

Contents

| | |
|--|------------|
| Preface | viii |
| Acknowledgements | xi |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Part I: The War | 13 |
| 1 <i>A Personal Memoir of Grozny and the Chechen War</i> | 17 |
| Journey to Grozny • From Russian Fortress to Soviet Oil Town • Elders, Bandits and Heroes • Grozny under Dudayev: Ordered Anarchy • The Bombardment of Grozny • The Russian Population • The Russian Army in Grozny | |
| 2 <i>Russia and Chechnya, 1991-1994: The Origins of War</i> | 56 |
| The Chechen Revolt of the 1990s • General Dzhokhar Dudayev • Chechens, Ingush and Ossetes • Chechnya under Dudayev, 1991-1994 • Dudayev's Regime • The Russian Decision to Intervene and the Geopolitics of Oil • Catalyst for Intervention • The Anarchy of Russian Decision-Making • Why Chechnya Fought Alone | |
| 3 <i>The Course of the Chechen War</i> | 102 |
| Bad Planning and Moral Cowardice: The First Three Weeks • The Storm, January to June 1995 • The Urban Forest • The Chechen Fighters • Russia Loses the Propaganda War • Spring 1995 • Russian Strategy in Chechnya • Maltreatment of Prisoners and the Civilian Population • The Truce, June to December 1995 • Victory and Defeat, January 1996 to January 1997 | |
| Part II: The Russian Defeat | 147 |
| 4 <i>The Masque of Democracy: Russia's Liberal Capitalist Revolution and the Collapse of State Power</i> | 150 |
| Privatisation as Enclosure of the Common Land • The Privatisation of the Russian State • Russia's Passive Revolution • Russia as a Weak State and a Weak Society • Russian Compradors • Ruinous but Probably Stable • Liberal Capitalist Hegemony in Russia | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|------------|
| 5 | <i>'Who Would Be a Soldier If You Could Work in a Bank?': Social and Cultural Roots of the Russian Defeat</i> | 186 |
| | Demographic Change: the Engine of Expansion Goes into Reverse • An Aged and Weary Population • Social Change, Culture and Demilitarisation • Urbanisation, Economic Development and the Attempts to 'Catch Up' • Why Modern Peoples Fight • Patriotism and the Private Soldier | |
| 6 | <i>Failure of the Serbian Option, 1: The Collapse of the 'Cossacks'</i> | 219 |
| | The Serbian Option • The nature of the 'Cossack Revival' • The Cossack Tradition and its Destruction • The Cossacks and the 'Invention of Tradition' • A Journey to the Cossack Lands, June 1996 • The %Itsin Regime and the Cossacks | |
| 7 | <i>Failure of the Serbian Option, 2: The Weakness of the Russian Diasporas</i> | 243 |
| | The Transdnestrian Path • The 'Manipulation' of National Conflict • The Crimean Path • The Nature of the 'Russian Diasporas' | |
| 8 | <i>'A Fish Rots from the Head': Military Roots of the Russian Defeat</i> | 269 |
| | An Unparalleled Defeat • A Systemic Crisis • Shortage of Training and Equipment • Shortage of Men • Shortage of Money • Shortage of Honesty • Shortage of Unity • <i>Dyedovshchina</i> , the Abuse of Servicemen and the Lack of NCOs • The Struggle over Military Reform, 1996-1997 | |
| Part III: The Chechen Victory | | 301 |
| 9 | <i>The Two Hundred Years' War: The History and Context of the Russian-Chechen Conflict</i> | 303 |
| | Shamil's Legacy • The Russian Wars against the Mountaineers • A Tragic Geopolitical Location • Four Hundred Years of Deportation and Ethnic Cleansing • The North Caucasus under Soviet Rule • Active and Passive Resistance, 1859-1944 • Return from Exile | |
| 10 | <i>'We are Free and Equal like Wolves': Social and Cultural Roots of the Chechen Victory</i> | 324 |
| | Aeneas with the RPG • The Chechens: A Primordial Ethnic Nation? • The Russian Intervention: An Error of Colonial Ethnography • Tribal Warrior Egalitarianism: Teip, Vird and Adat • 'It is Hard to be a Chechen' • Anarchy and Autocracy • The 'Bandit' Tradition and the 'Chechen Mafia' | |

vii Contents

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 11 | <i>'The Prayers of Slaves Are Not Heard in Heaven': Chechnya and Islam, a Religious Nation or a National Religion</i> Religion and Nationalism • Islam in the War of Shamil and the War of Dudayev • Sufism in Chechnya • Islam and Politics in Contemporary Chechnya and the North Caucasus • A Sufi Evening | 355 |
| | <i>Conclusion</i> The Hegemony of the New Order • Future Revolutions • The Exhaustion of Russian Idealism • The Nature of Russian Nationalism • The Future of Russian Nationalism | 369 |
| | Notes | 385 |
| | Index | 427 |