

**David Malet: Typology of Foreign Fighters**

	Ethnic Conflict	Non-ethnic Conflict
Co-ethnics	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 1 <i>Diasporans</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Join with nationalist rebels to preserve shared nationalist goals)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) 1936-1948 Palestine, Diaspora Jews vs. British Mandate</li> <li>2) 1948 Israeli War of Independence, MACHAL on Jewish side, Arab Liberation Army on Arab side</li> <li>3) 1960-65 Congo, Angolan Katanga tribesmen</li> <li>4) 1961-1974 Angola, Zaire refugees in FNLC</li> <li>5) 1961-1996 Iraq, KDP, PUK</li> <li>6) 1962-1974 Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde residents in PAIGC vs. Portugal</li> <li>7) 1970s, ANC in Rhodesia</li> <li>8) 1974 Cyprus, rogue Greek National Guardsmen arrive, fight</li> <li>9) 1990, RPF in Rwandan Tutsi uprising</li> <li>10) Diaspora Rwandans in 1990-94 Civil War</li> <li>11) 1991-92 Croatia, diaspora Croats</li> <li>12) 1991-94 Nagorno-Karabakh, diaspora Armenians, [double-coded 2]</li> <li>13) 1997, Rwanda vs. PALIR, Congo Hutus</li> <li>14) 1998 Kosovo, Homeland Calling recruits Albanian diaspora into KLA</li> <li>15) 2004 Sudan, Chadian Furs</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 3 <i>Encroachers</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Join with secessionist rebels in neighboring state to advance goal of political control of territory)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) 1835 Texas Revolution, Texas Army</li> <li>2) 1948 Malaysia – Chinese Communist Organization, Indonesian volunteers</li> <li>3) 1963 Brunei rebels vs. British-backed sultan, Indonesian volunteers</li> <li>4) 1962-69 Yemen, Yemeni-Saudis, Egyptians</li> <li>5) 1977-1992, ANC in Angola</li> </ol>

	Ethnic Conflict	Non-ethnic Conflict
Non-Co-ethnics	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 2 <i>Liberationists</i></p> <p>(Defend anti-colonial rebels to preserve perceived shared ideological goals)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) 1821 Greece, Philiki Etaireia</li> <li>2) 1903 Macedonia, Bulgarians in Macedonian VMRO</li> <li>3) 1946-53 Cambodia, Vietminh</li> <li>4) 1946-53 Laos, Vietminh</li> <li>5) 1954 Algeria, Tunisians in FLN</li> <li>6) 1960-62 Laos, Vietcong</li> <li>7) 1964-74 Mozambique – Tanzanians, Malawis join Frelimo</li> <li>8) 1967-70 Nigeria, Biafra Babies</li> <li>9) 1978-91 Ethiopia, pro-Tigrean Muslims</li> <li>10) 1979-92 Afghanistan, Islamic Society</li> <li>11) 1991-94 Georgia vs. Abkhazia, Russians and Chechens</li> <li>12) 1992-95 Bosnia, Islamists</li> <li>13) 1992-95 Liberia, Bukinabe and Libyans</li> <li>14) 1994-present Chechnya, Islamists</li> <li>15) 1991-94 Nagorno-Karabakh, pro-Azeri Islamists, [double-coded 1]</li> <li>16) 2002 Macedonia, Pakistanis</li> <li>17) 2002 Cote D'Ivoire, Liberians</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 4 <i>True Believers</i></p> <p>(Join ideological rebels to preserve institutions of shared identity)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) 1861-65 US, “Wild Geese”</li> <li>2) 1863-77 China, Muslim Uzbeks</li> <li>3) 1917-21 Russia, International Brigades</li> <li>4) 1918 Finland, Anti-Communists</li> <li>5) 1936 Spain, International Brigades &amp; Catholic anti-communists</li> <li>6) 1946-48 Greece, Communists</li> <li>7) Cuba 1958-60, Communists</li> <li>8) 1960-62 Laos, Vietcong</li> <li>9) Cuba 1961, Brigade 2506</li> <li>10) 1963 Laos, Vietcong</li> <li>11) 1966-ongoing, Colombia, IRA joins FARC</li> <li>12) 1975-1990 Lebanon, Islamists</li> <li>13) 1975-1991 Angola, Anti-communists</li> <li>14) 1978 Nicaragua, Argentinian Revolutionary Coordinating Junta</li> <li>15) 1980 Chad, Libyan Pan-African Legion</li> <li>16) 1981-82 Iran, Arab Mujahidin</li> <li>17) 1982 Iraq, Iranians in SCIRI</li> <li>18) 1989 Chad, Libyan-backed Arabs</li> <li>19) 1990 Liberia, Libyan-trained Burkinabe</li> <li>20) 1991-present Somalia, Islamists</li> <li>21) 1991 Sierra Leone, Liberian LURD</li> <li>22) 1992 Tajikistan, Islamists</li> <li>23) 1992-2001 Afghanistan, mujahidin</li> <li>24) 1996 Zaire, Ugandan, Rwandan rebels</li> <li>25) 1996 Ethiopia, Somali-led insurgents, Afghan, Yemeni Islamists</li> <li>26) 1998 Tajikistan, Islamists</li> <li>27) 1999-ongoing Dagestan, Islamists</li> <li>28) 2000 Guinea, Liberian RUF</li> <li>29) 2000-ongoing Uzbekistan, Islamists</li> <li>30) 2001-ongoing Afghanistan, Taliban</li> <li>31) 2003-ongoing Iraq, Islamists</li> </ol>