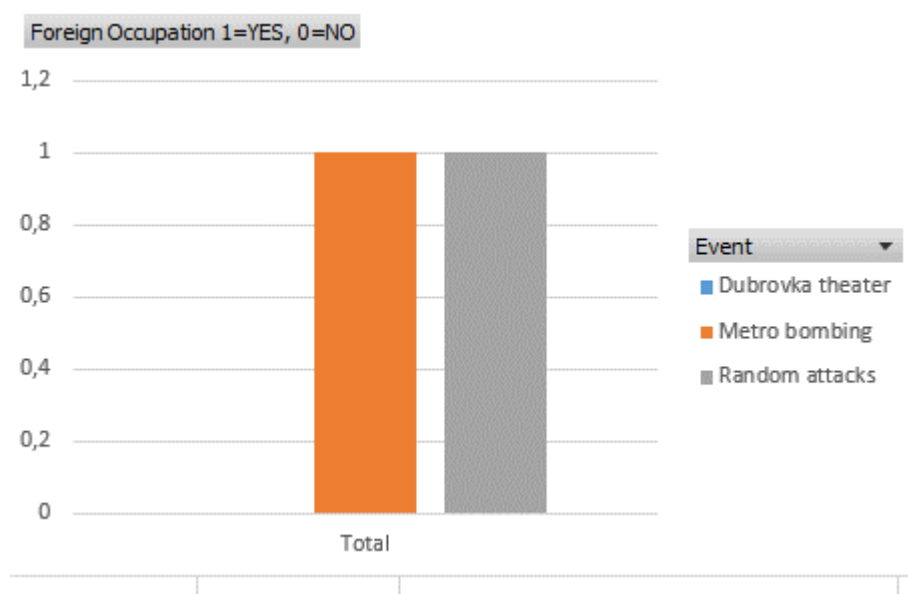
Looking at the chart above, three main suicide attacks and events for analysis are listed during 2000-2009, while on the left side of the table there is a measure 1 = foreign occupation is main reason for attack, 0 = foreign occupation does not influence the suicide attack as main reason. In the chart, it is visible that in the Moscow metro bombings and random attacks are showing level 1, which indicates that foreign occupation is the key driver and motivation for these attacks. On the other hand, the Dubrovka theater is indicating zero influence from the foreign occupation, and this is because the main reason for the suicide attack was gaining publicity and presenting the issue to the public, the Russian population and the rest of the world.

Nationalism and Religious Difference

Due to the above analyzed foreign occupation, ever since the beginning of the 90`s and the collapse of the Soviet Union there has been a wave of nationalism spread through Chechnya, especially after the implementation of Gorbachev's political reforms. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Chechens saw the opportunity for an independent state. Another important factor to note is the fact that according to Lapidus (1998) Chechens were one of the very few nations that have been considering Chechen as their native or first language. This influenced the nationalistic movements to greater extent.

Additionally, 70.7% of the population is being Chechen (ibid), despite huge number of Chechens being expelled from the country during Stalin`s times.

In general, if we add all determinants and factors together, the major motivations and driving forces for creating independent and strong Chechen identity are the following:

- Common language

- Shared experience of exile

- Common religious ties

- Belief of us vs. them against the Russian state

In any case, the nationalism level (from 1-10 presented below), is a dominant factor in the decision for suicide attacks.

Figure 4: Level of nationalism
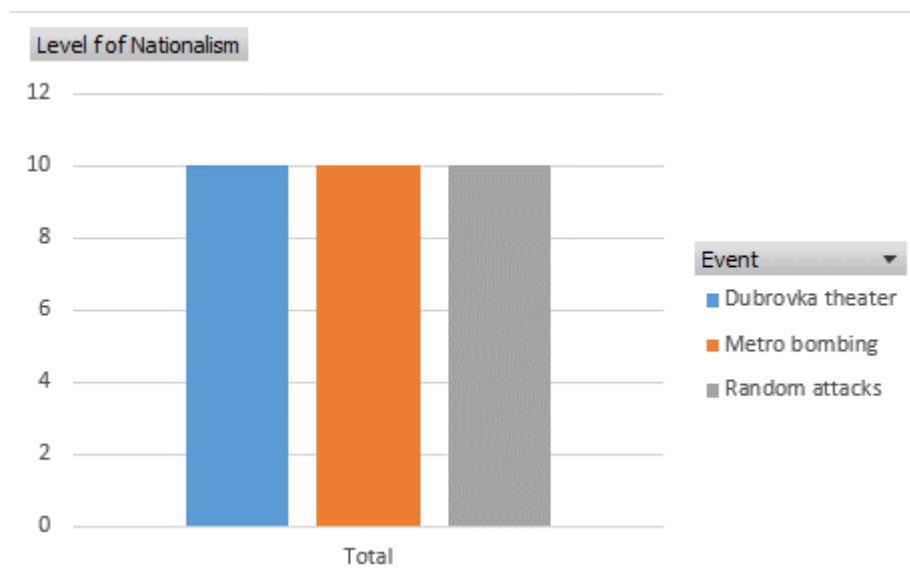
In regard of the nationalism as factor and motivation for the suicide attacks, it is visible from figure 4 that the level is level 10, the highest in the selection of attributes. It is applicable to all three cases, because nationalism seen as desire to free Chechen lands from the foreign (Russian) occupier. Therefore, it can be concluded that nationalism plays significant role in the decision for the attacks.

Finally, in regard of the Islam ties, the religion has also played role in the mobilization of the Chechen forces during the two wars with Russia. Bearing in mind that Chechens are predominantly, they have used religion as a tool (but not as a driving force) for mutual unification and fight against the occupation. Moreover, a distinction in religion has helped the Chechens to establish contrast between the two parties. The financial help is also an important factor to be mentioned, coming from the Arab world.

5.2.2 Hypothesis 2

Purpose of analyzing this variable is to calculate how far from Grozny the suicide attacks were perpetrated. This variable needs to show to what extent the tendency of changing locations has been shifted in relation to the motives of the suicide attacks. The analysis below will examine the distance from Grozny to the actual point of the suicide attack including places within Chechnya and on the Russian territory. It is theory of gravitation – the farther from the center, the higher level of separatism. Google Earth is used in order to calculate the distance as separatism and rebellion occur closer to the capital cities. Additionally, it will tend to show whether capitals are more vulnerable to such threats. Hypothesis tested is presented below:

❖ **Hypothesis 2: Suicide terrorism occurs in geographical locations such as capitals, or cities where there are main events happening such as sport matches, fairs, concerts etc.**

In order to calculate the distance, data is taken from Figure 1, which shows numbers of attacks as per the year. However, a determinant that is added here is the place of the attack. A pivot is then created in order to show the number of attacks per the places affected. From figure 2, it is fairly visible that the most affected city is Grozny (Chechnya), followed by Gudermes (Chechnya), Volgograd (Russia) and Makhachkala (Russia). None of these cities is the capital of Chechnya.

Figure 5: Number of attacks per place of occurrence, on yearly basis
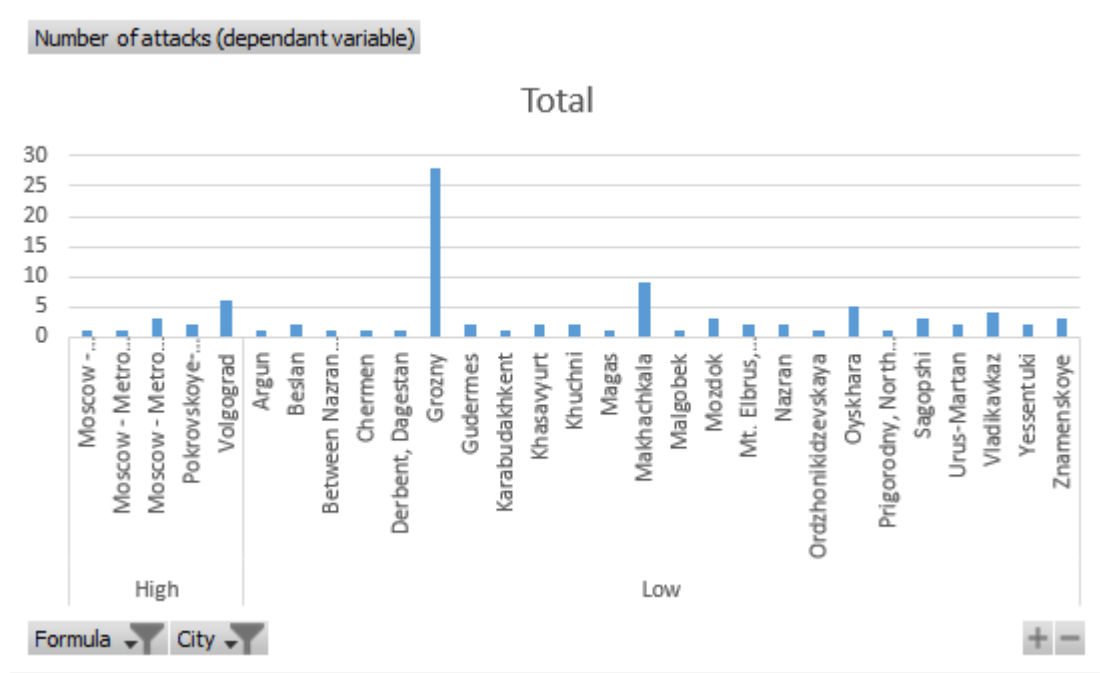
Distance in km is determined by 1 – High, 2 – Low, and this is based on the average taken from the entire data (sum of km divided by total number of attacks). The average is 360km. Therefore, a criteria was set, if the geographical factor from Grozny to target, expressed in km; is bigger than 360km, than this is high distance. If geographical factor from Grozny to target, expressed in km; is smaller than 360km, this is low distance from Grozny to the target of the attack. This is shown in Figure 3, where we can see that number of attacks classified as high distance from the capital is less than 20 in total, while number of attacks classified as low distance from the capital Grozny is 80 attacks. This is clearly showing that not necessarily the main capital of the occupation is the main target. Thus, in the Chechen case it can be noted that there is not a direct connection between main targets – the capital and the terrorist attacks committed.

Figure 6: Number of attacks per geographical location (testing: High vs. Low)

Number of attacks (dependant variable)

Total

To conclude, hypothesis 2, stating that **"Suicide terrorism occurs in geographical locations such as capitals, or cities where there are main 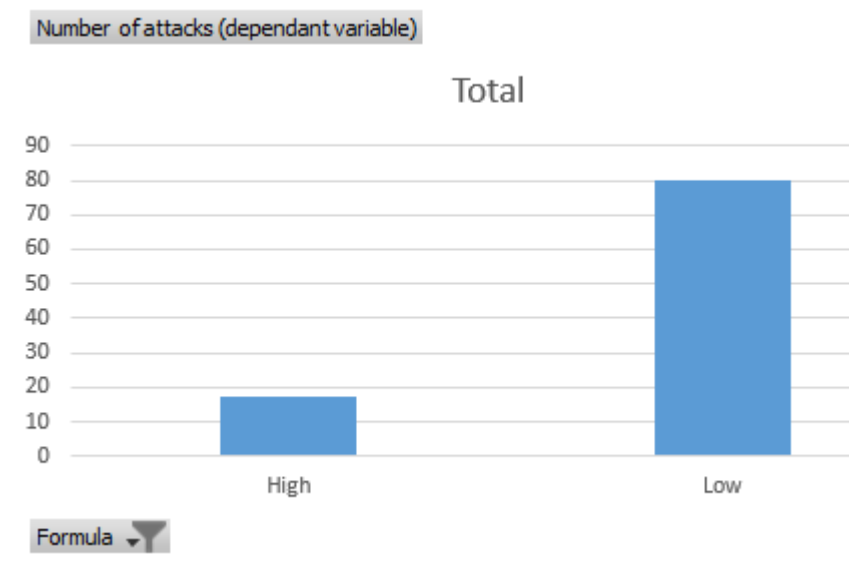events happening such as sport matches, fairs, concerts etc.",** is not supported by the statistical data represented above. In the Chechen case, there was no direct correlation between the number of attacks and the location, even though specific events and variables influenced the movement from attacking key military points in Chechnya towards Russian territory. It was shown that biggest number of attacks are far away from Moscow, more than 80 attacks. On the other hand, it must be noted that once the Chechens decided to move their attacks to Russian territory, based on the motivations presented above, they have targeted main cities and capital Moscow. Therefore, we can find the correlation that main targets are big cities, which are prone to more public events, more crowded places and once attacked they attract bigger attention in the public. In the Chechen case, the major shift was done in 2000 and main motive for this is to gain publicity by moving the attacks to Russian territory.

CONCLUSION

In order to answer the research question, **what are the main motives that drive Chechens to fight Russia with suicide terrorism**, this thesis elaborated Robert Pape's theory and determined key variables as point for analysis. Pape`s theory has argued that occupation, nationalism, and religious difference cause a rebellion which leads to mass support for martyrdom, which in turn leads to suicide terrorism. Essentially, foreign occupation by a superior military power combined with nationalism and a difference in religion between the occupier and the occupied are the main conditions under which suicide terrorism occurs. Therefore, the key variables used in the research are the following:

1. **Foreign Occupation**
2. **Religious difference**
3. **Nationalism**
4. **Geographical location**

In order to present conclusions and find motivations of the Chechen rebels, a historical overview has been done in regard of the case study. Through testing Pape's theory this thesis provided several conclusions that motivated suicide attacks:

❖ Chechnya has faced increasing news shutdowns in Russia from Chechnya, which caused anger and frustration between the terrorist groups in regard of their legacy for independent state and improved national situation. Therefore, upon 2002 the Chechen terrorists have moved their suicide operations to Russia, focusing intensively on Moscow itself. This justifies the reason why they moved their suicide attacks towards civilians and outside Chechnya. This is the **geographical variable** analyzed in the research. As such, it is influencing the course of the suicide attacks in a way of changing targets (from Russian military targets to civilians, from Chechen territory to Russian).

❖ Chechen suicide terrorism has been used in a way of undeclared wars, unlike the traditional battles and often between groups that are unequal in armed power. Thus, in most of the cases such suicidal and terrorist acts result from a failed

political process between the parties involved. Bearing in mind that the current conflict between Chechnya and Russia has long-established roots within the history and it is dating back to 1858 when Chechen Iman Shamil and his fighters attempted to establish an Islamic state (Galeotti 2014), there are the grounds that justify the **religious** involvement in the conflict. Nevertheless, this variable did not show that their motivations come from religious grounds. Based on the above-mentioned reasons for the attacks, as well as the historical path, it is clear that **the terrorist organization on the Chechnya ground are clearly nationalistic and independence-oriented, rather than driven from the religious motives** and Islamism supported ideologies such as the Wahhabis ideology.

❖ **The motives of the Chechen terrorist attacks are purely political and they struggle for independence.** Thus their fight involves terrorism as a driving force and justification for their actions. In some radical cases, unfortunately the truth is that politics of nationalism and constant war do not necessarily motivate these people to become terrorists for any cause. Nevertheless, in many cases they cannot escape the political forces surrounding them and they decide to move on with the terrorism and fight for the nation. These are one of the key reasons why there is a constant process of developing a martyr Chechen suicide terrorism.

To summarize, looking at the motivations behind suicide operations in Chechnya, there are few major reasons determining the motives, such as:

❖ Nationalism, which is used to recruit suicide bombers as part of the need to   defend the national identity, to preserve the national dignity and fight Russian occupying force. Due to the various humiliations of the Chechen population, as well as the multiple historical grievances, nationalism plays a key role in the conflict and decision for suicide terrorism.

❖ Foreign occupation, is correlated to the above mentioned Chechen nationalistic goals. They tend to end the foreign occupation by moving foreign troops off their territory and to bring freedom to Chechnya. Additionally, they want to claim the right to establish an Islamic state, which is the next variable analyzed in the master thesis. The campaign for suicide terrorism has come after a period of

intensive foreign occupation and not very much fruitful period of engaging in other forms of terrorism. By targeting military establishments of the foreign occupation, it has been shown that success was limited. Therefore, a major shift from targeting military bases has been conducted towards civilian victims and this is very much related to the move of the geographical location of the target (variable 4 – **geographical location**). The struggle for independence against the foreign occupation has transformed the conflict into an ideological struggle due to its brutalities and human rights violations from the occupier. The Chechen people are committed to liberation from the occupation and creation of independent country, while attempting to forget or forgive Russia for Stalin's genocidal deportations in the 40`s. Due to these reasons, for many Chechens Russian enemy is a picture of foreign occupation that preserves the portrait of autocratic and oppressive invader who has for centuries suppressed Chechen nation, culture and freedom to practice their religion.

❖ Religion comes as the last motive, which serves more as a tool, rather than as main motivation for the terrorist attacks. The prominent belief for the Jihadist ideology and the promise of the paradise is in some cases very strong personal motivation to commence suicide operations.

Finally, the case study clearly represents several shifts in the motivations and chain of events and suicide attacks in the Russian-Chechen conflict. It started as a guerilla war (prior the suicide attacks) and then moved to suicide terrorism. Later on, it moved from attacking Russian military bases on Chechen territory to Russian territory, in order to gain publicity. Furthermore, it is key to understand that Chechens have never considered themselves as part of the federation, and upon the split of Soviet Union, there has been a growing nationalism between the people.

In order to strengthen Chechen identity, the suicide attacks have been motivated based on shared experiences of failing to negotiate and find agreement with the Russian

state. These actions have been serving as a ground for unification, which on the top is religion used a tool rather than as main motivation.

Current status of the events is showing that a referendum in 2003 has approved new constitution stipulating that Chechnya is part of the Russian Federation, and in 2009 - Russia officially ended counterterrorism operation; concerns over human rights and lawlessness persist (BBC 2015). The question still continues whether the ongoing presence of Mujahedin and jihadists who remain active in the country will change the path and will start motivating suicide attacks, even though the religion was never main motivation for suicide terrorism?

The contribution of this research to the subject of analyzing suicide terrorism comes with the finding out that **suicide attacks are predominantly motivated by the aspirations to free up from the foreign occupation and declare independence within the given region and nation.** In the Chechen case, the Chechen people are sharing common roots of their own language, sense of nationalism and willingness to live within an independent state. In the historical path of their existence on that territory (see Appendix 2), they have been subject of violation of human rights, being expelled during Stalin regime and faced extremely hard times in their aspirations for independence. The sense of belongings towards Russia has never been present among the Chechens, even during the Soviet Union times. This has intensified more even after the split of the Soviet Union, and the chance for independence grew bigger, even though it never happened.

Based on these occurrences, the main advantage of this research comes with the contribution of determining historical path of events within a given case for a struggle of independence and determining the reasons why such groups decide on suicide terrorism. Due to several shifts in the status of the Chechens, they have been moving their operations towards more radical method: suicide terrorism. The role of the religion has been proved not to be the key factor for suicide terrorism, even though by many events it is labeled as such.

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List of appendixes

Appendix 1: Key suicide attacks during 2000-2009 vs variables motivating attacks

| Year	Event	Military basis target	Civilians killed	Foreign Occupation	Nationalism Level	Religious difference	Additional reason
2000	Random attacks	Yes	No	1	10	No	Fight occupation. Violation of human rights
2003	Dubrovka theater	No	Yes	0	10	No	Media coverage and publicity
2009	Metro bombing	No	Yes	1	10	No	Fight occupation. Violation of human rights. Media coverage and publicity

How to read:

1. Occupation = yes/no = 1/0

2. The level of nationalism = there will be a scale created, from 1 to 10.
3. Religious difference = it will be tested as yes/no possibilities.

Appendix 2: Territory of Chechnya (Source: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2012).

Appendix 3. Location of suicide attack perpetrated by Chechens from 2000 to 2016 (Source: CPOS database 2016).
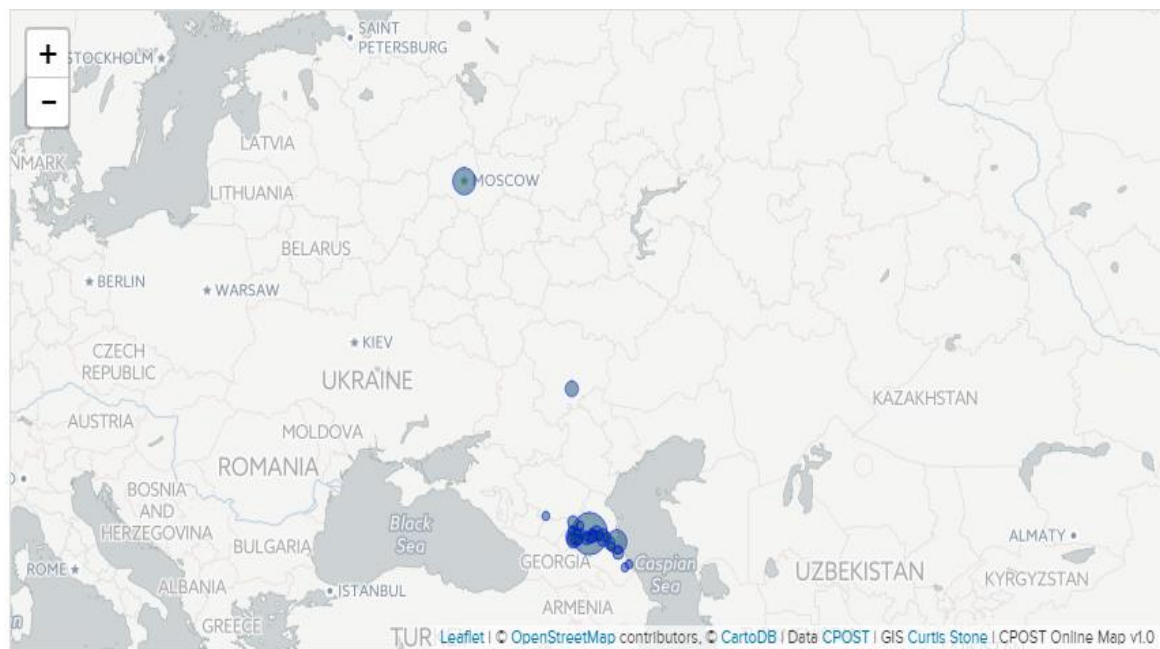
Appendix 4. Calculation of variable 4 (geographical location)

Case	Month/Year	Number of attacks (dependent variable)	Geographical factor from Grozny to target km (Independent variable 4)	City	Formula	AVARAGE km
110	Aug-09	5	0	Grozny	Low	
2	Jul-00	5	53.5	Oyskhara	Low	
1	June-00	4	0	Grozny	Low	360km
111	Sep-09	4	0	Grozny	Low	
50	Aug-04	4	2055	Rostov-on-Don	High	
112	Oct-09	3	0	Grozny	Low	
35	May-03	3	82.1	Znamenskoye	Low	
145	Aug-12	3	97.7	Sagopshi	Low	
122	Sep-10	3	115.5	Vladikavkaz	Low	
117	Apr-10	3	166.8	Makhachkala	Low	
116	Mar-10	3	1846.4	Moscow -Lubyanka and Park Kultury subway stations	High	
123	Oct-10	2	0	Grozny	Low	
158	Sep-13	2	0	Khuchni	Low	
7	Dec-00	2	40.5	Gudermes	Low	
51	Sep-04	2	109.9	Beslan	Low	
36	Jun-03	2	126.6	Mozdok	Low	
53	Nov-04	2	166.8	Makhachkala	Low	
127	Feb-11	2	262	Mt. Elbrus, Kabardino-Balkaria	Low	
42	Dec-03	2	305.4	Yessentuki	Low	
133	Aug-11	2	812	Volgograd	High	
161	Dec-13	2	812	Volgograd	High	
37	Jul-03	2	1870.3	Pokrovskoye-Streshnevo	High	
23	May-02	1	0	Grozny	Low	
30	Dec-02	1	0	Grozny	Low	
47	May-04	1	0	Grozny	Low	
71	May-06	1	0	Grozny	Low	
73	Jul-06	1	0	Grozny	Low	
107	May-09	1	0	Grozny	Low	
108	Jun-09	1	0	Grozny	Low	
109	Jul-09	1	0	Grozny	Low	
119	Jun-10	1	0	Grozny	Low	
190	May-16	1	0	Grozny	Low	
16	Sep-01	1	19.3	Argun	Low	
17	Nov-01	1	30.6	Urus-Martan	Low	

31	Jan-03	1	30.6	Urus-Martan	Low	
154	May-13	1	66.9	Ordzhonikidzevskaya	Low	
88	Oct-07	1	83	Khasavyurt	Low	
151	Feb-13	1	83	Khasavyurt	Low	
147	Oct-12	1	85	Chermen	Low	
46	Apr-04	1	89.9	Between Nazran and Magas	Low	
113	Dec-09	1	89.9	Nazran	Low	
141	Apr-12	1	89.9	Nazran	Low	
39	Sep-03	1	96.5	Magas	Low	
29	Nov-02	1	98.7	Malgobek	Low	
101	Nov-08	1	115.5	Vladikavkaz	Low	
38	Aug-03	1	126.6	Mozdok	Low	
121	Aug-10	1	146.1	Prigorodny, North Ossetia	Low	
114	Jan-10	1	166.8	Makhachkala	Low	
130	May-11	1	166.8	Makhachkala	Low	
134	Sep-11	1	166.8	Makhachkala	Low	
142	May-12	1	166.8	Makhachkala	Low	
140	Mar-12	1	207.5	Karabudakhkent	Low	
187	Feb-16	1	307.6	Derbent, Dagestan	Low	
159	Oct-13	1	812	Volgograd	High	
171	Oct-14	1	812	Volgograd	High	
44	Feb-04	1	1846.4	Moscow - Avtozavodskaya subway station	High	
126	Jan-11	1	1846.4	Moscow - Domodedovo IAP	High	