Online Appendix I

to the paper

"Introducing REBLEX: A New Dataset on Rebel Leaders in Exile"

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1. REBLEX Dataset Codebook

Variable	Brief description
origin	The name of the country where a rebel group is in conflict with the government
origin_code	COW country code for 'origin'
confdesc	Conflict description (government vs. rebel) Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, Prorok (2016)
conflictid	UCDP Conflict ID Source: Pettersson, Therese, and Magnus Öberg (2020)
dyadid	UCDP Dyad ID Source: Pettersson, Therese, and Magnus Öberg (2020)
actorid	UCDP Actor ID Source: Pettersson, Therese, and Magnus Öberg (2020)
leader_name	Rebel leader's name Source: Prorok (2016), UCDP encyclopedia, CISAC's Mapping Militants Project, etc
leaderid	The unique identifier for each rebel leader
leader_birthyear	Rebel leader's birth year
leadernum	Leader's number in the dyad episode (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.) Source: Prorok (2016)
ldrstwar_month	Rebel leader start month Source: Prorok (2016), UCDP encyclopedia, CISAC's Mapping Militants Project, etc
ldrstwar_year	Rebel leader start year Source: Prorok (2016), UCDP encyclopedia, CISAC's Mapping Militants Project, etc

ldrendwar_month	Rebel leader end month Source: Prorok (2016), UCDP encyclopedia, CISAC's Mapping Militants Project, etc
ldrendwar_year	Rebel leader end year Source: Prorok (2016), UCDP encyclopedia, CISAC's Mapping Militants Project, etc
exileid	The unique identifier for each exile episode
destination	The name of the country in which the exiled rebel leader settled
destination_code	COW country code for 'destination'
exilestart_year	Exile start year
exileend_year	Exile end year
exilestart_year_prec	A numeric code indicating the level of precision regarding the recorded start year of exile for each episode. 1: The exact start year is known and coded. 2: The start year is not directly available, so alternative coding rules are applied: 1) If exile occurred after the end of a civil war or the leader's tenure, the end year of the conflict or tenure is used as the exile start year; 2) If exile occurred during a civil war or a leader's time in office, the start year of the conflict or leadership is used as the exile start year.
exiletype	Exile type: 1. Conflict exile; 2. Post-tenure exile
exileactivity	Exile activity: 1. Military activity; 2. Political activity; 3. Other activity; 4. No activity
arrestedexile	A variable indicating whether the rebel leader in exile was arrested in the host country (1 = arrested in exile, 0 = not arrested in exile).

2. List of exiled rebel leaders

The list of exiled rebel leaders contains a rebel leader's name, civil conflict in which he or she engaged, exile start year, exile destination, exile type, and exile activity.

Exile start year signifies the year in which a rebel leader went into exile.

Exile type indicates the time exile occurred in terms of civil conflict. It is categorized into

1. Conflict
2. Post-tenure

The *conflict* exile means that a rebel leader resides in a foreign state in the course of civil conflict. The *post-tenure* exile refers to a rebel leader's exile that transpires after the end of his or her tenure.

Exile destination records countries in which insurgent leaders sought exile.

Exile activity reports which activity exiled rebel leaders carried out in their host state. It is comprised of

1. Military activity
2. Political activity
3. Other activity
4. No activity

Leader name	Conflict Description	Exile Start Year	Destination	Exile Type	Exile Activity
Himmler Rebu	Haiti vs. Military Faction (Rebu and François)	1989	Venezuela	2	2
Guy François	Haiti vs. Military Faction (Rebu and François)	1989	Venezuela	2	1
Raoul Cédras	Haiti vs. Military Faction (Cédras)	1994	Panama	2	3
Jean-Bertrand Aristide	Haiti vs. OP Lavalas	2004	South Africa	1	1
Enrique Bermúdez	Nicaragua vs. FDN/Contras	1982	United States	1	1
Adolfo Calero	Nicaragua vs. FDN/Contras	1982	United States	1	1
Néstor Gregorio Vera Fernández (aka Iván Mordisco)	Colombia vs FARC dissidents	2016	Venezuela	1	1
Miguel Botache Santillana (aka Gentil Duarte)	Colombia vs FARC dissidents	2021	Venezuela	1	1
Géner García Molina (aka John 40)	Colombia vs FARC dissidents	2016	Venezuela	1	1
Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista	Colombia vs. ELN	2018	Cuba	1	1
Domingo Iturbe Abasolo	Spain vs. ETA	1968	France	1	1

Domingo Iturbe Abasolo	Spain vs. ETA	1986	Algeria	2	2
Francisco Mugica Garmendia (aka Artapalo)	Spain vs. ETA	1987	France	1	1
Mikel Albizu (aka Antza)	Spain vs. ETA	1992	France	1	1
Milan Babić	Croatia vs. Serbian Republic of Krajina	1995	Serbia	2	3
Goran Hadžić	Croatia vs. Serbian Republic of Krajina	1997	Serbia	2	4
Milan Martić	Croatia vs. Serbian Republic of Krajina	1995	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2	1
Radovan Karadžić	Bosnia vs. Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	1996	Serbia	2	3
Fikret Abdić	Bosnia vs. Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	1995	Croatia	2	4
Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev	Russia vs. ChRI	1999	Qatar	2	1
Valery Bolotov	Ukraine vs LPR	2014	Russia	2	4
Igor Plotnitsky	Ukraine vs LPR	2017	Russia	2	4
Leonard Petrosyan	Azerbaijan vs. NKR	1992	Armenia	2	2
Kukli Samba Sanyang	Gambia vs. SRLP	1981	Cuba	2	1
Kukli Samba Sanyang	Gambia vs. SRLP	1983	Libya	2	1
Kukli Samba Sanyang	Gambia vs. SRLP	2003	Senegal	2	1
Zahaby Ould Sidi Mohamed	Mali vs. FIAA	1994	Mauritania	1	1
Zahaby Ould Sidi Mohamed	Mali vs. FIAA	1996	France	2	3
Zahaby Ould Sidi Mohamed	Mali vs. FIAA	1997	Haiti	2	3
Ibrahim Bahanga	Mali vs. ATNMC	2009	Libya	2	1
Hamada Ould Mohamed Kheirou (aka Abu Qumqum)	Mali vs MUJAO	2015	Libya	2	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Mali vs AQIM	2009	Algeria	1	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Mali vs AQIM	2016	Tunisia	1	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Mali vs AQIM	2018	Algeria	1	1
Mokhtar Belmokhtar	Mali vs Signed-in-Blood Battalion	2015	Libya	2	1
Augustin Diamacoune Senghor	Senegal vs. MFDC	1991	Guinea Bissau	1	1

Augustin Diamacoune Senghor	Senegal vs. MFDC	2006	France	2	4
Salif Sadio	Senegal vs MFDC	2007	Gambia	1	1
Salif Sadio	Senegal vs MFDC	2009	Guinea Bissau	1	1
El-Ouali Mustapha Sayed	Mauritania vs. POLISARIO	1975	Algeria	1	1
Mohammed Abdelaziz	Mauritania vs. POLISARIO	1976	Algeria	1	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Mauritania vs. AQIM	2010	Algeria	1	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Mauritania vs. AQIM	2016	Tunisia	2	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Mauritania vs. AQIM	2018	Algeria	2	1
Aghali Alambo	Niger vs. MNJ	2009	Libya	2	1
Abubakar Shekau	Niger vs IS (Boko Haram)	2015	Nigeria	1	1
Adnan Abu Waleed al-Sahrawi	Niger vs IS (ISGS)	2010	Mali	1	1
Abu Musab al-Barnawi	Niger vs IS (ISWAP)	2016	Nigeria	1	1
Abu Abdullah Idris ibn Umar al-Barnawi (aka Ba Idrisa)	Niger vs IS (ISWAP)	2019	Nigeria	1	1
Lawan Abubakar (aka Ba Lawan)	Niger vs IS (ISWAP)	2020	Nigeria	1	1
Mohamed Lamine Fofana (aka N'fali Kaba)	Guinea vs. RFDG	2000	Liberia	1	1
Adnan Abu Waleed al-Sahrawi	Burkina Faso vs IS (ISGS)	2015	Mali	1	1
Iyad Ag Ghali	Burkina Faso vs JNIM		Mali	1	1
Charles Taylor	Liberia vs. NPFL	1989	Ivory Coast	1	1
Prince Yormie Johnson	Liberia vs. INPFL	1997	Nigeria	2	2
Sekou Conneh	Liberia vs. LURD	1999	Guinea	1	1
Thomas Nimely	Liberia vs. MODEL	2003	Ivory Coast	1	1
Foday Sankoh	Sierra Leone vs. RUF	1997	Nigeria	1	1
Johnny Paul Koroma	Sierra Leone vs. AFRC	2003	Liberia	2	4
Gilchrist Olympio	Togo vs. MTD	1986	Ghana	1	1
Gilchrist Olympio	Togo vs. MTD	1992	France	2	2
Abubakar Shekau	Cameroon vs Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad (Boko Haram)	2015	Nigeria	1	1
Abubakar Shekau	Cameroon vs IS (Boko Haram)	2015	Nigeria	1	1
Abu Musab al-Barnawi	Cameroon vs IS (ISWAP)	2016	Nigeria	1	1

Abu Abdullah Idris ibn Umar al-Barnawi (aka Ba Idrisa)	Cameroon vs IS (ISWAP)	2019	Nigeria	1	1
Ayaba Cho Lucas	Cameroon vs Ambazonia insurgents (AGovC)	2013	Norway	1	1
Julius Ayuk Tabe	Cameroon vs Ambazonia insurgents (IG)	2017	Nigeria	1	1
Samuel Ikome Sako	Cameroon vs Ambazonia insurgents (IG)	2918	United States	1	1
André Kolingba	Central African Republic vs. Military Faction (forces of Andre Kolingba)	2001	Uganda	2	2
Francois Bozize	Central African Republic vs. Forces of Francois Bozize	2001	Chad	1	1
Michel Djotodia	Central African Republic vs. UFDR	2006	Benin	1	1
Damane Zakaria	Central African Republic vs. UFDR	2006	Sudan	1	1
Charles Massi	Central African Republic vs. CPJP	2009	Chad	1	1
François Bozizé	Central African Republic vs CPC	2021	Chad	1	1
François Bozizé	Central African Republic vs CPC	2023	Guinea Bissau	1	1
Hissène Habré	Chad vs FAN	1980	Sudan	1	1
Wadel Abdelkader Kamougue	Chad vs FAT	1982	Cameroon	2	1
Goukouni Oueddei	Chad vs GUNT	1982	Libya	1	1
Goukouni Oueddei	Chad vs GUNT	1987	Algeria	2	2
Acheikh ibn Oumar	Chad vs GUNT	1987	Sudan	2	1
Acheikh ibn Oumar	Chad vs CDR	1987	Sudan	1	1
Acheikh ibn Oumar	Chad vs CDR	1994	France	2	1
Boda Maldoun	Chad vs Mosanat	1987	Sudan	1	1
Idriss Déby	Chad vs. Revolutionary forces of 1 April	1989	Sudan	2	1
Idriss Déby	Chad vs. MPS	1989	Sudan	1	1
Goukouni Guet	Chad vs MDD	1991	Nigeria	1	1
Moussa Medellah Mahamat Seid	Chad vs MDD	1991	Nigeria	1	1
Abbas Koty	Chad vs CNR	1992	Cameroon	1	1
Moise Ketté	Chad vs. CSNPD	1991	Central African Republic	1	1
Alarit Bachar	Chad vs. FNT	1992	Sudan	1	1
Youssouf Togoimi	Chad vs. MDJT	1999	Libya	1	1
Maurice Hel Bongo	Chad vs. MDJT	1999	Libya	1	1
Maurice Hel Bongo	Chad vs. MDJT	2002	Switzerland	2	2
Mahamat Nour Abdelkarim	Chad vs. FUCD	2003	Sudan	1	1

Timane Erdimi	Chad vs. RAFD	2006	Sudan	1	1
Mahamat Nouri	Chad vs. UFDD	2006	Sudan	1	1
Mahamat Nouri	Chad vs. AN	2006	Sudan	1	1
Mahamat Nouri	Chad vs. AN	2010	Qatar	2	1
Mahamat Nouri	Chad vs. AN	2011	France	2	1
Timane Erdimi	Chad vs. UFR	2006	Sudan	1	1
Timane Erdimi	Chad vs. UFR	2009	Qatar	2	1
Adoum Yacoub	Chad vs. PFNR	2001	Sudan	1	1
Abubakar Shekau	Chad vs IS (Boko Haram)	2015	Nigeria	1	1
Abu Musab al-Barnawi	Chad vs IS (ISWAP)	2016	Nigeria	1	1
Abu Abdullah Idris ibn Umar al-Barnawi (aka Ba Idrisa)	Chad vs IS (ISWAP)	2019	Nigeria	1	1
Lawan Abubakar (aka Ba Lawan)	Chad vs IS (ISWAP)	2020	Nigeria	1	1
Michelot Yogogombaye	Chad vs CCMSR	1992	Switzerland	1	1
Bernard Kolélas	Congo vs. Ninjas	1997	United States	2	1
Bernard Tandou	Congo vs. Ninjas	1997	DR Congo	1	1
Pascal Lissouba	Congo vs. Cocoyes	1997	UK	1	1
Pascal Lissouba	Congo vs. Cocoyes	2004	France	2	3
Jean-Pierre Bemba	DR Congo vs. MLC	2007	Portugal	2	2
Sultani Makenga	DR Congo vs M23	2013	Uganda	2	1
Paul Joseph Mukungubila	DR Congo vs Forces of Paul Joseph Mukungubila	2014	South Africa	2	2
Isaac Lumago	Uganda vs FUNA	1979	DR Congo	1	1
Alice Auma (aka Lakwena)	Uganda vs. HSM	1987	Kenya	2	3
Peter Otai	Uganda vs. UPA	1986	UK	1	1
Joseph Kony	Uganda vs. LRA	2006	Sudan	1	1
Joseph Kony	Uganda vs. LRA	2006	DR Congo	1	1
Joseph Kony	Uganda vs. LRA	2008	Central African Republic	1	1
Joseph Kony	Uganda vs. LRA	2011	South Sudan	1	1
Jamil Makulu	Uganda vs. ADF	1996	DR Congo	1	1
Musa Seka Baluku	Uganda vs. ADF	1996	DR Congo	1	1
Juma Oris	Uganda vs. WNBF	1979	Sudan	1	1
Ali Bamuze	Uganda vs. UNRF II	1997	Sudan	1	1
Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka	Kenya vs. Military Faction	1982	Tanzania	2	3
Ahmad Umar (alt. spelling: Ahmed Umar Abu Ubaidah)	Kenya vs. Al-Shabaab	2014	Somalia	1	1
Abu Yassir Hassan	Tanzania vs. IS	2019	Mozambique	1	1
Etienne Karatasi	Burundi vs. Palipehutu	1965	Denmark	1	1
Leonard Nyangoma	Burundi vs. CNDD	1995	Tanzania	1	1
Joseph Karumba	Burundi vs. FROLINA	1972	Tanzania	1	1
Cossan Kabura	Burundi vs. Palipehutu-FNL	1972	Tanzania	1	1
Agathon Rwasa	Burundi vs. Palipehutu-FNL	2010	DR Congo	2	2

Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye	Burundi vs. CNDD-FDD	1998	Tanzania	1	1
Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye	Burundi vs. CNDD-FDD	1998	DR Congo	1	1
Aloys Nzabampema	Burundi vs. FNL-Ubugabo-Burihabwa	2012	DR Congo	1	1
Godefroid Niyombare	Burundi vs. Military faction (forces of Godefroid Niyombare)	2015	Rwanda	2	1
Godefroid Niyombare	Burundi vs. Military faction (forces of Godefroid Niyombare)	2015	Uganda	2	1
Godefroid Niyombare	Burundi vs. FPB	2015	Rwanda	1	1
Godefroid Niyombare	Burundi vs. FPB	2015	Uganda	1	1
Melchiade Biremba	Burundi vs. RED-TABARA	2011	DR Congo	1	1
Fred Rwigyema	Rwanda vs RPF	1960	Uganda	1	1
Paul Kagame	Rwanda vs RPF	1962	Uganda	1	1
Paul Rwarakabidje	Rwanda vs ALIR	1994	DR Congo	1	1
Sylvestre Mudacumura	Rwanda vs. FDLR	1994	DR Congo	1	1
Juvenal Musabimana (aka Jean-Michel Africa)	Rwanda vs FDLR-RUD	1994	DR Congo	1	1
Cyprien Leo Mpiranya	Rwanda vs FDLR-RUD	1994	DR Congo	1	1
Laurent Ndagijimana (aka Wilson Irategeka)	Rwanda vs CNRD	1994	DR Congo	1	1
Jean-Marie Vianney Nyawenda	Rwanda vs CNRD	1994	DR Congo	1	1
Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed	Somalia vs SSDF	1978	Ethiopia	1	1
Sheikh Yusuf Ali Guray Sheikh Madar	Somalia vs. SNM	1983	Ethiopia	1	1
Abdilqadir Kosar Abdi	Somalia vs. SNM	1983	Ethiopia	1	1
Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo	Somalia vs. SNM	1984	Ethiopia	1	1
Abdirahman Ahmed Ali Tuur	Somalia vs. SNM	1995	UK	2	3
Mohamed Farrah Aidid	Somalia vs USC	1989	Ethiopia	1	1
Hussein Mohamed Farrah Aidid	Somalia vs. SRRC	2007	Eritrea	2	1
Hassan Dahir Aweys	Somalia vs. ARS/UIC	2006	Eritrea	1	1
Ahmad Dini Ahmad	Djibouti vs. FRUD	1991	Yemen	1	1
Ahmad Dini Ahmad	Djibouti vs. FRUD-AD	1991	Yemen	1	1
Aregawi Berhe	Ethiopia vs. TPLF	1985	Netherlands	2	2
Idris Mohammed Adem	Ethiopia vs. ELF	1975	Saudi Arabia	2	3
Ahmed Nasser	Ethiopia vs. ELF	1980	Sudan	2	2
Ahmed Nasser	Ethiopia vs. ELF	1993	Sweden	2	2
Abdulahi Hassan Mahmud	Ethiopia vs. WSLF	1976	Somalia	1	1
Mohammed Dirye Urdoh	Ethiopia vs. WSLF	1981	Somalia	1	1
Abdi Nassir Sheikh Aden	Ethiopia vs. WSLF	1983	Somalia	1	1
Hassan Dahir Aweys	Ethiopia vs. AIAI	2006	Eritrea	2	1
Sheikh Ibrahim Abdullah Mah	Ethiopia vs. ONLF	1999	UAE	2	2

Mohammed Omar Osman	Ethiopia vs. ONLF	1998	Eritrea	1	1
Dima Nogo	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1977	Somalia	1	1
Magarsa Bari	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1977	Somalia	1	1
Dima Nogo	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1980	Sudan	2	1
Dima Nogo	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1993	Eritrea	2	1
Galassa Dilbo	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1980	Sudan	1	1
Galassa Dilbo	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1999	Eritrea	2	1
Dawud Ibsa (alt. spelling: Daoud Ibsa)	Ethiopia vs. OLF	1999	Eritrea	1	1
Mohammed Ali Rube	Ethiopia vs. SALF	1977	Somalia	1	1
Wolde Emmanuel Dubale	Ethiopia vs. SLM	1977	Somalia	1	1
Wolde Emmanuel Dubale	Ethiopia vs. SLM	1992	UK	2	2
Shaykh Abu Suhail (aka Muhammad Ahmad)	Eritrea vs. EIJM-AS	1997	Sudan	1	1
Henriques Tiago N'Zita	Angola vs. Flec-FAC	1994	France	1	1
Henriques Tiago N'Zita	Angola vs FLEC-FAC-TN	1994	France	1	1
Emmanuel Nzita	Angola vs FLEC-FAC-TN	2016	France	1	1
Emmanuel Nzita	Angola vs FLEC-FAC-TN	2016	Switzerland	1	1
Andre Matade Matsangaiza	Mozambique vs. RENAMO	1977	Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)	1	1
Sam Nujoma	South Africa vs. SWAPO	1960	Tanzania	1	1
Sam Nujoma	South Africa vs. SWAPO	1966	Zambia	1	1
Sam Nujoma	South Africa vs. SWAPO	1976	Angola	1	1
Oliver Tambo	South Africa vs. ANC	1960	UK	1	1
Bob Denard	Comoros vs. Presidential Guard	1989	South Africa	2	4
El-Ouali Mustapha Sayed	Morocco vs. POLISARIO	1975	Algeria	1	1
Mohammed Abdelaziz	Morocco vs. POLISARIO	1976	Algeria	1	1
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (alias Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Algeria vs GSPC (AQIM)	2016	Tunisia	1	1
Hamada Ould Mohamed Kheirou (aka Abu Qumqum)	Algeria vs MUJAO	2011	Mali	1	1
Hamada Ould Mohamed Kheirou (aka Abu Qumqum)	Algeria vs MUJAO	2015	Libya	2	1
Ahmed Mergheni	Tunisia vs. RAT	1976	Libya	1	1
Abdul Qader al-Najdi	Tunisia vs IS	2014	Libya	1	1
John Garang	Sudan vs SPLM/A	1983	Ethiopia	1	1
Mohamed Osman Al Mirghani	Sudan vs NDA	1989	Egypt	1	1
Khalil Ibrahim	Sudan vs. JEM	2006	Chad	1	1
Khalil Ibrahim	Sudan vs. JEM	2010	Libya	2	1
Abdul Wahid al-Nur	Sudan vs. SLM/A	2003	France	1	1
Ahmed Diraige	Sudan vs. NRF	1984	UK	1	1
Minni Minnawi	Sudan vs. SLM/A-MM	2003	Libya	1	1

Minni Minnawi	Sudan vs. SLM/A-MM	2010	South Sudan	2	1
Minni Minnawi	Sudan vs Darfur Joint Resistance Forces	2010	South Sudan	1	1
Abdul Wahid al-Nur	Sudan vs Darfur Joint Resistance Forces	2003	France	1	1
Taher Hajar	Sudan vs Darfur Joint Resistance Forces	2014	Chad	1	1
Taher Hajar	Sudan vs Darfur Joint Resistance Forces	2017	Libya	2	1
James Gai Yoach	South Sudan vs. SSLM/A	2011	Sudan	1	1
Bapiny Montuil	South Sudan vs SSLM/A	2011	Sudan	1	1
Riek Machar	South Sudan vs SPLM/A - IO	2016	South Africa	1	1
Riek Machar	South Sudan vs SPLM/A - IO	2018	Sudan	1	1
Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou (alt. spelling: Qasemlu)	Iran vs. KDPI	1981	France	1	1
Sadegh Sharafkandi	Iran vs. KDPI	1989	Iraq	1	1
Mustafa Hijri (alt. spelling: Moustapha Hedjri)	Iran vs. KDPI	1992	Iraq	1	1
Massoud Rajavi	Iran vs. MEK	1981	France	2	1
Massoud Rajavi	Iran vs. MEK	1986	Iraq	2	1
Massoud Rajavi	Iran vs. MEK	2012	US	2	4
Abdul Rahman Haji Ahmadi	Iran vs. JPAK	2005	Germany	1	1
Salahuddin Farooqi	Iran vs Jaish al-Adl	2012	Pakistan	1	1
Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	Iran vs. IS	2011	Syria	1	1
Abdullah Öcalan	Turkey vs. PKK	1979	Syria	1	1
Murat Karayilan	Turkey vs. PKK	2007	Iraq	1	1
Dursun Karatas	Turkey vs. Dev Sol	1989	Germany	1	1
Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	Turkey vs IS	2011	Syria	1	1
Hojatolislam Seyyed Mohammed Bakr al-Hakim	Iraq vs. SCIRI	1980	Iran	1	1
Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	Iraq vs IS (ISI)	2011	Syria	1	1
Mullah Mustafa Barzani	Iraq vs. KDP	1975	Iran	2	1
Mullah Mustafa Barzani	Iraq vs. KDP	1976	USA	2	4
Jalal Talabani	Iraq vs. PUK	1975	Syria	1	1
Masoud Barzani	Iraq vs KDP-QM	1975	Iran	1	1
Moqtada al-Sadr	Iraq vs. Al-Mahdi Army	2008	Iran	2	2
Omar Abdel Rahman	Egypt vs Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya	1990	USA	1	1
Rifa'i Taha Musa (aka Rifa'i Ahmed Taha or Abu Yasser)	Egypt vs Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya	1987	Afghanistan	1	1
Mustafa Hamza	Egypt vs Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya	1984	Afghanistan	1	1
Mustafa Hamza	Egypt vs Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya	1998	Iran	1	1

Yahya al-Sayyid Ibrahim Musa	Egypt vs Harakit Sawa'id Misr	2013	Turkey	1	1
Alaa Ali Ali Mohammed al-Samahi	Egypt vs Harakit Sawa'id Misr	2013	Turkey	1	1
Hesham Ashmawy (aka Abu-Umar al-Muhajir)	Egypt vs Jama'at Ansar al-Islam	2015	Lybia	1	1
Riad al-Asaad	Syria vs Syrian insurgents (FSA)	2011	Turkey	1	1
Michel Aoun	Lebanon vs. LA(Aoun)	1990	France	2	2
Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	Lebanon vs IS	2011	Syria	1	1
Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	Jordan vs IS	2011	Syria	1	1
Ahmed Shukairy	Israel vs PLO/Fatah	1963	Jordan	1	1
Ahmed Shukairy	Israel vs PLO/Fatah	1967	Egypt	2	3
Ahmed Shukairy	Israel vs PLO/Fatah	1967	Lebanon	2	3
Yahya Hammouda	Israel vs PLO/Fatah	1967	Jordan	1	1
Yasser Arafat	Israel vs. Fatah	1967	Jordan	1	1
Yasser Arafat	Israel vs. Fatah	1971	Lebonon	1	1
Yasser Arafat	Israel vs. Fatah	1982	Tunisia	1	1
George Habash	Israel vs. PFLP	1982	Jordan	1	1
Ahmed Jibril	Israel vs. PFLP-GC	1968	Syria	1	1
Yasser Arafat	Israel vs. Fatah	2004	France	2	4
Khaled Meshal	Israel vs. Hamas	2001	Syria	1	1
Khaled Meshal	Israel vs. Hamas	2012	Qatar	1	1
Ismail Haniyah	Israel vs. Hamas	2020	Qatar	1	1
Fathi Abd al-Aziz Shqaqi	Israel vs. PIJ	1990	Syria	1	1
Abdallah Shalah	Israel vs. PIJ	1995	Syria	1	1
Abdallah Shalah	Israel vs. PIJ	2018	Lebanon	2	4
Ziyad al-Nakhalah	Israel vs PIJ	2018	Syria	1	1
Ziyad al-Nakhalah	Israel vs PIJ	1988	Lebanon	1	1
Ali Salim al-Beidh	Yemen vs. DRY	1994	Oman	2	3
Ali Salim al-Beidh	Yemen vs. DRY	2009	Lebanon	2	2
Ali Salim al-Beidh	Yemen vs. DRY	2015	UAE	2	1
Abdrabuh Mansur Hadi	Yemen vs Forces of Hadi	2015	Saudi Arabia	1	1
Burhanuddin Rabbani	Afghanistan vs. Jamiat-i-Islami	1974	Pakistan	1	1
Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi	Afghanistan vs Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami-yi Afghanistan	1978	Pakistan	1	1
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Afghanistan vs. Hezb-i-Islami	1974	Pakistan	1	1
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Afghanistan vs. Hezb-i-Islami	1996	Iran	2	2
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Afghanistan vs. Hezb-i-Islami	2002	Pakistan	2	1
Maulawi Khalis	Afghanistan vs Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan - Khalis faction	1975	Pakistan	1	1
Sibghatullah Mojaddedi	Afghanistan vs Jabha-yi Nijat-i Milli-yi Afghanistan	1978	Pakistan	1	1

Sayyed Ahmad Gailani	Afganistan vs Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-yi Afghanistan (National Islamic Front)	1978	Pakistan	1	1
Abdul Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf	Afghanistan vs. Ittihad	1979	Pakistan	1	1
Asif Mohseni	Afghanistan vs Harakat-I Islami-yi Afghanistan	1980	Pakistan	1	1
Karim Khalili	Afghanistan vs. Hezb-i-Wahdat	1998	Iran	2	1
Shahnawaz Tanay	Afghanistan vs Military Faction	1990	Pakistan	2	2
Abdul Rashid Dostum	Afghanistan vs Junbish-I Milli-yi Islami	1997	Turkey	2	1
Abdul Rashid Dostum	Afghanistan vs Junbish-I Milli-yi Islami	1998	Turkey	2	1
Mullah Omar	Afghanistan vs Taliban	2001	Pakistan	1	1
Mullah Mansour	Afghanistan vs Taleban	2001	Pakistan	1	1
Hibatullah Akhundzada	Afghanistan vs Taleban	2001	Pakistan	1	1
Mohammad Rasool	Afghanistan vs High Council of Afghanistan Islamic Emirate	2016	Pakistan	1	1
Sayed Abdullo Nuri	Tajikistan vs. UTO	1992	Afghanistan	1	1
Makhmud Khudoberdiyev	Tajikistan vs. MPT	1998	Uzbekistan	2	1
Usmo Odil (alt.spelling: Abu Usman Adil)	Tajikistan vs. IMU	2001	Pakistan	1	1
Juma Namangani (aka Jumaboi Ahmadzhanovitch Khojaev)	Uzbekistan vs. IMU	1999	Afghanistan	1	1
Nadzhmiddin Kamoldinovich Jalolv	Uzbekistan vs. JIG	2004	Pakistan	1	1
Abdul Haq al-Turkistani	China vs ETIM	2003	Pakistan	1	1
Isak Chisi Swu	India vs. NSCN	1975	Netherlands	1	1
Thuingaleng Muiyah	India vs. NSCN	1975	Netherlands	1	1
S.S. Khaplang (Shangwang Shanyung Khaplang)	India vs. NSCN-K	1988	Myanmar	1	1
Ranjit Debbarma	India vs. ATTF	1990	Bangladesh	1	1
Nayanbasi Jamatiya	India vs. NLFT	1995	Bangladesh	1	1
Biswamohan Debbarma	India vs. NLFT	1992	Bangladesh	1	1
Irengban Chaoren	India vs. PLA	1992	Bangladesh	1	1
Irengbam Chaoren	India vs. PLA	1998	China	2	3
Amanulla Khan	India vs Kashmir insurgents (JKLF)	1976	UK	1	1
Amanulla Khan	India vs. Kashmir insurgents (JKLF)	1986	Pakistan	1	1
Hafiz Muhammad Saeed	India vs Kashmir insurgents (Lashkar-e-Tabia (LeT))	1990	Pakistan	1	1
Fazlur Rehman Khalil	India vs Kashmir insurgents (Harkat-ul-Ansar (HuA))	1993	Pakistan	1	1

Masood Azhar	India vs Kashmir insurgents (Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM))	2000	Pakistan	1	1
Paresh Baruah	India vs. ULFA	1979	China	1	1
Paresh Baruah	India vs. ULFA	1979	Myanmar	1	1
Ranjan Daimary	India vs. NDFB	1992	Bangladesh	1	1
Ranjan Daimary	India NDFB-RD	1992	Bangladesh	1	1
Pakchara R. Sangma	India vs GNLA	2009	Bangladesh	1	1
S.S. Khaplang	India vs UNLFW	1988	Myanmar	1	1
Khango Konyak	India vs UNLFW	2017	Myanmar	1	1
Paresh Baruah	India vs UNLFW	1979	China	1	1
Paresh Baruah	India vs UNLFW	1979	Myanmar	1	1
Juma Khan Marri	Pakistan vs BLF	1964	Syria	1	1
Juma Khan Marri	Pakistan vs BLF	1968	Iraq	1	1
Juma Khan Marri	Pakistan vs BLF	1974	Afghanistan	1	1
Mir Balach Marri	Pakistan vs. BLA	2006	Afghanistan	1	1
Brahamdagh Bugti	Pakistan vs. BLA	2006	Afghanistan	1	1
Brahamdagh Bugti	Pakistan vs. BLA	2010	Switzerland	1	1
Altaf Hussain	Pakistan vs. MQM	1992	UK	2	2
Maulana Fazlullah	Pakistan vs. TNSM	2009	Afghanistan	2	1
Juma Namangani	Pakistan vs IMU	1999	Afghanistan	1	1
Tahir Yuldashev	Pakistan vs IMU	2000	Afghanistan	1	1
Usman Ghazi	Pakistan vs IMU	2014	Afghanistan	1	1
Mangal Bagh	Pakistan vs Lashkar-e-Islam	2014	Afghanistan	1	1
Hafiz Khan Saeed	Pakistan vs IS	2015	Afghanistan	1	1
Abdul Haseeb Logari	Pakistan vs IS	2013	Afghanistan	1	1
Abdul Rahman Ghaleb (aka Abu Sayed)	Pakistan vs IS	2015	Afghanistan	1	1
Abu Saad Erhabi	Pakistan vs IS	2017	Afghanistan	1	1
Omar al-Khorasani (aka Zia ul-Haq)	Pakistan vs IS	2014	Afghanistan	1	1
Abdullah Orokzai	Pakistan vs IS	2019	Afghanistan	1	1
Muhammad Saifullah Ozaki (aka Abu Ibrahim al-Hanifa)	Bangladesh vs IS	2015	Syria	1	1
Saw Bo Mya	Myanmar vs. KNU	2000	Thailand	2	1
Tamla Baw	Myanmar vs. KNU	2012	Thailand	2	4
Johnny Htoo	Myanmar vs. God's Army	2001	Thailand	2	4
Luther Htoo	Myanmar vs. God's Army	2001	Thailand	2	4
Luther Htoo	Myanmar vs. God's Army	2009	Sweden	2	4
Saw Lah Pwe (aka Na Kham Mway)	Myanmar vs. DKBA5	2013	Singapore	2	4
Thakin Ba Thein Tin	Myanmar vs. CPB	1989	China	2	4

Moe Thee Zun	Myanmar vs. ABSDF	1989	Thailand	1	1
Moe Thee Zun	Myanmar vs. ABSDF	2006	USA	2	2
Naing Aung	Myanmar vs. ABSDF	1988	Thailand	1	1
Mohammed Yunus	Myanmar vs. RSO	1982	Bangladesh	1	1
Zau Seng	Myanmar vs. KIO	1961	Thailand	1	1
Maran Brang Seng	Myanmar vs. KIO	1993	China	2	4
Gen. Aung Than Lay	Myanmar vs. KNPP	1992	Thailand	2	1
Moh Heng	Myanmar vs. SURA	1969	Thailand	1	1
Khun Sa	Myanmar vs. MTA	1974	Thailand	1	1
Peng Jia-sheng (alt. spelling: Pheung Kya-Shin)	Myanmar vs. MNDAA	2009	China	2	3
Somawansa Amarasinghe	Sri Lanka vs. JVP	1989	UK	2	2
K.Pathmanabha (alt. spelling: K. Padmanabha)	Sri Lanka vs. EPRLF	1990	India	2	1
Puspa Kamal Dahal (aka Prachanda)	Nepal vs. CPN-M	1998	India	1	1
Wirat Angkhathawon	Thailand vs. CPT	1965	China	1	1
Wirat Angkhathawon	Thailand vs. CPT	1976	Laos	1	1
Wirat Angkhathawon	Thailand vs. CPT	1983	China	2	4
Pol Pot	Cambodia vs. Khmer Rouge	1994	Thailand	1	1
Son San	Cambodia vs. KPNLF	1975	France	1	1
Prince Sihanouk	Cambodia vs. FUNCINPEC	1975	China	1	1
Norodom Ranariddh	Cambodia vs. FUNCINPEC	1997	France	2	2
Norodom Ranariddh	Cambodia vs. FUNCINPEC	2007	Malaysia	2	2
Vang Pao	Laos vs. LRM	1975	USA	1	1
Chin Peng	Malaysia vs. CPM	1953	Thailand	1	1
Chin Peng	Malaysia vs. CPM	1961	China	2	1
Chin Peng	Malaysia vs. CPM	1989	Thailand	2	3
Jamalul Kiram III	Malaysia vs Sultanate of Sulu	2012	Philippines	1	1
Jose Maria Sison	Philippines vs. CPP (NPA)	1987	Netherlands	2	2
Hashim Salamat	Philippines vs. MILF	1977	Libya	1	1
Seth Rumkorem	Indonesia vs. OPM	1982	Greece	2	1
Seth Rumkorem	Indonesia vs. OPM	1985	Netherlands	2	1
Jacob H Prai	Indonesia vs. OPM	1982	Sweden	2	1
Alex (Donald) Derey	Indonesia vs. OPM	1986	Ghana	2	4
James Nyaro	Indonesia vs. OPM	1986	Ghana	2	4
Benny Wenda	Indonesia vs. OPM	2003	UK	1	1
Hasan di Tiro	Indonesia vs. GAM	1979	Sweden	1	1
Malik Mahmud	Indonesia vs. GAM	1979	Sweden	1	1

3. Case description of rebel leaders' exile

Americas & Europe

Leader name	Description
Himmler Rebu	After a coup attempt failed in April 1989, Himmler Rebu, Leonce Qualo, and Philippe Biamby were expelled from Haiti to the Dominican Republic. They arrived in the US two days later. In June 1989, they accepted political asylum in Venezuela. In February 2006, Himmler Rebu stood for the presidential election and won 0.2% of the total votes. In 2009, he formed the Platform of Haitian Patriots party. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/763 https://www.nytimes.com/1989/07/22/world/3-haitian-officers-to-leave-us.html http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Haiti/06pres.html Tom Lansford (ed.). 2019. *Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019.* London: Sage.
Guy François	Guy François was accused twice of conspiring to subvert the government in 1989 and in 2001. After the 1989 accusation, François fled to Venezuela, but was eventually allowed to return to Haiti. In December 2001, he was arrested by police. He was later convicted and spent two years in prison for his involvement in the 2001 coup attempt against then president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In September 2006, François died in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. *Sources*: http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/cases/79-03.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/763
Raoul Cédras	Since 1994, Raoul Cédras has lived in Panama. He wrote his memoirs and ran a computer graphics shop in downtown Panama City. *Sources*: https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/raoul-cedras/ https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/764 https://www.deseret.com/1994/11/20/19143676/cedras-holed-up-in-panama-high-rise
Jean-Bertrand Aristide	After an armed revolt subverted his government, Jean-Bertrand Aristide left Haiti in February 2004 and was flown to the Central African Republic. In June 2004, he settled in South Africa. Aristide returned to Haiti in 2011. Since then, he has abstained from political involvement. While Aristide resided in South Africa, OP Lavalas composed of Aristide supporters sought to overthrow the interim government and reinstate Aristide as president. But violence by OP Lavalas failed to achieve this goal. *Sources*:

	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/13/world/americas/aristide-haiti-house-arrest.html?_r=0 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/15/haiti-exiled-former-president-aristide https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/766 https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2004/6/1/Aristide-arrives-for-exile-in-sa
Enrique Bermudez	Enrique Bermudez returned to Nicaragua from Miami in November 1990. He demanded better treatment for his former Contra fighters who disarmed after President Chamorro defeated the Sandinista Front in elections (held in February 1990). Bermudez was assassinated in February, 1991. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/759 https://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/06/world/nicaragua-holds-suspect-in-killing-of-contra-chief.html https://www.hoover.org/news/colonel-enrique-bermudez-military-head-nicaraguan-resistance-forces-1980s
Adolfo Calero	Adolfo Calero became disillusioned with the Sandinistas' rule. In 1982 he went into exile in the U.S., where he joined the Nicaraguan government-in-exile and the CIA-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Force rebel group (Contras). In 1990, after the Sandinistas were ousted in elections, Mr. Calero returned to Nicaragua, where he practiced law and continued to be active in Conservative politics. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/759 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Adolfo-Calero https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/04/world/americas/adolfo-calero-contra-leader-in-nicaragua-is-dead-at-80.html
Néstor Gregorio Vera Fernández (aka Iván Mordisco)	After the conflict between the Colombian government and FARC ended with a peace agreement in June 2016, some ex-guerrilla members formed an alliance and continued armed struggle. The group, called FARC Mordisco, had a horizontal leadership structure led by an alliance of three leaders, Néstor Gregorio Vera Fernández (alias Iván Mordisco), Miguel Botache Santillana (alias Gentil Duarte), and Géner García Molina (alias John 40). FARC Mordisco established a significant presence inside Venezuela, especially near the Colombian border. Néstor Gregorio Vera Fernández resided in Venezuela. In early 2022, he was rumoured to have been killed by the Colombian military. But it was confirmed that he had survived the attack. He is still one of the important leaders of the group. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/8468 https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/nestor-gregorio-vera-fernandez-alias-ivan-mordisco/ https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/former-farc-leader-ivan-mordisco-killed-in-colombia/2638149

Miguel Botache Santillana (aka Gentil Duarte)	At the end of 2016, Miguel Botache Santillana dissented from the peace process. He fled to Venezuela in late 2021 and took refuge with his army. In May 2022, he died in Venezuela in an attack by a rival group. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/8468 https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/miguel-botache-santillana-alias-gentil-duarte/ https://time.news/colombia-confirms-the-death-of-farc-dissident-leader-miguel-botache-santillana-the-government-of-ivan-duque-offered-up-to-a-million-dollars-for-information-on-the-whereabouts-of-gentil-duarte/
Géner García Molina (aka John 40)	At the end of 2016, Géner García Molina refused to participate in the peace process. Since 2016, he has moved between Colombia and Venezuela. Colombian authorities reported that dissidents under his command were using the departments of Vichada and Guainía to cross into Venezuela, where they maintained a cocaine stockpile in the Yapacana mountain range. Until recently, Géner García Molina (John 40) was believed to be one of the key operators in Gentil Duarte's plan to bring together FARC dissident factions into a single fighting force. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/8468 https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/gener-garcia-molina-alias-jhon-40/
Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista (aka Gabino)	Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista fled to Cuba in May 2018 and has been there since. In Cuba, he and other guerrilla leaders were negotiating peace agreements with the Colombian government. The talks were postponed by President Iván Duque after he blamed the ELN for the attack at the Cadet School of the Bogota Police. In January 2020, the Colombian government officially asked Cuba for the extradition of Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista. In June 2021, Bautista announced his resignation as top leader of the ELN guerrilla through a statement, apparently for health reasons. *Sources*: https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/national-liberation-army-eln#_ftn12 https://sg.news.yahoo.com/colombian-guerrilla-leader-steps-down-195008414.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/744 https://www.archyde.com/nicolas-rodriguez-bautista-resigns-from-the-leadership-of-the-eln-crimes-justice/ https://www.insightcrime.org/news/brief/eln-guerrillas-thrown-out-cuba/ https://www.diariolasamericas.com/colombia-pide-cuba-la-extradicion-del-maximo-comandante-del-ein-n4191103
Domingo Iturbe Abasolo	Domingo Iturbe Abasolo went into hiding in France in 1968 and ran the ETA from there. In April 1986, he was arrested by French authorities and deported to Gabon. After a brief stay in Gabon, Iturbe was sent to Algeria.

	The first contact between ETA and Spain took place in Paris in 1984. These contacts were cut off when Iturbe was arrested and expelled to Algeria. In Algeria, contacts between the Spanish government and ETA resumed. Iturbe was the main interlocutor of ETA. In March 1987, he died in an automobile accident in Algeria. *Sources*: Paddy Woodworth. 2001. *Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. https://www.nytimes.com/1987/03/03/obituaries/domingo-iturbe-abasolo-exiled-basque-terrorist.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/313
Francisco Mugica Garmendia (aka Artapalo)	Domingo Iturbe Abasolo's death forced a number of adjustments on the parties interested in negotiations. In France, the ETA leadership passed to a new generation, the third since the early 1970s. The new leader was Francisco Mugica Garmendia, "Artapalo," Born in 1954. Mugica avoided detection by never registering as a refugee and never requesting a French residence card. ETA's leadership enjoyed a certain freedom of movement across the French frontier until the mid-1980s when France started to extradite ETA members to Spain. ETA ran headquarters in the Basque Country straddling the border between Spain and France. It operated Spain principally and France (largely as operative base and safe haven). Francisco Mugica Garmendia was arrested in France in 1992. Since then, he had been detained in a French prison. In February 2003, he was extradited to Spain. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/313 Robert P. Clark. 1990. *Negotiating with ETA*. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1363116/Eta-member-extradited-to-Spain.html Alex P. Schmid, Albert J. Jongman, etc. 1988. *Political Terrorism*. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co.
Mikel Albizu (aka Antza)	ETA's leadership was operating from deep clandestinity in France. Mikel Albizu had led the political front since the early 1990s. Mikel Albizu Iriarte, alias "Antza", was arrested in France in 2004 along with his partner and other accomplices after a major operation that was described by the Spanish government as a historic blow against ETA. Two ground-to-air missiles were found in arms caches uncovered in raids against suspected members of ETA. *Sources*: https://www.thelocal.es/20190123/top-ranking-former-eta-boss-returns-to-spain-a-free-man

	Teresa Whitefield. 2014. *Endgame for ETA: Elusive Peace in the Basque County*. New York: Oxford University Press. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3717070.stm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/313
Milan Babić	In 1995, when Croatian forces recaptured the territory of Krajina from the Serbs, Milan Babić fled to Serbia. It was the end of his political career. He worked as a farmer on land in northern Serbia. In December 2002, Babić testified before ICTY that Milošević had been personally involved in the war in Croatia. In 2004, Babić was indicted for war crimes and sentenced to 13 years in prison by ICTY. In 2006, he was found dead in his prison cell in the Hague. *Sources*: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/serb-dentist-turned-warlord-1.1024648 https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/milan-babic-6107318.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/340
Goran Hadžić	Between 1996 and 1997, Goran Hadžić was President of the Srem-Baranja district, after which the region was peacefully reintegrated into Croatia. He subsequently moved to Serbia. In the weeks before his arrest, Hadžić disappeared from his home in Novi Sad, Serbia. In 2005, Serbian media reported that he might be hiding in a Serbian Orthodox monastery in Irig or in Bijela, Montenegro. In 2011 Hadžić was arrested by Serbia and extradited to the Hague. He died in 2016. *Sources*: http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2005/02/03/feature-02 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36776998 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/340
Milan Martić	In November 1995, after the fall of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Milan Martić and his forces escaped to Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He went on to announce a plan of guerrilla warfare that would last until the final freedom of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Initially indicted by the ICTY in 1995, he surrendered in May 2002 and was transferred to the tribunal in the Hague. Milan Martić spent seven years on the run after being indicted. *Sources*: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4524428.stm https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/12/warcrimes https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/340
Radovan Karadžić	During the Bosnian war, Radovan Karadžić served as the President of Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina) from 1992 to 1996. After the Bosnian war ended, Radovan Karadžić went into hiding, disguised as a spiritual healer. While being a fugitive, he worked at a private clinic in Belgrade, Serbia, under an alias. In 2008, Karadžić was captured in Belgrade and transferred into ICTY custody in the Hague.

	Sources: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/339 https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/jul/01/comment.warcrimes https://www.theguardian.com/law/2019/mar/20/radovan-karadzic-faces-final-verdict-in-bosnia-war-crimes-case
Fikret Abdić	After the Bosnian war ended, Fikret Abdić fled to Croatia in 1995. He was granted political asylum and citizenship by the Croatian President Franjo Tuđman. Croatia refused to extradite him to Bosnia-Herzegovina. After Tuđman's death in 1999, and the change in government in Croatia the following year, Croatian authorities arrested and tried Abdić. *Sources*: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1448009.stm https://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/01/world/world-briefing-europe-croatia-ex-bosnian-warlord-sentenced.html Paul R. Bartrop. 2012. *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide: Portraits of Evil and Good.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev	Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev fled to Qatar in 1999. Russia accused him of helping to orchestrate the October 2002 theater siege while in exile. Russian authorities also charged him with the assassination of several Russian interior ministry officials. Yandarbiyev played a key role in procuring funds from foundations in the Gulf Arab states in order to support the Special Purpose Islamic Regiment, a militant group responsible for the Moscow theater hostage crisis. In February 2004, he was assassinated in Doha, Qatar. *Sources*: http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/meast/02/13/qatar.chechen/index.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/352
Valery Bolotov	LPR (Luhansk People's Republic) declared independence on 12 May 2014. LPR's parliament elected Valery Bolotov head of the republic on 18 May 2014. He was head of state from 12 May 2014 to 14 August 2014. He was not interim or acting leader, but official leader. Bolotov resigned at the height of the conflict on 14 August 2014, and led a quiet life in Russia thereafter. He died of heart attack in 2017. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/5839 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13247 https://www.dw.com/en/death-an-occupational-hazard-in-donbass/a-38221506 https://timenote.info/en/Valery-Bolotov
Igor Plotnitsky	In August 2014, the Supreme Soviet of the LPR elected Igor Plotnitsky to the post of Prime Minister, replacing Valery Bolotov who had resigned. In November 2017, Plotnitsky resigned amid a fierce power struggle among the Russia-backed separatists that had unfolded over the last several days. After that, he fled to Moscow. In 2018, he was arrested by Russian security forces.

	Upon being released, his movement was restricted to within Moscow city limits. The Russian government monitored Plotnitsky to make him silent. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/5839 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13247 https://tass.com/world/757944 https://apnews.com/article/a345cbe752ad430b80a86b6bce84f0d3 https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-russia-luhansk-separatist-leader-plotnitsky-resigns/28875414.html https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/the-republics-east-ukraine-donetsk-luhansk/ https://www.unian.info/politics/10030772-ex-lpr-leader-plotnitsky-locked-up-in-moscow-media.html
Leonard Petrosyan	In 1992, Leonard Petrosyan left the position of the President of National Assembly of Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) and fled to Armenia. He became the first deputy head of the department of special programs of the Republic of Armenia. In 1994, Petrosyan returned to NK and was chosen as the Prime Minister of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. *Sources:* Thomas De Waal. 2003. *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War*. New York: New York University Press. Tatul Hakobyan. 2010. *Karabakh Diary: Green and Black: Neither War nor Peace*. Lebanon: Antelias. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/338

Africa

Kukli Samba Sanyang	After the failure of the coup, Samba Sanyang went with eleven others to Cuba. According to one of the group members, 'after 18 months studying propaganda techniques, they were recruited by Libyan ambassador to Cuba and sent to Libya in 1983 for three years of military training.' Rebel leaders like Charles Taylor of Liberia, Gambian renegade Kukoi Samba Sanyang who led a botched invasion of his country, Foday Sankoh of Sierra Leone, and Gbago Zoumanigui of Guinea allegedly received money and training from Libya. In Libya, Sanyang met Charles Taylor and became vice president of Taylor's NPFL that launched rebellion in 1989. In August 2003, the negotiations failed and Sanyang returned to Senegal for permanent residence. In early June 2006, Sanyang visited Guinea Bissau and was detained there. It has been suggested that Sanyang may have been preparing an attack on Yahya Jammeh before the 2006 election. In March 2013, Sanyang was recently deported from Senegal after the Macky Sall government claimed that he had no legal authority to stay in Senegal. In June 2013, Sanyang died in Mali. *Sources*:

	David Perfect. 2016. *Historical Dictionary of the Gambia*. 5th Ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Stephen Ellis. 1999. *The Mask of Anarchy.* New York; NYU Press. http://www.ipsnews.net/1998/10/politics-sierra-leone-exposing-the-hidden-hand-of-libya/ https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/06/12/gambia0406.pdf https://www.thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/kukoi-samba-sanyang-reported-dead https://web.archive.org/web/20130621193613/http://freedomnewspaper.com/Homepage/tabid/36/newsid367/8804/Koukoie-Samba-Sanyang-Is-Dead/Default.aspx https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/765 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/512
Zahaby Ould Sidi Mohamed	According to Malian army sources, FIAA was supported by Libya and Mauritania. Mauritania was accused of sheltering FIAA leader Zahaby Ould Sidi Mohamed. In 1994, Zahabi Ould Sidi Mohamed managed to cross the Mauritanian border and disappeared for good. He reappeared only years later in France before landing in Haiti. Exiled in Europe and Haiti, he participated in UN missions. In 2013, he was appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs. *Sources*: https://www.maliweb.net/politique/nouveau-gouvernement-zahabi-un-ministre-au-passe-sulfureux-169386.html#!parentId=439364 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/522
Ibrahim Bahanga	Ibrahim Ag Bahanga was the overall leader and commander of ATNMC. After suffering heavy defeats in January 2009, Ag Bahanga fled to Libya where he developed a careful plan to renew the rebellion. In Libya, he allied himself with veterans of the 1990 rebellion who had become officers of the Libyan Army. Bahanga convinced them to return to Mali with the maximum number of weapons. In January 2011, Ibrahim Bahanga returned to northern Mali after 2 years of exile in Libya and took steps to implement his plan. He died in a car accident in August 2011. *Sources*: Stephen A. Harmon. 2016. *Terror and Insurgency in the Sahara-Sahel Region*. London: Routledge. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/24/mali-tuareg-azawad-mnla-attacks https://www.ucdp.uu.se/actor/523
Hamada Ould Mohamed Kheirou (aka Abu Qumqum)	MUJAO broke with AQIM in Ocrober 2011 with the alleged goal of spreading jihad further into areas of West Africa that were not within the scope of AQIM. In August 2013, MUJAO merged with Signed-in-Blood Battalion, creating al-Murabitun. MUJAO operated from October 2011 to August 2013 in Mali, Algeria, and Niger.

	Hamada Ould Mohamed Kheirou, Malian leader of MUJAO, participated in the Mali War which started in January 2012. He is said to have lived in Sirte, Libya when the city was controlled by the ISIL. Sirte fell to the ISIL loyalists in May 2015. They controlled Sirte until December 2016. It was reported that Hamada Ould Mohamed Kheirou was killed in airstrike in Libya in July 2017. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1161 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/3481 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/mujao#highlight_text_8802 https://twitter.com/MENASTREAM https://editorials.voa.gov/a/rewards-for-fugitives-african-terrorists/1963922.html
Abdelmalek Droukdel (alt. spelling: Abdul Malik Drukdal) (aka Abu Mus'ab Abdul Wadud)	Abdelmalek Droukdel became leader of GSPC in 2004. GSPC transformed into AQIM in 2007. He served as emir of AQIM until his death in June 2020. AQIM, Ansar Dine, and FLM merged into JNIM in March 2017. In a video explaining the merger, JNIM leader, Iyad Ag Ghali, pledged allegiance to AQIM's emir, Abdelmalek Droukdel. Even after the merger, AQIM has operated independently. AQIM's headquarter was located in Kabylie Mountains, northeastern Algeria. AQIM operated across Algeria, Mali, Libya, Niger, and Mauritania. Numerous sources imply that Droukdel stayed mostly in Algeria when AQIM engaged in a war against the Malian government. In October 2016, Algerian security services confirmed that Abdul Malik Drukdal had managed to infiltrate Tunisia. Prior to his reported escape to Tunisia, Droukdel had allegedly been hiding in northeast Algeria. In January 2018, a newspaper confirmed Droukdel's residency in Tunisia. Droukdel was hiding in Kenchela province in northeast Algeria since August 2018. Droukdel was killed by French troops in June 2020 in north of Mali near the Algerian border. *Sources:* https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-52943692 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21587055 https://www.counterextremisn.com/extremists/abdelmalek-droukdel https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/al-qaeda-islamic-maghreb https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/539 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/3872 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/aqim#highlight_text_7731
Mokhtar Belmokhtar	Mokhtar Belmokhtar, an Algerian national who engaged in the Algerian civil war, launched the Signed-in-Blood in December 2012. Belmokhtar elaborated on the group's goals, saying that it aimed to consolidate shariah in northern Mali. Belmokhtar wanted to create a pan-Saharan movement and

	criticized the AQIM for focusing too narrowly on countries in the Maghreb. Belmokhtar married local women and bought off local leaders in northern Mali, cementing his ties in the region. The Signed-in-Blood battalion was reported to be working alongside fellow Islamist rebel group MUJAO, especially in Gao and Khalil towns in Mali. In August 2013, MUJAO merged with Signed-in-Blood Battalion, creating al-Murabitun. In June 2015, Libya's government announced that Belmokhtar was killed in a US airstrike inside Libya, which was not confirmed. In November 2016, Belmokhtar was targeted by French air strike in southern Libya. It was not confirmed whether he was killed or not. In November 2018, Algerian security authority assessed that Belmokhtar was operating in southwestern Libya. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/3481 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/al-mourabitoun#highlight_text_8745 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/mokhtar-belmokhtar https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/armed-islamist-leaders-libya-claim-al-qaedas-belmokhtar-still-alive
Augustin Diamacoune Senghor	MFDC was from the outset led by Augustin Diamacoune Senghor. After being released from prison in 1991, Augustine Diamacoune Senghor promptly withdrew underground and retreated to Guinea Bissau. However, he was still recognized as the leading figure in the MFDC. In an attempt to quell increasing violence from the MFDC, the Senegalese government pressured the governmnent of Guinea Bissau to repatriate Diamacoune. On March 19, 1993, Diamacoune was returned to Senegal and greeted by a peace march in Zinguinchor. Augustin Diamacoune Senghor signed a peace agreement with the government in December 2004. When Senghor's health began to deteriorate, he traveled to France for treatment in October 2006. He passed away in January 2007 in Val-de-Grace military hospital, Paris, France. *Sources*: https://www.encyclopedia.com/education/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/senghor-augustin-diamacoune-1928-2007 http://www1.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/085/article_48883.asp https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/529
Salif Sadio	Diamacoune Senghor died in Paris in January 2007. But he had already lost control of the movement he founded, which split before his death into three major factions led by Salif Sadio, Caesar Badiatte, and Mamadou Niantang Diatta. With fighting between the groups unsettling the entire region, the Senegalese military sent armor and heavy weapons to Casamance for an offensive focused on Sadio's Atika faction, the most intransigent of the three. Thus, it can be argued that Salif Sadio succeeded Diamacoune Senghor.

	In February 2022, the MFDC - more precisely the Salif Sadio group- staged attack on the patrol of the Senegalese White Helmets of the MICEGA. In retaliation, the Senegalese military launched offensive against the MFDC. The military operation of the Senegalese army seeks to dismantle the bases of the MFDC faction of Salif Sadio particularly. In 2007, Salif Sadio found refuge in the Gambia. After relations with Yahya Jammeh, Gambian president, soured in 2009, Sadio shifted his bases to Guinea Bissau. In October 2010, Iranian arms, which were found in Lagos harbor, were intended to be shipped to the Gambia and then distributed to the MFDC. Salif Sadio went into hiding in Gambia with six of his lieutenants after the government's vast offensive in March 2022. Based on this information, it is presumed that Salif Sadio has sought exile in both Guinea Bissau and Gambia. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/529 https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=4320 https://lejournaldelafrique.com/en/casamance-salif-sadio-dans-le-collimateur-de-larmee-senegalaise/ https://www.sudquotidien.sn/casamance-salif-sadio-serait-en-gambie-avec-six-de-ses-lieutenants
El-Ouali Mustapha Sayed	After the joint Moroccan-Mauritanian invasion of Western Saharan in late 1975 and the Moroccan air raids on Sahrawi refugees in the desert, El-Ouali Mustapha Sayed escorted them into exile in the refugee camps of Tindouf, Algeria. In June 1976, El-Ouali was killed while returning from a major POLISARIO raid on Nouakchott, the Mauritanian capital. *Sources:* Geoffrey Jensen. 2013. “War and Insurgency in the Western Sahara.” Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/563
Mohammed Abdelaziz	From 1976 until 2016, Mohammed Abdelaziz was Secretary-General of the POLISARIO. He lived in exile in the Sahrawi refugee camps in the Tindouf Province of western Algeria. He died of lung cancer in May 2016. *Sources:* Geoffrey Jensen. 2013. “War and Insurgency in the Western Sahara.” Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/563 https://opinion.premiumtimesng.com/2016/06/18/173418
Aghali Alambo	After the fighting ended, Aghali Alambo, the former Tuareg rebel, exiled himself in Tripoli where he became one of Col Gaddafi's trusted aids. He remained by Gaddafi's side until shortly before the fall of Tripoli in 2011. He was arrested by authorities in Niger in March 2012. In March 28, 2012, Aghali Alambo received a temporary liberty. He is currently a technical adviser to the President of the National Assembly of Niger, Mr. Hama Amadou. *Sources*:

	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17462107 http://www.tamtaminfo.com/lex-patron-du-mouvement-rebelle-du-mnj-aghali-alambo-libere https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/562
Abubakar Shekau	In March 2015, Abubakar Shekau, leader of Boko Haram, pledged allegiance to ISIL leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. He ended his relation to ISIL in 2016. In August 2016, ISIL appointed Abu Musab al-Barnawi as the leader of the group in place of Shekau. Shekau refused to recognize Barnawi's authority and split off part of the group under its original name of Boko Haram (Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad). Boko Haram's headquarters lay in northeast Nigeria. Abubakar Shekau resided in Nigeria for most of his life. In May 2021, Shekau killed himself by detonating a suicide vest in Nigeria. According to UCDP dataset, armed conflict between the government of Cameroon and Boko Haram (Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad) began in January 2015. *Sources:* https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abubakar-shekau https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1051 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13640 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13641 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13638 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/12422 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13639
Adnan Abu Waleed al-Sahrawi	Adnan Abu Waleed al-Sahrawi is from Western Sahara. Around November 2010, he left Tindouf in Algeria for northern Mali and joined a unit of AQIM. In 2012, al-Sahrawi led a group in control of the town of Askia, Mali. By 2013, he called himself the leader of the Mujahideen Shura Council in Gao, Mali. The Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) was formed in May 2015. It operated in Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso. But ISGS was primarily based in Mali in that its headquarter was located in Gao Region in northeastern Mali. Al-Sahrawi was killed by French forces in the southern Mali in August 2021. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13840 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6648 https://apnews.com/article/islamic-state-group-france-drone-strike-59ffbe4c309ec38d5851fb43d2b7c3f4
Abu Musab al-Barnawi	Abu Musab Al-Barnawi was the son of Boko Haram founder Mohammed Yusuf. In August 2016, ISIL announced that al-Barnawi had assumed leadership of Boko Haram. Boko Haram under al-Barnawi was named Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), while his predecessor,

	Abubakar Shekau, took the name of Boko Haram. In February 2019, he was reportedly removed as the leader of ISWAP. ISIS reinstalled al-Barnawi as leader of ISWAP in April 2021. In October 2021, Nigeria's military confirmed that al-Barnawi was killed. Abu Musab al-Barnawi resided and operated in Nigeria. *Sources*: https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abu-musab-al-barnawi https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13641 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13639 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13638 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13640 https://counterextremism.com/extremists/ba-idrisa
Abu Abdullah Idris ibn Umar al-Barnawi (aka Ba Idrisa)	In March 2019, Abu Abdullah Idris ibn Umar al-Barnawi (Ba Idrisa) replaced Abu Musab al-Barnawi as leader of ISWAP. At that time, ISWAP expanded its operations to neighboring Cameroon, Niger, and Chad. Following internal disputes within ISWAP, Ba Idrisa was purged and executed by ISWAP fighters in February 2020. Ba Idrisa was Nigerian and resided in Nigeria. *Sources:* https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/ba-idrisa https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abu-musab-al-barnawi https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13641
Lawan Abubakar (aka Ba Lawan)	In February 2020, the new leader of ISWAP, Lawan Abubakar (Ba Lawan), executed Ba Idrisa and other leaders. In July 2021, Ba-Lawan was reappointed ISWAP leader, barely six months after his removal by the Shura Council for loss of confidence. ISWAP operated mainly in Nigeria. Ba Lawan was Nigerian and lived in Nigeria. *Sources:* https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/285735/lawan-abubakar-leader-of-iswap-executes-5-leaders-of-group.html https://dailypost.ng/2021/07/04/iswap-names-new-commanders-governors-imposes-tax-on-nigerians/ https://prnigeria.com/2021/07/04/iswap-boko-haram-commanders/ https://issafrica.org/iss-today/islamic-state-fortifies-its-position-in-the-lake-chad-basin https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/379975-new-iswap-boss-slays-five-rebel-leaders-silences-clerical-tones.html https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/379362-iswap-terror-group-in-nigeria-rebrands-reversing-tradition.html https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13641
Mohamed Lamine Fofana (aka N'fali Kaba)	The RFDG led by Mohamed Lamine Fofana launched a series of attacks against Guinean government forces from its base located in Liberia on September 11, 2000. *Sources:*

	http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/D-Book-series/book-01-Armed-and-Aimless/SAS-Armed-Aimless-Part-2-07-Guinea.pdf https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/463
Iyad Ag Ghali	Iyad Ag Ghali, a Tuareg Malian, led Tuareg secessionist groups in the 1990s and served as Mali's ambassador to Saudi Arabia from 2008 to 2010. In 2011, he formed Ansar Dine and conducted military operations in Mali. AQIM, Ansar Dine, and FLM merged into JNIM in March 2017. Iyad Ag Ghali became leader of JNIM, residing in Mali. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1157 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/15108 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/jamaat-nusrat-al-islam-wal-muslimeen#highlight_text_8222 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/iyad-ag-ghaly
Charles Taylor	In 1989, Charles Taylor left Libya and moved to Ivory Coast, where he founded the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). In December 1989, Taylor launched an armed uprising from Ivory Coast and crossed into Liberia to overthrow the Doe regime. *Sources:* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8429962.stm https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/liberia-1989.htm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/507
Prince Yormie Johnson	Prince Johnson was forced to flee to Nigeria to avoid capture by Taylor's rebel forces. He was not involved in the Second Liberian Civil War. During Taylor's presidency (1997-2003), Johnson was in exile. While in Nigeria, Johnson became a Christian and reconciled with the Doe family through the intervention of Nigerian pastor T.B. Joshua. Prince Johnson claims to have forsworn violence and found God during his exile in Nigeria. Prince Johnson returned to Liberia in March 2004. He engaged in politics upon his return to Liberia. In 2005, he won a Senate seat representing Nimba County. He ran for the 2011 presidential election, placing third. *Sources*: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/warlord-to-kingmaker-an-audience-with-prince-johnson-2370926.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/508
Sekou Conneh	Sekou Conneh returned to Liberia in 1997 after Charles Taylor was elected as president. Conneh soon went back to car trading in Conakry, Guinea. He was arrested and moved to a prison cell in Monrovia. With his release obtained, Conneh returned to Guinea. In 1999, he was invited to become chairman of LURD because of his high-level contacts with the Guinean government. The Guinea support to LURD was so extensive that some sources described LURD as a Guinean proxy. Following the signature of a peace agreement, he returned from exile in Guinea in 2003. *Sources:*

	http://www.irinnews.org/report/46315/liberia-lurd-leader-sekou-conneh-returns-guinea https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/509
Thomas Nimely	Thomas Yaya Nimely created MODEL during the early 2000s. MODEL, which became active in 2003, launched attacks from Ivory Coast. MODEL was based on LIMA militia formed in September 2002 to help Laurent Gbagbo's government against insurgents backed by Charles Taylor. After fighting off the imminent threat, parts of LIMA crossed the border to Liberia to continue the war there. The majority of MODEL fighters were mobilized from Ivorian and Ghanaian refugee camps to which many Liberians from the country's Southeast had fled. Cote d'Ivoire remained MODEL's primary foreign patron for the duration of its insurgency, providing extensive support to the group. MODEL maintained command posts on Ivorian territory. Following the exile of President Charles Taylor, Nimely led MODEL into the transitional government which was formed in October 2003. He then served as the foreign minister of Liberia until February 2006. *Sources:* Alan J. Kuperman. 2015. "Liberia: How Diplomacy Helped End a 13-Year Civil War." In *Negotiating in Times of Conflict*, eds. Gilead Sher and Anat Kurtz. Tel Aviv: *Institute for National Security Studies*, 155-171. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/510
Foday Sankoh	In March 1997, Sankoh fled to Nigeria, where he was put under house arrest and then imprisoned. During the imprisonment, Sankoh maintained overall control of the RUF. In 1999, he was released and returned to Sierra Leone. Sankoh was arrested in May 2000 and died in prison in 2003 whilst awaiting trial for war crimes. . *Sources:* https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/jul/31/guardianobituaries.westafrica https://www.blackpost.org/global-african-history/sankoh-foday-saybana-1937-2003 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/532
Johnny Paul Koroma	On 7 March 2003, Johnny Paul Koroma was indicted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone. He was charged with crimes against humanity and war crimes. Koroma went into hiding and was never arrested. On 1 June 2003 he was officially declared dead in neighboring Liberia under contentious circumstances, although the indictment against him remained in force. *Sources*: http://www.haguejusticeportal.net/index.php?id=8377 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/819 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/533
Gilchrist Olympio	The government accused the MTD of complicity in the September 1986 coup attempt, insisting that it planned to install exiled Gilchrist Olympio as president. Olympio was sentenced to death in absentia for his alleged role in the plot. The government accused Burkina Faso and Ghana of supporting

	coup ringleaders including Olympio. Olympio had been living in exile for many years in neighboring Ghana and France. Olympio returned to Togo in July 1991 and participated in the Sovereign National Conference. Following the attack against him in 1992, he lived in exile in Paris. He was a candidate in the disputed 1998 presidential election and won second place behind Eyadema. In 1999, he participated in the Inter-Togolese Dialogue held in Lomé. In April 2003, Olympio returned to Togo. He was barred from running the 2005 early presidential election. He campaigned across the country in the October 2007 parliamentary election. In 2010, he reached a deal with the government, which fractured his party, UFC. *Sources*: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1518263.stm Lansford (ed). 2012. *Political handbook of the World 2012*. London: Sage David Lea (ed). 2001. *A Political Chronology of Africa*. London: Europa Publications. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/516
Ayaba Cho Lucas	The two main political entities claiming to represent Ambazonia are the Interim Government (IG) and the Ambazonia Governing Council (AGovC). The AGovC was founded in 2013 by its president, Ayaba Cho Lucas. He is currently the leader of AGovC and living in exile in Norway. Ayaba Cho Lucas has been in exile since being expelled from the University of Buea in 1993. He lived in Germany, UK, and eventually settled in Norway. Ayaba studied at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences where he has based his activism ever since. As the ADF is the armed wing of the AGovC, Ayaba has been identified by the news media as the ADF's highest commander in chief. In September 2024, he was arrested in Norway. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/15895 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/ambazonia-defense-forces https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/272-crise-anglophone-au-cameroun-comment-arriver-aux-pourparlers https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/8/20/cameroon-anglophone-separatist-leader-gets-life-sentence-lawyers http://cameroonnewsagency.com/ayaba-fires-back-as-sako-denies-ipob-union/ https://newsdaycameroon.wordpress.com/2019/08/26/norwegian-authorities-under-fire-after-granting-citizenship-to-ambazonia-commander-in-chief-ayaba-cho-lucas/ https://esu-online.org/?news=persecuted-students-find-shelter-in-norway https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c1l4dj79lneo
Julius Ayuk Tabe	Julius Ayuk Tabe's Interim Government (IG) presidency started with Ambazonia's unilateral declaration of independence on October 1, 2017. He had lived in Nigeria. On 5 January 2018, members of the Ambazonia Interim Government in exile in Abuja, Nigeria, including President Julius

	Ayuk Tabe, were arrested and deported to Cameroon. After Ayuk Tabe's arrest in January 2018, Samuel Ikomo Sako won a subsequent election to serve as acting interim president a month later. In May 2019, Ayuk Tabe declared the dismissal of Sako's cabinet and the restoration of his own pre-arrest cabinet. Sako refused this declaration, resulting in a de facto split of the IG into two factions, led by Ayuk Tabe and Sako respectively. In 2020, talks were held between government representatives and the still imprisoned Ayuk Tabe. *Sources:* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/07/cameroon-separatist-leader-julius-ayuk-tabe-detained-in-nigeria https://solowayne.com/agovc-chairman-cho-ayaba-lucas-becomes-a-certified-phd-holder-after-masquerading-as-a-fake-phd-holder-for-4-yrs-video/ https://www.dw.com/en/who-are-cameroons-self-named-ambazonia-secessionists/a-50639426 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/15895 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/ambazonia-defense-forces https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/272-crise-anglophone-au-cameroun-comment-arriver-aux-pourparlers https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/8/20/cameroon-anglophone-separatist-leader-gets-life-sentence-lawyers http://cameroonnewsagency.com/ayaba-fires-back-as-sako-denies-ipob-union/ https://newsdaycameroon.wordpress.com/2019/08/26/norwegian-authorities-under-fire-after-granting-citizenship-to-ambazonia-commander-in-chief-ayaba-cho-lucas/
Samuel Ikome Sako	Samuel Ikome Sako was elected president of the Interim Government in February 2018. He refused to step down in May 2019 when Ayuk Tabe reclaimed his presidency. In November 2019, Sako and his supporters changed his title from Acting Interim President to President, aiming to permanently replace Ayuk Tabe even if the latter would ever be released. As of August 2021, Sako had been president of the Interim Government. Samuel Ikome Sako has lived in the United States. He held various jobs including trade consultant, company CEO, civil society leader, and college president. Sako informed the IG that he needed $1,000 to pay for his immigration paperwork to be regularized so he could travel outside the United States. *Sources:* https://www.cameroonintelligencereport.com/the-truth-about-the-dr-sako-ikome-ambazonia-interim-government-affair/ https://www.cameroonconcordnews.com/dr-ikome-sako-ambazonias-corruption-plagued-acting-president-should-resign/ https://cameroonnewsagency.com/just-dr-samuel-ikome-sako-new-acting-interim-president-federal-republic-ambazonia/ https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/15895

André Kolingba	André Kolingba challenged incumbent Ange-Félix Patassé in the 1999 presidential eletion. Kolingba fled to Uganda after an unsuccessful coup attempt in 2001. He returned to the Central African Republic in October 2003 during the last days of a National Conference which President Bozizé sponsored to promote reconciliation and reconstruction of the country. In 2005, Kolingba ran for president and came in third in a poll won by Bozizé. He was presumed as a candidate for the 2010 presidential election, but died from prostate cancer in Paris. *Sources*: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andre-Kolingba International Crisis Group. 2007. "Central African Republic Anatomy of a Phantom State." Africa Report No. 136. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/552 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/873
François Bozizé	After the failed 2001 coup, François Bozizé was dismissed as Army Chief of Staff. The government tried to arrest him. He fled to Chad in 2001. From Chad, Bozizé foces were able to freely cross the border and launch attacks within the Central African Republic (CAR) as they were granted asylum by the Chadian government. Patassé's ruling party accused Chadian president of destabilizing the Central African Republic by supporting Bozizé with men and equipment. On 15 March 2003, Bozizé finally succeeded in seizing power, with his forces entering Bangui unopposed. François Bozizé is the leader of CPC (Coalition des Patriotes pour le Changement) from 2020 to present. After CAR's Constitutional Court rejected the candidacy of François Bozizé for the presidential election, various rebel groups declared that they were united under the CPC banner against the government. The government accused Bozizé of plotting a coup with the CPC rebels. CPC's headquarters were located in Bossangoa, and other CAR cities until April 2021. After that, CPC's headquarters were relocated to Chad. Bozizé went to N'Djamena, Chad, in November 2021. He masterminded attacks from CPC headquarters in Chad. In March 2023, Bozize left Chad and settled in Guinea Bissau which agreed to host him. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/553 https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/28762/central-african-republic-chad-regional-efforts-underway-calm-tensions https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/35534/central-african-republic-ruling-party-accuses-chad-backing-coup-attempt https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/7870 https://www.jeuneafrique.com/1288120/politique/centrafrique-ali-darassa-ennemi-detats https://guardian.ng/news/central-africa-rebel-chief-bozize-in-chad-after-govt-gains https://www.africanews.com/2023/03/06/central-african-republic-ex-president-francois-bozize-leaves-chad-for-guinea-bissau https://www.voaafrica.com/a/bozize-gets-new-exile-address/6991695.html

Michel Djotodia	UFDR (Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Rassemblement) was established in September 2006 and led by Michel Djotodia. He lived in exile in Benin during the war. He was arrested by Beninese forces in November 2006 and released in February 2008. In December 2012, Djotodia was a key leader in Séléka rebel coalition when it succeeded in rapidly taking control of a large portion of the Central African Republic (CAR). In January 2013, he returned to CAR as defence minister. In March 2013, Djotodia proclaimed himself President of the Central African Republic. *Sources:* https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/world/africa/michel-djotodia-leader-of-coup-in-central-african-republic-holds-on-to-power.html?src=recg https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/554 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/875 https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/world/africa/michel-djotodia-leader-of-coup-in-central-african-republic-holds-on-to-power.html?src=recg https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22139544 https://www.bbc.com/afrique/region-51075914 https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2014/01/11/l-ex-president-centrafricain-michel-djotodia-va-s-exiler-au-benin_4346557_3212.html https://www.jeuneafrique.com/134467/politique/centrafrique-michel-djotodia-cool-cotonou-mais-jusqu-quand https://chembessi.mondoblog.org/au-benin-michel-djotodia-loin-dun-exile https://www.lopinion.fr/international/a-cotonou-au-benin-michel-djotodia-reve-de-retour-en-centrafrique
Damane Zakaria	In 2006, the government attempted to arrest Damane Zakaria. But he managed to escape to the bush and founded the UFDR. Nearly 1,000 armed fighters of UFDR under Damane Zakaria occupied a town in the central part of the Central African Republic, apparently after crossing from rear bases in Sudan's troubled Darfur region. Zakaria signed a peace accord with the government in 2007. *Sources:* https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/ufdr.htm http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article22051
Charles Massi	Charles Massi was expelled from government positions in 2008. In June 2009, he attempted to enter the Central African Republic from Chad. He was arrested in Chad in December 2009 and taken to CAR. He died in custody in January 2010. *Sources:* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8490802.stm https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/4969 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1053
Hissène Habré	In August 1978, Hissène Habré was given the posts of Prime Minister and Vice President of Chad as part of an alliance with Gen. Félix Malloum. The power-sharing alliance did not last long. In February 1979, Habré forces and the national army under Malloum fought in N'Djamena. In December 1980, Habre was driven into exile in Sudan. In 1982, he resumed his fight against the Chadian government. FAN won control of N'Djamena on June 7 and appointed Habré as head of state.

	Sources: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hissene-Habre https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/438
Wadel Abdelkader Kamougué	On September 4 1982, Wadel Abdelkader Kamougué fled to Cameroon. He returned from exile in early 1987. In exile, Kamougue joined the rebel alliance GUNT. He eventually defected to the government. *Sources*: http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/wadel_abdelkader_kamougu%C3%A9 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/440
Goukouni Oueddei	Goukouni Oueddei was installed as interim Chadian head of state in March, 1979. The GUNT was overthrown by Habré loyalists on 7 June 1982. In 1982, Oueddei fled from N'Djamena across the Chari River into Cameroon and subsequently went into exile in Tripoli, Libya. In August 1985, he was placed under house arrest in Tripoli. In October 1985, Libyan police arrested Oueddei. He then broke with the Libyans and went into exile in Algiers in February 1987. Goukouni Oueddei lived in Algeria until 2009. He gradually moved away from the rebellion. In 1993, Oueddei agreed to participate in the Chadian national conference, but after the debates, returned to Algiers. In mid-2000s, he tried to organize an inter-Chadian dialogue. In 2022, Mahamat Idriss Déby Itno appointed Goukouni Oueddei to represent the government when engaging in a dialogue with politico-military groups. *Sources*: https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/africa/cd-goukouni.htm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/441 https://jeuneafrique.com/1266231/politique/tchad-dix-choses-a-savoir-sur-goukouni-weddeye-lex-president-devenu-mediateur-de-mahamat-idriss-deby-itno
Acheikh Ibn-Oumar	In 1987 Acheikh Ibn-Oumar's militia was driven into Darfur by French and Chadian forces, engaging in fightings against the Fur people there. In June 1988 Ibn-Oumar was arrested in Tripoli. After negotiations in Iraq, Ibn-Oumar returned to Chad in November 1988. This time he headed forces supporting Habré. Acheikh Ibn-Oumar was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1989 and later served in Déby's government as Special Adviser and Ambassadors to the UN and the US. Accused of conspiracy, Acheikh Ibn-Oumar took refuge in France in 1994. In France, he created or joined armed groups such as UFDD, UFDD-F, and UFR. In November 2018, he returned home after 24 years of exile. Idriss Déby, with whom Ibn-Oumar had reconciled, made him one of his advisers to the presidency. *Sources*: http://waldar.over-blog.com/article-21895640.html http://jeunestchad.mondoblog.org/tchad-que-son-devenus-les-ancients-chef-rebelles-de-lest/

	https://www.jeuneafrique.com/1216960/politique/tchad-dix-choses-a-savoir-sur-acheikh-ibn-oumar https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/455 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/441
Boda Maldoun	MOSANAT was created in 1986 in order to overthrow Chadian President Hissène Habré. Boda Maldoun led MOSANAT, which was estimated to have around 3,000 fighters in 1989. By 1987, MOSANAT had been forced to leave Chad and regroup in neighboring Sudan's Darfur region. MOSANAT was able to use Sudanese territory to stage attacks in Chad. MOSANAT was part of Déby's MPS group. MPS staged attacks on the government in March 1990. In December 1990, Déby seized power. *Sources*: Anna Emil and Nico Schernbeck. 2015. "Chad (MPS/MDD) 1990-1993." <https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_publikationen/Chad-MPS-MDD-1990-1993.pdf> https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/444
Idriss Déby	Idriss Déby's relationship with Habré soured, and in April 1989 Déby was accused of plotting to subvert the Habré regime. Hounded by Habré's forces, Déby was able to evade capture and managed to escape to neighboring Sudan. In Sudan, he formed the MPS supported by Libya and Sudan, which started operations against Habré in October 1989. He carried out attacks across the border into Chad. On 2 December 1990 Déby's troops marched unopposed into N'Djamena. *Sources*: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Idriss-Deby Anna Emil and Nico Schernbeck. 2015. "Chad (MPS/MDD) 1990-1993." <https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_publikationen/Chad-MPS-MDD-1990-1993.pdf> James D. Fearon & David D. Laitin. 2006. "Chad." <https://web.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/Random%20Narratives/ChadRN2.6.pdf> https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/443 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/445
Goukouni Guet	MDD was created by factions loyal to Hissène Habré in October 1991. Goukouni Guet, a former supporter of Habré, led MDD until he was arrested in Nigeria in early 1992. MDD had bases in Nigeria. MDD rebels invaded Chad from Nigeria in December 1991. Goukoni Guet, military leader of the MDD, was captured on Nigerian territory and extradited to Chad in 1992. Later he was executed by the republican guard. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/446 http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/72-chad-1960-present/

	Marielle Debos. 2016. *Living by the Gun in Chad: Combatants, Impunity and State Formation*. London: Zed Books. Anna Emil and Nico Schernbeck. 2015. "Chad (MPS/MDD) 1990-1993." https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_publikationen/Chad-MPS-MDD-1990-1993.pdf https://webarchive.archive.unhcr.org/20230522100241/https://www.refworld.org/docid/469f3878c.html
Moussa Medellah Mahamat Seid	In the Lake Chad region, the MDD nibbled away at the sovereignty of the regime in N'Djamena and used Nigeria as a base-in-exile. The Chadian government and MDD representatives signed a peace agreement in Khartoum, Sudan in July 1999. Moussa Medellah Mahamat Seid, leader of the MDD, returned to Chad in July 1999. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/446 http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6acf814.html Anna Emil and Nico Schernbeck. 2015. "Chad (MPS/MDD) 1990-1993." <https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_publikationen/Chad-MPS-MDD-1990-1993.pdf> William Miles. 1995. "Tragic Tradeoffs: Democracy and Security in Chad" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (1): 53-65 http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/72-chad-1960-president
Abbas Koty	After the MPS seized power in 1990, Abbas Koty became army chief of staff, minister of defense, etc. On June 18, 1992, it was announced that a coup plot being organized by Koty had been thwarted. Koty fled into exile in Cameroon, where he was one of the founders of CNR on June 21. On August 15, 1993, he signed a peace agreement with the government and subsequently returned to Chad. On October 22, Koty was shot and killed in N'Djamena by security forces. *Sources:* https://infohub.projecttopics.org/1972728-abbas-koty https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/447
Moise Kette	In 1991, southern soldiers formed the CSNPD led by Lt. Moise Kette. The group operated in the far south of Chad. But most of its military bases were located in the north of the Central African Republic where CSNPD's presence was openly tolerated until May 1994 when the group was banned from the territory. Members of the CSNPD mounted a failed coup against Déby in 1992. In mid-1994, the CSNPD and the government concluded a peace agreement providing for a ceasefire and the integration of CSNPD officers into the national army. Moise Kette served in the cabinet from April 1995 to April 1996 and later as security advisor until March 2000. He was killed by government troops on September 6, 2000. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor.448 William Miles. 1995. "Tragic Tradeoffs: Democracy and Security in Chad" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (1): 53-65

	James D. Fearon & David D. Laitin. 2006. “Chad.” <https://web.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/Random%20Narratives/ChadRN2.6.pdf> Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller. (eds) 1998. *Political Handbook of the World 1998*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/72-chad-1960-president
Alarit Bachar	Sudan served as a safe haven for Alarit Bachar's Front national du Tchad (FNT). FNT signed a peace agreement with the government in October 1992 under which its members were to be integrated into official civilian and military positions and the group was to be considered for formal party status. However, some of the rebels rejected the integration scheme and renewed fighting was reported in late 1993 and much of 1994. Another peace agreement was announced in late 1994, under which the FNT was to be integrated into the Chadian army. *Sources:* Arthur S. Banks and Thomas C. Muller. (eds) 1998. *Political Handbook of the World 1998*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. William Miles. 1995. "Tragic Tradeoffs: Democracy and Security in Chad" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (1): 53-65. https://ucdp.uu.se/additionalinfo/614/4 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/450
Youssouf Togoïmi	Serving as various ministers, Youssouf Togoïmi resigned from the government in 1997. On 12 October 1998, he formed MDJT, initially with the support of Libya. Operating initially from his power base in the Tibesti Mountains that straddled Chad and Libya, the MDJT waged a guerrilla war against the government forces. He was re-elected as party leader at a party congress in Sabha, Libya in December 2001. Togoïmi was injured by a land mine in late August in the Tibesti area and died from his wounds in Tripoli on 24 September 2002. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/452 “Chad 2013: The Impossible Rehabilitation of a Notorious Dictator.” <https://electionsafrique.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/131216chadcslspainformationkitfinalversion.pdf>
Maurice Hel Bongo	MDJT’s zones of operation straddled Chad and Libya. "I fear that if this continues, Chad will one day lose its sovereignty." This interview with Chad's exiled opposition leader, Maurice Hel Bongo, in 2008 unravels the uncertainty that awaits the nation. Hel Bongo lives in Switzerland, but maintains close links with the country of his birth. In recent years, Maurice Hel Bongo rubbed shoulders with the armed opposition in a visible way, not concealing his sympathy for the politico-military movements going so far as to briefly assume the post of 1st vice-president of the MDJT under the late Youssouf Togoïmi. He had never cut off contacts with Chadians on any side, always holding to each other the

	same speech of appeasement and surpassing oneself. Hel Bongo passed away on 19 January 2010, in Geneva, Switzerland. *Sources*: http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=17337 http://www.makaila.fr/article-few-adoum-maurice-hel-bongo-et-la-l-option-de-la-lutte-armee-par-acheikh-ibn-oumar-43453286.html http://www.makaila.fr/article-deces-de-m-adoum-maurice-hel-bongo-hommage-a-un-grand-homme-43258090.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/452
Mahamat Nour Abdelkarim	After the rebellion in late 2002-early 2003 subsided, Mahamat Nour Abdelkarim engaged in business in Khartoum, particularly in oil, and maintained good relations with the Chinese. He also served the Sudanese army and headed Tamas and Arabs in raids in southern Sudan. He was also accused of having been at the head of Janjaweed in the war in Darfur. He had good relations with Moussa Hilal, leader of Janjaweed, and other Sudanese government officials. In 2005, perhaps at the request of Sudan, he re-engaged in the rebellion in Chad. Sudan supplied FUCD with large amounts of weapons and war materials. The group was also given access to the Sudanese territory from which its combatants staged attacks on Chad. Nour signed a peace agreement with Déby at the end of December 2006 in Libya. In March 2007, Nour was appointed defense minister. Déby dismissed him in December 2007 in the aftermath of new fighting between his men and the army in the east of the country. *Sources:* https://reliefweb.int/report/chad/chad-government-forces-rebels-clash-east Jérôme Tubiana. 2008. "The Chad-Sudan Proxy War and the 'Darfurization'of Chad: Myths and Reality." *HSBS Working Papers*. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/453
Timane Erdimi	Timane Erdimi was the right hand man of Déby for 15 years. In 2005, he defected to the rebels. The Erdimis (Tom and Timane brothers) built a new armed movement in Darfur composed of Zaghawa defectors and then crossed 800 km of desert and bush in an attempt to seize power in N'Djamena. RAFD received support from Sudan, as it was allowed to use the Sudanese territory to maintain camps and mount attacks on Chad. An international arrest warrant was issued by Chad for Erdimi in 2007. He was among 12 people sentenced to death in absentia by a Chadan court on August 15, 2008. Despite past differences, various rebel groups including the RAFD agreed to unite as the Union of Resistance Forces (UFR) on January 19, 2009. The UFR chose Erdimi by consensus to lead the new group on January 23. Joint Sudan-Chad border patrols limited the ability of Chadian rebel groups to cross to Chad from Darfur. UFR's leadership was expelled from Sudan to Doha. In 2017, Chad asked Qatar to expel rebel leader Timane Erdimi who had been in Doha since late 2009. Chadian leaders claimed that by protecting Erdimi, Qatar was trying to destabilize Chad. Mr. Erdimi

	continued to reunite his men and tried to restart the war in Chad. The UFR denied this accusation. In December 2021, Erdimi received amnesty from the Chadian government. In August 2022, he returned to Chad to participate in the national dialogue. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/454 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1069 http://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=2263 http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20170824-tchad-qatar-timan-erdimi-rebelle-tchadien-coeur-brouille-diplomatique https://humanglemedia.com/chad-junta-leader-grants-amnesty-to-301-persons-accused-of-terrorism-other-offenses https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/08/18/rebel-leader-returns-to-chad-after-17-years-in-exile https://www.voaafrique.com/a/dialogue-national-un-important-chef-rebelle-de-retour-au-tchad-après-des-années-d-exil/6706546.html
Mahamat Nouri	In 2006, following Mr. Déby's controversial re-election, Mahamat Nouri went over to the rebels, setting up a base with his UFDD in Sudan, from where he launched an offensive on eastern Chad later that year. This attack was rebuffed by the army. He also took the lead in subsequent rebellions as part of the Alliance Nationale (AN) which in February 2008 used Sudan as a base for launching an offensive on N'Djamena in a bid to overthrow the regime. Mahamat Nouri was expelled by Sudan to Qatar in 2010. After a year of exile in Qatar, he settled in France. Exiled in France, General Mahamat Nouri promised to continue armed struggle to depose President Idriss Déby. In 2019, Nouri exiled in Paris was charged with participation in a criminal conspiracy to commit a crime against humanity. In March 2020, he was released in France. In December 2021, Nouri received amnesty from the Chadian government. In August 2022, he returned to Chad to participate in the national dialogue. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/456 https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/chad-rebel-chief-held-in-france-suspected-of-crimes-against-humanity-1.875855 https://www.tchadpages.com/tchad-exile-en-france-le-general-mahamat-nouri-allatchi-promet-de-poursuivre-la-lutte-armee-pour-renverser-le-president-idriss-deby/ http://jeunestchad.mondoblog.org/tchad-que-son-devenus-les-ancients-chef-rebelles-de-lest/ http://www.journaldutchad.com/article.php?aid=9097 https://www.thenational.ae/world/africa/chad-rebel-chief-freed-in-france-1.998576 https://humanglemedia.com/chad-junta-leader-grants-amnesty-to-301-persons-accused-of-terrorism-other-offenses

	https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/08/18/rebel-leader-returns-to-chad-after-17-years-in-exile https://www.voaafrique.com/a/dialogue-national-un-important-chef-rebelle-de-retour-au-tchad-après-des-années-d-exil/6706546.html
Adoum Yacoub	Founded in 2001, the PFNR operated at Sudan-Chad-Central African Republic tri-border areas. The PFNR included Masalit elements that turned against the government of Sudan to support their Darfurian kin of the SLA. This prevented the PFNR from obtaining any Sudanese support until it joined the UFR between January and May 2009. PFNR maintained bases in western Darfur and acquired Sudanese weapons and vehicles. The defeated PFNR troops that fled to Sudan through CAR were disarmed by Sudanese forces in the Um Dukhun area, at the border between CAR and South Darfur. The remaining PFNR forces returned to their pre-UFR state: a small group of well-trained and highly mobile combatants without external support, active at the CAR-Chad-Sudan border. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1069 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1112 Jérôme Tubiana. 2011. "Renouncing the Rebels: Local and Regional Dimensions of Chad-Sudan Rapprochement." Geneva, Switzerland: Small Arms Survey.
Michelot Yogogombaye	Founded in 2016, CCMSR has operated in northern Chad, southern Libya, eastern Niger, and western Sudan. The CCMSR was embroiled in the Second Libyan Civil War, supporting groups fighting against Forces of House of Representaties. In 2018, CCMSR shifted to its attention to the Chardian army, staging attacks in northern Chad's Tibesti region. In January 2018, a meeting with high-level members of the CCMSR led to the forced resignation of Mahamat Tahir Acheick. Michelot Yogogombaye succeeded him. In February 2021, Yogogombaye was contacted by FACT and became the spokesperson of FACT. In 1992, Michelot Yogogombaye sought asylum in Switzerland. He obtained asylum in 1994 and managed to bring his family to Switzerland. He has never set foot in Chad since 1992. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/15676 Alexandre Bish. 2021. "Soldiers of fortune: The future of Chadian fighters after the Libyan ceasefire." Global Initiative Against Trnasnational Organized Crime. Geneva, Switzerland. https://www.letemps.ch/monde/michelot-yogogombaye-obseques-didriss-deby-seront-une-reconnaissance-internationale-coup http://www.worldcourts.com/acthpr/eng/decisions/2009.12.15_Yogogombaye_v_Senegal.htm https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=4308 https://www.upf.org/africa-day/3725-africans-in-switzerland-celebrate-africa-day
Bernard Kolélas	Bernard Kolélas and Pascal Lissouba were ousted and forced into exile when forces loyal to Denis Sassou-Nguesso captured Brazzaville on

	October 14, 1997. In November 1998, Kolélas spurned a government offer of dialogue. Pro-Kolélas rebels unsuccessfully attempted to seize Brazzaville in December 1998. Kolélas, who was in the United States at the time, claimed that his forces were effectively in control of the city, while suggesting that he might return home to lead the country. In October 2005, he returned to the Republic of Congo to attend the funeral of his wife and got an amnesty. *Sources*: https://peoplepill.com/people/bernard-kolelas/ https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/546
Bernard Tandou (alt. spelling: Ntandou)	Bernard Tandou (Ntandou) fled to the DR Congo in 1997. He claimed that Kolélas had appointed him commander of the Ninjas from exile. Reliable sources report that after being ousted from power in 1997, as many as 1,000 Ninjas fled to Kinshasa. In 1999, Bernard Ntandou, the Ninja leader in exile in DR Congo, signed a ceasefire agreement with the government and a large number of Ninjas returned to Brazzaville and resumed their civilian lives. In early 2000, Ntandou toured the Pool region trying to coax Ninjas to disarm and come to Brazzaville. He was able to persuade many members to leave their forest hideouts. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/546 Anders Themnér. 2011. *Violence in Post-Conflict Societies: Remarginalization, remobilizers and relationships*. New York: Routledge.
Pascal Lissouba	Defeated by his opponent, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, after Angola's intervention, Pascal Lissouba lost power on October 15, 1997. Following his overthrow, Lissouba lived in exile in London. Since 2004, he had been living in Paris in exile. In August 2020, Lissouba died in France. *Sources*: https://lesechos-congobrazza.com/politique/3743-pascal-lissouba-fete-ses-86-ans-ce-mercredi-a-perpignan https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/cocoyes.htm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/547
Jean-Pierre Bemba	In April 2007, Jean-Pierre Bemba arrived in Portugal after leaving his country following the defeat of his militia fighters by government troops. During his stay in Portugal, Bemba expressed a readiness to return and take part in politics, but also expressed concerns about his safety. On 7 September, Benba met with National Assembly President Vital Kamerhe in Portugal to discuss his potential return. In November 2007, Bemba visited Belgium and met with Belgian Foreign Minister. In 2008, he was arrested near Brussels and handed over to International Criminal Court (ICC). On 21 June 2016, the ICC sentenced Bemba to 18 years in prison for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by his MLC group. This conviction was overturned in June 2018. *Sources*: https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL1135144 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-44452418

	https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/423
Sultani Makenga	The M23 was active in the North Kivu Province of DR Congo. In May 2012, M23 was formed as a group. The main leader of M23 was Sultani Makenga. In November 2013, after being defeated by the army, Sultani Makenga, the leader of M23, surrendered with 1,500 fighters in Mgahinga National Park, Uganda. He and his troops found refuge in Uganda. Makenga lived under protection in Kampala to protect him from foreign forces but he was free to move. . In February 2017, General Sultani Makenga left Uganda and came back to DR Congo. He tried to resume a guerilla war in DR Congo. But he failed and some of his militants were even hired by the Ugandan government to crush protests. This implies that M23 weakened significantly. In May 2020, Mr. Sultani Makenga, ex-general of M23, created the ACP. The ACP was composed of elements of the former M23, members of the diaspora and certin elements of the Congolese army who have defected. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1160 https://www.france24.com/en/20131107-democratic-republic-congo-m23-rebel-commander-surrenders-uganda https://www.reuters.com/article/congo-rebels-idINKBN1370C8 https://www.voaafrique.com/a/sultani-makenga-a-quitte-l-ouganda/3705068.html https://lesvolcansnews.net/2020/05/30/sultani-makenga-a-la-tete-dune-nouvelle-rebellion-au-sud-kivu/ https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/30/dr-congo-8-un-peacekeepers-killed-in-helicopter-crash Al Jazeera documentary Witness "This is Congo: one of the world's longest running conflicts." August 2022
Paul Joseph Mukungubila	Paul Joseph Mukungubila founded and led the politico-religious movement, Ministry of Restoration from Black Africa. He lived in Lumumbashi. Armed violence broke out when followers in Kinshasa, Lumumbashi, Kisangani, and Kindu rose up on December 30, 2013. It was squelched by the DR Congo government. A week later, Mukungubila fled to South Africa in exile. Despite being arrested and investigated, Mukungubila successfully received asylum in 2017. South Africa rejected the extradition request made by the DR Congo government. Mukungubila has sought refugee in South Africa since 2014 and not returned to his country of origin. Since the end of 2013, Mukungubila has sent numerous letters to the international community to address the political and humanitarian crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In 2016, he sent a letter to François Hollande, asking him to stop receiving Joseph Kabila at the Elysée. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/4286

	https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-05-28-drcs-mukungubila-a-prophet-stuck-in-a-nowhere-land-just-where-kabila-wants-him/
Isaac Lumago	FUNA was composed of remnants of Idi Amin's army that had suffered defeat in 1979. Fleeing Uganda upon the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979, Isaac Lumago only returned from exile in 1999. He sought refuge in DR Congo. *Sources:* http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Maj--Gen--Isaac-Lumago-is-dead/688334-1402410-ix8icj/index.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/480
Alice Auma (aka Lakwena)	In November 1987, Alice Auma (Lakwena)'s forces were defeated. She managed to escape to Kenya in December 1987, where she remained until her death in January 2007. After fleeing to Kenya, Alice Auma was subsequently arrested as illegal immigrants, given suspended sentences and handed over to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In November 2004, she was implicated in child trafficking from Gulu to the refugee camp. *Sources*: Sverker Finnström. 2008. *Living with Bad Surroundings*. Durham: Duke University Press https://ucdp.uu.se.actor/483
Peter Otai	Peter Otai claimed to be the chairman of UPA. He never came to see his army and he kept on asking his comrades to feed him with information about the war so as to publish papers from the comfort of his house in London. Peter Otai died in London in 2020. Mourners braved the early morning shower to receive the remains of Otai who fled the country 34 years ago. *Sources:* http://www.monitor.co.ug/Magazines/PeoplePower/I-regret-going-to-the-bush-to-fight-----Museveni/689844-2459782-136rb5dz/index.html http://allafrica.com/stories/199807310092.html https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1514277/peter-otai-died-sleep-brother https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/486
Joseph Kony	After the Juba peace talks in 2006, LRA has no longer operated in Uganda. Sources claim that the LRA has been in DR Congo, Central African Republic, Sudan, and South Sudan. Joseph Kony, who was first chased from Uganda to Sudan and then to the Central African Republic, is still at large. Kony and his men first came to the Central African Republic in 2008. In the late 2010s, Kony had been living in Kafia Kingi, a contested enclave on the borders of Sudan, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic. *Sources:* http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39999324 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Joseph-Kony

	https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/488 https://theconversation.com/ugandan-rebel-joseph-kony-the-latest-us-arrest-bid-raises-questions-177578 https://www.dw.com/en/is-lra-rebel-leader-joseph-kony-hiding-in-darfur/a-61478125 https://africanarguments.org/2020/03/joseph-kony-lra-rebels-threat-selling-honey
Jamil Makulu (alt. spelling: Mukulu)	ADF (Allied Democratic Forces), which emerged in late 1996, was originally based in western Uganda but has expanded into the neighboring DR Congo. Since the late 1990s, the ADF has operated in the DR Congo's North Kivu province near the border with Uganda. After forming the ADF, Jamil Makulu (Mukulu) was unable to hold ground in Uganda and led his group to the DR Congo and set up camp in North Kivu. The ADF carried out numerous attacks in DR Congo. In 2014, a court in the DR Congo convicted Mukulu of terrorism and murder and sentenced him to death in absentia. He was arrested in Tanzania and repatriated to Uganda in 2015. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/489 https://www.centerforsecurity policy.org/2015/04/30/adf-leader-jamil-mukulu-arrested/ http://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Who-is-ADF-s-Jamil-Mukulu-/691232-2823394-uffyudz/index.html https://www.centerforsecurity policy.org/2015/04/30/adf-leader-jamil-mukulu-arrested/ http://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Who-is-ADF-s-Jamil-Mukulu-/691232-2823394-uffyudz/index.html
Musa Seka Baluku	Musa Seka Baluku was one of the earliest members of the ADF and served as one of Jamil Makulu's chief lieutenants. After the ADF relocated to the DR Congo, Makulu appointed Baluku to numerous positions within the ADF. Jamil Mukulu was arrested in Tanzania in April 2015 and Mukulu's second-in-command Musa Baluku became the new leader of the ADF. In July 2019, he pledged the group's allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and joined IS. The US Department of the Treasury sanctioned six ADF members, including leader Seka Musa Baluku, in 2019. The Department of State designated Baluku as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on March 10, 2021. Baluku resided in the ADF's main camp nicknamed "Camp Medina" until the camp was overrun by the Congolese army in January 2020. As of February 2020, he is believed to have relocated to "Camp Kajuju" in "Madina II" in Beni region, DR Congo. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/14692 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/489 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/seka-musa-baluku

	https://www.thedefensepost.com/2018/12/04/tentative-ties-allied-democratic-forces-isis-dr-congo https://state.gov/state-department-terrorist-designations-of-isis-affiliates-and-leaders-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-and-mozambique https://chimpreports.com/un-sanctions-adf-commander-baluku/
Juma Oris	Juma Oris Abdalla served as foreign minister under Amin and fled to Sudan in early 1979 before the fall of Amin's government. Oris founded WNBF in Sudan. It was alledgely backed by Sudan. Having suffered a stroke in late 1999, Oris died in Khartoum in March 2001. *Sources:* https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1038425/juma-oris-dead-buried-sudan https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/490 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/690
Ali Bamuze	UNRF-II operated mostly in northern Uganda, out of bases in southern Sudan, and received support from Sudan. Sudan supported UNRF-II in retaliation for Uganda's support for the SPLA. UNRF-II consisting of ex-soldiers of Idi Amin was eventually integrated into the Ugandan army (UPDF) after signing a peace deal in 2002. Bamuze carried the rank of Major General in the UPDF. In 2015, he died shortly after attending a meeting with President Museveni in Bwabajja. *Sources:* https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1410101/gen-ali-bamuze-passes https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/491 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/691
Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka	Soon after a coup attempt was foiled, Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka escaped to Tanzania. In November 1983, he was captured in Tanzania and extradited to Kenya. He was put on trial, convicted, and hanged in 1987. *Sources*: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000039967/ochuka-family-s-26-year-search-for-justice https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/772 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/514 https://allafrica.com/stories/200403150595.html
Ahmad Umar (alt. spelling: Ahmed Umar Abu Ubaidah)	Al-Shabaab is based in Somalia. It staged attacks in Somalia as well as in neighboring Kenya. Ahmad Umar was named Al-Shabaab leader in September 2014, after Ahmed Abdi Godane was killed by a US airstrike. Ahmed Umar Abu Ubaidah is the current emir of al-Shabaab. In August 2020, Somalia's National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) announced that al-Shabaab temporarily transferred power to Abu Ubaidah's deputy, Abukar Aden, due to the emir's health concerns. In a video released on March 27 2021, Ahmad Umar called for attacks on American and French interests in Djibouti.

	Sources: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/717 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/10589 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/4322 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/al-shabaab#highlight_text_13349 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/ahmed-umar-abu-ubaidah
Abu Yassir Hassan	A video published by an IS propaganda outlet on 24 July 2019 purportedly showed Mozambique-based Ansar al-Sunnah swearing allegiance to IS. It has been used as the start date for Ansar al-Sunnah joining IS. This IS affiliated group penetrated Tanzania and staged attacks. Abu Yassir Hassan, its leader, resides in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/15183 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/14845 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/7032 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abu-yasir-hassan
Etienne Karatasi	Etienne Karatasi was leader of Palipehutu during its time of activity, despite being in exile in Denmark. In 2004, he returned to Burundi following 39 years of exile in Denmark. *Sources:* http://www.irinnews.org/news/2004/03/02/rebel-leader-karatasi-ends-39-year-exile https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/430
Leonard Nyagoma	In 2003, three senior officers of FDD (CNDD's armed wing) returned home from exile under the ceasefire agreement signed with the Burundian government. Leonard Nyangoma was expected to return home from exile in Tanzania. In 2005, he returned to Burundi after 10 years in exile. *Sources:* http://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/fr/actualit%C3%A9s/2005/02/14/leonard-nyangoma-l%E2%80%99ex-chef-rebelle-rentre-au-burundi-apr%C3%A8s-10-ans-d%E2%80%99exil http://www.panapress.com/Three-top-Burundian-rebel-officers-return-from-exile--13-482574-18-lang1-index.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/431
Joseph Karumba	Joseph Karumba, founder of FROLINA, attained asylum in Tanzania and subsequently managed FROLINA from there. In 2004, after 32 years in exile, he returned to Burundi from Tanzania, following a ceasefire agreement with the Burundian government, in order to participate in the upcoming elections. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/433 https://reliefweb.int/report/burundi/usaid-field-report-burundi-jun-2004 http://www.panapress.com/Un-chef-rebelle-burundais-met-fin-a-32-ans-d-exil-en-Tanzanie--12-719250-1-lang4-index.html

Cossan Kabura	Cossan Kabura was an officer in the Tanzanian army. He had been in exile since 1972. In February 2001, Cossan Kabura was sacked from his post as president and chief of staff of Palipehutu-FNL. Kabura was accused of colluding with President Pierre Buyoya. Agathon Rwasa replaced Kabura. *Sources:* http://www.isanganiro.org/spip.php?article7521 Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis (eds). 2005. *Understanding Civil War (Volume 1: Africa)*. Washington D.C.: World Bank. https://www.news24.com/xArchive/Archive/Burundi-rebel-leader-sacked-20010223 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/432
Agathon Rwasa	After signing a peace agreement in December 2008, Palipehutu-FNL was transformed into a political party. Just before the June 2010 presidential election, Agathon Rwasa fled to South Kivu, DR Congo. After fleeing to DR Congo, he stated that he fled for his life and was not preparing for a new war. Rwasa returned to Burundi in an effort to join the political scene before the elections in 2015. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/11798 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/432 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/596 http://myafrica.allafrica.com/view/people/main/id/0BBq_S4sVHZBGepu.html https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-23590991 https://www.jeuneafrique.com/252724/politique/agathon-rwasa-5-choses-a-savoir-sur-cet-opposant-au-long-passe-de-chef-de-guerre International Crisis Group. 2008. “Burundi: Restarting Political Dialogue.” <https://reliefweb.int/report/burundi/burundi-rwasa-expelled-fnl-leader>
Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye	DR Congo leaders allowed CNDD-FDD to maintain bases on their territory, allowing the group to conduct cross-border raids into Burundi. CNDD-FDD also found a certain amount of safe haven in Tanzania, where it maintained bases. Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye spent most of his time in neighboring DR Congo and Tanzania. His faction signed a ceasefire agreement with the government in October 2002. Ndayikengurukiye returned to Burundi in 2003 after years in exile. . *Sources:* http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2760613.stm https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/597 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/434
Aloys Nzabampema	In September 2012, Aloys Nzabampema announced the creation of a new FNL faction, FNL-Ubugado-Burihabwa (FNL-UB). This group has operated mainly in DR Congo since its inception. In 2014, FNL-Ubugabo-Burihabwa claimed responsibility for a number of incursions into Burundi as well as for clashes with the Burundi army on the Congolese side of the border. In 2020,

	the conflict events involving FNL-UB intensified in South Kivu in DR Congo. Nzabampema is current leader of the group, residing in DR Congo. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/11798 https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/79457/former-burundian-rebel-leader-launches-new-group https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/10/26/dr-congo-army-says-burundi-rebels-ousted-from-strongholds https://news.yahoo.com/burundi-says-ready-dialogue-rebels-153547151.html
Godefroid Niyombare	The coup against President Pierre Nkrunziza broke out on 13 May 2015. Government forces crushed the coup within two days. Leader of the coup, Godefroid Niyombare, held the rank of Major General at the time and served as head of the Intelligence Service, prior to being dismissed for being against President Nkrunziza's decision to run for a third term. Following the foiled coup, Niyombare escaped and formed the armed rebel group FOREBU (later FPB) on 23 December 2015. He was considered the leader of the FPB until August 2017. The FPB was based in the eastern area of South Kivu in DR Congo. From there, it staged attacks on Burundi. Niyombare, however, did not reside in DR Congo. He was suspected to have been living in exile or under de facto house arrest in Rwanda and Uganda since late 2015 and to have led a rebellion from there. Despite claiming to have been making clandestine trips to DR Congo, his notable absence resulted in an internal leadership dispute. Burundi, in particular, has repeatedly accused Rwanda of supporting the coup and sheltering those who want to disrupt its security. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6297 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6187 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-burundi-unrest-coup-idUSKCN0UT2G8 https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/burundi-coup-leader-general-godefroid-niyombare-becomes-head-forebu-rebels-153920 https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20170506-burundi-le-general-niyombare-revient-dessous-son-putsch-manque https://africanarguments.org/2017/10/burundi-newest-biggest-rebel-group https://bwiza.com/Gen-Godefroid-Niyombare-ari-mu-yihe-mibare https://www.chathamhouse.org/2020/06/burundi-after-nkurunziza-has-chance-take-different-path
Melchiade Biremba	RED-TABARA was formed on 24 April 2011 in reaction to the Burundian elections of 2010. This group based in the South Kivu province of DR Congo continues to ravage this region. Melchiade Biremba has been the Chief of Staff and official leader of RED-TABARA. He is currently believed to be in the custody of the DR Congo government. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6513 International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). 2021. *The Armed Conflict*

	Survey 2021. London. https://minbane.wordpress.com/2022/04/16/https-wp-me-p1xtjg-kxe-2
Fred Rwigyema	In 1960, Fred Rwigyema and his family fled to Uganda and settled in a refugee camp in Nshungerezi, Ankole. He joined Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA). After the NRA captured state power in 1986, Rwigyema became the deputy Minister of Defence. On 1 October 1990, Rwigyema led the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) troops in the first battle against the Rwandan government. On the second day of the struggle, he was shot in the head and died. *Sources:* https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1507895/rwigyema-rescued-us-janet-museveni https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/527
Paul Kagame	Paul Kagame's family fled to Uganda in 1962, where he spent the rest of his childhood. In the 1980s, Kagame fought in Museveni's NRA, becoming a senior Ugandan army officer after Museveni won the war. Since the Rwandan civil war started in 1990, the RPF had received support from Uganda. In 1994, Kagame deposed the Hutu regime and seized power. *Sources:* https://www.britannica.com/biography/Paul-Kagame https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/527
Paul Rwarakabidje	ALIR was a Hutu-dominated rebel group based mainly in the eastern parts of DR Congo (Zaire). Individuals associated with the 1994 genocide joined ALIR. Militia leader Paul Rwarakabidje surrendered to the government. In 2003, he arrived in Kigali on a Rwandan army helicopter after nearly a decade exile in the DR Congo. He was embraced by the army chief, General James Kabarebe. In 2009, a Gacaca court in Kacyiru sector acquitted Maj Gen. Paul Rwarakabidje of all cases leveled against him. *Sources:* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3273927.stm http://allafrica.com/stories/200907271075.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1128
Sylvestre Mudacumura	FDLR is an ethnic Hutu rebel group active in the eastern DR Congo. Sylvestre Mudacumura was the deputy commander of the Presidential Guard of the Rwandan Armed Forces during the 1994 genocide. FDLR leaders participated in the 1994 genocide and fled to DR Congo. Since then, Rwandan Hutu militias have reorganized politically and militarily in eastern DR Congo. In July 2012, the ICC announced an arrest warrant against Syvestre Mudacumura for war crimes committed in the Kivus. In September 2019, Mudacumura was killed by DR Congo security forces in Rutshuru Territory of the DR Congo. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/12102

	https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/20/dr-congo-warlord-sought-icc-killed https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/528 https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/9/18/drc-army-says-rwandan-hutu-rebel-commander-mudacumura-killed https://news.yahoo.com/burundi-says-ready-dialogue-rebels-153547151.html
Juvenal Musabimana (aka Jean-Michel Africa)	Juvenal Musabimana (aka Jean-Michel Africa) assumed leadership of FDLR-RUD in February 2016 after his predecessor, Brigader Gen. Jean Damascéne Ntibabagije (a.k.a Musare), died. Musabimana was one of the leaders of the ethnic Hutu FDLR formed in the DR Congo in the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. FDLR-RUD was mainly based in North Kivu Province of DR Congo. Its forces made incursions into the Northern Province of Rwanda. Juvenal In November 2019, Congolese and Rwandan armies killed Jean-Michel Africa in a joint raid in North Kivu, DR Congo. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/501 https://suluhu.org/congo/biographies/ https://casebook.icrc.org/case-study/democratic-republic-congo-conflict-kivus https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/rud-urunana-militia-leader-cyprien-mpiranya-killed https://www.reuters.com/article/us-congo-security-idUSKBN1XK0DI https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/11/dr-congo-forces-kill-leader-of-splinter-hutu-armed-group
Cyprien Leo Mpiranya	Cyrien Leo Mpiranya inherited the reigns of FDLR-RUD after his predecessor Jean-Michel Africa died in a stinging operation by Congolese security forces in November 2019. Mpiranya fled to DR Congo in 1994 with other genocide participants. In August 2020, Mpiranya was killed in an operation by Congolese forces in Rutchuru, close to the border with Uganda. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/501 https://suluhu.org/congo/biographies/ https://casebook.icrc.org/case-study/democratic-republic-congo-conflict-kivus https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/rud-urunana-militia-leader-cyprien-mpiranya-killed https://www.reuters.com/article/us-congo-security-idUSKBN1XK0DI https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/11/dr-congo-forces-kill-leader-of-splinter-hutu-armed-group
Laurent Ndagijimana (aka Wilson Irategeka)	CNRD (also known as CNRD-UBWIYUNGE) was formed as a splinter group from FDLR in May 2016. The group presented itself as a Rwandan political opposition party in exile based in DR Congo. CNRD was led by "Colonel" Laurent Ndagijimana (a.k.a. Wilson Irategeka) until his death in January 2020.

	Laurent Ndagijimana was a member of the ex-FAR. He fled Rwanda in 1994 after the genocide against the Tutsi ended. Ndagijimana was killed in the DR Congo's military operations in January 2020. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6684 https://taarifa.rw/fln-national-liberation-front-members-sentenced-for-terrorism-offences/ https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/congolese-army-captures-two-anti-rwanda-militia https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/another-mrcdfln-militia-leader-killed-dr-congo https://www.bbc.com/gahuza/51172558 https://taarifa.rw/drc-special-forces-kill-commander-of-fln-anti-rwanda-terrorist-group
Jean-Marie Vianney Nyawenda	Following the death of Laurent Ndagijimana, the CNRD was in disarray. Jean-Marie Vianney Nyawenda, the secretary general of CNRD, directed armed struggle. He was killed by the Congolese army in November 2020. Jean-Marie Vianney Nyawenda was a trained lawyer who had worked in the Ministry of Labour during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. After the genocidal regime was defeated in 1994, he fled to DR Congo and later joined the ranks of the FDLR from which CNRD splintered. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6684 https://taarifa.rw/fln-national-liberation-front-members-sentenced-for-terrorism-offences/ https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/congolese-army-captures-two-anti-rwanda-militia https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/another-mrcdfln-militia-leader-killed-dr-congo https://www.bbc.com/gahuza/51172558 https://taarifa.rw/drc-special-forces-kill-commander-of-fln-anti-rwanda-terrorist-group
Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed	After failed coup in 1978, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed and several other colonels managed to escape abroad. Later that year, in Ethiopia, Ahmed and Hassan Ali Mire formed the Somali Salvation Front, which was later renamed the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) in 1979. SSDF participated in the 1982 Ethiopia-Somalia Border War against Said Barre. SSDF was mainly based outside the country. SSDF's headquarters were located in Ethiopia and from there, the group broadcasted its radio programs with anti-Barre messages. SSDF was closely cooperating with the Ethiopian government. After opposing the Ethiopian government's claims of sovereignty over several Somali-inhabited areas that the SSDF had managed to capture from

	Barre's forces, Ahmed was detained by the local Ethiopian authorities in 1985. He remained imprisoned until 1990. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed subsequently returned to Somalia. In 1992, he marshalled forces to successfully expel an Islamist extremist group linked to Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya. Ahmed was elected President of Puntland in 1998. In 2004, he was elected President of Somalia within the Transitional Federal Government. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/499 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/743 Gérard Prunier. "Somalia: Civil War, Intervention and Withdrawal 1990-1995." Refworld, WRITENET Country Papers https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/24/world/africa/abdullahi-yusuf-ahmed-ex-strongman-of-somalia-dies-at-77.html
Sheikh Yusuf Ali Guray Sheikh Madar	After its inception, SNM (Somali National Movement) set up bases in neighboring Ethiopia from where it conducted guerrilla style operations across the border in Somalia. When a peace accord was signed between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1988, SNM moved to Somalia, as Ethiopia no longer supported its operations. Sheikh Yusuf Ali Guray Sheikh Madar served as the first foreign minister of Somaliland from 1991 to 1993. He died in 2002. *Sources:* https://www.rulers.org/fm4.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/500
Abdilqadir Kosar Abdi	The SNM was based in neighboring Ethiopia from where it conducted guerrilla style operations actors the border in Somalia. Abdilqadir Kosar Abdi, a former SNM chairman, was assassinated in Mustahil in eastern Ethiopia in 1986. *Sources:* https://www.somalinet.com/forums/archives/5566/7945.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/500
Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo	After being chairman of UK branch of SNM from 1982 to 1984, Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo assumed top leader of SNM in 1984. SNM set up bases in neighboring Ethiopia. In 1988, SNM moved to Somalia. While attending the Congress of Somaliland (Burao, May 1991), Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo acted as a key player in re-establishing Somaliland's sovereignty as an independent state. From 1993 to 1996, he was a member of Somaliland's House of Representatives. After serving as various

	government positions, he became the fourth president of Somaliland in 2010. *Sources:* https://allafrica.com/stories/201007030091.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/500
Abdirahman Ahmed Ali Tuur	Abdirahman Ahmed Ali Tuur worked as a government officials and diplomat in Somalia's post-independence government. He later became the Chairman of the SNM after the SNM moved from Ethiopia to Somalia. Under Tuur's leadership, the local administration declared the northwestern Somali territories independent on 18 May 1991. Abdirahman Ahmed Ali Tuur became the first president of Somaliland from May 1991 to May 1993 and the second vice president from May 1993 to May 1995. He was exiled and retired in London, UK for years after suffering from the loss of his colleague. Tuur died in London in 2003. *Sources*: https://www.eutm-somalia.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Press-Summary-28112018.pdf https://menafn.com/1097752528/Somaliland-is-colorblind-to-shifting-political-kaleidoscope-in-region https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/500 https://somalilandsun.com/somaliland-a-tribute-to-abdirahman-ahmed-ali-tuur-father-of-re-independence/
Mohamed Farrah Aidid	In November 1989, mass killings erupted near Galkacyo in central Somalia. This resulted in General Mohammed Farah Aidid quitting his post as Somali Ambassador to India and joined the USC training camps in Mustahiil, Ethiopia. In May 1990, a USC conference in Mustahil, Ethiopia, elected Mohamed Farah Aideed as the leader of the group. After the demise of Said Barre in 1991, Mohamed Farrah Aidid engaged in civil war in Somalia. Sources: http://web.archive.org/web/20070909180649/http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/9608/02/aideed/ https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/747 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/503
Hussein Mohamed Farrah Aidid	Mohamed Farah Aideed was head of USC/SNA until his death in 1996. His son, Hussein Farah Aidid, took over. In 2001, USC/SNA was one of the parties forming the anti-TNG group SSRC. Hussein Mohamed Farrah Aidid supported the 2004 Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and was appointed as deputy prime minister and the internal affairs minister. Aidid's portfolio was then shifted to minister of public works and housing in February 2007. In May 2007, PM Ghedi sacked Aidid from the cabinet after Aidid defected to Asmara, Eritrea. Reports in 2008 indicated that Aidid and his followers had joined the Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia (ARS) and had established a base

	of operations in Asmara, Eritrea. He accused Ethiopia of being guilty of genocide and called for the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops from Somalia. ARS leadership continued to promote and coordinate the violent opposition. *Sources*: Tom Lansford (ed). 2019. *Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019.* London: CQ Press. https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/748 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/503 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/505
Hassan Dahir Aweys	AIAI(Al-Ittihad Al-Islami) was founded in 1980 in northeastern Somalia. It engaged in the Somali civil war in the 1990s. In 1996, the Ethiopian government attacked AIAI bases inside Somalia, fearing what the growing presence of AIAI in the Gedo region in Somalia might lead to. Hassan Dahir Aweys was part of AIAI leadership which took over large parts of Somalia following the collapse of the Somali central government. He settled in Lower Shabelle, Somalia. On September 1996, Ethiopia invaded Lugh and forced out most of the AIAI forces. The following two years, the war between Somali National Front (SNF) and AIAI raged on. Ethiopia armed SNF and supplied weapons to it. AIAI was destroyed later in the 1990s by a force led by Abdullahi Yusuf that Ethiopia funded. In 2006, Hassan Dahir Aweys was appointed to a senior leadership position in UIC (Union of Islamic Courts). He used his position to contest the transitional government in Somalia. In December 2006, following the Ethiopian-backed military intervention, Aweys moved to Asmara, Eritrea. From there, he instigated terror attacks and raised funds and arms for the Al-Qaida-affiliated insurgency. Aweys rejected the United Nations-supported talks that led to the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops from Somalia and the formation of the new Somali government (TFG) under President Sharif Sheikh Ahmed. He subsequently refused to negotiate a cease-fire and, instead, directed his faction to continue the insurgency against the Government and African Union peacekeeping forces in Somalia (AMISOM), in cooperation with the Hizbul Islam coalition. On 23 April 2009, Aweys returned to Somalia, declaring a war on AMISOM. *Sources:* https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/hassan-dahir-aweys https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/505 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/542
Ahmad Dini Ahmad	FRUD split in 1994. A moderate faction led by Ali Mohamed Daoud signed a peace agreement in December 1994, while Ahmad Dini Ahmad continued to lead a radical faction (FRUD-AD) which vowed to continue fighting. Following the signing of a reconciliation agreement between his faction and the government in February 2000, Dini Ahmad returned to Djibouti from Yemen on 29 March 2000, ending nine years of exile. He died in September 2004 at a French military hospital in Djibouti. *Sources:*

	https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/13266/djibouti-hardline-frud-leader-returns-exile https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/530 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/531
Aregawi Berhe	Aregawi Berhe left his homeland and moved to the Netherlands after he was officially expelled from the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front) in 1985. He lived in Amsterdam in exile most of those years. While there he continued his studies, earning MA and Ph.D. He also founded TAND, which became member of the Ethiopian opposition coalition, the United Ethiopian Democratic Front (UEDF). He wrote a book on TPLF and engaged in various seminars, panels, and open discussions. Aregawi Berhe returned to Ethiopia in August 2018. *Sources*: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8535189.stm https://www.ethiopiaobserver.com/2018/08/18/aregawi-berhe-the-return-of-a-political-survivor/ https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/410
Idris Mohammed Adem	In May 1975, at the second National Conference of ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front) held in the liberated bases, Idris Mohammad Adem decided not to be nominated to the new leadership of the ELF. He moved to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. He did not play any active political role, but advocated unity and reconciliation among an increasingly divided ELF. In 1993, he voted in the referendum for the independence of Eritrea but never returned to his country. Idris Mohammad Adem passed away in Jeddah City in August 2003. *Sources*: https://hedgait.blogspot.kr/2014/12/idris-mohamed-adem-one-of-prominent.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/415
Ahmed Nasser	By November 1980, most ELF forces had been driven over the border into Sudan, where they were disarmed and interned by the Sudanese authorities, although fighting continued through September 1981. In Sudan, the ELF split into competing factions, and the organization as a unified, military front ceased to exist. After independence of Eritrea in 1993, Ahmed Nasser and his colleagues appealed to Isaias Afewerki to form a national reconciliation government. Their appeal was not answered. Since then, Ahmed Nasser has been a leader of ELF-RC in exile. After leaving Asmara, he had never returned to Eritrea. In 2012, he resigned his position from the leadership council. Ahmed Nasser passed away in Sweden in 2014. *Sources*: Dan Connell and Tom Killion. 2011. *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea*. Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press. http://awate.com/ahmed-nasser-passed-away/ http://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4be2e10.html, publication date: February 2, 2001

	https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/415
Abdulahi Hassan Mahmud	During its most active years in the late 1970s, WSLF was led by Abdulahi Hassan Mahmud who also served as the group's top military commander. Somalia allowed the WSLF leadership to have its office in Mogadishu and provided WSLF with rear bases. By the early 1980s, most of the Somali support to WSLF had stopped. In the 1980s, the Somali government forbade the WSLF and its leaders to use its territory to launch attacks into Ethiopia. *Sources:* http://www.biyokulule.com/A_Quisling-Scheme.htm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/496
Mohammed Dirye Urdoh	In late January/early February 1981, the WSLF membership ousted its entire 70-man central committee, including Secretary-general Abdulahi Hassan Mahmud and deputy secretary-general Abdi Nasir. Mohammed Dirye Urdoh became the new secretary-general of a fresh 50-man central committee. In the 1980s, the Somali government forbade the WSLF and its leaders to use its territory to launch attacks into Ethiopia. *Sources:* http://www.biyokulule.com/A_Quisling-Scheme.htm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/496
Abdi Nassir Sheikh Aden	In the 1980s, the Somali government forbade the WSLF and its leaders to use its territory to launch attacks into Ethiopia. In the 1990s, the victors in the Ethiopian civil war asked for Sudanese help to locate representatives of the long moribund WSLF. The Sudanese found them hiding in the midst of war-torn Mogadishu, fearing Hawiye revenge for their long association with Said Barre's regime and the mindless violence sweeping the Somali capital. They were flown to Khartoum, where they met with EPRDF representatives. The leader of this delegation was Abdi Nassir Sheikh Aden who had been Said Barre's choice as Secretary General of the WSLF since 1983. *Sources:* http://www.roape.org/pdf/5908.pdf https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/496
Sheikh Ibrahim Abdullah Mah	ONLF (Ogaden National Liberation Front) won local elections in 1992 and took over the administration of the Somali region. In 1994, coexistence with the central government broke down and ONLF began to wage guerrilla attacks. Sheikh Ibrahim Abdullah Mah served as chairman of the ONLF until 1998. In 1999, he formed the Institute of Strategic Studies of the Horn of Africa (The Horn of Africa Research and Strategic Studies Centre) in Abu Dhabi. He retained his Central Commitment seat and was an active member of ONLF until he passed away. He died in Abu Dhabi on 22 June 2008. *Sources*: https://www.somalinet.com/forums/viewtopic.php?t=260441

	https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/497
Mohammed Omar Osman	Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman was hiding in Asmara, Eritrea. In 2014, he aired a message to Ogaden people, stating that the Ogaden struggle would continue until the will of Ogaden people were respected. The ONLF transferred 1,740 soldiers to the government in a ceremony held in Jigjiga, the capital of the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia, to mark the end of armed struggle. Leaders of the ONLF and its combatants returned to Ethiopia from their base in Eritrea in November 2018, following a peace agreement reached with the Ethiopian government in Asmara in October. The group has now vowed to pursue its struggle through peaceful means. *Sources*: http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article44979 https://unpo.org/article/17437 https://unpo.org/article/21189 https://ethsat.com/2019/02/onlf-transfers-1740-combatants-to-the-government https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/497 https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=2469
Dima Nogo	Somalia supported Ethiopian armed groups including the OLF (Oromo Liberation Front) in the 1970s. After losing the Ogaden war in 1978, Somalia turned its back on the OLF and even went as far as to remove the OLF office which was located in Somalia. In the 1980s, the OLF opened an office in Sudan after its office in Somalia was closed down. Sudanese leaders provided the OLF with a sanctuary in which it trained fighters and built up rear installations. Dima Nogo stayed in Sudan to join the armed struggle to fight against the Derg regime. After the downfall of the Derg regime or during the transitional period, Dima Nogo served as Minister of Information for the transitional government of Ethiopia (1991-1992). Following the disagreement between TPLF and OLF, he was forced to leave his position as well as the country. OLF subsequently moved to Eritrea and continued to make pressure on the Ethiopian government. OLF leadership was based in Asmara, Eritrea. OLF fighters were trained in Eritrea and shipped to Ethiopia. In September 2018, leaders of OLF returned to Ethiopia. As of 2020, Dima Nogo was member of the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/551 https://garagarri.wordpress.com/2011/09/05/bandera-garri http://oromoaffairs.blogspot.com/2011/10/independent-state-of-oromia-bargaining.html http://tuckmagazine.com/2019/02/28/interview-former-olf-chairman-dima-noggo

	https://advocacy4oromia.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/genocide-against-the-oromo-people-of-ethiopia-summary-report-pdf https://www.ethiopiaobserver.com/2018/09/03/olf-rebels-look-to-political-future-carve-out-new-identity https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/9/15/thousands-of-ethiopians-hail-return-of-once-banned-oromo-group https://hopr.gov.et/en/web/guest/-/hon-dr.-dima-nogo-serbo
Magarsa Bari	After losing the Ogaden war in 1978, Somalia turned its back on the OLF and even went as far as to remove the OLF office which was located in Somalia. In the 1980s, the OLF opened an office in Sudan after its office in Somalia was closed down. Magarsa Bari was one of the fallen heroes of OLF. On April 15, 1981 a delegation of the OLF leadership including Magarsa Bari were captured and executed by Somali militia in Ethiopia. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/551 https://garagarri.wordpress.com/2011/09/05/bandera-garri http://oromoaffairs.blogspot.com/2011/10/independent-state-of-oromia-bargaining.html http://maddawalaabuupress.blogspot.kr/2015/04/an-ethiopian-muslim-man-jemaal-rahmaan.html
Galassa Dilbo	In the 1980s, the OLF opened an office in Sudan after its office in Somalia was closed down. Sudanese leaders provided the OLF with a sanctuary in which it trained fighters and built up rear installations. In the late 1990s, when the Eritrean-Ethiopian War was raging on, much of OLF leadership moved to Eritrea. Its military wing began to get training and support from the Eritrean government. Galassa Dilbo returned to Ethiopia in December 2018. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/551 http://www.bilisummaa.com/deliberately-creating-confusion-in-the-name-of-the-olf-is-a-criminal-act/ https://www.siitube.com/articles/breaking-dawud-ibsa-asks-to-reject-galasa-dilbo-promises-election_3363.html https://kichuu.com/olf-leader-chairman/ https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/olf.htm
Dawud Ibsa (alt. spelling: Daoud Ibsa)	Dawud Ibsa became the OLF's chairman in 1999. In the late 1990s, when the Eritrean-Ethiopian War was flaring, much of the OLF leadership escaped from Ethiopia and moved to Eritrea. Its military wing began to get training and support from the Eritrean government. In August 2018, a peace agreement was forged between the Ethiopian government and the OLF, in principle ending the 45-year Oromo conflict. Dawud Ibsa, chairman of the OLF, returned from Eritrea to Ethiopia in September 2018. After coming back home, he engaged in political process. Dawud Ibsa, the long-time chairman of the OLF, had been placed under house arrest since April 2021. He was released in March 2022.

	Sources: Shinn and Ofcansky. 2013. *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/551 https://www.geeskaafrika.com/26829/ethiopia-laughs-eritrean-president-isaias-pontificates https://www.ethiopiaobserver.com/2018/09/03/olf-rebels-look-to-political-future-carve-out-new-identity https://www.opride.com/2018/09/16/oromo-liberation-front-given-a-heros-welcome-in-addis-ababa https://www.africanews.com/2022//3/18/ethiopia-opposition-leader-released-from-house-arrest
Mohammed Ali Rube	OLF and SALF (Garris Liberators) were allies for the Ogaden liberation. After losing the Ogaden war, Somalia turned its back on the OLF and even went as far as to remove the OLF office. But the SALF (Somali Abo Liberation Front) or the Garris (those who accepted being Somali Abo) were allowed to stay in Somalia. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1054 Jon Abbink and Tobias Hagmann (eds). 2016. *Reconfiguring Ethiopia: The Politics of Authoritarian Reform*. New York: Routledge https://garagarri.wordpress.com/2011/09/05/bandera-garri
Wolde Emmanuel Dubale	Wolde Emmanuel Dubale created the SLM in Somalia. Sources diverge as to exactly when the group was formed (years ranging from 1975 to 1978). He lived in exile in Somalia between the late 1970s and 1991. In 1992, Dubale broke with the transitional government and sought asylum in Britain. He was charged with participation in the Red Terror by the Ethiopian government. The charges against him were dismissed just before the 2005 elections. EPRDF and SLM signed a formal agreement of cooperation in December 2006. Dubale returned to Ethiopia in 2006 under the agreement. He died in 2007. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1055 Lovise Aalen. 2011. *The Politics of Ethnicity in Ethiopia.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brille http://www.refworld.org/docid/589443ab4.html John Markakis. 2011. *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*. Suffolk, UK: James Currey. http://sidamachronicle.blogspot.com/2007/11/former-leader-of-sidama-liberation.html
Shaykh Abu Suhail (aka Muhammad Ahmad)	EIJM-AS, a hardline faction within EIJM (Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement), remained based in Sudan. Shaykh Abu Shuail (aka. Muhammad Ahmad) was mentioned as the leader of the Eritrean Jihad movement in documents captured from Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. It was from this connection that some alleged EIJM had ties to Al-Qaeda. EIJM's

	operations in Khartoum might also have put members in contact with Al-Qaeda, which was based in Sudan during the early and mid-1990s. *Sources:* http://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4be2e24.html Harmony Project. "Al-Qaida's (Mis)Adventures in the Horn of Africa." Combating Terrorism Center at West Point Mohamed Salih. 2011/2. "Transnational Islamist (Jihadist) Movements and Inter-State Conflicts in the Horn of Africa." *Policy Notes*. Nordic Africa Institute. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/495
Henriques Tiago N'Zita	FLEC-FAC was a splinter group from the original FLEC, aiming at achieving independence for Cabinda. The FLEC began to factionlize in 1975. Henriques Tiago N'Zita was leader of FLEC-FAC, residing in Paris, France. Although special ties between French intelligence services and FLEC started during the Cold War to counter Cuban-backed Marxist regime in Angola, they continued on even after the Cold War ended. Tiago N'Zita had resided in Paris since the 1980s. In late July 2010, FLEC-FAC splintered again when the then-chief of staff Stanislas Boma and Alexandre Tati contacted Luanda to open up for talks. Tiago N'Zita immediately expelled them from the group. Since the expelled commanders constituted the backbone of the FLEC's armed wing, their faction is considered to be the continuation of FLEC-FAC. Tiago N'Zita formed FLEC-FAC-TN faction composed of political faction and European disapora. FLEC-FAC-TN was led by him until his death on 3 June 2016 in Paris. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/541 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/7412 https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/832 http://www.redeangola.info/morreu-nzita-tiago-presidente-e-fundador-da-flec https://www.rfi.fr/pt/angola/20160603-morreu-nzita
Emmanuel N'Zita	In June 2016, after the death of Henriques Tiago N'Zita, Emmanuel N'Zita proclaimed himself the president of FLEC-FAC-TN, which was based in Paris. As of May 2022, Emmanuel N'Zita was the president of FLEC-FAC-TN, living in exile in Switzerland. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/541 https://www.voaportugues.com/a/emmanuel-nzita-assume-lideranca-flec-fac/3366844.html https://www.dw.com/pt-002/flec-fac-denuncia-ataque-das-forças-angolanas-a-centro-de-refugiados-na-rdc/a-61963721 https://www.dw.com/pt-002/angola-ainda-h%C3%A1-esperan%C3%A7a-numa-solu%C3%A7%C3%A3o-para-cabinda/a-61090887 https://www.reuters.com/article/angola-oil-security-idINL8N1952C9 https://observador.pt/2017/11/06/governos-no-exilio

Andre Matade Matsangaiza	Born in Gorongosa, Mozambique, Andre Matade Matsangaiza joined FRELIMO in 1972. After FRELIMO's victory in 1975, he became a quartermaster stationed at Dondo, near Biera. He was punished for theft by being expelled from the Mozambican Army and was placed in a re-education camp at Gorongosa. He was freed during an attack on the camp by Rhodesian forces and was taken to Rhodesia. In 1977, Matsangaiza was appointed by the Rhodesians as leader of RENAMO. Andre Matsangaiza died in 1979 in a raid against FRELIMO in Sofala Province, Mozambique. *Sources:* Y. G-M. Lulat 2008. *United States Relations with South Africa: A Critical Overview from the Colonial Period to the Present*. New York: Peter Lang. https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/722 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/498
Sam Nujoma	In February 1960, Sam Nujoma went into exile to Tanzania. In April 1960, Sam Nujoma and other exiled leaders formed SWAPO in Dar es Salaam. In 1969, Nujoma was re-affirmed as SWAPO president at the Tanga Consultative Conference in Tanzania. SWAPO headquarters was first established in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where its exiled leadership was based. They were moved to Lusaka, Zambia, in the late 1960s. In 1966, Nujoma chartered a plane to Windhoek. On arrival at the airport, he was arrested and deported to Zambia. In March 1976, SWAPO moved its headquarters from Zambia to Angola. The MPLA offered SWAPO bases in Angola for staging attacks against the South African military. After 29 years in exile, Sam Nujoma returned to Namibia in September 1989. He arrived from exile headquarters in Luanda, Angola. He led SWAPO to victory in the UN supervised elections that paved the way for independence. In 1990, he became the first president of Namibia. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/641 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/461 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sam-Nujoma https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-09-15-mn-180-story.html Hidipo Hamutenya. “Namibia and Angola: Analysis of a symbiotic relationship.” https://www.presidency.gov.za/his-excellency-dr-samuel-daniel-sam-nujoma-namibia
Oliver Tambo	In 1958, Oliver Tambo became Deputy President of the ANC and in 1959 was served with a five-year banning order by the government. On 28 March 1960, Oliver Tambo left South Africa shortly after the Sharpeville massacre, on the instruction of the ANC. He lived in the UK between 1960 and 1990. Tambo returned to South Africa on 13 December 1990 after over 30 years in exile after having been elected National Chairperson of the ANC in July of the same year. Tambo died on 24 April 1993, aged 75, due to complications from a stroke.

	Sources: https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/o-r-tambo-leaves-south-africa-exile https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/oliver-reginald-kaizana-tambo https://www.biography.com/political-figure/oliver-tambo https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/513
Bob Denard	After Ahmed Abdallah, president of the Comoros, died in November 1989, Bob Denard, head of the Presidential Guard, launched a coup and seized control of the government. Pressured by France and South Africa, Denard conceded defeat, withdrawing peacefully from the Comoros on 15 December 1989. Along with about two dozen comrades, Bob Denard was flown to South Africa by French paratroopers and put under house arrest. The French government later announced that Denard would remain in detention in South Africa pending the outcome of a French judicial inquiry into Abdallah's death. In February 1993, Denard returned to France, where he was initially arrested, tried, and exonerated of involvement in the death of Abdallah. *Sources*: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1566272/Bob-Denard.html https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/mercenary-held-1470392.html https://www.nytimes.com/1993/04/25/world/a-french-soldier-of-fortune-tries-on-the-mantle-of-patriot-and-finds-it-fits.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/518
Ahmed Mergheni	In 1974, Ahmed Mergheni was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison. Having benefited from a presidential pardon in 1976, he went to Libya clandestinely. . Ahmed Mergheni and his RAT comrades attacked the town of Gafsa from Libya on January 26-27, 1980. Tunisia accused Libya of training the rebels. In April 1980, the government executed seventeen participants for their involvement in the Gafsa attack. With that, the group ceased to be active. *Sources:* http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-roject/middle-eastnorth-africapersian-gulf-region/tunisia-1956-present https://tobegoodagain.wordpress.com/2012/10/09/tunisie-dans-lenfer-des-couloirs-de-la-mort-enquete-de-samy-ghorbal http://www.habib-bourguiba.net/les-evenements-de-gafsa/ https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/511
Abdul Qader al-Najdi	The emergence of IS in Tunisia resulted from its expansion of operations from the Tripolitania region of Libya. ISIS in Libya launched attacks in neighboring Tunisia, killing dozens of soldiers and civilians on March 7, 2016. Abdul Qader al-Najdi was the alleged emir (leader) of ISIS in Libya, as identified by an ISIS newsletter released in March 2016. Al-Najdi's debut as emir of ISIS in Libya came several months after Abul-

	Mughirah al-Qahtani was killed in November 2015. Despite having no named leader, IS Libya continued to stage major attacks during that time. Abdul Qader al-Najdi reportedly entered Libya in September 2014 with Abul-Mughirah al-Qahtani via Turkey using forged Libyan passports. Al-Najdi was born in Saudi Arabia. In September 2020, the Libyan National Army claimed it had killed al-Najdi earlier in the month during a raid in the Libyan city of Sebha. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/14333 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13694 https://edition.cnn.com/2014/11/18/world/isis-libya/index.html https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abul-mughirah-al-qahtani https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abdul-qadr-al-najdi
John Garang	In May 1983, John Garang was sent to his old command in Bor to quell a mutiny of 500 southern Sudanese troops. He vanished. More than two months later, Garang reappeared in Ethiopia, where Mengistu Haile Mariam enthroned him as head of the new Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). When Mengistu's regime collapsed in 1991, the SPLM/A lost its chief financial backer. SPLM/A maintained military bases in Ethiopia from 1983 to 1991. *Sources:* https://www.theguardian.com/news/2005/aug/03/guardianobituaries.sudan https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/663 Volkert Mathijs Doop. 2013. "Ethiopia's Relationships with Sudan and South Sudan." *UNISCI Discussion Paper*, Number 33. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/466
Mohamed Osman al-Mirghani	The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was a coalition of opposition groups uniting against the Omar al-Bashir regime. It was led by Mohamed Osman al-Mirghani, leader of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). The NDA was formed in October 1989 in response to a military coup by Omar al-Bashir. DUP leaders including al-Mirghani spent much of al-Bashir's presidency in exile in Egypt. After signing the reconciliation agreement with the government, Mohamed Osman al-Mirghani returned to Sudan from exile in Egypt in 2008 and joined a coalition government with Omar al-Bashir in 2011. *Sources:* https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/sudan/political-parties-nda.htm http://mapeastafrica.com/2014/07/sudans_opposition_parties_2015 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/467
Khalil Ibrahim	On 30 June 2006, Khalil Ibrahim (leader of JEM), Khamis Abdalla (leader of an SLM faction) and others founded the National Redemption Front (NRF), which installed bases in Chad.

	After Chad refused to give him refuge following a deal with the Sudanese government, Khalil Ibrahim lived in exile in Libya from May 2010 to September 2011. The Libyan civil war compelled him to flee across the Sahara and return to Darfur. The Sudanese government and diplomatic sources accused Ibrahim's rebel group in Libya of fighting as mercenaries for Muammar Gaddafi during the Libyan civil war. Sudan repeatedly asked Col. Gaddafi's government to expel Khalil Ibrahim, but the request was rejected. The Sudan Armed Forces announced that it had killed Ibrahim with an air strike in North Kordofan on 25 December 2011. *Sources*: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14881745 https://www.sudantribune.com/EXCLUSIVE-JEM-Leader-says-he,40110 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Khalil-Ibrahim https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/dr-khalil-ibrahim-leader-of-the-darfur-rebels-in-sudan-6281848.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/468
Abdul Wahid al-Nur	SLM/A (Sudan Liberation Movement/Army) emerged in February 2003. Since then, Abdul Wahid al-Nur has been leader of this group. The Darfur Joint Resistance Forces was formed in March 2014 and existed until July 2017. This alliance was comprised of the SLM/A led by Abdul Wahid al-Nur, the SLM/A-MM led by Minni Minawi and the smaller SLMJ (LMJ-TH) led by Taher Hajar. Abdul Wahid al-Nour has not set foot in his country. He has stayed in France since 2003, directing his armed group in Darfur from a satellite phone in his Paris apartment. As of October 2020, Abdul Wahid al-Nour resided in Paris. SLM/A rejected the 2019 & 2020 Sudanese peace processes. Fighting between SLM/A and pro-government forces continued as of 2021. *Sources:* http://www.newenglishreview.com/blog_direct_link.cmf/blog_id/65401/Chairman-Abdul-Wahid-of-SLM-Tells-US-Ambassador-and-Special-Envoy-to-Sudan-and-South-Sudan-Donald-Booth--Negotiations-by-Khartoum-are-Illusory https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=4088 https://www.france24.com/en/20181229-sudan-rebel-denies-using-violence-against-protesters https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/469 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/5866 https://eyeradio.org/slms-al-nur-advocates-for-revival-of-new-sudan-vision sudantribune.com/article256430 https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/2545006/abdul-wahid=al-nur-asharq-al-awsat-juba-agreement-deepens-crisis https://allafrica.com/stories/201910020044html
Ahmed Diraige	As a governor in Darfur, Ahmed Diraige wrote the "famine letter" to Nimeiry in November 1983, warning him that unless foreign food aid was requested, Darfur would face a serious famine. In December 1983, an arrest

	warrant against Diraige was issued and he escaped to Saudi Arabia. Shortly, Diraige sought exile in London. In the 1980s, many Fur military conscripts deserted to the SPLA. Sudanese Brig. Fadlallah Burma Nasir and Chief of Staff Brig. Fawzi Ahmed el-Fadl visited Diraige at his home in London, asking if he would come back and support the government to stop the desertion of Fur soldiers. Diraige refused. Ahmed Diraige resided in the United Kingdom, when he was the head of the National Redemption Front (NRF). He died on 20 September 2020. *Sources:* https://sudantribune.com/spip.php?article69875 http://www.economist.com/node/1882960 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CIA7PJrnMtg Timothy J. Stapleton. 2017. *A History of Genocide in Africa*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/470
Minni Minnawi	During the Darfur civil war which started in 2003, SLM/A operated in Darfur and southern Libya. Libya supported SLM/A. In May 2006, Minni Minnawi signed the Darfur Peace Agreement with the Khartoum government. Minnawi was appointed as chairman of the Transitional Darfur Regional Authority and as Senior Assistant to the President of Sudan. A month after signing the Darfur Peace Agreement, Minawi returned to Darfur. In December 2010, the SLM/A withdrew from the Darfur Peace Agreement. Minni Minnawi resigned from the government, moved to Juba and returned to the armed opposition. By early 2017, many of Minnawi's commanders and fighters returned to Darfur from South Sudan. The Darfur Joint Resistance Forces was formed in March 2014 and existed until July 2017. This alliance was comprised of the SLM/A led by Abdul Wahid al-Nur, the SLM/A-MM led by Minni Minawi and the smaller SLMJ (LMJ-TH) led by Taher Hajar. In April 2020, SLM-MM led by Minni Minnawi resumed its participation in the peace talks. Sudanese PM Abdallah Hamdok held a phone conversation with Minnawi to discuss the progress of the peace process taking place in Juba. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/5866 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/471 https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/rebel-forces-claim-control-of-north-darfur-localities https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/rebel-leader-ali-karbino-killed-in-north-darfur https://allafrica.com/stories/201708100134.html https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=4088

	https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/south-sudan-s-president-salva-kiir-meets-sudan-rebel-leader-minni-minawi https://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan/minnawi-group-resumes-participation-sudan-s-peace-process Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment. 2011 September. "SLA-MM" <https://smallarmssurvey.org/sites/default/files/HSBA-Armed-Groups-SLA-MM.pdf>
Taher Hajar	Taher Hajar who led the SLMJ (LMJ-TH) was one of the leaders of the Darfur Joint Resistance Forces (DJRF). In October 2015, after attending the National Dialogue conference, Taher Hajar returned to N'Djamena. His return to Chad derived from the need for more consultation and arrangement. After returning to N'Djamena, Hajar requested the Sudanese president to separate the peace negotiations of the conflict areas and the National Dialogue process. Idriss Déby guaranteed that Taher Hajar would not be arrested upon arriving in Sudan. After the DJRF ceased to exist, Hajar group became part of the Sudan Liberation Forces Alliance (SLFA) in July 2017. He was elected leader of the SLFA. This group was based in Libya and took part in the Libyan civil war alongside General Haftar. Tahir Hajar arrrived in Khartoum in March 2021 in accordance with the peace deal struck in Juba in October 2020. He joined the the Sudan Sovereignty Council in March 2021. *Sources:* https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/rebel-leaders-join-sudan-sovereignty-council https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/rebels-in-sudanese-dialogue-make-demands https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/opposition-forces-boycott-sudan-s-national-dialogue https://arabpressreleases.com/new-batch-of-darfur-groups-arrives-in-khartoum https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/5866
James Gai Yoach	Sudan supported SSLM/A before the August 2012 agreement. The Sudanese government offered the SSLM/A a safe haven, funds, weapons, and ammunition. In late September 2012, James Gai Yoach was arrested in Khartoum. Why he was arrested is unknown, but Khartoum may have done so to prove to Juba that it was cutting back on its support for SSLM/A following an August 2012 agreement. It was also alleged that Gai Yoach was about to defect or was involved in the November 2012 coup attempt in Khartoum. As of October 2013, James Gai Yoach was in Khartoum. Some 300 of his men were in South Kordofan/Unity border areas. He defected from the rebel forces in June 2014 and joined the government of South Sudan. *Sources:*

	Small Arms Survey. 2013. “Pendulum swings: The rise and fall of insurgent militias in South Sudan.” *HSBA Issue Brief for Sudan and South Sudan* Number 22, November. <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/174763/HSBA-IB22-Pendulum-Swings.pdf> https://sudantribune.com/spip.php?article56526 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/214
Bapiny Montuil	Bapiny Montuil, deputy commander of SSLM/A, took over the leadership after Gai Yoach was arrested in September 2012. Both Montuil and Yoach was based in Khartoum. In May 2013, Montuil was in Juba beginning negotiations with the government. In October 2013, he accepted anmesty. His forces awaited integration in Mayom, South Sudan. In October 2018, a general claimed to oust Montuil. But whether Montuil was really deposed is unclear. As of September 2020 Bapiny Montuil was the leader of SSLM/A. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1124 https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/list-of-parties-which-signed-document-on-intra-south-sudanese-talks https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/rebel-general-announces-ouster-of-sslm-s-leader-bapiny-monytuil https://ssnewsnow.com/fighting-in-unity-states-mayom-county-left-12-dead-and-20-wounded/ Small Arms Survey. 2013. “Pendulum swings: The rise and fall of insurgent militias in South Sudan.” *HSBA Issue Brief for Sudan and South Sudan* Number 22, November. Republic of South Sudan Office of the President and UNDP. 2012. “Second Governors' Forum: Agriculture for Sustainable Food and Economic Growth” November 26-30. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-16287972
Riek Machar	Following the independence of South Sudan, Riek Machar served as the vice president of the country until July 2013. In December 2013, Riek Machar’s forces broke away from the SPLM/A goverrnment, created the SPLM/A - IO, and unleashed violence against the government. The SPLM/A - IO was at first concentrated to Juba but quickly spread to other parts of South Sudan. In August 2015, a peace agreement was signed between the government and Machar's SPLM/A - IO. In April 2016, as part of the peace deal, Machar was sworn in as vice-president. In July 2016, fighting resumed and Machar fled the capital and sought exile in South Africa. In October 2017, he was under house arrest in South Africa. His house arrest status was lifted in March 2018. Riek Machar signed a peace deal with the government in September 2018. This peace deal allowed him to return from exile abroad. But before September 2019, Machar had visited South Sudan just once to celebrate the signing of the accord. After the signing of the peace agreement, Machar was living in Khartoum. In September 2019, exiled rebel leader Riek Machar arrived in Juba for expected talks with President Kiir. This visit was the first in a year. Machar was accompanied by Sudanese General Hemeti.

	In February 2020, Riek Machar was sworn in as first vice-president, sealing a peace deal aimed at ending six years of civil war. In August 2021, rival leaders said that Machar had been deposed as head of his party and its armed forces. Days after, Machar fired 3 generals who had declared to depose him. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/4226 https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/10/12/as-south-sudan-implodes-america-reconsiders-its-support-for-the-regime https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_south-sudan-focus_3-generals-fired-south-sudan-declaring-machar-not-party-leader/6209266.html https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_rival-leaders-south-sudans-vp-machar-deposed-party/6209150.html https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-51562367 https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/9/9/riek-machar-back-in-s-sudan-for-rare-talks-with-president-kiir https://www.iol.co.za/news/machars-house-arrest-lifted-days-in-sa-numbered-14114037

Middle East

Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou (alt. spelling: Qasemlu)	In 1981, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou settled in Paris and joined the National Council of Resistance of Iran, which was founded by his KDPI and other opposition forces. Dr. Ghassemlou headed the KDPI's delegation to the 18th Congress of the Socialist International in Vienna, Austria. He was assassinated in Vienna in July 13, 1989, one day after the meeting. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/164 Lexis Advance: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. "Iran and Iraq in Brief." (Published in July 29, 1989). Lexis Advance: Al Arabia.net. "From Ghassemlou to Qaderi, Iran's history of assassinating its Kurdish opposition." (Published in March 11, 2018). Lexis Advance: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. "Qasemlu criticized over Kurdish separation." (Published in March 12, 1982).
Sadegh Sharafkandi	KDPI operated in northern Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan). Its headquarters was located in Koya, northern Iraq. Sadegh Sharafkandi, the exiled Secretary-General of KDPI, was assassinated in Germany in September 1992. He was one of delegates of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran who were in Berlin for a Socialist International convention. *Sources:*

	Seyyed Hossein Mousavian. 2008. *Iran-Europe Relations: Challenges and Opportunities.* London: Routledge. https://pdki.org/english/?page_id=4975 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/164 Lexis Advance: The New York Times. "Iran Kurdish Leader Among 4 Killed in Berlin." (Published in Sep. 19, 1992).
Mustafa Hijri (alt. spelling: Moustapha Hedjri)	After the assassination of Dr. Sharafkandi, Mustafa Hijri, who had been a secondary school teacher prior to joining the KDPI, took over as interim party leader from 1992 to 1995. Mr. Hijri was elected Secretary General of the KDPI in 2006 and remained its leader as of 2019. The KDPI is exiled in northern Iraq. It is banned in Iran and thus not able to operate openly in Iran. As of March 2016, KDPI leadership including Mustafa Hijri resided in northern Iraq. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/164 https://dckurd.org/2018/06/28/mustafa-hijri Gareth Stansfield & Mohammed Shareef (eds). 2017. *The Kurdish Question Revisited*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/kdpi.htm https://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/141120214 https://unpo.org/article/19029 https:/dckurd.org/2018/06/29/qa-with-mustafa-hijri https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/iran-news/iranian-kurdish-leader-to-post-iran-regime-is-a-common-enemy-460881 Lexis Advance: Financial Times. "Iranian exile groups condemn US overtures." (Published in June 9, 2006).
Massoud Rajavi	In 1981, Massoud Rajavi fled to Paris, France, from Tehran's airbase. In 1986 Rajavi moved to Iraq and set up a base near Iran-Iraq border. Rajavi was welcomed in Baghdad by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. In letters to Gorbachev sent in 1985, Rajavi confessed that he had ordered the killing of over 10,000 Iranians. The MEK joined Saddam's army during the Iran-Iraq War, helping Saddam kill thousands of Iranian civilians and soldiers. Massoud Rajavi sustained serious injuries as a result of a US operation during its occupation of Iraq. Because of the injuries, he avoided appearing publicly. In 2010, an Iraqi court accused Massoud Rajavi and other MEK members of helping Saddam Hussein counter a revolt by Shia and Kurds. In 2012, the MEK succeeded in making the US and the EU drop it from their list of terrorist organizations. That is when the US kept him under its guard and supervision, restraining him from having any further public appearance. A series of evidence suggests that Rajavi had been hidden in the US. It was reported that he died in 2020 under United States supervision. *Sources*: https://en.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=13940701000979

	Richard Falk. 1982. "Local Politics, Global Implications: Iran: Interviews with Abol-Hassan Banisadr and Massoud Rajavi." *Alternatives* 8 (1): 91-107. Lexis Advance: FARS News Agency. "MKO Ringleader Admits Massacre of 10,000 Iranian People." (Published in Sep. 23, 2015) https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/308 https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/30/former-mek-leader-massoud-rajavi-died-under-us-guard-says-iran-media https://www.tasnimnews.com/en/news/2023/10/29/2980064/details-emerge-in-death-of-mko-ringleader-massoud-rajavi
Abdul Rahman Haji Ahmadi	Abdul Rahman Haji Ahmadi served as the General Secretary of PJAK. Ahmadi continued leading the PJAK from Germany after being forced into exile. Prior to PJAK, Ahmedi had worked with PKK as an affiliate. In 2010, Haji Ahmadi was arrested by German authorities but was released shortly afterwards. Before his release, Iran asked Germany to extradite him to Iran. Germany refused this request on the grounds that Haji Ahmadi was a German citizen. As of March 2022, Abdul Rahman Haji Ahmadi is the leader of PJAK, living in exile in Cologne, Germany. He died in Germany in 2025. *Sources:* http://ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2010/3/irankurd576.htm http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/new-kurdish-terror-group-germany-concerned-about-pjak-activities-a-547211.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/309 Vera Eccarius-Kelly. 2011. *The Militant Kurds: A Dual Strategy for Freedom*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Lexis Advance: Iranian Gov. News. "Iran deplores EU inaction on PJAK." (Published Oct. 5, 2011).
Salahuddin Farooqi	Jaish al-Adl was founded in April 2012 by Salahuddin Farooqi. He comes from the Baluchistan province in Pakistan. He has ties to communities on both sides of the border. Jaish al-Adl has used Pakistan as a base of operations. As of February 2021, Farooqui was the leader of Jaish al-Adl. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/4364 https://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/node/37476 https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20211108-leader-of-ethiopia-s-oromo-rebels-predicts-victory-very-soon https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2020/aug/06/irans-troubled-provinces-baluchistan https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2017/apr/05/baluch-insurgents-iran https://www.atlanticocouncil.org/blogs/iransource/a-top-baluchi-terrorist-was-killed-how-will-this-impact-insurgencies-in-iran
Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	In August 2011, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi expanded military operations from Iraq to Syria, authorizing the creation of an Islamic State in Syria. From 2013, IS led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi extended its influence to neighboring states including Iran, Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. IS militants mounted attacks in those countries. It was suggested that Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was based in Syria from 2011 until his death. IS (ISIS) retained a significant presence in the desert plains of northeastern Syria's Hasakeh province despite having lost most of its cross-

	border caliphate which once covered a third of neighboring Iraq. In October 2019, al-Baghdadi was chased by US forces and died by self-detonating a suicide vest in Syria. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/14268 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13902 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/234 https://apnews.com/article/biden-says-us-raid-syria-killed-islamic-state-group-leader-ca598136de014e008f746a35f6f721b0 https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/27/world/middleeast/al-baghdadi-dead.html http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27801676 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5381635/ISIS-leader-al-Baghdadi-alive-injured-strike.html https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13675 https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13886 https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2019/jordan https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/20/world/middleeast/jordan-attack-isis-karak.html
Abdullah Öcalan	Abdullah Öcalan fled to Syria in 1979. He was based in Syria until 1998. In 1999, Öcalan was captured in Kenya and transferred to Turkey. *Sources:* https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/daily/feb99/ocalanturkey18.htm https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abdullah-Ocalan https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/323
Murat Karayilan	The PKK moved all its camps to northern Iraq in 1998. Murat Karayilan was one of the important leaders of the PKK holed up in northern Iraq. He commanded some 5,000 fighters in northern Iraq's remote Kandil Mountains. As of March 2021, Karayilan was leader of the PKK. PKK often use northern Iraq as a base to launch cross-border terrorist atttacks on Turkey. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/323 https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/kurdistan-workers-party-pkk https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-usa-pkk-idUSKCN1NB2CH https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/war-on-terror/turkey-kills-ex-guard-of-pkks-acting-leader-karayilan Michael M. Gunter 2018. *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Lexis Advance: BBC Monitoring Europe. "Talks between Iraqi Kurdistan president, Turkey's Kurdish leader said possible." (Published in June 3, 2013).
Dursun Karatas	Dursun Karatas was arrested in 1980 in Istanbul but escaped from jail in 1989. He spent five years in exile in Germany. In 1994, he was arrested in French-Italian border by the French police and sentenced to four years in prison. Karatas died in 2008 in the Netherlands. *Sources:*

	Lexis Advance: IPS-Inter Press Service. "Turkey-Politics: Symbolic bomb blast traced to arrest in France." (Published in Sep. 13, 1994). Lexis Advance: "Taz, Die Tageszeitung. "Fuer ein ende der gewaltspirale." (Published in Feb. 2, 1998). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/334
Hojatolislam Seyyed Mohammed Bakr al-Hakim	In 1980 Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammed Bakr al-Hakim fled to Iran. While in exile, al-Hakim created SCIRI in 1982. Al-Hakim spent more than 20 years in exile in Iran and returned to Iraq in May 2003. He was assassinated in a bomb attack in Najaf in 2003. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/231 https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/30/guardianobituaries.iraq https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased.521
Mullah Mustafa Barzani	When Iranian support ended in 1975, the Kurdish guerrillas were overrun by the Iraqi forces. After the defeat, Mullah Mustafa Barzani took up residence in Tehran, Iran. The KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) went through a chaotic period as it attempted to reorganize itself. Barzani and his aids continued trying to get support from the US. But the US had no interest in advancing KDP's nationalist goals. Seeking to treat lung cancer, Barzani went to the US. He had been living in exile in northern Virginia since 1976. He died in 1979. *Sources*: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mustafa-al-Barzani https://www.nytimes.com/1979/03/02/archives/mustafa-barzani-kurds-leader-dies-he-led-a-protracted-war-against.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/260
Jalal Talabani	In March 1975, Jalal Talabani fled to Syria. He founded the PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) in exile in Damascus in June 1975. Talabani mounted hostilities in Iraq the following year. He returned from Syria in 1991 after the US encouraged the overthrow of the Iraqi regime. Jalal Talabani became president of Iraq in March 2005. *Sources:* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/04/jalal-talabani-obituary https://ucdp.uu.se/statebased/565 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/261
Masoud Barzani	The KDP-QM splintered from the KDP in 1975. When the KDP relinquished its armed struggle and its leadership fled into exile in March 1975, the KDP-QM emerged out of the remnants that wished to continue its armed struggle. The KDP-QM was based in Iran. In the wake of their defeat during the 1974-1975 war, Mustafa Barzani and his sons Idris and Masoud fled to Iran. Masoud Barzani spent much of the period from 1976 until 1991 in exile, mostly in Iran. Iraq's ill-fated invasion of Kuwait in 1990 offered a new opportunity for the Kurdish movement. Barzani returned to Iraqi Kurdistan from Iran and has remained since. Masoud Barzani was president of Kurdistan region from June 2005 to November 2017.

	Sources: https://www.masoudbarzani.krd/en/biography-masoud-barzani https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/barzani-masud-1946 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/262
Moqtada al-Sadr	Moqtada al-Sadr reportedly moved to Qom, Iran in August 2008, after suspending the activities of his fighters. In 2011, al-Sadr returned to Iraq after three years in exile in Iran. Sadr vowed not to return to Iraq until all US forces left the country. The wane in US power over Iraq, coupled with a return to political prominence for Sadrists, seems to have been enough to lure Sadr back to Najaf. In response to Israeli attack on Gaza (December 2008-January 2009), al-Sadr called for reprisals against US troops in Iraq. In May 2009, he paid a surprise visit to Ankara for talks that focused on the political process. Ahead of the 2010 Iraqi parliamentary election, al-Sadr called on all Iraqis to participate in the election and supported those who sought to expel US troops. Following the US withdrawal from Iraq (in 2011), al-Sadr continued to be an influential figure in Iraqi politics, associated with the Al-Ahrar bloc. *Sources*: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2008/04/200861517227277282.html https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/05/moqtada-al-sadr-returns-iraq https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/5659
Omar Abdel Rahman	Omar Abdel Rahman went into exile in 1990. He managed to get to New York after the US embassy in Sudan granted him a tourist visa in 1990. After the World Trade Center bombing in February 1993, he was arrested in June 1993. After a nine-month trial, Abdel Rahman and nine of his followers were found guilty in October 1995. He was sentenced to life in prison in 1996. Rahman died in a North Carolina prison in 2017. *Sources:* https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/wtc-plot-accused-omar-abdel-rahman-dies-prison-170218193243452.html https://www.britannica.com/biography/Omar-Abdel-Rahman https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/international/americas/137988-170218-radical-islamic-cleric-linked-to-1993-wtc-bombings-dies-in-us-prison-family https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/341
Rifa'i Taha Musa (aka Rifa'i Ahmed Taha or Abu Yasser)	Rifa'i Taha Musa left Egypt for Afghanistan in 1987. In 2000, he was in Afghanistan at al-Qaeda camps run by Osama bin Laden. An Arabic television network broadcast a videotape of Taha Musa and Bin Laden in a meeting together under a banner that called for support to free Mr. Abdel Rahman from prison. In October 2001, Taha Musa was arrested at the Damascus airport after fleeing the post-9/11 invasion of Afghanistan and quietly extradited to Egypt. *Sources:*

	https://www.nytimes.com/2004/06/24/nyregion/a-lawyer-s-co-defendant-aided-in-a-call-to-kill-jews.html Lexis Advance: Associated Press Online. "Report: Syria expels Muslim leader." (released in Nov. 11, 2001). Lexis Advance: Newsday (New York). "Attorney on Trial." (released in Oct. 18, 2004). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/341
Mustafa Hamza	Egyptian authorities arrested Mustafa Hamza in 1981. He served 3 years in prison in the case of the 1981 assassination of Anwar Sadat. On his release, he went to Afghanistan. He stayed in Afghanistan until the August 1998 bombing raids there that followed terrorist attacks on US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. Hamza then fled to Iran. He was extradited to Egypt from Iran in 2004. *Sources:* https://www.voanews.com/archive/egypt-takes-custody-prominent-islamist-militant http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/53873/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-Sheikh-behind-Mubarak-assassination-plot-.aspx https://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2005/01/200841011331160489.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/341
Yahya al-Sayyid Ibrahim Musa	Harakit Sawa'id Misr (Hasm Movement) was formed in 2015 and has been active in the more densely populated areas around the Nile River, including the Cairo metropolitan area. Yahya al-Sayyid Ibrahim Musa and Alaa Ali Ali Mohammed al-Samahi are Turkey-based Hasm leaders. Alaa al-Samahi is believed to be the founder of the Hasm Movement, while Yahya Musa is believed to be a leading figure of the group. In 2021, the US designated the two persons as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist for being leaders of the Hasm Movement. Both Yahya Musa and Alaa al-Samahi live in Turkey. Following the dispersal of the armed Rabaa al-Adawiya and al-Nahda sit-ins in August 2013, Musa and al-Samahi fled to Turkey in September of the same year. Musa and al-Samahi masterminded and participated in terror attacks in Egypt. In April 2021, Egypt demanded the extradition of Yahya Musa and Alaa al-Samahi but Turkey asked for a delay. Turkey stopped the process of granting citizenship to Yahya Musa and Alaa al-Samahi, two US-designated terrorists. In June 2022, Yahya al-Sayyid Ibrahim Musa was sentenced to death in absentia by the Cairo Criminal Court. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6616 https://dailynewsegypt.com/2021/01/17/us-designates-hasm-is-in-sinai-as-foreign-terrorist-organisations/ https://eg.usembassy.gov/state-department-terrorist-designations-of-hasm-and-its-leaders-and-maintenance-of-pij-fto-designation/ thereference_paris.com/16505 https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/egypt-turkey-rapprochement-constraining-muslim-brotherhood https://www.thereference-paris.com/14871

	https://www.cfjustice.org/egypt-death-sentence-for-10-defendants-and-life-imprisonment-for-56-others-in-the-helwan-brigades-case
Alaa Ali Ali Mohammed al-Samahi	See description on Yahya al-Sayyid Ibrahim Musa (Egypt vs Harakit Sawa'id Misr).
Hesham Ashmawy (aka Abu-Umar al-Muhajir)	Hesham Ashmawy (alias Abu-Umar al-Muhajir) set up Jama'at Ansar al-Islam at some point between 2015 and October 2017 and operated as the central figure of this group. After Ansar Bait al-Maqdis pledged allegiance to IS in 2015, Hesham Ashmawy formed the al-Qaeda aligned al-Mourabitoun network which established its primary operational base in the Libyan town of Derna. Al-Mourabitoun was believed to precede Jama'at Ansar al-Islam. In mid-November 2017, Jama'at Ansar al-Islam confirmed its involvement in clashes with Egyptian security forces a few weeks earlier. Hesham Ashmawy was sentenced to death in absentia in December 2017. He was arrested in Libya in October 2018. The LNA and the Egyptian government cooperated over this arrest. In May 2019, Ashmawy was extradited to Egypt. In March 2020, Ashmawy's death sentence was carried out. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6844 https://www.institute.global/policy/what-ansar-al-islam https://timep.org/esw/non-state-actors/ansar-al-islam https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34751349
Riad al-Asaad	Riyad al-Asaad, a former colonel in the Syrian air force, defected and fled to Turkey in 2011. In July 2011, he announced the creation of the Free Syrian Army (FSA). However, the FSA is not a unitary actor but rather an unbrella organization consisting of a number of factions who state their association with it. Prior to September 2012, the FSA operated its command and headquarters from Turkey's southern Hatay province close to the Syrian border with field commanders operating inside Syria. In September 2012, Riyad al-Asaad announced that the FSA leadership had moved from Turkey to "liberated areas" (Idlib province) inside Syria. In December 2012, al-Asaad was replaced by Salim Idris as effective military commander of the Free Syrian Army. In March 2013, al-Asaad was wounded by a bomb planted in his car in eastern Syria. He was transported to Turkey after being severely injured. In November 2017, Riyad al-Asaad was appointed Deputy Prime Minister for Military Affairs of the Syrian Salvation Government located in Idlib. *Sources*: https://www.timesofisrael.com/free-syrian-army-leader-wounded-by-car-bomb https://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/23/world/middleeast/rebels-move-command-from-turkey-to-syria.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/7042 https://www.irishtimes.com/news/rebel-army-moves-command-centre-inside-syria-to-organise-fractured-forces-1.536948

Michel Aoun	In October 1990, Michel Aoun took refuge at the French Embassy and ten months later, went into exile in France. In France, he led a political party, the Free Patriotic Movement. In exile, Aoun lobbied against Syrian domination of Lebanon. He supported Western moves to end Syria's dominance including the 2003 US Syria Accountability Act and UNSC Resolution 1559 passed in 2004. After returning from exile in 2005, Michel Aoun signed MOU with Hezbollah, becoming Hezbollah's ally. He became president in 2016. *Sources*: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-presidency-aoun-factbox/factbox-michel-aoun-lebanons-new-president-idUSKBN12V1FW https://.ucdp.uu.se/actor/242 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-37821597
Ahmed Shukairy	PLO was founded in 1963 and mainly stayed in Jordan until 1970. Ahmed Shukairy was Saudi ambasador to the UN from 1957 to 1962. Before then, he served as assistant Secretary General for the Arab League from 1950 to 1956. After resigning from leadership position in 1967, Ahmed Shukairy declined any official position and directed his efforts towards writing. Between 1968 and 1979, Shukairy wrote more than 20 books dealing with the Palestinian cause and the Arab Unity. He alternated his residence between Egypt in winter and Lebanon in summer. Infuriated by the Camp David Agreement, Shukairy left Cairo for Tunisia in 1979. In February 1980, he died in Amman. *Sources*: http://historypalestine.blogspot.com/2011/05/ahmad-al-shukairy.html Lexis Advance: The Associated Press. "PLO leader buried. (released in Feb. 27, 1980). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/204
Yahya Hammouda	Yahya Hammouda was the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee from December 1967 to February 1969. He was succeeded by Yasser Arafat. PLO was founded in 1963 and mainly stayed in Jordan until 1970. This group was expelled from Jordan in Black September events in 1970-1971. *Sources:* https://www.britannica.com/topic/Fatah http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/fatah-history-and-overview https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/204 http://www.tirawi.ps/ar/pal-43/1091.html
Yasser Arafat	After the defeat of the Six-Day War in 1967, Yasser Arafat crossed the Jordan River in disguise from Syria and entered the West Bank that Israel just occupied. Throughout 1968, Fatah and other Palestinian armed groups were the target of a major Israeli army operation in the Jordanian village of Karameh, where the Fatah headquarters as well as a mid-sized Palestinian refugee camp were located. Arafat and PLO settled in Lebanon in 1971 and moved from Lebanon to Tunisia in 1982. In 1994, Arafat moved to Gaza City, which was controlled by the Palestinian National Authority. He became President of the Palestinian National Authority from 1994 to 2004.

	In October 2004, Yasser Arafat fell ill with flu-like symptoms. As his health worsened, he was transported to France for medical treatment. He died there on November 11, 2004. *Sources:* https://www.biography.com/people/yasser-arafat-9187265 http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/fatah-history-and-overview https://www.britannica.com/topic/Fatah https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/204
George Habash	When the PLO was expelled from Beirut after the Israeli invasion in 1982, George Habash, leader of PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), refused to go to Tunis with Mr. Arafat and others, living for a time in Damascus and moving to Jordan. Habash stayed mostly in Jordan. He died in January 2008 in Amman, Jordan. *Sources:* https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/middleeast/27habash.html https://electronicintifada.net/content/george-habashs-contribution-palestinian-struggle/7332 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/205
Ahmed Jibril	The PFLP-GC was founded in 1968 by Ahmed Jibril, breaking away from PFLP. The PFLP-GC is based in Syria. Ahmed Jibril was born near Jaffa in Mandatory Palestine in 1938. His family moved to Syria where he was raised and served in the army. During the Syrian Civil War, the PFLP-GC led by Ahmed Jibril helped the Syrian Army to fight the Syrian rebels in and around Yarmouk Camp in Damascus. Jibril died in July 2021 in Damascus, Syria. He was buried in the Martyrs Cemetery of the Yarmouk Palestinian refugee camp. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/206 http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/popular-front-for-the-liberation-of-palestine-ndash-general-command-pflp-gc Lexis Advance: Deutsche Presse-Agentur. "Jibril denies report that Syria has expelled him." (released in Aug. 26, 1996).
Khaled Meshal	Khaled Meshal became the recognized head of Hamas in 2004 and resigned (as chairman of the politburo) in May 2017. On May 6, 2017, Hamas' Shura Council chose Ismail Haniyah to become the new leader, replacing Meshal. Desite Hamas' control of Gaza, Meshal has never lived there. He lived in Syria from 2001 to early 2012. In February 2012, as the Syrian Civil War progressed, Meshal left Syria and moved to Qatar. He has been living in Qatar since then. In April 2021, Hamas elected Qatar-based Meshal to lead its office in the diaspora and named second-in-command of Hamas, while Haniyah remained Hamas' overall leader. *Sources:* http://hamas.ps/en/politicalofficemember/16/khaled-meshal http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/khaled-mashal

	https://www.britannica.com/biography/Khaled-Meshaal https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/209 https://edition.cnn.com/2017/05/06/middleeast/hamas-leadership-ismail-haniya/index.html https://www.counteretremism.com/extremists/khaled-meshaal
Ismail Haniyah	On May 6, 2017, Hamas' Shura Council chose Ismail Haniyah to become the new leader, replacing Meshal. He is incumbent leader of Hamas. In early February 2020, some reports claimed that Egypt had prevented Haniyah from returning to Gaza, which prompted him to settle in Qatar. Later that month, Hamas confirmed that Haniyah would settle in Doha, Qatar, for the immediate future in order to continue traveling freely through the end of 2020 or early 2021. In January 2022, Ismail Haniyah residing in Qatar summoned his family to join him. From Qatar, he has directed violent activities against Israel. In July 2024, Haniyah was assasssiated in Tehran where he was to attend the inauguration ceremony of Iran's president. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/209 https://www.newsweek.com/qatar-once-cut-off-arab-states-wields-influence-aid-blockaded-gaza-1595610 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/ismail-haniyeh https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/haniyeh-re-elected-chief-palestinian-islamist-group-hamas-2021-08-01 https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/palestinian-territories/1642069442-commanders-in-exile-gazan-faction-heads-quit-the-strip https://english.aawsat.com//home/article/2111556/haniyeh-settles-qatar-has-no-plans-return-gaza https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/31/hamass-political-chief-ismail-haniyeh-assassinated-in-iran-state-media
Fathi Abd al-Aziz Shqaqi	In 1990, the headquarters of PIJ (Palestinian Islamic Jihad) moved to Damascus, where it continues to be based. Fathi Abd al-Aziz Shaqaqi settled in Syria in 1990. In 1995, he was assassinated in Malta when he made a stopover, traveling from Libya to his home in Damascus. Israeli agents were alleged to have assassinated Shqaqi. *Sources:* Lexis Advance: World and I. "Terrorism in the name of god; Hamas, Islamic Jihad." (released in Oct. 1, 2002). https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/palestinian-islamic-jihad https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/208
Abdallah Shalah	Abdallah Shalah taught Islamic Studies in the US until 1995 and left for Syria to lead PIJ. Shalah became secretary-general of Damascus-based PIJ in October 1995 and assumed leadership until September 2018. In April 2018, Shalah reportedly fell into a coma after being hospitalized in Lebanon for heart surgery. He died in June 2020 in Lebanon. *Sources:* Lexis Advance: Agence France Presse. "Islamic Jihad threatens Israel with "painful" revenge." (released in Jan. 7, 1996). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/208

	https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/ramadan-abdullah-shallah
Ziyad al-Nakhalah	Ziyad al-Nakhalah has been the leader of PIJ since September 2018. A native of Gaza Strip, he was exiled to Lebanon in August 1988 after being detained by Israel. PIJ installed its headquarters in Damascus, Syria in 1990. Ziyad al-Nakhalah is considered a prominent socialite in the city. Simultaneously, it was reported that he also resided in Beirut, Lebanon. In May 2021, Iranian Foreign Minister who was on a trip to Damascus, had a telephone conversation with Ziyad al-Nakhalah, the secretary-general of the PIJ in Beirut. *Sources:* https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/islamic-jihads-ziad-nakhala-a-lifetime-of-resistance/1267697 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/ziad-al-nakhalah https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/profile-ziyad-al-nakhalah-new-palestinian-islamic-jihad-leader https://en.mfa.ir/portal/newsview/638159 https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/3431176/hazem-saghieh/long-and-costly-palestinian-journey-ends-where-ahmad-gibril-once https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/208
Ali Salim al-Beidh	After defeat in secessionist war in 1994, Ali Salim al-Beidh fled to Oman. He lived there for many years. Oman provided al-Beidh with refuge until he broke his parole and started politicking again. In 2009, Ali Salim al-Beidh announced the resumption of his political activities after 15 years of living in exile. He called for the resurrection of the PDRY (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) and instigated demonstrations. As a result, he lost his right to stay in Oman after violating the conditions of his citizenship. After that, al-Beidh moved to Lebanon. Beirut provided Ali Salim al-Beidh with a shelter and a media platform that he had been deprived of in Oman. He occasionally broadcasted recorded messages on southern Yemeni television. Ali Salim al-Beidh moved to Saudi Arabia from Lebanon in 2014. Following the launch of the Arab alliance operations in Yemen in 2015, al-Beidh was transferred from Saudi Arabia to the UAE where he is currently residing. UAE has supported southern secessionists during the current civil war. In UAE, al-Beidh openly supports the STC (Southern Transitional Council) that has engaged in the war. *Sources*: https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2012/05/2012519114015103906.html https://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2012/05/19/Ali-Salim-al-Beidh-calls-for-secession/48611337439826/ https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2017/12/23/oman-grants-refuge-to-salehs-family-from-yemen https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2015/02/08/how-will-saudi-arabia-respond-to-the-houthi-takeover-of-yemen-bring-back-the-pdry/

	https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-iran-usa/u-s-envoy-says-iran-working-to-destabilize-yemen-report-idUSBRE90C0FV20130113 https://hizb-america.org/the-reality-of-the-southern-movement-and-its-subordination/ https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/353 https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/politics/2014/12/17/south-yemen-sees-the-return-of-its-prodigal-sons http://eng.majalla.com/2013/04/article55240124/oman-nourishing-a-viper-in-ones-bosom Congressional Research Service. 2015. "Yemen: Background and U.S. Relations" <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL34170.pdf> https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20141010-houthis-seek-to-restore-their-ally-al-beidh-to-south-yemen https://debriefer.net/en/news-19417.html https://www.arabnews.com/node/1579871/middle-east https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/publications/giga-focus/the-future-of-south-yemen-and-the-southern-transitional-council
Abdrabuh Mansur Hadi	In January 2015, the Houthi movement (Ansarallah) ousted the government led by President Abdrabuh Mansur Hadi. Hadi was put under house arrest and resigned on 22 January. After having managed to flee to Aden, Hadi retracted his resignation on 21 February. One day after Hadi rescinded his resignation, he and his government were forced into exile in Saudi Arabia and fought against the Houthi movement from there. Because of ongoing military operations inside Yemen, Hadi spent much of his time in exile in Saudi Arabia. In April 2022, Abdrabuh Mansur Hadi stepped down and formed the Presidential Leadership Council with former interior minister Rashad al-Alimi as its chairman. Following Hadi's decision to step down, he was kept under house arrest in his Riyadh residence and was not allowed to communicate with anyone. Saudi Arabia denied this claim. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6254 https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/7/yemeni-president-hadi-under-house-arrest-in-riyadh https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220420-yemens-president-hadi-has-effectively-been-sacked-by-saudi-arabia https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/07/exiled-yemen-president-steps-aside-amid-hopes-over-truce-abd-rabbu-mansour-hadi
Burhanuddin Rabbani	Jamiat-i-Islami (Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan) was one of the seven main insurgency groups (Mujahideen) based in Pakistan during the 1980s and 1990s. When the Mujahideen took control of Kabul in 1992, Jamiat-i-Islami formed the new government which ruled Afghanistan for four years until the Taleban ousted it in 1996. Burhanuddin Rabbani was forced into exile in Pakistan in 1974. Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Massood launched Jihad against the Afghan government when the Soviet intervened at the end of 1979. After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 and the collapse of Afghanistan's Marxist regime in 1992, Rabbani and the other six rebel leaders agreed to form a government. Rabbani forces were the first Mujahideen elements to enter Kabul in 1992. He took over as president from

	1992 in accordance to the Peshawar Accords. After the Taliban seized power in 1996, Rabbani and his forces was driven into a corner of Afghanistan. There, he and other leaders set up Northern Alliance (UIFSA) and fought against the Taleban government until 2001. Rabbani became head of Afghanistan's High Peace Council in 2010. He was assassinated in September 2011 in Kabul. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor 292 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-14992226 Lexis Advance: Telegraph.co.uk. "Burhanuddin Rabbani." (released in Sep. 20, 2011)
Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi	Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami-yi Afghanistan, a part of the Mujahideen alliance, was based in Pakistan during the 1980s and 1990s. Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi had lived in Pakistan since the 1978 coup. In 1992, he became the vice president of Afghanistan in the Mujahideen government. But when civil war started, he resigned from his post. Mohammadi remained in Pakistan and tried to stop the war. He died in Pakistan in 2001. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/293 Lexis Advance: Department of State Bullletin. "Resistance alliance leadership." (released in Mar. 1988). Peter Tomsen. 2011. *The Wars of Afghanistan*. New York: Public Affairs.
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Hezb-i-Islami (Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan) was one of the seven main insurgency groups (Mujahideen) based in Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s. Hezb-i-Islami was involved in the Afghan civil war (1992-1996). In 1996, it was expelled from Kabul by the Taliban. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar fled to Pakistan in 1974 and launched armed resistance against the Daoud regime and the communist regime. After scoring victory in 1992, Hekmatyar was appointed as prime minister but engaged in power struggle against President Rabbani. Hekmatyar and his men were forced to flee Kabul when the Taliban swept into power in 1996. He ended up being given refuge in Iran. In exile, he proclaimed his opposition to Taliban and later interim government led by Hamid Karzai. After the US invaded Afghanistan, Hekmatyar showed his intention to attack his origin country and combat foreign invaders. In February 2002, the Iranian authorities expelled Hekmatyar and closed down the offices of his Hezb-i-Islami in Tehran. Afterward, he hid in the border region of Pakistan. While residing in Pakistan, Hekmatyar engaged in various attacks against coalition forces and Afghan government forces. He returned to Kabul in 2017 after the 2016 peace agreement granted him amnesty. . *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/299 Lexis Advance: Department of State Bullletin. "Resistance alliance leadership." (released in Mar. 1988). http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2701547.stm

	https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/75773/Hekmatyar-Leaves-Iran
Maulawi Khalis	Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan – Khalis faction was one of the seven main insurgent groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan in the 1980s and early 1990s. Maulawi Khalis came to Peshawar, Pakistan, in 1975 to escape Daoud's persecution. Khalis resigned from the Afghan government-in-exile in 1991. After the fall of the communist regime in 1992, the Khalis faction transitioned into a political party to become part of the Mujahideen-coalition government. When fightings erupted between Mujahideen groups, the Khalis faction withdrew to Nangahar province. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/294 Lexis Advance: The Guardian (London). "Third World Review: The unmagnificent seven." (released in Jan. 22, 1988). Peter Tomsen. 2011. *The Wars of Afghanistan*. New York: Public Affairs.
Sibghatullah Mojaddedi	Jabha-yi Nijat-i Milli-yi Afghanistan was one of the main insurgency groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s. Following the Saur Revolution in 1978, the new communist government killed Sibghatullah Mojaddedi's brother and several of his relatives. Mojaddedi fled to Pakistan. During exile in Peshawar, Pakistan, he founded the Jabha-yi Nijat-i Milli-yi. In 1988, he was elected head of the Afghan Interim Government, based in Peshawar. After the fall of the Najibullah regime, Mojaddedi served as interim president from April 1992 to June 1992. After relinquishing power, Mojaddedi fought against the Mujahidden government until the Taleban seized power in 1996. After the fall of the Taliban in 2001, Mojaddedi returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/295 Peter Tomsen. 2011. *The Wars of Afghanistan*. New York: Public Affairs. Lexis Advance: Department of State Bullletin. "Resistance alliance leadership." (released in Mar. 1988).
Sayyed Ahmad Gailani	After the Saur Revolution of April 1978, which brought the Communists to power, Sayyed Ahmad Gailani left for Peshawar, Pakistan, and founded the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-yi Afghanistan). It was one of the seven main insurgency groups based in Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s. Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-yi Afghanistan participated in the Afghan Interim Government (Afghan government-in-exile) in 1989. Although Gailani did not seek a position in the Interim Government, he later accepted the post of supreme justice. Mahaz-i Milli-yi was part of the Mujahideen government that ruled Afghanistan from 1992 to 1996. During the 1990s, Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-yi Afghanistan belonged to the Northern Alliance that operated in Afghanistan. In October 2001, Ahmad Gailani headed a group of Afghan leaders, attempting to win over moderate elements in the Taliban. He died in Kabul in January 2017. *Sources:*

	Frank A. Clements. 2003. *Conflict in Afghanistan: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/296
Abdul Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf	Ittihad-i Islami Bara-yi Azadi-yi Afghanistan (Ittihad) was one of the main insurgency groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s. Abdul Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf was imprisoned for 6 years, following the 1973 coup. After his release under a post-Soviet invasion amnesty in 1979, he fled to Pakistan. Until the early 1990s, Sayyaf retained his training camps in Pakistan. When the mujahideen groups took over the government of Afghanistan in 1992, Ittihad became part of it. Sayyaf served as prime minister and waged battles against anti-government forces until the Mujahideen regime was ousted by the Taleban in 1996. *Sources:* Lexis Advance: Department of State Bulletin. "Resistance alliance leadership." (released in Mar. 1988) https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/297
Asif Mohseni	In 1978, Asif Mohseni founded Harakat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan, a Shia anti-Soviet resistance movement and political party combining various smaller groups. Its headquarter was originally located in the Iranian city of Qom. In 1980, disagreements with the Iranian government led Mohseni's group to break ties with Iran and move to Peshwar, Pakistan. In 1989, Harakat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan merged into Hezb-i Wahdat, which had headquarters in Kabul, Afghanistan. But soon Harakat bolted out of Hezb-i Wahdat. During the Taliban years, Harakat-i Islami-yi joined the Northern Alliance. Mohseni was widely considered to be the most powerful Twelver Sia Marja in Afghanistan. He died in Kabul in 2019. *Sources:* https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad8b38.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/298
Karim Khalili	Karim Khalili fled from Kabul to Bamiyan (in Afghanistan) after the Taliban came to power in 1996. In 1998 he moved to Iran when government troops took Bamiyan. Khalili returned to Afghanistan in 2001. Hezb-i-Wahdat maintained pockets of resistance in central Afghanistan after being driven out by the Taliban. In November 2001, Khalili's troops captured the central town of Bamiyan. He served as the second vice president from 2002 to 2014. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/300 Lexis Advance: *The Boston Globe*. "Fighting terror." (released in Dec. 28, 2001).

	https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/khalili.htm
Shahnawaz Tanay	After a coup against Najibullah failed in 1990, Shahnawaz Tanay escaped by helicopter to Peshawar, Pakistan, where he was greeted and publicly accepted as an ally by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. In 2005, Tanay returned to Khost province in Afghanistan to make a political comeback. He did not stand as a presidential candidate in the 2004 elections, but his movement was enrolled for the 2004 elections. Tanay campaigned for a bigger role for Pashtuns and criticized US policies. Tanay is currently the leader of the Afghanistan Peace Movement party. *Sources*: Lexis Advance: *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*. "Najibollah calls on Pakistan to return Tanay." (released in Mar. 9, 1990). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/301
Abdul Rashid Dostum	Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami led by General Abdul Rashid Dostum supported the mujahideen Government of Afghanistan from 1992 to 1993. He later fought against the government. After the Taleban seized power in 1996, Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami formed Northern Alliance with other groups and waged battles against the Taleban. In 1997, after the Taliban entered Mazar-e-Sharif, Abdul Rashid Dostum took refuge in Turkey. In October 1997, Dostum returned from exile and conducted military operations. After Dostum briefly regained control of Mazar-e-Sharif, the Taliban returned in 1998 and he again fled to Turkey. Dostum returned to Afghanistan in May 2001 to open up a new front before the US-led campaign against the Taliban. Dostum was accused of being responsible for suffocating or killing 2,000 Taliban prisoners in December 2001. Dostum served as deputy defense minister in the early period of the Karzai regime (2001-2004). *Sources:* https://jamestown.org/program/the-return-of-the kingmaker-afghanistans-general-dostum-ends-his-exile/ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1563344.stm https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/rashid-dostum-treacherous-general-9224857.html https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/302
Mullah Omar	Since its inception, and for the following 20 years, Taleban was led by Mullah Mohammed Omar. Born in Kandahar. he remained, even after seizing power, a secretive figure, schooled mainly in Islamic madrasas. After the US invaded Afghanistan and toppled the Taleban government in 2001, Mullah Omar went into exile in Pakistan along with most of his lieutenants. With the help from Pakistan's ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence), the Taleban rebuilt the infrastructure in the borderlands and gradually stepped up attacks on the NATO and Afghan forces. The Taleban received support from tribal fighters in Pakistan who gave safe havens.

	Afghan government sources reported that Mullah Omar died as early as April 2013 in Karachi, Pakistan. Taliban spokesmen initially denied the allegation but later confirmed it. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/303 https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/mohammed-omar https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/08/24/pakistans-problematic-victory-in-afghanistan https://www.france24.com/en/20081123-saudi-arabia-denies-offering-mullah-omar-asylum-afghanistan
Mullah Mansour	Mullah Omar died as early as April 2013 and his deputy, Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Mansour, was elected leader of the Taleban. Mullah Mansour surrendered in 2001, like many senior Taliban members, going to Hamid Karzai to ask for amnesty and then retiring to his home district. But US forces refused to believe that these commanders had given up fighting. After a series of aggressive night raids, Mullah Mansour fled to Pakistan in 2001, where he helped reshape the Taliban as an insurgent force. Mullah Mansoor was member of Quetta Shura that played a key role in directing the Taliban insurgency from Quetta, Pakistan. In May 2016, he was killed in a US drone strike in Balochistan, Pakistan. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/303 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/30/mullah-akhtar-mansoor-talibans-new-leader-has-a-reputation-for-moderation https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/mullah-mansour https://www.ndtv.com/people/taliban-leader-mullah-akhtar-mansour-man-of-war-not-peace-talk-1408653
Hibatullah Akhundzada	After Mullah Mansour's death, Mawlawi Hibatullah Akhundzada took over the leadership of Taleban in May 2016. Akhundzada fled to Pakistan in 2001 after the United States intervened to help oust the Taliban from power. He was a senior member of the Taliban's Quetta Shura. He was reportedly living in the Ghaus Abad area of Quetta and leading up to ten madrasas in Balochistan, Pakistan. Since the Taliban recaptured power in August 2021, its leader, Hibatullah Akhundzada, has been Afghanistan's de facto ruler and head of state. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/303 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36377008 https://tribune.com.pk/story/2355041/taliban-supreme-leader-hails-security-in-rare-appearance-to-mark-eidul-fitr https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/09/01/taliban-supreme-leader-haibatullah-akhundzada https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/mullah-mawlawi-haibatullah-akhundzada
Mohammad Rasool	In early October 2015, the opposing forces held a meeting in Farah province, Afghanistan. They changed their name to the High Council of Afghanistan

	Islamic Emirate and formally appointed Mohammad Rasool as its leader. He was a senior commander in the Taleban movement and had earlier served as governor of Nimroz province and shadow governor of Farah province. Following the Taliban offensive and the fall of Afghanistan to Taliban forces in August 2021, the High Council of Afghanistan Islamic Emirate dissolved and Mohammad Rasool, its leader, pledged allegiance to the new government. In March 2016, Mullah Mohammad Rasool fled to Balochistan province, Pakistan. But Pakistani government arrested and detained him. From there, Rasool ordered or masterminded military attacks in Afghanistan. In August 2021, Pakistan released him. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6252 https://tribune.com.pk/story/1070273/in-custody-afghan-talibans-top-dissident-detained-in-pakistan-front-page https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-pakistan-taliban-idUSKCN1MZ1YV https://www.indiatoday.in/world/story/afghanistan-afghan-taliban-mullah-mohammad-rasool-mansour-pakistan-jain-released-1842409-2021-08-18 https://morningexpress.in/pakistan-continues-to-help-taliban-released-terrorist-mullah-mohammad-rasool-imprisoned-for-five-years

Asia

Sayed Abdullo Nuri	At the end of 1992 Sayed Abdullo Nuri took refuge in Afghanistan where he headed the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). Its headquarter was located in the town of Taloqan (Takhar Province) in northern Afghanistan. Nuri returned to Dushanbe, Tajikistan, on September 11, 1997 after the signing of the peace agreement. He served as head of the National Reconciliation Commission until 2001. Sayed Abdullo Nuri died in August 2006. *Sources*: Lexis Advance: BBC Monitoring Central Asia Unit. "Tajik TV documentary attacks opposition founder." (released in Dec. 9, 2017) Lexis Advance: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. “Opposition leader Nuri arrives home from exile.” (released in Sep. 13, 1997) Lexis Advance: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. "Tajik opposition leader interviewed.” (released in Jul. 25, 1996) https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/345
Makhmud Khudoberdiyev	When Makhmud Khudoberdiyev waged a rebellion in 1998, Tajik President Emomali Rahmon accused Uzbekistan of helping to plot an armed uprising in his country. After the 1998 raid, Khudoberdiyev was hiding in Uzbekistan. In 1999, the Tajik Supreme Court sentenced his comrades to death or prison sentences. The Tajik government accused the Uzbek government of protecting Khudoberdiyev. On October 11, 2001, he was reportedly shot dead in a row with his subordinate.

	Sources: Lexis Advance: Agence France Pressse. "Tajikistan rebel fighters killed in post-rebellion clean up." (released in Nov. 17, 1998) Lexis Advance: Agence France Presse. "Tajik rebels receive first death penalties in revolt trials." (released in Jun. 22, 1999) Lexis Advance: IPS-Inter Press Service. "Central Asia." (released in Apr. 22,1999) https://sputniknews.com/world/2006030944071911
Usmon Odil (alt. spelling: Abu Usman Adil)	After the collapse of the Taleban government in Afghanistan in late 2001, the IMU shifted its main base of operations to South Waziristan, Pakistan. In other words, the headquarters of IMU were located in Pakistan. Usmon Odil (Abu Usman Adil) became leader of IMU after his predecessor, Tahir Yuldashev died in August 2009. Odil was killed by a US drone strike in Pakistan on 29 April, 2012. *Sources*: Lexis Advance: Radio Free Europe. "What next for the Islamic movement of Uzbekistan?" (released in Aug. 23, 2015) Rohan Gunaratna and Aviv Oreg. 2015. *The Global Jihad Movement*.Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield https://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/listedterroristorganisations/pages/islamicmovementofuzbekistan.aspx http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/islamic-movement-uzbekistan-imu#_edn21 https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/140509_Fitz_CentralAsianMilitancy_WEB.pdf https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-movement-uzbekistan#highlight_text_10165 https://www.bbc.com/uzbek/lotin/2012/08/120806_latin-imu_statement https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/08/islamic_movement_of_2.php Józef Lang. 2013. “The Radical Islamic Militannt of Central Asia.” OSW Report.
Juma Namangani (aka Jumaboi Ahmadzhanovitch Khojaev)	Juma Namangani took leadership position of the IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan) in 1999. In the early 1990s, the IMU left Uzbekistan and moved to Afghanistan because the government harshly cracked down on it. During Namangani’s term, the IMU operated mainly in Afghanistan, cooperating with the Taleban regime and Al-Qaeda forces in the country. From bases in Afghanistan, the IMU made incursions into southern Kyrgyzstan and focused on reaching the Uzbek capital of Tashkent. Juma Namangani was killed by an American airstrike in Afghanistan in November 2001. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/359

	Guido Steinberg. 2014. "The German "Sauerland" Plot, Central Asia, and Turkey." In Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares (eds.). *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat*. New York: Columbia University Press. Lexis Advance: RIA Novosti. "Bin Laden's assistant Juma Namangani killed in Afghanistan." (released in Nov. 19, 2001) http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/islamic-movement-uzbekistan-imu#_edn20 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-movement-uzbekistan#highlight_text_10165
Nadzhmiddin Kamoldinovich Jalolov	The JIG (Jihad Islamic Group) emerged in March 2002, splitting from the IMU which was based in Pakistan. Nadzhmiddin Kamoldinovich Jalolov took leadership position in 2004. Jalolov moved into Mir Ali area (in Pakistan) in 2006 when he was expelled from the neighbouring South Waziristan district, Pakistan, after prolonged fighting against Mullah Nazir, pro-government Taleban commander, claimed the lives of hundreds of JIG fighters. Since then, Nadzhmiddin Jalolov had run a training camp near Mir Ali. He was killed by a US drone strike in September 2009. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/360 Lexis Advance: Deutsche Press-Agentur. "US drone kills Uzbek militant leader in Pakistan." (released in Sep. 18, 2009) Lexis Advance: Israel Defense. "The Asian Prairie." (released in Apr. 27, 2018)
Abdul Haq al-Turkistani	Abdul Haq al-Turkistani became the leader of the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (EITM) in late 2003 after Hassan Mahsum, the group's previous leader, was killed during clashes with Pakistani troops in South Waziristan on Oct 2, 2003. In June 2009, Abdul Haq was spotted in Pakistan's tribal areas attending an important meeting with Baitullah Mehsud, then Pakistan's overall Taliban commander. Abdul Haq and a senior delegation of Taliban and al Qaeda leaders traveled to Pakistan's tribal areas to discuss the Pakistani military's operation in South Waziristan. Abdul Haq was heavily injured by the February 2010 attack. Abdul Shakoor al-Turkistani replaced Abdul Haq as leader of EITM. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1156 https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/abdul-haq https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2020/04/29/how-chinas-repressive-policies-could-fuel-the-jihad/ https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/06/turkistan-islamic-party-emir-thought-killed-in-2010-reemerged-to-lead-group-in-2014.php https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/05/chinese_terrorist_le.php
Isak Chisi Swu	Isak Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah, leaders of NSCN-IM, left India in 1975 and had been living in exile in the Netherlands from where they controlled their militant group.

	NSCN leaders arrived in New Delhi in 2003 from self-imposed exile in the Netherlands. They were invited by the government for peace talks. *Sources*: https://www.dawn.com/news/68791 https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi-news/sovereignty-on-mind-nagas-optimistic-about-talks/story-kJLTuUtfB2tKYUPvlTV5kN.html http://www.rediff.com/news/2004/dec/08naga.htm Lexis Advance: Open."The Farce of Talks." (released in Aug. 6, 2010). Lexis Advance: Chicago Daily Herald. "A remote land of jungle, jesus-and religious war Nagaland." (released in May 5, 2003). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/223
Thuingaleng Muivah	See Isak Chisi Swu.
S.S. Khaplang (Shangwang Shanyung Khaplang)	On 30 April 1988, NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland) broke into NSCN-IM and NSCN-K. S.S Khaplang led NSCN-K, which was head quartered in the hills of Taga, Myanmar. On 17 April 2015, NSCN-K merged with several other armed groups from India's northeast to form the UNLFW. Since 2015, Khaplang had been treated in a Yangon hospital in Myanmar. He died in June 2017 in Sagaing Region of Myanmar, in which the NSCN-K was based at the time. *Sources*: Lexis Advance: The Times of India. "NSCN-L leader S S Khaplang dies in Myanmar." (released in June 10, 2017). Lexis Advance: The Straits Times (Singapore). "Myanmar key to India's development of north-east region." (released in Nov. 3, 2015). Lexis Advance: Premium Official News. "Key member of NSCN (Khaplang) group N. Panmei arrested from Delhi." (released in Aug. 2015). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/6320 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/224
Ranjit Debbarma	Lalit Debbarma and Ranjit Debbarma formed the ATTF in 1990 and established bases in Bangladesh. These leaders settled in Bangladesh. In 2012, Bangladesh arrested and handed over Ranjit Debbarma to India. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/306 Ved Prakash 2008. *Terrorism in India's North-East: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1*. New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2014/06/bangladesh-seizes-large-haul-ammunition-20146313485122795.html E.N. Rammohan. 2011. *Countering Insurgencies in India*. New Delhi: Vij Books.
Nayanbasi Jamatiya	According to police and the Border Security Force officials, the two outlawed outfits, NLFT and ATTF, set up bases in Bangladesh. Nayanbasi Jamatiya and a large number of cadres surrendered to the Tripura state government in 2006. But after a year, he returned to terrorism for not finding 'satisfactory' the terms of agreement with the state government. Nayanbasi Jamatiya surrendered to the Tripura police in August 2013.

	Sources: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/307 Lexis Advance: IANS-English. "Militant leader surrenders in Tribura." (released in Aug. 10, 2013).
Biswamohan Debbarma	Biswamohan Debbarma set up separate camps on the Tripura-Bangladesh border with his followers. He was arrested in Dhaka on December 23, 2012, which resulted from India-Bangladesh joint efforts to combat terrorism. Until arrested, Debbarma had been living in Dhaka for the past two decades. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/307 https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/tripura-rebel-leaders-held-in-bangladesh.227968/
Irengbam Chaoren	PLA installed Government-in-exile in Bangladesh. In 2011, interrogation of two PLA leaders revealed that the chief of the political wing of the PLA, Irengbam Chaoren, was hiding in China. Chaoren died in February 2023. *Sources*: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Cops-nail-China-link-with-Naxals/articleshow/10273433.cms https://www.news18.com/news/india/all-about-the-pla-the-terror-outfit-active-in-manipur-1195459.html Lexis Advance: *Times of India*. "Reds kill 3 jawans in mine blast." (released in Oct. 8, 2011). https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/rpf.htm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/314 https://thefrontiermanipur.com/rpf-president-irengbam-chaoren-no-more/
Amanulla Khan	During the 1980s, JKLF was probably the largest of the Kashmiri insurgent groups, being the main Kashmiri force engaging the Government of India. Amanulla Khan went into exile in the United Kingdom in 1976. In 1977, he formed JKLF (Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front) in the United Kingdom. In December 1986, he was expelled from the UK and moved to Pakistan. In 1994, Khan was expelled from the chairmanship. He supported armed resistance. In 2016, he died in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/817 https://www.dawn.com/news/1254649 https://www.ndtv.com/people/jklf-founder-amanullah-khan-dead-at-82-1399557 https://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-jklf-founder-amanullah-khan-passes-away-in-pakistan-2206318
Hafiz Muhammad Saeed	Hafiz Muhammad Saeed is incumbent leader of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), which was formed in 1990. LeT is based in Pakistan. In 2002, Pakistan officially banned Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). In January 2017, Saeed was put under house arrest by the Pakistani government for collecting funds for the JuD charity in violation of UN sanctions. Saeed was released in

	November 2017 after courts rejected the government's request to extend his time in house arrest due to a lack of evidence. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1070 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/lashkar-e-taiba
Fazlur Rehman Khalil	Fazlur Rehman Khalil is incumbent leader of Harakat-ul-Ansar (HuA). In 1985, he founded Harakat-ul-Mujahedeen (HuM) as a splinter group of the anti-Soviet militant Islamic group, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI). In 1993, HuM reunited with HuJI to form a new militant organization, Harkat-ul-Ansar (HuA). The group is based in Pakistan. It was reported that Khalil lived outside Islamabad in Pakistan without any restrictions from the Pakistani government. He allegedly maintained links with the Pakistani Army. In May 2004, Fazlur Rehman Khalil was arrested by the Pakistani government. But, after six months, he was released. *Sources:* https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/harakat-ul-mujahedeen https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-mar-30-fg-pakistan30-story.html https://irp.fas.org/world/para/hum.htm https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint/Completed_Inquiries/pjcis/AQAP_6_terrorist_orgs/report/output/appendixf
Masood Azhar	Masood Azhar founded Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) in 2000. He is current leader of this group. JeM has maintained bases in Pakistan. In 2019, the United Nations blacklisted Masood Azhar, the head of the Pakistan-based militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed. *Sources:* https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/jaish-e-mohammed#highlight_text_9348 https://www.reuters.com/article/india-kashmir-pakistan/india-hails-u-n-blacklisting-of-masood-azhar-idINKCN1S747V
Paresh Baruah	Paresh Baruah has not visited his home since he left India in 1979. He shifted his base from Lakhiptahar in Tinsukia district to Bhutan, Bangladesh, and finally to Myanmar. The ULFA's operational base and training camps of the cadres were believed to be in the Sagaing division of Myanmar. Chinese intelligence agencies have been helping various insurgent groups of Northeast India having bases in Myanmar, and Paresh Baruah was believed to be in Ruili situated in the southern part of China along the Myanmar border. Paresh Baruah divides his time between China and Myanmar. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/326 Lexis Advance: Assam Tribune (India). "ULFA peace talks and Paresh Baruah." (released in Jan. 20, 2016). Lexis Advance: The Times of India. "Paresh Baruah's mother diesin Dibrugarh." (released in Oct. 3, 2015).

	https://www.sentinelassam.com/north-east-india-news/assam-news/paresh-barua-led-ulfa-i-is-carrying-out-anti-india-activities-from-chinas-yunnan-mha-505309 https://thenortheasttoday.com/northeast-indian-security-at-risk-as-china-aids-ne-insurgents-in-myanmar/ https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/ulfa-commander-paresh-barua/story-QlSJgE2AyR1GxZDmkmw9aO.html https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Paresh-Barua-maybe-in-China-or-Myanmar-GoC/articleshow/10973775.cms https://www.theweek.in/theweek/cover/2018/11/22/all-disquiet-on-the-eastern-front.html https://www.theweek.in/theweek/cover/2018/11/22/all-disquiet-on-the-eastern-front.html
Ranjan Daimary	Ranjan Daimary was arrested in 2010 in the Sherpur area in Bangladesh where the NDFB had its bases and later handed over to the Border Security Force of India in May 2010. Daimary was released on interim bail in June 2013 to facilitate negotiations. Since then, his interim bail was extended several times. He was re-arrested on September 29, 2014. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/363 https://www.telegraphindia.com/1141129/jsp/frontpage/story_19102329.jsp https://www.indiatoday.in/india/south/story/ne-militants-find-a-haven-in-bangalore-84091-2010-10-18 Lexis Advance: Hindustan Times. "NDFB chief Ranjan Daimary held." (released in May 1, 2010).
Pakchara R. Sangma	The GNLA was created in 2009 by Pakchara R. Sangma. In the early months of 2015, Sangma resigned from the GNLA. In 2015, Sangma was arrested in Bangladesh and handed over to India. He has been serving jail time. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1163 https://thenortheasttoday.com/states/meghalaya/facts-to-know-about-co-founder-of-meghalayas-gnla-outfit/cid2541344.htm https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/meghalaya/terrorist_outfits/GNLA_tl.htm
Khango Konyak	Khango Konyak who took over as chairman of the NSCN-K after S.S Khaplang had died in June 2017 was elected new chairman of the UNLFW in October 2017. The new chairman was empowered with full executive authority to direct and execute any action or policy on behalf of the UNLFW and also during emergencies. Khango Konyak was removed as the Chairman of the NSCN-K in August 2018. The ousted Khango Konyak was also restricted from traveling outside the ethnic armed group's headquarters in Myanmar's Hukwang valley, Sagaing Region. It is to be seen who would take charge of the UNLFW after the ousting of Khango Konyak. Sources said Paresh Baruah, the chief of ULFA, is the frontrunner.

	Sources: https://indianexpress.com/article/india/nscnk-chief-khango-konyak-is-new-chairman-of-unlfw-4897048/ https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2017/oct/19/new-chief-khango-konyak-revives-united-northeast-militants-front-1677712.html https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/insurgencies-of-the-north-east-part-ii/2371632/ https://www.timesofassam.com/headlines/another-rift-in-nscnk-former-president-yung-aung-expelled/?bamp-skip-redirect=1 https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2018/08/18/indian-surgical-strikes-trigger-coup-naga-militant-group.html https://www.irrawaddy.com/opinion/guest-column/india-myanmar-military-ties-pay-dividends-naga-rebels-return-mainstream.html https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/nscn-k-replaces-chairman-1-year.html
Juma Khan Marri	Jumma Khan Marri established the BLF (Balochistan Liberation Front) in 1964 in Damascus, Syria. Because of strong pressure for his extradition, he fled to Baghdad, Iraq, in 1968. In 1973, the BLF moved to the Pakistani Province of Balochistan to take part in the Independent Balochistan Movement. The Pakistani government's operation pushed the BLF out of Balochistan into Afghanistan by the end of 1974. The conflict terminated with a ceasefire in November 1977 and amnesty was provided for the militants. Marri led BLF from its foundation until 1977. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1166 https://www.primidi.com/jumma_khan_marri/confusion_with_haji_khan_marri https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/457
Mir Balach Marri	Mir Balach Marri managed to escape from Pakistan during a military operation in August 2006. He and his comrades went into exile in Afghanistan. Marri was killed in Afghanistan in November 2007. *Sources*: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7106270.stm https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/287
Brahamdagh Bugti	Brahamdagh Bugti went into exile in Afghanistan in 2006. The Pakistani government had pressured Afghanistan to extradite him, following which Mr Bugti moved to Switzerland in October 2010. He had reportedly survived multiple attempts on his life in Afghanistan. Since his arrival in Switzerland, Bugti and his supporters have actively campaigned for Baloch independence, much to the irritation of Pakistan. A publicity banner on a Geneva bus recently attracted the ire of Pakistan's government, which summoned the Swiss ambassador over the incident. The Swiss government finally rejected self-exiled separatist leader Brahumdagh Bugti's application for political asylum in November 2017. He is supposed to be still living in Switzerland, evidenced by the fact that he tweets in Switzerland. *Sources*:

	https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/balochistan-liberation-army#highlight_text_17380 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/289 https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/exiled-balochistan-activist-brahumdagh-bugti-seeks-asylum-in-india-1464382 Yunas Samad. 2016. "Understanding the insurgency in Balochistan," In *State and Nation Building in Pakistan*, Roger D. Long et al. (eds.), New York: Routledge. https://tribune.com.pk/story/1566261/1-swiss-govt-rejects-brahumdagh-bugtis-application-political-asylum/ https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/bugtis-plea-for-asylum-on-hold/articleshow/56725500.cms https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/switzerland-denies-asylum-to-pakistan-s-most-wanted-man/43698878
Altaf Hussain	On 19 June 1992, the Pakistani government launched the first army operation against the MQM. A month before the operation, Altaf Hussain fled from Karachi to London where he sought political asylum. In London, he has run his party from a nondescript office block in the northern suburb of Edgware. Hussain has resided in London since 1992. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/354 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-23145377 http://www.mqm.org/AltafHussain
Maulana Fazlullah	In July 2009, Maulana Fazlullah was critically injured and close to death, which the Swat Taliban denied. In November 2009, he told BBC service that he had escaped to Kunar, Afghanistan, and vowed to continue fighting the Pakistani Army. Afghan National Directorate of Security and RAW helped Fazlullah and his men to settle down in Kunar and Nuristan and provided all sorts of facilities to enable him to launch cross-border attacks. Pakistan claimed that Fazlullah was hiding in Afghanistan. Pakistan requested Afghanistan to hand over Maulana Fazlullah. In June 2018, Fazlullah was killed in an American drone strike in Kunar Province, Afghanistan. *Sources*: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8144772.stm http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8364243.stm Lexis Advance: *Pakistan Columnists*. "Fazlullah helping India feeding terrorism in Pakistan." (released in Nov. 23, 2013). Lexis Advance: *The Express Tribune*. "Pakistan wants Afghanistan to hand over Maulana Fazlullah." (released in Oct. 21, 2012).
Tahir Yuldashev	Tahir Yuldashev succeeded Namangani as IMU leader. In May 1999, Tahir Yuldashev obtained the Taliban's permission to establish a military training camp for the IMU in northern Afghanistan, where he was believed to be hiding. In late 2001, IMU moved its operational bases from Afghanistan to Pakistan. Tahib Yuldashev died during a US airstrike in August 2009 in Pakistan. *Sources:*

	https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/359 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-movement-uzbekistan#highlight_text_10165 https://nonproliferation.org/islamic-movement-of-uzbekistan-imu/ https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/10/tahir_yuldashev_conf.php
Usman Ghazi	In August 2012, Usman Ghazi became leader of IMU, succedding Abu Usman Adil who was killed in a drone strike. After the IMU attacked an airport in Karachi in 2014, the Pakistani army launched military operations to flush out the IMU. IMU leaders and members crossed into Afghanistan. Ghazi found a sanctuary in Zabul province of Afghanistan. In Decemer 2015, Usman Ghazi was killed by Taliban forces. *Sources:* https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-movement-uzbekistan#highlight_text_10165 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/359 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27790892
Mangal Bagh	In 2007, Mangal Bagh became the head of Lashkar-e-Islam (LeI) after Mufti Shakir's expulsion. From 2007-2011, Bagh helped LeI expand its territorial holdings in the Khyber District, Pakistan. In 2014, he relocated with other LeI militants to Afghanistan's Nangarhar province. Bagh facilitated LeI's cooperation with both TTP and IS-KP militants. He was killed in Afghanistan in January 2021. *Sources:* https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/lashkar-e-islam#vertical_select_18147 https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/399
Hafiz Khan Saeed	In January 2015, Hafiz Khan Saeed pledged allegiance to IS and became leader of IS-Khorasan, which was based mainly in Afghanistan. Previously, he was a commander of TTP (Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan), operating in Pakistan. Hafiz Khan Saeed was killed by a US drone attack in Afghanistan on July 26, 2016. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13637 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-state-khorasan-province https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-islamicstate-idUSKCN10N21L https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37063654
Abdul Haseeb Logari	In July 2016, Abdul Haseeb Logari succeeded Hafiz Khan Saeed. Logari left Pakistan for Afghanistan and spent two years as a member of the Afghan Taliban teaching Islamic law, before joining IS-Khorasan. He was a deputy to Hafiz Saeed Khan before assuming leadership. Logari died in a raid carried out by Afghan Special Security Forces in partnership with US forces in April 2017. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13637 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-state-khorasan-province

	https://apnews.com/article/2b0ff848c86944ecb5f8f78e3ca18eba
Abdul Rahman Ghaleb (aka Abu Sayed)	Abdul Rahman Ghaleb became the third leader of IS-Khorasan in June 2017. As soon as IS-Khorasan was founded in January 2015, he joined it. In August 2016, Ghaleb was the emir of Nangarhar province, Afghanistan, and a deputy to Abdul Haseeb Logari. In July 2017, Ghaleb was killed in a US air strike in Kunar province in Afghanistan. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13637 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-state-khorasan-province https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/war-and-peace/another-iskp-leader-dead-where-is-the-group-headed-after-losing-so-many-amirs/
Abu Saad Erhabi	Abu Saad Erhabi succeeded Abdul Rahman Ghaleb who was killed in a US drone attack in July 2017. Erhabi was killed in a strike on the group's hidouts in Nangarhar province in August 2018. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13637 https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/isis-afghanistan-chief-abu-saad-erhabi-killed-in-joint-operation-says-government-1906457 https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/8/26/isil-leader-in-afghanistan-killed-in-air-raids https://time.com/5385326/us-isis-leader-death-abu-saad-orakzai
Omar al-Khorasani (aka Zia ul-Haq)	In 2014, Omar al-Khorasani formed Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (JuA). JuA pledged allegiance to IS in 2014. Al-Khorasani reportedly operated from Nangarhar and Kunar provinces of Afghanistan. Omar al-Khorasani was succeeded by Abdullah Orokzai in April 2019. In May 2020, Zia ul-Haq, also known as Sheikh Omar Khorasani, was arrested with two other senior leaders of the militant group in Kabul. In August 2022, he was killed by a roadside bombing attack in Afghanistan. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13637 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52623291 https://rewardsforjustice.net/rewards/abdul-wali
Abdullah Orokzai	Abdullah Orokzai, also known as Aslam Farooqi, succeeded Omar al-Khorasani in April 2019. In April 2020, he was arrested by the Afghan intelligence agency National Directorate of Security (NDS). Pakistan demanded repatration of Orokzai, but the Afghan government rejected this request. *Sources:* https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/4/4/afghan-forces-announce-arrest-of-local-isil-leader https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/pakistan-seeks-hand-over-of-daesh-head-in-afghanistan/1798741 https://www.rferl.org/a/hrw-urges-war-crimes-charges-for-jailed-is-linked-group-s-head/30537787.html

	https://www.eurasiantimes.com/Afghanistan-rejects-handing-over-pakistan-national-isis-k-chief-to-islamabad
Muhammad Saifullah Ozaki (aka Abu Ibrahim al-Hanifa)	ISIS Bangladesh was formed in 2015 and led by Muhammad Saifullah Ozaki, a Bangladesh-Japanese individual. In June 2015, the central ISIS leadership in Syria-Iraq appointed Ozaki as the group's ameer in Bangladesh. There are reports that he took his family to Syria after entering Turkey via Bulgaria in late 2015. Ozaki surrendered to the Kurds in Baghouz, Syria, after it fell to the Syrian Democratic Forces on March 15, 2019. After that, Ozaki was detained in northern Iraq. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/13674 Countering Jihadist Militancy in Bangladesh (ICG report 2018.2.28) https://www.iiss.org/blogs/analysis/2019/06/isis-south-asia https://tasneemkhalil.com/meet-the-ameer-of-isis-in-bangladesh-2dab494c4d6e?gi=a1209d18e8b6 https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/05/21/national/crime-legal/ex-ritsumeikan-teacher-suspect-2016-dhaka-terror-attack-fatal-22-held-iraq/ https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/isis-bangladesh-amir-saifullah-ozaki-abu-ibrahim-japan-professor-chief-kunya-1026326-2017-07-26 https://tasneemkhalil.com/meet-the-ameer-of-isis-in-bangladesh-2dab494c4d6e
Saw Bo Mya	KNU (Karen National Union) was based in Manerplaw, Myanmar. This city was the proposed capital of an independent state of the Karen people. KNU operated along Thai-Myanmar border. After losing KNU's stronghold in Manerplaw and staging a disastrous terror attack on a Thai hospital, Saw Bo Mya was replaced in a vote of more than 100 members of the KNU and other anti-junta groups in January 2000. From 2000 to 2004, Saw Bo Mya was vice-chairman of KNU, which continued armed struggle against the Myanmar government. He retired in 2004 from all public offices due to poor health. Saw Bo Mya passed away on December 24, 2006, while taking medical treatment at Pawao Hospital of Maesot in Thailand. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/180 Lexis Advnace: *Agence France Presse*. "Ethnic rebel leader calls for end to fight with Myanmar junta." (released in Jan. 28, 2000). http://www.kaladanpress.org/index.php/news/41-news-2006/december-2006/302-knu-leader-saw-bo-mya-passed-away.html http://articles.latimes.com/2006/dec/25/news/my-mya25
Tamla Baw	Tamla Baw retired in 2012 and passed away at the age of 94 in his home in northern Thailand's Mae Sariang in June 2014. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/180 https://www.bangkokpost.com/world/417943/fermer-knu-leader-dies-in-mae-hong-son Lexis Advance: *Democratic Voice of Burma*. "KNU legend Tamla Baw dies peacefully, age 94." (released in Jun. 27, 2014).

Johnny Htoo	Johnny Htoo and Luther Htoo, twin brothers, seized a Thai hospital in 2000 and demanded that Thailand should grant the Karen people a refuge from the relentless onslaught of the Myanmar army. In January 2001, the Htoos surrendered to Thai soldiers and requested sanctuary. By that time, the number of their followers had dwindled to less than 20. Johnny Htoo remained at an unofficial refugee camp inside Thailand. He returned to Myanmar in July 2006. Luther Htoo lived in the camp with his brother and in 2009 moved to Sweden. He returned to Myanmar in 2018. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/181 http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2013/11/06/2003576237 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/jan/25/burma
Luther Htoo	See Johnny Htoo.
Saw Lah Pwe (aka Na Kham Mway)	Saw Lah Pwe was leader of DKBA 5 until he died in March 2016. He received treatment in Singapore from 2013 to 2016. In March 2016, Saw Lah Pew died from throat cancer in his hometown of Bago, Myanmar. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/1107 http://www.nationmultimedia.com/politics/DKBA-leader-Na-Kham-Mwe-dies-of-cancer-30281487.html http://karennews.org/2014/02/dkba-general-battles-suspected-throat-cancer/
Thakin Ba Thein Tin	Following the mutiny of ethnic minority troops and the CPB's breakup in April 1989, Thakin Ba Thein Tin fled from the CPB's former headquarters at Panghsang, Shan State, to China. In China, he remained in retirement. In 1995, Ba Thein Tin died in Hunan, China. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/182 Maung Aung Myoe. 2011. *In the Name of Pauk-Phaw: Myanmar's China Policy since 1948*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing. Donald M. Seekins 2017. *Historical Dictionary of Burma*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Moe Thee Zun	Moe Thee Zun went underground in 1989. Exiled in Thailand, he formed a student army and an underground movement to combat the government. Zun was elected as the second chairman of the ABSDF. He resettled in the United States in 2006 and returned to Myanmar in 2012. In the US, Zun engaged in lobbying for the ABSDF. Moe Thee Zun said he decided to return to Myanmar to discuss national reconciliation and hoped to hold talks with President Thein Sein in the coming days. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/185

	Christina Fink. 2009. *Living Silence in Burma: Surviving under Military Rule, 2nd ed.* New York: Zed Books Ltd. Benedict Rogers. 2012. *Burma: A Nation at the Crossroads.* London: Rider Books. https://www.mmtimes.com/national-news/yangon/1423-emotional-return-home-for-moethee-zun.html Lexis Advance: *European Press Agency (EPA)*. "Alliance parties meet." (released in Sep. 11, 2012). Lexis Advance: *Mizzima*. "ABSDF leaders to speak in Bangkok." (released in Oct. 12, 2012). http://www.ipsnews.net/1998/07/politics-burma-another-uprising-in-the-offing/ https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19450435
Naing Aung	Naing Aung was exiled in Thailand for 24 years and returned to Myanmar in August 2012 after being removed from the government's travel blacklist. ABSDF agreed to hold peace talks with the government in 2012. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/185 https://www.mmtimes.com/national-news/yangon/1360-controversial-former-absdf-leader-returns.html Lexis Advance: Agence France Presse. "Military jails students for alleged bomb plot." (released in march 1, 1998).
Mohammed Yunus	RSO (Rohingya Solidarity Organization) emerged from the more moderate RPF (Rohingya Patriotic Front) in 1982. Formed by Dr. Mohammed Yunus, the RSO's original purpose was to safeguard the interests of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh who had fled from Myanmar in search of security. But gradually it became an Islamic militant movement. Dr. Yunus was the coordinator of the RSO in Bangladesh. By the early 2000s the RSO had lost much of its operational capacity. While its parent group, the ARNO, remains politically active, most analysts believe that the RSO itself is essentially defunct. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/187 Partha S. Ghosh. 2016. *Migrants, Refugees, and the Stateless in South Asia*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc. Lexis Advance: Hindustan Times. "Lashkar radicalises Rohingyas to wage war against India." (released in Aug. 2, 2013). https://thediplomat.com/2015/06/the-rohingya-and-islamic-extremism-a-convenient-myth/ https://ucdptestweb.pcr.uu.se/actor/187
Zau Seng	Zau Seng took over the leadership of the KIO (Kachin Independence Organization) in 1961. He crossed border into Thailand, setting up bases there in the mid-1960s during civil war. He was assassinated in August 1975. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/201 Chao Tzang Yawnghwe. 1987. *The Shan of Burma*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.

	http://www.kachinnews.com/news/2280-martyred-kio-founders-honored-with-memorial.html
Maran Brang Seng	KIO had headquarters in Kachin State, Myanmar. Maran Brang Seng suffered a massive stroke in October 1993 in Kunming, China. He died in exile at a hospital in Kunming in August 1994. *Sources*: Lexis Advance: Japan Economic Newswire. "Kachin leader Brang Seng dies in exile in China." (released in Aug. 12, 1994). https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/201
Gen. Aung Than Lay	General Aung Than Lay fought for the independence of Karenni state from August 1948 until he died. He died of natural causes at Sri Sangwarn Hospital in Mae Hong Son, Thailand, in 2010. "As the leaders of the SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council), we would like to repeat that we do not want to destroy and cause the collapse of the KNPP group. As for me, I would like to urge Aung Than Lay to persuade the families who fled into Thailand to come back to their homeland and to cooperate with the SLORC leaders who are at the border, in peace." (This letter was written in 1995) *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/225 https://mizzimaenglish.blogspot.com/2010/01/karenni-resistance-leader-dies-at-81.html?m=0 http://www.burmalibrary.org/reg.burma/archives/199507/msg00033.html
Moh Heng	Moh Heng became leader of the SURA in 1969. He died in 1991 in Piang Luang, Thailand. The SURA established bases in Piang Luang, Thailand and launched cross-border attacks from there. Civilian dependents and off-duty troops (of the SURA) were quartered in a cantonment overlooking the village. *Sources*: https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/shan-gather-pay-respect-revolutionary-leader-moh-heng.html Lexis Advance: The Global and Mail (Canada). "Wealth of town on Thai border based on heroin. (released in Mar. 2, 1984).
Khun Sa	Khun Sa was captured by the Burmese central government and imprisoned from 1969 to 1974. Soon after his release he moved to Thailand, setting up a base in Baan Hin Taek, a village in the Chiang Rai area in the northern part of Thailand. Khun Sa's booming drug business began to cause the Thai government some anxiety. In 1985, the merger of SURA and SUA formed the Mong Tai Army (MTA). Khun Sa exerted control over the MTA. In January 1996, he surrendered to the Myanmar government and returned to Myanmar with a large fortune. Khun Sa died in 2007 in Yangon.

	Sources: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/255 https://thediplomat.com/2008/01/lord-of-prosperity/2/ https://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/05/world/asia/05khunsa.html Lexis Advance: Journal of Southeast Asian Studies. "Shan virtual insurgency and the spectatorship of the nation; Essay" (released in Feb. 1, 2011).
Peng Jia-sheng (alt. speling: Pheung Kya-shin)	Peng Jia-sheng, also known as Pheung Kya-shin, was ousted from his position by a government-backed Kokang faction in August 2009 and sought exile in China. According to Peng Jia-sheng and the interviews that he gave to Chinese media, in the past five years from August of 2009 to the middle of 2014, he was traveling and living in different parts of China. His military activities took place mostly in China or near China-Myanmar borders. The revamped MNDAA directly or indirectly obtained its arms from China. Peng Jia-sheng initiated efforts to rebuild the MNDAA in 2012, which helped this group re-emerge in 2014. He returned to Myanmar in 2015 to fight the Myanmar government. He died in February 2022. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/880 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-myanmar-idUSKBN0LT09620150225 https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-national-democratic-alliance-army-founder-dies https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/tens-thousands-flee-war-airstrikes-kokang-region https://dbpedia.org/page/Pheung_Kya-shin https://www.voanews.com/a/qa-who-is-peng-jiasheng/2651512.html https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/beijing-supporting-rebel-groups-myanmar https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-myanmar/china-border-province-says-did-not-host-myanmar-rebel-leader-idUSKBN0M306E20150307 https://www.voanews.com/a/qa-who-is-peng-jiasheng/2651512.html https://news.vice.com/article/fighting-continues-in-what-could-become-the-crimea-of-myanmar
Somawansa Amarasinghe	In 1990, Somawansa Amarasinghe fled to India and then settled in UK. In UK, he endeavored to reorganize his party, JVP. Somawansa Amarasinghe returned to Sri Lanka in 2001. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/281 http://www.sundaytimes.lk/160619/news/former-jvp-strongman-political-mentor-somawansa-amarasinghe-laid-to-rest-197777.html G. H. Peiris. 2009. *Twilight of the Tigers: Peace Efforts and Power Struggles in Sri Lanka.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Leonard Pinto. 2015. *Being a Christian in Sri Lanka: Historical, Political, Social, and Religious Considerations*. Bloomington, IN: Balboa Press.

	http://www.asianmirror.lk/keyhole/item/17215-ten-lesser-known-facts-about-somawansa-amarasinghe-aka-siri-ayya Lexis Advance: *Agence France Presse*. "Sri Lanka Marxists vow to crush Tamil Tigers." (released in Nov. 28, 2001).
K.Pathmanabha (alt. spelling: K. Padmanabha)	In March 1990, nearly 300 of Sri Lanka's Tamil refugees, including the General Secretary of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) Mr. K. Padmanabha and two ministers of the North-East provincial government, arrived in Bhubaneswar, India. They were taken to camps in Malkangiri and Patkura areas of Koraput district. On 19 June 1990, the EPRLF central committee was meeting at a flat in Madras, Tamil Nadu. Gunmen broke into the flat and started firing. 14 members of the EPRLF were killed. The victims included K. Padmanabha. The killers belonged to the Tamil Tigers, the separatist group that drove the EPRLF from Sri Lanka in March 1990. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/322 Lexis Advance: *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*. "Other reports; EPRLF General Secretary included in Tamil refugees flown to India." (released in Mar. 13, 1990). https://web.archive.org/web/20140220083850/http://www.nation.lk/2008/03/16/newsfe1.htm
Puspa Kamal Dahal (alias Prachanda)	During ten years of insurgency, Puspa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) remained underground, spending eight of those years in various Indian cities. On November 21, 2006, comprehensive peace agreement signed by SPA Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Maoist Chairman Puspa Kamal Dahal ended the decade-long armed rebellion. Dahal joined an interim parliament and government in 2007. His Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) fought multi-party elections in April 2008, becoming the largest party in the 601-member constituent assembly. Puspa Kamal Dahal was elected as prime minister in 2008. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/258 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Prachanda https://www.hindustantimes.com/analysis/how-nepal-pm-prachanda-s-relationship-with-india-turned-with-the-tide/story-SKULlrw6zs4ELZZW3rfZsK.html Lexis Advance: Himalayan Times. "NC sticks to its gun Maoists to their arms." (released in May 27, 2011). https://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/asiapcf/08/15/nepal.prime.minister/
Wirat Angkhathawon	From 1965 to 1976 Wirat Angkhathawon lived alternatively in China and a remote base of Nan in northern Thailand. In 1976, he settled in Laos where he led the “re-education” of the dissident cadres of “the region of three provinces” (Phetchabun-Phitsanulok-Loei) before traveling to China in the late 1970s. In 1982 Wirat Angkhathawon joined a base of CPT to participate in the fourth congress.

	In late 1982, he suffered a stroke. After hospitalization in Bangkok, he returned to China in 1983 for treatment and died there on June 16, 1997. *Sources*: https:/ucdp.uu.se/actor/216 http://europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article14956 Hara Fujio. 2013. "Chinese Overseas and Communist Movements Southeast Asia." In Chee-Bang Tan. *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora* (ed.). New York: Routledge.
Pol Pot	The Cambodian government accused Thailand of helping Pol Pot flee into Thailand in 1994 in the face of Cambodian Army troops that overran the rebel headquarters compound in the western Cambodian city of Pailin. The Thai military provided the Khmer Rouge with goods and arms and gave their leadership a sanctuary. In 1997, after a power struggle within the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot was arrested by former colleagues and sentenced to life under house arrest. He died on 15 April 1998. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/270 https://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/07/world/cambodia-says-thais-helped-pol-pot-escape.html https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1994/05/29/pol-pots-best-pal-thailand/ab3c52a0-5e4c-416c-991c-704d1fe816d6/?utm_term=.2b14920ed7f3 https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/pol-pot-fled-to-thailand-1368172.html
Son Sann	When Prince Sihanouk was ousted in a republican coup d'etat in 1970, Son Sann went into exile, first in Beijing. Son Sann moved to France after the Khmer Rouge seized power in 1975. In Paris, he became a prominent organizer of opposition to the radical Communists. A Buddhist and staunch anti-Communist, Mr. Son Sann formed the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) in October 1979 to fight the Vietnamese Army, which dislodged the Khmer Rouge from power and occupied Cambodia earlier that year. Mr. Son Sann took part in negotiations that led to a treaty in 1991 officially ending the Cambodian war. He then returned to Phnom Penh and turned his faction-ridden liberation front into the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/272 https://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/22/world/son-sann-89-strong-nationalist-for-cambodia-for-six-decades.html https://www.britannica.com/biography/Son-Sann https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/12/20/cambodian-statesman-son-sann-dies-at-89/40cd3108-9fa5-4d77-ade9-584adf968d1d/?utm_term=.f664ce8d25d1 http://articles.latimes.com/2000/dec/20/local/me-2279

	Joseph Liow and Michael Leifer. 2001. *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge. Donald E. Weatherbee. 2008. *Historical Dictionary of United States-Southeast Asia Relations*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Lexis Advance: Associated Press International. "Senior Cambodian statesman Son Sann dead at 89 in Paris." (released in Dec. 19, 2000).
Prince Sihanouk	In 1970, Prince Sihanouk was ousted in a U.S.-supported coup led by General Lon Nol. He then lived in Beijing as the titular head of a government-in-exile. Following the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia in 1975, Sihanouk returned home only to be put under house arrest. Sihanouk was released in January 1979. Then, he fled to China. From residences in China and North Korea (a few months each year), Sihanouk became president of FUNCINPEC, an uneasy coalition government-in-exile made up of the three principal anti-Vietnamese Khmer forces—the Khmer Rouge, the anticommunist Khmer People's National Liberation Front, and Sihanouk's neutralist party. He retained his role as resistance leader until 1991, when he was elected president of Cambodia's Supreme National Council, an interim administrative body. Sihanouk returned to Cambodia in 1991 from exile. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/273 https://www.britannica.com/biography/Norodom-Sihanouk https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/15/world/asia/norodom-sihanouk-cambodian-leader-through-shifting-allegiances-dies-at-89.html https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9610196/Norodom-Sihanouk.html https://www.cambodiadaily.com/sihanouk/norodom-sihanouk-the-end-of-an-era-3915/ https://www.nytimes.com/1991/11/15/world/joyous-sihanouk-returns-to-cambodia-from-exile.html Lexis Advance: Agence France Presse. "Prince Sihanouk headed for Cambodia to end 13 years' exile." (released in Nov. 14, 1991).
Norodom Ranariddh	In July 1997, Norodom Ranariddh fled to France after being warned by his security officials that Hun Sen would try to arrest or kill him. In September 1997, Kofi Annan, the UN secretary general, met separately with Ranariddh and Hun Sen to mediate the return of FUNCINPEC politicians and prepare for the 1998 general election. Hun Sen insisted that Ranariddh face court charges, to which Ranariddh responded with a threat to boycott the election. After returning to Cambodia in March 1998, Ranariddh led his party in the 1998 Cambodian general election. Norodom Ranariddh fled to Malaysia in 2007. In Malaysia, he communicated with the Norodom Ranariddh Party (NRP) members and supporters through telephone and video conferencing. When the election campaign began in June 2008, Ranariddh raised issues such as border disputes with neighbors and illegal logging and promised to lower petrol prices, though he was not able to enter Cambodia. When voting took place in July, the NRP won two parliamentary seats. Ranariddh returned to Cambodia in 2008.

	Sources: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/273 Lexis Advance: *Associated Press International*. "Embattled Cambodian prime minister in France to seek support." (released in July 6, 1997). https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/ranariddh-has-birthday-exile-100-malaysia https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/ranariddh-returns-vows-loyalty-govt https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/07/27/cambodia-july-1997-shock-and-aftermath https://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/21/world/forces-loyal-to-hun-sen-pursue-rivals.html http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/analysis/60712.stm https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/07/27/cambodia-july-1997-shock-and-aftermath
Vang Pao	Vang Pao left for the US in 1975. In the US, he assembled anti-communist exiles under one banner – the United Lao Liberation Front – and sent funds and weapons to be ferried across the border from Thailand to the bands of hardcore Hmong determined to resist the Laotian government. Vang Pao died in exile in 2011. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/246 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/22/vang-pao-obituary http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12133710 https://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/08/world/asia/08vangpao.html
Chin Peng	Chin Peng became the Secretary General and effective leader of the Comunist Party of Malaya (CPM) in 1947 when he was only 22. To relieve miltary pressure, the CPM moved its central operations base to Thailand in 1953. Toward the end of December 1960, Chin Peng and other members left CPM headquarters located in southern Thailand. After staying in Bangkok, Laos and Vietnam, they reached Beijing in 1961. In China, they sought political advice and guidance from the more experienced Chinese Communist Party. Chin remained in Beijing for the next 29 years. While in Beijing, Chin Peng was advised by Deng Xiao Ping, to continue the armed struggle in Malaysia. Chin reluctantly decided to acquiesce in Deng's suggestion. This was the first time that the CPM accepted foreign assistance in its struggle. The CPM did not lay down its arms until 1989. In October 1989, Chin Peng flew from China to Thailand to conclude a peace treaty. As part of the agreement, the CPM disbanded its armed forces. After that, he stayed mainly in Bangkok. He applied for permission to return to Malaysia, which was dismissed or rejected. Chin Peng co-authored his story with Sigapore-based writer and publisher, Ian Ward. In 2009, Chin Peng apologized to the victims and their family members for the atrocities perpetrated by the CPM. He died in exile in Bankok in September 2013. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/196

	https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/17/world/asia/chin-peng-malaysian-rebel-dies-at-88.html https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/chin-peng-guerrilla-who-fought-british-rule-in-malaysia-8822652.html https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/chin-peng-former-malaysian-communist-leader-dies-in-thailand-at-88-1.1456430 Hara Fujio. 2013. "Chinese Overseas and Communist Movements in South Asia. In Tan Chee-Beng (ed.). *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora*. New York: Routledge. Karl Hack. 2008. "The Long March to Peace of the Malayan Communist Party in Southern Thailand." In *Thai South and Malay North* In. Michael J. Montesano and Patrick Jory (eds.). Singapore: NUS Press.
Jamalul Kiram III	In November 2012, the dispute on the succession rights ended. After the family meeting, Jamalul Kiram III became the self-proclaimed Sultan. He served as leader of the Sultanate of Sulu until his death in October 2013. Jamalul Kiram III, a Philippine sultan whose armed followers invaded a vast Malaysian region and sparked a security crisis in February that left dozens dead, died October 20, 2013, at a Philippine hospital. He was 75. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/4006 https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/jamalul-kiram-iii-philippine-sultan-who-led-revolt-in-malaysia-dies-at-75/2013/10/21/67cc033c-3a63-11e3-b6a9-da62c264f40e_story.html
Jose Maria Sison	Jose Maria Sison had been exiled in the Netherlands since 1987, after the collapse of the negotiations under then President Corazon Aquino. Sison continued to play an influential role in the strategic direction of the CPP-NPA and the NDF from his self-exile in the Netherlands. In exile, he served in an advisory role as chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front in peace negotiations with the government. Sison also delivered lectures and composed books and articles on topics such as armed struggle in the Philippines, revolution, and resistance. In 2007, Sison was arrested and detained in Utrecht for masterminding assassinations in the Philippines and then released. In 2010, his charges were dropped. In 2022, he died in the Netherlands. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/169 http://news.abs-cbn.com/news/01/09/18/still-pinoy-joma-denies-hes-a-dutch-citizen http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2017/11/25/Duterte-Joma-Sison-CPP-NPA-NDF.html https://www.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-29522120070913 https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/communist-party-philippines-new-peoples-army#highlight_text_13167 https://www.josemariasison.org/legalcases/related/LLL_jmscase_290504.html?__cf_chl_tk=uq2I6vY41fa5DyQa5pyrxy8Auj0FuplDEEykDFBG0Sc-1657864822-0-gaNycGzNBj0

Hashim Salamat	In December 1977, Hashim Salamat attempted to wrest control from Nur Misuari. When the attempt failed, he established a splinter group. Since then, Hashim Salamat had lived in Libya for 20 years. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, he traveled to various Muslim countries, including Libya, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Pakistan in order to gain support. Salamat returned to the Philippines in December 1997. Salamat's arrival coincided with the scheduled meeting between the MILF and the government. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/276 Lexis Advance: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. "Mindanao Muslim leader to pursue peaceful way to independence." (released in Dec. 22, 1997). Lexis Advance: Manila Bulletin. "7 soldiers killed by rebels." (released in Jul. 19, 2000). Lexis Advance: Manila Bulletin. "Estrada readies program for Mindanao development." (released in Jul 13, 2000). http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/309 http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/moro-islamic-liberation-front-milf Lexis Advance: The Sinhua General Overseas News Servie. "Philippine government to continue talks with muslim group." (released in Jan. 22, 1987).
Seth Rumkorem	Opting to continue his struggle from abroad, Seth Rumkorem fled to Greece in 1982. In November 1983, Rumkorem was granted temporary asylum in Greece. Later he immigrated to the Netherlands. In 1985, Rumkorem and Jacob H. Prai met in Vanuatu, signing the Port Vila Declaration establishing peace and a unifed military command. In 1987, Muammar Gaddafi promised to former OPM leader Seth Rumkorem, now exiled in Holland, that Libya is prepared to offer arms to the OPM if it unifies. In 2010, Rumkorem died in the Netherlands. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/266 https://www.upi.com/Archives/1987/04/23/Libya-may-try-to-expand-contacts-with-dissident-groups/3043546148800 http://www.ipsnews.net/1996/02/indonesia-irian-jaya-hostage-crisis-and-separatist-fight-drag-on/ Lexis Advance: *Australian Financial Review*. "The Melanesian cause in Irian Jaya sadly neglected." (released in Jun. 21, 1988). Bilveer Singh 2008. *Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood*. New York: Routledge.
Jacob H Prai	In 1982, Jacob H. Prai and Seth Rumkorem were captured by Papua New Guinea police when they strayed over the border. Prai was allowed to go into exile to Sweden. In Sweden, he established an OPM office. Prai was dedicated to both the military and political dimensions of the struggle. In 1985, Seth Rumkorem and Jacob H. Prai met in Vanuatu, signing the Port Vila Declaration establishing peace and a unifed military command. Prai was unable to return to Indonesia and lived in Sweden util he passed away in May 2022. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/266 http://www.ipsnews.net/1996/02/indonesia-irian-jaya-hostage-crisis-and-separatist-fight-drag-on/

	Lexis Advance: *Australian Financial Review*. "The Melanesian cause in Irian Jaya sadly neglected." (released in Jun. 21, 1988). Bilveer Singh 2008. *Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood*. New York: Routledge. https://www.ulmwp.org/interim-president-west-papua-mourns-the-loss-of-jacob-prai-leader-and-founder-of-the-opm
Alex (Donald) Derey	Alex (Donald) Derey and James Nyaro left the jungle camp on the Papua New Guinea-Irian Jayan border in 1985. They were detained in Port Moresby, capital city of Papua New Guinea, for seven months. In 1986, arrangements were made to fly James Nyaro and four other Irian Jayan independence activists (including Alex Derey) from Papua New Guinea to Ghana, West Africa. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/266 Lexis Advance: *The Advertiser*. "Irian Jayan rebels to leave gaol for Ghana." (released in Jun. 25, 1986). http://papuaweb.org/chrono/files/c1980-89.html Jim Elmslie. 2002. *Irian Jaya Under the Gun*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
James Nyaro	See Alex (Donald) Derey.
Benny Wenda	In December 2020, Benny Wenda, chairman of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), was declared president of the Provisional Government of West Papua. The ULMWP was formed by various West Papuan resistance movements including the OPM in 2014. Wenda was granted political asylum in the United Kingdom in 2003, and has stayed there since then. *Sources:* https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/266 https://thediplomat.com/2021/01/in-exile-an-icon-of-the-west-papuan-independence-struggle-fades/ https://humanrightspapua.org/resources/the-opm-the-tpn-pb-and-the-terrorist-label/
Hasan di Tiro	Hasan Di Tiro fled to Malaysia in 1977 and then moved to Sweden in 1979 where he lived in exile for nearly 30 years. In Sweden, he continued to control GAM, remaining a key decision-making leader and international lobbyist for GAM. The final peace agreement signed in August 2005 allowed Aceh greater autonomy and authorized local political parties. Di Tiro returned to Aceh in 2008. He died in June 3, 2010. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/327 https://scandasia.com/6456-hasan-di-tiro-the-end-of-an-era-in-aceh/ http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2004-07-20/swedish-court-drops-charges-against-gam-leader/657446 https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/hasan-di-tiro-founder-of-acehnese-independence-movement-who-helped-end-three-decades-of-war-2004818.html

	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/hasan-di-tiro-founder-of-acehnese-independence-movement-who-helped-end-three-decades-of-war-2004818.html Lexis Advance: Japan Economic Newswire. "Aceh rebel leader rejects talks with Indonesian gov." (released in Aug. 13, 1999). https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hasan-di-Tiro
Malik Mahmud	Malik Mahmud and Hasan di Tiro sought asylum together in Sweden. There, they formed the government-in-exile. After living in Sweden for decades, Malik Mahmud returned to Aceh in 2006 after GAM signed a peace deal with the Indonesian government. *Sources*: https://ucdp.uu.se/actor/327 http://www.abc.net.au/news/2006-04-28/gam-leaders-to-contest-aceh-polls/1740800 https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/26058/PS002.pdf