THESIS

ADDRESSING THE CAUSE: AN ANALYSIS OF SUICIDE TERRORISM

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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Since 2001, the rate of global suicide attacks per year has been increasing at a shocking rate. The 1980s averaged 4.7 suicide attacks per year, the 1990s averaged 16 attacks per year, and from 2000-2005 the average jumped to 180 per year. What is the cause behind these suicide attacks? The literature has been dominated by psychological, social, strategic, and religious explanations. However, no one explanation has been able to obtain dominance over the others through generalizable empirical evidence. Emerging in 2005, Robert Pape put forth a theory that has risen to prominence explaining the rise of suicide attacks as a result of foreign occupation. His work and findings comprise the most controversial argument in the literature of suicide terrorism. Remaining new and untested, this study attempts to test Pape's theory of suicide terrorism by applying his theoretical framework and argument to the current suicide campaigns ongoing in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan. Through these case studies, this research project will attempt to generalize to the greater theoretical question: What is the root cause of suicide terrorism?

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Why are terrorist and insurgent groups using suicide attacks? Since 2001, the rate of global suicide attacks per year has been increasing at a shocking rate. The 1980s averaged 4.7 suicide attacks per year, the 1990s averaged 16 attacks per year, and from 2000-2005 the average jumped to 180 per year (Altran, 2006, p. 128). What explains the dramatic increase of these suicide attacks? The literature was long dominated by psychological, social, religious, and strategic explanations (Speckhard & Akhmedove, 2006, p. 430). Each explanation has provided valuable insight into the causation of suicide attacks; however, no one explanation has been able to obtain dominance over the others through generalizable empirical evidence. Yet, in 2005, Robert Pape put forth a theory that has risen to prominence in explaining the rise of suicide attacks as a result of foreign occupation, which harbor a different religion than the occupied, and a stronger level of power than the occupied (Pape, 2005). His work and findings comprise the most controversial argument in the literature of suicide terrorism. Remaining new and untested, this study attempts to test Pape's theory of suicide terrorism by applying his theoretical framework and argument to the current suicide campaigns ongoing in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan. Through these case studies, this research project will attempt to generalize to the greater theoretical question: What is the root cause of suicide terrorism?

This thesis has three main objectives. First, this thesis will define and summarize the current literature on suicide terrorism. Next, it will explain Pape's theory of suicide

terrorism and apply it to the ongoing suicide campaigns in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan. Finally, this thesis will summarize the findings of Pape's theory of suicide attacks and conclude regarding the accuracy of this theory and its applicability to understanding the cause of suicide attacks.

Defining the Terms

In order to fully understand the concept of suicide terrorism, each term must be understood independently. First, the term suicide will be defined, and then the concept of terrorism will be addressed. Next, these two concepts will be combined to provide the comprehensive definition of suicide terrorism.

According to Emile Durkheim, suicide is defined as the death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he knows will produce this result (Durkheim, 1951). Durkheim's work on suicide articulates four types of suicide: anomic, fatalistic, egoistic, and altruistic (Pope, 1976). Anomic suicides reflect an individual's moral confusion and loss of social direction. Fatalistic suicides are the opposite of anomic and occur when an individual's future is blocked or their passions are choked by oppressive discipline. The next two types of suicide are applicable to suicide terrorism: egoistic and altruistic. Egoistic suicides comprise the most common form of suicide. An egoistic suicide occurs when an individual becomes increasingly detached from other members of his or her community. This can transpire because of personal psychological trauma, which leads individuals to kill themselves in order to escape. The last category of suicide is called altruistic suicides and is the most common motivation of suicide in suicide attacks. Altruistic suicides arise in societies with high integration where the societal needs are put above the individual. Often high levels of

social integration and respect for the social values can led an individual to commit suicide on behalf of the society (Dohrenwend, 1959, p. 473). While egoistic suicides explain some suicide attacks, most suicide terrorists fit within the paradigm of altruistic suicide (Pape, 2005, p. 23). The altruistic motivation of furthering a goal that an individual's community supports explains the individual logic of suicide attacks.

The most generally recognized definition of terrorism is the violence or the threat of violence against noncombatant populations in order to obtain a political, religious, or ideological goal through fear and intimidation (Schmid, 1983, p. 91). While it is important to note that the understanding of terrorism seems to change depending on the perspective of the country, government, or department, this has not stopped academics from adopting this general definition.

Suicide terrorism is a unique form of terrorism that uses violence, in which the attackers are willing and able to give their lives to ensure that their attacks succeed (Pape, 2005, p. 11). This form of terrorism is distinct in that it is the most violent type of terrorism. Between 1980 and 2001, over 70% of all deaths due to terrorism were committed by suicide attacks, which amounted to only 3% of all terrorist attacks (Pape, 2010, p. 5). While this form of terrorism maximizes the coercive leverage that can be gained from terrorism, it does so at a heavier cost than other forms of terrorism. The violent nature of suicide terrorism alienates virtually everyone in the target audience and often leads to a loss of support among moderate segments of the terrorists' community. Therefore, while other forms of terrorism can use coercion as a goal, coercion is the chief objective of suicide terrorism. These unique characteristics classify suicide terrorism as a distinct and aggressive form of terrorism.

Often the literature has used the term *suicide terrorism* to describe all of the suicide bombings conducted by insurgents or terrorist groups. However, this term becomes problematic when examining suicide attacks conducted against military forces. Terrorism is usually understood by its focus on non-combatants (Moghadam, 2006, p. 711). However, this study asserts that suicide terrorism can include attacks on combatants and non-combatants for two reasons. First, because Pape's work includes both combatants and non-combatants in his study. Second, because all suicide attacks are utilizing the same logic of coercive punishment regardless of whom they are targeting. Targets may be economical or political, civilian or military, but in all cases the main task is not to obtain territorial gains, rather a coercive logic of increasing costs and psychological fear of future attacks. While this definition does blur the line between terrorism and insurgency, the key distinction is suicide terrorism is not attempting to achieve any territorial gains. The terrorist strategy does not rely on "liberated zones" as staging areas for consolidating the struggle. Rather suicide terrorism remains in the psychological domain and lacks the territorial elements of an insurgency. Thus, it is essential in order to devise a comprehensive theory on suicide attacks that both combatant and noncombatant targets be included.[1]

This study will use the terms *suicide terrorism* and *suicide attack* interchangeably. Both of these terms are defined as a premeditated attack in which the perpetrator willingly uses his or her death to attack, kill, or harm others (Speckhard & Akhmedove,

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[1] A current debate is ongoing in the literature attempting to distinguish between terrorists and insurgency/guerilla fighters. As of now, this distinction is still in the eyes of the beholder (Avihai, 1993). This thesis attempts to move beyond this theoretical debate and specifically address the cause of suicide attacks, which target both combatants and non-combatants and have a unique coercive logic of increasing cost rather than specific territorial gains.

2006, p. 431). What distinguishes a suicide attacker is that the attacker does not expect to survive the mission, and in most cases, uses a method of attack that requires their death to succeed (Pape, 2005, p. 10). This definition does not include high-risk operations or suicide missions where members understand they may not survive the operation. An example of a high-risk mission can be seen in the case of the Palestinians who invade Israeli settlements with guns and grenades intending to kill as many Israelis as possible with the understanding that few of them will escape alive (Pape, 2005, p. 10). The key to this study's definition of a suicide attack is that the perpetrators ensured death is a precondition for the success of the mission. Should the attacker live, the mission is considered a failure.

Some terrorist groups have disputed the term suicide and have attempted to argue that martyrdom or self-sacrifice is different from suicide (Past, Sprinzak, & Denny, 2003, p. 175). This study will understand suicide and martyrdom as the same. The understanding of death as a martyr has played a major role in suicide terrorists' recruitment as well as individuals or groups decisions to commit suicide attacks (Berko & Erez, 2005, p. 607). However, contemporary suicide attackers are killing themselves in order to kill others; therefore, it is an act of suicide, and so the term suicide will include cases of martyrdom.

Literature Review

Despite the fact that suicide terrorism has existed for centuries, there are very few dominant explanations for the drastic increase in attacks since 1980. The literature identifies four theories that have attempted to explain the rise of suicide terrorism. These

theories are psychological motivations, religious extremism, social and cultural environments, and strategic calculations.

Psychological Motivations

As of the most current research available, psychological in-depth studies of suicide bombers profiles and backgrounds have not led to any firm conclusions regarding the profile of suicide terrorists. These studies have examined factors such as age, marital status, social status, mental stability, and if the attacker was predisposed to violence. Some sociological researchers have attempted to classify suicide bombers into three categories: individuals acting out of religious convictions, individuals acting out of retaliation or avenging a death, and individuals being exploited by organizations in response to economic or religious rewards (Kimhi & Even, 2004, p. 820). Criminology has also joined the study of suicide terrorism utilizing criminology conceptualization, data collection and methodology and applying these methods to the study of suicide terrorism. These studies have attempted to track classic suicidal traits in suicide attackers (Lankford, 2010). The majority of these studies have concluded that the only common factor among suicide bombers is that they are not crazy or born with a psychopathology that predisposes them to violence, that they are in fact normal people (Hafez, 2007, p. 9).

Religious Explanations

After September 11, 2001, the United States adopted the theory that religious fanaticism was the root cause of suicide terrorism. Bruce Hoffman (2006) concluded that of the 35 organizations that have conducted suicide attacks since 1967, 31 of these organizations are Muslim (Hoffman, 2006, p. 131). Assaf Moghadam (2008) and Scott Atran (2006) have taken this religious element further, arguing that Islamic

fundamentalism is the driving force behind suicide attacks. The theory of religious extremism argues that Islam is a religion that promotes violence and its fundamentalist followers will use violence to achieve religious goals. Followers of Islam are radicalized through fundamental interpretations of the Quran. Religious hatred and the promise of paradise in the afterlife motivate these radicals to commit martyrdom in the name of Islam. Historically, these radicals have only attacked secular regimes in the Middle East. However, they have now turned their anger on the secular Western states. This explanation was used to construct the United States foreign policy in the years following the 9/11 attacks. Radical Islam has been used as the justification for the United State's current wars in the Middle East and their attempt to transform the Middle East. President George W. Bush stated in a speech in early 2002 "the forces of extremism and terror are attempting to kill progress and peace by killing the innocent. And this casts a dark shadow over an entire region. For the sake of all humanity, things must change in the Middle East" (Bush G. W., June 24, 2002). The U.S. intervention in the Middle East after 9/11 was couched in this dichotomy by President Bush: "The Middle East will either become a place of progress and peace, or it will be an exported of violence and terror that takes more lives in America and in other free nations… the triumph of democracy and tolerance in Iraq, in Afghanistan and beyond would be a grave setback for international terrorism" (Bush G. W., September 8, 2003). While this theory experienced prominence following September 11, 2001, recently it has been questioned as more research and events have unfolded largely refuting its findings (Pape, 2005).

Social and Cultural Explanations

Some partial success in explaining suicide terrorism has been derived from examining single case studies of terrorist campaigns. This has motivated researchers to focus on the social and cultural environments that have produced suicide terrorists (Pedahzur, 2005, p. 22). For individuals, suicide attacks provide an opportunity to advance what they see as the common good for their society or group. Individuals committing suicide attacks are often integrated into society, advocate collective goals for their missions in highly public ceremonies, and raise their social status and their families by executing the act. These findings support the prevalence of altruistic suicide attacks.

Anne Oliver and Paul Steinberg's (2005) research on Palestinian suicide bombers in Gaza concluded that revenge was the primary reason given by suicide bombers for their actions indicating a factor of personal and collective oppression and or abuse (Oliver & Steinberg, 2005). Many scholars, such as Ivan Strenski (2003), believe that trying to explain suicide terrorism in terms of personal psychological motivation is not enough; rather, sociological and theological perspectives need to be considered (Strenski, 2003, p. 50). Amy Pedahzur (2005) argues that suicide attacks are the result of horizontal social networks that compel group members to adopt suicide tactics. Others, such as Mohammad Hafez (2006), have argued that suicide terrorism can be explained through the interactions between individual motivations, organizational strategies, and societal conflicts.

While social and cultural explanations have been able to explain some cases of suicide terrorism, these cases are not generalizable and fail to help scholars understand why suicide attacks continue to be used.

Strategic Explanations

The strategic explanation contends that suicide attacks have unique strategic characteristics to terrorist groups or insurgencies that led to their adoption. These attacks help weaker groups equalize the power differentials with stronger enemies that cannot be harmed through conventional methods. A suicide attack can bring about high levels of physical and psychological damage, they are successful in reaching targets, and are very difficult to stop. These attacks require no escape plan and are very inexpensive, on average costing $150 per operation (Hoffman, 2006, p. 132).

Strategically suicide attacks can be used to gain levels of public support for groups. Mia Bloom (2005) found that fractional competition amongst terrorist groups created an environment of outbidding, where groups continue to adopt more violent measures in an attempt to win public support, financing, and recruits (Bloom, 2005, p. 19). However, suicide attacks can often turn public support away from a terrorist group due to their violent nature.

Although strategic explanations can provide some explanatory power to the understanding of suicide attacks, this theory fails to explain why certain groups and not others adopt suicide attacks.

While the theories addressing the cause of suicide terrorism remain diverse, many scholars have agreed on two major components of suicide attacks: that the social interpretations and strategic calculation explanations of suicide terrorism play an important role in the adoption of suicide attacks. For the former, the honor bestowed on suicide bombers for their service to their religion or nation has been identified as a critical element in the production of suicide bombers. A political or religious leader must

authorize the use of suicide attacks, the organization then implements it, and a sympathetic public embraces and rejoices the outcome. As for the latter, suicide attacks have proven to be one of the most destructive and effective methods of modern warfare. Their success and adoption by terrorist groups around the world empirically shows the strategic value of this tactic.

Robert Pape's Theory of Suicide Terrorism

As discussed above, the various and diverse approaches to the study of suicide attacks have resulted in providing in-depth description on suicide attacks in specific cases. These explanations have helped provide some generalizable findings, but as a whole, they have failed to establish a comprehensive theory of suicide terrorism that has been universally adopted. Dissatisfied with the existing explanations, in 2005, Robert Pape published the first comprehensive theory of suicide attacks. His theory highlights foreign occupation as the main cause of suicide attacks.

Pape's comprehensive theory is twofold, first maintaining the consensus among the literature explaining the strategic and social significance of suicide attacks. Second, Pape argues that foreign occupation can lead to the adoption of suicide attacks by terrorist groups. In regards to the strategic and social significance of suicide attacks, Pape has argued that the logic of suicide terrorism becomes apparent when one separates the desired outcome of suicide campaigns from the immediate short term results of individual suicide attacks. By focusing on the long term goals of suicide campaigns over short term attack results, Pape argues, we can understand the logic behind suicide terrorism. He contends that suicide terrorism allows groups to coerce their stronger opponents at a more successful rate than any other form of terrorism. Figure 1, taken from Pape's book,

illustrates the 17 suicide campaigns that have occurred from 1980 - 2003 and the outcome

of these campaigns. As Figure 1 shows, 7 of the 13 completed campaigns resulted in a

removal of the occupation to some extent signifying a 53% success rate (Pape, 2005, p.

40). Central to Pape's argument is his belief that "the reason suicide terrorism is growing

is that terrorists have learned that it works" (Pape, 2005, p. 61). A successful suicide

campaign is defined as "a significant policy change by the target state toward the

terrorists' major political goal" (Pape, 2005, p. 64). Past examples of successful

campaigns resulted in complete, partial, or temporary occupation withdraws, sovereignty

negotiations, and the release of the terrorist organization top leader.

Figure 1: Success rate of Suicide Campaigns (Pape, 2005, p. 40)

Suicide Terrorist campaigns	Outcome
1: Hezbollah vs. U.S., France Apr 83–Sep 84	Success
2: Hezbollah vs. Israel Nov 82–Jun 85	Success
3: Hezbollah vs. Israel, SLA Jul 85–Nov 86	No Change
4: LTTE vs. Sri Lanka Jul 90–Oct 94	Success
5: LTTE vs. Sri Lanka Apr 95–Oct 00	No Change
6: Hamas vs. Israel April 1994	Success
7: Hamas/PIJ vs. Israel Oct 94–Aug 95	Success
8: Sikh vs. India August 1995	No Change
9: Hamas vs. Israel Feb 96–Mar 96	No Change
10: Hamas vs. Israel Mar 97–Sep 97	Success
11: PKK vs. Turkey Jun 96–Oct 96	No Change
12: PKK vs. Turkey Nov 98–Aug 99	No Change
13: LTTE vs. Sri Lanka Jul 01–Nov 01	Success
14: Al Qaeda vs. U.S. Nov 95	Ongoing
15: Kashmir Separatists vs. India Dec 00	Ongoing
16: Hamas / PIJ vs. Israel Oct 00	Ongoing

Strategically, Pape argues that suicide attacks are not a product of irrational

behavior or religious fundamentalism, but rather a strategic logic. The kill ratio of regular

terrorist attacks from 1980-2003 was less than one person per incident (Pape, 2005, p.

63). Suicide attacks occurring in the same time span killed on average 12 people per incident (Hafez, 2007, p. 15). This strategic method of terrorism allows suicide attackers to pinpoint their targets, walk into high security areas, and make last-second alterations to their plans. The costs of these attacks are relatively low and inflict the greatest possible damage on their opponents. Groups also do not have to worry about members of their organization being captured and providing information to their opponents. Finally, central figures within the organization are able to organize, finance, justify, and plan suicide operations without actually participating in them. This allows the continuation of these suicide campaigns without losing any of the central masterminds behind the operations. Low-level recruits are sent out to conduct suicide operations, leaving the central authority of these organizations intact.

After explaining the strategic and social elements of suicide attacks, Pape distinguishes himself from the literature and puts forth his comprehensive theory of suicide terrorism. His explanation of the conditions that create suicide terrorism as well as what continues to motivate suicide terrorism are all outlined in his theory seen in figure 2 (Pape, 2005, p. 96). His theory argues that occupation, nationalism, and religious difference cause a rebellion which leads to mass support for martyrdom, which in turn leads to suicide terrorism.

Figure 2: Pape's Causal Map of Suicide Terrorism

Occupation

Nationalism ⟶ Rebellion ⟶ Mass Support ⟶ Suicide Attacks

Religious Difference
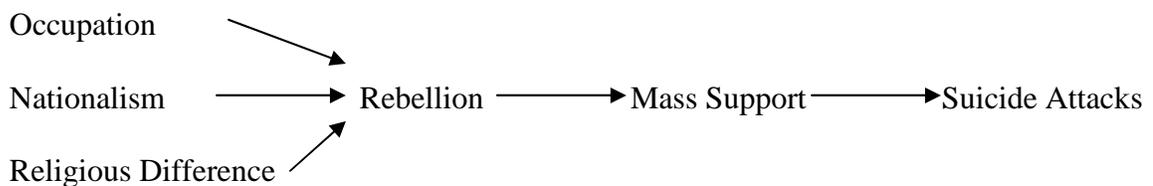
Pape uses his theory of suicide terrorism to analyze every suicide campaign from 1980-2003. His study investigates the foreign occupation in which a state controlled the homeland of a distinct national community, which amounts to 58 cases in total. Pape's theory accurately predicted whether suicide terrorism would occur in 56 of the 58 cases of occupation occurring from 1980-2003. Essentially, foreign occupation by a superior military power combined with nationalism and a difference in religion between the occupier and the occupied are the main conditions under which suicide terrorism occurs.

Pape's definition of occupation, the central variable to this study, is adopted in this thesis to stay consistent with his theory. An occupation can take two forms. First, a direct occupation occurs when a foreign power militarily occupies a country and has the ability to control the local government independent of the wishes of the local community. The key is not the number of troops actually stationed on the occupied territory, so long as enough are available to suppress any effort of independence if necessary. The second form of occupation is called an indirect occupation. This occurs when an outside power exerts military or economic pressure on a local government that is sufficient to compel the local government to alter key foreign policies, but not to control domestic institutions of the country. This can be distinguished from traditional alliances, which pursue policies of mutual benefit for both countries. An indirect occupation gives priority to the goals of the occupier and largely ignores the national interest of the occupied country. Without either a direct or indirect foreign occupation suicide attacks will not occur.

Nationalism is defined as a distinct national identity constructed in relation to other nations (Pape, 2005, p. 85). When a homeland is occupied, directly or indirectly, the members of the community no longer determine the future trajectory of the "nation".

Rather the powerful foreigners take political control over the homeland making decisions. This event can lead communities to go to extreme lengths to regain self-determination of their homeland. Thus, nationalism is the strong identification of a community to a distinct homeland. This variable is measured through the rhetoric and actions displayed by communities leading up to foreign occupation and during foreign occupation.

Religious difference is the most important attribute separating the identity of foreign rulers from the local communities (Pape, 2005, p. 87). When the occupier is associated with a different religion, this enables specific dynamics that can increase the fear that the occupation will permanently alter the ability of the occupied community to determine its national characteristics. This variable is measured through identifying the main religion of the occupied as well as the occupying.

These three variables led to a rebellion against the occupying power. During this rebellion, mass public support is accumulated to support the rebellion. This variable is really evaluating whether the population honors and supports individuals who are martyred during the insurgency. If the insurgency has mass support, we assume individuals who are killed in the insurgency are honored and glorified rather than dishonored. Mass public support is measured by testing if a simple majority of the public approves of the rebellion and its goal to remove the occupation. The measurement of this variable is extremely difficult due to the lack of public opinion polls specifically addressing this issues. Therefore, proxy factors and logical inference from public opinion polls will be used to estimate the level of public support in each case.

There is one final condition before suicide attacks are adopted by an insurgency or terrorist group. Because of the military superiority of the occupying country, the

occupied community usually rules out rebellion through conventional military confrontation. Instead, guerrilla warfare[2] is adopted as a strategy to resist the occupying forces. If these guerrilla tactics succeed and the foreign power leaves, then the local community has no reason to adopt more extreme tactics. However, if these tactics fail, the rebellion faces one of two choices: accept the foreign rule over their country or escalate to more extreme measures. Since 1980, suicide attacks have taken on the role of the method of last resort for groups choosing to escalate rather than quit.

Testing Pape's Theory of Suicide Terrorism

Since 2003, the world has witnessed an alarming increase of suicide attacks. New suicide attack campaigns have sprouted in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Chechnya. Pape's database was comprised of the 462 suicide attacks that occurred worldwide from 1980-2003. Afghanistan alone has had 463 suicide attacks since 2001. The number of suicide attacks worldwide from 2003-2010 dwarfs the database from which Pape's conclusions were drawn. If Pape's theory and conclusions are to be considered valid, they must be tested against the new suicide campaigns occurring worldwide.

This study uses foreign occupation, nationalism, and religious difference as the independent variables. Suicide terrorism is the dependent variable. In each case the following hypotheses, derived from Pape's (2005) theory on suicide terrorism are tested. These hypotheses encompass the main claims of Pape's theory.

Hypothesis 1A: Foreign occupation, nationalism, and religious difference lead to a rebellion.

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[2] Guerilla warfare attempts to overcome military inferiority through a very flexible style of warfare typically based on hit-and-run operations. This style of warfare utilizes the terrain, immersion into the population, or the safety of neighboring countries to launch attacks. The goal of this style of warfare is to never allow the superior military forces to employ their full might in a military contest.

Hypothesis 1B: The rebellion experienced mass domestic support for the insurgency.

Hypothesis 2: Suicide attacks were used strategically to increase the costs of occupation and inflict enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorists' demands.

Hypothesis 3: Suicide campaigns achieve gains or concessions for the terrorist's political cause about 50% of the time.

The 53% success rate of suicide campaigns will be re-evaluated with the inclusion of the Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Chechnya suicide campaigns in the conclusion of this study in order to discover the new success rate of suicide terrorism.

1. Chechen Separatists vs. Russia, June 2000	Testing
2. Afghanistan Taliban vs. United States, October 2001	Testing
3. Pakistan insurgents vs. United States, January 2002	Testing

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLGY AND DATA COLLECTION

In this study, cases were selected according to 2 criteria: 1.) They have high volume of suicide attacks; 2) They are untested by Pape. Information produced by the Global Terrorism Database indicated that Afghanistan, Chechnya, Iraq, and Pakistan had the highest number of suicide attacks during the time period examined in this thesis. Iraq was not included due to the extensive research already conducted on this case. While selecting cases based on the dependent variable can be problematic, there is not a single case where suicide terrorism exists without being linked to an occupation.[3]

In addition, Pape's 2005 study on suicide terrorism selected cases based on the independent variable of occupation. Numbering 58 total cases between 1980 and 2003, Pape's study found that his theory of suicide terrorism was able to explain 56 out of the 58 cases. Out of the 58 cases where occupation occurred, only 14 cases had the three variables present of foreign occupation, nationalist rebellion, and religious difference. In each of these 14 cases, suicide attacks occurred (Pape, 2005, p. 100). In order to test Pape's theory, cases were selected according to the high level of suicide terrorism experienced in each particular case.

The primary method used in this study is quantitative analysis utilizing suicide database's that I compiled for each case study. Information is drawn from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), RAND's terrorism database, and WITS terrorism database.

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[3] Cases were not chosen because they had an occupation. Instead, cases were only selected by the dependent variable of suicide attacks.

This data gathering method falls in line with Pape's as all of these databases draw all their information from open source documents. These databases comprise the most accurate and reliable open source information on suicide attacks worldwide. Suicide attacks were cross-referenced in each of these databases and compiled from publicly available, open source material, to create a comprehensive database of all suicide attacks in each case study. For each attack, the database includes codes for the following variables: date, total kills, total wounded, city of attack, target of attack, and perpetrator of the attack.

An independent database was created from the open source databases of GTD, RAND, and WITS rather than relying on government collected information because data on terrorism collected by government entities are inevitably influenced by political considerations. The government's data reviews international terrorist events by year, date, region, and terrorist group and includes background information on terrorist organizations. However, governments face tremendous political pressure to interpret terrorism in particular ways. In order to avoid biases, all information was drawn from open sources and cross-referenced for accuracy. While some attacks may have been missed by individual databases, the combination of all three sources provides one of the first comprehensive suicide attack databases available. When information between the databases was inconsistent, open sources were used to conduct further research and unveil the most accurate information available.

With a topic such as suicide terrorism and the usually hostile environments that accompany these acts, the information available is scarce. The little available information must be treated with a high level of scrutiny due to the conflicting motivations,

definitions, and interpretations from country to country, group to group, over what is

considered suicide terrorism. In order for an attack to be considered, it must meet all

three of the following criteria.

1. The attacker must have died during the attack.
2. The attack harmed, killed, or damaged combatants, non-combatants, or a nonhuman target.
3. The attack was confirmed and published by two media sources.

While these criteria encompass a broad spectrum of suicide terrorism, this project errs on

the side of inclusiveness in the criteria. In most cases where information inconsistencies

were found between the databases, two of the databases were the same while one

remained inconsistent. When this occurred, the information verified by two sources was

taken over the one source of information. Figure 3 provides an example.

Figure 3: Database Example

Date	City	Country	Perpetrator	Injury	Fatalities	Source	Notes
23-Oct-04	Kabul	Afghanistan	Taliban	9	2	1:WITS	
23-Oct-04	Kabul	Afghanistan	Taliban	9	2	2:GTD	
23-Oct-04	Kabul	Afghanistan	Taliban	11	1	3:Rand	
			Database				
23-Oct-04	Kabul	Afghanistan	Taliban	9	2	123	3:I=11 F=1

The quantitative component of this study is used to answer the second hypothesizes:

Hypothesis 2: Suicide attacks were used strategically to gain control of a territory by inflicting enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorist's demands.

Quantitative information will be supplemented with ethnographic content analysis (ECA)

in order to answer the first and third hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1A: Nationalism, foreign occupation, and religious difference led to a rebellion.

Hypothesis 1B: The rebellion experienced mass domestic support for the insurgency.

Hypothesis 2: Suicide attacks were used strategically to increase the costs of occupation and inflict enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorists' demands.

Hypothesis 3: Suicide campaigns achieve gains or concessions for the terrorist's political cause about 50% of the time.

ECA is a form of content analysis, but is unique in its goals of discovery and verification, its ability to choose a sample based on theoretical assumptions, its use of narrative and numerical data, and its circular and reflexive movement between data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Altheide, 1987, p. 66). ECA is embedded with constant discovery and constant comparison, which is essential for this study. The message and narrative of domestic and international sources were compared and contrasted in each case. Rather than coding the data statistically, news content was examined reflexively. The procedure for each case was to view 5-10 news stories at a time, assess the message, note general themes or patterns, and then if needed, go back and reassess past news articles if new themes or patterns emerged. This process, along with the use of data categories, helped establish an accurate picture of the suicide campaigns in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan while allowing a thorough test of Pape's theory.

This study examined the suicide attacks occurring in each campaign, the specific claiming of the attacks by the terrorist groups, and the discourse from and about terrorist organizations. Within each country, the campaign utilizing suicide terrorism was described and analyzed. Information written by them as well as about them from open source documents was used. The media sources used consisted of but were not confined to *Al Hayat, Al Jazeera, BBC, Guardian, Kabul Weekly, Kavkaz, Pakistan Times,* and the

New York Times news organizations, documents such as the *United Nations Assistance*

Missions reports, United States Institute of Peace public opinions polls, CBS *Terrorism*

Monitor, and reports from the *International Crisis Group.* The media sources were used

to analyze public statements made by the suicide campaigns occurring in each country, to

discover any trends within the suicide campaigns, and to provide an understanding as to

how the suicide campaign has developed. Local news media outlets were chosen based

on their accessibility of online archives and English translations. Narrative and

descriptive information was produced using ECA to understand the nature of the suicide

campaigns. A special focus was placed on examining the variables of foreign occupation

and the domestic population's view of occupation, religious difference, nationalism, and

negotiations with occupier or government. Cross-examination of texts and data was used

and contradictory information was discussed in each case study.

Case Study	Local News Media	International Media
Afghanistan	Kabul Weekly	Al Jazeera, Al Hayat, BBC, New York Times, The Guardian
Chechnya	Kavkaz Center	Al Jazeera, Al Hayat, BBC, New York Times, The Guardian
Pakistan	The Nation	Al Jazeera, Al Hayat, BBC, New York Times, The Guardian

Quantitative analysis was used to discover any patterns or conclusions that can be

drawn from the suicide attacks in each case. This information and analysis was combined

with the conclusions reached through ECA in regards to the suicide terrorist campaigns

occurring in each case. Each case's content was coded into categories in order to organize

the data and render it meaningful (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006). This

study assumes the categories of occupation, religion, government negotiations, stated goals, and strategic justification to be the most important categories to examine.

When conducting ECA, there is always a concern with media accounts. Different sources are written for different audiences and can at times come with a certain bias attached to them (Esterberg, 2002, p. 120). However, the media outlets hold a unique connection and access to many terrorist organizations. Inherent to the use of terrorism is an attempt to draw attention to a cause, a group, or impose psychological effects on the viewing population. Because of this, the media is a prime source of information into terrorist organization's discourse and statements. The media also offers a unique portrayal of the situation on the ground in each of the case selections. Each media source used was examined through the purpose and context it was created (Warren & Karner, 2006, p. 159). Other obstacles were the authentic or representative value of the sources used. In order to address these issues, this thesis utilized cross-examination of sources and data in an attempt to provide the most accurate information.

In each case study 100-200 newspaper articles, reporting on suicide attacks, and the ongoing insurgency were examined. These articles were indentified through archive searches focused on each specific campaign. Article selection spanned the entire time period of the suicide campaign so a holistic understanding of the campaign could be discovered. Selection looked for articles with substantial description. A focus was placed on understanding the suicide campaign as well as discovering any trends. Each article selected was printed and stored in a file. Coding was done manually to have as much contact with the data as possible.

Cultural differences may have affected the access to specific information on terrorist organizations. Because I am an English-speaking American, this may have inhibited my ability to obtain certain information from foreign sources. However, open source media from all three of the case countries this study is examining was available online. All media archive searches were conducted in English. Media sources that have been translated into English from a language other than Arabic by the media source producing the information were still analyzed. These translations are produced by the media source, thus they were treated as accurate and reliable sources of information.

Conclusion

Utilizing a mixed methods approach, this project attempts to test Pape's theory of suicide terrorism through the examination of the suicide terrorist campaigns ongoing in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan. This project has implications for both theory and policy (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 34). Pape's theory currently comprises the most controversial claim in the suicide terrorism literature and directly challenges that U.S. adoption of the belief that radical Islam is the cause of suicide attacks. Many have relentlessly attempted to disprove his conclusions through a critique of his quantitative methods. However, should his theory prove true when tested against the three newest suicide terrorist campaigns, this would usher in a new era of suicide terrorism studies that could move away from the focus on the religion of Islam.

Pape's theory contradicts the current policy position of the United States towards the Middle East. A comparison of this study's conclusions and the United States current foreign policy will be conducted for each of the cases and policy recommendations will be made in the conclusion of this study.

CHAPTER 3: AFGHANISTAN

Two days before Osama bin Laden's terrorist plot to attack the United States, the Taliban regime of Afghanistan committed its first suicide attack. The attack targeted and killed Ahmad Shah Massoud, the notorious and heroic anti-Taliban guerilla commander, to remove the most obvious U.S. partner in an alliance against the Taliban (Bearak, 2001, p. 1). This attack was the first of 463 suicide attacks that have plagued Afghanistan since 2001.

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the U.S. declared war on the Taliban who were harboring the 9/11 orchestrators. To carry out the occupation, U.S. military operations began on Oct. 7, 2001 and continue today. Initially, suicide attacks began as sporadic occurrences usually conducted by al-Qaeda forces in Afghanistan. Starting from 2006, however, the Taliban began adopting suicide attacks as a strategic method used in their insurgency against the U.S. led occupation. This chapter seeks to demonstrate the ability of Pape's theory to explain the process of suicide attack causation in the Afghanistan suicide campaign. Beginning with a brief overview of the Afghanistan suicide campaign, this chapter will then provide a historical overview of Afghanistan, followed by the application of Pape's theory to Afghanistan.

Suicide Attack Analysis

Despite the 30 years of conflict that has plagued Afghanistan since the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1979, suicide attacks have only recently emerged as a growing tactic used in the country. 2001 witnessed only 1 attack, followed by 2 in 2002,

1 in 2003, 3 in 2004; then rising to 23 in 2005, 91 in 2006, 116 in 2007, 121 in 2008, and

105 in 2009.

Figure 1[4]: Suicide Attacks in Afghanistan
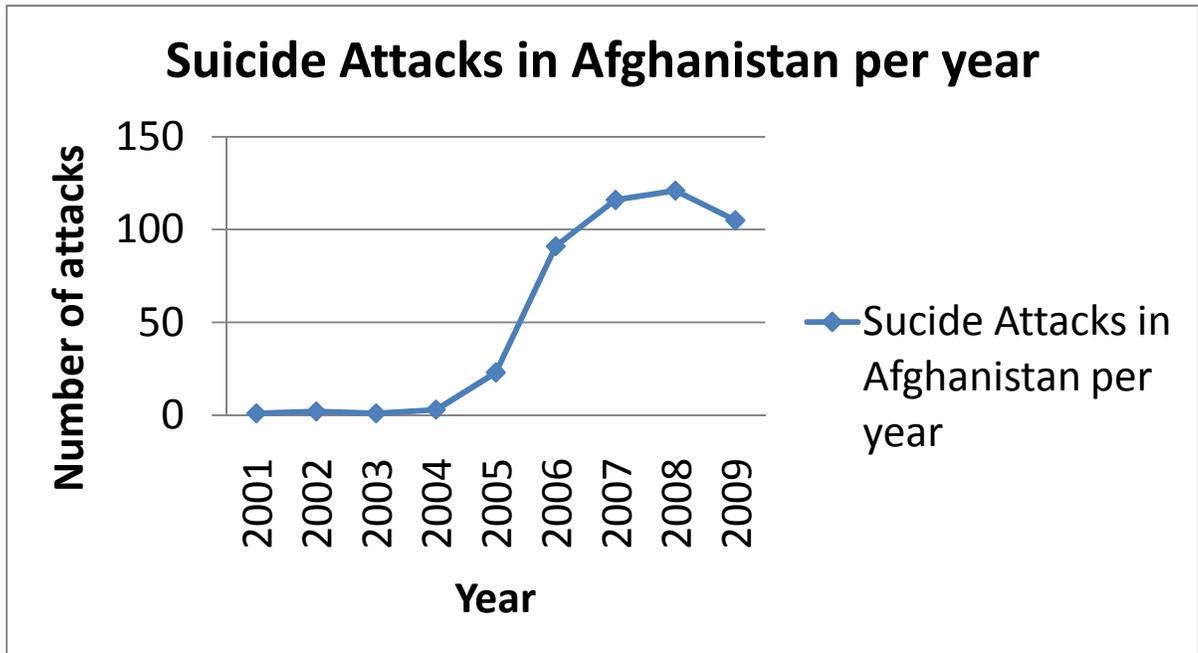
The suicide campaign in Afghanistan has had unique results. Suicide attacks in

Afghanistan, on average, kill 4.38 individuals per attack and wound 9.70. Furthermore,

130 out of the 463 attacks did not result in any deaths outside of the suicide attacker.

These statistics of kills and injuries per attack are the lowest recorded in any of the

suicide campaigns, a phenomenon that will be explored under hypothesis 2. In total,

2,103 individuals have lost their lives and 4,480 people have been injured from the 463

suicide attacks in Afghanistan.

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[4] This data set relies heavily on three sources, the Global Terrorism Database, the RAND
terrorism database, and the National Counterterrorism Centers (NCTC) Worldwide
incident Tracking Systems (WITS). After combing these three databases and eliminating
duplicates, and updating the resulting database with additional information, I completed a
Afghanistan Suicide Database from 2000-2009.

Suicide attacks were not used during the Soviet occupation in the 1980s nor throughout the civil war between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance in the 1990s. The suicide attack has been compared to the Stinger ground to air missile used by the *mujahideen* (Soldiers of God) during the Soviet occupation, which equalized the overwhelming power disparity between the *mujahideen* and the Soviets. Because the Stinger weapon was able to neutralize this power disparity, it nullified the need for suicide attacks during the Soviet occupation. The suicide attack is used as a method of last resort to level the playing field when an occupying power has superior military capabilities. For the duration of the Taliban and Northern Alliance war, this power disparity was absent. Even during the early years of the U.S. occupation, a total of only 7 suicide attacks were conducted before 2005, and these were mostly conducted by al-Qaeda. However, in 2005, the Taliban and its allies began incorporating suicide attacks into their insurgency against the U.S. occupation and the new Afghanistan government as their strategic situation deteriorated. Although initially opposing the use of suicide attacks, by 2006 the leader of the Taliban, Mullah Mohammed Omar, endorsed the tactic and its strategic ability to inflict high levels of damage on the military superior occupation forces.

Also unique to the Afghanistan suicide campaign is the lack of sectarian targets. The Afghanistan suicide campaign has by and large not targeted either the Shi'ite minority population or other Islamic sects in fear of turning public opinion against the insurgency. Instead, government leaders and forces, such as the Afghan military, Afghan police, and the U.S. led coalition forces have been the main targets. These choices of targets can help explain to some extent the lower average kills and wounded per attack

witnessed in Afghanistan verses the other case studies. The Afghan suicide campaign has been uniquely selective in focusing mostly on hard military targets and leaving soft civilian targets alone.

Historical Overview

Afghanistan's modern history can be broken up into three major periods: the Soviet occupation (1979-1989), the civil war and the rise of the Taliban (1989-2001), and the U.S. occupation (2001-present).

Soviet Occupation

On December 5 1979, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan began. Hoping to be in and out of Afghanistan before the rest of the world could notice, the Soviet Union invaded and placed Babrak Karmal in charge of the Afghan government (Bearden, 2001, p. 19). However, a combined effort by the U.S., Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan initially armed the Afghan resistance against the Soviet occupiers. As the occupation continued, the coalition supporting the *mujahideen* grew to include the United Kingdom, Egypt, and China as well as the original three countries (Bearden, 2001, p. 20).

The *mujahideen* were made up of not only Afghan citizens, but also Islamists from all over the world. These individuals answered the call of *jihad* and traveled to the Pakistan *Madrassas*[5] to receive training, then were sent off to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. At the height of the occupation, close to 250,000 *mujahideen* soldiers were fighting in Afghanistan (Bearden, 2001, p. 21). Ahmad Shah Massoud was one of the many *mujahideen* that became heroes in Afghanistan. Under his command, 9 major

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[5] Deobandi religious seminaries located in Pakistan designed to indoctrinate and train Islamist to support the *jihad* in Afghanistan.

Soviet offenses were defeated, and Massoud became known as the "The Lion of Panjshir" (Bearak, 2001, p. 1).

In 1985, the Soviet occupation had grown to 120,000 troops on the ground in Afghanistan. Overpowered and overmatched, the *mujahideen* continued to withstand heavy losses from the Soviet helicopters. However, in 1986 the coalition supporting the *mujahideen* supplied the Afghan insurgency with Stinger antiaircraft missiles, which changed the tide of the war. The *mujahideen* began taking down the MI-24 Soviet helicopters, resulting in setback after setback for the Soviet forces. On April 14, 1988 the Geneva Accords were signed, ending Soviet involvement in Afghanistan (Bearden, 2001, p. 22).

The end of the Soviet occupation removed Afghanistan from the center of global attention. As American relations with Pakistan soured, the U.S. turned its attention away from this region and as a result, Afghanistan was mostly forgotten. Afghanistan, broken by the 10 year occupation, was left as a failed state that began to spin into anarchy.

The Islamic State and the Rise of the Taliban

Following the withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989, Afghanistan deteriorated into a brutal civil war. The *mujahideen* continued the fight against the puppet pro-Soviet government remaining in Afghanistan, led by Mohammed Najibullah. Finally toppling the government in 1992, the common enemy that had bound the wary collation of *mujahideen* armies together had disappeared. Violent clashes erupted between competing guerrilla groups, all of whom professed allegiance to Islam (Gargan, 1992, p. 1).

A treaty, crafted in Pakistan, gave transitional presidential power to Berhanuddin Rabbani, the head of the powerful Islamist group *Jamiat-i-Islami* (Gargan, 1992, p. 1).

President Rabbani enlisted the service of the heroic figure, Ahmad Shah Massoud, to serve as the Defense Minister. However, rival factions continued to battle against the power of President Rabbani resulting in the destruction of much of Kabul. It was in this chaos that the Taliban emerged. As rival *mujahideen* groups terrorized the country, the Taliban emerged as the embodiment of the Afghan people rising up against these groups. Led by cleric Mullah Mohammed Omar, the Taliban claimed they were "fighting against the Muslims who had gone wrong" (Burns, 1996, p. 1). In most places, the people welcomed the Taliban as a deliverance from the anarchy and chaos of the civil war (Burns, 1996, p. 1). Their rise to power was consolidated with their takeover of Kabul in October of 1996. Mullah Omar's first act as ruler of Afghanistan was to execute the former Communist President Najibullah. By 1997, the Taliban had taken over close to 80% of the country. The ousted government of President Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud resisted the Taliban from the North and became known as the Northern Alliance. While the Taliban did instate a repressive version of *shari'a* (Islamic) law that outlawed music, stopped women from working or going to school, and ended media freedom, they were also able to bring peace and order throughout most of the country.

The Taliban were never able to fully defeat the Northern Alliance led by Ahmad Shah Massoud. Massoud was the only nemesis the Taliban were unable to defeat during the civil war from 1996-2001. However, on September 10, 2001 the Taliban succeed in killing Massoud when two suicide bombers, posed as journalists, were able to set off a bomb hidden in their camera.

Post 9/11

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the U.S. demanded the turnover of Osama bin Laden who had been granted asylum in Afghanistan. The Taliban were given an ultimatum by the U.S. and Pakistan to hand over bin Laden or face military force. Mullah Mohammed Omar responded to these threats by stating to Pakistani officials "you want to please America, and I want only to please God" (Burns, 2001, p. 1). The final decision by the Taliban on what to do with Osama bin Laden was given to the Supreme Council of the Islamic clergy, which responded "to avoid the current tumult, and also to allay future suspicions, the Supreme Council of the Islamic clergy recommend the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan to persuade Osama bin Laden to leave Afghanistan whenever possible" (Burns, 2001, p. 1). This statement was released with the following declaration: "If infidels invade an Islamic country and that country does not have the ability to defend itself, it becomes the binding obligation of all the worlds Muslims to declare a holy war," (Burns, 2001, p. 1).

With a clear understanding that the Taliban did not intend to hand over Osama bin Laden, approximately 100 CIA officers, 350 U.S. Special Forces soldiers, and 15,000 Afghans overthrew the Taliban regime in less than three months. However, the success of the U.S. transitioned into an insurgency as the Taliban began a sustained effort to overthrow the new Afghan government (Jones, 2008, p. 12).

Hypothesis 1A: Foreign occupation, nationalism, and religious difference led to a rebellion.

U.S. Occupation:

The U.S. occupation started on October 7, 2001 with an initial air campaign against the al-Qaeda and Taliban forces in Afghanistan. U.S. ground operations were initiated on Oct 18, 2001 and by December 6, 2001 the Taliban evacuated the southern city of Kandahar, leaving their last sanctuary in Afghanistan (Mason & Johnson, 2007, p. 454). The central leadership of the Taliban fled into the tribal areas of Pakistan to reorganize, while the Taliban foot solders blended into the countryside and villages in Afghanistan.

The United States and coalition forces have occupied Afghanistan since 2001. In late 2001, an interim Afghan government was established, but only held control over small areas around Kabul and rural areas throughout the country (Jones, 2008, p. 20). On June 13, 2002 Hamid Karzai was elected to serve as the new Afghan government's first president, a candidacy that was openly backed by the United States (Gall, 2002, p. 1). The Karzai government has largely been viewed as a puppet government of the United States. Mulla Abd al-Latif Hakimi, a Taliban spokesman, proclaimed that the Taliban will never cease their enmity with the occupiers and foreign forces that have "illegally invaded Afghanistan" (Muslih, 2004, p. 1).

Nationalism and Religious Difference:

There are three major organizations that have allied and comprise the Afghan insurgency: the Taliban, al-Qaeda, and *Hizb-i-Islami* (Jones, 2008, p. 27). The Taliban is the largest of these three groups. The Afghan Taliban draws their roots from a movement

of students that attended the religious seminaries in the Pashtun-dominated areas of

Pakistan. The Taliban were products of the Deobandi religious seminaries promoted by

the intelligence agencies of Pakistan, the U.S., and Saudi Arabia, designed to indoctrinate

the Afghan refugees and their children to support the *jihad* in Afghanistan against the

Soviet Union in the 1980s (Behuria, 2007, p.532). These seminars, called *Madrassas*,

educated the young Afghans, and prepared them for the *jihad*. They taught that true

Muslims have a sacred right and obligation to wage *jihad* to protect the Muslims of any

country. The Taliban adopted this extreme version of Deobandism and implemented it

during their time in control during the 1990s.

The Taliban's adoption of extremist Islam partly explains their affinity with al-

Qaeda. The al-Qaeda leaders also embrace a similar ideology of extremist Sunni Islam.

This version, called Wahhabism, was inspired by the writings of Sayyid Qutb. While

Wahhabism shares a common goal with the Taliban, to establish an Islamist state, their

purpose focuses on a global j*ihad* meant to establish Islamic rule in all governments, thus

they are bound to no location.

The last group, *Hizb-i-Islami*, is led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Hekmatyar was a

mujahideen leader during the Soviet occupation. A disciple of Sayyid Qutb of the Muslim

Brotherhood, Hekmatyar adopted an extreme version of Sunni Islam. Despite having

similar goals in establishing a pure Islamic state, Hekmatyar was an initial enemy of the

Taliban during their reign in the 1990s. His educated and elitist worldview clashed with

the illiterate rural Mullahs of the Taliban who lacked learning and sophistication (Mason

& Johnson, 2007, p. 19). Hekmatyar fought the Taliban until he was defeated and fled to

Iran. However, he returned in 2002 and allied with the Taliban to destroy the pro-Western pawn government of Hamid Karzai.

The Taliban, al-Qaeda, and *Hizb-i-Islami* comprise the major elements of the Afghan insurgency. These groups allied against the pro-Western government with the goal of establishing an Islamist state. Thus, the insurgency can be described as a decentralized network of fighters with varying motivations. However, they are unified by their hostility to the secular Afghan government and occupying forces as well as their loyalty to Mullah Omar and the Taliban. These groups portray the United States as a religiously motivated Christian Crusader on an aggressive mission to occupy the Middle East (Al- Zawahiri, 2002). This distinction allows the Taliban to frame the situation as one of either supporting the Christian crusaders and Karzai's puppet government, or supporting true Islam and the Taliban.

The insurgency has successfully used Afghan nationalism to draw public support for their cause. Taliban leaders and representatives often draw connections to the current occupation by the United State to the Soviet occupation during the 1980s. Omar stated in 2006 that "the rulers of Kabul will not be able to run the country with the wisdom of others, and God willing they will be destroyed. If today the American military abandons you, you have no standing. Russian military also come to Afghanistan- remember its fate" (Gall, 2006, p. 1). Omar has also claimed that, "the Taliban have emerged as a nationalistic movement that is approaching the edge of victory" (Mazetti & Schmitt, 2009, p. 1). In 2005, Taliban military chief Mullah Dadullah drew public support by arguing, "those who were happy over the fall of the Taliban have now realized the American occupation of their country was just for the sake of American interests… The

Afghan people will continue our *jihad* until we drive out foreign troops from our country" (Al-Jazeera, 2005, p. 1). In an attempt to appeal to the Afghan population and show his concern for the Afghan nation, Mullah Omar has threatened President Karzai with prosectution in an Islamic court for the massacres of Afghan people committed by the occupying forces (Al-Jazeera, 2006, p. 1).

Rebellion:

The Taliban rebellion began in 2002. After retreating to the Pakistan tribal areas during the 2001 invasion, the Taliban were able to regroup. Peace deals in 2004 and 2005 with the Pakistani government allowed the Taliban to consolidate their hold in northern Pakistan and begin training recruits for the Afghanistan insurgency. Foreign fighters began arriving in Pakistan to receive their training then travel across the border to fight. These foreign fighters not only bolstered the ranks of the insurgency, but also were more violent, uncontrollable, and extreme than the local Taliban.

As the West turned their attention to Iraq and the new Afghan government failed to provide basic services such as security, water, and electricity, the Taliban insurgency was able to fill this gap. Omar and the Taliban promoted shadow governments in most districts throughout Afghanistan levying taxes, establishing Islamist courts, and Islamist governors (Mazetti & Schmitt, 2009, p. 1). This shadow government is complete with military, religious, and cultural councils as well as appointed officials and commanders in virtually every Afghan province and district (Gall, 2008, p. 1).

The Taliban have been offered multiple opportunities for peace negotiations by Karzai's government. Interestingly, a common element in every rejection has been the demand by the Taliban for the removal of foreign occupying forces in Afghanistan.

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"There can be no talks with the Afghan puppet government in the presence of foreign occupying forces. Hamid Karzai and his colleagues should first free themselves from the slavery of foreign infidels and then invite us for negations" stated Tayyad Agha, the Taliban spokesperson, in response to negotiations offers in 2005 (Al-Jazeera, 2006, p. 1). As a result of the foreign occupation, the Afghan insurgency has used nationalism and religious difference to draw support for the rebellion against the foreign occupation.

Hypothesis 1B: **The rebellion experienced mass domestic support.**

Public Support

This is the most difficult variable to assess of Pape's theory. In order to measure mass public support, information taken from public opinion polls were examined and analyzed. From this information, an estimation of the public's support for the insurgency is calculated.

The Taliban insurgency has experienced varying levels of domestic and international support since the 2001 invasion. The roles of culture relationships, ethnic ties, and tribal associations have blurred the boundaries of the historical national state in Afghanistan. Thus, both domestic and Arab public opinion will be taken into account.

 The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by U.S. and coalition forces received mixed reactions from the Arab world. Saddam Hussein released this statement after the occupation began: "The true believers cannot but condemn this act, not because it has been committed by an America against a Muslim people, but because it is an aggression perpetrated outside international law" (Kifner, 2001, p. 1). Ahmed Youssef, a spokesperson for Hamas said, "what America has done is pure terrorism against an innocent people when there was no proof they were involved in the Sept. 11 attacks"

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(Kifner, 2001, p. 1). A spokesperson for the Iranian government, Hamid Reza Assefi, called the invasion "unacceptable" and argued this will "damage the innocent and oppressed Afghans" (Kifner, 2001, p. 2).

Based on reports received from the Afghan National Security Forces, the domestic population was largely supportive of the new Afghan government from 2001-2005. However, beginning in 2006, the Crisis States Research Center (2010) has noted a shift in favor of anti-government elements in unstable areas of Afghanistan. This has been argued to be a result of a shift in strategy by the Taliban, who have moved away from intimidating people and instead have begun a campaign to win the hearts and minds of the population (Masadykov, 2010, p. 4). Domestic public opinions in Afghanistan have also been measured by ABC News and media partners since 2005. A series of polls have been conducted utilizing face-to-face interview with 1,534 randomly selected Afghans in all of the country's 34 provinces (Lander, 2010). Polls were conducted in 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2 in 2009.

In all 5 of the opinion polls, Afghan citizens were asked who they would rather have ruling Afghanistan today, the current government or the Taliban. While the opinion polls overwhelming show that the Afghan people would rather have the current government ruling Afghanistan, a steady rise in support of the Taliban is apparent. While a small minority, it is still worthy of noting that since 2005, support for a Taliban ruled government has grown from 1% to 6% in 2009. However, support for the current Afghanistan government reaches as high as 90% in 2009.

Figure 2[6]:
Who would you rather have rule over Afghanistan today?

Date of Poll	Current Government	Taliban	Other	No opinion
Dec-2009	90%	6%	*	3%
Jan-2009	82%	4%	10%	4%
2007	84%	4%	6%	6%
2006	88%	3%	4%	5%
2005	91%	1%	2%	6%

When asked directly if the population supported the presence of Taliban forces in Afghanistan, an overwhelming majority opposed it. However, a similar trend of growing support for the Taliban is witnessed in this poll question. In 2006 and 2007, only 5% of the population supported the Taliban. This figure doubled by 2009 to 10%. While still a minority, a sector of the population supports the Taliban.

Figure 3:
Do you support or oppose the presence of Fighters from the Taliban in Afghanistan today?

Date of Poll	Support	Oppose	No opinion
Dec-2009	10%	88%	2%
Jan-2009	8%	90%	2%
2007	5%	92%	3%
2006	5%	94%	1%

It appears that whatever support the Taliban movement has remains a very small minority of the overall public opinion towards the movement. However, when the

[6] Tables and results were taken from ABC News Afghanistan Public Opinion Poll "Where we Stand".

questions move away from direct support of the Taliban as a government and instead focus on their goals to remove the occupying forces, a different picture emerges. When asked how they felt about the occupation forces in Afghanistan, as high as 40% of the Afghan population opposed these foreign occupiers. Thus, a distinction emerges between support of the Taliban's religious government and support for the Afghan insurgencies goals against the occupation. While the population is not supporting the religious extremism of the Taliban, they are supporting their insurgency against the occupying powers.

Figure 4:
Do you support or oppose the presence of NATO/Coalition forces in Afghanistan today?

Date of Poll	Support	Oppose	No opinion
Dec-2009	61%	37%	2%
Jan-2009	59%	40%	2%
2007	67%	30%	2%
2006	78%	21%	1%

When asked about the United States' decision to increase the troop level in Afghanistan by 30,000 plus troops, more than a third of the population opposed this decision.

Figure 4:
Is the 30,000-troop increase something you support or oppose?

Date of Poll	Support	Oppose	No opinion
Dec-2009	61%	36%	3%

While it is difficult to draw conclusions about specific support for the Afghan insurgency from these opinion polls, some general conclusions can be made. A minority (10%) of the population supports the religious extremist Taliban as governors over Afghanistan. However, there is a clear distinction between those who support the Taliban's religious views and those who support their insurgency against the occupation. More than a third of the population has expressed opposition to the occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces. Thus, it is not religious extremism that is motivating people to support the Taliban insurgency, but the reaction to foreign occupation of their homeland. However, these statistics do not support Pape's hypothesis that the insurgency will receive mass public support.

Pashtun, Mullah, and International Support

The Taliban insurgency has received support from three important avenues. First, the Pashtun tribes in Afghanistan and Pakistan have largely supported the Taliban. Second, many Islamic Clerics and Mullahs have also supported the insurgency. Third, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan have also provided support to the Taliban.

Within Afghanistan's domestic society, the ethnic Pashtun's have been strong supporters of the Taliban. Afghanistan is 42% Pashtun and even more Pashtuns live in neighboring Pakistan along the Afghan-Pakistan border. There are five major tribal groups within the Pashtun ethnicity: the Durrani, Ghilzai, Karlanri, Sarbani, and Ghurghust. The Durrani and the Ghilzai are the two most influential groups (Afsar, Samples and Wood 2008). While the Taliban are not completely Pashtun, the bulk of their leadership and insurgency is made up of Pashtuns in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Some have claimed up to 95% of the Taliban come from the Pashtun tribes; however,

verifiable figures are difficult to calculate (Giustozzi, 2010). The Taliban do not claim to be a Pashtun movement and, since 2007, have made a strong push to recruit non-Pashtuns into the Taliban insurgency. They have displayed a willingness to compromise their rules and regulations in order to infiltrate areas where they have had little to no influence. These infiltrations have occurred largely through clerical networks in Afghanistan. The Taliban have received widespread sympathy from the Afghan clerics, as they have historically curried the favor of the mullahs. These tactical moves by the Taliban demonstrate an effort to move away from the perception of the Taliban as a strictly Pashtun movement.

Since the end of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the Pakistani government has had close relations with the Taliban movement. The Taliban were supported by Pakistan during the civil war in the 1990's and experienced good relations until the 2001 invasion. While Pakistan has openly denied supporting the Taliban, evidence has mounted to the contrary. In 2001, close to 10,000 Pakistani Taliban crossed the border into Afghanistan to fight against the U.S. led invasion (Behuria, 2007, p.533). After the invasion, the Pashtun population in the tribal areas of Pakistan provided shelter and support to the fleeing Taliban leaders. According to Taliban sources, the Pakistani army has been quite consistent in supporting the Taliban. As of 2009, recruiting, training, and logistics bases for the Taliban in Pakistan are still intact (Masadykov, 2010, p. 15). The Taliban have also received support from Iran. Iran has moved past the Sunni/Shi'ite disagreement with the Taliban and instead has supported them against the United States. While not an acknowledged supporter of the Taliban, Iran kept good relations with Hezb-e-Islami of the Afghan insurgency (Masadykov, 2010, p. 13). Lastly, Iraqi insurgents

have provided information on making and using various kinds of bombs and IEDs. There is also some evidence that a small number of Pakistani and Afghan insurgents received training in Iraq (Jones, 2008, p. 34).

In summary, the Afghan insurgency has received varying levels of domestic and international support. Ethnic ties, tribal alliances, and religious affiliations have increased the domestic support level for the Taliban insurgency against the occupation. This support is not derived from an affinity to religious extremism, but from the shared experience and rebellion against foreign occupation. While this support does not represent a direct indication of public opinion concerning the insurgency, it does serve as a proxy indicating growing support for the insurgency and the concept of society honoring those martyred by the occupying forces.

Hypothesis 2: **Suicide attacks were used strategically to increase the costs of occupation and inflict enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorists' demands.**

By 2005, the number of suicide attacks had reached unprecedented levels. The Taliban responded to the overwhelming military superiority of the U.S. and occupying forces with the implementation of the suicide attack. There are 2 reason for the implementation of the suicide tactic. First, the insurgency failed to repel the foreign forces through guerilla tactics. Rather than give up, the Taliban chose to escalate the insurgency and adopted suicide attacks. Second, the Taliban observed the success suicide attacks were experiencing in Iraq in increasing the costs of occupation for the U.S. (Williams, 2008, p. 35). Suicide attacks fit well within the established goals of the Taliban insurgency. Rather than seeking to control territory or even defeat the American

or occupying forces, the Taliban instead are simply trying to outlast them. A Taliban representative stated, "history shows that maintaining an invasion and occupation of Afghanistan is extremely difficult. We have faith in Allah and confidence in our *mujahideen*" to outlast the occupation (Muslih, 2004, p. 2).

The insurgency has found the ability to break down security in some of the most unexpected areas in Afghanistan. Territories in the north, once believed to be immune to the Taliban influence, have been infiltrated by Taliban forces and suicide attacks. These tactics have undermined faith in the Afghan government to provide security to the people of Afghanistan. Kondoz, once a strong hold for the Northern Alliance against the Taliban, has also fallen victim to 9 suicide attacks. Kabul, the nation's capital and strong hold of the U.S. led occupation, has suffered 67 suicide attacks; the most of any location in Afghanistan. These attacked have been used to destabilize faith in the Afghan government as well as the ability of the U.S. occupation to provide stability and security to Afghan citizens.

The Afghanistan suicide campaign has a unique characteristic that has been largely absent from other suicide campaigns. Of the 463 suicide attacks in Afghanistan, my database shows that 130 of these attacks resulted in no deaths outside of the suicide attacker. These statistics are alarming when compared to the success rates of suicide attacks in Pakistan and Chechnya. Often in these failed attempts, the suicide bomber detonated the bombs prematurely. When asked why this was occurring, President Karzai spoke of the Afghan police arresting bombers who were often mentally unsound, deranged, or mentally retarded. In an interview, the Director of UN Security in Afghanistan claimed that three of every five Afghan suicide attackers suffered from a

physical ailment or disability (Williams, 2008, p. 39). It appears that the Taliban have deliberately recruited and used individuals that are either mentally unsound or of limited intelligence to conduct suicide operations. Kabul Medical Universities Yusef Yadgari, who conducts autopsies on suicide attacker's bodies, concluded that close to 80% of these suicide bombers were either sick or disabled (Nelson, 2007). This conclusion does shed some light as to why 28% of suicide attacks are failing in Afghanistan.

Another explanation for the 28% failure rate is the strategic choice of targets selected by the Afghan insurgency. The Taliban have been attentive to the affect the 2001 U.S. bombing campaign and the use of drone missiles has had on the local Afghan population in turning public opinion away from the United States. In a war for the hearts and minds of the Afghan people, the Taliban appear to have taken extra precautions to minimize civilian casualties by targeting mainly military or government targets.

Conclusion

Pape's theory is able to explain how the U.S. led occupation of Afghanistan has resulted in the adoption of suicide attacks by the Taliban insurgency. The difference in religion between the U.S. and Afghanistan, as well as a strong sense of nationalism, was used by the Taliban to garner public support for the rebellion against the occupation. These factors, along with the military superiority of the U.S. led occupation, resulted in the adoption of a suicide attack campaign in Afghanistan.

All but one of the suicide attacks conducted in the Afghanistan suicide campaign is explained by Pape's theory. The very first suicide attack, conducted by al-Qaeda against Ahmad Shah Massoud, occurred on September 10, 2001. One day before the 9/11 terrorist attacks, al-Qaeda struck down the most likely ally of the United States in its

coming retaliation against the group. Two suicide bombers, posing as journalists were able to detonate a suicide bomb and kill Ahmad Shah Massoud who was the only nemesis that the Taliban were unable to vanquish during the civil war from 1996-2001. While this attack clearly falls outside the scope of the occupation by U.S. led forces, it cannot be completely regarded as an anomaly to Pape's theory. A known retaliation was coming against al-Qaeda regardless of the success or failure of 9/11. The mere attempt of the 9/11 attacks would result in some retaliation against the group. The removal of Massoud was a strategic move that was meant to counter the superior military power of the United States by removing a key ally.

Pape's theory predicted that the Taliban insurgency would receive mass domestic support. However, there is little evidence that the Taliban insurgency has received mass domestic support in Afghanistan. While varying levels of support are found, no data indicates that a majority of the population supports the insurgency. In addition, Pape's theory fails to explain the importance of international support. Without the aid of the Pashtun tribal members in Pakistan, Iraqi insurgents, the governments of Pakistan or Iran, the Taliban insurgency and suicide campaign would be drastically weaker.

The application of Pape's theory correctly highlights the aspects that led to the Afghanistan suicide campaign. The U.S. led occupation began in 2001 and held superior military power over the Taliban. The new Afghan government was viewed as a puppet of the United States and not an Islamist government. The Taliban insurgency framed the occupation and the new government as a Christian Crusade against the Islamist and Afghan people, creating a clear difference in religion. In 2002, an insurgency began against the occupying forces who were largely non-Muslims. The Taliban insurgency has

evolved as a nationalist movement fighting against the occupation. In 2005, the Taliban

adopted suicide attacks as a method to escalate the insurgency, counter the superior

military power of the U.S., and overwhelm U.S. interests in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER 4: PAKISTAN

The modern phenomenon of suicide attacks began in Pakistan on May 8, 2002. This occurred shortly after the suicide campaign began in Afghanistan. As in the case of Afghanistan, suicide attacks surfaced following the U.S. declared "War on Terror". While suicide attacks in Pakistan started as sporadic occurrences, since 2007, they have attained unprecedented momentum. This chapter argues that Pape's theory of suicide terrorism is able to explain the process of suicide attack causation in the Pakistani suicide campaign. After a brief analysis of the suicide campaign in Pakistan, a historical overview of Pakistan will be provided, including an analysis of Pakistan's ties with terrorist organizations. Following this, Pape's theory of suicide attacks will be applied to Pakistan, focusing on the three hypotheses derived from his theory. Concluding will be an evaluation of Pape's theory and its ability to explain the Pakistan suicide campaign.

Suicide Attack Analysis

In Pakistan, suicide attacks have occurred sporadically since 1995, totaling five in the late 1990s. However, since the turn of the century, suicide attacks have increased at an unprecedented pace. The turn of the millennium signaled the beginning of an upward trend of suicide attacks that has spanned the decade. The year 2002 witnessed 2 attacks, 3 in 2003, 7 in 2004, 7 in 2005, 9 in 2006, 62 in 2007, 64 in 2008, and 88 in 2009.

Figure 1[7]

Sucide Attacks in Pakistan per year
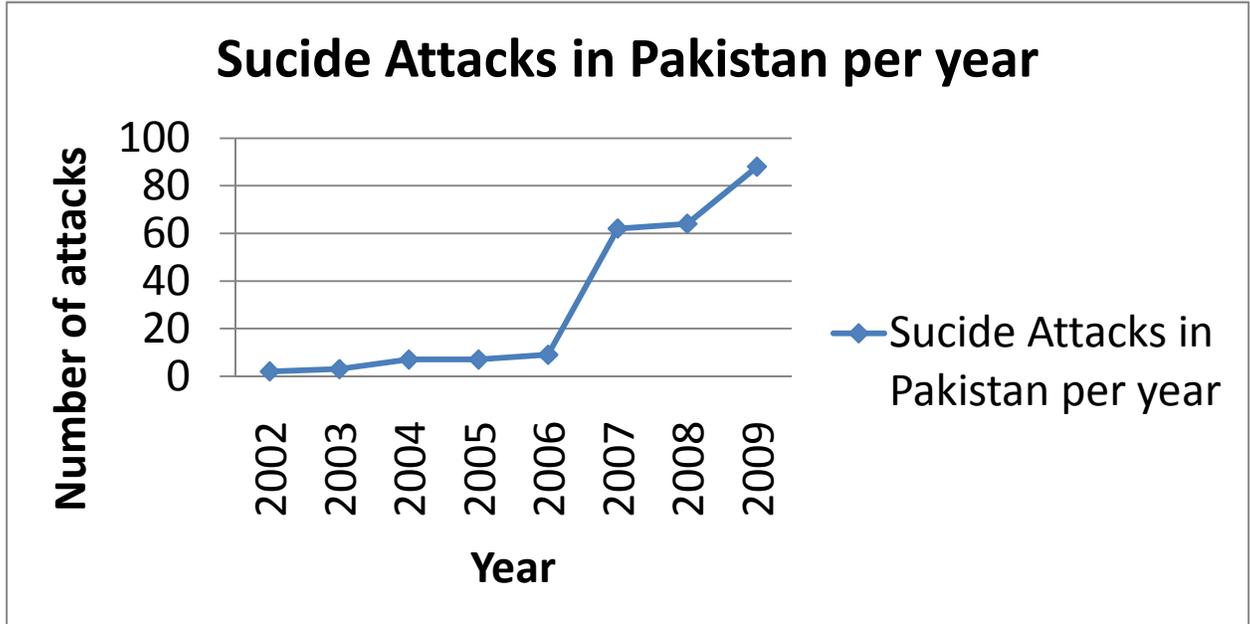
Suicide attacks in Pakistan have produced an enormous amount of damage and destruction. My data set claims that 3,280 individuals have lost their lives due to suicide attacks in Pakistan, and 7,824 have been injured. The average kill per suicide attack in Pakistan is 13.17 and the average wounded per suicide attack is 31.42.

This dataset raises two important questions. Why did suicide attacks begin in 2002 after remaining largely dormant in the 1990s and early 2000s? Second, what caused the number of suicide attacks to increase at such a rapid rate in 2007? In order to answer these questions and the more important question regarding the cause of the Pakistan suicide campaign, Pape's theory will be applied to Pakistan.

> *Hypothesis 1A:* Foreign occupation, nationalism, and religious difference led to a rebellion.

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[7] This data set relies heavily on three sources, the Global Terrorism Database, the RAND terrorism database, and the National Counterterrorism Centers (NCTC) Worldwide Incident Tracking Systems (WITS). After combing these three databases and eliminating duplicates, and updating the resulting database with additional information, I completed a Pakistani Suicide Database from 1986-2009.

Hypothesis 1B: The rebellion experienced mass domestic support.
Hypothesis 2: Suicide attacks were used strategically to increase the costs of occupation and inflict enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorists' demands.

These three hypotheses will be tested through basic quantitative analysis derived from the Pakistan suicide attack database. These conclusions will be supplemented through qualitative ECA analysis, which will examine public opinion polls conducted in Pakistan, specific statements released by the organizations conducting the suicide attacks, and newspaper articles focusing on the suicide campaign.

Historical Overview:

The nation of Pakistan was carved out of the subcontinent of India after British Colonial rule ended in 1947. India was comprised of a Hindu majority and the Muslim population feared being marginalized. Muslim leaders from mostly northern India used Islam as a mobilizing strategy to unify the Muslim population in support of a new state. As the state of Pakistan came into being, the Islamic dimension played a foundational role, and Islam entered into the new states constitution as an unalterable frame of reference (Riedel, 2008, p. 40).

During this time, contention was established over the inclusion of Kashmir into the Indian state despite a majority population of Muslims. This situation has been the site of numerous clashes as Pakistani forces and Muslim citizens have attempted to reverse that decision. The Indian government has accused Pakistan of aiding and arming various terrorist groups that have attacked Indian targets in Kashmir as well as throughout the Indian state. This conflict with India affects all aspects of Pakistan's worldview and self-image, and the rivalry between these two countries plays a major role in Pakistan's foreign policy decision (Riedel, 2008, p. 41).

Jihadi Terrorism

Terrorist groups within Pakistan can be broken down into three categories based on their primary goals: *Sectarian, Kashmir,* and *Pakistani Taliban* (Kaltenthaler et. al. , 2010, p. 817). While historically these distinctions have been clear, since President Musharraf's decision in 2001 to support the U.S. "War on Terror" and the 2002 government led invasion of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and the Federal Administer Tribal Areas (FATA), the distinctions between these groups have largely disappeared and resulted in a loosely-united rebellion.

Sectarian

The sectarian terrorist organizations in Pakistan are characterized by interfaith *jihads*. After the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Iran began to sponsor Shi'ite groups in Pakistan (Kaltenthaler et. al. , 2010, p. 817). Some of these groups targeted the Sunni population in terrorist attacks. In response to this, state sponsored Sunni groups were created during the 1980's under Pakistani President Zia al Haq. As a Sunni, Zia al Haq embarked on an Islamization campaign of many governmental policies and encouraged *jihad* against the Shi'ite population in Pakistan (Kaltenthaler et. al. , 2010, p. 817).

A majority of the sectarian attacks focused on minority Islamic groups. The practice of waging violent *jihad* against other Muslims comes from the Salafi Jihad school of thought. The Salafi Jihadists view violent *jihad* as equal to the five pillars of Islam and they engage in *takfir,* which is the labeling of certain Muslims as infidels. Through *takfir,* Salafi Islamists are able to justify violence against other Muslims in the form of *jihad* (Moghadam, 2008, p. 62). Wahhabism and Deobandism are also puritanical strands of Islam closely related to Salafism that practice *takfir.* These ideologies have

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been used since the 1980s in Pakistan to justify sectarian *jihads* against minority Islamic sects, mostly Shi'ites (Kaltenthaler et. al. , 2010, p. 817).

Kashmir

Pakistan's conflict and tension with India over Kashmir resulted in the Pakistani government sponsoring terrorist groups meant to work against India (Riedel, 2008, p. 32). In 1989 when rebellion broke out in Kashmir, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)[8] and the Pakistani government used their relationship with the *jihad* groups to aid the Kashmir insurgency (Kaltenthaler et. al. , 2010, p. 818). Pakistan has sense sheltered and aided Kashmir militant groups. *Jihad* and militant groups have been used by the Pakistani government in order to achieve short-term gains against India and specifically, Kashmir. Essentially, the Pakistani government has been waging a war by proxy in Indian-held Kashmir through Islamic militants (Chellaney, 2001, p. 97). The major benefactors of Pakistan's aid have gone to the terrorist groups: *Lashkar-e-Taiba, Hizbul Mujahideen,* and *Harkat-ul-Mujaideen*. However, since 2002, these groups have conducted a combined 6 known suicide attacks against the Pakistan government and army. They have targeted government police, troops, factories, and schools.

Taliban

The Afghanistan and Pakistan Taliban draw their roots from a movement of students that attended the religious seminaries in the Pashtun dominated areas of Pakistan. The Taliban were products of the Deobandi religious seminaries promoted by the intelligence agencies of Pakistan, the U.S., and Saudi Arabia, designed to indoctrinate the Afghan refugees and their children to support the *jihad* in Afghanistan against the

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[8] Pakistan's intelligence agency

Soviet Union in the 1980s (Behuria, 2007, p. 532). These seminars, called *Madrassas*, educated the young Afghans, and prepared them for the *jihad*.

Two terrorist groups, *Jamiat-i-Islami* and *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam*, were used by the Pakistani government to set up the *Madrassas* and funnel support to the Taliban movement. After the Soviet occupation was repelled, civil war broke out in Afghanistan. The Taliban gained popularity and through help from the Pakistani government and ISI, were able to seize control of Afghanistan in 1996. After the Taliban gained control in Afghanistan, those graduates of the *Madrassas* remaining in Pakistan were inspired with the *jihad* ideal and began demanding a strict Islamic type of rule in Pakistan (Behuria, 2007, p. 532).

The Pakistani Taliban started to form as the result of two major events. First, the 2001 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and second, President Musharraf's declaration of support for the U.S. "War on Terror". However, the transition from being Taliban sympathizes to an actual operating group took place between 2002-2004 when the Pakistani government conducted military operations in FATA to root out foreign extremists. While the government spent resources rooting out foreign militants, small local extremist groups began to coordinate. The Pakistani Taliban, also known as *Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan* (TTP) was formed as a loose conglomerate of various groups in Pakistan that had turned against the Pakistani state due to its alliance with the United States. The group was officially formalized in December 2007 under the leadership of Beitullah Mehsud (Abbas, 2008, p. 1) .

The TTP leadership is largely from the Pashtun ethnic group, the same group that comprises most of the Afghan Taliban. This group has nested itself in the Pashtun

majority tribal areas as well as in most of FATA (Behuria, 2007, p. 537). The TTP has

failed to move into Pakistan's largest province, the Punjab, which provides most of the

officers and other ranks of the Pakistani army. Since 2007, the TTP have conducted 67

known suicide attacks against the Pakistan government and army.

Hypothesis 1A: Foreign occupation, nationalism, and religious difference led to a

rebellion.

U.S. Occupation:

Pakistan's relationship began with the United States during the Cold War

(Hussain, 2005, p. 3). Pakistan, seeking a strong ally to help with security concerns and

provide economic investment, sought an alliance with the United States, which at the

time was seeking to promote a strategic alliance against the Soviet Union. However, a

U.S. shift in relations with India as well as an opening of China to Pakistan created

tensions between the two counties. Following a shift in strategic interests, a fall-out

between the two countries resulted. Relations re-emerged after the Soviet invasion of

Afghanistan in 1979. Pakistan and the U.S. worked together providing support for the

Afghanistan insurgency, which called for *jihad* and supported hard line Islamic groups

against the atheistic communist Soviets. Following the Soviet retreat from Afghanistan in

1989, the U.S. stopped their support and instead imposed economic sanctions on Pakistan

in 1990 due to its nuclear weapons program. Pakistan, a 10-year ally of the U.S., was left

with only a sense of betrayal (Hussain, 2005, p. 4).

The U.S.-Pakistani relations took another turn after the September 11, 2001

terrorist attacks. In 1999, the military had seized power under the helm of General Pervez

Musharraf (Cohen, 2002, p. 2). The country's economic and political systems were in

danger of collapsing, international religious and ethnic violence were on the rise, and support for radical Islam and *jihadi* operations into India were a norm. Musharraf was heading a largely liberal and secular Pakistan that had neither the resources nor the political capital to address the countries' support for the Taliban and by implication, Al-Qaida (Hussain, 2005, p. 5). After 9/11, in exchange for abandoning its Taliban ally and providing military and intelligence support for the U.S., including allowing foreign forces fighting in Afghanistan to use Pakistani territory, the U.S. gave over $4 billion in aid and forgave over $1 billion in debt (Hussain, 2005, p. 5). The United States used economic pressure to coerce the Pakistan government into abandoning its Taliban ally and instead supporting the United States. This agreement marked the beginning of the indirect occupation of Pakistan by the United States.

Following the establishment of this alliance widespread criticisms, mainly from the Islamists against the Pakistani government, claimed Musharraf's reforms and policies come from the United States. However, between 2002 and 2007, the Pakistani government attempted to appease both the TTP and the United States. ECA analysis reveals the mixed messages that were sent to the United States and the TTP by the Pakistani government during this time. These actions make it very difficult to assess the extent of the United States influence over the Pakistani government. However, in 2007 it became clear the United States was in control when Musharraf's government took military action against the FATA and NWFP regions. These actions were strongly against public opinion in Pakistan. Following this action, it was clear that Pakistan was a client state of the U.S. In 2007, Osama bin Laden released this statement concerning the Pakistani government:

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"When the American Foreign Minister Powell came to you, you cowered, bowed and submitted to him like a lowly slave and you permitted the American Crusader forces to use the air, soil and water of Pakistan, the country of Islam, to kill the people of Islam in Afghanistan, then in Waziristan. So woe to you and away with you (Riedel, 2008, p. 40)."

In May 2009, after a deadly suicide attack by the TTP in the FATA area, the TTP released this statement: "We call upon all Muslims in Pakistan to stay away from areas where the enemy is present, so that they are not harmed by *jihadi* attacks" (CBS, 2009) . In this statement, the TTP label the Pakistani government as the enemy, drawing a distinction between the Muslim faithful and the infidels of the government. In addition, in May 2009, the senior al-Qaeda leader Abu Yehya al Libi released a statement declaring that the Pakistani regime had become part of what he called the infidel coalition. "Its army, intelligence and police now constitute the tip of the spear taking part in tearing our Muslim nation apart," (CBS, Internet Terror Monitor, 2009). These released statements shed light on how the American influence over the Pakistani government is viewed as an indirect occupation.

Nationalism and Religious Difference:

One of the central unifying elements used by the TTP was the call for an Islamist government. Pakistan was founded on the principles of Islam and the Quran. The ability of the TTP to use Islam and the practice of *takfir* to categorize the Pakistani government as infidels allowed for a distinction to be made between the religion of the government and that of the faithful. This has helped garner support for the movement and unite the various organizations that were abandoned by the government in 2001.

In essence, the TTP used Islam to unify various terrorist groups and organizations against the government. The call for an Islamist Pakistan state utilized nationalism as a method of motivation and unification for the TTP's rebellion. The American influence

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over Musharraf and the government is viewed as an American indirect occupation by the TTP and much of the Pakistani society. Finally, the combined use of *takfir* to label the Pakistani government as infidels and the categorization of the American presence in Pakistan as a Christian Crusade established a difference of religion between the government-occupiers and the Pakistan society.

Rebellion:

On October 27, 2001, about 10,000 Pakistani Taliban crossed the border into Afghanistan to join the ranks of the Afghan Taliban in their fight against the U.S. led occupation (Behuria, 2007, p. 533). Back home in Pakistan the government, committed to "enlightened moderation," began to find it difficult to fight the menace of growing unrest. Once the Taliban were routed in Afghanistan, they fled and found sanctuary in the Pakistan tribal areas.

In 2002, the Pakistani government entered into the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and in the Federal Administer Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan to root out al-Qaeda and foreign fighters. This action by the Pakistani government created negative reactions among the local Pashtun tribes and clans who saw this as an invasion of their sovereign territory. As a result, an alliance occurred between disparate groups opposed to these government operations. This move also brought some of the Kashmir terrorist groups into the fold to fight against the Pakistan government. These groups can be categorized under a loose umbrella known as the Pakistani Taliban or TTP (Kaltenthaler et. al. , 2010, p. 818).

The TTP began engaging in an armed resistance in 2003 against the Pakistan government. Baitullah Mehsud, the man who would go on to forge the alliance that

officially created the TTP in 2007, said that the "resistance was started when (Pakistan military) operations began in the tribal area" (Shahid, 2005, p. 1). After a loosely organized resistance, the government signed a peace agreement with Baitullah Mehsud granting autonomy to the area in 2005. However, the peace treaty failed to reduce the fighting between the two sides. In July and August of 2007, North Waziristan followed by South Waziristan officially announced that their peace treaties with the government were over (Nation, 2007).

The Pakistan government, under heavy pressure from the U.S. to stop negotiations and engage in broad scale military operations, sent military forces into Waziristan then into SWAT in November of 2007. Responding to the invasion of their homeland, Baitullah Mehsud organized an alliance, which created the TTP in December of 2007. The TTP demanded "the end of military action in Swat and North Waziristan and the abolition of all military check posts" (Nation, A militants' new body, 2007). They stated that any future negotiations concerning the FATA regions or the NWFP districts would go through the TTP. This statement signified the official declaration of the FATA and NWFP territories as the TTP's autonomous land.

Fighting has continued between government forces and the TTP through 2009. While peace treaties were signed in 2008 and 2009, both were nullified soon after being signed. Government forces have continued offensives in SWAT and Waziristan. Suicide attacks have become a key tactic for the TTP in their war against the military superior Pakistan government. Since the government invasion of the tribal areas in 2007, the number of suicide attacks per year has jumped from 9 in 2006, to 63 in 2007 and 64 in 2008.

Hypothesis 1B: **The rebellion experienced mass domestic support for the insurgency.**

Public Support

The rebellion against the Pakistan government has received growing public support since 2002. World Public Opinion and the United States Institute of Peace have conducted two important opinion polls in Pakistan, one occurring in 2007 and the other in 2009. The 2007 survey was conducted in Pakistan and consisted of at-home interviews of urban Pakistanis in 10 Pakistan cities across the country. The sample included 907 Pakistanis, selected using multi-state probability sampling (USIP/World Public Opinion, 2007). The 2009 survey consisted of a sample of 1,000 urban and rural respondents. Interviews were conducted face-to-face across four provinces in Pakistan (USIP/World Public Opinion, 2009).

In 2007, the Pakistani public was asked if they supported violent attacks against civilians (Figure 3). While two thirds (66%) stated these attacks were never justified, 15% showed a belief that attacks on civilians can be justified. This poll shows that a majority of the population is against violent attacks against civilians.

Figure 3:Question 1
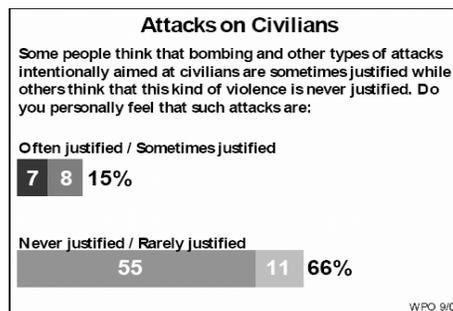
Attacks on Civilians

Some people think that bombing and other types of attacks intentionally aimed at civilians are sometimes justified while others think that this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that such attacks are:

Often justified / Sometimes justified

7 | 8 | **15%**

Never justified / Rarely justified

55 | 11 | **66%**

WPO 9/07

USIP/World Public Opinion. (2007). *USIP/World Public Opinion Pakistani Public Opinion.* College Park: University of Maryland.

When asked about the Taliban in FATA and how the government should handle this situation, a strong majority supported the rebellion (Figure 4). Nearly half of those

polled wanted the government to stop attempting to exert control over FATA, and

advocated seeking peace through negotiations with the Taliban.

Figure 4: Question 2
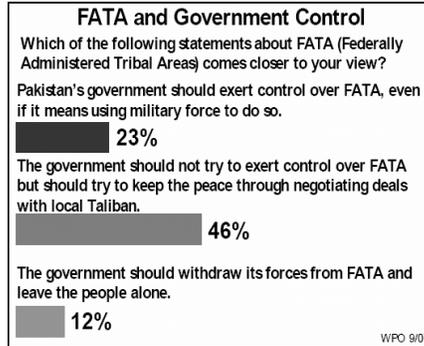
USIP/World Public Opinion. (2007). *USIP/World Public Opinion Pakistani Public Opinion.* College Park: University of Maryland.

Following this question, citizens were asked if they believed the Pakistani

government should be pursuing al-Qaeda and Taliban militants in FATA (Figure 5).

While 44% supported the government pursuing al-Qaeda and 48% supported the

government pursuing foreign Taliban, 36% and 34% opposed these actions respectively.

Over a third of the population supported the giving of safe haven to these groups within

Pakistan.

Figure 5: Question 3
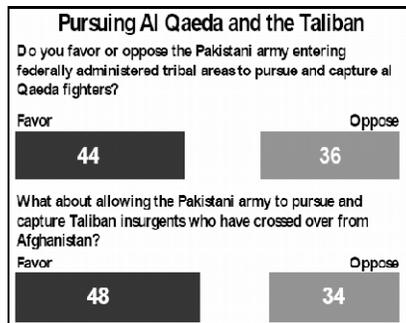
USIP/World Public Opinion. (2007). *USIP/World Public Opinion Pakistani Public Opinion.* College Park: University of Maryland.

When asked what a greater threat was, 72% believe that the U.S. presence in Asia is a critical threat to Pakistan (Figure 6). When comparing this to only 34% who saw the Taliban as a critical threat and 41% that saw al-Qaeda as a critical threat, one can begin to see the impact the U.S. presence has had in Pakistan and the interpretation of this presence as an indirect occupation by the Pakistani people.

Figure 6: Question 4
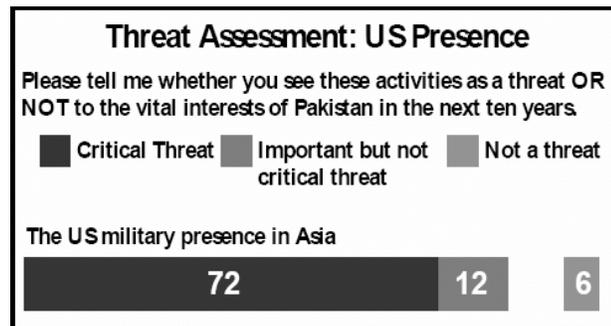
USIP/World Public Opinion. (2007). *USIP/World Public Opinion Pakistani Public Opinion.* College Park: University of Maryland.

Figure 7 shows the comparison between 2007, 2008, and 2009. While acknowledging that this poll is directed specifically at al-Qaeda attacks, we can deduce that these opinions are representative of the broader Salafi movement in Pakistan. Moving from 2007 to 2009, we see a 15% increase in the support of al-Qaeda's attitude toward the United States. This poll verifies the hardening of attitudes toward the U.S. since as early as 2007, and a growing support for those who oppose the U.S.

Taken together, these public opinion polls convey a growing trend of support for the TTP's rebellion. However, mass domestic support for the insurgency is not found. While as high as 46% of the population has shown support for the insurgency, this still falls short of a majority of the population.

Figure 7: Question 5
Al Qaeda attacks on Americans

	2009	2008	2007
I support Al Qaeda's attacks on Americans and share its attitudes toward the United States	25%	16%	10%
I oppose Al Qaeda's attacks on Americans and share many of its attitudes toward the United States	34%	15%	6%
I oppose Al Qaeda's attacks on Americans and do not share its attitudes toward the United States	28%	22%	16%
Refused/Don't know	13%	47%	68%

USIP/World Public Opinion. (2009). *Pakistani Public Opinion on the Swat Conflict, Afghanistan, and US.* College Park: University Maryland.

These public opinion polls provide 2 main conclusions concerning the public's support of the TTP's insurgency. First, the public does support the Taliban movement, which represents the removal of the current regime, and the implementation of strict Islamic law installed in the form of a new government. Almost half of the Pakistani public wished the government to seek peace negotiations with the Taliban, the organization fighting for the overthrow of the government. This conclusion is backed up by the 36% of Pakistanis that opposed the government's pursuit of al-Qaeda and foreign extremists in Pakistan. Second, the domestic population is strongly opposed to the U.S. influence over the Pakistani government. As high as 72% of the public viewed the U.S. presence in Asia as a critical threat to Pakistan. Also supporting this claim is the 34% of the population in 2009 that stated they shared al-Qaeda's attitudes toward the United States. These statistics clearly indicate a strong level of support for the TTP's rebellion against the government and the occupation of Pakistan by the United States.

Hypothesis 2: **Suicide attacks were used strategically to increase the costs of occupation and inflict enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorists' demands.**

Figure 8   Figure 9
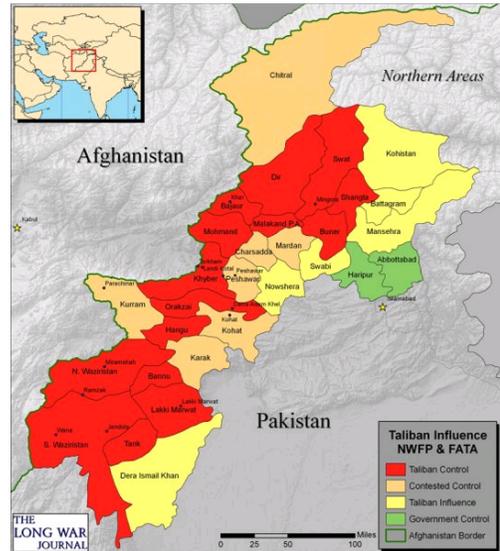
Roggio, B. (2010). Map of Taliban control in Pakistans northwest. *Long War Journal* , 1.

The TTP have used suicide attacks to overwhelm the Pakistan government's interest in supporting the U.S. and occupying the FATA and NWFP territories. Figure 9 shows the location of the Taliban or TTP controlled territory, the contested territory, and the government controlled territory in the FATA and NWFP. The majority of the suicide attacks have taken place in northern Pakistan in either government controlled or Taliban influenced regions. Peshawar and Islamabad, located in the government controlled area of Pakistan, have been the most highly targeted cities in Pakistan with 28 and 20 suicide attacks respectively. Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan, and Peshawar represents a strategically significant government controlled city on the fringe of the Taliban controlled territory. These attacks have attempted to delegitimize the strength of the Pakistan

government and its ability to protect its citizens. In addition, the targeting of government-controlled territories has increased the costs inflicted on the Pakistani government as a result of their continued support of the U.S. in its war on terror and their occupation of the NWFP and FATA territories.

While overall trends are difficult to analyze due to the continual government troop movement and ongoing changes within the rebellion, a few characteristics can be identified. First, a drastic shift in targets took place in 2007. Before 2007, only 36 suicide attacks had occurred in Pakistan, and most were aimed against Shi'ite mosques and foreigner government buildings or government officials. However, beginning in 2007, a clear shift in target selection has occurred with the large scale targeting of police posts, army checkpoints, military institutions, and government buildings.

This shift in the number of suicide attacks can be contributed to the invasion of the FATA and NWFP by the Pakistan military. In 2007, these lands had been declared the territories of the TTP and no longer under the authority of the Pakistan government. However, due to strong U.S. and NATO pressure to end negotiations and use military force, the Pakistan government initiated a military offensive in these territories and invaded them in 2007. The occupation of these territories continues through 2009. As a result of this occupation, 214 suicide attacks have been conducted against the Pakistan government resulting in 2,806 deaths. Suicide attacks have been used to overwhelm the interests and increase the costs for the Pakistan government in its fight against the TTP and its support for the United States.

Conclusion

      This chapter highlights 4 critiques of Pape's theory. First, his theory seems to fail in explaining the isolated suicide attacks that occurred before the 2001 occupation. Second, this analysis fails to find mass domestic support for the TTP insurgency. Third, Pape's theory struggles to explain the early suicide attacks between 2002 and 2006 that targeted mainly Shi'ite institutions. Last, the evaluation of the indirect occupation in Pakistan is difficult to assess.

      However, these critiques do not immediately delegitimize Pape's theory. A closer examination of the 6 suicide attacks before 2001 undermines this first critique. The first 2 attacks were undertaken by foreign terrorist organizations in response to specific foreign policy decisions made by the Pakistani government. These attacks include the November 19, 1995 suicide bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan and the December 21, 1995 suicide bombing of a department store. In a statement released by the Egyptian Jihad, the group claiming the November 19, 1995 suicide car bomb, the group stated: "We warn the government of Pakistan that it will pay a heavy price if it continues to hand over Islamists living on its territory" (Reuters, 1995). As the statement conveys, the main purpose of the November 19, 1995 attack was to strike against the Egyptian government and deter Pakistan from aiding the Egyptian government against the Islamist organizations. The December 21, 1995 attack conducted by Al Jihad also claimed to be a result of the coordination between the Pakistani government and the Egyptian government against the Islamist. Pakistan had extradited 10 of the 11 individuals wanted by the Egyptian government hiding in Pakistan. This attack was a direct response to the extraditing of these 10 individuals (Reuters, 1995). Therefore, these attacks can be

interpreted in the context of a different suicide campaign by the Egyptian Islamists against the Egyptian government.

The remaining 4 attacks, 3 occurring in June of 1998, are difficult to explain due to the lack of information concerning the attacks. The 3 suicide attacks in June of 1998 have been attributed to Indian sponsored terrorist organizations. However, India has denied any involvement in these three attacks. The November 6, 2000 attack targeting the Nawa-i-Waqat new agency appears to be a single attack perpetrated for unknown reasons. No group claimed responsibility for the attack nor were any further attacks conducted against the news agency. As a result of the lack of information, these attacks remain anomalies to Pape's theory.

In addition, just like in the Afghanistan case study, the Pakistan insurgency lacks mass domestic support. Public opinion polls show that less than half of the population supports the TTP's insurgency against the Pakistan government. These findings undermine Pape's hypothesis that mass support is necessary for suicide attacks to be adopted.

The suicide campaign in Pakistan can be traced back to three important factors. First, the occupation of the Pakistani government by the United States began in 2001, which coincides with the beginning of the Pakistani suicide campaign. While six suicide attacks did occur before the U.S. occupation began in Pakistan, after a closer inspection, these attacks can be dismissed as suicide attacks apart of a different suicide campaigns or anomalies to the theory. ECA analysis revels that the United States' indirect occupation over Pakistan did not fully resonate with the TTP until after the 2007 invasion of FATA and NWFP. The attempts by the Pakistani government to appease both the United States

and the TTP from 2001 to 2007 make it extremely difficult to assess the level of influence the United States truly had over Pakistan.

Second, a distinction was created between the true Muslims and the infidels of the government. Various aspects of the Pakistani society, including the TTP, Salafi jihadists, Wahabbism, and Deobandism, utilized *takfir* to categorize the Pakistani government as anti-Islamic. This created a sharp contrast in religion between that of the government and that of the Pakistani society.

Finally, a nationalistic movement was created calling for a government free of U.S. influence in Pakistan. However, when the Pakistan military invaded the tribal territories in 2002 and 2007, it was clear that the government was fully under the influence of the United States.

These three factors led to a rebellion, in which the insurgency was at a stark power disadvantage. In order to equalize the power disparity, the suicide attack method was adopted and utilized against the government forces. Pape's theory of suicide terrorism is able to explain the process of suicide attack causation in the Pakistan suicide campaign.

CHAPTER 5: CHECHNYA

Suicide attacks in Chechnya began on June 7, 2000 when Chechen rebels drove a truck filled with explosives into a Russian Special Forces facility in Alkhan-Yurt, Chechnya killing two Russian Special Forces soldiers and injuring five more. This attack marked the beginning of a suicide campaign against Russian occupation that continues today.

The Russian-Chechen conflict dates back to the 18th century. In essence, the Chechen struggle for independence has lasted over 200 years. This struggle climaxed in 1990, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Chechnya officially declared its independence. Since then two wars (1994 and 1999) have been fought between Russia and Chechnya that have contested the sovereignty of the Chechen nation. Interestingly, the use of suicide attacks was not adopted until 2000 during the second Chechnya war.

This chapter will first provide an analysis of the suicide campaign occurring in Chechnya. In the next section, a brief description of the Chechen struggle for independence will be presented. Following will be the application of Pape's theory of suicide attacks focusing on the three hypotheses derived from his theory. Lastly will be an evaluation of Pape's theory and its applicability to the Chechnya suicide campaign.

Suicide Attack Analysis

Although the Russian-Chechnya conflict can be traced back into the 18th century, suicide attacks were not adopted as a strategic method of warfare until 2000. During the two major conflicts between these two nations, the 1994 and the 1999 war, suicide

attacks remain completely absent from the former. While this phenomenon will be explained in detail under hypothesis 2, a quick answer is that the last resort strategic component of suicide attacks was absent during the 1994 war. The Chechen insurgency was able to repel the Russian occupation through traditional guerilla warfare, thus suicide attacks were not required by the insurgency. However, the strategic situation of the Chechen rebels was drastically changed when the 1999 war began. Faced with overwhelming odds, rather than give up the Chechen insurgency chose to escalate the conflict through the adoption of suicide attack.

Since 2000, the Chechen suicide campaign has included 59 suicide attacks. These attacks, on average, kill 15.83 individuals and wound 40.13 individuals per attack. Of the 59 suicide attacks, 19 have been carried out by female perpetrators. Research conducted by Anne Speckhard and Khapta Ahkmedova highlights revenge and despair as the most common motivations for the women who conduct suicide attacks against the occupying forces (Speckhard, 2005, p. 6). Many of these women were victims of Russian counterterrorism operations. The fact that over 30% of all suicide attacks in Chechnya were conducted by females is extremely problematic for those who claim that radical Islam is the cause of suicide attacks. The use of female suicide bombers conflicts with many fundamental Islamic beliefs (Zedalis, 2004, p. 7).

At first, the Chechen separatists targeted only occupying military forces in Chechnya. However, the target selections began evolving in 2003 and the Chechen separatists began conducting attacks on Russia territory, which included targeting civilians. This trend was halted after the September 1, 2004 Beslan School hostage crisis where Chechen rebels, led by Shamil Basayev, held a school hostage for three days. The

hostage crisis became an international scene and on the third day, a fire fight ensued

resulting in the death of 331 hostages, 186 of which were children (Kramer A. , 2006, p.

2). Since this event, the Chechen separatists have returned to targeting only occupying

forces or the pro-Russian Chechen government forces.

In Chechnya, the first suicide attacked occurred in June of 2000 and was followed

by 8 more attacks in 2000. The year 2001 witnessed 2 attacks; 3 in 2002; 12 in 2003; 7 in

2004; 2 in 2005; 2 in 2006; 2 in 2007; 5 in 2008; and 15 in 2009.

Figure 1[9]

Suicide Attack's in Chechnya per year

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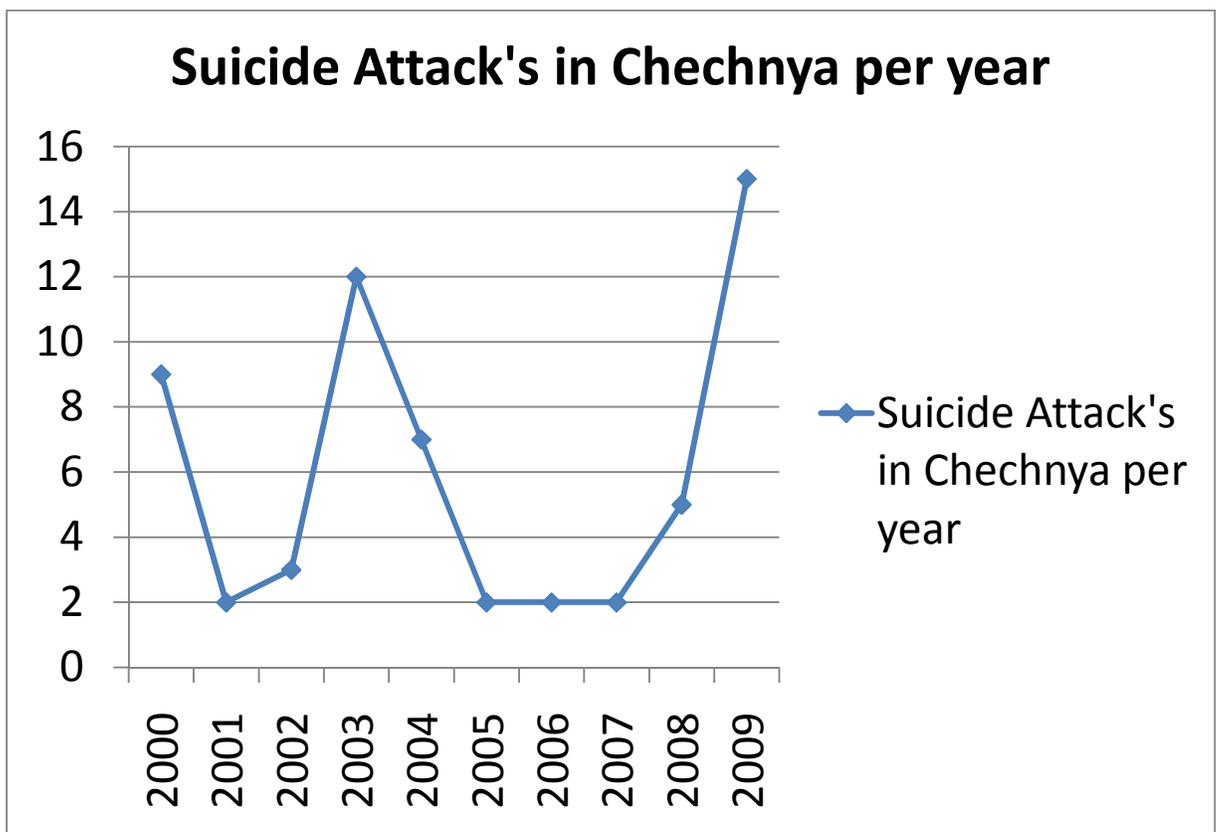
[9] This data set relies heavily on three sources, the Global Terrorism Database, the RAND
terrorism database, and the National Counterterrorism Centers (NCTC) Worldwide
Incident Tracking Systems (WITS). After combining these three databases and
eliminating duplicates, and updating the resulting database with additional information, I
completed a Chechnya Suicide Database from 2000-2009.

As figure 1 shows, there have been three major spikes in suicide attacks in 2000, 2003, and 2009. These spikes coincide with specific actions taken by the Russian government and President Kadyrov's pro-Russian government set up in Chechnya.

The spike in 2000 was a result of the deteriorating situation for the Chechen separatists. Russian forces easily invaded Chechnya in 1999 and within nine months had swept through the northern plains, seized the capital Grozny, and had taken all major cities and towns in the Chechen lowlands (Gordon, 2000, p. 1). Unable to take on the superior military power of the Russian forces in conventional war, the Chechen rebels mounted an insurgency against the Russian occupiers. As the first suicide attack exposed, suicide bombers could easily elude Russian checkpoints and target strategically sensitive locations deep within Russian occupied territories. The June 7 attack was quickly followed by 8 more attacks in 2000 all targeting Russian occupying forces in Chechnya.

In 2003, a new element was introduced in the Chechnya suicide campaign. Before 2003, suicide attacks had only been used against targets within Chechnya. By 2003, the Chechen resistance was nothing more than a guerilla war. Russia began setting up a new Chechen government with a president to be elected by the Chechen people. Russian President Vladimir Putin had declared the Chechen war a victory and embarked on a campaign titled "gradual normalization" for Chechnya (Quinn-Judge, 2003, p. 1). Putin had also implemented a media blackout of the war in order to remove the conflict as an issue in the upcoming election the following spring. Because of these circumstances, Chechen rebels began using suicide attacks to target areas inside of Russia and bring the war to the Russian people. Of the 12 suicide attacks in 2003, 6 occurred in Russia and 3 inside Moscow. Feeling the pressure of a futile attempt to defeat Russian troops in a

conventional war, Chechen rebels used the suicide attack to create fear and turn Russian public opinion against the occupation of Chechnya. The Moscow suicide attacks targeted civilians at rock concerts, city parades, and areas near the Parliament buildings in Moscow. These attacks were used to draw attention to the Chechen cause and to turn Russian public opinion away from the occupation. A negative turn in Russian public opinion towards the occupation of Chechnya had previously succeeded in the removal of Russian troops from Chechnya in 1990.

The final spike in 2009 came as Russia had officially declared an end to counterterrorism operations in Chechnya (Wingfield-Hayes, 2009, p. 1). Since Ramzan Kadyrov took over leadership of Chechnya in 2004, after his father was assassinated, Chechnya has been ruled by a totalitarian repressive regime built on fear and intimidation (Harding, 2008, p. 1). Putin made Ramzan Kadyrov president of Chechnya in 2007, willing to trade the state-sponsored abductions, torture, and extrajudicial executions for an enforced peace (Orlov, 2009, p. 1). The Chechen separatists stated that "despite the large-scale attempts of the infidels and apostates to turn the tide in their favor, the Mujahideen of the Caucasus Emirate continue to attack the invaders and puppet formations" (Spokesmen, 2009, p. 1). In 2009, the spike in attacks represents the attempt of the Chechen separatists to demolish the credibility of Russian influence and occupation in Chechnya as well as President Kadyrov's puppet government.

As explained above, the three spikes in suicide attacks coincide with specific actions or policies enacted by Russia or through Russian influence in Chechnya. On each of these occasions, Russia attempted to declare a successful end to the conflict in Chechnya. The spikes in the number of suicide attacks represent the effort by the

Chechen rebels to show their commitment and durability in continuing their insurgency. Suicide attacks were adopted as a method of last resort in the face of overwhelming military superiority by the Russian forces. The Chechen rebels adopted the suicide attack in 2000, targeting Russian occupying troops in Chechnya. However, in 2003 they began to include civilian targets in Russia in order to turn Russian public opinion against the war as well as to bring attention to their struggle.

Historical Overview

Chechnya's history has been marked by a continual struggle to maintain freedom from imperial Russia (Dunlap, 1998, p. 10). Beginning in the 19th century, Russia considered Chechnya as part of the North Caucasus and under Russian rule. However, the Chechens refused to accept Russian authority and staged rebellions whenever Russia was experiencing difficult times.

During WWII, Stalin came to believe that the Chechens were supporting the Nazis. As punishment, Stalin ordered a mass exodus of the Chechen people and had the entire population rounded up and deported to Kazakhstan. Historians estimate that of the 800,000 people stuffed into railway cars, 240,000 died en route (Erlanger, 1994). The Chechen people were allowed to return to their homeland in 1957 under Nikita Khrushchev's rule. However, this horrific experience has never been forgotten.

The breakup of the Soviet Union in December 1991 led to a reconfiguration of the Russian empire. Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev's political reforms sparked a wave of nationalism in Chechnya. The long felt grievances of the Chechens came to the forefront due to the ideological and political liberalizations introduced through Gorbachev's reforms, perestroika and glasnost (Lapidus, 1998, p. 10). The spirit of nationalism was

able to justify the demand for self-determination as legitimate for the Chechens in light of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Dzhokhar Dudayev, a Soviet officer in the Russian military, returned to Chechnya in 1990 and rode the wave of Chechen nationalism. He was declared president on October 27, 1991 and a few days later on November 1, Chechnya declared its secession from the Soviet Union and announced its independence (Stanley, 1994, p. 1). Russia responded by sending troops into Chechnya, which were recalled two days later due to the Russian population's stark opposition to the invasion (Stanley, 1994, p. 1).

The issue of Chechnya's sovereignty was handled through diplomatic channels by both governments until 1994 when Russia began to support opposition groups in Chechnya (Lapidus, 1998, p. 18). In early 1994, Russia started to openly back Chechen opposition groups who opposed an independent Chechnya and instead supported the formation of a federation with Russia. The main beneficiary of Russian support was Umar Avturkhanov and the Chechen Provisional Council. Moscow claimed this group as "the only legitimate power structure in Chechnya" (Lapidus, 1998, p. 18). On November 20, 1994, under immense political pressure due to an economic crisis and growing political opposition power, Chechen President Dudayev declared the secessionist Chechnya state an Islamist state in a desperate attempt to gain support from the population (Grozny, 1994, p. 1). A month later Russian authorities decided to use military force in Chechnya to force the state back into the Russian federation. The use of military force in Chechnya mobilized national support and created a surge in popularity for Chechen President Dudayev by linking his government to the protection of the

homeland. The use of military force by Russia also delegitimized the opposition groups as puppets of Russia.

During this two year war, (1994-1996) Chechnya proposed multiple cease-fires in return for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya, but an agreement was never reached (Erlanger, 1994, p. 1). As the war dragged on, the Chechen leadership faced economic troubles and growing unpopularity. To increase support for the war, President Dudayev encouraged the Chechens to fight the Russian invasion under the slogan of *ghazawat* (holy war). His references to Islam helped provide his leadership with legitimacy and increase approval for the war (Wilhelmsen, 2005, p. 36). In order to address the economic troubles, the Chechen resistance sought foreign aid. Aid was provided by the Wahhabi networks[10] in the Middle East and Asia (Wilhelmsen, 2005, p. 40). The support offered by the Wahhabi network provided the insurgency with financial aid and foreign soldiers. In 1995, the first foreign Jihadist fighters began arriving in Chechnya. A year later on August 31, 1996, a cease-fire was signed with Russia. The treaty granted Chechnya *de facto* independence, but deferred the issue of its secessionist status until December 31, 2001 (Cornell, 2003, p. 169).

After the first war, the moderate leader Aslan Maskhadov was elected President of Chechnya. However, during the two year war with Russia, various warlords and politicians gained power and were unwilling to yield this power to the new moderate government. President Maskhadov was unable to rein in the Chechen warlord's and as a result rampant criminality, hostage taking, and chaotic violence spread throughout

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[10] Wahhabism is a branch within Sunni Islam. The Wahhabi network refers to a social network of individuals, groups, organizations, and foundations that follow the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam. This network was used to raise support for the Chechen insurgency.

Chechnya (Kramer, 2004, p. 12). Because of growing unrest, President Maskhadov instigated strict *shari'a* (Islamic) law to appease the powerful Islamists and obtain their support. Unable to find support or economic aid anywhere else, President Maskhadov decided to fully side with the Islamists and called for a holy war against the Russian infidels. The growing frustration of the Russian influence in Chechnya and the desire for a free homeland culminated in 1999 when Islamists, led by Shamil Basayev, attacked neighboring Dagestan, a Russian federation territory. Russia responded by invading Chechnya.

The second war began in 1999 and Russian forces easily invaded Chechnya. After 9 months, Russian forces had swept through all of Northern Chechnya, seized the capital Grozny, and taken all major cities and towns in the Chechen lowlands (Gordon, 2000, p. 1). The Chechen separatists conducted their first suicide attack in early June. This attack was in response to the worsening situation in Chechnya. Their suicide campaign remains ongoing as the sovereignty of Chechnya remains unresolved and the Russian occupation continues.

Hypothesis 1A: Foreign occupation, nationalism, and religious difference led to a rebellion.

Suicide attacks were not adopted by the Chechen insurgency during the first Russian-Chechen war. This is because suicide attacks are typically adopted as a weapon of last resort. When rebel groups are strong enough to achieve their territorial goals through conventional or guerrilla means, there is little reason for these groups to adopt suicide attacks (Pape, 2005, 30). This was the case in the first Russian-Chechen war where the Chechen insurgency was able to repel the Russian military through traditional

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guerrilla warfare. However, when Russia invaded Chechnya for the second time in 1999, the Chechen insurgency was no match for its superior military power.

Russian Occupation:

The Russian occupation began on December 11, 1994 during the first Russian-Chechen war and continued 5 years later with the second invasion of Chechnya on August 26, 1999. Svante Cornell notes the unprecedented disregard for human rights displayed by the Russian forces during the invasion and the first Russian-Chechen war (Cornell, 2003, p. 88). These violations included the indiscriminate bombing of civilian areas, extrajudicial executions, torture, massacres, and the spreading of land mines throughout Chechnya. While technically these actions were taken by the Russian military against its own citizens, Chechnya did not view itself as part of the Russian federation. The use of the Russian military in Chechnya was viewed as an occupation by a foreign power. Nationalism and religion were used by Chechnya to inspire and mobilize an identity distinct from Russia.

Nationalism and Religious Difference:

As noted above, a wave of nationalism spread through Chechnya following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the implementation of Gorbachev's political reforms. These reforms set the stage for the creation of a Chechen national identity distinct from Russia. During the early 1990s, most of the leaders of the Chechen independence movement were either born or grew up in exile in Kazakhstan as a result of Stalin's mass removal of the Chechen people (Cornell, 2003, p. 169). This shared experience had a large influence in uniting these leaders and inspiring an independence movement.

Of all the Russian territories, Chechnya has the highest portion of citizens who consider their national language, Chechen, to be their native or first language (Lapidus, 1998, p. 10). They also have the second-highest concentration of their nationality with 70.7% of the population being Chechen. The high concentration of native Chechens living in Chechnya, the shared experience of the exile, and a common language and religion all played a major role in the creation of an independent Chechen identity. These factors helped to create an "us versus them" categorization of the Chechen nation and the Russian federation. ECA analysis shows that when the Russians invaded in 1994, this was not understood as a civil war by the Chechen population, but rather as a war between two distinct nations.

Islam played a large role in mobilizing the Chechen forces in the 1994 war, and even more so in the 1999 war. Chechens are predominantly Muslim and a distinction in religion helped establish a stark contrast between the Russia infidels and the Chechen faithful. During the interwar period of 1996-1999, Russia prevented Chechnya from seeking financial help (Cornell, 2003, p. 171). The adoption of the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam by key Chechen leaders opened up new avenues of military and financial support for the Chechen separatists in the Middle East and Asia. Religion was used to create a clear distinction in national identities between the Russian and Chechen people as well as to open up new avenues of international support and aid.

Rebellion:

The first rebellion began in 1994 when Russian troops occupied Chechnya. After a cease-fire was signed in 1996, Russian troops left Chechnya. However, when an Islamist faction within the Chechen government, led by Shamil Basayev, attacked

Dagestan in 1999, Russian troops responded with another invasion of Chechnya. At this point Chechen forces numbered close to 20,000 including close to 2,000 foreign *jihadi* fighters (Wilhelmsen, 2005, p. 43). Nevertheless, the superior military power of Russia crushed the Chechen resistance within months and all major military conflicts ceased by 2000. Fleeing the Russian forces, the Chechen rebels sought refuge in the mountains and their rebellion took on the form of a guerrilla war against the occupying Russian forces.

In 2000, a pro-Russia government was set up in Chechnya under the rule of Akhmed Kadyrov (Gordon, 2000). Following Kadyrov's assent to power, Russia focused on building up the Chechen police into a well-armed force meant to establish and enforce peace in Chechnya (Quinn-Judge, 2003, p. 3). Russia and Kadyrov's government tried to crush the Chechen rebels through air strikes, house-to-house sweeps, and abductions.

In 2004, Russian President Putin's "Chechenization" policy began which initiated the gradual transfer of power from Russia to the new Chechen government (Quinn-Judge, 2003, p. 2). Under the leadership of Ramzan Kadyrov (his father Akhmed was assassinated in 2004) Russian Special Forces, also known as "death squads" were created to search, surround, and kill the Chechen rebels one by one in settlements (Smirnov, 2008, p. 3). These Special Forces units specialized in killing the relatives of Chechen rebels and those who sympathized with them. One former Special Forces solider said, "the trick is to make sure absolutely nothing is left. No body, no proof, no problem" (Monitoring, 2009, p. 1). Chechen president Ramzan Kadyrov promised to have all Chechen rebels eliminated by the spring of 2008 and made similar statements in May and June of 2009 (Sinbarigov, 2009, p. 2). However, Kadyrov's administration's

counterterrorism policies and tactics have failed to defeat the Chechen insurgency and overtake their stronghold in the southern mountains.

The Chechen insurgency continued against the pro-Russian puppet Chechen government and included attacks against police officers, administrative buildings, and citizens loyal to President Kadyrov. In September of 2009, after years of statements of stabilization in Chechnya and Russian victory, Russia's current president Dmitry Medvedev declared, "the situation in the Caucasus is bad" (Sinbarigov, 2009, p. 2). Dokka Umarov, who replaced Shamil Basayev as the leader of the Chechen rebellion in 2006 after Basayev was killed by Russian forces, has continued to make proclamations for a free Islamic state of the Caucasus Emirate and the removal of all Russia troops (Kramer A. , 2006, p. 2). The Chechen insurgency continues to blend Islam and Chechen nationalism to justify the Chechen identity and to demand the expulsion of all foreign forces from their occupied homeland.

Hypothesis 1B: **The rebellion experienced mass domestic support for the insurgency.**

Public Support

The level of public support for the Chechen insurgency is extremely difficult to assess. No official public opinion polling has been conducted in Chechnya since the insurgency began in 1999. However, several proxy factors can be addressed in order to provide a generalized understanding of Chechnya's public opinion towards the insurgency.

The first major turning point occurred on September 1, 2004 when around 32 Chechen insurgents seized a public school in Beslan as students gathered with their families at an opening day assembly (Kramer A. , 2006, p. 2). The siege ended on

September 3 with the execution of two suicide bombings, followed by a close-quarters battle that left 331 people dead including 186 children. This event greatly reduced public support and negatively shifted international sympathy away from the Chechen separatists. After this event, only 6 suicide attacks were conducted by the Chechen separatists between 2004 and 2007.

Another major shift in public opinion came in 2007. Shamil Basayev, the mastermind behind the Beslan school siege and leader of the Chechen separatists, was killed in July of 2006 and replaced by Dokka Umarov. In the midst of harsh counterterrorism policies under Ramzan Kadyrov's government, Dokka Umarov made public the proclamation for an Islamic state based on *shari'a* law and the use of new suicide attack tactics only focusing on achieving military objectives and not targeting civilians (Sinbarigov, 2009, p. 2). By distancing himself from Shamil Basayev's legacy, Dokka Umarov has revamped the image of the Chechen insurgency and has displayed success in winning the hearts and minds of the Chechen people. In 2008, Russian generals believed there to be at least 500 rebel squads in the Caucasus Mountains and that their ranks were growing (Orlov, 2009).

Russia believed that by providing economic development to Chechnya the support for the rebel insurgency would be reduced. However, the reconstruction of Chechnya has not diminished the support for the Chechen insurgency and young men and women continue to join the rebel ranks. When asked what the goals were of the Chechen insurgency, Umarov replied, "so that people won't have to obey the rules that are written by Putin and Surkov" (Umarov, 2009, p. 1).

The Chechen use of suicide attacks has had positive and negative effects on the level of public support the insurgency has received. In the early stages of the suicide campaign, public support was behind the insurgency as the Chechen population became embittered towards the Russian's due to their indiscriminate use of violence during the war (Wilhelmsen, 2005). However, after the Beslan school crisis, public opinion turned against the insurgency and its use of suicide attacks. The insurgency has begun to regain support since Dokka Umarov took over leadership in 2007 and the insurgency continues to grow. While official statistics are lacking, through the examination of proxy factors, it can be concluded that the insurgency has received a certain level of public support for their use of suicide attacks. This by no means indicates that the entire population or a majority of the population supports the insurgency, only that a portion of the public has supported this movement.

Hypothesis 2: **Suicide attacks were used strategically to increase the costs of occupation and inflict enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the terrorists' demands.**

The Chechnya campaign has used suicide attacks strategically in order to overwhelm Russia's interests in continuing its occupation of Chechnya. In 1991, after Chechnya declared its independence, Russian President Yeltsin sent troops to crush the rebellion. However, the troops were rescinded two days later due to vehement protests in Russia (Stanley, 1994, p. 1). Understanding the impact negative public opinion in Russia could have on the current occupation, the Chechen suicide attack campaign strategically selected sensitive targets in Russia to turn public opinion against the war.

Half of the suicide attacks in the Chechnya campaign have targeted areas inside Russian territory and 18% have targeted areas in Russia outside of the Caucasus region. These attacks were used to overcome President Putin's media blackout of the war and to remind the Russian population of the conflict in the Caucasus territory of Chechnya. As displayed in figures 2 and 3, the Caucasus region is an isolated region located in the southwest corner of the Russian federation. Of the 11 attacks conducted outside the Caucasus region in Russia, 8 of these had civilian targets. This number is striking when noted that only 14 of the total 59 suicide attacks conducted in the Chechnya campaign have had civilian targets. Of the remaining 6 suicide attacks that targeted civilians, only 1 was in Chechnya.

Figure 2: Russian Federation	Figure 3: Caucasus Region of Russian Federation

Gatehouse, G. (2007, June 12). *BBC News.* Retrieved Jan 24, 2011, from
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6741645.stm

The fact that 76% of the suicide attacks had military targets shows a conscious effort by the Chechen insurgency to focus its attacks against the military occupation in Chechnya. A huge grievance of the Chechen population was the high-level of civilian casualties and human rights abuses performed by the Russian military. In order to avoid

making the same mistake as the Russians, the insurgency focused its attacks on Russian

military forces and Russian civilian targets avoiding the Chechen population.

The Beslan school massacre provides an example of the length the Chechen

insurgency was willing to go in order to overwhelm Russia's interest in occupying

Chechnya. Upon taking siege of the school, the Chechen insurgents demanded the

withdrawal of all Russian forces from Chechnya (Staff, 2004, p. 1). However, Russia

refused to comply with the separatist's demands and the result was a massacre.

Figure 4:

Suicide Attack Locations 2000-2009
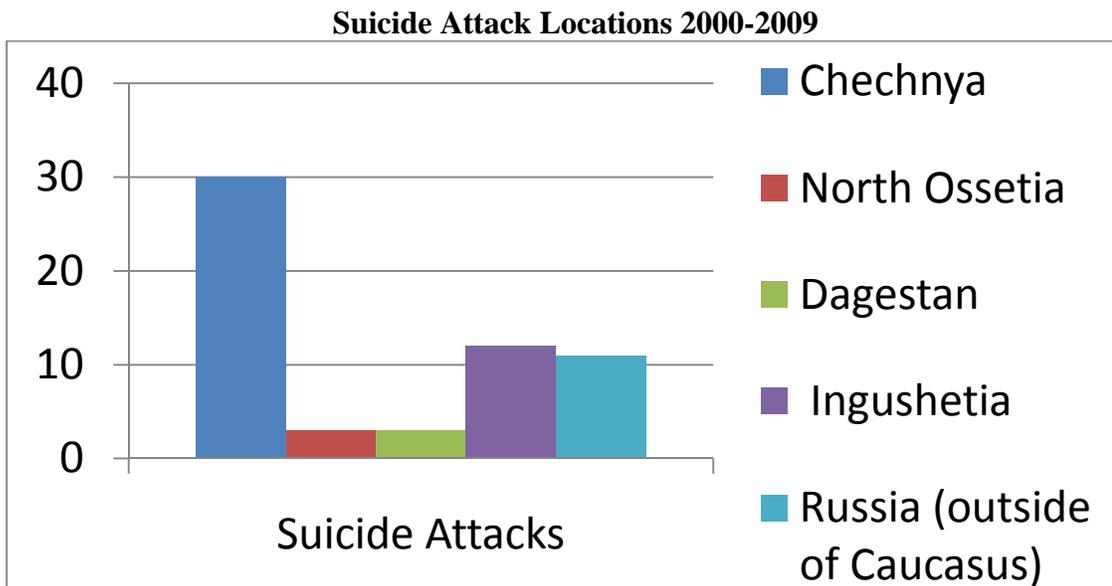
While suicide attacks have not been successful in achieving their goals of

removing the occupying forces, they have had a significant impact on Russia's 2009

decision to end military operations in Chechnya. While Russia continues to occupy

Chechnya, the troop level has decreased in Chechnya and the majority of

counterterrorism/military operations are conducted by the Kadyrov Chechen government.

Conclusion

Pape's theory successfully explains the wave of nationalism that led to the creation of a distinct Chechen identity. Following the 1999 invasion of Chechnya by military superior Russian troops, suicide attacks were adopted by the Chechen insurgency. The difference in religion played an important role in uniting the Chechen population and opening up new sources of economic aid and support from the Middle East and Asia. However, religion was neither the cause nor used as a justification for the suicide campaign against the Russian military. Rather the insurgents have continually stated, and empirical evidence shows, that the cause of the suicide campaign against Russia is the occupation of Chechnya by Russian military forces.

Problematic in this case was the examination of public opinion in Chechnya. As found in the previous chapters, mass domestic support for the insurgency did not occurred. The lack of evidence of this variable in all three cases is a strong indication it is an unnecessary variable for suicide attacks to occur.

All of the suicide attacks conducted during the Chechnya campaign fall within the guidelines of the Russian occupation. While Russia has attempted to claim their war against Chechnya as part of a war against a global *jihad* network, the evidence does not support their argument (Hoge, 2001 , p. 1). Instead, the Chechen suicide campaign is a response to the Russian occupation of the Chechen homeland. The suicide campaign will continue so long as Russian troops and Russian influence rules over Chechnya. The insurgency will continue to attack military and civilian targets within Russian territory in order to overwhelm Russia's interest in occupying Chechnya.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Suicide terrorism has dramatically increased in the twenty-first century. Over 2,500 suicide attacks have taken place between the 1980's and 2009 (Moghadam, 2009, p. 12). Terrorist groups throughout the world have adopted this tactic as they attempt to repel foreign occupations. Many scholars have tried to explain this trend as a result of Islamist extremism. However, this assumed connection between radical Islam and suicide terrorism has produced foreign policies that have exacerbated rather then removed the threat of suicide terrorism.

Through empirical analysis, this study has confirmed that Pape's (2005) theory successfully explains the suicide campaigns in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Chechnya. Accordingly, the study has illustrated that in each of these cases, a foreign occupation by a country with a different religion led to an influx of nationalism, which, then, sparked a rebellion against the occupation. The military power disparity between the occupier and the occupied resulted in the adoption of suicide attacks as a method of last resort to equalize the power difference. Then, as Pape argues, suicide attacks were used strategically to gain control of a territory by inflicting enough pain on the opposing society to overwhelm its interests in resisting the insurgency's demands. Pape's theory has helped identify three major conclusions concerning hypothesis 3 and the suicide campaigns in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan.

> *Hypothesis 3:* Suicide campaigns achieve gains or concessions for the terrorist's political cause about 50% of the time.

First, this study has highlighted that out of the three suicide campaigns, only one has been successful in achieving its stated goals. While the suicide campaigns in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Chechnya are still ongoing, both the Afghanistan and Pakistan cases have experienced an escalation in the number of occupying forces. In contrast, the Chechnya suicide campaign has experienced concessions made by the government towards the insurgency. The Russian military has declared an end to all counterterrorism operations in Chechnya and has called for the scaling down of troops (Schwirtz, 2009, p. 1). Even though the conflict is still ongoing, this declaration fulfills one of the main demands of the terrorists: the removal of Russian military forces from Chechnya. Although the suicide campaign will continue so long as Russian forces continue to occupy Chechnya, it has been able to partially achieve the insurgencies goal of removing the occupying military forces.

In evaluation of hypothesis 3, this thesis has found that Pape's theory may have overstated the success rate of suicide campaigns. Instead, this thesis has found that suicide attacks have limited coercive power. However, suicide campaigns do still achieve some gains for terrorists or insurgents.

Second, in Pakistan and Afghanistan, the United States has responded to the suicide campaigns by issuing a surge of troops in Afghanistan and increased pressure on the Pakistan government to root out terrorist safe havens in FATA and NWFP. While suicide attacks have not resulted in the achievement of stated goals, suicide attacks have proven to be strategically invaluable in their ability to target sensitive and important targets as well as inflict enormous amounts of causalities on the occupying forces. The ultimate success of these campaigns remains to be decided. However, we can conclude

that of the three campaigns, one has already been successful in achieving gains towards the terrorists political cause.

Third, the examination of these cases has shown that a positive relationship exists between suicide attacks and occupation. This thesis has shown that it does not matter if the occupation is direct, as in Afghanistan and Chechnya where the occupying power has had a prolonged presence of military forces stationed in the country, or if it is indirect, such as in Pakistan, where the United States has used its influence over the Pakistan government to compel it to send over 100,000 troops into the FATA region to root out terrorists. In either case, the outcome has been identical.

Limitations

This study has highlighted 6 weaknesses in Pape's theory. First, the variable of mass domestic support for the insurgency tested under hypothesis 1B was not present in any of the cases. Public opinion was very difficult to measure in these cases and the results clearly indicate that a majority of the public did not support the insurgency in any case examined.

Second, the specific evaluation of an indirect occupation was difficult to conduct. In the Pakistan case study, this thesis found that the influence the United States had over Pakistan was very difficult to measure. Pakistan attempted to appease both the United States and the TTP, which resulted in conflicting decisions and actions made by the Pakistani government.

Third, this theory fails to account for the impact of international support for an insurgency. In the case of Afghanistan, the international support from the Pashtun tribes in Pakistan, the Iraqi insurgents, and the Iranian and Pakistan governments has helped

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arm the Afghanistan Taliban with funding, supplies, weapons, and soldiers. The amount of international support played an important role in aiding the Taliban's suicide campaign.

Fourth, Pape's theory has failed to explain the suicide attacks that have occurred outside the scope of an occupation. In the Afghanistan case there was one suicide attack that occurred before the occupation and in the Pakistan case there were six. While four of these seven attacks are connected with other suicide campaigns, three of them remain isolated attacks that are unexplainable by Pape's theory.

Fifth, the cases examined in this study were selected on the dependent variable of suicide attacks. While this does not delegitimize the findings of this study, it does limit its ability to establish an irrefutable causal link between occupation and suicide attacks. Future research should examine cases where occupation occurred, but suicide attacks did not.

Last, some potential personal biases may have come from being a citizen of the main target country of the majority of suicide terrorist attacks. However, this study did not attempt to justify nor condemn suicide terrorism, rather only to test a theory that might explain it.

Contributions

This thesis has attempted to enhance the study of suicide terrorism by testing Pape's theory of suicide attacks. Through the examination of 3 campaigns of suicide terrorism, 4 contributions have been to the study of suicide terrorism and Pape's theory. First, the variable of mass support for the insurgency is not a necessary variable for suicide attacks. Second, this thesis has confirmed that the variables of occupation,

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nationalism, religious difference, and rebellion are all necessary variables for the adoption of suicide attacks.

Third, suicide attacks have been adopted as a method of last resort to escalate insurgencies rather than giving into foreign occupation. When terrorist groups or insurgencies are forced to choose between giving into the foreign occupation or escalating the insurgency, suicide attacks are adopted by those choosing to escalate.

Finally, this thesis found that the coercive success of suicide attacks may have been overestimated by Pape. Of the 3 cases examined, only 1 achieved success in achieving gains and these gains were very limited. While suicide attacks are a powerful coercive tactic, their realistic abilities remain limited in achieving concessions or gains from an occupying power.

Policy Implications

The success of Pape's (2005) theory to explain the Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Pakistan cases has implications for U.S. foreign policy. Essentially, suicide attacks positively tied to the foreign occupation of a homeland. The theory suggests that without foreign occupation, the number of suicide attacks would drastically decrease, if not cease altogether. In Afghanistan, the United States has made the decision to increase the number of troops by 30,000 in 2009 to help control the Taliban insurgency. In Pakistan, President Obama has declared that "the Pakistani people must know America will remain a strong supporter of Pakistan's security and prosperity long after the guns have fallen silent, so that the great potential of its people can be unleashed" (United States Committed to Partnership with Pakistan, 2009). This declaration paints a clear picture that the United States influence and occupation over Pakistan will continue well into the

future. According to the findings in this thesis, these specific foreign policy decisions will continue to motivate and inspire suicide attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

While these foreign policy decisions may prove the answer to solving broader and more important strategic goals for the United States such as keeping Islamist out of power, they will not have any effect on stopping the suicide attacks campaigns. Increasing the number of foreign troops or declaring a prolonged foreign presence in a country will only play into the hands of terrorists. These foreign policy decisions motivate local populations to side with the terrorists and provide the recruits for suicide campaigns. If these foreign policies are implemented, they will increase the use of suicide attacks against the United States, Russia, and their allies.

There are three important concerns that governments must take into account in order to address suicide attacks. The first is to avoid prolonged direct or indirect occupations over foreign governments. This thesis has shown that in most cases, the local population did not support the terrorist groups. In Afghanistan, the highest level of public support for the Taliban was 10% reached in 2009. A similar phenomenon was seen in Pakistan where only 12% of the local population believed the TTP should be left alone by the government. However, local populations did support the terrorist groups' goals in fighting to remove the occupying power. In Afghanistan, public opinion showed that 40% of the population did not support the presence of foreign occupying forces in Afghanistan. Pakistan public opinion showed that 72% viewed the U.S. influence over their government as a threat to Pakistan. If the occupation were removed, the local population would turn against these terrorist groups. Foreign occupation has proven only to drive local groups to support these terrorist groups in the attempt to protect their

homeland's autonomy. In the future, governments must take into account this fact and seek alternative options to military occupation.

Second, if military occupation is inevitable, then the prolonged presence of military forces in a country must be avoided and initiatives should immediately begin to empower local groups to take over power. In the case of the United States, which is currently conducting both direct and indirect occupations in Afghanistan and Pakistan respectively, a quick and complete military pull out is not an option due to the power vacuum and anarchy that would follow. However, Pape's theory can still be used to identify alternative foreign policies that can help end the suicide campaigns, or at least radically reduce their number. Echoing Pape's (2010) proposal for U.S. foreign policy, an alternative solution to stopping suicide attacks is the empowering of local forces and groups rather than sending additional military forces to occupy a country. This does not mean hiring locals as paid mercenaries to conduct operations according to the occupying powers interest, but instead supporting and empowering these local groups to fight for themselves and overthrow the leaders of terrorist groups. Local troops must replace the foreign military and a transition of power from the occupying to the occupied must take place.

Third, the threat of suicide terrorism may not be as deadly as a biological, chemical, or nuclear attack. However, combined with one of these weapons to ensure its success, a suicide attack could prove to be the deadliest threat to the United States. Considering this, new foreign policy decisions must consider the repercussions of military occupation and the tradeoffs between short-term success and long-term stability.

Suicide attacks pose one of the greatest threats to the United States in the 21st century. However, this threat can be addressed and avoided through educated and informed foreign policy decisions. The tradeoffs and consequences of foreign occupation must be reevaluated and new foreign policy goals established in order to end the threat of suicide attacks.

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APPENDIX
AFAGANISTAN DATABASE

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
9-Sep-01	Bahauddin	Unknown	2	1	23
2-Aug-02	Bagram	Unknown	4	0	2
18-Dec-02	Kabul	Unknown	2	0	2
7-Jun-03	Kabul	Taliban, Al Qaida	9	6	2
27-Jan-04	Kabul	Unknown	10	2	12
28-Jan-04	Kabul	Taliban	4	1	2
23-Oct-04	Kabul	Taliban	9	2	123
20-Jan-05	Sheberghan	Unknown	21	0	3
30-Mar-05	Jalalabad	Unknown	0	0	2
7-May-05	Kabul	Unknown	6	2	23
1-Jun-05	Kandahar	Al Qaeda	52	21	23
4-Jul-05	Bande Sardeh	Taliban	2	2	123
19-Jul-05	Injil	Unknown	0	0	3
22-Aug-05	Spin Boldak	Unknown	0	0	3
7-Sep-05	Geresk	Unknown	0	4	1
18-Sep-05	Khost	Unknown	2	0	3
28-Sep-05	Kabul	Taliban	28	9	2
5-Oct-05	Kandahar	Unknown	4	2	12
9-Oct-05	Kandahar	Unknown	2	0	123
10-Oct-05	Kandahar	Unknown	1	0	12
10-Oct-05	Kandahar	Taliban	5	4	123
7-Nov-05	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	1	0	3
14-Nov-05	Kabul	Taliban	4	4	123
14-Nov-05	Kabul	Taliban	8	2	123
16-Nov-05	Kandahar	Taliban	4	3	2
25-Nov-05	Talash Chowk	Unknown	1	1	3
4-Dec-05	Kandahar	Unknown	3	1	1
14-Dec-05	Mazar-e-Sharif	Unknown	0	0	13
16-Dec-05	Kabul	Taliban	2	1	13
29-Dec-05	Spin Boldak	Unknown	0	0	13
2-Jan-06	Kandahar	Unknown	3	0	1
5-Jan-06	Tirin Kot	Taliban	50	12	123

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
16-Jan-06	Spin Boldak	Unknown	27	22	123
1-Feb-06	Bak	Taliban	4	5	12
7-Feb-06	Kandahar	Taliban	13	13	123
20-Feb-06	Nagarhar	Unknown	0	0	123
3-Mar-06	Kandahar	Taliban	5	0	2
12-Mar-06	Kabul	Taliban	5	4	12
27-Mar-06	Kandahar	Unknown	0	1	13
30-Mar-06	Kandahar	Unknown	6	0	1
30-Mar-06	Kandahar	Unknown	9	1	1
31-Mar-06	Zormat	Taliban	1	0	13
3-Apr-06	Arghandab	Unknown	0	0	3
7-Apr-06	Lashkar Gah	Unknown	5	0	1
8-Apr-06	Musa Qula	Taliban	9	1	12
20-Apr-06	Zarai	Taliban	3	0	123
1-May-06	Kabul	Unknown	0	1	123
14-May-06	Panjva'i	Taliban	0	5	1
17-May-06	Kandahar	Unknown	1	0	123
18-May-06	Ghazni	Taliban	1	1	12
18-May-06	Herat	Unknown	0	3	123
21-May-06	Kabul	Unknown	2	2	123
1-Jun-06	Farah	Unknown	0	0	123
2-Jun-06	Kandahar	Unknown	0	3	12
4-Jun-06	Kandahar	Unknown	12	3	123
6-Jun-06	Band-e Sarda	Unknown	0	0	3
6-Jun-06	Ghazni	Unknown	7	3	3
21-Jun-06	Kandahar	Taliban	7	1	1
27-Jun-06	Konduz	Unknown	8	2	1
3-Jul-06	Kandahar	unknown	7	1	123
12-Jul-06	Kandahar	Unknown	10	1	2
12-Jul-06	Khost	Unknown	10	1	123
14-Jul-06	Khost	Unknown	1	1	123
16-Jul-06	Gardez	Taliban	25	4	12
17-Jul-06	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	9	3	12
22-Jul-06	Kandahar	Taliban	43	12	1
23-Jul-06	Gholam Khan	Unknown	3	1	13
2-Aug-06	Kabul	Taliban	2	1	2
3-Aug-06	Panjwayi	Unknown	13	21	123
14-Aug-06	Barmal	Unknown	24	0	1

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
17-Aug-06	Tarin Kowt	Taliban	8	0	1
28-Aug-06	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	50	23	23
29-Aug-06	Unknown	Unknown	11	2	1
31-Aug-06	Qalat	Taliban	2	1	123
2-Sep-06	Jalalabad	Taliban	3	0	2
4-Sep-06	Kabul	Taliban	7	5	1
6-Sep-06	Yaqobi	Taliban	5	2	123
8-Sep-06	Kabul	Taliban	29	16	12
10-Sep-06	Gardez	Taliban	6	3	123
11-Sep-06	Hisarak	Unknown	40	8	23
11-Sep-06	Tani	Unknown	35	6	1
17-Sep-06	Kabul	Unknown	4	0	1
17-Sep-06	Kandahar	Unknown	8	1	1
18-Sep-06	Herat	Unknown	18	11	123
18-Sep-06	Kabul	Unknown	9	3	123
20-Sep-06	Nesh	Unknown	7	0	1
26-Sep-06	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	18	18	1
27-Sep-06	Kandahar	Taliban	1	0	1
30-Sep-06	Kabul	Taliban	42	12	1
3-Oct-06	Kandahar	Taliban	4	0	1
5-Oct-06	Farah	Unknown	0	0	13
6-Oct-06	Gardiz	Unknown	1	0	12
6-Oct-06	Khost	Taliban	19	2	123
12-Oct-06	Khost	Taliban	19	0	1
13-Oct-06	Kandahar	Taliban	12	9	1
16-Oct-06	Kabul	Unknown	1	0	13
16-Oct-06	Kandahar	Kandahar	4	4	1
18-Oct-06	Argun	Unknown	0	0	13
19-Oct-06	Khost	Unknown	5	1	123
19-Oct-06	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	10	2	1
31-Oct-06	Andar	Taliban	1	1	123
7-Nov-06	Tanai	Unknown	3	0	123
15-Nov-06	Golbahar	Unknown	1	0	123
18-Nov-06	Khost	Unknown	0	0	12
25-Nov-06	Charkh	Taliban	3	0	1
26-Nov-06	Paktika	Taliban	25	15	123
28-Nov-06	Herat	Unknown	3	1	13
29-Nov-06	Panjva'i	Taliban	3	2	1
3-Dec-06	Kandahar	Taliban	15	2	12

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
6-Dec-06	Kandahar	Taliban	4	8	123
7-Dec-06	Kandahar	Unknown	7	2	1
12-Dec-06	Helmand	Taliban	8	8	123
14-Dec-06	Qalat	Unknown	26	4	1
15-Dec-06	Gardiz	Taliban	5	1	1
15-Dec-06	Shkin	Taliban	3	0	1
17-Dec-06	Khost	Unknown	3	1	1
22-Dec-06	Kabul	Unknown	8	0	123
12-Jan-07	Khost	Individual	14	10	2
12-Jan-07	Logar	unknown	2	1	123
14-Jan-07	Qalat	Unknown	3	0	12
23-Jan-07	Khost	Taliban	14	10	1
26-Jan-07	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	1	0	123
4-Feb-07	Kandahar	Unknown	0	0	2
7-Feb-07	Zahri	Taliban	3	3	13
20-Feb-07	Khost	Unknown	6	0	23
25-Feb-07	Khost	Taliban	7	1	123
27-Feb-07	Bagram	Taliban	27	23	12
27-Feb-07	Kandahar	Unknown	3	0	12
11-Mar-07	Balabolok	Unknown	3	1	1
13-Mar-07	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	1	1	1
13-Mar-07	Spin Boldak	Taliban	8	3	13
14-Mar-07	Khost	Taliban	31	6	3
16-Mar-07	Manugay	Unknown	3	0	1
19-Mar-07	Kabul	Taliban	3	0	123
19-Mar-07	Panjva'i	Unknown	0	0	1
23-Mar-07	Nader Shah	Unknown	2	0	1
27-Mar-07	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	7	5	123
28-Mar-07	Kabul	Taliban	12	4	23
1-Apr-07	Mehtarlam	Taliban	6	9	2
6-Apr-07	Kablu	Taliban	4	4	12
14-Apr-07	Khost	Taliban	10	8	123
15-Apr-07	Kandahar	Taliban	2	3	2
15-Apr-07	Spin Boldak	Taliban	2	4	12
16-Apr-07	Kunduz	Taliban	32	9	123
22-Apr-07	Khost	Unknown	40	11	12
25-Apr-07	Sharana	Unknown	0	0	12
25-Apr-07	Talogan	Unknown	0	0	1
30-Apr-07	Zherai	Unknown	3	1	123

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
3-May-07	Tarin Kowt	Taliban	3	0	1
5-May-07	Farah	Unknown	1	0	1
5-May-07	Nad-e Ali	Unknown	0	2	13
5-May-07	Zhamankay	Taliban	0	2	3
6-May-07	Kabul	Taliban	0	2	2
7-May-07	Dand Patan	Taliban	0	0	3
9-May-07	Barmal	Unknown	7	3	13
18-May-07	Kandahar	Unknown	1	3	123
19-May-07	Kunduz	Taliban	16	8	12
20-May-07	Gardez	Unknown	30	10	12
23-May-07	Kabul	Unknown	4	1	12
26-May-07	Kandahar	Unknown	4	0	2
28-May-07	Kunduz	Taliban	2	2	2
6-Jun-07	Farah	Unknown	0	0	23
11-Jun-07	Khost	Taliban	4	0	3
11-Jun-07	Khost	Taliban	11	0	123
12-Jun-07	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	2	1	12
14-Jun-07	Greshk	Unknown	0	0	123
14-Jun-07	Nade-e Ali	Taliban	2	1	3
15-Jun-07	Kandahar		5	0	12
15-Jun-07	Tarin Kowt	Unknown	10	9	1
16-Jun-07	Kabul	Taliban	3	4	1
16-Jun-07	Mazar-e-Sharif	Unknown	12	1	1
17-Jun-07	Kabul	Taliban	52	35	12
28-Jun-07	Kabul	Taliban	8	2	12
1-Jul-07	Geresk	Taliban	1	0	1
1-Jul-07	Maydan Wardag	Taliban	15	1	123
5-Jul-07	Spin Boldak	Taliban	11	9	123
10-Jul-07	Deh Rawod	Taliban	39	18	1
16-Jul-07	Balabolok	Unknown	0	0	1
16-Jul-07	Geresk	Taliban	7	1	1
18-Jul-07	Kabul	Unknown	2	0	1
18-Jul-07	Khost	Taliban	8	4	123
19-Jul-07	Badakhshan	Unknown	9	1	3
19-Jul-07	Faizabad	Taliban	27	1	12
20-Jul-07	Sangin	Taliban	4	2	1
30-Jul-07	Rural area	Taliban	11	1	12
31-Jul-07	Kabul	Taliban	10	0	1
4-Aug-07	Kandahar	Taliban	4	2	1

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
18-Aug-07	Kandahar	Taliban	25	15	123
18-Aug-07	Zheray	Unknown	0	4	2
19-Aug-07	Dorahee	Taliban	3	4	3
22-Aug-07	Khowst	Unknown	7	2	1
25-Aug-07	Kabul	Unknown	6	0	23
29-Aug-07	Barmal	Unknown	11	7	12
30-Aug-07	Dashta	Unknown	0	0	2
31-Aug-07	Kabul	Unknown	1	1	2
2-Sep-07	Yahyakhail	Unknown	0	4	1
4-Sep-07	Kunduz	Taliban	6	3	2
4-Sep-07	Yahyakhail	Unknown	2	1	12
10-Sep-07	Geresk	Taliban	60	28	12
17-Sep-07	Nad Ali	Taliban	8	8	12
19-Sep-07	Garmsir	Unknown	8	3	12
21-Sep-07	Kabul	Taliban	6	2	1
25-Sep-07	Spin Boldak	Unknown	5	5	12
26-Sep-07	Sangin	Unknown	3	1	12
27-Sep-07	Paktika	Taliban	0	10	2
29-Sep-07	Kabul	Taliban	29	31	12
2-Oct-07	Kabul	Taliban	29	14	2
5-Oct-07	Naray	Unknown	4	0	1
5-Oct-07	Sangin	Unknown	5	2	12
6-Oct-07	Kabul	Taliban	6	6	1
8-Oct-07	Lashkar Gah	Unknown	3	0	1
13-Oct-07	Spin Boldak	Unknown	29	5	12
16-Oct-07	Oruzgan	Unknown	0	3	1
22-Oct-07	Geresk	Taliban	3	0	1
24-Oct-07	Khost	Unknown	5	0	123
29-Oct-07	Lashkar Gah	Unknown	5	4	123
1-Nov-07	Sharan	Unknown	4	0	1
6-Nov-07	Baghlan	Unknown	95	64	12
10-Nov-07	Konduz	Taliban	3	1	1
11-Nov-07	Geresk	Unknown	5	0	1
17-Nov-07	Chaparhar	Taliban	3	1	1
19-Nov-07	Zaranj	Taliban	14	8	12
24-Nov-07	Paghman	Taliban	12	9	12
24-Nov-07	Unknown	Unknown	0	0	2
27-Nov-07	Kabul	Unknown	4	4	1
3-Dec-07	Ghorghory	Unknown	8	4	123

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
5-Dec-07	Kabul	Taliban	20	14	12
11-Dec-07	Panjwayj	Taliban	0	3	12
12-Dec-07	Kandahar	Taliban	6	2	12
15-Dec-07	Kabul	Taliban	2	5	2
3-Jan-08	Khash Rud	Taliban	13	9	12
6-Jan-08	Pul-i-Khumri	Unknown	81	76	3
7-Jan-08	Spin Boldak	Unknown	4	0	12
10-Jan-08	Qalat	Unknown	1	1	1
13-Jan-08	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	6	1	12
14-Jan-08	Kabul	Unknown	6	7	23
16-Jan-08	Kabul	Taliban	0	7	2
22-Jan-08	Sargardan	Unknown	3	0	2
23-Jan-08	Khowst	Unknown	0	4	1
26-Jan-08	Musa Qala	Unknown	2	0	2
31-Jan-08	Kabul	Unknown	4	1	12
31-Jan-08	Lashkar Gah	Unknown	11	7	12
8-Feb-08	Ghazni	Unknown	5	3	12
17-Feb-08	Kandahar	Taliban	24	101	12
18-Feb-08	Spin Boldak	Taliban	33	38	12
19-Feb-08	Kandahar	Taliban	4	1	2
22-Feb-08	Ismail Khil	Taliban	0	2	1
23-Feb-08	Farah	Unknown	0	1	1
24-Feb-08	Garmabak	Taliban	2	3	2
3-Mar-08	Bagram	Taliban	4	2	2
3-Mar-08	Zambar	Unknown	23	5	1
4-Mar-08	Tania	Unknown	9	1	23
12-Mar-08	Kandahar	Taliban	4	1	1
15-Mar-08	Mandozai	Taliban	5	1	12
17-Mar-08	Geresk	Taliban	4	7	12
21-Mar-08	Kandahar	Unknown	3	2	2
21-Mar-08	Kandahar	Unknown	7	3	2
1-Apr-08	Khash Rud	Unknown	5	3	13
4-Apr-08	Lashkar Gah	Taliban	8	4	13
10-Apr-08	Khash Rud	Taliban	23	10	1
12-Apr-08	Nimroz	Taliban	7	3	13
15-Apr-08	Spin Boldak	Taliban	3	2	13
17-Apr-08	Zaranj	Unknown	33	26	13
23-Apr-08	Helmand	Taliban	2	3	13
23-Apr-08	Spin Boldak	Taliban	14	3	13

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
29-Apr-08	Jalalabad	Unknown	25	6	3
2-May-08	Bati Kowt	Unknown	2	2	1
8-May-08	Kabul	Unknown	5	0	3
15-May-08	Delaram District	Taliban	22	18	13
18-May-08	Helmand Province	Taliban	8	4	13
22-May-08	Delaram District	Unknown	2	0	13
23-May-08	Khowst	Taliban	5	6	1
25-May-08	Kandahar	Taliban	5	1	1
28-May-08	Gorbaz	Taliban	4	0	1
28-May-08	Lashkargah	Unknown	2	2	13
29-May-08	Kabul	Taliban	0	5	13
31-May-08	Jalalabad	Unknown	8	2	1
4-Jun-08	Jaji Mayden	Taliban	33	0	3
5-Jun-08	Khash Rud	Unknown	3	1	2
5-Jun-08	Khash Rud	Taliban	5	1	13
5-Jun-08	Qalat	Taliban	5	0	1
7-Jun-08	Farah Province	Taliban	0	0	3
8-Jun-08	Chahar	Unknown	3	0	13
8-Jun-08	Khost City	Unknown	1	0	3
12-Jun-08	Lashkargah	Taliban	0	0	3
13-Jun-08	Kandahar	Taliban	0	15	1
18-Jun-08	Dilaram	Taliban	12	4	1
22-Jun-08	Greshk District	Unknown	0	1	13
23-Jun-08	Shindand	Taliban	25	5	1
2-Jul-08	Spin Boldak	Unknown	7	0	1
2-Jul-08	Zaranj	Unknown	8	4	1
6-Jul-08	Chahar Darreh	Taliban	3	0	1
8-Jul-08	Kabul	Unknown	130	41	13
8-Jul-08	Nimroz	Taliban	0	5	3
12-Jul-08	Marjah	Taliban	6	3	1
13-Jul-08	Urozgan	Unknown	44	25	13
19-Jul-08	Spin	Unknown	1	0	13
22-Jul-08	Kabul	Taliban	3	0	12
27-Jul-08	Khost	Unknown	6	2	3
27-Jul-08	Sabari	Taliban	6	1	13
1-Aug-08	Farah	Unknown	5	3	3
1-Aug-08	Zaranj	Unknown	0	2	13
4-Aug-08	orgun	Taliban	1	1	123

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
15-Aug-08	Khowst	Unknown	0	0	1
17-Aug-08	Faryab	Unknown	0	0	1
17-Aug-08	Khowst	Taliban	13	10	1
24-Aug-08	Badghis	Taliban	6	10	3
30-Aug-08	Kandahar	Unknown	9	0	1
6-Sep-08	Zaranj	Taliban	1	6	123
7-Sep-08	Kandahar	Taliban	26	6	1
8-Sep-08	Nimruz	Unknown	0	1	1
11-Sep-08	Kandahar	Unknown	6	2	123
11-Sep-08	Khash Rud	Unknown	7	2	13
14-Sep-08	Spin Boldak	Taliban	15	3	13
15-Sep-08	Shindand	Taliban	7	3	3
26-Sep-08	Jaji Mayden	Unknown	5	3	3
26-Sep-08	Khowst	Unknown	7	5	1
28-Sep-08	Spin Boldak	Taliban	17	6	13
29-Sep-08	Kandahar	Unknown	1	4	1
2-Oct-08	Lashkar Gar	Other	0	1	3
5-Oct-08	Gozara	Unknown	0	3	13
10-Oct-08	Bak	Taliban	3	2	123
11-Oct-08	Deh Rawod	Taliban	6	0	1
16-Oct-08	Ali Shir	Taliban	2	0	123
20-Oct-08	Chahar Darreh	Taliban	3	7	1
27-Oct-08	Baghlan	Taliban	5	3	123
30-Oct-08	Kabul	Taliban	18	6	123
31-Oct-08	Qarghah	Unknown	0	0	1
5-Nov-08	Konduz	Unknown	0	0	13
6-Nov-08	Konduz	Unknown	0	0	1
11-Nov-08	Zaranj	Unknown	0	1	123
12-Nov-08	Helmand	Taliban	3	5	13
12-Nov-08	Kandahar	Taliban	42	6	23
13-Nov-08	Bati Kowt	Taliban	74	9	1
14-Nov-08	Bak	Taliban	3	0	1
16-Nov-08	Pole Khomri	Taliban	14	1	1
17-Nov-08	Kandahar	Unknown	0	3	3
20-Nov-08	Khost	Unknown	7	3	13
21-Nov-08	Zabol	Taliban	4	4	13
27-Nov-08	Kabul	Unknown	18	5	123
30-Nov-08	Kabul	Unknown	6	4	123
1-Dec-08	Musa Qula	Taliban	27	8	13

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
22-Dec-08	Ghazni	Unknown	7	3	123
26-Dec-08	Herat	Unknown	4	0	1
26-Dec-08	Zaranj	Unknown	0	0	1
27-Dec-08	Kandahar	Unknown	6	6	13
28-Dec-08	Ismail Khil	Taliban	53	16	123
29-Dec-08	Parwan	Hekmatyar	15	3	123
8-Jan-09	Maiwand	Taliban	21	9	13
9-Jan-09	Zaranj	Unknown	3	6	3
17-Jan-09	Chaparhar	Taliban	8	1	1
17-Jan-09	Kabul	Taliban	26	6	13
19-Jan-09	Khowst	Taliban	12	1	1
21-Jan-09	Baghlan	Unknown	9	0	13
24-Jan-09	Shahe-e Naw	Taliban	9	1	13
1-Feb-09	Kabul	Taliban	4	0	1
2-Feb-09	Uruzgan	Taliban	40	25	13
8-Feb-09	Ghorghori	Unknown	4	5	1
11-Feb-09	Kabul	Taliban	0	0	3
11-Feb-09	Kabul	Taliban	0	0	3
11-Feb-09	Kabul	Taliban	54	19	3
12-Feb-09	Sharan	Taliban	8	1	13
23-Feb-09	Zaranj	Unknown	2	1	13
1-Mar-09	Jalalabad	Taliban	5	1	1
4-Mar-09	Charikar	Unknown	3	0	1
7-Mar-09	Zaranj	Taliban	2	3	13
14-Mar-09	Nimroz	Unknown	0	0	3
15-Mar-09	Kabul	Unknown	7	2	1
15-Mar-09	Kabul	Unknown	7	3	13
16-Mar-09	Farah	Unknown	2	2	3
16-Mar-09	Lashkar Gah	Unknown	25	11	1
20-Mar-09	Dilaram	Taliban	2	1	1
21-Mar-09	Chaparhar	Unknown	3	4	13
21-Mar-09	Khost	Unknown	6	5	3
26-Mar-09	Marjah	Unknown	0	1	1
30-Mar-09	Dand	Unknown	9	9	13
1-Apr-09	Kandahar	Taliban	0	10	3
1-Apr-09	Kang	Unknown	0	0	13
9-Apr-09	Lashkar Gar	Taliban	17	5	13
11-Apr-09	Garmsir	Unknown	0	1	3
12-Apr-09	Samangan	Unknown	1	1	13

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
20-Apr-09	Herat	Taliban	0	0	3
25-Apr-09	Kandahar	Unknown	4	5	13
25-Apr-09	Spin Boldak	Unknown	0	1	1
1-May-09	Guzara	Unknown	0	1	1
2-May-09	Gozara	Unknown	0	0	3
4-May-09	Laghman	Taliban	3	7	13
10-May-09	Helmand	Taliban	10	5	13
12-May-09	Khost	Taliban	18	6	13
13-May-09	Khost	Taliban	21	7	1
14-May-09	Spin Boldak	Taliban	5	1	13
19-May-09	Arghadab	Unknown	10	2	13
26-May-09	Kapisa	Unknown	3	6	1
27-May-09	Gilan	Unknown	2	2	1
2-Jun-09	Angor	Unknown	2	0	13
2-Jun-09	Parwan	Unknown	1	6	1
3-Jun-09	Spin Boldak	Taliban	0	15	13
5-Jun-09	Lashkar Gah	Unknown	2	0	1
6-Jun-09	Kandahar	Unknown	8	4	13
8-Jun-09	Khowst	Unknown	0	1	1
12-Jun-09	Geresk	Taliban	29	8	1
18-Jun-09	Sheberghan	Unknown	0	1	1
22-Jun-09	Khost	Unknown	30	8	13
22-Jun-09	Zheray	Taliban	2	3	1
23-Jun-09	Ghazni	Taliban	0	2	1
28-Jun-09	Behsud	Unknown	9	1	1
30-Jun-09	Towr kahm	Unknown	12	7	1
2-Jul-09	Kandahar	Unknown	0	0	1
3-Jul-09	Balkh	Unknown	0	0	3
4-Jul-09	Lashkar Gar	Taliban	5	1	13
6-Jul-09	Kandahar	Taliban	12	3	13
11-Jul-09	Ghazni	Taliban	2	0	13
16-Jul-09	Ghori	Unknown	4	4	13
19-Jul-09	Towr kahm	Unknown	7	3	13
21-Jul-09	Gardez	Taliban	0	3	3
21-Jul-09	Gardez	Taliban	0	11	13
25-Jul-09	Khost	Taliban	17	7	13
4-Aug-09	Zabol	Taliban	19	5	1
9-Aug-09	Chaparhar	Unknown	0	1	1
10-Aug-09	Pole Khomri	Taliban	26	7	1

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
15-Aug-09	Kabul	Taliban	91	7	1
18-Aug-09	Kabul	Taliban	74	8	1
18-Aug-09	Orgun	Unknown	6	6	1
29-Aug-09	Zabol	Taliban	26	2	1
2-Sep-09	Laghman	Taliban	54	23	1
4-Sep-09	Delaram	Taliban	0	3	1
8-Sep-09	Kabul	Taliban	10	2	1
9-Sep-09	Geresk	Taliban	2	0	1
11-Sep-09	Panjavi	Unknown	9	0	1
12-Sep-09	Barmal	Unknown	0	0	1
12-Sep-09	Kandahar	Unknown	3	2	1
16-Sep-09	Zheray	Taliban	8	2	1
17-Sep-09	Kabul	Taliban	59	16	1
19-Sep-09	Herat	Unknown	3	2	1
27-Sep-09	Zaranj	Taliban	1	0	1
8-Oct-09	Kabul	Taliban	83	17	1
9-Oct-09	Wazah Jadran	Taliban	4	5	1
26-Oct-09	Jalalabad	Taliban	1	0	1
30-Oct-09	Kandahar	Unknown	3	3	1
5-Nov-09	Kondoz	Unknown	0	1	1
11-Nov-09	Zabol	Taliban	5	2	1
13-Nov-09	Kabul	Taliban	22	0	1
19-Nov-09	Orgun	Unknown	10	10	1
20-Nov-09	Farah	Unknown	30	21	1
23-Nov-09	Panjav'i	Unknown	5	0	1
27-Nov-09	Balabolok	Unknown	3	0	1
11-Dec-09	Sharan	Taliban	21	5	1
15-Dec-09	Kabul	Taliban	44	8	1
17-Dec-09	Orgun	Taliban	9	0	1
24-Dec-09	Kandahar	Unknown	3	9	1
30-Dec-09	Khowst	Unknown	6	8	1

PAKISTAN DATABASE

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
5-Sep-86	Karachi	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)	19	127	3
19-Nov-95	Islamabad	al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (IG)	16	60	23
21-Dec-95	Peshawar	Agfhans	42	100	2
5-Jun-98	Lahore	Unknown	3	10	2
5-Jun-98	Tandu Masti	Unknown	23	32	2
8-Jun-98	Lahore	Unknown	0	20	2
6-Nov-00	Karachi	Unknown	3	5	23
8-May-02	Karachi	Al Qaeda	14	25	23
14-Jun-02	Karachi	Laskkar-e-Omar	11	45	23
4-Jul-03	Quetta	Laskkar-e-Jhangvi	53	53	23
28-Jul-03	Mohalla Jogiyanwala	Unknown	1	5	2
25-Dec-03	Rawalpindi	Al Qaeda	15	46	23
28-Feb-04	Rawalpindi	Unknown	0	4	1
3-Mar-04	Quetta	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	47	130	3
15-Mar-04	Quetta	TTP	11	0	2
7-May-04	Karachi	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	18	100	2
26-May-04	Karachi	Harkat ul-Mujahedin	2	27	3
30-Jul-04	Jaffar	Al-Islambouli Brigades of Al Qaeda	8	50	23
10-Oct-04	Lahore	Unknown	4	16	23
19-Mar-05	Fatehpur	Unknown	51	0	2
29-Apr-05	Kohlu	Unknown	0	2	2
20-May-05	Karachi	Unknown	5	23	2
27-May-05	Islamabad	Unknown	19	100	23
30-May-05	Karachi	Unknown	5	23	2
24-Jul-05	Unknown	Unknown	1	3	2
14-Sep-05	Samzai	Unknown	0	2	12
9-Feb-06	Hangu	TTP	31	50	123
2-Mar-06	Karachi	Unknown	5	50	123
11-Apr-06	Karachi	Unknown	57	80	23
28-May-06	Datta Khel	Unknown	3	3	2
14-Jul-06	Abbas	unknown	3	3	3
6-Aug-06	Hub	Unknown	1	0	3
2-Nov-06	Quetta	Unknown	2	5	12

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
3-Dec-06	Bannu	Unknown	1	1	13
25-Jan-07	Hangu	Unknown	1	3	1
26-Jan-07	Islamabad	Unknown	1	3	123
27-Jan-07	Peshawar	Unknown	15	60	123
29-Jan-07	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	2	7	123
3-Feb-07	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	2	6	2
6-Feb-07	Rawalpindi	Unknown	0	10	1
17-Feb-07	Quetta	Unknown	15	38	12
24-Feb-07	Chechawatni	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	3	0	3
28-Apr-07	Charsadda	Unknown	31	48	12
15-May-07	Peshawar	Unknown	23	30	123
4-Jul-07	Mir Ali	Unknown	11	0	2
12-Jul-07	Mingora	Unknown	6	0	12
12-Jul-07	Miranshah	Unknown	3	3	12
12-Jul-07	Swat	Unknown	7	0	3
13-Jul-07	North Waziristan	Unknown	5	3	3
13-Jul-07	Sargohda	Unknown	0	2	3
14-Jul-07	Miranshah	Al Qaeda	25	26	2
15-Jul-07	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	27	50	123
15-Jul-07	Swat	Unknown	21	40	12
16-Jul-07	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	21	35	2
17-Jul-07	Islamabad	Unknown	17	63	123
17-Jul-07	Mir Ali	Unknown	1	4	12
18-Jul-07	Islamabad	Unknown	14	40	2
19-Jul-07	Hangu	Unknown	7	22	13
19-Jul-07	Hub	Unknown	30	30	123
20-Jul-07	Kohat	Unknown	19	15	2
20-Jul-07	Miranshah	Unknown	5	5	13
27-Jul-07	Islamabad	Unknown	12	43	2
27-Jul-07	Islamabad	Unknown	15	64	123
2-Aug-07	Sargodha	Unknown	2	1	3
3-Aug-07	Matta	Unknown	2	7	1
5-Aug-07	Parachinar	Unknown	9	48	13
17-Aug-07	Tank	Unknown	0	5	2
18-Aug-07	Bannu	Unknown	0	2	1
20-Aug-07	Hangu	TTP	4	17	2
20-Aug-07	Tal	Unknown	5	17	12
24-Aug-07	Miranshah	Unknown	5	39	2

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
1-Sep-07	Bajaur	Unknown	5	11	1
4-Sep-07	Rawalpindi	Unknown	25	66	12
4-Sep-07	Rawalpindi	Al Qaeda	25	70	2
11-Sep-07	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	19	16	12
13-Sep-07	Tarbela	Unknown	16	27	2
22-Sep-07	Tank	unknown	1	1	2
1-Oct-07	Bannu	Unknown	15	20	12
18-Oct-07	Karachi	Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami	154	250	12
25-Oct-07	Mingora	Unknown	20	34	12
30-Oct-07	Rawalpindi	Unknown	7	16	13
1-Nov-07	Sargodha	Unknown	11	28	2
9-Nov-07	Hayatabad	Unknown	6	4	12
24-Nov-07	Rawalpindi	Unknown	18	0	2
9-Dec-07	Mengawara	Unknown	12	0	2
9-Dec-07	Swat	Unknown	10	2	123
10-Dec-07	Kamra	Unknown	1	7	2
10-Dec-07	Kamra	Unknown	0	8	123
10-Dec-07	Ningwalai	Unknown	10	0	2
13-Dec-07	Quetta	Unknown	7	22	12
15-Dec-07	Nowshera	Unknown	6	19	12
17-Dec-07	Kohat	Unknown	10	4	2
21-Dec-07	Charsadda	Unknown	72	101	12
23-Dec-07	Mingora	TTP	13	26	12
27-Dec-07	Rawalpindi	Unknown	20	48	123
7-Jan-08	Kabal	Unknown	0	13	12
10-Jan-08	Lahore	Unknown	25	80	12
15-Jan-08	Mohmand	Unknown	0	0	1
17-Jan-08	Peshawar	Unknown	9	20	123
23-Jan-08	Khyber	Unknown	1	4	1
23-Jan-08	Wazir Dand	Unknown	2	1	2
25-Jan-08	Der	Unknown	3	3	2
1-Feb-08	Waziristan	Al Qaeda	7	15	2
4-Feb-08	Rawalpindi	Unknown	9	27	12
9-Feb-08	Charsadda	Unknown	18	25	12
11-Feb-08	Mir Ali	Unknown	10	13	12
16-Feb-08	Mingora	Unknown	2	34	2
16-Feb-08	Parachinar	Unknown	28	95	3
16-Feb-08	Parachinar	Unknown	37	110	12

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
29-Feb-08	Mingora	Unknown	40	50	1
1-Mar-08	Khar	TTP	2	23	12
2-Mar-08	Darra Adam Khel	TTP	41	35	123
4-Mar-08	Lahore	Unknown	7	14	12
11-Mar-08	Lahore	Unknown	6	0	3
11-Mar-08	Lahore	Al Qaeda	27	175	123
17-Mar-08	Mingora	Unknown	2	7	123
20-Mar-08	Wana	Unknown	6	11	2
1-May-08	Khyber	Unknown	0	30	1
6-May-08	Bannu	Unknown	5	14	1
9-May-08	Clifton	Unknown	1	0	1
18-May-08	Mardan	Unknown	12	23	1
2-Jun-08	Islamabad	Al Qaeda	8	27	13
12-Jun-08	Lahore	Unknown	0	0	1
6-Jul-08	Islamabad	Unknown	19	53	123
13-Jul-08	Dera Ismail Khan	unknown	0	5	12
11-Aug-08	Peshawar	Unknown	1	2	2
13-Aug-08	Lahore	TTP	10	40	2
19-Aug-08	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	24	30	13
21-Aug-08	Islamabad	TTP	64	100	123
23-Aug-08	Charbagh	Unknown	7	20	1
29-Aug-08	Kohat	Unknown	5	37	1
6-Sep-08	Peshawar	Unknown	36	100	1
19-Sep-08	Quetta	Unknown	5	10	1
20-Sep-08	Islamabad	Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami	60	266	123
24-Sep-08	Quetta	Unknown	4	21	1
6-Oct-08	Bhakkar	TTP	16	60	13
9-Oct-08	Islamabad	Unknown	0	8	1
9-Oct-08	Landi Kotal	Unknown	0	0	1
10-Oct-08	Orakzai Agency	TTP	85	200	13
16-Oct-08	Mingora	Unknown	5	28	1
26-Oct-08	Mohmand	Unknown	1	13	1
29-Oct-08	Bannu	Unknown	0	10	1
31-Oct-08	Mardan	Unknown	9	21	12
6-Nov-08	Bajaur	TTP	18	45	123
11-Nov-08	Peshawar	Unknown	4	11	123
12-Nov-08	Shabqadar	Unknown	5	15	1
17-Nov-08	Khwazakhe	Unknown	4	7	1

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
20-Nov-08	Bajaur	Unknown	9	4	12
21-Nov-08	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	7	30	3
28-Nov-08	Bannu	TTP	8	16	13
1-Dec-08	Mingora	Unknown	11	66	1
3-Dec-08	Shabqadar	unknown	5	10	1
4-Dec-08	Swat	Unknown	0	0	1
5-Dec-08	Kalaya	Unknown	7	3	1
5-Dec-08	Orakzai Agency	Unknown	7	15	13
9-Dec-08	Buner	TTP	1	4	12
28-Dec-08	Buner	TTP	36	16	123
4-Jan-09	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	10	27	1
5-Feb-09	Dera Ghazi Khan	Unknown	24	40	13
5-Feb-09	Mingora	Unknown	0	12	1
6-Feb-09	Jamrud	Unknown	0	7	1
20-Feb-09	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	30	65	3
21-Feb-09	Lakki Marwat	Unknown	0	0	1
23-Feb-09	Bannu	Unknown	1	2	1
2-Mar-09	Pishin	Unknown	6	12	1
11-Mar-09	Peshawar	Unknown	4	4	1
12-Mar-09	Charbagh	Unknown	0	3	1
16-Mar-09	Rawalpindi	Unknown	14	28	1
23-Mar-09	Islamabad	Unknown	1	3	1
26-Mar-09	Jandola	Unknown	12	22	1
27-Mar-09	Jamrud	Unknown	82	180	1
30-Mar-09	Bannu	TTP	7	9	1
4-Apr-09	Islamabad	TTP	9	12	1
5-Apr-09	Chakwal	TTP	24	140	1
5-Apr-09	Miranshah	TTP	18	39	1
15-Apr-09	Charsadda	TTP	19	16	1
18-Apr-09	Doaba	TTP	27	55	1
5-May-09	Bara	TTP	7	48	1
11-May-09	Darra Adam Khel	TTP	10	27	1
27-May-09	Lahore	TTP	29	326	1
28-May-09	Dera Ismail Khan	Unknown	3	11	1
28-May-09	Peshawar	TTP	3	3	1
5-Jun-09	Dir	TTP	49	61	1
6-Jun-09	Islamabad	TTP	2	4	1
9-Jun-09	Peshawar	TTP	23	69	1

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
12-Jun-09	Lahore	TTP	5	11	1
12-Jun-09	Nowshera	TTP	5	105	1
22-Jun-09	Batgaram	TTP	2	7	1
30-Jun-09	Kalat	TTP	4	11	1
1-Jul-09	Peshawar	TTP	0	0	1
2-Jul-09	Rawalpindi	Unknown	6	16	13
8-Jul-09	Peshawar	TTP	0	0	1
18-Jul-09	Peshwar	TTP	0	0	1
10-Aug-09	Peshwar	TTP	1	3	1
13-Aug-09	Lahore	Unknown	10	34	1
18-Aug-09	Miranshah	TTP	7	3	1
21-Aug-09	Kohat	TTP	0	0	1
23-Aug-09	Peshwar	Unknown	3	19	1
27-Aug-09	Torkham	TTP	22	12	3
29-Aug-09	Qila	TTP	3	0	1
30-Aug-09	Mingora	TTP	16	11	13
12-Sep-09	Doaba	TTP	0	4	1
18-Sep-09	Kohat	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	30	50	13
18-Sep-09	Kohat	Unknown	30	60	3
21-Sep-09	Buner	Unknown	1	0	3
26-Sep-09	Bannu	Unknown	6	0	13
26-Sep-09	Peshawar	Unknown	10	90	13
29-Sep-09	Bannu	TTP	4	1	1
5-Oct-09	Islamabad	Unknown	5	0	13
9-Oct-09	Peshawar	TTP	49	148	13
10-Oct-09	Rawalpindi	TTP	10	5	1
12-Oct-09	Shangla	Unknown	45	56	1
15-Oct-09	Kohat	TTP	11	22	1
15-Oct-09	Manawan	TTP	21	50	1
16-Oct-09	Peshawar	TTP	15	25	1
20-Oct-09	Dhadar	Unknown	0	0	3
20-Oct-09	Islamabad	Unknown	7	29	13
23-Oct-09	Kamra	TTP	8	17	1
24-Oct-09	Islamabad	TTP	1	0	1
2-Nov-09	Lahore	TTP	1	15	1
2-Nov-09	Rawalpindi	TTP	38	63	1
3-Nov-09	Rawalpindi	Unknown	0	1	1
9-Nov-09	Faqirabad	Unknown	3	5	1

Date	City	Perpetrator	Injuries	Fatalities	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
10-Nov-09	Charsadda	TTP	34	0	1
13-Nov-09	Bannu	TTP	15	21	1
13-Nov-09	Peshawar	TTP	17	80	1
14-Nov-09	Peshawar	TTP	12	35	1
16-Nov-09	Peshawar	TTP	4	43	1
19-Nov-09	Peshawar	TTP	20	50	1
1-Dec-09	Mingora	Unknown	2	12	1
2-Dec-09	Islamabad	Unknown	2	11	1
4-Dec-09	Rawalpindi	TTP	40	86	1
7-Dec-09	Lahore	Unknown	70	0	1
7-Dec-09	Peshawar	TTP	11	50	1
8-Dec-09	Multan	TTP	12	30	1
15-Dec-09	Dera Ghazi Khan	Unknown	33	90	1
17-Dec-09	Bannu	TTP	0	0	1
18-Dec-09	Timurga	TTP	12	32	1
22-Dec-09	Peshawar	Unknown	3	24	1
24-Dec-09	Islamabad	Unknown	1	2	1
24-Dec-09	Peshawar	TTP	5	24	1
27-Dec-09	Muzaffarabad	TTP	10	80	1
28-Dec-09	Karachi	TTP	43	83	1

CHECHNYA DATABASE

Date	City	Perpetrator	Fatalities	Injuries	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
5-Dec-03	Yessentuki	Black Widows	46	165	23
15-Nov-05	Saint Petersburg	Unknown	1	0	1
1-Aug-03	Mozdok	Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	40	76	23
5-Jul-03	Moscow	Unknown	17	50	23
9-Dec-03	Moscow	Black Widows	6	14	23
6-Feb-04	Moscow	Unknown	40	122	13
24-Aug-04	Moscow	Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	46	0	123
31-Aug-04	Moscow	Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	11	50	123
5-Jul-03	Mascow	Unknown	1	1	2
24-Aug-04	Buchalki	Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	44	0	1
27-Nov-07	Asha	Unknown	0	0	2
29-Aug-08	Vedeno	Unknown	1	11	1
6-Apr-04	Nazran	Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	0	7	123
17-May-06	Nazran	Unknown	7	0	2
30-Sep-08	Nazran	Unknown	1	9	13
22-Jun-09	Nazran	Caucasus Emirate	3	5	1
17-Aug-09	Nazran	Caucasus Emirate	25	280	1
11-Sep-09	Nazran	Unknown	2	9	1
17-Dec-09	Nazran	Caucasus Emirate	1	23	1
10-Jul-06	Nazran	Unknown	0	0	23
15-Sep-03	Magas	Other	4	40	3
21-May-03		Unknown	0	0	23
18-Oct-08	Nazran	Unknown	0	5	3
5-Jun-03	Mozdok	Chechens	19	11	2
1-Sep-04	Beslan	Riyad us-Saliheyn Martyrs' Brigade	331	727	13
5-Nov-08	Vladikavkaz	Unknown	12	41	123
17-Aug-08	Makhachkala	Unknown	21	119	3
1-Sep-09	Makhachkala	Unknown	1	14	1
23-Oct-07	Kazbek	Unknown	1	5	2
12-May-03	Znamenskoye	Chechens	59	197	2

Date	City	Perpetrator	Fatalities	Injuries	Source WITS = 1, GTD=2, RAND=3
29-Nov-01	Urus-Martan	Unknown	4	1	2
1-Oct-09	Staryye Atagi	Unknown	0	0	1
28-Aug-09	Shali	Unknown	0	6	1
2-Jul-00	Novogrozny	Chechens	3	20	2
25-Aug-09	Mesker-Yurt	Unknown	4	1	13
14-May-03	Iliskhan-Yurt	Chechens	18	78	2
2-Jul-00	Gudermes	Chechens	6	0	2
2-Jul-00	Gudermes	Chechens	9	0	2
8-Dec-00	Gudermes	Chechens	1	12	2
11-Jun-00	Groznyy	Chechens	4	1	2
12-Jun-00	Groznyy	Chechens	6	0	2
5-Nov-02	Groznyy	Unknown	1	0	1
31-May-02	Groznyy	Chechens	4	0	2
27-Dec-02	Groznyy	Chechens	57	121	2
20-Jun-03	Groznyy	Unknown	8	25	1
27-Nov-04	Groznyy	Unknown	1	3	1
15-May-09	Groznyy	Unknown	2	5	1
26-Jul-09	Groznyy	Unknown	5	10	13
21-Aug-09	Groznyy	Unknown	3	0	1
21-Aug-09	Groznyy	Unknown	2	3	1
12-Sep-09	Groznyy	Unknown	0	3	1
16-Sep-09	Groznyy	Unknown	0	6	1
21-Oct-09	Groznyy	Unknown	0	5	1
29-Jul-05	Groznyy	Unknown	0	0	1
27-Jul-03	Grozny	Unknown	1	1	3
2-Jul-00	Argun	Chechens	50	81	2
17-Sep-01	Argun	Unknown	1	0	2
7-Jun-00	Alkhan-Yurt	Chechens	2	5	2