Coding Notes for "Rebel Diplomacy in Civil War"
***International Security* 40.4 (2016)**

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This supplement provides case-by-case coding notes for the *diplomacy* variable used in the article. For most cases, it presents direct excerpts from relevant texts, along with their full citations. Note that for cases in the dataset that are not listed here, I found no evidence of rebel diplomacy and hence *diplomacy* is coded 0 (no diplomacy).

Angola vs. UNITA, 1975-1991

"Diplomatically, UNITA was active…. Even during enforcement of the Clark Amendment, UNITA maintained an office in Washington, D.C. Other UNITA offices were in Lisbon, Munich, Geneva, Dakar, Rabat, London, and Paris" (James 1992, 119). See also UNITA case study in the article itself.

Angola vs. UNITA 1992-1994

"Most of the former administrative council members were either dead or inactive…. In fact, only the external mission survived the purges relatively unscathed" (Malaquias 2007, 113). Hence, diplomacy=1. However, as described in the article, by 1997 even the external missions ceased to function during this phase of the conflict.

Angola vs. UNITA, 1997-2002

See above, and the detailed case study in the article. UNITA diplomacy ceased to function during this period.

Angola vs. FLEC (Cabinda), 1994-2006

The various FLEC groups had overseas representatives, if not offices (see Alfred 1992, 76; Porto 2003, 19).

Argentina – Montoneros, ERP, Dirty War, 1975-1977

The PRT had an international affairs committee, linking the movement to the Tupamaros (of Uruguay), the Chilean MIR, and the Bolivian ELN, as well as maintaining ties with Cuba and the Soviet bloc (Lewis 2002, 45). It had offices in Paris and, briefly, in Lisbon, as well as "contacts to terrorists operating out of Stockholm" (ibid).

Azerbaijan vs. Nagorno-Karabakh, 1991-1994

"The political relationship between Armenia and Karabakh is more complicated. Again, there are no *formal* diplomatic relations between the two entities, but the presidents, prime ministers, and other ministers meet regularly to coordinate their activities. In May 1998 a protocol on consultation and cooperation was signed between the Armenian and Karabakh foreign ministers (Vardan Oskanian and Naira Melkumian, respectively). The most significant step towards formal cooperation came on 3 September 2000, when the Prime Minister of Karabakh, Anushavan Danielian,18 and Prime Minister of Armenia, Andranik Margarian, signed an economic cooperation agreement between their two governments. Azerbaijan denounced the agreement as 'a grave violation of Azerbaijan's national legislation, international legal norms and principles' (Azerbaijan News Service, as posted on Armenian News Network Groong, 10 October 2000). There are also similar links between the two parliaments. Much of these relationships depend on the personal networks and good will between the politicians involved, especially between the presidents. Not surprisingly, the institutional links and networks of personal ties have multiplied during Kocharian's presidency of Armenia" Panossian (2001: 148-151):

Cambodia – 1979-1991

The CGDK coalition retained Cambodia's seat in the United Nations until 1990. "The CGDK had formal diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level with Bangladesh, China, Egypt, Malaysia, North Korea, Pakistan, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, and Yugoslavia (as of late 1987)." "The CGDK had a permanent mission--consisting of representatives from all three of the CGDK partners--to the United Nations in New York" (Cambodia Country Study 1987, accessed online).

Chad vs. FROLINAT, 1965-1979

In 1966 rebel leaders opened a FROLINAT office in Algiers "for propaganda and to maintain contact with the Arab states." They also opened an office in Baghdad (Burr and Collins 1999, 41). They opened clandestine offices in Sudan, and foreign intelligence "reported frequent visits by diplomats from the People's Republic of China, occasionally by Soviet officials, and even by a trade delegation from Albania. Indeed, the rebels were honored guests" who were "greeted with all the ceremony usually reserved for a diplomatic mission from a sovereign state" (Burr and Collins 1999, 62).

China – Tibet, 1950-1951

Tibetan officials sought UN recognition of Tibetan independence, and in this effort attempted to gain the support of Britain, the United States, India and Nepal, without effect. An appeal to the UN was also tabled by the General Assembly (Ginsburgs and Mathos 1964, 8). India recognized and respected Tibet's treaty-making powers, and also had a representative in Tibet (Norbu 1997, 1079).

Congo – FNLC; Shaba 1 & 2, 1977-1978

FLNC had a foreign office in Brussels, and probably elsewhere in Europe as well (see O'Ballance 2000, Ch. 8-9).

Congo vs. RCD, 1998-2002

"The RCD consistently put emphasis on the garnering of external rather than domestic support" (Tull 2007, 119). The RCD "hired lobbying firms to represent its interests in Washington" (Tull 2007, 120). The movement "was extremely successful in the diplomatic realm and achieved de facto recognition by Western states" (ibid.). "Several RCD delegations had visited Western capitals (Paris, Brusssels, Washington) in the early days of the rebellion" (Tull 2007, 120).

Cuba – Castro Revolution, 1958-1959

The MR 26-7 had sections and delegates in the United States and in Central and South America (Garcia-Perez 1998, 100).

Djibouti vs. FRUD, 1991-1994

It appears that FRUD leaders made visits abroad to meet with heads of state (e.g. Kadamy 1996, 520). Kadamy (1996, 516) writes that FRUD achieved "diplomatic successes." FRUD had an office in the Yemeni capital, Sanaa (Schraeder 1993, 214).

El Salvador vs. FMLN, 1979-1992

The FMLN had a "Political Diplomatic Commission," formed in early 1981, which "functioned as a foreign ministry with its members traveling around the world in search of support from governments, political parties, and international organizations. The FDR-FMLN sent official representatives – the equivalent of ambassadors – to thirty-three countries.... [T]he FDR-FMLN was aggressively seeking out government ministries and legislators as well as talking to the media and citizen groups on a daily basis. This effort paid dividends throughout the decade; the first dividend came on August 28, 1981, when France and Mexico issued a joint declaration recognizing the FDR-FMLN as a 'representative political force' that should be directly involved in any political settlement" (Montgomery 1995, 114).

"As the revolutionary opposition's political wing, the FDR established offices throughout the United States, Western Europe, and Latin America and received formal recognition from the French and Mexican governments, demonstrating the Salvadoran left's desire and ability to build links with a wide range of governments and nongovernmental organizations" (Peterson 1997, 35).

Ethiopia vs. Eritreans, 1974-1991

Veteran fighters like Al-Amin and Sa'id Barre moved to responsibilities for foreign affairs, particularly with Arab governments in the Gulf (Pool 2001, 84; see also 101-102).

The EPLF had a foreign minister as well as a foreign mission (Connell 2003, 96).

India – Sikhs, 1984-1993

"Organizational efforts by the Panthic Committee also include the formation of an international body, the Council of Khalistan, in 1987 to 'direct political, economic and social affairs of the Sikh community' and to assume responsibility for the 'foreign policy of Khalistan.' Included are notable Khalistan supporters from overseas as well as from within India…. It probably has a more important role as a symbol of external support, through its allied organizations that provide funds and lobby foreign governments" (Wallace 1995, 395-396).

Indonesia - South Moluccas, 1950

The RMS had a minister of foreign affairs, whose main task was to seek international recognition of RMS sovereignty (Chauvel 1990, 376-377).

Indonesia - OPM (West Papua), 1976-1978

Since early on the OPM has had overseas offices lobbying various states and the UN for recognition (see Bell, Feith and Hatley 1986; Elmslie 2002, 39).

Indonesia – Timor-Leste, 1975-1999

From early on Fretilin placed importance on efforts to gain sympathy for its cause abroad. A leading figure in such efforts was one of the party's founders, Ramos-Horta, who left East Timor in 1975 "and thereafter served as the international representative of the resistance for more than twenty years" (Taylor 1999, 31; also 81). "A small group of FRETILIN cadre…formed an external wing of the movement, variously promoting the struggle in international fora" (Gunn 2011, 93). Such efforts intensified, and had visible effects around the world, towards the end of the war.

Indonesia – Aceh, 1990-1991

"GAM's guerrilla strategy was accompanied by a political strategy centred on the idea of internationalization. Since 1979, when the top GAM leadership was forced into exile, internationalization was seen as the only way to level the playing field with Indonesia, and eventually to swing the pendulum in favour of an independent Aceh" (Schulze 2006, 236-237). Although the policy of "internationalization" was not fully developed until 1999, GAM did make some efforts to attract foreign support. "It lobbied for support in the United States, Europe and Australia without making much of an impact. GAM set up offices in Singapore and Malaysia but generally attracted diaspora Acehnese rather than locals. GAM also tried to gain support from the Islamic world. Only Libya, in 1985, was receptive" (Schulze 2006, 237).

Indonesia – Aceh, 1999-2005

With the fall of Suharto in 1998, and especially with East Timor's struggle for independence in 1999, GAM stepped up its "internationalization" strategy (see previous case) (Schulze 2006, 237-238).

Iraq – Kurds (Anfal), 1985-1996

Talabani and Barzani both made a number diplomatic visits abroad to meet with heads of state (see McDowall 2004, 385; Gunter 1992, 87). Both the KDP and the PUK had liaison offices in Ankara (McDowall 2004, 432).

Israel – Palestinian, 1987-1997

The PLO had a political department whose head also acted as the PLO "foreign minister" (O'Ballance 1997, 64). Arafat and his delegates made many foreign visits abroad, where they were often given head-of-state treatment.

Jordan – Fedeyeen/Syria, 1970-1971

The PLO had a Political Department, which was its foreign ministry (Cobban 1984, 44). PLO and Fateh leaders made contact with various Arab leaders to win their support (Cobban 1984, 45). It established "a chain of offices in Arab and Western countries" (O'Ballance 1997, 7).

Laos vs. Pathet Laos

"The front (termed the neo) acts as the NLHS [Lao Patriotic Front] public spokesman, sends delegations abroad and receives foreign representatives, directs internal political programs such as the mass mobilizing activities, formulates broad public policy, and generally supervises administration. The government, though it appears to be a coordinate branch, actually works under the guidance of the neo, merely conducting the day-to-day administrative activities of the zone. This branch has the normal departments of each government, each of which has a front counterpart, such as national defense, foreign affairs, health, interior, education and propaganda, and economic [sic] and finance. The supreme headquarters for both…was located at Ban Nakay Neua in Sam Neua Province in a cave complex….the headquarters had been hewn from nine natural caves and transformed into enlarged caverns that housed hospitals, workshops, offices of the leaders, and even a hostel for foreign journalists" (Zasloff 1973, 50).

Liberia – NPLF, 1989-1997

"Taylor cultivated all the attributes of a sovereign government, with ministries and even his own currency. A private bank opened its doors for business in Gbarnga, and foreign diplomats including representatives of the French and German governments visited Taylor in his headquarters, in effect treating him as a head of state. Few diplomats had much enthusiasm for Taylor, although some were captivated by his undoubted suavity and intelligence. Others reasoned that since he was the de facto ruler of most of Liberia, there was every reason to maintain relations with him" (Ellis 1995, 171).

"Taylor attended university in Boston in the 1970s and returned to the U.S. East Coast in the 1980s during his exile from Liberia. National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) overseas support groups and an NPFL-supported 'foreign ministry' built upon these networks" (Reno 2010, 74, fn 14).

Mali – Tuareg, 1990-1995

"Tuareg dissidents had maintained some contacts with coreligionists elsewhere in the Islamic world. They also had lobby groups in European capitals, particularly in France, to generate sympathy for their cause" (Kalifa 1998, 24).

Morocco/Western Sahara, 1975-1991

The SADR was recognized by over 70 states by the late 1980s. Polisario established embassies in "most African countries" that recognized the SADR (Saxena 1981, 85).

Mozambique vs. RENAMO, 1976-1992

Vines (1991, 77) mentions Renamo offices in Heidelberg, Lisbon, Nairobi and Washington. Renamo had a Secretary for Foreign Affairs who resided in West Germany (Hoile 1989, 85). Renamo also had an External Relations department (Manning 2002: 93).

Namibia – SWAPO, 1973-1989

Given the UN's position on the legal status of Namibia (see above), SWAPO was sensitive to the international dimensions of its struggle and from early on devoted efforts to making appeals overseas by dispatching representatives. "Deftly positioned – in the US, the UK, Scandinavia, Germany, Eastern Europe, and in various parts of Africa, as well as the United Nations – these representatives were able to establish, most often from scratch, effective networks of contact and support in the countries in which they worked. Over time, they were to have striking success in further isolating South Africa diplomatically" (Leys and Saul 1995, 41).

Nepal vs. CPN-M (Maoists), 1996-2006

The CPN(M) had an "international department," responsible for "expanding party organisation -- recruiting expatriate Nepalis, establishing international contacts and relations, fundraising, purchase of ammunition and explosives and arranging training" (ICG 2005, 8). "Representatives of the international department are active in various Indian cities, as well as in London, Brussels and Berlin" (Sharma 2004, 40).

Nicaragua – Contras, 1981-1990

"In the absence of U.S. support, Contra organizations successfully appealed to other governments and private sources for funds to continue their war effort" (Hitz 1999, 453).

Nigeria – Biafra, 1967-1970

Biafra's independence was recognized by Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast, and it sought formal recognition by the UN. See Ijalaye (1971).

Oman – Dhofar Rebellion, 1971-1975

The Front had offices in Tripoli, Algiers and Beirut, as well as a foreign affairs office in its Aden offices (see Peterson 2007, 350).

Papua New Guinea – Bougainville, 1988-1998

"In 1992, BIG appointed Miriori (BIG Secretary) to establish the Bougainville Office in the Solomon Islands capital, Honiara. Because of the PNG blockade, the office became the main lifeline linking Bougainville with the rest of the world. It coordinated a full range of activities including humanitarian assistance, international human rights lobbying and campaigning, peace advocacy work and media relations. It acted as the official clearinghouse and sole authorising agent for all those who wanted to visit Bougainville" (Conciliation Resources, "Weaving Consensus: The Papua New Guinea – Bougainville Peace Process," available at http://www.c-r.org/es/node/1025). Miriori also made diplomatic visits to the United States, The Hague, and Geneva (ibid).

Peru vs. Sendero Luminoso 1980-1996

"Overseas semi-clandestine support groups are known as the 'People's Movement of Peru, of Sweden, France, Spain, and so on" (Strong 1992, 100).

South Africa – ANC, 1976-1994

Both the ANC and PAC made international recognition a priority, appearing before international organizations and making contacts with key states. "Over time they established major offices at Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and Lusaka in Zambia; broadcasting centres in Cairo and Addis Ababa; and guerrilla camps in such countries as Zambia, Algeria, Tanzania, Uganda and Angola" (Barber 1999, 199).

Sri Lanka vs. JVP II, 1987-1989

According to Gunaratna, following the 1971 insurrection Wijeweera made major efforts to make contacts abroad and create an overseas support base. He and his officials traveled to Iraq and Cuba, and made contacts with the Socialist Arab Baath Party, with SWAPO of Namibia, and other revolutionary organizations in Namibia, and with the Basque militants of Spain.

Sri Lanka vs. LTTE, 1983-2002

The Tamil diaspora sought to generate political support overseas: diaspora groups "soon began lobbying legislatures in Washington, D.C., Ottawa, Canberra, London, and many Western European countries, creating a well-funded, well-organized, and highly sophisticated transnational movement whose sole goal was to create a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka" (DeVotta 2009, 156).

The LTTE "has been permitted to establish representative offices, dispatch political 'counselors,' and engage in unrestricted and open-ended lobbying activities" in many states (Byman et al. 2001, 47).

The Eelam House in London "acts as the LTTE's principal headquarters outside Sri Lanka. Although nominally headed by A.C. Shanthan, the LTTE Chief in the United Kingdom, it serves as [Anton] Balasingham's principal base of operations for coordinating overseas political activity; it is also the location from which all official Tiger statements, memoranda, and proclamations emanate" (Byman et al. 2001, 44).

Sudan vs. Anya Nya, 1963-1972

The rebels had representations in Paris, Washington, Kampala, and Addis Ababa (O'Ballance 1977, 137).

Sudan vs. SPLA/M, 1983-2002

The SPLA had offices in Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and in several other countries (Kevlihan 2013, Chapter 5).

Syria vs. Muslim Brotherhood, 1979-1982

Weismann (1993) notes that Sa'id Hawwa left Syria for Jordan in 1978, but "remained active even in exile. He was a member of the collective leadership of the Muslim Brethren in Syria, and later of the Islamic Front. He travelled extensively in the Muslim world as well as in the United States and in Europe on behalf of the movement" (619). Even though this is diplomacy by one individual, since Hawwa was an important figure in the organization, diplomacy=1.

Tajikistan 1992-1997

Akbar Turajonzoda was appointed the UTO's First Deputy and Minister for Foreign Affairs (Heathershaw 2009, 30).

"During the Civil War [Qazi Akbar Turajonzoda, grand mufti of Tajik Muslims] traveled extensively around the world, seeking support for the IRP" (Rashid 2002, 101)

Turkey vs. PKK (Kurds), 1984-1999

The PKK "performs widespread, intensive activity abroad in public relations and has attempted to form a political wing in order to be able to act as a partner in dialogue…. On 23 January 1995, the PKK handed a declaration to the International Red Cross and the Foreign Ministry of Switzerland, in which it stated that the International Red Cross is granted entry into the war regions to be able to monitor that the Geneva treaty and its supplemental protocols are being adhered to by the PKK. With this diplomatic step, the PKK intends to be internationally recognized as a warring party and demands that Turkey abide by the Geneva Convention" (Olson 1996, 25).

Uganda vs. NRA, 1981-1987

The NRA had a New York branch office, which helped prompt a U.S. Congressional hearing in 1982 on human rights conditions in Uganda (Ngoga 1998). Such affairs were managed by the "Political and Diplomatic Sub-Committee" of the National Resistance Council (NRC), responsible "for canvassing external support of other nations and international bodies and also internal political education within the movement and among the local population" (Katumba-Wamala 2000, 163, 165). Museveni himself "toured the globe in search of support" (Reno 2011, 135). As Reno writes, these efforts brought the NRA no external support.

Vietnam – Viet Cong/NLF, 1960-1975

The NLF dispatched envoys to various countries. "It established and maintained bonds with international Communist-front organizations and Communist-bloc nations and with such countries as Cuba, Indonesia, and certain African nations whose foreign policies served the Communist cause in virtually every way" (Pike 1966, 307). The NLF had a Foreign Relations Committee which "acted like a foreign office, issuing diplomatic notes and official statements, publishing communiqués and appeals, and dispatching emissaries abroad" (Pike 1966, 316).

Yugoslavia – Croatia/Krajina, 1991

Since Croatia was an established republic of Yugoslavia, the coding must reflect the existence of a full-fledged proto-state: Croatia had an executive with a president, a legislature, a foreign minister, a police force, and official propaganda channels, collected taxes, and provided social services (Ramet 2006; Tanner 1997).

Yugoslavia – Kosovo, 1998-1999

The KLA employed a vigorous diplomatic campaign to win international support, dispatching representatives abroad from its early days (see Perritt 2008, 145-149).

Zimbabwe 1972-1979

ZANU engaged in diplomacy to rally support for its cause: "Herbert Chitepo, the chairman of ZANU's *Dare*, undertook a series of international trips to the socialist world--namely Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia--as well as to India, Sweden, New Zealand, Australia and the Netherlands. In addition, the position of secretary for foreign affairs was regularly filled and ZANU welcomed a growing number of its official representatives back to its annual review conferences" (Reed 1993, 42).

(Chung 2006, 103-104): "These newsletters had to reach the ZANU representatives, Rex Chiwara in London, Claude Chokwenda in Stockholm, and Tapson Mawere in New York, who would in turn send them to our members and supporters. The Stockholm office was able to persuade many Scandinavian countries that the arrest of the over 1,000 ZANLA combatants in Zambia was part of a political ploy to support détente rather than because of criminal

activities…The London office was able to reach out to many countries in Europe, including West Germany, France, and the Netherlands, where ZANU had many supporters, particularly among anti-apartheid student groups who supported the liberation of Africa from colonial rule…The New York office ensured that those who had supported the liberation struggle in the United States and Canada continued to do so."

(Martin 1981, 101): "ZANU's office in Lusaka had demanded that the Bishop cease talks with Smith, but the contacts were continued…"

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