

Nonetheless, al Qa'ida retained a notable network of sympathizers. More than 25 percent of those interviewed in a number of Muslim countries—such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Jordan, and Nigeria—had either a lot or some confidence in bin Laden.

## Adaptive Organizational Structure

As Bruce Hoffman posited, the al Qa'ida movement could most usefully be conceptualized as comprising four dimensions: al Qa'ida central, affiliated groups, affiliated units, and al Qa'ida's informal network.<sup>34</sup>

*Al Qa'ida central* was based in Pakistan and included both old and new faces, despite the death or capture of key al Qa'ida figures, such as Khaled Sheikh Mohammed, Abu Faraj al-Libi, Abu Hamza Rabia, and Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi.<sup>35</sup> They included Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and Mustafa Ahmed Muhammad Uthman Abu al-Yazid. Most of al Qa'ida central was based out of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area, especially in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. In some cases, this included direct command and control. In other cases, operatives made contact with, and enlisted the assistance of, local sympathizers.<sup>36</sup>

The *affiliated groups* included formally established terrorist groups that benefited from bin Laden's guidance and received training, arms, money, or other assistance from al Qa'ida. Among the recipients of this assistance were terrorist groups and insurgent forces, such as al Qa'ida in Iraq, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and some of the Kashmiri Islamic groups based in Pakistan, such as JeM and Lashkar-e-Taiba.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> This section adopts the framework laid out by Bruce Hoffman (2006, pp. 285–289). Also see Sageman (2004) and Brian A. Jackson, “Groups, Networks, or Movements: A Command-and-Control–Driven Approach to Classifying Terrorist Organizations and Its Application to Al Qaeda,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, No. 3, May 2006, pp. 241–262.

<sup>35</sup> Indeed, six months after September 11, 2006, al Qa'ida lost 16 of 25 key leaders (Gunaratna, 2002, p. 303).

<sup>36</sup> Hoffman (2006, pp. 285–289).

<sup>37</sup> Hoffman (2007).