

# Human Rights and the War on Terror

## 2007 Supplement

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## **Chechnya: Human Rights Issues**

By Latife Bulur

Chechnya is a country plagued by terrorism and human rights abuses. A primary source of these issues is the unsettled situation between local insurgents and the Russian military. This conflict, increasing in magnitude over time, makes it incredibly difficult to negotiate the terms of Chechnya's independence perpetuating the crisis. Rising violence fuels Russia's frustration in addressing the conflict with Chechen groups. Russia has and continues to employ various tactics to minimize the violence, but such tactics have all so far been unsuccessful.

There is also a debate in Chechnya regarding whether or not these terrorist attacks are motivated by Islam. Some scholars argue that Islamic fundamentalists are using Chechnya as a vehicle for the pursuit of their own goals, while others say that Islam itself is not conflict-generating. Nevertheless, while the conflict continues, so does the violation of Chechen human rights. Many attempts are being made to determine solutions for a more positive future, but perhaps much can be determined by first examining Chechnya's history of conflict with Russia.

Chechnya and Russia's difficult co-existence intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are various explanations for this tumultuous relationship. One view is that Chechnya took advantage of a weakened Russian state during the fall of the USSR. During the Cold War, the USSR was consumed with national problems, and turned a blind eye to the Northern Caucasus. After dissolution, Chechnya incited a movement to gain independence from the Russian Federation. Many scholars argue that this resistance movement against Russia is the source of tension between Chechnya and Russia today.

Another view is that Russia had been stifling the people of Chechnya, creating the need for a resistance movement. During Joseph Stalin's reign, many Chechen civilians evacuated the Northern Caucasus out of fear of oppression and death. Some scholars argue that this initial mistreatment and the lack of human rights advocacy inspired the Chechen insurgents to begin a resistance movement.

With tensions and conflicts between Russia and Chechnya on the rise, violence continues to erupt between them. Chechen insurgents continue to attack Russian civilians, claiming that their attacks are motivated by mistreatment and human rights violations perpetuated by the Russian military. In retribution for Chechen attacks, the Russian military focuses its efforts in attacking sections of Chechnya, in attempts to quell the insurgents. The quarrels persist cyclically from insurgent attacks to vicious retaliation.

Various tactics of warfare are employed by Russian forces, consisting not only in military means, but also through other influential methods such as media slandering. While attacks on the media have succeeded in tarnishing Chechnya's legitimacy across the globe, the military tactics have done little to reduce the terrorist attacks.

As the attacks continue, large numbers of Chechen civilians are victimized in multiple ways. Many civilians have become refugees and have fled to other countries. Those who stay in the Northern Caucasus are in danger of losing their lives. As demonstrated by the large discrepancies in reports on the number of displaced and dead, the population is under constant threat of human rights infringement.

A tainted image with a reputation for terrorism leaves the Chechnya region without much hope for an immediate resolution. However, many human rights groups and organizations have become involved in Chechnya's cause. Before any refugees are encouraged to come home, something must be done to resolve the tension between the Chechen insurgents and the Russian military. Some solutions involve offering economic and financial support to Russia, which will in turn support Chechnya, while another solution would have Russia rein in its military and provide a safe haven for Chechen civilians. Many recommendations continue to be made—perhaps one of them will lead to a resolution to the endless Russo-Chechen conflict in the future.



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Annotation: The author of this piece states that Chechnya is now a site of one of the worst human rights records in Europe, and that response to this growing case is lacking. The purpose of the article is to educate the reader about Chechnya's lack of external involvement regarding Russia and international organizations. Russia is acting as a superpower, using its force to install peace, while international groups serve little or no purpose in aiding human rights advocacy in Chechnya. The author makes very specific recommendations in increasing the effectiveness of human rights protection in the region.

Rasizade, A. 2005. "Chechnya: the Achilles Heel of Russia - Part Three." *Contemporary Review*. 327-332.

Annotation: This piece completes this author's three-piece series about the Russo-Chechen conflict. He continues the topic by mentioning how the death of the Chechen resistance leader, Aslan Mashkhadov, opens the window for future radical leaders to enter, and for more civil unrest to occur in the region. The author discusses how Russia has become a unifying power in the region, and how with that power, Russia must learn to grow more socially and economically responsible in interactions with neighbors in the region.

Russell, J. 2006. "Obstacles to Peace in Chechnya: What Scope for International Involvement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (6): 941-964.

Annotation: This article seeks to explore how international groups can get involved in efforts to end the violence in Chechnya. The author makes distinctions between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding, stressing that subtle differences in all three need to be carefully applied in the Chechen region. Also, he states that not only Chechen civilians, but also Russian civilians are victims of this conflict. A clear system of peacebuilding needs to be established, or Chechnya and Russia will continue to find themselves in an impasse.

Sunderland, W. 2006. "The Caucasian Tangle." *Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7 (1): 111-122.

Annotation: This review provides a glimpse into a few books that address the Russo-Chechen conflict. One view discussed is how Chechens are sometimes viewed as abnormal, and how Russia and the Northern Caucasus are drifting farther apart. He criticizes a couple of the books for presenting the Russian point of view too exclusively, only serving to taint Chechnya's image further. He blames the media for broadcasting one-sided views, and suggests that both sides of the conflict should be portrayed more fairly so that the resolution process comes much more easily.



Vendina, O. I., V. S. Belozerov, *et al.* 2007. "The Wars in Chechnya and Their Effects on Neighboring Regions." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48 (2): 178-201.

Annotation: The authors of this piece analyze how the conflict in Chechnya is having an impact on the region. The main approach to this topic is an economic one, showing that the conflict not only impacts human rights advocacy, but the financial security of the state, as well. While not providing an immediate solution to the problem, the authors consider whether or not Chechnya and the neighboring regions will once again establish a working relationship with Russia.

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Annotation: The author of this piece states that Chechnya is now a site of one of the worst human rights records in Europe, and that response to this growing case is lacking. The purpose of the article is to educate the reader about Chechnya's lack of external involvement regarding Russia and international organizations. Russia is acting as a superpower, using its force to install peace, while international groups serve little or no purpose in aiding human rights advocacy in Chechnya. The author makes very specific recommendations in increasing the effectiveness of human rights protection in the region.

Rasizade, A. 2005. "Chechnya: the Achilles Heel of Russia - Part Three." *Contemporary Review*. 327-332.

Annotation: This piece completes this author's three-piece series about the Russo-Chechen conflict. He continues the topic by mentioning how the death of the Chechen resistance leader, Aslan Mashkhadov, opens the window for future radical leaders to enter, and for more civil unrest to occur in the region. The author discusses how Russia has become a unifying power in the region, and how with that power, Russia must learn to grow more socially and economically responsible in interactions with neighbors in the region.

Russell, J. 2006. "Obstacles to Peace in Chechnya: What Scope for International Involvement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (6): 941-964.

Annotation: This article seeks to explore how international groups can get involved in efforts to end the violence in Chechnya. The author makes distinctions between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding, stressing that subtle differences in all three need to be carefully applied in the Chechen region. Also, he states that not only Chechen civilians, but also Russian civilians are victims of this conflict. A clear system of peacebuilding needs to be established, or Chechnya and Russia will continue to find themselves in an impasse.

Sunderland, W. 2006. "The Caucasian Tangle." *Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7 (1): 111-122.

Annotation: This review provides a glimpse into a few books that address the Russo-Chechen conflict. One view discussed is how Chechens are sometimes viewed as abnormal, and how Russia and the Northern Caucasus are drifting farther apart. He criticizes a couple of the books for presenting the Russian point of view too exclusively, only serving to taint Chechnya's image further. He blames the media for broadcasting one-sided views, and suggests that both sides of the conflict should be portrayed more fairly so that the resolution process comes much more easily.



Vendina, O. I., V. S. Belozerov, *et al.* 2007. "The Wars in Chechnya and Their Effects on Neighboring Regions." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48 (2): 178-201.

Annotation: The authors of this piece analyze how the conflict in Chechnya is having an impact on the region. The main approach to this topic is an economic one, showing that the conflict not only impacts human rights advocacy, but the financial security of the state, as well. While not providing an immediate solution to the problem, the authors consider whether or not Chechnya and the neighboring regions will once again establish a working relationship with Russia.

## United States Foreign Policy: Liberty and Security?

By Jessi Schimmel

*We must find ways of reconciling security with liberty, since the success of one helps the other. The choice between security and liberty is a false choice.... Our history has shown us that insecurity threatens liberty. Yet as our liberties are curtailed, we lose the values that we are struggling to defend (The 9/11 Commission Report: 395).*

Prior to September 11, 2001, the United States had the reputation of being a leader in the field of human rights. As information of torture and abuse in Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo Bay, and secret CIA detention centers has surfaced, however, the image of America has changed from human rights champion to that of violator. In large part, the international community of scholars and activists has come to deride the foreign policy of the United States as misguided and out of balance with the threats the country faces. However, there are also plenty of outspoken defenders who believe that the tactics chosen in this fight against terror are necessary and proportionate to such threats. Human rights and homeland security need not be mutually exclusive; indeed, they are necessarily congruent to one another. This bibliography highlights some of the most important issues at the nexus of the “War on Terrorism” and human rights as they pertain to the United States’ foreign policy. It does so by addressing the issues of war, detainees, torture, military tribunals, the spread of democracy and global governance, defining terrorism, and other facets of the complex relationship between security and liberty.

The most perplexing questions presented in the literature in this bibliography are: Just what is the relationship between human rights and security? What is the “War on Terror” really a war against? The “War on Terror” is not a conventional war. It is not conducted strictly between nations. Yet, the United States has approached the “War on Terror” after September 11th as a matter requiring state military intervention. This has been embodied in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As these wars drag on, the so-called “rally-around-the-flag” effect has worn off of the American public; with this falter in public support, the message behind the “war” has changed. Today, major issues in this fight include nation-building, multilateralism and shifting alliances, and the changing need for preparedness.

As the international community tries to create a marriage between human rights and security in an age of uncertainty, there have been several unexpected consequences. Immediately after September 11<sup>th</sup>, the American government experienced strong support in the fight against terrorism from foreign governments, academics, non-governmental organizations, and especially the public. Nearly six years later, the public is asking how the government hopes to stem terrorism when its every action seems to further aggravate extremist groups. The international community also demands to know on what grounds the United States continues to call itself a beacon for human rights when it routinely violates the civil liberties of people at home and abroad. To this end, the “War on Terror” has become—in part—a war of public relations; in order to reassert its moral authority and regain international support, the U.S. must find some way to align the principles of human rights with the priorities of national security.

Perhaps the most predominant issue in current scholarly works on the connection between human rights and the “War on Terror” is that of detainees in Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo Bay, and secret CIA and other detention centers. Some contend that keeping these so-called “alien unlawful enemy combatants” out of the regular U.S. judicial system is necessary in order to extract information about pending terrorist activity in a timely manner. However, the detailed accounts of physical and mental abuse, along with the refusal of all writs of *habeas corpus*, have badly damaged the American reputation as a leader in international human rights. American officials have said that the Geneva Conventions do not apply to these “terrorists,” among whom it is reported there are children as young as 13 years old. The legality and the necessity of the use of extreme interrogation tactics and torture are very much in question by the international community, as well as are practices of rendition and proxy custody. Nor is there any justice for these “alien unlawful enemy combatants.” In October of 2006, the United States Congress passed the Military Commission Act, which allows for military tribunals to try these cases without regard for jurisdiction or due process. Thus far, the United States has not proven that these violations of human and civil rights are outweighed by the pressing need and ability to protect the country or the international community from terrorist attacks.

The Bush Administration continues to maintain its own counsel. A common thread running through the pieces in the bibliography that supports the current administration’s foreign policy plan is the idea that the public is uninformed as to the true nature of the terrorist threat and must be kept in the dark as to how the American Government is fighting that war. This administration has worked with Congress to pass into legislation much of what is contentious about this war. However, acts of executive privilege are also at an all-time high. Questions of abuse of power abound. The government approaches the “War on Terror” from a different viewpoint than most academics. Clear primacy has been given to issues relating to homeland security, which trump concerns for human rights under this paradigm. The government has been careful to say that it is concerned for human rights in its foreign policy, but that winning the “War on Terror” decisively is the best way to protect human rights internationally, as well as at home.

As the “War on Terror” has matured, news articles continue to be published everyday, but they fail to encapsulate the issues as succinctly as possible. For this reason, among others, there are many more books and treatises than articles in this bibliography. Also, the academic community, generally, seems to have a strong opinion about the illegality of the ways and means that the United States has chosen to approach dealing with suspected terrorists, as well as the countries that harbor them, in order to prevent the next terrorist attack. There is a thriving community outside of academia, in think tanks and government, that strongly stands behind the tactics chosen by the U.S. government. Because of the nature of academic versus policy writing, there is a disparity of coverage in this bibliography, leaning toward the more thorough academic discourse, rather than the brief policy papers available from think tanks. The topics covered in this bibliography include detainees, military tribunals, the spread of democracy, defining terrorism, United States’ foreign policy, and international law.

Currently, winning the “War on Terror” is the main objective of U.S. foreign policy, and the impact of this campaign on human rights is a question that has raised tremendous skepticism. Because of the centrality of this topic in international affairs, all the literature available for public consumption cannot be covered here in its entirety. Hopefully, however, the pieces included in this

bibliography span the range of topics and complexity necessary to provide a solid starting point to any researcher.



## Detainees

Al-Dossari, Jumah Muhammad. 2005. "Days of Adverse Hardship in U.S. Detention Camps Testimony of Guantánamo Detainee Jumah al-Dossari." Amnesty International.

Annotation: This handwritten testimony from a Muslim Pakistani who was detained in Guantánamo Bay was delivered to Amnesty International in 2005 by his civilian lawyer. It contains a detailed account of the physical, mental, and emotional abuses al-Dossari says he suffered, including torture, horrific living conditions, and the desecration of the Koran. The piece follows each stage of the detention from his arrest at the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, to his transfer into American custody, and subsequent relocation to Guantánamo Bay. There is no discussion of why he was purportedly detained, or how his case is proceeding.

Amnesty International. 2007. "Close Guantánamo: Symbol of Injustice." London: Amnesty International.

Annotation: This is an Amnesty International piece aimed at attacking the continued detention of uncharged civilians at Guantánamo Bay. It gives a colorful commentary, containing some useful information, providing it is read in the appropriate context. It includes a timeline of events surrounding Guantánamo, pictures from the base, and sound bite testimony from prisoners, policy makers, and foreign diplomats. It also addresses the issue of the "legal black hole" and tries to give names and background to the detainees. Strikingly, it indicates that at least 17 children have been held illegally at Guantánamo.

Casey, Lee A., and David B. Rivkin Jr. 2005. "How to Treat A Captured Terrorist." *National Review* 57(12): 20-21.

Annotation: In this opinion piece, the authors argue that the detention of "enemy combatants" in special terror facilities is superior to the domestic criminal law approach which places the accused in the justice system because the domestic system is only reactive to committed crimes, not proactive to prevent future attacks. They also discount the Geneva Conventions as incongruent with the type of war waged in the "War on Terror." This is a supportive argument for the continued detentions at the Guantánamo Bay facility.

Greenberg, Karen, ed. 2006. The Torture Debate in America. New York: Cambridge University.

Annotation: Approaching the issue of torture from historical, religious, ethical, pragmatic, and antithetical angles, the author of this edited volume contributes to the debate surrounding the significance torture plays in the American psyche. The volume includes a transcription of a panel debate and relevant documents, placing a heavy focus on the applicability of the Geneva Conventions and the spread of democracy through this “War on Terror.”

Greer, Edward. 2004. “We Don’t Torture People in America’: Coercive Interrogation in the Global Village.” *New Political Science* 26(3): 371-387.

Annotation: While not publicly acknowledged, the systematic torture of captured Muslims after September 11<sup>th</sup> became America’s policy. The article conclusively demonstrates that the Bush Administration deliberately chose this policy option. By drawing exclusively on publicly available documentation (prior to the Abu Ghraib revelations), it provides positive evidence from the federal courts demonstrating that the Executive is entitled to sanction torture. It also includes an official determination that Geneva Convention protection against coercive interrogations would be circumvented. The article also rebuts the official U.S. support of the use of torture for the purpose of extracting information from detainees. It details perceived contradictions in the Bush Administration’s permissive statements regarding torture depending on venue. And finally, it presents torture as an integral and ultimately self-destructive tool in the War on Terror.

Human Rights Watch. 2006. “By the Numbers: Findings of the Detainee Abuse and Accountability Project.” New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: After the exposure of the abuses at Abu Ghraib in 2004, there was a clear demand for greater accountability in the American detention system. The Center for Human Rights and Global Justice at the New York University School of Law, Human Rights Watch and Human Rights First analyzed credible claims of abuses through April 2006, finding that there have been over 300 cases, involving more than 600 U.S. personnel, and 460 detainees in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Guantánamo Bay. This report includes an analysis of how the United States has dealt with accusations and recommendations, as well as insightful statistics.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2006. “No Blood, No Foul: Soldiers Accounts of Detainee Abuse in Iraq.” New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: This report is composed largely of first-hand accounts from U.S. personnel, who either saw or participated in specific abuses of detainees that took place in Iraq. The soldiers discuss ways that military and CIA personnel circumvented legal and practical ramifications of their behavior. Specific references are made to how authorizations flowed down the chain of

command (from former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on down) and the difficulty of reporting abuses. The report closes with a discussion of the legal standards being violated, with specific references to conventions and articles.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "Ghost Prisoner: Two Years in Secret CIA Detention." New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: The story of Marwan Jabour is used to criticize the U.S. Government's policy of using secret CIA prisons to detain supposed terrorists. Human Rights Watch (HRW) focuses on those detentions and so-called proxy detentions (by a third party) as it calls for the end of the use of secret prisons worldwide, and especially in Pakistan where most of these detainees are arrested. HRW condemns the United States for criticizing other countries' human rights record, when the current U.S. policy of violating those norms against torture and enforced disappearances. This piece includes a list of detainees with unknown whereabouts (created through interviews) and recommendations.

MacDonald, Heather. 2005. "[How to Interrogate Terrorists.](#)" Foundation for the Defense of Democracies.

Annotation: This piece gives a short history of the evolution of interrogation tactics since the September 11, 2001 attacks, claiming that the public is woefully misinformed as to what interrogation really is. The "torture narrative" is fed by critics and is damaging to Americans' ability to interrogate. The combatants' willingness to martyr themselves for their cause has outwitted traditional tactics in this case. This article states that the United States does not diverge from the Geneva Conventions, claiming that the interrogator's power lies within the imagination of the detainee. This article presents a strong statement of support for the current interrogation tactics.

Rose, David. 2004. Guantánamo: The War on Human Rights. New York: The New Press.

Annotation: Deliberately leaving aside moral and legal arguments about the process of internment at Guantánamo Bay, Rose argues that there are deep pragmatic failings as well – primarily that the base imprisons thousands inhumanely, including innocent civilians, and that the interrogation there delivers few viable results. Interviews with freed detainees (all British) shed light on the experience of being detained in this "legal black hole." Rose also consults American officials and documents to demonstrate how the government justifies its actions there. He concludes by analyzing the meaning of the detention center domestically and internationally.

United States Senate. 2005. "Detainees." Committee on the Judiciary. One Hundred Ninth Congress, First Session. June 15.

Annotation: This piece is the transcript of a June 2005 hearing focused more on the violation of due process rights than issues of torture for United States' detainees in the "War on Terror." This session presents both sides of the argument well and equally. Using a balanced approach of witness testimony and submissions for the record, and a significant question and answer session between committee members and witnesses, the overall conclusion of the Committee is that Congress needs to increase its involvement in this issue dramatically and not leave this policy issue in the hands of the Executive and Judicial branches of the Federal Government.

### **Military Tribunals**

Amnesty International. 2007. "Justice Delayed or Justice Denied? Trials under the Military Commissions Act." London: Amnesty International.

Annotation: This Amnesty International report derides the process of the military tribunals set up by the Military Commission Act of October 2006. It attacks the designation of "alien unlawful combatant," as well as the retroactive law and refusal of writs of *habeas corpus*. It attacks the tribunal process in terms of jurisdiction, impartiality, failure to allow right to counsel or presumption of innocence. Most specifically it condemns the admissibility of evidence and the use of coerced confessions. This document concludes with suggestions on how to end "unfettered executive power" and dramatic violations of human rights.

Carafano, James Jay. 2006. "[Congress Should Compromise.](#)" The Heritage Foundation.

Annotation: A short memo on how Congress and the Administration must come to an agreement regarding how to conduct military commissioned trials. Foremost in this memo are the ideas that there should be no compromise on the issue of national security and that Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions has been left deliberately vague. Carafano states that the enemy combatants now in U.S. custody are due only humane treatment, but that they ought to be detained until the "War on Terror" is over. Carafano argues that there are clear means of satisfying the United States' obligations under the Geneva Convention, while still giving full protection to national security.

Elsa, Jennifer, and Louis Fisher. 2006. Suspected Terrorists and What to Do with Them. New York: Novinka Books.

Annotation: Working under the assumption that President George W. Bush considers the “War on Terror” to be a matter of state that requires military intervention, Elsa and Fisher address the basic violations of political and legal rights involved in military tribunals for “unlawful combatants.” Using essay format, the authors address the legal and practical implications of treating terrorists as war criminals rather than submitting them to the criminal justice system, and the Quirin precedent for military tribunals, respectively. While both seem to be simplistic arguments, they lay a solid foundation for someone new to the subject. This book also includes text of pertinent documents.

Fitzpatrick, Joan. 2002. “Jurisdiction of Military Commissions and the Ambiguous War on Terrorism.” *The American Journal of International Law* 96 (2): 345-354.

Annotation: Fitzpatrick decries the use of military tribunals in what she calls “the ambiguous ‘war’ on terror.” She argues that this is not a war at all, and therefore, the military tribunals are wildly out of place in what need to be criminal proceedings. Indeed, she contends that using the war paradigm gives terrorist groups particular standing, when they should be carefully considered as separate standing in international relations. Fitzpatrick argues that using military commissioned tribunals is in this case *prima facie* illegal because it violates basic human rights. The article states that military tribunals are only legal under the narrowest definition, and that it is very important that that definition be followed.

Human Rights Watch. 2006. “Q & A: Military Commissions Act 2006.” New York: Human Rights Watch.

Annotation: In response to the Supreme Court decision in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, the U.S. Congress passed the Military Commissions Act, which redefines tribunal procedure, the definition of unlawful enemy combatant, and the U.S. relationship to the Geneva Conventions and the War Crimes Act. This short question and answer sheet has a clear opinion that what the government has done is wrong, but it provides a basic level of understanding about the Act that should be supplemented by explanation from the other side of this debate.

## **The Spread of Democracy**

Bennett, Andrew, and George Shambaugh, eds. 2006. Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in American Foreign Policy. Dubuque, Iowa: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.



Annotation: This edited reader presents both pro and con viewpoints on multiple issues of U.S. foreign policy as it pertains to the “War on Terror” and human rights. The stated purpose of this book is to leave its reader well-informed and capable of making educated policy decisions. Post-September 11th, as the “rally-around-the-flag” effect wore off the American public, it became necessary to debate how global governance, promoting democracy abroad, the PATRIOT Act, and humanitarian intervention are enacted on both the international and national scene. With a special focus on the current Iraq war, this book strives to answer those questions.

Carothers, Thomas. 2003. “Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror.” *Foreign Affairs* 82 (1): 84-97.

Annotation: Carothers focuses on President George W. Bush’s approach to the promotion of democracy during the War on Terror. He concludes that Bush, as a realist, seeks warm ties with dictators who may help in the fight against al Qaeda, while Bush the neo-Reaganite proclaims that democracy is the only solution to terror.

Carothers, Thomas, and Paula J. Dobriansky. 2003. “Democracy Promotion.” *Foreign Affairs* 82 (3): 141-145.

Annotation: This piece offers a response to the article “Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror” by Thomas Carothers. Dobriansky argues that the Bush Administration has struck the right balance between security concerns, economic issues, and human rights imperatives in the War on Terror. The article includes a reply from Carothers.

Dalacoura, Katerina. 2005. “U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: A Critique.” *International Affairs* 81(5): 963.

Annotation: The author lays out a clear argument that she believes that United States’ promotion of democratic values in the Middle East is failing for three reasons. The first is the “War on Terror” has only served to limit civil liberties in these countries; secondly, it ignores issues of implementation of democracy; and finally the United States lacks the credibility to promote human rights as fundamental to democracy. Dalacoura argues that U.S. democracy initiatives in the Middle East are more strongly tied to U.S. security issues than human rights concerns. She critiques the three-tiered American approach and the impact of that tactic. This piece concludes with policy recommendations.

## Defining Terrorism

Falk, Richard. 2003. The Great Terror War. New York: Olive Branch Press.

Annotation: Falk criticizes the categorization of the “War on Terror” as a means of responding to current and preventing future terror attacks. The book outlines a comprehensive historical framework, and provides new insights into the entire range of issues that must be addressed if terrorism is to be eradicated. Falk judges the erosion of liberties at home and human rights in general as indirect victories for al Qaeda. He anticipates that the greatest cost of September 11th will be the damage done to the global normative order consisting of international law, limits on war making, the authority of the U.N., and the promotion of human rights.

Gross, Emanuel. 2006. The Struggle of Democracy against Terrorism. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

Annotation: The author defines terrorism as antithetical to human rights. The argument made in this book attempts to identify what the roots of terrorism are (especially as it is tied to Islam) and how democratic societies balance human rights and security. Written by a former Israeli Defense Force judge, the book seeks to compare Israeli and British responses to terrorism with those of the United States in terms of foreign policy. Gross theorizes that the “War on Terror” has reached the point that it is beginning to violate the foundation of its own democratic regime.

Habeck, Mary. 2006. Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Annotation: Approaching the issue from a new angle, Habeck questions what it is that makes *jihadists* what they are. This explanation of *jihadi* ideology begins with a history of the movement, an analysis of how Islam relates to al Qaeda, and how the West clashes with this culture because it does not understand it. Habeck explains that to the “terrorists,” *jihad* is a just war, and that they are fighting for what they perceive to be their basic human rights. The book concludes with a section explaining how *jihadi* theory and practice relate to the “War on Terror” and how the West should perceive this movement.

Hunter, Shireen T., and Huma Malik, eds. 2005. Islam and Human Rights: Advancing a U.S.-Muslim Dialogue. Vol. 27, *Significant Issues Series*. Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Annotation: This edited anthology addresses what human rights mean from an Islamic perspective and how the United States should understand those concepts. Individual sections

address Muslim perspectives on human rights issues such as universality versus relativity, and the difference between secular and religious rights. Overall, the pieces address how to move forward in Iraq and in the Middle East, while augmenting both interests and ideals for Muslim countries and the West. The collective conclusions are that Muslim ethical values harmonize with the Universal Declaration model of human rights, but that these values are not understood as such by the West.

Nguyen, Tram. 2005. *We Are All Suspects Now: Untold Stories from Immigrant Communities after 9/11*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Annotation: Explaining the United States government's apparent fear of so-called "clandestine transnational actors," the author highlights violations of civil liberties in the name of national security through the lens of personal narrative. With special focus on the post-September 11, 2001 roundup of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian men, the PATRIOT Act, and Operation Liberty Shield, the book focuses on violations of due process and other Constitutional rights which immigrants in the United States have been denied post-September 11, 2001.

### **United States' Foreign Policy**

Apodaca, Clair. 2006. *Understanding U.S. Human Rights Policy: A Paradoxical Legacy*. New York: Routledge.

Annotation: This book is both a theoretical and practical approach to the last 50 years of human rights policy, moving methodically through the last seven presidential administrations and reflecting on the foreign policy evolution in this field to explain how many current paradoxes have come into being. Using an idealist-realist continuum, the author demonstrates how foreign aid has been a tool used to accomplish the United States' goals. Focused on the interaction of the president, Congress, governmental bureaucracy and the American public, Apodaca claims that antiterrorism has replaced anticommunism in accounting for U.S. foreign policy.

Carafano, James Jay. 2006. "[More for Congressional Anti-Terror To-Do List](#)." The Heritage Foundation.

Annotation: This piece is a brief policy paper on the shortfalls of Congressional anti-terrorism policy. Carafano states in this article that there is too much focus on preparing to respond to terrorist attacks, and not enough energy expended on preventing them before they occur. Through the article, Carafano advocates for local, regional, and national information sharing and

data mining capabilities to help thwart homegrown terrorists. He concludes by saying that the benefits of good counterterrorism policy significantly outweigh civil liberties concerns.

Foot, Rosemary. 2004. [Human Rights and Counterterrorism in America's Asia Policy](#). New York: Oxford University Press.

Annotation: The author argues that there have been dramatic changes in United States' human rights policy as it pertains to Asian countries which Washington views as valuable in the anti-terrorist campaign – Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and China. Taking a before-and-after (September 11, 2001) approach, Foot argues that human rights no longer provides the moral basis for apportioning foreign aid, but that it is premature to say that the country has aligned itself with human rights abusers considered necessary to combat the “War on Terror.”

Gardiner, Nile, and James Jay Carafano. 2006. [The UN's Guantánamo Folly: Why the United Nations' Report is Not Credible](#). The Heritage Foundation.

Annotation: This article criticizes the United Nations report on the Guantánamo Bay detention center because it was commissioned by a group led by some of the worst human rights violators internationally. The authors insist that the United States should ignore the United Nations on matters of national security, that Guantánamo Bay is a better facility than where the prisoners would be kept in the field, and that long-term detention is justified by the need to keep these “enemy combatants” off the battlefield. The article concludes that until the United Nations gets tough on terrorism and human rights violators, the United States is not obligated to abide by the institution.

Gingrich, Newt. 2006. [“Lessons from the First Five Years of the War: Where Do We Go from Here?”](#) American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Annotation: Gingrich praises the progress that has been made in the “War on Terror,” but says that the threat posed by terrorists is very real and that there is still significant work to be done to protect the United States. He calls the “War on Terror” an emerging Third World War based on an anti-American coalition. To win this war, he states the first step should be winning the war on the home front through public opinion and the media. The article concludes with explicit instructions for how to effect change in the United States, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and North Korea to help make the world safe from terrorists.

Ignatieff, Michael. 2004. The Lesser of Two Evils: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Annotation: Ignatieff recommends a middle course between civil libertarianism and pragmatism that would judge counterterrorism measures solely by their effectiveness. He allows for emergency suspensions of civil liberties provided they are temporary, publicly justified, and employed as a last resort. Ultimately, he proposes providing oppressed groups with peaceful political means of redress as a successful alternative to terrorism. The book also looks extensively at terrorism in history.

Leaman, George. 2004. "Iraq, American Empire, and the War on Terrorism." *Metaphilosophy* 35 (3): 234-248.

Annotation: This piece argues that the U.S. Government is trying to secure American military and economic supremacy on a global scale over the long term, and that the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq is part of this imperial project. It examines these developments in the context of U.S. military spending and foreign policy since the end of the Cold War.

Ledeen, Michael A. 2002. *The War Against the Terror Masters: Why It Happened, Where We Are Now, How We'll Win*. New York: Truman Talley Books, St. Martin Press.

Annotation: This book gives an introduction to the history of terrorist movements. Ledeen reminds the reader that this is really an age-old battle of the American spirit against tyranny. The author analyzes the "War on Terror" through a lens of past, present, and future issues. Ledeen is adamant about the need to bring down the "terror masters," that is the state-sponsors of terrorism (Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Saudi Arabia) and the leaders and soldiers of the movement. The book concludes with recommendations for the future.

Morel, Lucas. 2002. The Choice for Peace. Ashbrook Center.

Annotation: Using a speech President George W. Bush gave at the Virginia Military Institute, this piece states that Bush is a mighty liberator who will be remembered in history with the likes of Washington and Lincoln. Using the argument that resolve is the most important attribute in the War on Terror, Morel claims that the press has ignored Bush's call for peace in favor of his statements that the War on Terror will be long and arduous. Thus Morel concludes that the only way to achieve human dignity is through fighting the good fight, in which he fully supports Bush.

Muravchik, Joshua. 2006. [Weakening Rights to Save Them](#). American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Annotation: Muravchik argues in this opinion piece that the ends absolutely justify the means when it comes to detainees and other counterterrorism policy in the twentieth century. He points to the victory of the United States over the Axis powers in World War II, and over the Soviet Union in the Cold War, as the two greatest achievements for human rights in the twentieth century. He strongly argues that human rights abuses in war will lead to better human rights protections internationally. The article concludes that the failure to win the “War on Terror” presents much greater risks for civil liberties and human rights than the current violations.

Nacos, Brigitte. 2006. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding Threats and Responses in the Post-9/11 World*. New York: Pearson Education.

Annotation: This book is solid primer on the definition, context, goals, and tactics of terrorism, this book also addresses the means of using anti- and counterterrorism to balance human rights, security, and liberty with this “War on Terror” (see especially part two, chapters 9-11). It also discusses ways to circumvent the traditional “War on Terror” through military and non-military responses, and prevention and preparedness. It is well-written and to be read as an introductory book for the reader who wants to know more about the “War on Terror” (outside the violations of human rights aspect).

Wilson, Richard Ashby, ed. 2005. [Human Rights in the “War on Terror.”](#) New York: Cambridge University Press.

Annotation: This is an edited collection based on the assumption that counterterrorism strategies must support human rights because they best uphold the democratic ideals for which the “War on Terror” is being fought. The pieces demonstrate why human rights and security can be reconciled in the future, and how this should be done. This includes analysis of the shrinking role of global governance, and the shift toward domestic abuses. There is also a significant focus on human rights as a cause of war versus a consequence. The development of and changing uses for international criminal and humanitarian law is critiqued in the above paradigm.

Yoo, John. 2006. *War by Other Means: An Insider's Account of the War on Terror*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Annotation: Through the eyes of a former Department of Justice lead counsel, this book demonstrates that the choices made by the Bush Administration after September 11, 2001 were right for a country at war. Yoo admits that the administration failed to properly share information about its campaign against terror with the public. To that end, he directly approaches the issues of the Geneva Conventions, the PATRIOT Act, wiretapping, Guantánamo Bay, interrogation tactics, and the military commissions in individual chapters. The ultimate conclusion Yoo draws is that a more informed public would agree with the tactics chosen by the administration.

### **International Law**

Bilder, Richard B., and Detlev F. Vagts. 2004. "Speaking Law to Power: Lawyers and Torture." *The American Journal of International Law* 98(4): 689-695.

Annotation: This is an editorial piece demanding a return to respect for international law on the domestic level, this piece reminds the U.S. Government that foreign policy should be bound by law regardless of politics. This article points out flaws in the memos written about the legal status of detainees, in addition to pointing to how the treaties in question ought to be applied. Bilder and Vagts demand that American lawyers step up to their own ethical standards, while reminding the country that the disrespect engendered internationally on this issue has hurt the objectives of the "War on Terror."

Falk, Richard. 2003. "What Future for the UN Charter System of War Prevention?" *The American Journal of International Law* 97 (3): 590-598.

Annotation: The United Nations, as the legal arbiter of human rights and war, must exercise its power in order to ensure its future as such. The U.S.'s attack on Afghanistan was justified in this forum, but the war in Iraq has left many questions unanswered. Falk asks if there is a right to pre-emptive strike. Will America's attack on Iraq be remembered as "illegal, but legitimate," as was the invasion of Kosovo? Falk concludes that the United States will be best served in the future by working within the U.N. Charter system because of its legal flexibility. Changing perceptions will be crucial for this process to succeed.

Greenwood, Christopher. 2005. "International Law and the 'War on Terrorism.'" In edited by J. Davis, The Global War on Terrorism: Assessing Americans Response. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Annotation: This article addresses how international law applies to the "War on Terrorism" by taking a broad cut at international law violations both by the September 11th hijackers and inherent in the response to that attack. Greenwood discusses three contexts: the attacks of September 11, the use of force in response to those attacks, and how international law applies to the continuing hostilities in Afghanistan. The article concludes that the attack was illegal and the response justified, but it was never justified on the scale to which it has risen.

Watkin, Kenneth. 2004. "Controlling the Use of Force: A Role for Human Rights Norms in Contemporary Armed Conflict." *The American Journal of International Law* 98 (1): 1-34.

Annotation: This article addresses ways to control the use of force by non-state actors through the combined use of normative regimes for international human rights law and international humanitarian law. Watkin assesses the legality of framing terrorism as armed conflict, issues of self-defense, and what the most appropriate state response to terrorism should be. Watkin argues that international law and internal criminal enforcement meet at the point where the conflict becomes war through discussion on America's "War on Terror." He concludes by saying that issues of accountability will have to be reconciled with domestic and international regulations of the use of force in order to protect humanity.



## Human Rights Challenges in Georgia

By Latife Bulur

Since the Rose Revolution of 2003, human rights problems in Georgia have been improving. Economically and socially, Georgia has been reaching milestones as it continues to improve different facets of the state. In contrast to past research, current writing on Georgia has become increasingly more positive. Many pieces written on Georgia tell of a growing and thriving country that has gone to great lengths to strengthen national pride and to gain positive global recognition.

Georgia has gained the attention of many foreign countries, such as Russia and the United States. Continuing a history of tense relations, Russia and Georgia are still unable to resolve their differences. Small skirmishes continue between these two countries as they had in the past, and hope for a resolution seems unlikely.

The relationship between Georgia and Russia extends back to the early 1600s, and has worsened since Georgia became an independent state in 1991. Much of the data found on Georgia's tumultuous history with Russia has already been addressed in the previous research done on Georgia. An understanding of the conflict between these two countries can help lay the groundwork for a better comprehension of Russia's and Georgia's current tensions.

The contemporary relationship between Russia and Georgia is tense and complicated. As Georgia began to transition into a more democratic state, a schism was forged between itself and Russia. Small conflicts continue to arise between the two countries, although the reasons for such conflicts are debated.

Some scholars believe that Russia grew bitter towards Georgia because of Georgia's interest in "joining the West," and in building strong relations with the United States. Also, Russia disapproved of Georgia joining NATO. Others believe that the tension arose out of the era of Putin and Shevardnadze. Previous research delves mainly into the effect these two men have had on Georgia in the past, and illustrates how tensions between the countries have developed from this history. Current research illustrates Russia's problems with Mikhail Saakashvili, the present day Georgian president, and his goals to modernize Georgia.

As a corollary to the past conflicts with Russia, Georgia has also suffered conflict closer to home. Various separatist groups have attempted to become an independent state, autonomous from Georgia. While the separatists' movement is no longer a major threat in Georgia, there is a good amount of literature that details this complex time in Georgia's history.

Since the Rose Revolution, however, Georgia has made positive internal developments. As discussed in past research, the Rose Revolution was a major turning point in Georgian history, removing a corrupt Shevardnadze from power and elevating Saakashvili as the new Georgian president. This non-violent revolution has positively changed the face of Georgian government and its view on national politics.

Since the changing of the regime, Georgia has made many advances towards developing economic stability and national security. Current research shows that Georgia has taken steps towards democratization and modernization. As Georgia builds more positive relationships with strong allies, such as the U.S., it continues to gain more global prestige and recognition. It is fitting

that past research highlights the Rose Revolution and that current research demonstrates the rewards of the successful revolution.

An examination of past research reveals that Georgia's future was once very uncertain, with the separatist movements and the Rose Revolution affecting internal politics. However, Georgia has since managed to suppress the separatists, and lay the foundation for a strong government. These optimistic developments promise a brighter future for Georgia, its democracy and its people.



### General Resources

Champion, M. 2007. "Georgia Thrives Despite Russian Cloud." *Wall Street Journal – Eastern Edition*. New York: A6.

Annotation: This brief article illustrates how Georgia has been developing economically, despite efforts by Russia to halt such progress. The author provides various examples of this growth, such as the new railway system between Turkey and Azerbaijan, and efforts to join NATO. However, it should be noted that Russia imposes embargos on trade and transportation between Russia and Georgia, supposedly in response to an espionage dispute. This article also mentions the President of Georgia's (Mikhail Saakashvili) actions taken to improve economic affairs.

Dubnov, A. 2006. "EU Sticks Up for Georgia." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 58 (42): 18.

Annotation: This short article reports on the E.U.'s involvement in relations between Russia and Georgia. The E.U. is siding with Georgia, and condemns Russia for its harsh policies regarding economic, political, and humanitarian issues. This article also mentions how the E.U. strongly encourages both states to settle their current situation before the issues escalate.

Dvali, G. and G. Sysoyev. 2002. "Georgia Won't Let Itself be Bombed Again." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 54 (35): 3-4.

Annotation: This article reviews the relationship between Russia and Georgia, evaluating how it has become strained in light of past experiences. Former Georgian Minister Eduard Shevardnadze accused Russia of the bombing of Georgian villages, while Russian officials deny having any involvement in the bombings. Shevardnadze warned Russia that Georgia would retaliate should another similar incident transpire.

Mitchell, L. A. 2006. "Democracy in Georgia Since the Rose Revolution." *Orbis*: 669-676.

Annotation: This optimistic article examines the positive relationship that has been forged between the U.S. and Georgia. Georgia's democracy-promotion efforts have been successful, and the U.S. has continued to show unconditional support for the Georgian government. On the other hand, the U.S. shows disinterest in pointing out Georgia's democratization shortcomings, which some claim is politically motivated. This author believes that the U.S. is truly sincere in keeping a positive approach with Georgia, not only to promote friendly foreign relations, but to actually promote worldwide democracy.

Nixey, J. 2006. "Feeling the Heat: Georgia Nation and Russian Relations." *The World Today* 62 (12): 21-22.

Annotation: This short article reports on the current relations between Georgia and Russia. The author believes that much of the tension between these two countries is due to Georgia's desire to build relations with the U.S. and to move toward democratization.

Weir, F. 2006. "Putin Pinched by Russia-Georgia Crisis." *Christian Science Monitor* 98 (227): 2.

Annotation: This article reviews Russia's opinions on the Saakashvili government in Georgia. Russian experts are accusing Saakashvili of aggravating relations with Russia all in the attempts of adopting Western ideals and support. There is mention that both countries worry about the outbreak of war. This is because experts speculate that both sides will not back down and the E.U. will not be able to push harder than it already has for a resolution. Georgia hopes that the E.U. will be able to convince Russia to stop trying to intimidate Georgia.

Chocheli, V. and V. Papava 2005. "Global Exchange Rate Instability and Its Implications for Georgia." *Problems of Economic Transition* 48 (4): 55-83.

Annotation: The authors of this piece focus on how monetary policy in Georgia has been transformed since the post-communist era. The authors look closely at the impact of inflation on economic growth. Issues such as Georgia's underdeveloped monetary system are reviewed and the authors make the claim that Georgia's biggest concerns should not be external factors, but rather internal economic instability.

Coppieters, B. and R. Legvold. 2005. Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Annotation: The authors of this book examine the challenges Georgia has faced since the success of the Rose Revolution. Under President Saakashvili, many of Georgia's problems are being confronted, but the authors argue that issues in Georgia need to be taken seriously by the rest of the world as well. This book also illustrates the complex relationship Georgia has with Russia. Chapters in this book are written by Georgian and non-Georgian writers, providing an interesting and wide-range of different points of views and topics.

Fairbanks Jr, C. H. 2004. "Georgia's Rose Revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (2): 110-124.

Annotation: In this dense article, the author discusses the complex issues Georgia faces in developing its democracy. The author begins by discussing how Georgia gained its independence. After that monumental event, the Rose Revolution followed in Georgia's history, shoving the country quickly into modernization. The author states that Georgia's example of a peaceful and powerful revolution can inspire other troublesome states aspiring for democracy.

Freese, T. 2005. "A Report from the Field: Georgia's War against Contraband and Its Struggle for Territorial Integrity." *S AIS Review* 25 (1): 107-121.

Annotation: The author of this piece explores how Georgia, led by President Saakashvili, wishes to maintain its territorial integrity despite Russian influence. A major problem for Georgia is the passing of contraband through the region and the black market trading occurring there. The author examines various tactics employed by Georgian officials to end the illegal trade. While attempts are somewhat successful, the author also explains a few remaining anti-contraband problems faced by the Georgian government.

Khaduri, N. 2005. "Mistakes Made in Conducting Economic Reforms in Postcommunist Georgia." *Problems of Economic Transition* 48 (4): 18-29.

Annotation: The author portrays what he believes are good economic reforms to make in a growing government. After mentioning those reforms, he compares them to the policies made by the Georgian government shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union. The author criticizes Georgia, and claims that it has yet to gain any positive experience in reforming economically. This piece is somewhat informative on Georgia's economic politics. However, the author clearly takes an anti-Georgian policy approach.

Kwok, J. 2005. "Red Blues: Strife in Post-Soviet Georgia." *Harvard International Review*: 11-12.

Annotation: This short but powerful article explains the state of Georgia after former President Shevardnadze was removed from power. Current President Saakashvili has much to do to repair Georgia, but substantial foreign aid is required, in addition to a balance of political pressure and cultural compromise. Even with the remnants of a separatist movement in the early 1990s still affecting the current policies, Georgia shows promise for reform. The author hopes that Saakashvili will strengthen domestic policies and encourage economic growth.

Papava, V. 2005. "Georgia's Economic Role." *Problems of Economic Transition* 48 (4): 84-92.

Annotation: The author of this piece takes an economic approach to how the Caucasus region developed independently from Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union. Russia, in its weakened state, lost much power over the Caucasus states, including Georgia. Many countries in that region began to develop methods for improving their economies and for becoming self-sufficient. This author suggests ways in which the countries of the Caucasus, along with Georgia, can develop their economies using the natural resources available in the region, such as gas and oil.

Papava, V. 2006. "The Political Economy of Georgia's Rose Revolution." *Orbis* 50 (4): 657-667.

Annotation: This author examines the impact of the Rose Revolution on Georgia. The revolution proved to be a turning point for the country, successfully boosting the country's economy and establishing valuable relationships with foreign institutions such as NATO. Georgia is nationally growing stronger, but by doing so, it has also forged a further rift between itself and Russia. This author recommends that Georgia refine its policies to better protect its democracy against Russia and to further its economic development.

Rogers, P., R. Keukens, et al. 2006. "Reforming the Delivery of Forensic Mental Health and Prison Mental Health in the Republic of Georgia." *Mental Health Practice* 9 (5): 38-40.

Annotation: The authors of this piece are concerned with the human rights violations that have occurred since Georgia attained independence. Regardless of improving conditions in the region, there are still issues of corruption and torture in psychiatric services in Georgia. After findings were discovered that assessed the full scale of this problem, the Georgian government has taken action to investigate the matter further. This article explores the facets of the process, from the initial discovery of the human rights violations, to the government's actions to counter such violations.

Saakashvili, M. 2006. "The Way Forward: Georgia's Democratic Vision for the Future." *Harvard International Review*: 68-73.

Annotation: This piece is written by current Georgian President, Mikhail Saakashvili. In this article, the President tells of ways he plans on reforming the Georgian state, and points to the problems the country faces as improvements are made. He writes of how the government is attempting to stop the corruption left over from the separatist movement, how he wishes to reform the education system, and other ways he hopes to build a stronger democratic Georgia. In doing so, Saakashvili wants Georgia to gain global prestige and national strength.

## **Sudan: A Survey of Terrorism and Human Rights**

By Arika Long

“The politics of fear are fueling a downward spiral of human rights abuses in which no right is sacrosanct and no person safe” (Secretary General Irene Khan, Amnesty International).

### **Introduction**

Sudan is a primary example of a country dominated by terror and human rights violations. Upon the release of Amnesty International’s 2007 annual report, Secretary General Khan described the continuing conflict in Sudan’s Darfur region as a “bleeding wound on the world’s conscience.” In the report, the authors declare that the world has been “impotent” in the face of major crises like Darfur. They state that policies linked to the “War on Terror” are creating a more polarized and dangerous world, with grave effects in Sudan. In addition to the terror and human rights violations permeating the North, frustration also exists over the elusive dividends of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in war-decimated Southern Sudan.

International donors, the U.N., and the government of Southern Sudan struggle to provide the resources necessary for investment in essential post-humanitarian and pre-development support, in addition to services for the estimated hundreds of thousands of people returning to the South. While the government of Sudan, the Sudanese people, and the international community have a once-in-a-generation opportunity to establish a basis for a stable society in southern Sudan, without a sufficient infrastructure, the South faces an imminent health crisis and the possibility of a broader humanitarian crisis.

### **Darfur**

In February of 2003, two guerrilla groups—the Sudanese Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement—took up arms in Darfur against the government of Sudan. In late 2004, cease-fire monitoring troops from the African Union entered the region in an attempt to stabilize the situation. In January 2005, the final North/South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed, which granted the southern rebels autonomy for six years. In late 2006, peacekeeping troops struggled to stabilize the situation, which has become increasingly regional in scope, and has brought instability to eastern Chad and Sudanese incursions into the Central African Republic (CAR). In 2004, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution labeling the events in Darfur as “genocide.” According to the United Nations, more than 200,000 people have died in Darfur and more than two million have been displaced. The crisis is currently the worst humanitarian disaster in the world.

### **Peace Process**

Although a peace process is technically under way in Sudan, peace negotiations have repeatedly foundered over issues of self-determination for the South, and particularly over the application of

Sharia (Islamic law) in the predominately Christian southern population. The government of Sudan has also hesitated to allow aid into the country from the United Nations. Thus far in the peace process, the Sudanese Government has failed to disarm the *Janjaweed* militia, which attacks civilians in Sudan and in eastern Chad. As a result, civilians continue to face violence, and are inadequately protected by their government. Most notably, conflict continues in the Darfur region of Sudan, despite the Darfur Peace Agreement. Tens of thousands of Darfuris who have escaped the killing, rape, and pillage, live in refugee camps in CAR and Chad, and are unable to return to their villages. According to Amnesty International's 2007 report, at least 200,000 people died and 2.5 million were internally displaced by the end of 2006.

In May of 2007, the semiautonomous government of Southern Sudan, which emerged after the 2005 peace agreement, set up a task force to bring Darfur rebel groups to southern Sudan for peace talks. Its secretary, Achier Deng Akol, said it might take until July of 2007 to convince the rebel groups to meet. In addition, the United Nations Security Council endorsed a resolution to extend by six months the 10,000-member United Nations mission that would help enforce the 2005 peace accord.

## **Terrorism**

Sudan has a long history of protecting terrorists and condoning their actions. In March of 1973, Palestinian terrorists murdered the American ambassador to Sudan. In the early to mid-1990s, Khartoum was home to several well-known international terrorists, including Abu Nidal and Osama bin Laden. Additionally, the Sudanese government was accused in 1995 of complicity in the attempted assassination of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa. In 1993 the United States designated Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism because of the National Islamic Front's reported links with international terrorist networks. American sanctions were put in place against Sudan in 1997 and the last American ambassador was removed in 1998. In 1998 the United States launched missiles at an alleged chemical munitions factory in Khartoum in response to terrorist attacks in East Africa. Sudan has been accused of providing training facilities for various terrorist organizations. Since 2000, Sudan has officially reversed its policies and begun to cooperate with international counterterrorism efforts.

Potentially facing a military threat by the United States following September 11th, because of its relationship to terrorist groups and Al Qaeda especially, Sudan opened talks with the U.S. on counter-terrorism efforts for the first time. Since Sudan began to provide intelligence to the U.S. on Al Qaeda, a rapprochement agreement occurred between Sudan and the U.S. In May 2004, Sudan was removed from the U.S. list of countries deemed as uncooperative in the war against terrorist networks. While the decision was made to remove Sudan from this list it should be noted that this action does not remove Sudan from the State Department's list of terrorist sponsors. Sudan has taken steps to cut off ties with external terrorist networks; according to the U.S. State Department, Sudan has arrested some thirty suspected terrorists.

Although Sudan is making efforts to help the U.S. fight the "War on Terror," within its own borders a dictatorship is waging war on its own citizens, making a strong alliance in the war against terror with the United States difficult. Although Sudan has helped search for Al Qaeda operatives,



many academics, journalists, and advocates argue that the civil unrest and terror campaigns carried out on Sudan's own citizens are leading to instability that could, in fact, have grave impacts for citizens of other states. Sudan's inability to quell the ongoing conflict and escalating terrorism within its own borders has caused destruction in the North, and has halted humanitarian progress in the South, resulting in massive human rights violations and deeper political destabilization. Still, Sudan is a party to all twelve international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism.

## Human Rights

The Government of Sudan has placed significant restrictions on its citizens' freedoms of assembly, speech, religious practice, and political association. Personal rights are often disrespected, especially with regard to women. The judicial system is not independent, but is subject to government interference. Conditions in prisons are harsh, and long sentences are common. Security forces, including the police, routinely disregard basic human rights.

Sudan continues to be a source country for the trafficking of men, women, and children trafficked for forced labor and sexual exploitation. Reportedly, boys are trafficked to the Middle East, particularly to Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, for use as camel jockeys. A small number of girls are trafficked within Sudan for domestic servitude, as well as for commercial sexual exploitation in small brothels in internally displaced persons camps. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) of Uganda continues to abduct and to forcibly conscript small numbers of children, most notably in Southern Sudan, for use as cooks, porters, and combatants; some of these children are then trafficked across borders into Uganda or possibly the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Furthermore, children have been used by rebel groups and the Sudanese Armed Forces and associated militias in the conflict in Darfur.

During the decades of civil war, thousands of Dinka women and children were enslaved by members of Baggara tribes, and were subjected to various forms of forced labor without remuneration. This exploitation occurred in addition to extensive physical and sexual abuse. Following the cessation of the North-South conflict, there were no known new abductions of Dinka by Baggara tribes. However, inter-tribal abductions of a different nature continue in Southern Sudan, and constitute cases that warrant further investigation. According to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's World Fact Book, Sudan does not fully comply with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, and is not making significant efforts to do so.

In May of 2007, judges at the International Criminal Court in The Hague issued arrest warrants for two Sudanese citizens, Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a former security official accused of playing a role in planning atrocities, and Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also known as Ali Kushayb, accused of being a former leader of the *Janjaweed* militia in Darfur. The arrest warrants represent the Court's most concrete steps to address the atrocities that have occurred in Darfur. In issuing the warrants, the judges said there were reasonable grounds to conclude that the two suspects were "criminally responsible" for torture, mass rape and the forced displacement of entire villages in western Darfur in 2003 and 2004. It is up to Sudan to arrest the men, but the Sudanese government has asserted that the court has no jurisdiction. Sudan's president has repeatedly insisted that any necessary trials can be handled within the country.

Interestingly, Mr. Harun appeared at a 2007 human rights conference in Egypt in his new capacity as Sudan's Minister for Humanitarian Affairs. He also oversees Darfur's large refugee camps, where international aid agencies have complained he is hindering their access to the needy. Mr. Kushayb, who the Khartoum government said was under arrest pending its own investigation, has been seen traveling under police protection in the Darfur region.

The following references comprise a survey of information available about terrorism and human rights issues in Sudan. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but is meant to provide the reader with a representative sample of information in the field. The citations are organized by topic. The plethora of entries about Darfur is a reflection of the international community's focus on this area.



### **Background to the Conflict and Broad Analysis**

Akol, J. 2005. "Did Britain divide Sudan?" *New African* (441): 66-66.

Annotation: The author asserts that the British-initiated system of divide and rule in Sudan is misguided. He provides a historical account showing that the north and south regions of Sudan were never united any time before the British arrived, and describes the constant state of war between the regions prior to the arrival of the British. He offers a lengthy account of the implications on Sudanese history.

Central Intelligence Agency. 2006. "[CIA: The World Factbook: Sudan.](#)" CIA World Fact Book.

Annotation: This webpage is an encyclopedia entry for Sudan.

Dagne, T. 2006. "Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy." *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, U.S. Library of Congress.

Annotation: The author of this Congressional Research Brief provides an account of recent events in Sudan (as of April 2006). Background and historical information about the conflict, a description of current issues, and information and analysis regarding the crisis in Darfur, are also included. The humanitarian situation in Northern Sudan, the U.S.'s response, the humanitarian crisis in Southern Sudan, and terrorism in Sudan are summarized as well.

De Waal, A. 2007. "The Wars of Sudan." *Nation* 284 (11): 16-20.

Annotation: The author describes the history of violence that has plagued Sudan since the country gained independence in 1956, including its two civil wars and the current crisis in Darfur. The author offers a history of the conflicts, and highlights details related to the role of dissident Islamic factions in the violence in Darfur.

Fadl, Y. and R. G. Hasan. 2002. Religion and Conflict in Sudan. Nairobi: Paulines Productions Africa.

Annotation: In this collection of conference papers, the authors analyze the influence of religion, modernity, and globalization on conflict in Sudan.

IRIN. 2007. "[Republic of the Sudan Humanitarian Country Profile](#)."

Annotation: This website includes basic information about Sudan from a humanitarian perspective. It is updated regularly with links to news and analysis about the humanitarian crises in Sudan.

Johnson, D. 2003. The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Annotation: The author of this book focuses on the differences between Sudan's two civil wars, and highlights the minor conflicts generated by and contained within the larger wars. He examines historical, political, economic, and social factors that influenced Sudan's civil wars and considers humanitarian aid, oil revenue, and terrorist organizations as underlying issues that have exacerbated the violence.

Meyer, G. 2005. War and Faith in Sudan. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Annotation: The author offers a personal narrative of his life among the Nuba people. Meyer lived in a number of Nuba villages and traveled the countryside with them, seeing first-hand the effects of the vicious warfare that the government in Khartoum waged against these people. Senior Sudan scholar, Frances M. Deng, contributes a forward to the book.

Warburg, G. 2005. "The Wingate Literature Revisited: The Sudan As Seen by Members of the Sudan Political Service during the Condominium: 1899-1956." *Middle Eastern Studies* 41 (3): 373-389.

Annotation: The author examines documents from the Wingate administration, and perspectives of the members of the Sudan Political Service (SPS) regarding benefits derived by the Sudanese from British administration under Governor-General Sir Reginald Wingate. He highlights contentions of General Horatio H. Kitchener and colonial administrators that the country required efficient British administration, with little Egyptian interference, despite the signing of the Condominium agreements. He describes animosities in Egyptian-Sudanese relations, as well as Egyptian interference in local politics. The author offers insights about the future political stability of Sudan based on the SPS. He also details the government's Southern Policy and the programs implemented on the non-Muslim Africans in southern Sudan.

Warburg, G. R. 2007. "The Search for the Sources of the White Nile and Egyptian-Sudanese Relations." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (3): 475-486.

Annotation: In this article, the author argues it is the Nile Valley that unites Sudan and Egypt diplomatically.

Williams, P. 2006. "Military Responses to Mass Killing: The African Union Mission in Sudan." *International Peacekeeping* 13 (2): 168-183.

Annotation: The author provides an overview of the military options available to the international community in response to instances of mass killing, and focuses on the military response to the Darfur Crisis. The author highlights the role of the African Union's Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and analyzes AMIS's international legitimacy, its effectiveness in achieving its mandate, and its ability to foster lasting peace in Darfur.

Woodward, P. 2006. US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Annotation: The author examines the relationship between U.S. perceptions of Islamism in Sudan and Somalia and argues that the U.S. has pursued the containment of Sudan and Somalia. He describes the effects of the Eritrean-Ethiopian war, as well as other conflicts, on U.S. policy and posture in the region.

**Darfur**

2006. "CHAD: Janjaweed Attacks Claim." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (5): 16650-16651.

Annotation: The article reports on attacks by Sudanese Janjaweed militias and local Chadian recruits in villages in Chad. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), more than a hundred civilians were massacred in the cluster of villages west of the Sudan border on April 12 and 13, 2006.

2006. "Sudanese Smoke Screen." *America* 195 (2): 4.

Annotation: This short article is a critique of the creation of a special criminal court by the Sudanese government to investigate crimes in Darfur. The focus of the critique is the Government of Sudan's alleged failure to give justice to the victims of rape and murder.

2007. "Sudan: 'We're all Africans, we're all black', says President Bashir." *New African* (461): 33-33.

Annotation: The article is a presentation of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's views on the conflict in Darfur, Sudan. Al-Bashir denies the 2006 U.S. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices," which reported continued genocide in the region. He blames both the U.S. and British governments in exaggerating the crisis. Al-Bashir argues the cause of the problem is the rebellion in the region. He also emphasizes his decision to oppose the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers to the region.

Cockburn, A. 2006. "Gaza and Darfur." *Nation* 283 (21): 13-13.

Annotation: The author argues that a focus on Darfur takes attention away from the ongoing attack of Palestinians in the Gaza strip. According to the author, Darfur is a crisis that Americans can feel good about condemning, as it has no real connection to the U.S.

Faris, S. 2007. "The Real Roots of Darfur." *Atlantic Monthly* 299 (3): 67-69.

Annotation: The author discusses how global warming, and not ethnic hatred, may have contributed to the crisis in Darfur. The author suggests that global climate changes led to fighting between settled farmers and nomadic herders over failing lands.

Grono, N. 2006. "Briefing on Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect." *African Affairs* 105 (421): 621-631.

Annotation: The author directs the concept of the doctrine "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) on conflicts of large-scale atrocities, particularly Darfur.

Hagan, J., W. Raymond-Richmond, *et. al.* 2005. "The Criminology of Genocide: the Death and Rape of Darfur." *Criminology* 43 (3): 525-562.

Annotation: Using victimization survey data collected from Darfuri survivors living in refugee camps in Chad, and drawing on conflict theory, the authors present evidence that the Sudanese government has directly supported violent killings and rapes in a lethally destructive exercise of power and control. The data include explicit evidence of the central mediating role played by racism in the attacks. According to the authors, there is little or no evidence from the surveys to support the claim of the Sudanese government that the attacks have been aimed at rebel groups as a counter-insurgency strategy. By the authors' analysis, the Sudanese government claims are not credible as self-defense arguments, but rather exemplify the exercise of power and control through denial. The authors consider additional forms of denial, including the slowness of modern American criminology to advance the study of genocide.

Hanson, S. 2007. "[Crisis Guide on Darfur](#)."

Annotation: This Council on Foreign Relations website provides information on the tragedy in Sudan's Darfur region. Seven photojournalists introduce the site's content through a multimedia essay. The site depicts human, political, military, and historical realities in the region, and provides links to deeper resources from the Council's think tank and other organizations around the world.

Hegland, C. 2007. "Sudan Sanctions Loom." *National Journal* 39 (12): 58-59.

Annotation: The author discusses the plans of the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush to levy sanctions against several Sudanese leaders for their failure and obstinate refusal to curb the violence in Darfur. The author describes events in April, 2006, when the United Nations Security Council targeted four midlevel Sudanese leaders by freezing their assets and banning their travel, a move designed to pressure both the Sudanese government-backed militias and the rebel leaders into protecting civilians in the Darfur region.

Piiparinen, T. 2007. "Reconsidering the Silence over the Ultimate Crime: A Functional Shift in Crisis Management from the Rwandan Genocide to Darfur." *Journal of Genocide Research* 9 (1): 71-91.

Annotation: The author offers a comparison of genocide in Darfur in 2004 and Rwanda in 1994. He analyzes what has stayed the same, what approaches have been made, and what could still be ameliorated by acknowledging and condemning the genocides.

## Peace Process

2005. "Lengthening the Arm of Global Law." *Economist* 375 (8421): 38-38.

Annotation: This short article is focused on the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague. It describes three ways the ICC can launch an investigation into a sealed list of 51 suspected war criminals, drawn up by the commission and said to include the names of Sudanese officials, members of state-sponsored militias and Darfuri rebels, given to Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the ICC's chief prosecutor in 2005.

2006. "Text of the Communication of the African Union Peace and Security Council, 46th Meeting, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, MARCH 10th, 2006." *International Peacekeeping* 13 (4): 601-605.

Annotation: This is a transcript of the communication of the African Union Peace and Security Council's meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on March 10, 2006. At the meeting, the council adopted a number of resolutions about the situation in Darfur, Sudan. The council set a number of deadlines for the Sudanese government and parties concerned in the conflict to come to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The council also requested that the Sudanese government comply with a number of previous treaties and agreements.

2007. "Ending Sudan's impunity." *Economist* 382 (8518): 53-54.

Annotation: The article is a description of the International Criminal Court's (ICC) prosecution of two people suspected of atrocities in Darfur. The ICC chief prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, has asked that the court issue summons for two men: Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a former junior interior minister and now minister for humanitarian affairs; and Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also known as Ali Kushayb. The article includes details of the cases, the death toll of the fighting in Darfur, and a description of the conflict's root causes.

Feinstein, L. 2007. "Darfur and Beyond: What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities," Council on Foreign Relations.

Annotation: In this report, Council on Foreign Relations Senior Fellow Lee Feinstein points to the U.N.'s acceptance that sovereignty may need to be compromised when a government is unable or unwilling to provide for the basic needs of those within its state borders. He argues that the challenge for the United States and the international community is to translate this principle into practice. To that end, this report recommends that the new U.N. Secretary-General take genocide prevention as a mission statement and mandate, and place it at the center of his and his organization's agenda. He also makes a number of recommendations for the United States and others to build a sustainable capacity for genocide prevention that is substantial enough to deal with inevitable crises, but sustainable given other national security demands. Feinstein makes a strong case that this is workable—if the international community is prepared to do it.

Heyder, C. 2006. "The U.N. Security Council's Referral of the Crimes in Darfur to the International Criminal Court in Light of U.S. Opposition to the Court: Implications for the International Criminal Court's Functions and Status." *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 24 (2): 650-671.

Annotation: The author analyzes the abstention of the U.S. from the decision of the United Nations Security Council to refer the conflict in Darfur, Sudan to the International Criminal Court (ICC). According to the author, the U.S.'s abstention enables the ICC to exercise criminal jurisdiction. The author also describes the political debate over the content of Security Council Resolution 1593 and examines whether the referral of the Security Council actually mandated the Court with full authority to investigate and prosecute the crimes committed in Darfur.

Kagwanja, P. and P. Mutahi. 2007. "Protection of Civilians in African Peace Missions: the Case of the African Union Mission in Sudan, Darfur." Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: The authors examine the problems of civilian protection created by the war in Darfur, focusing on the role of AMIS and the challenges it has encountered in protecting civilians in Darfur. They examine the challenges that have faced the proposed U.N. force, and the prospects of a hybrid force involving the African Union (A.U.) and U.N. They also explore the role of external players such as the European Union (E.U.), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Arab League and China in resolving the Darfur crisis. The authors argue for the strengthening of the A.U. force in the context of U.N. support, and for the fast tracking of the peace process within Darfur between Khartoum and the Darfur rebels. They also draw attention to the need for dialogue between Khartoum and its neighbors to ensure that the region does not become another haven for extremism and terrorism.



Steidle, B. 2005. "Ceasefire, Sudan Style." *World Policy Journal* 22 (1): 1-8.

Annotation: The author presents a photographic essay on Sudan's Darfur region.

Udombana, N.J. 2007. "Still Playing Dice with Lives: Darfur and Security Council Resolution 1706." *Third World Quarterly* 28 (1): 97-116.

Annotation: The author examines the recent Security Council Resolution 1706 authorizing U.N. peacekeeping in Sudan, in the context of the deteriorating humanitarian crisis in Darfur. He assesses the African Union Mission in Sudan and elaborates on the reasons for its current fatigue and failure. In addition, the author analyzes the proposed mandate of the U.N. force, the organizing principles and rules of engagement and, sadly, the politics that continue to derail efforts at ending the genocide. The author urges the global community, and in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to unite in an effort to compel the government of Sudan to accept U.N. deployment in order to save the dying and end the tragedy in Darfur.

[United Nations Statute of the Court](#). International Court of Justice, United Nations.

Annotation: The Statute of the International Court of Justice is a primary legal source underlying the international foreign policy debate about Sudan.

Young, J. 2007. "[Sudan People's Liberation Army: Disarmament in Jonglei and Its Implications](#)," Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: Using the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of January 9th, 2005, and the Juba Declaration of January 8th, 2006, the author analyzes the disarmament campaign of the Lou Nuer of Jonglei State based on research carried out in Juba and Malakal and a week-long stay at the United Nations Mission in Sudan camp in Motot in late August 2006. The camp was the center of the Jonglei disarmament and of the resistance to the campaign. The author includes some analysis drawn from investigations conducted in February of 2006 of a parallel but largely peaceful disarmament campaign carried out in the eastern Upper Nile, among the Jikan Nuer.

## **Terrorism**

Bailey, C. F. 2006. "The Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror." *Military Review* 86 (1): 121-121.

Annotation: The authors offer a review of the book [The Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror](#), translated by Shaul Shay and Rachel Liberman.

O'Ballance, E. 2000. Sudan, Civil War, and Terrorism, 1956-1999. New York: MacMillan Press.

Annotation: In this book, the author describes Sudan's civil wars and the country's involvement in terrorism in the mid 1990s.

Petterson, D. 2003. *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict, and Catastrophe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Annotation: The author, the last American ambassador to complete an assignment in Sudan, offers insight into events that occurred between 1998 and 2003. He describes Americans' experiences in Khartoum after the U.S. government put Sudan on the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Petterson considers Sudan's connections to international terrorists while assessing changes in the relationship between Sudan and the United States after 9/11. He also includes appropriate background information about Sudan.

Institute for Security Studies, 2007. "[Terrorism](#)."

Annotation: This Institute website provides information on on-going initiatives and measures to prevent and combat terrorism in Africa, as well as its effects on the people. The site offers extensive analysis and links to key legislative documents related to terrorism in Africa, such as the "Compendium on International and Regional Legal Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism." The site also provides a calendar, proceedings, and other documents from significant meetings about terrorism in Africa.

## **A Survey of Terrorism and Human Rights in Uganda**

By Arika Long

Tragically, Uganda is a primary example of a country dominated by terror and human rights violations. In a 2006 interview with Integrated Regional Information Networks IRIN, the news department of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Egeland, called the conflict in Uganda “the worst form of terrorism in the world.” Defining terrorism as indiscriminate violence against civilians, he declares that nowhere in the world is there a more concentrated area where so many people are being terrorized, and have been for such a long period of time. According to UNOCHA, the conflict in northern Uganda has forced some 1.7 million people—close to 90 percent of the region’s population—to leave their homes for the relative safety of about 200 camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) scattered around the region.

### **Background to the Conflict**

Uganda gained independence from Great Britain on October 9, 1962, after almost 70 years of colonial rule. Several decades of political unrest and widespread violence followed, notably under President Milton Obote in the 1960s and again in the 1980s. Amnesty International estimated that in 1985, Obote’s administration was responsible for over 300,000 civilian deaths. In 1971, Idi Amin ousted Obote in a military coup, ushering in one of the most brutal chapters in Uganda’s history. Amin viciously quashed all opposition to his regime, often beheading suspected insurgents. He killed as many as 300,000 civilians during his eight years as president. In 1972, he expelled Uganda’s entire Asian population, giving them three days to leave the country—a move that wreaked havoc on the country’s economy. In 1978, Amin attempted to invade Tanzania to claim its Kagera region for Uganda. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere retaliated, and, with the help of exiled Ugandan opposition members, deposed Amin, who fled to Saudi Arabia where he died in 2003. In 1981, current President Yoweri Museveni launched a five-year guerrilla war against then-leader Okello Lutwa. He succeeded and was first elected democratically in 1996 following the formation of a new constitution; he was re-elected in 2001 and (to a controversial third term) in 2006.

### **The Lord’s Resistance Army**

Since 1987, northern Uganda has been the scene of violent conflict between the rebel Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and government troops. The LRA’s leader, self-proclaimed mystic Joseph Kony, claims to be fighting to replace Museveni’s government with one based on the Bible’s Ten Commandments. In 1994, the LRA extended its war to the civilian population in northern and eastern Uganda, terrorizing the people and decimating humanitarian conditions in the affected areas. The LRA insurgency also extends into north-eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as Sudan, where it has established headquarters, bases, and support from the Sudanese government.

It is important to note that the LRA war against the Ugandan government can be seen as a proxy war by the government of Sudan to perpetuate insecurity in northern Uganda; the government of Uganda can also be observed as reciprocating by supporting the Sudan People's Liberation Army war against the government of Sudan. The LRA is known for its brutality, routinely maiming and killing civilians, and abducting children for use as child soldiers, sex slaves and domestic workers.

### **Peace Process**

In 2006, the government of Southern Sudan began mediating peace talks in Juba between the government of Uganda and the LRA. Four previous attempts at negotiation were unsuccessful, most likely because they were held in Uganda. Between July 2006 and January 2007, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CHA) was signed and violated, both parties walked out of the negotiations, two addenda were signed, civilians were killed in LRA-style ambushes in southern Sudan—later suspected to have been committed by others—the discussions reached a stalemate over the mediator and venue of the peace talks. The LRA, in particular, is highly suspicious of hidden agendas in the talks.

### **Terrorism**

In 2002, Uganda passed anti-terrorism legislation to protect the country's national security and to ensure that Uganda meets its international obligations with respect to counter-terrorism. After September 11, 2001, President Museveni's government designated the LRA as a terrorist organization in response to the organization's designation on the U.S. Terrorist Exclusion List. As a result, the LRA faces indictments from the International Criminal Court, and the United Nations Security Council has noted the LRA as a threat to Uganda's stability.

Additionally, the LRA has abducted more than 25,000 children since 1986. In conflict-affected districts such as Gulu and Kitgum, around 40,000 unaccompanied children, known as "night commuters," walk from their homes in outlying villages to urban centers every night in search of protection from the LRA.

### **Human Rights**

Uganda is dominated by accounts of torture and human rights abuses, including the extensive use of child soldiers. While the Uganda Human Rights Commission was established in the mid-1990s to promote and protect human rights, according to multiple human rights organizations claim Uganda is dominated by accounts of torture and human rights abuses.

As mentioned above, the conflict has produced large populations of displaced persons—both internally and externally. These people are almost entirely dependent upon humanitarian support for their survival. In addition, by December 2005, Uganda was host to more than 140,000 refugees, mainly from Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC. With the help of the Ugandan Government, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and other partners, refugees are being housed in over 60 communities around the country.



The following references constitute a survey of information available about the conflict, the peace process, terrorism and human rights in Uganda. This list is by no means exhaustive, but is meant to provide the reader with a representative sample of information in the field. The citations are organized first by topic and then by author. The plethora of entries about the peace process is a reflection of the international community's focus on this topic.

### **Background to the Conflict and General Information**

2006. "Tea with the Messiah." *New Statesman* 135 (4810): 30-32.

Annotation: The author describes her experience of interviewing Yoweri Museveni, the leader of Uganda. Once considered an African leader of a new type, more concerned with his country than with his own power, Museveni had become, by 2006, a more typical African head of state.

Caruso, N. 2006. "Refuge from the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda: A Report from a *Medecins Sans Frontieres* Team Leader." *Emergency Medicine Australasia* 18 (3): 295-298.

Annotation: In 2005, the author worked for *Medecins Sans Frontieres* (MSF, or Doctors without Borders) in northern Uganda. His short report shares some background information on MSF, the situation in northern Uganda as a consequence of the activities of the LRA, the work of the MSF project, and his personal experience there.

Eriksen, S.S. 2005. "The Congo War and the Prospects for State Formation: Rwanda and Uganda Compared." *Third World Quarterly* 26 (7): 1097-1113.

Annotation: In this article, the author analyzes the effects of the Congo war on state power in Rwanda and Uganda. Drawing on theories of European state formation, he argues that the Congo war has not led to a strengthening of the state in either country. He describes how the war has weakened the state of Uganda, and asserts that the remarkable strength of the Rwandan

state, just a few years after the 1994 genocide, must be understood as a result of the security threat faced by the regime from Hutu militias, and not as a result of the Congo war. The author shows how this demonstrates that security threats against the regime can, in certain circumstances, have the same effect on state formation as war had in early modern Europe.

Institute for Security Studies. 2007. [“ISS Country File: Uganda.”](#)

Annotation: This regularly updated website includes key economic, political, social, and demographic information about Uganda. It includes historical and geographical information as well. It also links to multiple reports and analyses about recent events in the country, including terrorist and human rights activity.

Taylor, I. 2006. “China’s Oil Diplomacy in Africa.” *International Affairs* 82 (5): 937-959.

Annotation: The author offers an analysis of China’s growing expansion into Africa’s oil markets. He argues that while China is providing investment where little previously existed, concerns about Beijing’s engagement with Africa’s oil industries need to be resolved, not least by African leaders themselves. According to the author, Chinese oil diplomacy in Africa has two main goals: in the short-term, to secure oil supplies to help feed growing domestic demand back in China; and in the long-term, to position China as a global player in the international oil market. He suggests China’s pursuit of oil is accompanied by an explicit stance that emphasizes state sovereignty and “non-interference” in domestic affairs, and is wholly disinterested in transparency or human rights. He also asserts that Beijing has increasingly turned a blind eye to autocracy and corruption in Africa, and is threatening to undercut efforts by the African Union and its Western partners to make government and business more accountable.

### **The Lord’s Resistance Army**

Finnstrom, S. 2006. “Wars of the Past and War in the Present: The Lord’s Resistance Movement/Army in Uganda.” *Africa* 76 (2): 200-220.

Annotation: Based on anthropological fieldwork with young, displaced Ugandan men, this article focuses on the war in northern Uganda. The author exemplifies the ways in which non-combatants’ experiences of the war and violence are domesticated as strategies of coping. Finnstrom also relates tales of wars in the past to experiences of violent death and war in the present. Furthermore, the article explores the politicized debate in Uganda over whether or not the LRM/A rebels have the elders’ ceremonial warfare blessing. The author interprets the possible warfare blessing—which some informants interpreted as having turned into a curse on Acholiland—as a critical event benefiting from further deliberation, regardless of its existence or non-existence.

Price, S. 2006. "Uganda a Huge Dilemma." *New African* (453): 34-35.

Annotation: In this article, the author discusses speculations on the possible end of the Lord's Resistance Army's insurgent activities in Uganda. The author refers to a videotaped meeting of rebel leader Joseph Kony with officials of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, indicating that Kony wants peace talks with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. In the video, Kony explains that media and the government have branded him as a terrorist.

### **Peace Process**

2005. "How to Help Wars End." *The Economist* 374 (8708): 11-12.

Annotation: This article is an examination of the impact of truces signed in the Sudan, Senegal and Uganda. According to the report, truces are common in Africa, and often signal no more than that the rainy season has made the roads impassable, or that both sides need a break to buy more bullets.

2006. "Pressure Mounts to End Neglect of the North." *Africa Confidential* 47 (15): 2-2.

Annotation: The article is a presentation of information on the mounting international pressure on Uganda's President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni to end the two decades-old conflict between the government and the LRA. According to the report, about 100,000 people have died due to the war.

2006. "Revamped Truce." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (11): 16870-16871.

Annotation: This article is a report on the signing of the most recent peace agreement between the Ugandan government and the rebel LRA in Juba, South Sudan. The agreement aims to end the existing war in northern Uganda.

2006. "UGANDA: Ceasefire Extended." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (12): 16908-16908.

Annotation: This article is a report on the extension of ceasefire by the Lord's Resistance Army and the Government of Uganda with Sudan. The talks between the LRA peace negotiators led by Martin Ojul and South Sudan Vice-President Rick Machar were held at Juba Raha Hotel on December 17, 2006.

2006. "Uganda: ICC Adamant." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (5): 16660-16660.

Annotation: The article is a report on President Yoweri Museveni's announcement that Uganda and South Sudan have given Joseph Kony until July to end hostilities. Included is a report that the International Criminal Court (ICC) said it expects Uganda to arrest the LRA leader because Uganda referred the case to the Court and must honor its commitment.

2006. "Will Kony Come Out of the Bush?" *The Economist* 381 (8500): 56-57.

Annotation: The article is an analysis of talks aimed at ending the conflict in Uganda, where one of Africa's longest and most savage civil wars is occurring. According to the report, leaders of LRA insist that there can be no peace deal unless the ICC drops its indictments against four of its members. Uganda's government referred the conflict to the ICC in January of 2004 after the peace process stalled.

De Zeeuw, J. 2005. "Projects Do Not Create Institutions: The Record of Democracy Assistance in Post-Conflict Societies." *Democratization* 12 (4): 481-504.

Annotation: Focusing on international electoral assistance, human rights, and the media, the author reviews the practical experiences of eight post-conflict countries: Cambodia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, El Salvador and Guatemala. He argues that the lack of focus on institution-building greatly limits the potential impact of international democracy assistance on post-conflict societies. Drawing from the recent work of local research teams within a major comparative research project, he concludes that international assistance has been instrumental in setting up new organizations, but relatively unsuccessful in consolidating effective democratic institutions. He argues that the international community's "democracy template" is particularly ill-suited to achieve democracy in post-conflict countries.

Gettleman, J. 2006. "Uganda Peace Hinges on Amnesty for Brutality." *New York Times* 155 (53703): A1-A6.

Annotation: The author reports that a cease-fire agreement between the Ugandan government and the rebel group, the Lord's Resistance Army, may depend upon whether or not the rebels are granted amnesty. He describes that this outcome is uncertain, because leaders of the LRA have been charged with crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court in The Hague.



Hegland, C. 2007. "Uganda's Peace at Mercy of Court." *National Journal* 39 (6): 53-54.

Annotation: The author offers insights on the call for peace talks by Joseph Kony, leader of the Lord's Resistance Army of northern Uganda, and LRA commanders, after they were indicted by the International Criminal Court in The Hague for crimes against humanity. The author describes briefly Kony's role in the war in Uganda, and presents various perspectives regarding the peace process.

Lamb, I. 2006. "From Horror to Hope: The Story of the Ugandan Conflict." *New Presence: The Prague Journal of Central European Affairs* 8 (3): 20-24.

Annotation: The author provides an examination of the conflict in Uganda between government forces and the Lord's Resistance Army. He suggests that a renewed possibility of peace offers a glimmer of hope to a country that has been devastated by decades of fighting. However, he cautions that whatever the outcome of the peace process may be, the protracted conflict in the country raises many other questions, including the inattentiveness of the international community to this conflict.

Mwaniki, D. and M. Wepundi. 2007. "[The Juba Peace Talks—the Checkered Road to Peace for Northern Uganda.](#)" *Situation Report*. Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: The authors give a detailed description and analysis of the Juba peace talks in this report. They also include description and analysis of the history of conflict in Uganda, and of the Lord's Resistance Army and the Museveni government. They explore the implications of the Museveni government's designation of the LRA as a terrorist organization.

Quaranto, P. 2006. "Ending the Real Nightmares of Northern Uganda." *Peace Review* 18(1): 137-144.

Annotation: The author comments on the war between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army. The article describes how the United States government has fostered a strong working relationship with the government of Uganda, in support of efforts against AIDS and terrorism, but that, as of 2006, the American government had solely supported military efforts to end the war. The author argues the U.S. has provided no support to catalyze a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

Taylor, J. 2005. "Taking Spirituality Seriously: Northern Uganda and Britain's 'Break the Silence' Campaign." *Round Table* 94 (382): 559-574.

Annotation: The author describes conditions in Northern Uganda and relates them to the history of the 'Break the Silence' Campaign, initiated and coordinated by the Church Mission Society. The campaign significantly increased political activity in Northern Uganda. The author argues international religious solidarity, and particularly Christian churches, broke the dehumanizing and isolating circle of secular indifference to the war, and utilized largely untapped resources for crisis resolution and peace building.

### **Terrorism**

2005. "National Security: Uganda." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 42 (10): 16405-16407.

Annotation: This article is a report on the issue of an arrest warrant served to Joseph Kony, one of the commanders of the rebel Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International hailed the warrants against LRA commanders accused of war crimes as a positive measure. The organizations also called for all government's cooperation in apprehending Kony for trial at International Criminal Court headquarters.

2006. "ARMS TRADE: Kenya, Uganda Pact to Curb Trade." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (5): 16662-16662.

Annotation: The article reports on a communiqué between Kenya and Uganda to curb the trade of firearms. Kenya and Ugandan border commissioners signed the Fifth Joint Communiqué, which proposed that the two countries cooperate and contain the flow of illegal small arms. The agreement called for a joint approach on terrorism, disarmament, and cattle rustling.

### **Human Rights**

2007. "Rough justice." *Africa Confidential* 48 (7): 8-9.

Annotation: The article reports on the condition of the justice system in Uganda. The military raid on the High Court in Kampala on March 1, 2007 has alarmed the Museveni government. It is stated that the President hosted a judiciary meeting on March 16 to deal with the crisis. He supported the U.S. attacks on Iraq, and offers logistical support for the Somalia mission.

Butagira, F. K. 2005. "Human Rights Dominate the Development Agenda." *UN Chronicle* 42 (4): 14-16.

Annotation: The author reports on the importance of the Third Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly in developing social, cultural, and humanitarian commitment as discussed at the 2005 World Summit in New York City. He describes the range of the Committee's concerns, including issues of international drug control and indigenous rights. He also describes the Committee's recommended 59 resolutions to the General Assembly, and focuses on its resolution to establish reparations for victims of human rights abuses.

Caruso, J. and K. Cope 2006. "The Lost Generation: How the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations Are Protecting the Rights of Orphans in Uganda." *Human Rights Review* 7 (2): 98-114.

Annotation: The author describes how millions of Ugandan children have become orphaned over the last two decades as a result of the increasing HIV/AIDS epidemic. He shows how this phenomenon has prompted the government to institute numerous legal reforms, and describes how these internal reforms greatly influence the legal inheritance rights of Ugandan orphans and their chances for prosperity. He argues that in many regions, the local traditions trump both national and global standards. The author describes key impediments to solving this problem and offers suggestions for significant reforms.

Cohen, J., R. Schleifer, *et. al.* 2005. "AIDS in Uganda: the Human-Rights Dimension." *Lancet* 365 (9477): 2075-2076.

Annotation: In this article, the authors analyze the issue of abstinence and Uganda's successes in HIV prevention. They argue that it is dangerous to assume that abstinence is the sole cause for Uganda's HIV decline, and suggest that abstinence programs funded by the United States have a history of censoring or distorting information about any other method of HIV prevention. The authors highlight potential issues involving human rights that they believe are ignored by a policy of abstinence-only HIV prevention.

IRIN. 2006. ["Uganda: Interview with Jan Egeland, U.N. Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs."](#) 2007.

Annotation: In this interview, Jan Egeland describes how northern Uganda has been the scene of one of the most brutal civil wars in the world for the past two decades. He describes the humanitarian emergency there, and calls the conflict "the worst form of terrorism in the world."

IRIN. 2007. [“Uganda: IDPs Begin Slow Journey Home amid Concerns Over Peace Process.”](#) 2007.

Annotation: This report is a description of IDPs’ experiences and the challenges they face in returning home in light of the peace talks between the Ugandan government and the LRA.

Nabacwa, M. S. 2005. “Gender Networking and Advocacy Work in Uganda: Controlling the Agenda and Strategies of Resistance.” *Gender & Development* 13 (3): 34-41.

Annotation: The author describes the complex relationships among donors, advocacy networks, member NGOs, national NGOs, and women at the grassroots level who are undertaking gender advocacy work in Uganda. Her research considers advocacy to promote gender equality, and shows how this activity both affects, and is shaped by, power relationships among the various actors involved. She asserts that donors and national NGOs accept that there is a need for advocacy, in order to raise the profile of key gender issues and to try to influence policy and practice. However, she believes they have different motives for doing this work, and describes how their agendas may diverge from each other at times. She argues that ultimately, this divergence affects the quality of the work they do to represent the interests of Ugandan women.

Otunnu, O. A. 2006. “Death of a People.” *Christian Century* 123 (8): 11-12.

Annotation: The author reflects on the difficulties experienced by those interned in concentration camps by the government of Uganda. According to his report, the government uses the activity of the Lord’s Resistance Army to divert attention away from its concentration camps, which are accused of perpetuating human rights violations such as the denial of education to children as a government policy. The author suggests the dismantling of the camps should not be made contingent on ending the war against the LRA.

Otunnu, O. A. 2006. “The Secret Genocide.” *Foreign Policy* (155): 44-46.

Annotation: The author of this article describes genocide and other human rights violations in Uganda. According to the author, the LRA has abducted an estimated 25,000 children during the Sudanese conflict. The author points out that what most people do not realize is that the Ugandan government itself is also perpetrating serious crimes, specifically the destruction of the Acholi people in concentration camps.

Sheikh, F. 2006. "Return of the Stolen Girls." *Ms.* 16 (2): 24-25.

Annotation: The author describes the experiences of Ugandan women and girls in the hands of the Lord's Resistance Army. She narrates the experiences of 25-year-old Milly Amongy under the hands of her husband Lieutenant Colonel John Odour, the commander of the LRA who was known as Acel Calo Apar. The author details how the young woman escaped from him in 2005.

## **Uzbekistan at the Crossroads**

By Latife Bulur

Uzbekistan is at the crossroads of the Central Asian region. Because of its strategic location and natural resources, Uzbekistan is becoming an interest to many different states, including the United States. However, many states that are interested in Uzbekistan are cautious about developing relations due to civil and governmental unrest.

Uzbekistan is facing many problems regarding human rights policies and terrorist activity. The Islamic radical groups that reside in Uzbekistan are fighting the Uzbek government in response to what they claim have been years of repression. Meanwhile, the government serving under President Islam Karimov is under the impression that these radical groups are staging an uprising, and therefore is retaliating against Islamic groups.

In assessing where the true terrorism lies, some scholars believe that the Islamic groups are attempting to overthrow the secular government established there, while other scholars argue that the true terrorist activity is being propagated by the government itself.

Possible solutions for this now dysfunctional state are in much demand. However, Uzbekistan is closely tied to other Central Asian states. Therefore, whatever international policies are directed toward Uzbekistan may affect the region as a whole. With this in mind, scholars seek to address not only issues faced by Uzbekistan, but to view such problems in the context of the region in which it is situated.

Islamic fundamentalism constitutes a serious impediment for human rights in Uzbekistan. Radical Islamic groups sometimes incite civil conflicts, the reasons for which are oftentimes unknown. Some of the conflict may be influenced by terrorists from Afghanistan who are using Uzbek forces to achieve their own ambitions. Certain scholarly works argue that terrorists throughout the region are collaborating in an effort to gain supremacy over the secular government already established. Countering this notion, other authors contend that collaboration between regional radical groups is nothing but a government conspiracy against Islamic groups.

One of the most prominent hypotheses regarding why Islamic groups are inciting conflict is that they have endured terrible religious persecution by the government. Yet not all Islamic groups make this claim. At least one reason why this is the case is because these groups are not all militarized. There are various Islamic groups in the Uzbek region, some of which are very moderate, while others are extremely radical. Because of the large number of Islamic groups, many Muslims who may participate in a more moderate group are being falsely accused of crimes committed by radical Islamic insurgents. The government oftentimes fails to differentiate between the various groups, and instead deems all groups as "bandits." This, in turn, encourages (otherwise) non-violent groups to retaliate against governmental repression.

Some scholars accuse the Uzbek government of being ignorant regarding the differences between these groups. Many works can be found that portray the Uzbek government in a very negative light, and which argue that the government has been repressing its people and producing insurgents.

One of the most important and disastrous events that occurred in the Central Asian region is the massacre in the city of Andijan in May of 2005. This event began when several individuals broke a number of businessmen out of prison who were accused of belonging to a radical Islamic group in the area. While the protest that followed began somewhat peacefully, it quickly turned violent. Government authorities opened fire on the crowds, killing hundreds of protestors and civilians.

Since this incident, the Uzbek regime and its leader, President Karimov, have been criticized for the use of excessive force. At the time, the regime claimed that the protest was an attempt to stage a coup on the government, but many scholars believe that the government's response was too harsh. Some scholars even declare that the government, led by Karimov, is the true terrorist. The government, it is claimed, inflicts daily human rights violations on its people. Others believe that the Islamic groups hope to destroy the secular government in efforts to replace it with a religious state.

The situation in Uzbekistan is difficult for proponents of human rights to evaluate, and for advocates to agree upon an appropriate course of action. Islamic fundamentalism, disorganization within the government, and regional instability are only a few of the factors that continue to make the situation tenuous. However, due to Uzbekistan's strategic location, there is much international support for development and stability. The resources listed in the bibliography that follow provide a glimpse into this tragic situation, and present possible solutions for Uzbekistan's many human rights issues.



### **Central Asian Focus**

Bowers, S. R., B. Musayev, et al. 2006. "The Islamic Threat to Eastern Central Asia." *Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies* 31 (4): 375-397.

Annotation: The authors of this piece analyze the evolution of violence in the Central Asian region. They state that the region initially developed culturally and socially, but later began to morph into a jihadist campaign in which attempts were made to undermine the secular authority. Terrorist attacks increased against security personnel, and worse, against civilian targets. This article illustrates this evolving history well, and establishes that the violence has been steadily increasing in the region over the past five years.

Chaudet, D. 2006. "Hizb ut-Tahrir: an Islamist Threat to Central Asia?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 26 (1): 113-125.

Annotation: This author explores the Hizb ut-Tahrir—a new danger in the Central Asian Region, in addition to examining other possible threats. It is argued that Hizb ut-Tahrir could be the new Al-Qaida, threatening the safety and security of Central Asia, and even of the United

States. The author also takes the position that there are other sub-national rivalries, such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, that are equally threatening.

Crosston, M. 2006. *Fostering Fundamentalism: Terrorism, Democracy and American Engagement in Central Asia*. Burlington: Ashgate.

Annotation: The author of this book examines how the U.S. is influencing countries in the Central Asian region such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. The author states that the U.S. is creating conditions in this region that serve no purpose other than to produce a new generation of Islamic radicals. This book provides a relatively controversial approach to U.S. foreign policy as it relates to the Central Asian region.

MacFadyen, D. 2006. *Russian Culture in Uzbekistan: One Language in the Middle of Nowhere*. London: Routledge.

Annotation: This book focuses on the Russian side of the relationship with Uzbekistan. Russian-speaking citizens who reside in the Uzbekistan are faced with a complication that Russia is no longer the only power in the region. The author of this piece concerns himself with examining Russia's experience in and around Uzbekistan since 1900, and addresses the role of Islam in the Central Asian region.

Petrenko, V. D., Y. N. Karimov, *et al.* 2005. "Efforts of Uzbekistan to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism and Smuggling of Radioactive and Nuclear Materials." *Applied Radiation & Isotopes* 63 (5/6): 737-740.

Annotation: This article focuses on how safeguarding nuclear materials has come to the forefront since terrorism has increased in the Central Asian region. Uzbekistan lies in the crossroads of the North and the South, and should terrorist activity increase regionally, transporting such materials through the country will become risky. This article also covers the developments that have been made to prevent possible interceptions of nuclear materials by terrorist groups.

Trisko, J. N. 2005. "Coping with the Islamist Threat: Analyzing Repression in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan." *Central Asian Survey* 24 (4): 373-389.

Annotation: This article takes an empirical approach to understanding the Central Asian region, specifically Uzbekistan and its government. The author delves into a decision-theoretic model formulated by Gartner and Regan; it is a theory that analyzes the use of governmental repression. The role of Islam in the region is discussed as well. The author acknowledges the



importance of building positive relationships with moderate Islamists who are open to a dialogue with the government.

### **Religious Oppression**

Andersen, M. 2005. "Chronicle of a Massacre Foretold." *Index on Censorship* 34 (4): 11-16.

Annotation: The author reviews decisions made by President Karimov regarding Uzbekistan. There has been much criticism of Karimov, particularly regarding how he has been responding to the uprising of certain Islamic groups. This author, along with other critics, agrees that the Uzbek government and Karimov is applying too much pressure on the Islamic groups, which equates to repression. The author believes that this repression may lead to another Andijan incident.

Bakker, E. 2006. "Repression, Political Violence and Terrorism: the Case of Uzbekistan." *Helsinki Monitor* 17 (2): 108-118.

Annotation: This article concentrates on the issues that have contributed to the rise of violence and terrorism in Uzbekistan. The author explores how repression has resulted in terrorism, and discusses the ways in which an increase in terrorism may even lead to a collapse in the regime. The author makes a suggestion in this piece about how to resolve this issue, as well. The Karimov regime, in the author's opinion, would have much to gain if it were to find a more liberal and comprehensive approach to security.

Gannushkina, S. and Y. Ryabinina. 2005. "Muslims on Faked Charges." *Index on Censorship* 34 (4): 118-119.

Annotation: This article focuses on the charges placed on Muslims falsely for committing acts of terrorism. According to the authors, Muslims are being tried for extremism based on trumped-up charges. Meanwhile, human rights groups in the region are receiving many requests for aid. This article mentions how the "Civic Assistance" group and the human rights group "Memorial" have been monitoring the trial process that is taking place in Russia.

Hill, F. and K. Jones. 2006. "Fear of Democracy or Revolution: the Reaction to Andijan." *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (3): 111-125.

Annotation: These authors analyze the reaction from the Uzbekistan government, specifically Uzbek president Karimov, following the Andijan incident. The article gives a short account of the massacre, and discusses how people present in the crowd felt about the government.

Citizens highlighted government repression and corruption, particularly as Karimov had ordered his troops to open fire on the crowd, killing many Uzbek civilians. The authors portray Karimov's behavior as a panicked act against protesters, whom he thought were staging a coup against his government. Karimov, according to this article, is only focusing on short-term stability solutions, and is ignoring what the people truly need.

Horsman, S. 2005. "Themes in Official Discourses on Terrorism in Central Asia." *ThirdWorld Quarterly* 26 (1): 199-213.

Annotation: The author of this piece explores how the governments of Central Asian region—Uzbekistan specifically—have perceived the threat of Islamic terrorist groups. He critiques the perception of the threat, turning to a theoretical definition of terrorism. The author wants to view the wider political culture, and to analyze the objectives of these regimes. He suggests that what is truly necessary is an effective and coherent assessment of the nature and extent of the terrorist threat.

Ilkhamov, A. 2006. "The Phenomenology of 'Akromiya': Separating Facts from Fiction." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 4: 39-48.

Annotation: The author of this piece examines the group known as Akromiya, and considers its involvement in the violence in Uzbekistan. The Uzbek government labels this group as an extremist Islamic organization with intentions of overthrowing the order of the state. Other works, it is noted, contend that such a group does not even exist. This author aspires to decipher the truth of this preponderance. The article concludes with a suggestion that if the Uzbek government desires to boost its relations with its own population, it needs to make a distinction between moderate and radical Islamic groups.

Kamp, M. 2006. *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Annotation: This book explores the lives of Uzbek women before and after the Russian Revolution of 1917. The author takes a personal approach, by including direct quotes and words from Uzbek women. Uzbek women have chosen to become unveiled, as a path to Islamic social and intellectual liberation. The author explains how this movement has triggered violence against women, and how this event remains highly volatile for women today.

Kendzior, S. 2006. "Inventing Akromiya: The Role of Uzbek Propagandists in the Andijon Massacre." *Demokratizatsiya* 14 (4): 545-562.

Annotation: The author of this piece discusses the relationship between the Akromiya group and the Uzbek government. The government currently views Akromiya as a highly violent organization set on overthrowing the state. Akromiya, according to the government, is responsible for what happened in Andijan when the violence broke out. The author argues that this portrayal is nothing but a government conspiracy, and has been propagated by members of the Uzbek government.

McGlinchey, E. 2005. "The Making of Militants: the State and Islam in Central Asia." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25 (3): 554-566.

Annotation: The author of this piece addresses variations between Islamic groups, and specifically seeks to explain why the tension between the state and Islam has proven greater and considerably more violent in Uzbekistan than in many other areas of Central Asia. The author also makes an interesting point that the more authoritarian the state, the more pronounced political Islam will be in society.

Murray, C. 2007. *Murder in Samarkand: a British Ambassador's Controversial Defiance of Tyranny in the War on Terror*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.

Annotation: This is an autobiography on the life of British Ambassador to Uzbekistan, Craig Murray. He was removed from his post after exposing human rights abuses by the regime of President Karimov. Described as a candid and, at times, shocking memoir, this book analyzes the countless acts of tyranny from Karimov. He also mentions how despite these violations of human rights, Karimov was still viewed as a key U.S. ally in the "War on Terror."

Naumkin, V. V. 2005. *Radical Islam in Central Asia: between Pen & Rifle*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Annotation: This book examines the history of Islam in Uzbekistan. The author breaks down the history of Islam by splitting it into several important periods of time, beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and leading all the way up to the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan became involved in campaigns against the United States. The author studies the main political Islamic movements in Uzbekistan, and acknowledges that while he has touched on many points; his work still does not exhaust the topic of religious radicalism in the Uzbek region.

## **Terrorist Activity**

2005. "Bullets Were Falling Like Rain: the Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005." *Human Rights Watch* 17 (5): 1-66.

Annotation: This article deeply examines the Andijan Massacre that occurred on May 13, 2005. The authors who compiled this work start the piece by giving an overview of how the massacre built up momentum. They convey the many kinds of suffering experienced by individuals, which included hostage situations, prison breaks, and the sealing off of the Bobur Square. The authors conclude their piece by providing recommendations for easing the conflict in Uzbekistan.

Shishkin, P. 2005. "Uzbek Crackdown Fuels Instability in Central Asia." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition* 245 (98): A1-A8.

Annotation: This article is a review of the incident in Andijan in May 2005. It begins by reviewing the beginning of the incident, outlining how armed men attacked a prison in order to free businessmen accused of belonging to a radical Islamic group. Then the article reviews the response by the Uzbek government, including its use of excessive force, which left hundreds of people dead. This article also reports on the reaction of the people in Andijan and on how this incident is shaping the relationship between Uzbekistan and the United States.

Zanca, R. 2005. "Believing in God at Your Own Risk: Religion and Terrorisms in Uzbekistan." *Religion, State & Society* 33 (1): 71-82.

Annotation: This author boldly takes a side against the Uzbek regime by beginning his article with a story of a man murdering a woman in front of dozens of people. The Uzbek authorities witnessed the murder and did nothing. This author portrays two forms of terrorism in Uzbekistan: one committed randomly by radicals in the name of Islam; and the second committed on a daily basis by the Uzbek regime. He believes that Muslims in the area must take drastic action against the regime if they are to pursue their own religious lives freely.

## **Policy**

Akbarzadeh, S. 2007. "Uzbekistan and the United States: Friends or Foes?" *Middle East Policy* 14 (1): 107-116.

Annotation: This author examines the complex relationship between Uzbekistan and the United States. There have been many cases where the Uzbek Government has used particular attempts to bolster its own power. Uzbek leaders have developed a flexible posture towards foreign relations. This article illustrates how Uzbekistan relies heavily on foreign support.

Dubnov, A. 2005. "Putin Avoids Delving into Aspects." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 57 (26): 1.

Annotation: The author of this piece focuses on Russian president Vladimir Putin's views on the issue of the Andijan massacre. The author discusses how Putin claims that militants from Afghanistan have enmeshed themselves into the ranks of the Uzbek protesters. Putin also contends, against the claims of the Uzbek president Karimov, that the incident was a foreign conspiracy. The author also briefly discusses the Russian and Uzbek governments' military cooperation post-Andijan.

Naumkin, V. 2006. "Uzbekistan's State-Building Fatigue." *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (3): 127-140.

Annotation: This article provides insight into the complex relationship between the U.S. and Uzbekistan. Originally, Uzbekistan was important to the U.S. because of its ability to act as a partner on the "War on Terror" and because of its prime location next to Afghanistan. However, the relationship between the two states deteriorated after the reaction to the Andijan massacre. The author mentions how now the Uzbek president, Karimov, has decided to abandon the U.S., realizing that the alliance is becoming a liability.

Rumer, E. 2006. "The U.S. Interests and Role in Central Asia after K2." *The Washington Quarterly* 29 (3): 141-154.

Annotation: The author of this piece explains the relationship between the U.S. and Uzbekistan. The article also goes into the Russian and Uzbekistan relationship in comparison to U.S. relations. The U.S. immediately pulled out of Uzbekistan in response to the Uzbek government's use of excessive force during the uprising in Andijan in May of 2005. The author recommends that the U.S. cooperate with Uzbekistan in order to advance U.S. interests in Central Asia, and specifically in Afghanistan.

Sidorov, D. 2005. "American Planes Leave Uzbekistan with a Boom." *The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* 57 (23/24): 4.

Annotation: The author of this piece discusses how the U.S. transferred from a base in Uzbekistan to a neighboring base. Uzbek authorities informed U.S. military personnel that they were no longer permitted to fly planes at night, and banned them from doing so. The U.S. had previously applied pressure to Uzbekistan by suggesting an independent investigation of the Andijan incident. This author views the ban placed on the U.S. as retaliation for such pressure.

Wall, C. and J. Overton. 2006. "Unethical ethics?: applying research ethics in Uzbekistan."  
*Development in Practice* 16 (1): 62-67.

Annotation: This article focuses on the application of Western research ethics in Uzbekistan. The author points out the need to make vital ethical considerations in conducting development-related research. Barriers to the adoption of new technologies include human rights and repression, ethical principles of self-determinism, non-maleficence, and justice and beneficence. Finally, the author argues that it is wrong to replace local notions of what constitutes appropriate behavior assessment with Western ethical concepts.