



**Monterey Terrorism Research and Education Program  
(MonTREP)  
Monterey Institute for International Studies**

**Islam, Islamism and Politics in Eurasia Report,  
No. 30, November 29, 2010**

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*\*Research assistance is provided by Leonid Naboishchikov, Daniel Painter, Seth Gray, and Daria Ushakova.*

## THE CE AND THE BELGIUM TERRORIST PLOT

On November 23<sup>rd</sup>, eleven suspects were arrested in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia on suspicion of planning terrorist attacks in Belgium, recruiting “jihadist candidates” and of financing “a Chechen terrorist organization, the Caucasus Emirate.” Some of the detainees were reported to be Russian nationals, and news reports assumed these were ethnic Chechens and/or from Chechnya. One of the Russian nationals was a 31-year-old Russian national arrested in Aachen, Germany and “was the target of a European arrest warrant issued by Belgium”...“suspected of having recruited young people to fight in Chechnya.” The suspects were said to have been using the jihadi website ‘Ansar al-Mujahideen’ in carrying out their activity. Belgian police said the cell was based in Antwerp, where some of the arrests were made, and had connections with an Islamic Center and had been under investigation since at least 2009. The next day another fifteen suspects were detained across Brussels in an apparently separate case.<sup>1</sup> The two arrested ‘Chechens’ apparently were involved both in the recruiting and financing for the CE and the planning of attacks in Belgium.

However, as IIPER, No. 21 reported, on July 20<sup>th</sup>, the CE jihadi network and its substructure in the Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachai-Cherkessia, the so-called United Vilaiyat of Kabardia, Balkaria and Karachai (OVKBK), strengthened their ties with the global jihadi revolutionary movement when it announced its co-sponsorship of a joint internet project with *Ansar al-Mujahidin* website (<http://www.ansar1.info/>). The new, joint website, located at <http://al-ansar.info>, was established to “highlight the news summaries of the Jihad on all fronts, both in the Caucasus and in all other lands of the fight” and publish old and new works of scholars of the “ahli sunny ual’ jama’a.”<sup>2</sup> The announcement, published on the OVKBK’s website *Islamdin.com* quotes the American-born and anti-American Yemeni-based jihadist jihadi ideologist and Al-Qa`ida recruiter, Anwar al-Awlaki, who continues to maintain a high profile on CE sites (See, for example, IIPER, No. 20). Awlaki is cited on the value of being a “jihadist of the internet” and the need to create fee-free and uncensored discussion fora, lists of e-mail addresses so Muslims interested in jihad can contact each other and exchange information, online publication and distribution of literature and news of the jihad, sites which focus on separate aspects of the jihad.<sup>3</sup> *Islamdin* posted the first part of Awlaki’s Al-Janna the day after this announcement.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Castle, “Police Arrest Suspects in Plot Against Belgium,” *New York Times*, 23 November 2010, [www.nytimes.com/2010/11/24/world/europe/24belgium.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/24/world/europe/24belgium.html); “Philippe Siuberski, Police arrest 11 over Belgium ‘terror plot’,” *Agence France Presse*, 23 November 2010,

[http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20101123/wl\\_afp/belgiumnetherlandsgermanysecurityattacks/print](http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20101123/wl_afp/belgiumnetherlandsgermanysecurityattacks/print) and Philippe Siuberski, “Belgium arrests 26 in raids against terror,” *NineMSN*, 24 November 2010, 06:13, <http://news.ninemsn.com.au/world/8168623/10-held-over-terror-plot-in-belgium>.

<sup>2</sup> “V global’noi seti interneta otkrylsya novyi forum v podderzhku Dzhikhada,” *Islamdin*, 20 July 2010, 16:18, [www.islamdin.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=849:2010-07-20-16-49-47&catid=32:2009-03-05-23-19-06&Itemid=29](http://www.islamdin.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=849:2010-07-20-16-49-47&catid=32:2009-03-05-23-19-06&Itemid=29).

<sup>3</sup> “V global’noi seti interneta otkrylsya novyi forum v podderzhku Dzhikhada,” *Islamdin.com*, 20 July 2010, 16:18,

As developments emerge, IIPER will report on this, as yet unconfirmed first case of Caucasus Emirate terrorism in Europe.

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## **RUSSIAN OFFICIALS OFFER DATA ON COUNTER-JIHADISM OPERATIONS IN 2010**

On November 19<sup>th</sup>, Russian FSB Director Aleksandr Bortnikov reported to President Dmitrii Medvedev at a meeting in Stavropol on the situation in the North Caucasus that so far in 2010 the Russian law enforcement, security, and military organs have carried out more than 50 counter-terrorism operations. Medvedev mentioned the same as well as 4,500 counter-terrorism measures. According to Bortnikov, Russian forces had killed 332 Caucasus mujahedin and detained 530. Medvedev reported that they had prevented more than 60 terrorist attacks and capturing more than 1,000 weapons, 390 IEDs, more than 1.5 tons of explosives, approximately 8,500 rockets and grenades, and 135,000 bullets. Bortnikov claimed accurately that the number of jihadi attacks had declined in Ingushetia and Chechnya, but he seemed to be misreporting to the president when stating that the overall number of attacks had declined by 20 percent in the Caucasus Federal District and that there was a recent trend of less jihadi activity in Dagestan. The former claim does not comport with my own count as reported for the period through October 31<sup>st</sup> in IIPER, No. 29, which shows an increase in the number of attacks from last year to this year. The latter claim would be the result of the seasonal decline that occurs every year during late autumn through early spring and connected with the mujahedin's need to supply their mountain camps and hideouts with food and other necessities. Bortnikov did acknowledge, however, that the situation in the North Caucasus "remains difficult" and law enforcement, security, and military personnel continue to be killed, and that the jihadi ideology continues to attract young people.<sup>5</sup>

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## **CE AMIR DOKKU ABU USMAN UMAROV DISCUSSES *FITNA* (SEDITION), THE CE'S PLACE IN THE GLOBAL JIHAD, AND BEREZOVSKII AND ZAKAEV**

CE amir Dokku Abu Usman Umarov issued a far-ranging "explanation" for the "sedition" or in Arabic '*fitna*' referring to the split or schism within the Nokchicho

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[www.islamdin.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=849:2010-07-20-16-49-47&catid=32:2009-03-05-23-19-06&Itemid=29](http://www.islamdin.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=849:2010-07-20-16-49-47&catid=32:2009-03-05-23-19-06&Itemid=29).

<sup>4</sup> "Imam Anuar al' Aulyaki: Al- Dzhanna - Chast 1," *Islamdin.com*, 25 July 2010, 06:09, [www.islamdin.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=854:-q-q-1&catid=4:2009-02-04-14-07-09&Itemid=28](http://www.islamdin.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=854:-q-q-1&catid=4:2009-02-04-14-07-09&Itemid=28).

<sup>5</sup> "Nachalo soveshchaniya o kompleksnykh merakh po obespecheniyu stabil'nosti v Severo-Kavkazskom federal'nom okruge," *Kremlin.ru*, 19 November 2010, 15:30, [www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/9559](http://www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/9559).

(Chechnya) Vilaiyat between CE-loyal and disloyal amirs and mujahedin and renunciation of Umarov's leadership by the disloyal Chechen dissenters before he issued his decree (*omar*) removing them from their positions and abolishing their fronts. Readers will recall that the split emerged in August and has been consolidated through this autumn. In early October the independent Nokchicho Vilaiyat (INV) amirs – 'Mansur' Hussein Gakaev, Aslanbek Vadalov, Tarkhan Gaziev, and their Jordanian colleague Abu Anas Muhannad announced the formation of their own Nokchicho structures and the distribution of top posts between them (see, for example, IIPER, No. 28). Umarov has responded with moves to step up the pressure on the dissenting amirs and any mujahedin who may be following them to return to the CE's fold. He did so again with this mid-October "explanation" which also touched on the global jihad and its main opponent "America" and the relationship between the Nokchicho secessionists (INV) and exiled Russian oligarch Boris Berezovskii and his sidekick, the former Chechen Republic of Ichkeria (ChRI) minister Akhmed Zakaev.

Speaking from a training base run by his naib Sheikh Supyan Abdullaev, Umarov opened with an improvised jihadi salutation: "Through the mercy of Allah and the will of Allah, the Most High we were brought together because we all are mujahedin who took the path of Jihad in order to establish the law of Allah on this earth. Allah willing, we are confident and convinced that this is the way to Paradise. Allah willing, all of brothers who are carrying out Jihad in the entire world are our brothers for the sake of Allah, and we all today are going on one road and this road leads to Paradise. In Paradise, Allah willing, our brothers, who went earlier than us, and, Allah willing and we hope, we will be near the Prophet if we will be sincere on this path and if we will sincerely establish Allah's laws on this earth."<sup>6</sup>

Umarov then moves on to his main points, addressing first the CE and the global jihad: "Today, I want to describe the situation in the world because, even if thousands of kilometers separate us, those mujahedin who are carrying out Jihad in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir and many, many other places, they are our brothers, and we today (with them) are insisting on the laws of Allah on this earth."<sup>7</sup> Umarov notes that the CE mujahedin follow the Afghani jihad closely by radio and internet and that the Taliban are "opposed by Christian-Zionist forces led by America, which confesses exactly this religion." In Pakistan, Umarov stresses, the mujahedin are opposed by "these very same Americans," while in Kashmir, mujahedin confront "Indian pagans." In Africa, Umarov boasts, "Jihad is going on in Somalia, Mali, Algeria and other places, and our brothers (in Africa) also are successfully fighting on this path." He laments, however, that the heart of the jihad should be in Palestine but that what is going on there only can be called jihad "with difficulty." In traditional jihadi fashion, Umarov calls the global jihad's enemies "the army of Iblis" or the army of "Shaitan" or Satan, which unites "the Americans, who today confess Christian Zionism, and European atheists, who do not confess any of the religions." "Iblis" fights the mujahedin so "there will be no abode for Islam (Dar as-Salam)" anywhere on earth.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Raz'yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov".

<sup>7</sup> "Raz'yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov," *Kavkaz tsentr*, 18 October 2010, 12:51, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/10/18/75902.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/10/18/75902.shtml).

<sup>8</sup> "Raz'yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov".

According to Umarov, Allah has willed that the Caucasus mujahedin fight Russia - the “most despicable” of all infidel countries;<sup>9</sup> an interpretation he probably hopes will strengthen his and the CE’s status within the global jihadi revolutionary movement. According to the amir, Russia ignored his 2007 declaration of the Caucasus Emirate and the fact that Caucasus mujahedin were “rejecting man-made laws (*tagut*)” and “joining our brothers who are making jihad across the world.”<sup>10</sup> He says the CE survived its first “trial” with the killing of many of its leading amirs in Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Dagestan and Chcehnya during 2009 and early 2010. Now a second trial has begun with the efforts by “Iblis” to forge a schism among the CE mujahedin.<sup>11</sup>

Umarov then offers several causes for the ongoing *fitna* expressed by the schism within the CE’s NV brought about by the INV amirs. The first is rather philosophical and is offered by referring to the Prophet Mohammad’s three requests of Allah of which only one – that there be no *fitnas* among Muslims – was rejected.<sup>12</sup> Second, the amir acknowledges he has shortcomings – “perhaps more than any other mujahed” – and ultimately that they are the second cause. However, here he speaks mostly about the seditious amirs’ perfidy rather than his own mistakes. If the INV amirs were dissatisfied with him, they should have come to him first or sought a Shariah Court decision that he had violated the Koran or Sunna and then convened a Shura, Umarov asserts. Indeed, he states that his mistakes could not be a legitimate reason for immediately rejecting their *bayats* or loyalty oaths to him as amir. Umarov reiterates that the dissenting Nokchicho amirs demanded that a decision regarding any religious deviations by him requiring he step down be made by a Shura – and an improperly composed one at that – without a Shariah Court ruling first that Umarov had violated the Koran or Sunna. He claims that when he told this to the dissenters in a smaller shura, they agreed to defer to CE naib Abdullaev. The latter reported back that Umarov was correct, that such a decision had to be prefaced by the court decision, and that this had been the accepted procedure, as Umarov had insisted, under both Aslan Maskhadov (ChRI president, 1997-2005) and Abdul-Khalim Sadulaev (ChRI president/amir, March 2005 – June 2006).<sup>13</sup>

According to Umarov, the dissenting amirs then declared it was necessary to create several emirates, as in the United Arab Emirates. When Abdullaev and Umarov rejected this, the Nokchicho amirs asked if they could create their own “cabinet of ministers” and negotiate with unnamed figures (Moscow, Kadyrov, or foreign sheikhs and other vilaiyats’ amirs backing Umarov?). Umarov did agree, however, to another of their proposals – to appoint an amir of the Nokchicho Vilaiyat (‘Mansur’ Hussein Gakaev) and a CE naib (Aslanbek Vadalov), but they then organized a campaign of criticism and revolt among the Chechen mujahedin, leading to their resignation, firing and the schism. Umarov condemned their “hypocrisy” and regards it as the second cause of the *fitna*.<sup>14</sup>

The third cause, according to Umarov, lies in the seditious amirs’ entry into an alliance with “several of our figures, who today are sitting it out abroad and who turned

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<sup>9</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>10</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>11</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>12</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>13</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>14</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

their back on Jihad and by way of the lie and deception under Maskhadov abandoned jihad, jerked around the Caucasus, and were accepted into a Satanic club opened by the infamous Berezovskii.” According to Umarov, these “our figures were accepted into this club by their masters in the hope that they would some influence on the mujahedin who would could be manipulated against their enemies.<sup>15</sup> Here, Umarov is speaking not only about notorious self-exiled Russian oligarch Boris Berezovskii but his Chechen sidekick, the former ChRI Culture and later Foreign Minister, who left the battlefield for London when wounded in 2001 and broke with Umarov and the other mujahedin only in October 2007 after the formation of the jihadist CE. He seems to be suggesting quite plausibly that Berezovskii and Zakaev were trying to use the mujahedin against Putin. Umarov asserts emotionally that with the declartation of the CE and having become “true mujahedin” “no one can manipulate them.”<sup>16</sup> This implies, of course, that previously they had been ‘manipulated’ by the Londoners, and this likely means they were receiving financial and possibly other forms of assistance. Indeed, Umarov says that until 2007 he was also deceived by Berezovskii and Zakaev. He adds that Maskhadov and Sadulaev also were deceived and were killed after they began negotiating with them or with others using them as intermediaries (his phraseology makes this unclear). He also says that he also was seduced into similar negotiations with the same end planned for him.<sup>17</sup>

The fourth cause of the *fitna*, according to the amir, is the failure of the seditious amirs to carry out their obligations with regard to the supply of food, medicine, medical care, and weapons effectively.<sup>18</sup> This issue has appeared earlier in the dispute and suggests that the power struggle may have been at least partially driven by competition over resources between the Chechen and non-Chechen mujahedin, given the far greater jihadi operational activity in Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria and Ingushetia than in Chechnya

Umarov also addresses Muslims of Russia living outside the Caucasus, first of all those seeking ties to the CE, including the “Muslims of Idel-Ural, Bashkortostan and Tatarstan.” He says the CE mujahedin “feel their support, feel a tie with them, and know that they “are making Jihad on the path of Allah.” He also addresses “brother Muslims” living in Europe and mujahedin fighting on other fronts in the global jihad, asking them not to split “our ranks” but to pray that Allah strengthens their ties and united them.<sup>19</sup>

In a video dated October 16<sup>th</sup> and later published in text form, Umarov claims that Zakaev received \$10 million from Global financier George Soros for a concert and Chechen congress convened in Poland in October.<sup>20</sup> Zakaev, who denied he received money from Soros, had been active a year ago negotiating with Chechen President Ramzan Kadyrov on an agreement that would allow him and elements of the exiled ChRI government to return to Chechnya. The negotiations broke down earlier this year. Umarov rejects the possibility of negotiations in the video and argues that they main purpose of the congress was to further split the CE. He recalls 1996 negotiations between

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<sup>15</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>16</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>17</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>18</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>19</sup> “Raz”yasnenie Amira IK Dokku Abu Usman v svyazi s fitnoi sredi modzhakhedov”.

<sup>20</sup> “Amir IK Abu Usman i Amir Supyan o mirnykh peregovorakh...,” *Jamaat Shariat*, 30 October 2010, 18:47, [www.jamaatshariat.com/video/16-video/1336-2010-10-30-15-48-20.html](http://www.jamaatshariat.com/video/16-video/1336-2010-10-30-15-48-20.html).

the OSCE's Tim Guldeman and the ChRI at which Shamil Basaev stood up and told 15 field commanders present not to negotiate but to fight until Russian forces left the Caucasus. Umarov claims that the field commander looked at Basaev as if he was crazy, but now Umarov understands that Basaev was correct. He warns the Caucasus mujahedin to be vigilant and not let the seditious Nokchicho amirs continue to sew fitna within the CE's ranks. Umarov also says he would refuse even \$100 million from the likes of Zakaev and Soros.<sup>21</sup>

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## INGUSHETIA MUJAHEDIN'S NEW QADI HOLDS FORTH

The first identifiable qadi of the Ingushetia mujahedin of the CE's so-called G'alg'aiche (Ingushetia) Viliyat (GV), amir Abu Dudzhan (Dujan) has issued his first major appeal. Most of Dudzhan's first missive is of a religious character related to the correctness of violent 'lesser' jihad. Thus, the first question he tries to answer is whether it is possible that it can be good to hate something and that can be bad to love something. He immediately proceeds to cite the Koran and Allah noting the importance of raising his word above all others. He also cites a hadith of the Prophet Mohammed stating: "Do not believe anyone among you as long as I am not dearer to him than his children, father, and all people." This, Dudzhan, testifies to the fact that Allah's laws are higher than all others. The qadi adds: "After we have come out for the establishment of Allah's Word, we cannot but neutralize he who fights against Allah's law, and if he fights against us, it is necessary to kill him. We kill these people not because we want this, but because it is the Allah's behest – this is most important!"<sup>22</sup>

Dudzhan then moves more explicitly to the issue of jihad, asserting: "Scholars say: 'This *umma* would not have honor without jihad.' After people leave jihad – there comes humiliation. We know what laws the infidel has. Therefore, today the real Law is the Law only of Allah."<sup>23</sup>

Dudzhan condemns those seduced by money, informers, and FSB agents sewing sedition. He promises that the mujahedin will find and kill informers and warns Muslims to stay away from Russian forces for their own safety: "We warn you ahead of time – if you see Russian troops move away from them immediately. Why? Because worrying about you, we miss an opportunity to do what we can. Due to the fact that you often turn up nearby, we do not explode them. Therefore, we ask you – stay away from Russian (soldiers). With Allah's mercy, we can run them out from our land. I pledge to Allah, when they think there are none of us left, then to the contrary, there are more of us!" Dudzhan also appeals to Muslims outside the Caucasus, declaring that the jihad continues.<sup>24</sup>

Turning to difficulties of jihad, Dudzhan notes: "Allah says in the Koran: 'I test you, and I look for who among you is sincere.' What trial? This is the trial of Jihad.

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<sup>21</sup> "Amir IK Abu Usman i Amir Supyan o mirnykh peregovorakh..."

<sup>22</sup> "Obrashchenie kadiya vilaiyata G'alg'aiche Abu Dudzhany (perevod na russkii yazyk)," *Kavkaz tsentr*, 2 November 2010, 11:49, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/02/76239.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/02/76239.shtml).

<sup>23</sup> "Obrashchenie kadiya vilaiyata G'alg'aiche Abu Dudzhany (perevod na russkii yazyk)."

<sup>24</sup> "Obrashchenie kadiya vilaiyata G'alg'aiche Abu Dudzhany (perevod na russkii yazyk)."

And Allah says: ‘I look for who of you turns out to be patient.’ Why? Today it is not enough to simply go (on Jihad). No one can know how many years it will continue. It can continue for 10, 20, 30, 40 years. Therefore, we go with patience. In the end we know victory (will be) with us!’<sup>25</sup>

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## THE CE TO DEBATE A ‘STATE’ LANGUAGE?

CE amir Doku ‘Abu Usman’ Umarov “some time ago” received a proposal apparently from CE mujahedin to discuss a state language for the prospective Islamist emirate, the CE site *Kavkaz tsentr* reported on November 11<sup>th</sup>. The proposal emerged “in connection with the growing discussion among the mujahedin Muslims of Caucasus Emirate of the question of the CE’s state institutions, the system of administrative government, statewide language, and the political-administrative and legal terminological basis and other important aspects of state building.” The proposal suggested choosing Arabic or Turkic as the CE’s state language. The article notes each language’s advantages. The Turkish language’s advantages lie in the use of many Turkish words in many of the languages of the Caucasus peoples and in the Turkish origins and nature of many of these languages. In Arabic’s favor are its status as the “language of Islam” and the Koran, which Muslims are required to study. The article also claims sources note it is possible that Umarov will raise the issue for general discussion.<sup>26</sup>

Ten days later, *Kavkaz tsentr* published a long letter responding to the publication of the abovementioned posting. The letter’s author, one Abu Zaid “of the Caucasus Emirate,” favored Arabic as the state language of the prospective CE emirate/state. He goes on to justify his position on the basis of excerpts from the Koran, Sunna, and scholarly works referring to Arabic as “the most eloquent of the languages” and the language of the Caliphate and one spoken in Paradise. Among the sources he cites is the anti-American AQ leader Anwar al-Awlaki, quoting his article “44 Ways to Support the Jihad” (posted in recent months on all of the CE’s affiliated websites) on the 42<sup>nd</sup> way – studying the Arabic language: “The Arabic language is the international language of jihad. The bulk of the books about jihad exist only in the Arabic language, and publishers do want to risk translating them. The only ones who spend money and time translating books about jihad are the Western intelligence agencies...and to great regret, they do not want to share them with us. The Arabic language is the primary means of making contact with foreign mujahedin in each country of the jihad, so that without it we could be forced to with ourselves. It is important that the mujahedin have one language, and here Arabic is the most suitable candidate.”<sup>27</sup>

It remains to be seen whether *Kavkaz tsentr* or other CE affiliated sites balance this view with arguments favoring Turkish. If not, it may be that this is part of someone’s campaign to foster greater knowledge of Arabic among the CE mujahedin and

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<sup>25</sup> “Obrashchenie kadiya vilaiyata G’alg’aiche Abu Dudzhany (perevod na russkii yazyk).”

<sup>26</sup> “O gosudarstvennom yazyke Imarata Kavkaz,” *Kavkaz tsentr*, 11 November 2010, 16:46, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/11/76439.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/11/76439.shtml).

<sup>27</sup> “Ya za arabskii gosudarstvennyi yazik Imarata Kavkaz’,” *Kavkaz tsentr*, 21 November 2010, 09:44, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/21/76670.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/21/76670.shtml).



position Arabic as the emirate's official language should it be established in reality at some point in the future.

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## **MORDOVIA'S MUFTI WARNS OF RADICAL ISLAM IN THE VOLGA TURNING VIOLENT**

The head of the Central Spiritual Administration of Muslims in Russia's Republic of Mordovia, Fagim Shafiev, gave an interview to Regions.ru in which he warned that radical Islam in the Volga region threatens to radicalize further into violence. Mordovia is a titular ethnic republic in Russia's Volga area and Volga Federal District with a substantial ethnic Tatar population.

Shafiev stressed warned specifically that "on the ven of the new millennium...a virus of religious extremism and terrorism had been let loose in Muslim countries...This spiritual disease has not taken root anywhere as successfully as it has in the Muslim community with its naive economic experience, low level of education, patriarchal traditions, and the population's political passivity." He argues that traditional Muslims are extremist Islam's greatest victims and warns this may begin to plague the Volga region as well: "The sharpest of their (the extremists') attacks are aimed precisely at them (traditional Muslims), and they become the first innocent victims of the wars – informational, political, economic – which are let loose and quickly transform into armed conflict. Today the danger of transformation to this phase is as great as never before in the Volga."<sup>28</sup>

Shafiev claims: (T)he mosques are occupied by all truths and falsehoods, and new orders, orders of 'new believers', are being set up in them. Their norms noticeably differ from the centuries' old norms, morals and traditions of Russians and first of all, the Muslim portion of Russians. The fact that these proselytizers arrive from places at one time the holy of holies – Medina and Mecca – buys off the honest and God-fearing hearts of our insufficiently experienced mosque-goers. The 'new Muslims' announce their orientation on the spiritual values of the holies places for Muslims and the first cradle of Islam, but in fact under the slogan 'Give us Purity of Gaith!' an intensifying process of the Arabization of Muslims is underway. Muslims themselves do not even suspect this, since they cannot always distinguish intelligently this or that point – whether they are (connected) with Islamic tradition and sacrament or with the peculiarities of the Arab way of life."<sup>29</sup>

Shafiev's ideas comport with those of official Islam in Russia as expressed, for example, in the 15-18 September 2010 forum of Tatar religious and cultural figures and government officials held in Kazan, Tatarstan. The forum, as Shafiev, notes, expressed concern regarding the religious situation within the Muslim community and designated

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<sup>28</sup> "Fagin Shafiev: Konflikt mezhdu traditsionnym i ekstremistsckim islamom v Povolzh'e mozhet iz informatsionnogo stat' vooruzhennym," *Regions.ru*, 18 October 2010, 12:02, [www.regions.ru/news/2319168/](http://www.regions.ru/news/2319168/).

<sup>29</sup> "Fagin Shafiev: Konflikt mezhdu traditsionnym i ekstremistsckim islamom v Povolzh'e mozhet iz informatsionnogo stat' vooruzhennym," *Regions.ru*, 18 October 2010, 12:02, [www.regions.ru/news/2319168/](http://www.regions.ru/news/2319168/).

the more moderate Hanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence as the most suitable for Russia and that most adhered to by a majority of Russia's Muslims.<sup>30</sup>

## TAJIK MUJAHEDIN STILL NOT QUELLED

As reported in IIPER, No. 23, the revival of jihadi activity in Takistan was confirmed with the August prison break by convicted mujahedin, suicide martyrdom terrorist attacks and mountain combat. In a 22 August prison break, convicted mujahedin apparently made their way to the remote district of Rasht where, perhaps, they met up with remnants of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Shortly, the country has seen a return to suicide martyrdom operations. As reported, on September 3<sup>rd</sup> several suicide car-bombers attacked the local headquarters of Tajikistan's Organized Crime Department in Hujand, Sogdo Oblast' detonating their bomb-laden GAZ-24 automobile in the courtyard of the building. One policeman was killed in the blast, and 25-30 people were injured. Tajikistan law enforcement suspected the IMU in the attack.<sup>31</sup> According to the Caucasus Emirate's site *Kavkaz tsentr*, the Tajik radio station 'Ozodi' (Liberty) reported that the attack was carried out by some 25 of the "mujahedin" who had just escaped the Tajik prison.<sup>32</sup> Tajikistan's 'Asia Plus', cited by Russia's Materik, reported that the group included people from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, and Russia.<sup>33</sup> On September 8<sup>th</sup> *Kavkaz tsentr* published a statement from "Jamaat 'Ansarullah' in Tajikistan" claiming responsibility for the Hujand attack. Jamaat Ansarullah claimed the attack resulted in at least 50 killed and wounded and the destruction of the entire headquarters and was "in answer to the murders and torture of our brothers and simple Muslims which have occurred behind the walls in the place cursed by Allah."<sup>34</sup>

On September 6<sup>th</sup> an explosion ripped through the 'Dusty' disco in Dushanbe wounding seven.<sup>35</sup> Several young people were arrested and were charged with 'hooliganism' after sources in the Tajikistan National Security Committee first opened

<sup>30</sup> "Fagin Shafiev: Konflikt mezhdou traditsionnym i ekstremistsckim islamom v Povolzh'e mozhet iz informatsionnogo stat' vooruzhennym," *Regions.ru*, 18 October 2010, 12:02, [www.regions.ru/news/2319168/](http://www.regions.ru/news/2319168/).

<sup>31</sup> "MVD Tadjikistana: Pri vzryve u zdaniya ROBOP v Khudzhande pogib militsioner, smertnikov bylo neskol'ko," *Ferghana.ru*, 3 September 2010, 14:26, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15461&mode=snews](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15461&mode=snews).

<sup>32</sup> "Tadjikistan: Shakhid atakoval bazu RUBOP Sogdiiskii oblasti," *Kavkaz tsentr*, 3 September 2010, 11:39, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/09/03/75000.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/09/03/75000.shtml).

<sup>33</sup> "Perestrelka s beglymi zaklyuchennymi proizoshlo v Tadjikistane, rossiiskie voennye v operatsii ne uchastvuyut," *Materik*, 8 September 2010, 11:21:16, <http://materik.ru/rubric/detail.php?ID=10653>.

<sup>34</sup> "Tadjikistan: Otvetstvennost' za Shakhidskuyu ataku v Khudzhande vzyala na sebya organizatsiya 'Dzhamaat Ansarullah'," *Kavkaz tsentr*, 8 September 2010, 12:23, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/09/08/75108.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/09/08/75108.shtml).

<sup>35</sup> "Tadjikistan: Po faktu vzryva v nochnom klube v Dushanbe zaderzhany dvoe podzrevaemykh," *Ferghana.ru*, 6 September 2010, 10:14, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15470&mode=snews](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15470&mode=snews).

up a terrorism investigation.<sup>36</sup> Two days later Tajikistan's 'Asia Plus', cited by Russia's *Materik*, reported on September 8<sup>th</sup> that a group of convicts who escaped from a detention center of the Tajikistan's National Security Committee engaged Tajik National Guard troops killing one in eastern Tajikistan's mountain Romit Gorge near the city of Vakhdat in Faizabad district. The report noted that Russian FSB chief Aleksandr Bortnikov had stated earlier that on orders from President Dmitry Medvedev Russian intelligence was assisting the Tajiks.<sup>37</sup>

On September 15<sup>th</sup>, reports emerged that Tajikistan security officials had visited Rasht (formerly Garm) and met with former Tajik field commanders of the 1990s civil war and promised they would not be moving against them. Rasht/Garm was a stronghold of the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) during the war. The field commanders, who included former prominent UTO field commander 'Belgi' Mirzokhudzha Akhmadov, in turn promised that if the authorities did move against them, then the former would be forced to take up arms.<sup>38</sup> The field commanders also reported that the renewed jihadi activity was led by a group of mujahedin, remnants of the IMU, who had returned to Tajikistan under the command of 'Mullo' Abdullo Rakhimov.<sup>39</sup> Both Abdullo and Ahmadov were released from prison in 2001.

Regardless of whether the attacks involve the IMU, UTO remnants, Ansarullah, or some combination thereof (with the last being a subunit of one of the former), jihadi activity continued through mid-November. On September 17, mujahedin attacked a military base on Dushanbe's outskirts. In the early morning hours of September 19<sup>th</sup>, mujahedin attacked servicemen of Tajikistan's State National Security Committee in the village of Chanor in Faizabad District, killing two and wounding three.<sup>40</sup> Later the same day, a Tajikistan military column was ambushed in the mountainous Rasht district's Kamarob Gorge some 30 miles from Afghanistan's border. In addition to the 25 servicemen who eventually died from the ambush killed, several were wounded, and there were reports that 25 had been captured by the rebels.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> "GKNB Tadjikistana: Nochnoi vzryv v disko-klube 'Dusti' – khuliganstvo, a ne terakt," *Ferghana.ru*, 6 September 2010, 13:57, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15475&mode=snews](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15475&mode=snews).

<sup>37</sup> "Perestrelka s beglymi zaklyuchennymi proizoshlo v Tadjikistane, rossiiskie voennye v operatsii ne uchastvuyut," *Materik.ru*, 8 September 2010, 11:21:16, <http://materik.ru/rubric/detail.php?ID=10653>.

<sup>38</sup> "V Garne idut peregovory vlastei i byvshikh komadirov oppozitsii," *Ferghana.ru*, 15 September 2010, 15:34, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15543&mode=snews](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15543&mode=snews).

<sup>39</sup> "Tadjikistan: V Rashtskoi doline proizoshlo boestolknovenie, pogibli neskol'ko voennosluzhashikh Minoborony," *Ferghana.ru*, 19 September 2010, 18:16, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15569](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15569).

<sup>40</sup> "Tadjikistan: V Rashtskoi doline proizoshlo boestolknovenie, pogibli neskol'ko voennosluzhashikh Minoborony."

<sup>41</sup> "Tadjikistan: V ushel'e Kamarob pogibli 25 i bez vest propali 25 voennosluzhashikh," *Ferghana.ru*, 20 September 2010, 10:49, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15575](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15575); "Tadjikistan: Zhertvami napadeniya bandy Mullo Abdullo stali ot 23 do 40 voennosluzhashikh," *Ferghana.ru*, 20 September 2010, 00:13, [www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15571](http://www.ferghana.ru/news.php?id=15571); Farangis Najibullah, "Worries Grow As Tajik Government Continues Operation Against Militants," RFERL, 4 October 2010, [www.rferl.org/content/Worries\\_Grow\\_As\\_Tajik\\_Government\\_Continues\\_Operation\\_Against\\_Militants\\_/2176159.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/Worries_Grow_As_Tajik_Government_Continues_Operation_Against_Militants_/2176159.html); "Tadjikistan: V Rashtskoi doline proizoshlo boestolknovenie, pogibli

Tajikistan security forces pursued, and it was reported on September 22<sup>nd</sup> that 5 mujahedin had been killed. The five were reportedly members of former field commander Akhmadov.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the version that the mujahedin are former UTO fighters gains veracity, but it should be recalled that many UTO fighters joined the IMU after the 1997 peace treaty ended the civil war.

Soon Tajikistan security forces were claiming to have uncovered a network of training camps and terrorists in Rasht District aiming to carry out terrorist attacks in Dushanbe and hoping to link up with IMU fighters in the north of country. On September 16<sup>th</sup>, Tajik forces arrested 26-year-old Halima Isoyev of Vose District, Khatlon Oblast with explosives and plans to bomb targets in Dushanbe. A Tajikistan State Committee for National Security (GKNB) source said security forces were searching for other potential terrorists suspected to have received training in Pakistan. On September 26<sup>th</sup>, led by information obtained from Isoyev's interrogation, security forces discovered a bomber training base in Rasht. The camp consisted of 10 people led by one Mavlavi Zikrullo, who taught young men how to use weapons and explosives. Ahmadov and Allovuddin Davlatov (aka Ali Bedaki) often visited the camp, according to security sources.<sup>43</sup>

By early October Tajik security was claiming that Akhmadov and Bedaki were now involved in the insurgency. State Committee on National Security (GKNB) spokesman Nozirjon Buriyev stated: "Ahmadov has not given up his intention to destabilise the country and continues his criminal activities and the training of terrorists...For a long time, Ahmadov concealed ... UTO field commander Mullo Abdullo in his house, gathered mercenaries from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Chechnya and also set up several terrorist camps to train teenagers... Had we not managed to take out this hornets' nest, (its members) would have linked up with groups of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), which is operating in the country's north."<sup>44</sup> Another training camp ran out of the house of Sairiddin Azizov, aka Hoji Sairiddin, a resident of the village of Porvog, Rasht District. Azizov's brothers, Negmat and Rahmiddin, were killed in battle with government forces in June and September, respectively.<sup>45</sup>

At about the same time, Tajik television reported the arrest of three suspects in connection with the September 3 suicide car bombing of the Hujand police station; one of whom confessed that his brother was in the IMU member and had carried out the attack "to punish his enemies and go to heaven."<sup>46</sup>

In the first days of October Tajik security forces had established some 15 roadblocks in Rasht and closed off telephone communications to the region, and further

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neskol'ko voennosluzgashikh Minoborony;" and Yaroslav Trofimov and Alan Cullison, "Islamists Hit Central Asia In New Strikes," *Wall Street Journal*, 21 September 2010.

<sup>42</sup> "Tadzhikistan: Armiya Rakhmona idet po sledu starykh vragov," *Ferghana.ru*, 23 September 2010, 1:17, [www.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=6736](http://www.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=6736).

<sup>43</sup> Rukhshona Ibragimova, Tajikistan finds terrorist training camps," *CentralAsiaOnline.com*, 1 October 2010, [http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/10/01/features/main/2010/10/01/feature-02](http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/10/01/features/main/2010/10/01/feature-02).

<sup>44</sup> Ibragimova, Tajikistan finds terrorist training camps."

<sup>45</sup> Ibragimova, Tajikistan finds terrorist training camps."

<sup>46</sup> Ibragimova, Tajikistan finds terrorist training camps."

fighting saw 4 OMON, 1, policeman, and 2 mujahedin killed.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the Tajik mujahedin had shot down a helicopter killing 27 soldiers and officers and detonated an IED killing six and wounding several national guardsmen. On October 6<sup>th</sup>, another Tajik helicopter was downed killing 7 more national guardsmen. In mid-October a shootout between Tajik forces in Davlatov-Bedaki's native village of Bedak in Rasht led to the destruction of an armoured vehicle and one mujahed; three mujahedin were captured.

In early November Tajikistan President Emomali Rakhmon(ov) had engineered the return of 134 Tajik students studying in Egypt's Al-Azhar University for fear they were being exposed to Salafi ideas. By mid-November he was claiming stabilization of Rasht. However jihad sources claimed the number of mujahedin was growing, citing a figure of 400 in Rasht.<sup>48</sup>

At the same time, reports claimed Isfara District was becoming a new haven for mujahedin. In late September three mujahedin, who were natives of Isfara, were killed by Tajik security forces. Like Rasht, Isfara is isolated and difficult to access, located in the mountains along the Ferghana Valley near the Tajikista, Usbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan borders. It is highly susceptible to jihadi activity due to many factors. Its population is very religious and resistant to the central authorities. The region has high unemployment rates and worn out infrastructures and sits along mujahedin transit and drug and human trafficking routes.<sup>49</sup>

In an October 22<sup>nd</sup> shootout between Tajik security forces and mujahedin, one female fighter, Mukhtasarkhon Miramonova, detonated her grenade committing suicide. This shock came exactly two months after the first suicide bombing in recent years in Tajikistan targeted the Hujand police station. Preliminary investigation revealed that Miramonova had been prepared for martyrdom by her husband, Rasul Akhunov, who was nephew of infamous IMU leader Dzhuma Namangani and had been an IMU member wanted by the authorities for participation in terrorist attacks in 2000. Some sources see Isfara as a prime recruiting ground mujahedin and suicide bombers.<sup>50</sup>

The GKNB also reported that the IMU is operating in another similar Tajikistan black zone, Sughd Oblast, where the jihadi organization is supposedly planning and organising a series of terrorist attacks and where in early October three suspected mujahedin were arrested.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Najibullah, "Worries Grow As Tajik Government Continues Operation Against Militants."

<sup>48</sup> "Tadzhikskie demokraty pizvali rakhmonovskikh soldat perekhodit' na storonu modzhakhedov," *Kavkaz tsentr*, 10 November 2010, 13:05, <http://kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/10/11/75752.shtml> and "Rezhim Rakhmona vozvrashaet islamskikh studentov. V Tadzhikistane rastet chislo modzhekhedov, i idut boi," *Kavkaz tsentr*, 12 November 2010, 14:32, [www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/12/76465.shtml](http://www.kavkazcenter.com/russ/content/2010/11/12/76465.shtml).

<sup>49</sup> Negmatullo Mirsaidov, "Tajikistan: Terroristy v Isfare," *Srednyaya Aziya v Internete*, 8 November 2010, <http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/ru/features/caii/features/main/2010/11/08/feature-02>.

<sup>50</sup> "Tadzhikistan: Verbovka molodykh smertnikov prodolzhaetsya," *Ferghana.ru*, 3 November 2010, 10:45, [www.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=6787](http://www.ferghana.ru/article.php?id=6787).

<sup>51</sup> Negmatullo Mirsaidov, "Tajikistan: Terrorists in Isfara," *Srednyaya Aziya v Internete*, 8 November 2010,

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## **KAZAKHSTAN JAMAAT ‘ANSARU-D-DIN’ ISSUES CALL TO JIHAD**

A jihadi jamaat from Kazakhstan calling itself ‘Ansaru-d-din’ issued an appeal on Hunafa.com, the website of the Ingush mujahedin of the CE, the G’alg’aiche Vilaiyat. The appeal asks Hunafa.com to help the jamaat distribute to Kazakhstan’s Muslims propaganda article – “a file with information highlighting the theme of jihad” – called ‘The Commandment of Jihad and Related Situations’ (*Hukm dzhikhada i polozheniya, svyzannyie s etim*).” The appeal contains a link to “*Hukm dzhikhada i polozheniya, svyzannyie s etim*”, and both the appeal and the propaganda article call Kazakhstan’s Muslims to the global jihadi revolutionary movement.<sup>52</sup>

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## **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

### **PROF. HAHN TO SPEAK AT CSIS CONFERENCE “THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS: RUSSIA’S TINDERBOX”**

Author and editor of IIPER, Prof. Gordon M. Hahn, will speak at the “The Northern Caucasus: Russia’s Tinderbox” to be held at, and under the auspices of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. on November 30-December 1, 2010. Prof. Hahn will be speaking along with Prof. Akhmet Yarlykapov of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology. They will comprise a panel on “The Rise of Islam in the North Caucasus.”

### **NEW AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL *WORLD ALMANAC OF ISLAMISM***

The American Foreign Policy Council has recently published on the worldwide web its exhaustive *World Almanac of Islamism*. The *Almanac* contains detailed overviews of all of the world’s Islamist and jihadist groups. The *Almanac* is available at <http://almanac.afpc.org/>. Gordon M. Hahn, wrote the chapter “Russia” for the *World Almanac of Islamism* which is available at <http://almanac.afpc.org/Russia#>.

### **NEW NON-PROLIFERATION/TERRORISM STUDIES MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE AND TERRORISM STUDIES CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS AT MIIS**

The Monterey Institute for International Studies has recently opted to combine its very popular and highly regarded M.A. International Policy Studies degree specializations in Terrorism Studies and Nonproliferation Studies into a combined new **M.A. Program in Nonproliferation and Terrorism Studies**, a program that will now have an even higher profile and greater institutional autonomy. Apart from combining two of the Institute’s strongest academic programs, this will ensure that students take the introductory courses in both subjects but will also allow them to concentrate primarily on either terrorism or nonproliferation (or, if they prefer, to focus on both subjects equally, e.g., on CBRN terrorism). As you may already know, our students have an exceptionally high success rate getting jobs in these specialized fields.

The Institute is also introducing a new one-semester (or one-year) **Certificate in Terrorism Studies** for professionals or students who wish to obtain specialized academic training in this subject

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<http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/ru/features/caii/features/main/2010/11/08/feature-02>.

<sup>52</sup> “Obraschenie Kazakhstanskogo dzhamata ‘Ansaru-d-din’,” *Hunafa.com*, 10 November 2010, 1:01, <http://hunafa.com/?p=3839>.

without spending an entire two years in residence. Prospective students can be admitted into this Certificate Program without meeting the somewhat stringent language requirements that regular students must meet.

If you know of any students or professionals who might find this new program of particular interest, or who wish to obtain outstanding preparation for careers in these fields, or who wish to obtain further specialized training before going on to obtain a doctorate, it would be very much appreciated if let them know about our new program.

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**ABOUT IIPER**

Islam, Islamism and politics in Eurasia report (IIPER) is a project of the Monterey Terrorism and Research and Education Program (MonTREP) at the Monterey Institute for International Studies (MIIS), Monterey, California. It focuses on all politically-relevant issues involving or bearing on Islam and ethnic Muslim communities in Russia and Eurasia writ large. All issues of IIPER can be found at <http://www.miis.edu/academics/faculty/ghahn/report>.

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IIPER welcomes submissions of 1,500-6,000 words on any aspect of Islamic politics in Eurasia and financial contributions to support the project. For related inquiries or to request to be included on IIPER's mailing list, please contact [gordon.hahn@miis.edu](mailto:gordon.hahn@miis.edu) or [gordon-hahn@sbcglobal.net](mailto:gordon-hahn@sbcglobal.net).

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