

## **How Terrorist Leaders End: Implications for the Future of the Struggle with al-Qaeda**

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### **Appendix: Terrorist Leaders Dataset**

The following database has been compiled by the author and embraces the identified leaders of the 48 Foreign Terrorist Organisations (FTOs) designated by the U.S. State Department.<sup>1</sup> It is based on open sources that are predominantly available on-line. The starting point for this dataset included other databases and glossaries, such as START's Terrorist Organization Profiles (available at: [www.start.umd.edu/start/data\\_collections/tops/](http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/)) and the website of the Council on Foreign Relations ([www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)). These two sources are not referenced in the footnotes.

The majority of sources for this dataset are in English, although documents in French, Spanish and German are also quoted. The author will continue to maintain and update this dataset, relying on the expert advice of his colleagues; the assistance of John Horgan, Zach Abuza, Paddy Woodworth and Innigo Gurruchaga has been especially valuable. Ewa Kołodziej and Łukasz Święcicki, both interns at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, have also been of great help at the final stages of data compilation.

<b>FTO</b>	<b>Identified leaders</b>	<b>Timespan</b>	<b>End</b>
1. Abu Nidal Organization	1. Sabri al-Banna (Abu Nidal)	1. 1974–2002	1. committed suicide
2. Abu Sayyaf Group <sup>2</sup>	2. Abdurajik Abubakar Janjalani 3. Abubakar Khadaffy Janjalani 4. Radulan Sahiron (last recognisable leader)	2. 1991–1998 3. 1998–2006 4. 2006–2008	2. killed by security forces 3. killed by security forces 4. killed by security forces

<sup>1</sup> A week after the release of the latest list of the designated FTOs (<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rsls/other/des/123085.htm>), the U.S. secretary of state designated Caucasus Emirate (Imarat Kavkaz, IK) as the 49<sup>th</sup> FTO, to be included in next year's designation list. The organisation is now in its 4<sup>th</sup> year of operation and its leader is Dokku Umarov. See <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/05/164312.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> For more on the ASG see Z. Abuza, "The Demise of the Abu Sayyaf Group in the Southern Philippines," *CTC Sentinel*, June 2008, <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-demise-of-the-abu-sayyaf-group-in-the-southern-philippines>; *idem*, *On the defensive*, <http://www.simmons.edu/undergraduate/academics/departments/political->

3. Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades <sup>3</sup>	5. Marwan Barghouti	5. 2000–2002	5. arrested
4. Al-Shabaab	6. Abdi Godane/Abu Zubeyr <sup>4</sup> 7. Ibrahim al- Afghani	6. 2006–2010 7. 2010–up till now	6. ousted 7. active
5. Ansar al Islam/Ansar al Sunna	8. Mullah Kreka 9. Abu Abdullah al Shafii <sup>5</sup>	8. 2001– 2002/2003 9. 2003–2010	8. arrested/deported 9. arrested
6. Aum Shinrikyo	10. Shoko Asahara 11. Fumihiro Joyu	10. 1987–1995 11. 1995–2000	10. arrested 11. retired; the terrorist group is wound down
7. Asbat al-Ansar <sup>6</sup>	12. Sheik Hisham Shreidi 13. Ahmad Abd al-Karim al- Sa'di, alias Abu Mihjin	12. 1989/1990– 1991 13. 1991– up till now	12. killed by another terrorist organisation 13. active but in hiding; replaced by his brother, Abu Tariq <sup>7</sup>

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science/docs/Abuza\_IntelligenceReview\_4\_07.pdf; *idem*, “The Philippines Chips Away at the Abu Sayyaf Group’s Strength,” *CTC Sentinel*, April 2010, <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-philippines-chips-away-at-the-abu-sayyaf-group's-strength>.

<sup>3</sup> Profile: Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1760492.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1760492.stm).

<sup>4</sup> See “Al-Shabaab’s problems over the future of Colonel Hassan Dahir ‘Aweys,’ [http://www.waltainfo.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=25041&Itemid=82](http://www.waltainfo.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=25041&Itemid=82).

<sup>5</sup> Abu Abdullah Al Shaf'i, leader of Ansar al Islam arrested, [http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/world/abu-abdullah-al-shafil-leader-of-ansar-al-islam-arrested\\_100358018.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/world/abu-abdullah-al-shafil-leader-of-ansar-al-islam-arrested_100358018.html).

<sup>6</sup> Asbat al-Ansar, [http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/asbat\\_al\\_ansar.html](http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/asbat_al_ansar.html).

<sup>7</sup> Asbat al-Ansar (AAA), <http://www.aph.gov.au/house/committee/pjcis/six%20terrorist/AAA.pdf>.

8. Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) <sup>8</sup>	14. Txomin Iturbe <sup>9</sup> 15. José Antonio Urritikoechea 16. Francisco Mugica Garmendia <sup>10</sup> 17. Mikel Albizu Iriarte <sup>11</sup> 18. Javier Lopez Pena <sup>12</sup> 19. Garikoitz Aspiazu Rubina <sup>13</sup> 20. Aitzol Irionda 21. Jurdan Martitegi Lizaso <sup>14</sup> 22. Aitor Elizaran Aguilar <sup>15</sup> 23. Ibon Gogeascoetxea Arronategi <sup>16</sup> 24. Mikel Kabikoitz Carrera Sarobe <sup>17</sup> 25. Alejandro Zobaran Arriola <sup>18</sup>	14. 1983 <sup>19</sup> –1986 15. 1986–1989 16. 1989–1992 17. 1993–2004 18. 2006–2008 <sup>20</sup> 19. 2008 20. 2008 21. 2008–2009 22. 2009 23. 2008/2010–2010 24. 2010 25. 2010–2011	14. arrested and deported to Gabon, died in a car accident six months later 15. arrested 16. arrested 17. arrested 18. arrested 19. arrested 20. arrested 21. arrested 22. arrested 23. arrested 24. arrested 25. arrested
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<sup>8</sup> The main problem with the ETA leadership is that it is collective, usually comprising three leaders at the same time. One is responsible for military affairs, the second for political developments and the third handles logistics. Most identified leaders have been “military,” but one can be assured of the fact that more than 11 identified leaders actually ‘led’ the organisation between 1983 and 2011.

<sup>9</sup> “El dirigente de ETA Txomin Iturbe murió el viernes en Argelia en un accidente de tráfico,” *El País*, 2 March 1987, [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/ITURBE\\_ABASOLO/\\_DOMINGO/\\_TXOMIN/ARGELIA/ETA/dirigente/ETA/Txomin/Iturbe/murio/viernes/Argelia/accidente/trafico/elpepiesp/19870302elpepinac\\_1/Tes?print=1](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/ITURBE_ABASOLO/_DOMINGO/_TXOMIN/ARGELIA/ETA/dirigente/ETA/Txomin/Iturbe/murio/viernes/Argelia/accidente/trafico/elpepiesp/19870302elpepinac_1/Tes?print=1).

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.laresistenciaaeta.org/basedatos/detalleeta.php?id=6>.

<sup>11</sup> P. Rolfe, “Alleged Leader of ETA Is Captured in France,” *The Washington Post*, 4 October 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A4630-2004Oct3.html>.

<sup>12</sup> F. Govan, “Eta leader Francisco Javier Lopez Pena arrested in France,” *The Telegraph*, 21 May 2008, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2000809/Eta-leader-Francisco-Javier-Lopez-Pena-arrested-in-France.html>.

<sup>13</sup> “France captures top ETA leader,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 November 2008, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/2008/1118/p06s01-wogn.html>.

<sup>14</sup> “France holds Eta ‘military chief,’” BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8006511.stm>.

9. Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)	26. Jose Maria Sison	26. 1969	26. active, in self-imposed exile
10. Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)	27. Daithí O'Conaill <sup>21</sup>	27. 1986–1991	27. died of natural causes
11. Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group)	28. Umar Abd al-Rahman 29. Rifai Ahmed Taha 30. Safwat Abd Al-Ghani <sup>22</sup> 31. Karam Zuhdi <sup>23</sup> 32. Issam Darabla <sup>24</sup>	28. 1973– probably with some operational control as late as 2005) <sup>25</sup> 29. data unavailable 30. data unavailable 31. data unavailable 32. data unavailable	28. arrested 29. arrested 30. arrested 31. arrested 32. active

<sup>15</sup> “Aitor Elizarán Aguilar, otro producto de la ‘kale borroka,’” <http://www.ideal.es/granada/20091019/espana/aitor-elizaran-aguilar-otro-200910191253.html>.

<sup>16</sup> B. Bond, “ETA leader arrested in France,” *The Telegraph*, 28 February 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/spain/7338332/ETA-leader-arrested-in-France.html>.

<sup>17</sup> “Suspected Eta leader arrested in France,” *The Independent*, 21 May 2010, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/suspected-eta-leader-arrested-in-france-1978793.html>.

<sup>18</sup> “ETA : les 4 membres présumés arrêtés à Willencourt mis en examen et écroués,” *La Voix du Nord*, 15 March 2011, [http://www.lavoixdunord.fr/France\\_Monde/actualite/Secteur\\_France\\_Monde/2011/03/15/article\\_eta-les-4-membres-presumes-arretes-a-willencourt.shtml](http://www.lavoixdunord.fr/France_Monde/actualite/Secteur_France_Monde/2011/03/15/article_eta-les-4-membres-presumes-arretes-a-willencourt.shtml).

<sup>19</sup> In 1983 the last militant remnants of ETApM (political-military) merged with ETAM (military), an organisation which today we recognise as ETA.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly Urritikoechea returned and led the organisation in between Iriarte and Pena.

<sup>21</sup> CIRA bomb adds to growing crisis in the peace process, [http://archives.tcm.ie/irishexaminer/2000/02/07/current/opinionpage\\_9.htm](http://archives.tcm.ie/irishexaminer/2000/02/07/current/opinionpage_9.htm).

<sup>22</sup> Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya leadership's ideological reversal, <http://armiesofliberation.com/archives/2006/12/22/al-gamaa-al-islamiyya-leaderships-ideological-reversal/>.

<sup>23</sup> J. Halawi, “Time for a historic reconciliation?” *Al Ahram*, no. 592, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/592/eg4.htm>.

<sup>24</sup> MEMRI Blog, Egypt's Al-Gama'a Forms Party, [http://www.thememriblog.org/blog\\_personal/en/38677.htm](http://www.thememriblog.org/blog_personal/en/38677.htm).

<sup>25</sup> See *Militant Ideology Atlas*, Countering Terrorism Center, <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Atlas-ResearchCompendium1.pdf>.

12. HAMAS <sup>26</sup>	33. Ahmed Yassin 34. Abd al-Aziz Rantisi 35. Khaled Mashal	33. 1987–2004 34. 2004 35. 2004–up till now	33. killed by security forces 34. killed by security forces 35. active
13. Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B) <sup>27</sup>	36. Shawkat Osman	36. 1992(from 2005 in full control of the organisation )–up till now	36. active
14. Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM) <sup>28</sup>	37. Fazlur Rehman Khalil 38. Farooq Kashmiri Khalil	37. 1985–2000? 38. 2000–up till now	37. retired 38. active
15. Hezbollah (Party of God) <sup>29</sup>	39. Subhi al-Tufayli 40. Abbas Musawi 41. Hassan Nasrallah	39. 1989–1991 40. 1991–1992 41. 1992–up till now	39. ousted 40. killed by security forces 41. active
16. Islamic Jihad Group/Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) <sup>30</sup>	42. Nadzhmuddin Kamoldinovich Jalolov (Abu Yahya)	42. 2002–2009 <sup>31</sup>	42. killed by security forces
17. Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan <sup>32</sup>	43. Juma Namangani 44. Tahir Yo‘ldosh 45. Usman Jan or Abdurakhman	43. 1998–2001 44. 2001–2009 45. 2009– up till now	43. killed by security forces 44. killed by security forces 45. active

<sup>26</sup> M. Levitt, *HAMAS: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, London, 2006, pp. 33–52.

<sup>27</sup> See <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/terroristoutfits/Huj.htm>.

<sup>28</sup> See

[http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist\\_outfits/harkatul\\_mujahideen.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist_outfits/harkatul_mujahideen.htm).

<sup>29</sup> See G. C. Gambill, Z. K. Abdelnour, “Hezbollah: Between Tehran and Damascus,” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2002, [http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0202\\_11.htm](http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0202_11.htm); R. Bergman; *The Secret War with Iran: The 30-Year Covert Struggle for Control of a “Rogue” State*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 51–63.

<sup>30</sup> See R. Sandee, *The Islamic Jihad Union*, <http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/nefaijuoct08.pdf>.

<sup>31</sup> “US-Bombe tötet Sauerland-Drahtzieher,” *B. Z. – News aus Berlin*, <http://www.bz-berlin.de/aktuell/welt/us-bombe-toetet-sauerland-drahtzieher-article605155.html>.

18. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) (Army of Mohammed) <sup>33</sup>	46. Maulana Masood Azhar	46. 2000-up till now	46. active
19. Jemaah Islamiya (JI) <sup>34</sup>	47. Abu Bakar Bashir 48. Abu Rusdan 49. Abu Dujana 50. Hambali 51. Azahari bin Husin <sup>35</sup> 52. Zarkasih	47. 1993–2000 48. 2000–2003 49. 2003–2007 50. data unavailable 51. ?–2005 52. data unavailable	47. arrested 48. arrested 49. arrested 50. arrested 51. killed by security forces 52. arrested
20. Kahane Chai (Kach)	53. Binyamin Ze'ev Kahane 54. Efraim Hershkovits <sup>36</sup>	53. 1990–2000 54. 2001–2003	53. killed by another terrorist organisation 54. retired
21. Kata'ib Hezbollah (KH) <sup>37</sup>	55. Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis (Jamal Ja'far Muhammad)	55. 2003–up till now?	55. active
22. Kongra-Gel (KGK, formerly Kurdistan Workers' Party, PKK, KADEK)	56. Abdullah Ocalan 57. Murat Karayilan	56. 1978–1999 57. 1999–up till now	56. arrested 57. active
23. Lashkar-e Tayyiba (LT) (Army of the Righteous) <sup>38</sup>	58. Hafiz Saeed	58. 1990–2001	58. arrested
24. Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ) <sup>39</sup>	59. Malik Ishaq <sup>40</sup> 60. Riaz Basra <sup>41</sup> 61. Akram Lahori	59. 1996–1997 60. 1996/1997–2002 61. 2002	59. arrested 60. killed by security forces 61. arrested

<sup>32</sup> See B. Roggio, "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan confirms leader Tahir Yuldashev killed," *The Long War Journal*, [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/08/islamic\\_movement\\_of\\_1.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/08/islamic_movement_of_1.php) and C. Moore; "The Rise and Fall of the Islamic Jihad Union: What Next for Uzbek Terror Networks?" *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 8, no. 14, 2010, [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=36251&tx\\_ttnews%5Bb ackPid%5D=457&no\\_cache=1](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=36251&tx_ttnews%5Bb ackPid%5D=457&no_cache=1).

<sup>33</sup> See [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist\\_outfits/jaish\\_e\\_mohammad\\_mujah ideen\\_e\\_tanzeem.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist_outfits/jaish_e_mohammad_mujah ideen_e_tanzeem.htm).

<sup>34</sup> Z. Abuza, "Abu Dujana: Jemaah Islamiyah's New al-Qaeda Linked Leader," *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 3, no. 13, 2006, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=723](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=723).

<sup>35</sup> His leadership position could be contested.

<sup>36</sup> See *Global Terrorist Organisations*, <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Terrorist.html>.

<sup>37</sup> See <http://www.pvtr.org/pdf/GroupProfiles/Kata'ibHezbollah-05March10.pdf>.

<sup>38</sup> S. Tankel, "Lashkar-e-Taiba: Past Operations and Future Prospects," *National Security Studies Program Policy Paper*, [http://newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Tankel\\_LeT\\_0.pdf](http://newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Tankel_LeT_0.pdf).

25. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) <sup>42</sup>	62. Vellupillai Prabakharan	62. 1976–2009	62. killed by security forces
26. Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) <sup>43</sup>	63. Abd al-Ghaffar al-Duwadi 64. Abu Abdullah al-Sadiq (Abd al Hakim-Belhadj) 65. Abu Layth al-Libi <sup>44</sup>	63. 1992–1995 64. 1995–? 65. 2007–2008	63. arrested 64. arrested 65. killed by security forces
27. Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM) <sup>45</sup>	66. Mohamed Guerbouzi (?)	66. 1998?–up till now	66. active?
28. Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK) <sup>46</sup>	67. Massoud Rajavi 68. Maryam Rajavi	67. 1965–1993 68. 1993–up till now	67. peaceful transfer of power 68. active
29. National Liberation Army (ELN)	69. Fabio Vásquez Castaño <sup>47</sup> 70. Antonio García Manuel Pérez Martínez <sup>48</sup> 71. Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista <sup>49</sup>	69. 1964–1973 70. 1973–1998 71. 1998– up till now	69. died of natural causes 70. died of natural causes 71. active

<sup>39</sup> From the beginning the organisation was effectively commandeered by a triumvirate of leaders. See A. Roul, “Lashkar-e-Jhangvi: Sectarian Violence in Pakistan and Ties to International Terrorism,” *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 3, no. 11, 2005, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=497](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=497).

<sup>40</sup> B. Roggio, “Pakistan releases Lashkar-e-Jhangvi commander,” *The Long War Journal*, 15 July 2011, [http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2011/07/pakistan\\_releases\\_lashkar-e-jh.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2011/07/pakistan_releases_lashkar-e-jh.php).

<sup>41</sup> See <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/lej.htm>.

<sup>42</sup> A. Bandarage, *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka*, London, 2009, p. 66.

<sup>43</sup> See C. Tawil, *Brothers in arms: the story of al-Qa’ida and the Arab jihadists*, London, 2010, pp. 53, 64, 181.

<sup>44</sup> “A strike against al-Qaeda,” *The Economist*, 1 February 2008, [http://www.economist.com/node/10632193?story\\_id=10632193](http://www.economist.com/node/10632193?story_id=10632193).

<sup>45</sup> See M. Darif, *The Moroccan Combat Group*, <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/465/ARI-51-2004-I.pdf>.

<sup>46</sup> E. Rubin, “The Cult of Rajavi,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 13 July 2003.

<sup>47</sup> See *Cronología del ELN*, [http://www.semana.com/documents/Doc-4\\_2006216.pdf](http://www.semana.com/documents/Doc-4_2006216.pdf).

<sup>48</sup> See *La cuna de los Curas Guerrilleros*, [http://www.eln-voces.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=153:nacio1insu099&catid=44:identidad&Itemid=110](http://www.eln-voces.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=153:nacio1insu099&catid=44:identidad&Itemid=110).

30. Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)	72. Ahmed Jibril 73. Muhammad Zaidan (Abu Abbas)	72. 1959–1967/1977 73. 1977–2003	72. split from the organisation 73. arrested
31. Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)	74. Fathi Shaqaqi 75. Ramadan Abdullah Mohammad Shallah <sup>50</sup>	74. 1979–1995 75. 1995–up till now	74. killed by security forces 75. active
32. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) <sup>51</sup>	76. George Habash 77. Abu Ali Mustafa <sup>52</sup> 78. Ahmed Sadat 79. Ahmed Jibril <sup>53</sup>	76. 1967–2000 77. 2000–2001 78. 2001–2002 <sup>54</sup> 79. 2002–up till now	76. retired 77. killed by security forces 78. arrested 79. active
33. PFLP-General Command (PFLP-GC)	80. Ahmed Jibril	80. 1968–up till now	80. active
34. al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)	81. Abu Musab al Zarqawi 82. Abu Hamza al Mujahir 83. Nasser al Din Allah Abu Suleiman <sup>55</sup>	81. 2004–2006 82. 2006–2010 <sup>56</sup> 83. 2010–up till now	81. killed by security forces 82. killed by security forces 83. active

<sup>49</sup> See *La muerte del ‘Cura Perez’ echa sombras en el dialogo colombiano*, <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/1998/98-04/98-04-08/pag22.htm>.

<sup>50</sup> See *Most Wanted Terrorists: Ramadan Abdullah Mohammad Shallah*, FBI, [http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/wanted\\_terrorists/ramadan-abdullah-mohammad-shallah/view](http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/wanted_terrorists/ramadan-abdullah-mohammad-shallah/view).

<sup>51</sup> For information on Palestinian leftist terrorist organisations see *PFLP*, *DFLP*, *PFLP-GC*, *Palestinian leftists*, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/pflp-dflp-pflp-gc-palestinian-leftists/p9128>.

<sup>52</sup> See *Israel kills key Palestinian leader*, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1511515.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1511515.stm).

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.cfr.org/israel/pflp-dflp-pflp-gc-palestinian-leftists/p9128>.

<sup>54</sup> Although still continues to be the general secretary. See “*Jailed PFLP leader: Only a one-state solution is possible*,” *Haaretz*, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/jailed-pflp-leader-only-a-one-state-solution-is-possible-1.288412>.

<sup>55</sup> Provided that al-Qaeda in Iraq leader is the same as the “war minister” of the Islamic State of Iraq. See B. Roggio, *Al-Qaeda appoints new “war minister” for Iraq*, [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/05/al\\_qaeda\\_appoints\\_ne.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/05/al_qaeda_appoints_ne.php).

<sup>56</sup> U.S.: *Al-Qaida in Iraq warlord slain*, [http://rss.msnbc.msn.com/id/36664251/ns/world\\_news-mideastn\\_africa](http://rss.msnbc.msn.com/id/36664251/ns/world_news-mideastn_africa).

35. al-Qaeda (AQ)	84. Osama bin Laden 85. Ayman al-Zawahiri	84. 1988–2011 85. 2011–up till now	84. killed by security forces 85. active
36. al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) <sup>57</sup>	86. Yusuf al-Uyayri 87. Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri 88. Khaled Ali Hajj 89. Abdel Aziz Issa Abdul-Mohsin Al-Muqrin 90. Sa'ud al-Utaybi 91. Salih al-Alawi 92. Fahd al-Juwayr 93. Nasir Abdel Karim al-Wuhayshi <sup>58</sup>	86. 1997–2001 87. 2002–2003 87. 2002 88. 2003–2004 89. 2004 90. 2004–2005 91. 2005 92. 2005–2006 93. 2009–up till now	86. killed by security forces 87. arrested 88. killed by security forces 89. killed by security forces 90. killed by security forces 91. killed by security forces 92. killed by security forces 93. active
37. al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (formerly GSPC) <sup>59</sup>	94. Hassan Hattab 95. Nabil Sahraoui 96. Abdelmalek Droudkal	94. 1998–2003 95. 2003–2004 96. 2004–up till now <sup>60</sup>	94. resigned from the group 95. killed by security forces 96. active
38. Real IRA (RIRA)	97. Michael McKeitt	97. 1997–2002	97. ousted <sup>61</sup>
39. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	98. Manuel Marulanda 99. Alfonso Cano <sup>62</sup>	98. 1964–2008 99. 2008– up till now	98. died of natural causes 99. active

<sup>57</sup> For a detailed study of the organisation see T. Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*, London, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> *Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)*, <http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/aqap.html>.

<sup>59</sup> See C. Tawil, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–195.

<sup>60</sup> G. D. Porter, “The Impact of Bin Ladin’s Death on AQIM in North Africa,” *CTC Sentinel*, May 2011, <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-impact-of-bin-ladin’s-death-on-aqim-in-north-africa>.

<sup>61</sup> D. McKittrick, “Real IRA rift exposed by prisoners’ scathing attack,” *The Independent*, 21 October 2002, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/real-ira-rift-exposed-by-prisoners-scathing-attack-608261.html>.

<sup>62</sup> S. Brodzinsky, “New FARC offensive suggests shift in Colombian rebels’ strategy,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 16 June 2011, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2011/0616/New-FARC-offensive-suggests-shift-in-Colombian-rebels-strategy-08827729>.

40. Revolutionary Organisation 17 November (17N)	100. Alexandros Giopoulos 101. Dimitris Koufondinas <sup>63</sup>	100.?–2002 101.1975–2002	100.arrested 101.surrendered to the authorities
41. Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)	102. Dursun Karataş 103. Zerrin Sarı <sup>64</sup>	102.1978–2008 103.2008–up till now	102.died of natural causes 103.active
42. Revolutionary Struggle (RS)	104. Nikos Maziotis <sup>65</sup>	104.2003–2010	104.arrested
43. Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso, SL) <sup>66</sup>	105. Abimael Reynoso Guzmán 106. Oscar Ramírez Durand 107. Victor Quispe Palomino <sup>67</sup> or Comrade Artemio <sup>68</sup>	105.1980–1992 106.1992–1999 107.1999–up till now	105.arrested 106.arrested 107.active
44. United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC)	108. Carlos Castaño Gil 109. Vicente Castaño Gil <sup>69</sup>	108.1997–2004 109.2004–2006	108.killed in internecine fighting 109.active?
45. Harakat-ul Jihad Islami (HUJI)	110. Qari Saifullah Akhtar	110.1980 <sup>70</sup> –2004 (possibly up till now) <sup>71</sup>	110.arrested
46. Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) <sup>72</sup>	111. Baitullah Mehsud	111.2007–2009 112.2009–up till	111.killed by security forces 112.active

<sup>63</sup> Giopoulos and Koufondinas probably co-shared a leadership position, with one playing the role of an ideologue and the other acting as the organisation's top operative.

<sup>64</sup> "DHKP/C leader buried, another lead figure caught in Greek Cyprus," *Todays Zaman*, 16 August 2008, [http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail\\_getNewsById.action?load=detay&link=150338](http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?load=detay&link=150338).

<sup>65</sup> "Terrorist suspects freed pending trial," *Phantis*, 6 April 2011, <http://www.phantis.com/news/terrorist-suspects-freed-pending-trial>.

<sup>66</sup> See F. Hyland, "Peru's Shining Path Gaining Ground?" *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 4, no. 28, 11 September 2007, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=4393](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4393).

<sup>67</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook: Peru*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pe.html>.

<sup>68</sup> D. Collvns, "Shining Path leader offers truce," BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6186404.stm>.

<sup>69</sup> *Colombia convicts no. 1 fugitive paramilitary boss*, 17 March 2011, [http://www.boston.com/news/world/latinamerica/articles/2011/03/17/colombia\\_convicts\\_no\\_1\\_fugitive\\_paramilitary\\_boss](http://www.boston.com/news/world/latinamerica/articles/2011/03/17/colombia_convicts_no_1_fugitive_paramilitary_boss).

<sup>70</sup> See <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/HUJI.HTM>.

<sup>71</sup> Between 1990 and 1997 as a deputy of Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA); at that time his HUJI was a part of HUA.

	112. Hakimullah Mehsud	now	
47. Jundallah <sup>73</sup>	113. Abdolmalek Rigi	113.2003–2010	113.arrested
48. Army of Islam (AOI) <sup>74</sup>	114. Mumtaz Dughmush	114.2005–up till now	114.active

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<sup>72</sup> See S. S. Shahzad, *Inside Al-Qaeda and the Taliban: Beyond bin Laden and 9/11*, London, 2011.

<sup>73</sup> S. Peterson, “Iran, still haunted by Jundallah attacks, blames West,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 15 December 2010, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2010/1215/Iran-still-haunted-by-Jundallah-attacks-blames-West>.

<sup>74</sup> “Army Of Islam Designation,” *Voice of America*, 6 May 2011, <http://www.voanews.com/policy/editorials/Army-Of-Islam-Designation-123116233.html>.