

**Rolecode** 2  
**Leadercode** 401  
**Name of leader** Sayyed Ahmad Gailani  
**Organization** Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-yi Afghanistan  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1932<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Surkh-Rod District of Eastern Nangarhar Province of Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2017<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of disease in 2017.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1979, so at age 47.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d5/Gailani\\_in\\_September\\_2014.jpg/440px-Gailani\\_in\\_September\\_2014.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d5/Gailani_in_September_2014.jpg/440px-Gailani_in_September_2014.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Gilani, Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani dead," *Afghan Biographies*, Accessed February 12, 2017,

[http://www.afghan-](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=569&task=view&total=2869&start=865&Itemid=2)

[bios.info/index.php?option=com\\_afghanbios&id=569&task=view&total=2869&start=865&Itemid=2](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=569&task=view&total=2869&start=865&Itemid=2).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Head Of Afghan High Peace Council Dies in Kabul From Illness At Age 84," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, January 21, 2017, Accessed February 12, 2017. <http://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-peace-council-chief-gailani-dead/28248769.html>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He studied at the Abu Hanifa college in Kabul, before graduating at the Faculty of Theology of Kabul University in 1960.”<sup>6</sup> He does not appear to have been educated in the West based on biographical sources.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, at age 20 he married Adela, a granddaughter of Amir Habibullah.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had five children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, “Hazrat Naqib Sahib, father of Sayyid Ahmad Gailani Effendi, the present pir of the Qadiriya, established the family seat in Afghanistan on the outskirts of Jalalabad during the 1920s...The Qadiriya was founded in Baghdad, Iraq by Abdul-Qadir Gilani and can trace their lineage to the Islamic prophet Muhammad.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was the head of the Qadiri Sufi brotherhood.<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1



**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was in business. “Gailani invested more time in his business career than in the leadership of his Sufi tariqah, often travelling to France and England.”<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled to Afghanistan to form the National Islamic Front in Pakistan.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>14</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

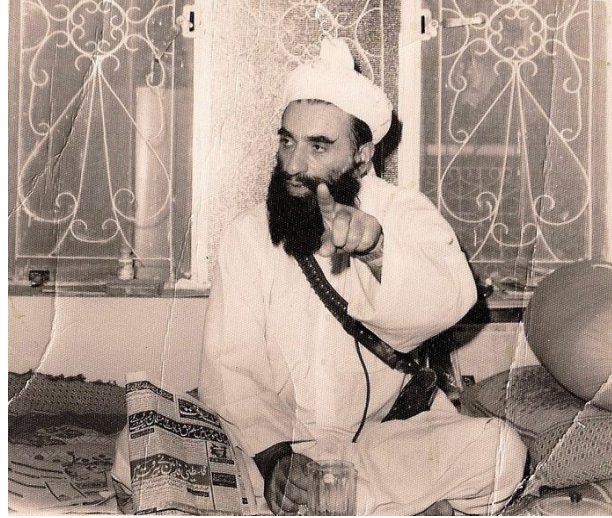
He is fluent in English, Dari, and Pashto.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 3  
**Leadercode** 295  
**Name of leader** Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi  
**Organization** Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami-yi Afghanistan  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1921<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Province of Logar, Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2001<sup>3</sup> or 2002<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in either 2001 or 2002 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1978, so at age 57.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was designated leader.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: Wikimedia, "File:Molvi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi.jpg." "WikiMedia Commons, Accessed September 12, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Molvi\\_Mohammad\\_Nabi\\_Mohammadi.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Molvi_Mohammad_Nabi_Mohammadi.jpg).

M.J. Gohari, *The Taliban: Ascent to Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 23.

<sup>2</sup> "Afghan Mujahideen leader dies," *BBC News*, April 22, 2002, Accessed February 27, 2017, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/1944244.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1944244.stm).

<sup>3</sup> Tom Lansford, *Afghanistan at War: From the 18th-Century Durrani Dynasty to the 21st century* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2017), 220.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He obtained his primary education from the religious scholars of Logar Laghman and Mydan, and he completed the religions education in 1953.”

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married after graduation from religious school,<sup>7</sup> so at age 32.

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least one son.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

Yes, the “family of Mawlawi was the family of Knowledge and grace since his time, his father Mullah Mullah Abdul Wahab and his companions Mullah Abdul Rahim, Mullahsadgal and Mullah-e-Abdul Rashid were also the descendants of Fazlullah, who were performing religious services in their area.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes “In the 1950, [sic] he was one of the first members of the religious establishment who agitated against leftist movement in the country. He was elected to the parliament in 1964 and became an MP.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>7</sup> [Review of life and struggle of late Mawlawi محمد مولوي محمد نبي محمدني ژوند او مبارزي ته كتته]”  
Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi], *Nunn.asia News Website*, April 22, 2015, Accessed September 24, 2017, <https://www.nunn.asia/42916/%D8%AF-%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%85-%D9%85%D9%88%D9%84%D9%88%D9%8A-%D9%85%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%AF-%D9%86%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D9%85%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%AF%D9%8A-%DA%98%D9%88%D9%86%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%88-%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%A7/>

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

There was no evidence that he was mentally unhealthy; however, he had physical health issues as he died as leader from tuberculosis. It is not clear how long he was sick though, so it probably did not affect most of the time while he was leader – and more importantly should not count for our purposes as a pre-leadership attribute.<sup>11</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His primary prior occupation was being an Islamic scholar and teacher.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was elected to parliament in 1964.<sup>13</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes. “In 1978, after the Saur Revolution, he fled to Pakistan and utilised a network of mawlavīs to organize armed resistance against Kabul [sic] regime.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His most likely spoke at least Pashto and Dari.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 4  
**Leadercode** 84  
**Name of leader** Asif Mohseni  
**Organization** Harakat-I Islami-yi  
Afghanistan  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1936<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he had died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1978, so at age 42.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: <http://www.hajij.com/fa/images/stories/pic/olama/asef-mohseni.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Nushin Arbabzadah, "Afghanistan's turbulent cleric," *The Guardian*, April 18, 2009, Accessed September 11, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/apr/18/afghanistan-shia-law-women>.

<sup>2</sup> "Mohammad Asif Mohseni, *Project Gutenberg*, Accessed September 11, 2017, [http://central.gutenberg.org/articles/mohammad\\_asif\\_mohseni](http://central.gutenberg.org/articles/mohammad_asif_mohseni).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He began his elementary education in Kandahar and then went to Pakistan with his father in the year 9, learning Urdu in the [city of Quetta in] Balochistan, Pakistan.”<sup>5</sup> “In 1952 after [working for the Chambers of Commerce in Kandahar] he quit the job for religious studies and then went to district of Jaghori [in Afghanistan] to study logic and literature for a year at a seminary. In 1954 he studied religion for two and a half years in Najaf, Iraq. He studied more in Najaf and became an Ayatollah.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

No, there is no evidence of children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

He came from a religious family.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“In the 1960s he founded a movement called Subh-i Danish (Dawn of Knowledge), whose political and cultural revival program enjoyed some popularity among the Shia youth of Kabul.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “آیت الله محسنی؛ مبلغ اتحاد شیعه و سنی” [Ayatollah Mohseni; the mission of Shia and Sunni alliance], *BBC Persian*, July 30, 2009, Accessed September 25, 2017, [http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2009/07/090730\\_ram\\_profile\\_mohseni.shtml?print=1](http://www.bbc.com/persian/afghanistan/2009/07/090730_ram_profile_mohseni.shtml?print=1).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Kamer, “After the Taliban,” *Village Voice*, <http://www.villagevoice.com/news/after-the-taliban-6396687>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2



He was a teacher. “After returning from his 12th year of study in Najaf, he returned to his native Kandahar, where he taught religious scholarship at a religious school in the city of Kandahar, titled ‘Sheikh Mohammad Asif Qandahari,’ and then founded the great Hassania of Kandahar and the Seminary School of the City.”

Mohseni left the country following the communist coup d'etat and traveled to Syria and spent several months in Damascus to teach seminary science.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Pakistan<sup>12</sup> and finished his Islamic studies in Iraq.<sup>13</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He taught seminary science for several months in Damascus.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Sayed Salahuddin, “Afghan cleric takes Islamic battle to the airwaves,” *Reuters*, Accessed September 11, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghan-television/afghan-cleric-takes-islamic-battle-to-the-airwaves-idUSISL18988620070208>.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks at least Pashto.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

**Rolecode** 5  
**Leadercode** 165  
**Name of leader** Gulbuddin Hekmatyar  
**Organization** Hezb-i-Islami  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1947<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Imam Sahib District of the Kunduz province of northern Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died. He was reportedly shot in 2015,<sup>3</sup> but is still alive.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1975, so at age 28.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, BBC Persian - Spe 28, 2019.jpg" Wikimedia Commons. Accessed September 12, 2021. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gulbuddin\\_Hekmatyar,\\_BBC\\_Persian\\_-\\_Sep\\_28,\\_2019.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gulbuddin_Hekmatyar,_BBC_Persian_-_Sep_28,_2019.jpg).  
<sup>2</sup>"Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Return to the Afghan Insurgency," *The Jamestown Foundation*, Accessed February 13, 2017, [https://web.archive.org/web/20080602104444/http://www.jamestown.org/news\\_details.php?news\\_id=325](https://web.archive.org/web/20080602104444/http://www.jamestown.org/news_details.php?news_id=325).  
<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Afghanistan: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar Reportedly Shot Dead," *AP Archive*, Accessed February 13, 2017, <http://www.aparchive.com/metadata/youtube/d0a725f1c605ad218ab633626d41a056>.

<sup>4</sup>"Afghan warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar returns to Kabul after 20 years, urges peace with Taliban," *First Post*, May 5, 2017, Accessed June 12, 2017, <http://www.firstpost.com/world/afghan-warlord-gulbuddin-hekmatyar-returns-to-kabul-after-20-years-urges-peace-with-taliban-3425148.html>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

In 1975 he founded the Hezb-i-Islami.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“After graduating from Sher Khan high school in Kunduz in 1968, Hekmatyar joined the Mahtab Qala military school in Kabul. Due to his political activities, however, he was expelled from the school two years later...From 1970 to 1972, Hekmatyar attended the engineering department at Kabul University, but after being implicated in the murder of Saydal Sukhandan from the pro-China Shola-e-Jawedan Movement, he was jailed by the government of King Zahir Shah. As a high school student, Hekmatyar was a member of the communist People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) for four years. As a result of studying engineering at Kabul University, Hekmatyar’s communist ideology was also affected by an extremist version of Islam, and he joined the Muslim Youths Movement (Nahzat-e-Jawanane Musalman). While at Kabul University, Hekmatyar’s radicalism began to show its face: he was notorious for spraying acid on the university’s female students. Hekmatyar’s followers addressed him as Engineer Hekmatyar even though he was unable to complete his degree as a result of spending almost two years in prison.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has two wives, but the age of his marriages is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has six daughters and three sons.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence he is from an elite family. <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “Gulbuddin Hekmatyar: From Holy Warrior to Wanted Terrorist,” *The Jamestown Foundation*, Accessed February 13, 2017, <http://jamestown.org/program/gulbuddin-hekmatyar-from-holy-warrior-to-wanted-terrorist/>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In high school, Hekmatyar was a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Later he was expelled from military school for unspecified political activities and at Kabul University he was in the Muslim Youths Movement.<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist, forming the organization after completing his education.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, there is experience in a nonstate military as a campaign in the dataset has already been led by Hekmatyar.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled Afghanistan after the Daoud coup in 1973 and in 1996 he fled to Iran while the Taliban controlled Afghanistan.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> John Lee Anderson, *The Lion's Grave: Dispatches from Afghanistan* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 234.

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was thrown in prison in 1972 after murdering someone in a rival movement. In 1973 he escaped to Pakistan.<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was reportedly shot by three gunmen, but there is no clear evidence of death.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks at least Pashto and Dari.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 6  
**Leadercode** 11  
**Name of leader** Abdul Ali Mazari  
**Organization** Hezb-i-Wahdat  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1946  
**Place of birth** Village of Nanwai, Charkent District, Balkh Province, Afghanistan  
**Year of death** 1995



### **Deceased**

Yes

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, Mazari became leader of Hezb-i-Wahdat.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was a founding member.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, Abdul Ali Mazari was the top leader.<sup>3</sup>

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Image Credits: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9f/Mazari.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> "Research Response Number AFG17439." *Refugee Review Tribunal, Australia*. August 5, 2005. Available at <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4b6fe1130.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Abdullah Qazi. "Biography of Abdul Ali Mazari." *Afghanistan Online*, 1997. Available at <https://www.afghan-web.com/biographies/biography-of-abdul-ali-mazari/>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He studied in private religious schools in Mazar-i-Sharif, Qum (Iran), and Najaf (Iraq).”<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence of marriage.

**Children**

No, there is evidence of children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim<sup>5</sup>.

**Elite family background**

No, he was not from an elite family.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he formed the Nasr party.<sup>6</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist fighting against the Soviet-backed forces.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “with the occupation of Afghanistan by the Red Army, Abdul Ali Mazari returned to his birthplace and gained a prominent place in the anti-Soviet resistance movement.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he gained combat experience while fighting Soviet-backed forces.<sup>9</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes. “He began his primary schooling in theology at the local school in his village, then went to Mazari Sharif, then Qom in Iran, and then to Najaf in Iraq.”<sup>10</sup> He likely studied abroad about 6 years based on it being after primary school.<sup>11</sup> He studied abroad at the secondary school level.<sup>12</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes. “In Iran, Mazari was imprisoned and tortured after being accused of conspiracy against the Shah of Iran in assistance with Iranian Shi’ite clerics.”<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was executed by the Taliban.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Likely spoke at least Dari and Pashto. No evidence of English as a second language.

**Rolecode** 7

**Leadercode** 232

**Name of leader** Karim Khalili

**Organization** Hezb-i-Wahdat

**Conflict country** Afghanistan

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1950<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** In Qala-i-Chesht Behsud, a district of Maidan-Wardak Province, Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1995, so at age 45.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/61/Karim\\_Khalili\\_-\\_2018\\_%2839297711844%29\\_%28cropped%29.jpg/440px-Karim\\_Khalili\\_-\\_2018\\_%2839297711844%29\\_%28cropped%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/61/Karim_Khalili_-_2018_%2839297711844%29_%28cropped%29.jpg/440px-Karim_Khalili_-_2018_%2839297711844%29_%28cropped%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Karim Khalili," *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 22, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/khalili.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> "Khalili, Mohammad Karim Chalili," *Afghan Biographies*, October 9, 2009, Accessed February 22, 2017, [http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com\\_afghanbios&id=880&task=view&total=2090&start=917&Itemid=2](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=880&task=view&total=2090&start=917&Itemid=2).

<sup>3</sup> "Hizb-i Wahdat," *UCDP*, Accessed September 6, 2019, <https://ucdp.uu.se/#/actor/300>.

He succeeded Abdul Ali Mazari after he was killed.<sup>4</sup> Another source says he was elected in 1994 as leader.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He completed his secondary studies at a religious school.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has five daughters.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he was born into an elite family.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, after the Communist coup in 1978 he was active in Nasr and in 1981 he became the Director of the Central Office of Nasr in Tehran. In 1987 he joined the Islamic Coalition Council of Afghanistan and later became its speaker.<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>4</sup> “Research on Afghanistan”, *Refugee Review Tribunal Australia*, August 5, 2005, Accessed September 6, 2019, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4b6fe1130.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Starting in 1978, “Khalili was active in the resistance group Nasr.”<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he gained combat experience while in Nasr.<sup>14</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “he was Minister of Finance starting in 1993 during the Mujahideen government.”<sup>15</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Qom, Iran during secondary school.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks at least Dari and Pashto. <sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 8

**Leadercode** 274

**Name of leader** Maulawi Khalis (Mohammad Yunus Khalis)

**Organization** Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan - Khalis faction

**Conflict country** Afghanistan

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1919<sup>18</sup>

**Place of birth** Nangarhar Province, Afghanistan<sup>19</sup>

**Year of death** 2006<sup>20</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2006 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1979, so at age 60.<sup>21</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>22</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/mohammad-yunus-khalis-46080842-2dcf-4ad6-bc57-90f3fb49707-resize-750.jpeg>

<sup>1</sup>Alex Strick van Linschoten and Felix Kuehn, *An Enemy We Created: The Myth of the Taliban-Al Qaeda Merger in Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 471.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. M. Halim Tanwir, *Afghanistan: History, Diplomacy and Journalism, Volume 2* (2013), 521.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He received his primary education from his father. When his father died, he took charge of duty of teaching, and for some time he was receiving education in frontier province.”<sup>23</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>24</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least one son that was killed.<sup>25</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>26</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, he did not come from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He became a member of the Islamic youth movement of Afghanistan.<sup>27</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an Imam and a teacher primarily.<sup>28</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> “Wife of Yunis Khalis passes away, Qul in Peshawar today,” *The News International*, February 22, 2013, Accessed March 6, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/414416-wife-of-yunis-khalis-passes-away-qul-in-peshawar-today>.

<sup>25</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.



No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he fought on the border territories while in the youth movement.<sup>29</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled to Pakistan in 1973 after the Daoud coup.<sup>30</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He likely died of natural causes/disease.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Lester K. Grau and Ali Ahmad Jalali, *The Other Side of the Mountain: Mujahideen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War* (Pickle Partners Publishing, 2013), 335.

<sup>31</sup> Abdulllah Qazi, "Other Important Personalities in Afghan History," *Afghanistan Online*, Accessed March 06, 2017, <http://www.afghan-web.com/bios/yest/othersp.html>.

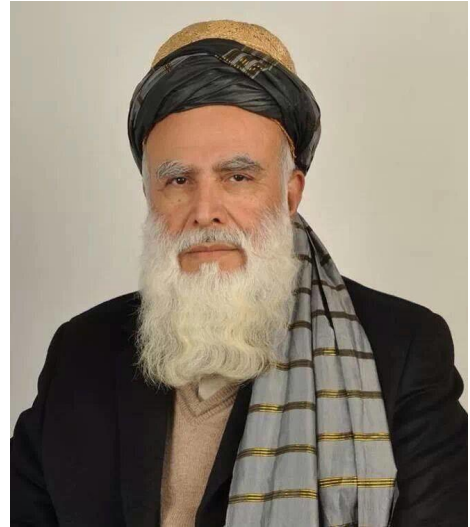
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Pashto and Dari.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 9  
**Leadercode** 15  
**Name of leader** Abdul Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf  
**Organization** Ittihad  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1946<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Paghman (Kabul Province),  
Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1981, so at the age of 35.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/abdul-rasul-sayyaf-29e73a7d-d556-4c95-b812-49b7f87bda2-resize-750.jpg>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

"Sayyaf, Ustad Abdul Rasul Sayaf Rasool," *Afghan Biographies*, Accessed February 18, 2017,

[http://www.afghan-](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=1632&task=view&total=2879&start=2370&Itemid=2)

[bios.info/index.php?option=com\\_afghanbios&id=1632&task=view&total=2879&start=2370&Itemid=2.](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=1632&task=view&total=2879&start=2370&Itemid=2)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> John Lee Anderson, *The Lion's Grave: Dispatches from Afghanistan* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 240.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Sayyaf holds a bachelor’s degree in Religious Studies from Kabul University, and a master’s degree from the Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt.”<sup>5</sup> While at Al-Azhar he studied Hadith and related areas.<sup>6</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was ever married.

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, his father died when he was young, and he came from poverty.<sup>8</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He joined the Islamic Movement of Afghanistan at 20, and in 1971 he joined the Founding Members of the Muslim Youth Movement of Afghanistan.<sup>9</sup> Later he also was a member of Ikhwan al-Muslimin.<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor mental or physical health.

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> “زندگینامه استاد عبد رب الرسول سیاف” [The Biography of Professor Abdul Reb Al-Rasul Sayyaf], *ustadsayaf.com*, Accessed September 25, 2017, <http://www.ustadsayaf.com/index.php/biography/item/1-biography-professor-abd-rabb-rasul-sayaf>.

<sup>7</sup> John Pike, "Ustad Abdul Rasul Sayyaf," *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 18, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/sayyaf.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a professor at the Islamic university *The Shariat* in Kabul until 1973.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he had to serve in the military.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he took part in an attempted coup against President Daoud Khan and he was prominent in the war against the Soviet occupation.<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.<sup>14</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, he did not hold a government position prior to assuming leadership.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he had to flee to Pakistan after a failed coup against President Daoud Khan before he was a leader.<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt for his Masters.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

Yes, he spent roughly six years being imprisoned in 1974<sup>17</sup> after being arrested in Kabul by the regime.<sup>18</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt on the leader by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Pashto, Dari, Arabic, English, and Urdu.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>19</sup> “د استاد عبد رب الرسول سیاف لنډ ژوندلیک” [Dr. Abdul Rab Al-Rasool Al-Rasool Sayyaf], Accessed September 25, 2017, <http://www.ustadsayaf.com/index.php/biography/item/15-biography-professor-abd-rabb-rasul-sayaf-pashto>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	10
<b>Leadercode</b>	409
<b>Name of leader</b>	Sibghatullah Mojaddedi
<b>Organization</b>	Jabha-yi Nijat-i Milli-yi Afghanistan
<b>Conflict country</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1926 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Afghanistan <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	Reported dead in 2016, <sup>3</sup> but most likely still alive <sup>4</sup>



### Deceased

He had reportedly died in 2016, but he was seen alive after and is most likely still alive.<sup>5</sup>

### Birth order

His birth order is unknown.

### Age at start of rebel leadership

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d8/Mojaddedi\\_in\\_September\\_2014.jpg/500px-Mojaddedi\\_in\\_September\\_2014.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d8/Mojaddedi_in_September_2014.jpg/500px-Mojaddedi_in_September_2014.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Rahimullah Mojaddedi, "Concise Biography of Prof. Sibghatullah Al-Mojaddedi Leader of Afghan National Liberation Front and Former President of Afghanistan," *Afghanistan Online*, Accessed February 19, 2017, [https://web.archive.org/web/20180413185001/https://www.afghan-web.com/bios/detail/mojaddidi\\_detail.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20180413185001/https://www.afghan-web.com/bios/detail/mojaddidi_detail.html).

<sup>2</sup> "Mojadedi, Sibghatullah Hazrat Sahib Mujadidi Mojadidi," *Afghan Biographies*, Accessed October 12, 2009, [http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com\\_afghanbios&id=1085&task=view&total=2314&start=1266&Itemid=2](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=1085&task=view&total=2314&start=1266&Itemid=2).

<sup>3</sup> "صبغت الله مجددی «رئیس جمهور اسبق افغانستان در گذشت» [Sibghatullah former Afghan president died], AFTAB International, February 09, 2016, Accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.aftabir.com/news/article/view/2016/02/09/1139108>.

<sup>4</sup> "ولسمشر غني پر طالبانو او اسلامي حزب د سولې غږ وکړ" [Ghani called peace that Taliban and Hezb], *BBC Persian*, Accessed February 19, 2017, [http://www.bbc.com/pashto/afghanistan/2016/02/160215\\_hh-27th-anniv-soviet-forces-defeat-afg](http://www.bbc.com/pashto/afghanistan/2016/02/160215_hh-27th-anniv-soviet-forces-defeat-afg).

<sup>5</sup> "ولسمشر غني پر طالبانو او اسلامي حزب د سولې غږ وکړ" [Ghani called peace that Taliban and Hezb], *BBC Persian*, Accessed February 19, 2017, [http://www.bbc.com/pashto/afghanistan/2016/02/160215\\_hh-27th-anniv-soviet-forces-defeat-afg](http://www.bbc.com/pashto/afghanistan/2016/02/160215_hh-27th-anniv-soviet-forces-defeat-afg).

He became leader in 1979, so age 53.<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Following high school education at Habibia High School, the young Mojaddedi entered Al-Azhar University in Cairo where he completed college and post graduate degrees, with honours in Islamic Law and Jurisprudence.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Most likely yes.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least a son.<sup>10</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he was born into “one of the most prestigious and religious families of Afghanistan known as the `Mojaddedi` family.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He created the movement of Jamiat-e-Ulamae Mohammadi and in 1974 “he established the Islamic Cultural Centre of Scandinavia in Copenhagen, several smaller centres of

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Kamer, “After the Taliban,” *Village Voice*, <http://www.villagevoice.com/news/after-the-taliban-6396687>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



Islamic learning in different parts of Denmark and another Islamic Centre in Oslo, Norway.”<sup>13</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher, in 1952 he taught at Kabul University, and the Higher Institutes of Arabic studies and Teachers’ Training.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he had to flee in 1973 after the coup of Mr. Daoud Khan, first to Saudi Arabia and then to Denmark.<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> Tom Lansford, *Afghanistan at War: From the 18th-Century Durrani Dynasty to the 21st Century* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2017), 293.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.1

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested in 1959 for enlightening the youth about Communism while teaching. He was imprisoned for over four and a half years in prison cells under the harshest circumstances.<sup>17</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His likely spoke at least Pashto and Dari.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	11
<b>Leadercode</b>	103
<b>Name of leader</b>	Burhnuddin Rabbani
<b>Organization</b>	Jamiat-i-Islami
<b>Conflict country</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1940 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Faizabad in the province of Badakhshan, Afghanistan <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2011.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1968, so age 28.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed leader in 1972 formally, but most sources seem to indicate that he had been designated as leader in 1968.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fe/Burhanuddin\\_Rabbani\\_Cropped\\_DVIDS.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fe/Burhanuddin_Rabbani_Cropped_DVIDS.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Olivier Roy and Antoine Sfeir, *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2007), 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Burhanuddin Rabbani," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, January 1, 2015, Accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Burhanuddin-Rabbani>.

<sup>4</sup> "Burhanuddin Rabbani," *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/rabbani.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Rabbani “attended a religious school in Kabul. He then studied Islamic law and theology at Kabul University and Islamic philosophy at Cairo’s al-Azhar University, from which he obtained a master’s degree (1968).”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had four children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, his father was Mohammed Yousuf, a former Prime Minister of Afghanistan.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher at the University of Kabul.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> “Burhanuddin Rabbani,” *Afghanistan Online*, 1996, Accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.afghan-web.com/bios/today/brabbani.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, there is experience in a nonstate military since a campaign in the dataset has already been led by Rabbani.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1974 after overthrowing the king in 1973 Rabbani fled to Pakistan.<sup>12</sup> Additionally in 1996 he was driven into exile with the rise of the Taliban.<sup>13</sup> (Technically, the 1996 exile is not exile by our definition because he fled into a corner of Afghanistan.)<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied Islamic philosophy at al-Azhar University in Cairo.<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>14</sup> “Burhanuddin Rabbani: shifting fortunes matched his complex nation,” *The Telegraph*, September 20, 2011, Accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/8777341/Burhanuddin-Rabbani-shifting-fortunes-matched-his-complex-nation.html>.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.3

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“He was assassinated by a suicide bomber claiming to be a Taliban emissary.”<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Persian as his primary language,<sup>17</sup> and likely Pashto and Dari as well. There is no evidence of English as a second language.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> David B. Edwards, *Before Taliban: Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 235.

<b>Rolecode</b>	12
<b>Leadercode</b>	17
<b>Name of leader</b>	Abdul Rashid Dostum
<b>Organization</b>	Junbish-I Milli-yi Islami
<b>Conflict country</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1954 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Khojah Dukoh in Afghanistan <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown, but he had nine siblings.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1991, so at the age of 37.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He founded the National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Abdul Rashid Dostum in September 2014.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed September 15, 2021.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abdul\\_Rashid\\_Dostum\\_in\\_September\\_2014.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abdul_Rashid_Dostum_in_September_2014.jpg).

"Dostum, Abdul Rashid," *Afghan Biographies*, October 13, 2009, Accessed February 19, 2017,

[http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com\\_afghanbios&id=439&task=view&total=15&start=2&Itemid=2](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=439&task=view&total=15&start=2&Itemid=2).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Brian Glyn Williams, *The Last Warlord* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013), 80.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to the Soviet Union for military studies.<sup>6</sup> He is a graduate of the Soviet Military Academy.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, at what age is unknown, but he likely got married in the 1980s.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence that he is from an elite family background.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> "Big fish among the Afghan warlords," *The Washington Times*, October 12, 2008, Accessed February 21, 2017, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/oct/12/big-fish-among-the-Afghan-warlords/>.

<sup>7</sup> Frud Bezhan, "Afghanistan's Dostum Turns to Old Ally Russia For Help," October 7, 2015, Accessed June 2017, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-russia-dostum-seeks-military-help/27293696.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Brian Glyn Williams, *The Last Warlord* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013), 298.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> "Profile: General Rashid Dostum," *BBC New*, September 25, 2001, Accessed February 19, 2017, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/1563344.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1563344.stm).



He worked in labor, as he was a Communist union boss who worked on a gas field.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1978 he fought with the Afghan military versus the mujahideen.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1978, and then in the 1980s he switched sides and fought with the mujahideen against the Afghan Soviet backed military.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.<sup>15</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1997 he was forced into exile in Uzbekistan after the Taliban capture of his base.<sup>16</sup> Then in 2008 he was forced into exile in Turkey.<sup>17</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in the Soviet Union<sup>18</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received training from the Soviets.<sup>19</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he has extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Abdul Rashid Dostum," *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/dostum.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence that he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Dari and also some Arabic. There is no evidence of English speaking.

**Rolecode** 13  
**Leadercode** 407  
**Name of leader** Shahnawaz Tanay  
**Organization** Military Faction  
**Conflict country** Afghanistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1950<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Town of Dargain in the Pakita Province of Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1989 or 1990, so age 39 or 40.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded a group to launch a coup against President Mohammed Najibullah.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/totalwar-ar/images/e/e0/Shahnawaz\\_Tanai.gif/revision/latest/scale-to-width-down/180?cb=20140713204551](https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/totalwar-ar/images/e/e0/Shahnawaz_Tanai.gif/revision/latest/scale-to-width-down/180?cb=20140713204551)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Tom Lansford, *Afghanistan at War: From the 18th-Century Durrani Dynasty to the 21st Century* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2017), 446.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig W. Adams, *Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan* (Plymouth, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012), 412.

<sup>3</sup> Tom Lansford, *Afghanistan at War: From the 18th-Century Durrani Dynasty to the 21st Century* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2017), 447.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He “followed a classic military career, attending military academy and then university, specialising in infantry tactics, and later travelling to the Soviet Union to study leadership.”<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he got married at age 28.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has two daughters and two sons.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a hardline wing member of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan known as the *Khalq*. In 1988 he was appointed as minister of defense.<sup>9</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Jawad, “Return of a Power from the Past,” *Institute For War & Peace Reporting*, Accessed March 20, 2017, <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/return-power-from-past>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Tom Lansford, *Afghanistan at War: From the 18th-Century Durrani Dynasty to the 21st Century* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2017), 446-447.

He had a military career.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “in 1978, Tanai moved rapidly up the ranks. He became chief of staff of the army in 1986.”<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, although possibly since he was in the Afghanistan army.<sup>12</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, after the coup failed in 1990, Tanai fled to Pakistan, but he was no longer leader.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied leadership in the Soviet Union<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.5

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His likely speaks at least Pashto and Dari.

<b>Rolecode</b>	14
<b>Leadercode</b>	299
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mullah Omar
<b>Organization</b>	Taliban
<b>Conflict country</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1950 – 1962, <sup>1</sup> 1960 <sup>2</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Near Kandahar, Afghanistan <sup>3</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2013 <sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2013 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1996, so between age 34 and 46.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was designated by a shūrā as amīr al-mu'minīn.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/3/32/Rewards\\_for\\_Justice\\_Mullah\\_Omar.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/3/32/Rewards_for_Justice_Mullah_Omar.png)

<sup>1</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, "Mohammad Omar," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, August 15, 2016, Accessed February 14, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammad-Omar>.

<sup>2</sup> Frud Bezhan, "The Secret Life of Mullah Omar Revealed," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, April 7, 2017, Accessed June 14, 2017, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-reveals-secret-life-mullah-omar/26943516.html>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He is believed to have been illiterate and—aside from his madrasah studies—to have had minimal schooling.”<sup>7</sup> Other source says he attended a madrasah and is not illiterate.<sup>8</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he had three wives.<sup>9</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had five children.<sup>10</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>11</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence his family hailed from an elite background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, “although the Taliban was officially formed in 1994, its roots lie in the mujahedeen, forces that fought the Soviet Union in Afghanistan from 1969 to 1989, covertly supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and its Pakistani counterpart, the Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI),”<sup>12</sup> Thus we cannot count those activities as political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

“He was wounded four times, losing his right eye when a rocket exploded beside him.”<sup>13</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>9</sup> Sandy Gall, "Mullah Omar Obituary," *The Guardian*, July 30, 2015, Accessed February 14, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/30/mullah-omar>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> “The Taliban,” *Stanford Mapping Militant Organizations*, Accessed January 2, 2019, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/367>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.9



“He became a village mullah and ran his own madrasa, or religious school.”<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he fought with the mujahideen against the Soviets, though the mid-1990s takeovers likely should not count as they should be considered part of Taliban activities.<sup>15</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “Mullah Omar led a group of madrasah students in the takeover of cities throughout the mid-1990s, including Kandahār”<sup>16</sup> Additionally, “[h]e fought with the mujahideen against the Soviets during the Afghan War (1978–92), and during that time he suffered the loss of his right eye in an explosion.”<sup>17</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled to an unknown location after the Taliban government was overthrown.<sup>18</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease/natural causes. "Haseeb Sediqi, spokesman for Afghanistan's intelligence service, said Omar died in a hospital in Karachi, Pakistan, in April 2013."<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Pashto and Dari.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Peter Bergen, Jason Hanna, and Nick Paton Walsh, "Taliban's Mullah Omar died in 2013, Afghan government says," *CNN.com*, Accessed March 08 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/07/29/asia/afghanistan-mullah-omar/>.

<sup>20</sup> Ken Dilanian, "State Dept. has few who speak language of area where Taliban operates," *USA Today*, May 25, 2009, Accessed September 2, 2021, [https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-25-pashto\\_N.htm](https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-25-pashto_N.htm)

<b>Rolecode</b>	15
<b>Leadercode</b>	45
<b>Name of leader</b>	Ahmad Shah Masood
<b>Organization</b>	UIFSA
<b>Conflict country</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Jangalak district of Panjsher <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2001 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2001 by suicide bombers.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1996, so at age 43.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was designated as leader.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, Burhanuddin Rabbani was only nominal leader until Masood died.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/3/3a/Ahmad\\_Shah\\_Massoud.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/3/3a/Ahmad_Shah_Massoud.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Massoud, Ahmad Shah Masood," *Afghan Biographies*, Accessed February 19, 2017, [http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com\\_afghanbios&id=2117&task=view&total=162&start=103&Itemid=2](http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=2117&task=view&total=162&start=103&Itemid=2).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Khattar Abou Diab, Patrick Karam, Richard Labevière, and Julien Lariège, *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2007), 215.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Abdullah Qazi, "Ahmad Shah Masood," *Afghanistan Online*, Accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.afghan-web.com/bios/yest/asmasood.html>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Masood enrolls at Kabul Polytechnic Institute for Engineering and Architecture. Masood also becomes involved with the Sazman-i Jawanan-i Musalman (Muslim Youth Organization), the student branch of Jamiat-e Islami Afghanistan (Islamic Society of Afghanistan) led by Burhanuddin Rabbani.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he got married at 35.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had a son and five daughters.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, he was the son of a senior police official.<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

While at university, Massoud became involved in the Jamiyat-I Islami-yi Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.3

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1975 he took part in raids against the Afghan Army posts,<sup>13</sup> in 1980 “he organized the resistance to the communists,”<sup>14</sup> and in 1989 after the Soviets left Afghanistan “Massoud and the other Mujahidin leaders fought on to rid the country of the procommunist government of Najibullah.”<sup>15</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he was forced to flee to Pakistan in 1974 after the “Islamic Movement,” which he was involved in and criticized the Daoud government.<sup>16</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>13</sup> John Lee Anderson, *The Lion's Grave: Dispatches from Afghanistan* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 236.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

### **Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by suicide bombers.<sup>17</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He was fluent in French and in his native languages Dari, Pashto, and Urdu.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>17</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.3

<b>Rolecode</b>	16
<b>Leadercode</b>	103
<b>Name of leader</b>	Burhanuddin Rabbani
<b>Organization</b>	UIFSA
<b>Conflict country</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1940 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Faizabad, Badakhshan, Afghanistan <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2011.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became nominal leader in 1996, at age 56. There is evidence that he was not truly leader until 2001 (age 61) when Masood died.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was essentially designated leader.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fe/Burhanuddin\\_Rabbani\\_Cropped\\_DVIDS.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fe/Burhanuddin_Rabbani_Cropped_DVIDS.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Burhanuddin Rabbani," GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed February 15, 2017,

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/rabbani.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Olivier Roy and Antoine Sfeir, *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2007), 25.

<sup>3</sup>Melinda C. Shepherd, "Burhanuddin Rabbani," Encyclopædia Britannica, January 1, 2015, Accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Burhanuddin-Rabbani>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Rabbani “attended a religious school in Kabul. He then studied Islamic law and theology at Kabul University and Islamic philosophy at Cairo’s al-Azhar University, from which he obtained a master’s degree (1968).”<sup>6 7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had four children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, his father was Mohammed Yousuf, a former Prime Minister of Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was part of Jamiat-i-Islami, which was also a political party.<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>11</sup> “Burhanuddin Rabbani,” *Afghanistan Online*, 1996, Accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.afghan-web.com/bios/today/brabbani.html>.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1



He was a teacher at the University of Kabul.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he became the leader of Jamiat-i-Islami in 1968.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, the Jamiat-i-Islami were a violent group that fought, specifically against the Soviets.<sup>15</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he had been president of Afghanistan from 1992–1996.<sup>16</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1974 after overthrowing the king in 1973 Rabbani fled to Pakistan.<sup>17</sup> Additionally in 1996 he was driven into exile with the rise of the Taliban.<sup>18</sup> (Technically, the 1996 exile is not exile by our definition because he fled into a corner of Afghanistan.<sup>19</sup>)

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied Islamic philosophy at al-Azhar University in Cairo.<sup>20</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>19</sup> “Burhanuddin Rabbani: shifting fortunes matched his complex nation,” *The Telegraph*, September 20, 2011, Accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/8777341/Burhanuddin-Rabbani-shifting-fortunes-matched-his-complex-nation.html>.

<sup>20</sup> See f.n.3

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“He was assassinated by a suicide bomber claiming to be a Taliban emissary.”<sup>21</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Persian as his primary language<sup>22</sup> and likely Pashto and Dari as well. There is no evidence of English as a second language.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> David B. Edwards, *Before Taliban: Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 235.

**Rolecode** 17  
**Leadercode** 370  
**Name:** Abdelhaq Layada<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization:** Armed Islamic Group (GIA)  
**Conflict Country:** Algeria  
**Gender:** Male  
**Year of Birth:** 1959<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of Birth:** Unknown (likely Algeria)  
**Year of Death:** Still alive



### **Birth order**

Birth order is unknown, but he has siblings.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He founded the GIA in 1992, at age 33.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the GIA.<sup>5</sup> Technically, he broke off the GIA from the MIA. Prior to assuming leadership, he became the leader of his branch after the death of Allal Mohammed.<sup>6</sup> He was one of several founders of the organization, and was chosen for the leadership position based on his age. He is technically the first official leader of the GIA.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No evidence of powersharing;<sup>8</sup> the GIA has a consultative council.<sup>9</sup> The organization has a loose structure and no central control.<sup>10</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Photo from <https://alchetron.com/Abdelhak-Layada>.

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup> "Armed Islamic Group (GIA)." *WorldStatesmen.org Online Encyclopedia, Global Terrorist Organizations*, N.D. Available at <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Terrorist.html>

<sup>3</sup> "Algerian GIA Founder Willing to Mediate Between Authorities, Rebels- Paper." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 29 March 2006.

<sup>4</sup> "Islamist Leader Freed in Algeria." *BBC News*, 13 March 2006.  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4801318.stm>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Willis, Michael. *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History* (New York: New York University Press), 1996, 281.

<sup>7</sup> Tawil, Camille. *Brothers in Arms: The Story of al-Qa`ida and the Arab Jihadists*. Translated by Robin Bray. (London: Saqi), 2010, 76, 81.

<sup>8</sup> Freeman, Michael. 2014. "A Theory of Terrorist Leadership (and its Consequences for Leadership Targeting)." *Terrorism & Political Violence* Vol. 26, 677-679.

<sup>9</sup> Tawil. 82.

<sup>10</sup> Mannes, Aaron. *Profiles in Terror: The Guide to Middle East Terrorist Organizations* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc), 2004, 8.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

He has a son.<sup>11</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is a Muslim.<sup>12</sup>

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; and any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

There is no evidence of significant physical or mental health problems (wears glasses, but this doesn't count).<sup>13</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a car mechanic.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any social ties**

He fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. It is said the Algerians who participated in the war had links with al Qaeda.<sup>15</sup>

He was a member of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS).<sup>16</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

In the 1980s, he fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union.<sup>17</sup> He claims to have been actively fighting when he was a member of the FIS.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Algerian Authorities Release Founder of Rebel Group GIA." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 13 March 2006.

<sup>12</sup> See note 6, 281.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, Craig S. "Many Algerians Are Not Reconciled by Amnesty Law." *The New York Times*, 28 June 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/28/world/africa/28algeria.html>.

<sup>14</sup> "Paper Interviews Former Armed Islamic Group Leader in Algeria." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 7 June 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Dalacoura, Katerina. *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2011, 108. Stone, Martin. *The Agony of Algeria* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1997, 187.

<sup>16</sup> "Algerian GIA Founder Willing to Mediate Between Authorities, Rebels-Paper."

<sup>17</sup> Dalacoura. 108. Stone. 187.

<sup>18</sup> "Algerian GIA Founder Willing to Mediate Between Authorities, Rebels- Paper."

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

There is no evidence that he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown. He fought in Afghanistan, but sources do not say if he received training while fighting.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

There is no evidence that he worked abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was arrested in 1993 and was in prison until 2006.<sup>19</sup> In prison, he was able to organize a mutiny and escape attempt with the GIA.<sup>20</sup>

He was also arrested in 2007, but there is no mention if he was sent to prison.<sup>21</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

The army attacked his home in 1992 but there is no mention if it was an assassination attempt.<sup>22</sup>

**Cause of death?**

He is still alive

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He conducted interviews with French-language<sup>23</sup> and Arabic-language<sup>24</sup> newspapers. He likely spoke French and Arabic. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>19</sup> "Islamist Leader Freed in Algeria."

<sup>20</sup> "A World Scene." *The Washington Times*, 26 February 1996.

<sup>21</sup> "Algerian Armed Islamic Group Founder Arrested, to Be Questioned." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 11 October 2007.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, Craig S. "In Algeria, Amnesty, But Not Forgiveness." *The International Herald Tribune*, 29 June 2006.

<sup>23</sup> "Algerian Islamist Party Leader Warns Freed Islamists Not to Undermine Peace." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, March 18, 2006. Accessed January 7, 2018.

<sup>24</sup> "GIA Executed French Monks in Algeria in 1996: Former Chief." *Agence France-Presse*, 9 July 2009.

<b>Rolecode</b>	19
<b>Leadercode</b>	77
<b>Name of leader</b>	Antar Zouabri
<b>Organization</b>	Armed Islamic Group
<b>Conflict country</b>	Algeria
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1970 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Boufarik, Algeria <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2002 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in 2002.

### **Birth order**

He is the youngest of six.<sup>4</sup> He has two sisters.<sup>5</sup> He has three brothers.<sup>6</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/olmedia/1810000/images/\\_1810910\\_zouabri150afp.jpg](http://news.bbc.co.uk/olmedia/1810000/images/_1810910_zouabri150afp.jpg)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
Guidere, Mathieu. *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. 488

<sup>2</sup>“Zouabri, Antar.” *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism*. Edited by Olivier Roy and Antoine Sfeir, Translated, Edited, and Adapted by John King. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. 420.

<sup>3</sup>“Algeria Puts Dead Militant on Show”. *BBC News*, February 10, 2002. Accessed January 12, 2018.  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1812261.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1812261.stm).

<sup>4</sup>Daikha Dridi, “Antar Zouabri, Famous and Unknown,” *Boufarik*, Accessed March 3, 2018,  
[http://www.boufarik.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=9:antar-zouabri-celebre-et-inconnu&catid=34:dans-la-presse&Itemid=53](http://www.boufarik.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9:antar-zouabri-celebre-et-inconnu&catid=34:dans-la-presse&Itemid=53).

<sup>5</sup>“Mother and Sister of Armed Islamic Group Leader Receive Jail Sentences.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 7, 1998. Accessed August 8, 2018.

“Bodies Found Crammed in Well Near Algiers Remains Found of 20 to 40 Abducted People.” *The Toronto Star*, October 10, 1997. Accessed August 8, 2018.

<sup>6</sup>Tawil, Camille. *Brothers in Arms: The Story of al-Qa'ida and the Arab Jihadists*. Translated from the Arabic by Robin Bray. London: Saqi, 2010. 81-82. “Zouabri, Antar”. 420. “Two Armed Islamic Group Emirs Reportedly Killed by Security Forces.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, February 23, 1996. Accessed August 8, 2018.

He became the leader in 1996.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, he should have been 26 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

The previous leader was ousted from the GIA, and Zouabri replaced him.<sup>8</sup> Another source says that he replaced the previous leader after that leader died.<sup>9</sup>

### **Powersharing**

There is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>10</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He is described as illiterate.<sup>11</sup> He left school before graduating.<sup>12</sup> There is no evidence that he was educated in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he had two wives.<sup>13</sup>

### **Children**

He had one daughter.<sup>14</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was a Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

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<sup>7</sup> "Antar Zoubri: A Violent Legacy." *BBC News*, February 9, 2002. Accessed January 12, 2018. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1811194.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1811194.stm).

<sup>8</sup> "National/International Digest." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, July 28, 1994. Accessed January 15, 2018.

<sup>9</sup> "Zouabri, Antar (1970-2002)." *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism, Second Edition*. Edited by Matheiu Guidere. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. 488.

<sup>10</sup> Freeman, Michael. 2014. "A Theory of Terrorist Leadership (and its Consequences for Leadership Targeting)." *Terrorism & Political Violence* 26. 677-679.

<sup>11</sup> Zoubir, Yahia H. "Resilient Authoritarianism, Uncertain Democratization, and Jihadism in Algeria." In *Democratic Development & Political Terrorism: The Global Perspective*. Edited by William J. Crotty. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2005. 292.

<sup>12</sup> "Zouabri, Antar." 420.

<sup>13</sup> "Paper Interviews Former Armed Islamic Group Leader in Algeria." *BBC Monitoring Middle East-Political*, June 7, 2007. Accessed August 8, 2018.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

“Antar Zouabri was born twenty-six years ago in a modest, rather traditionalist family in the Boufarik region.”<sup>15</sup> His brother, Ali Zouabri, was a prominent member of the GIA and the emir of the Blida Province. Ali Zouabri knew Abdelhaq Layada prior to Layada becoming the GIA leader.<sup>16</sup> Ali Zouabri also was a member of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). Another brother, Achour Zouabri, was a tax official.<sup>17</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Zouabri supported Djamel Zitouni.<sup>18</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

His health is unknown.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a member of the Algerian military and deserted his unit.<sup>19</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was the commander of the GIA’s Green Battalion, which has been called a death squad and was tasked to protect the GIA leader.<sup>20</sup> He was an aide to Zitouni and was the liaison between Zitouni and the other GIA emirs.<sup>21</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

While a GIA soldier, he would often murder hostages and possibly civilians by slashing their throats.<sup>22</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

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<sup>15</sup> Pasquier Sylvaine and Baki Mina, “Antar Zouabri, the New Killer Emir,” *L’express*, February 1, 1997, Accessed March 3, 2018, [https://www.lexpress.fr/informations/antar-zouabri-le-nouvel-emir-tueur\\_620164.html](https://www.lexpress.fr/informations/antar-zouabri-le-nouvel-emir-tueur_620164.html).

<sup>16</sup> Tawil, Camille. *Brothers in Arms: The Story of al-Qa’ida and the Arab Jihadists*. Translated from the Arabic by Robin Bray. London: Saqi, 2010. 81-82.

<sup>17</sup> “Zouabri, Antar”. 420.

<sup>18</sup> Tawil. 120.

<sup>19</sup> “Zouabri, Antar.” 420.

<sup>20</sup> Tawil 128, 131.

<sup>21</sup> “Zouabri, Antar.” 421.

<sup>22</sup> Marlowe, Lara. “Slow Descent into a Life of Terror.” *Irish Times*, October 22, 1997. Accessed January 19, 2018.



No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Various members of his family were imprisoned.<sup>23</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

The military attacked a GIA congress that Zouabri attended.<sup>24</sup> There was a false report that Zouabri died in the campaign.<sup>25</sup> In September 1997, Algerian security forces attacked a GIA base and claimed to have killed Zouabri.<sup>26</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed by the Algerian security forces in a house.<sup>27</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic.

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<sup>23</sup> Zouabri, Antar.” 420-421.

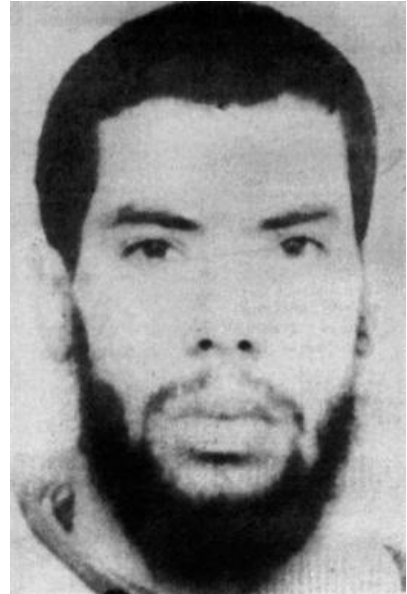
<sup>24</sup> “1<sup>st</sup> Ed- Algerian Troops Close in on Guerrillas.” *Business Day*, July 22, 1997. Accessed January 15, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> “Algeria: GIA Leader Killed- AFP Report.” *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, July 24, 1997. Accessed January 15, 2018

<sup>26</sup> “Algeria: Paper Says Leader of Armed Islamic Group Killed by Army.” *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, September 11, 1997. Accessed January 19, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> “Antar Zouabri: A Violent Legacy.”

**Rolecode** 20  
**Leadercode** 116  
**Name of leader** Djamel Zitouni  
**Organization** Armed Islamic Group  
**Conflict country** Algeria  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1964<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Saoula, Algeria<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1996<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1996 from an attack by a rival faction.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became the leader in 1994. He was 30 years old.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/8/89/Djamel\\_Zitouni.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/8/89/Djamel_Zitouni.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Zitouni, Djamel (1964-1996)," *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism, Second Edition*. Edited by Matheiu Guidere (Landam: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 488.

<sup>2</sup> Roula Khalaf, "Zeroual Triumphs in Tense Algeria Election." *Financial Times*, November 17, 1995, Accessed March 8, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> "Zitouni, Djamel (1964-1996)," 488.

<sup>4</sup> Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Translated by Anthony F. Roberts. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 266.

He replaced the previous leader who had died.<sup>5</sup> There were debates within the GIA on who should replace the previous leader, and Zitouni forced himself to be elected as the new leader.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

There is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>7</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He has a secondary education.<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

He was a Muslim but had shaky religious credentials.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His father was a poultry merchant.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a member of the Islamic Salvation Front.<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

His physical and mental health is unknown.

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<sup>5</sup> “Zitouni, Djamal (1964-1996),” 488.

<sup>6</sup> Camille Tawil, *Brothers in Arms: The Story of al-Qa’ida and the Arab Jihadists*. Translated by Robin Bray (London: Saqi, 2010), 128-129.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Freeman, “A Theory of Terrorist Leadership (and its Consequences for Leadership Targeting),” *Terrorism & Political Violence* 26 (2014), 677-679.

<sup>8</sup> Kepel, 267.

<sup>9</sup> Kepel, 267.

<sup>10</sup> Kepel, 266.

<sup>11</sup> “Zitouni, Djamal (1964-1996),” 488.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a butcher.<sup>12</sup> He had worked at his father's shop.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence that he had experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was the emir of the GIA's death squad.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

He participated in GIA attacks on Algerian security forces and the French embassy.<sup>15</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Whether he lived in exile is unknown.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>12</sup> Tawil, 127.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Fisk, *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East* (New York City: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 583.

<sup>14</sup> Tawil, 85.

<sup>15</sup> Tawil, 128.

Whether there was an assassination attempt by the state is unknown.

**Cause of Death?**

He was allegedly killed by a rival Islamic faction.<sup>16</sup> A member of that faction claims that Zitouni's death was not premeditated. The fighters did not know he was present when they attacked the group.<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke French. He had limited fluency in written Arabic.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "Zitouni, Djamal (1964-1996)," 488.

<sup>17</sup> Tawil, 131.

<sup>18</sup> Kepel, 267.

<b>Rolecode</b>	21
<b>Leadercode</b>	306
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mourad Sid Ahmed
<b>Organization</b>	GIA
<b>Conflict country</b>	Algeria
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1963 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Algiers, in a district of Kouba, Algeria <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1994 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 1994.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became the leader in August 1993.<sup>4</sup> He was 30 years old.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He became the leader after the previous leader, Layada, was arrested.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yahia H. Zoubir, "Resilient Authoritarianism, Uncertain Democratization, and Jihadism in Algeria." In *Democratic Development and Political Terrorism: The Global Perspective*, Edited by William J. Crotty (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2005), 291. Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Translated by Anthony F. Roberts, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 263.

<sup>2</sup> "The birth of the GIA," *Angles de Vue*, October 14, 2009, Accessed April 30, 2018, <http://anglesdevue.canalblog.com/archives/2009/10/14/15427135.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Edward F. Mickolus and Susan L. Simmons, *Terrorism, 1992-1995: A Chronology of Events and a Selectively Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997), 493.

<sup>4</sup> Zoubir. "291.

<sup>5</sup> Kepel. 263.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Willis, *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1996), 285.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing. The GIA has a consultative council.<sup>7</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He had only a primary school education.<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

The GIA is an Islamist rebel group.<sup>9</sup> It can be assumed Ahmed was Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

He was described as having an underprivileged background.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Sid Ahmed knew Abdelhak Layada.<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

His physical and mental health is unknown.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a smuggler. The exact description is that he traded in contraband goods.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>7</sup> Camille Tawil, *Brothers in Arms: The Story of al-Qa'ida and the Arab Jihadists*. Translated by Robin Bray, (London: Saqi, 2010), 82.

<sup>8</sup> Kepel. 263.

<sup>9</sup> Lauren Vriens, "Armed Islamic Group (Algeria, Islamists)," *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 27, 2009. Accessed April 12, 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/armed-islamic-group-algeria-islamists>.

<sup>10</sup> Kepel. 263.

<sup>11</sup> Tawil. 81.

<sup>12</sup> Kepel. 263.

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was one of the founders of the GIA and the emir for Algiers.<sup>13</sup> He was a lieutenant of Islamist Meliani.<sup>14</sup> He was a lieutenant of Osama bin Laden.<sup>15</sup> He fought in Afghanistan in Hezb-e Islami.<sup>16</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, before the GIA was established, he once fought security forces that attacked him and other Islamists. He provided cover for his colleagues' escape.<sup>17</sup> He fought against the USSR in Afghanistan.<sup>18</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Whether he lived in exile is unknown.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he fought in Afghanistan with Hezb-e-Islami.<sup>19</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Whether he served time in prison is unknown.

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<sup>13</sup> Tawil. 81-82.

<sup>14</sup> Willis. 285.

<sup>15</sup> Adam Robinson, *Bin Laden: The Inside Story of the Rise and Fall of the Most Notorious Terrorist in History* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2011), 114.

<sup>16</sup> Kepel. 263.

<sup>17</sup> Tawil. 78.

<sup>18</sup> "Algeria," *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism*. Edited by Olivier Roy and Antoine Sfeir, Translated by John King, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 45.

<sup>19</sup> Kepel. 263.



**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, but the courts sentenced him in absentia to death in 1993.<sup>20</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He died in a gun battle.<sup>21</sup> Security forces had attacked a house where senior GIA leaders were meeting.<sup>22</sup> Some people speculated that the army was given information on his location, but this belief has not been proven.<sup>23</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Arabic.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "Head of Algerian Islamic Terror Group Shot Dead," *The Herald (Glasgow)*, February 28, 1994. Accessed April 4, 2018.

<sup>21</sup> Mickolus. 493.

<sup>22</sup> Willis. 324.

<sup>23</sup> Kepel. 264.

<sup>24</sup> "Languages," Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 22

**Leadercode** 362

**Name of leader** Rachid Oukali (Rachid Abou Tourab)

**Organization** Armed Islamic Group (GIA)

**Conflict country** Algeria

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1974 (28 years old in 2002)<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Bufarik

**Year of death** 2004 or 2005<sup>2</sup>

**Deceased**

Yes

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2002, so he was 28 years old.<sup>3 4</sup>

**Leader entry method:**

He became leader after Antar Zouabri died. He was appointed or designated as leader.<sup>5</sup>

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

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<sup>1</sup> Himeur, Mohammed Arezki. "Dozens Dead in Algeria Massacre," *BBC News*, 16 August 2002. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2198395.stm>

<sup>2</sup> بوعلام غمراسة. "الأمن الجزائري يعتقل قائد "الجماعة المسلحة" وبتبلغ منه خبر مقتل لفة أبو تراب على أيدي رفاقه". الشرق الأوسط. 4 يناير 2005. <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=275302&issueno=9534#.WvXgW4gvzIU>.

<sup>3</sup> Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, *Chronologies of Modern Terrorism* (Oxon: Routledge), 2008, 287.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Un nouveau chef pour le GIA." April 1, 2002. *Libération*.

[https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2002/04/01/un-nouveau-chef-pour-le-gia\\_398831/](https://www.liberation.fr/planete/2002/04/01/un-nouveau-chef-pour-le-gia_398831/)

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a member of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS).<sup>6</sup>

**Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was the leader of the Green Battalion in the Armed Islamic Group (GIA).<sup>7</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

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<sup>6</sup> November 23, 2003. صحيفة جزائرية تنفي اعتقال زعيم الجماعة الاسلامية رشيد ابو تراب".

ساخرون/صحيفة-جزائرية-تنفي-اعتقال-زعيم-الجماعة-الاسلامية-رشيد-ابو-تراب/ar/https://www.albawaba.com/

<sup>7</sup> November 23, 2003. صحيفة جزائرية تنفي اعتقال زعيم الجماعة الاسلامية رشيد ابو تراب".

ساخرون/صحيفة-جزائرية-تنفي-اعتقال-زعيم-الجماعة-الاسلامية-رشيد-ابو-تراب/ar/https://www.albawaba.com/

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Rachid Oukali was arrested in November 2003.<sup>8</sup> There are newspapers that denied his arrest, and security forces did not confirm or deny that the arrest occurred. Oukali became the GIA leader after Antar Zouabri died in 2002.<sup>9</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed by fellow GIA members in a leadership coup.<sup>10</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>8</sup> محمد مقدم "تحقيق في ملابسات مقتل "تائب" أدى تحديد مكان اختباء "ابو تراب". الجزائر: أبناء عن اعتقال "أمير الجماعر". الحياة 20 نوفمبر 2003. <http://daharchives.alhayat.com/article/1148342/>.

<sup>9</sup> "صحيفة جزائرية تنفي اعتقال زعيم الجماعة الإسلامية رشيد ابو تراب". 23 نوفمبر 2003. <https://www.albawaba.com/ar/ابو-تراب-الجماعة-الإسلامية-رشيد-ابو-تراب/> ساخرون/صحيفة-جزائرية-تنفي-اعتقال-زعيم-الجماعة-الإسلامية-رشيد-ابو-تراب

<sup>10</sup> "Algeria terror chief killed by followers." January 3, 2005. *TribLive*. <https://archive.triblive.com/news/algeria-terror-chief-killed-by-followers-2/>

**Rolecode** 23

**Leadercode** 13

**Name of leader** Abdul Malik Drukdal  
(Abdelmalek Droukdel) (Abu Musab Abdel  
Wadoud)

**Organization** al-Qaeda in the Islamic  
Maghreb (AQIM) (GSPC)

**Conflict country** Algeria

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1970

**Place of birth** Mefta, Blidad Region, Algeria

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2004, so at the age of 34.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

“He later took over as the emir of GSPC in 2004 following the death of his predecessor, Nabil Sahraoui, a position that he continues to hold.”<sup>2</sup>

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Image Credit:

[https://www.middleeasteye.net/sites/default/files/styles/wysiwyg\\_large/public/images/DJ\\_ty8FW0AAzg8D.jpg?itok=Wy-m2kcE](https://www.middleeasteye.net/sites/default/files/styles/wysiwyg_large/public/images/DJ_ty8FW0AAzg8D.jpg?itok=Wy-m2kcE)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Pierre Filiu. 2017. “Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and the Dilemmas of Jihadi Loyalty.” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11(6): 166-172.

<sup>2</sup> “Northern Africa’s Most Wanted,” *Counter Terror Business*, Accessed April 16, 2018, <http://www.counterterrorbusiness.com/node/12624>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to Madjine Ibrahim primary school.<sup>3</sup> “The first operations of Islamist groups in the late 1980s, fascinated the young man, who regularly attended the mosque. When he graduated as Bachelor in Mathematics at the University of Blida, he established his first contacts with the Islamic fighters salvation front (FIS). It is one of his contacts there who recommended him that he should begin studying chemistry. Droukdel graduated in 1994. A year earlier, he had joined the armed struggle joining the Armed Islamic Group (GIA). His academic background makes him a bomb maker.”<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that Droukdel was educated in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he has been married.

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence he has children.

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>5</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he “grew up in a modest family that was strongly influenced by religion.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, his political affiliations were closely related to his rebel leader position.

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> “Mali: Abdelmalek Droukdel, leader of AQIM,” *Worldwide Conflicts*, January 29, 2013, Accessed April 16, 2018, <https://worldwideconflicts.wordpress.com/2013/01/29/mali-abdelmalek-droukdel-leader-of-aqim/>.

<sup>5</sup> Vincent Duhem, “Nord-Mali – Aqmi: Abdelmalek Droukdel appelle à imposer «graduellement» la charia,” *Jeune Afrique*, May 24, 2012, Accessed April 16, 2018, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/175961/politique/nord-mali-aqmi-abdelmalek-droukdel-appelle-imposer-graduellement-la-charia/>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.5

There is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He should be considered an activist, as he did nothing else significant professionally between his education and joining the armed struggle. He was a chemist according to an article, but it appears that he did not actually practice chemistry, only studying it.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes. In 1993, “he joined the ranks of the armed struggle within the Armed Islamic Group. His university education makes him an artificer. He experiments, climbs the ladder and gets noticed, notably by Hassan Hattab.”<sup>8</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he had combat experience fighting with the GIA as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Arabic. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.



**Rolecode** 24  
**Leadercode** 175  
**Name of leader** Hassan Hattab  
**Organization** al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)/Salafi Group for Preaching and Fighting  
**Conflict country** Algeria  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1967<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Rouiba, Algeria<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He has at least four brothers.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He founded the organization in 1998.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he was 31 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization after splitting from the GIA.<sup>5</sup> It is said that the organization's members agreed to Hattab leading them.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/b/b9/Hassan\\_Hattab.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/b/b9/Hassan_Hattab.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (1967-)," *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism, Second Edition*, Edited by Matheiu Guidere (Landam: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Algerian Salafi Group Hattab Calls for Laying Down Arms," *BBC Monitoring Middle East-Political*, October 18, 2005. Accessed August 8, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (1967-)." *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism*. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (Algeria)," *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism*, Edited by Olivier Roy and Antoine Sfeir. Translated, Edited, and Adapted by John King (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 129.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He received a religious education in Rouiba.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is a Muslim, specifically a Salafist.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

He comes from a middle-class family.<sup>11</sup> His uncle was Abdelkader Hattab, an Algerian who fought in Afghanistan and who was a member of the FIS.<sup>12</sup> Two of his brothers, Mawlud Hattab and Abd al Quadir, were part of the Algerian Islamic Armed Movement (MIA) and died while fighting for the organization.<sup>13</sup> His brother Mawlud was also part of the Movement for an Islamic State (MEI). His brother Toufik is believed to have been involved in the assassination of former prime minister Kasdi Merbah and also was killed by security forces.<sup>14</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>7</sup> "Hassan Hattab Interview," *Ennahar Online*, March 15, 2009, Accessed April 1, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160304192223/http://www.ennaharonline.com/en/news/617.html>.

<sup>8</sup> "Algerian Salafi Group Founder Hattab Calls for Laying Down Arms."

<sup>9</sup> "Algerian Salafi Group Founder Hattab Calls for Laying Down Arms."

<sup>10</sup> Philippe Migaux, "The Roots of Islamic Radicalism" In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*, Edited by Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 312.

<sup>11</sup> "Algerian Salafi Group Founder Hattab Calls for Laying Down Arms."

<sup>12</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (Algeria)." 128.

<sup>13</sup> Richard J. Chasdi, *Tapestry of Terror: A Portrait of Middle East Terrorism, 1994-1999* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), 79.

<sup>14</sup> Camille Tawil, *Brothers in Arms: The Story of al-Qa'ida and the Arab Jihadists*. Translated by Robin Bray (London: Saqi Books, 2010), 134-135.

He was a founding member of the Islamic Salvation Front.<sup>15</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

His physical and mental health is unknown.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a mechanic.<sup>16</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was an enlisted member of the Algerian military and trained as a paratrooper.<sup>17</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a member of the GIA and reached the level of amir of the Kabylia region at the organization.<sup>18</sup> In the GIA, he was also the commander of the Soldiers of Solidarity Brigades. He was a member of the Islamic State Movement.<sup>19</sup> He was the head of the FIS's military security operation.<sup>20</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

The Algerian army attacked his location when he was a GIA member. Hattab was able to escape the conflict.<sup>21</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>15</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (Algeria)." 128.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, Gregory. 2010. "Al Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb." *Journal of Strategic Security* 2(2): 53-72.

<sup>17</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (1967-)." *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism*. 160.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> "Algerian Salafi Group Founder Hattab Calls for Laying Down Arms."

<sup>20</sup> "Hattab, Hassan (Algeria)." 129.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Whether he had extensive work experience abroad is unknown.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He had been tried in absentia to life in prison in 2007.<sup>22</sup> He was placed under house arrest by the Algerian government but has not been sent to prison yet.<sup>23</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Antar Zouabri, the leader of the GIA, attempted to lure him into an ambush.<sup>24</sup> There were reports that the GSPC executed him.<sup>25</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Arabic.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> “Algeria: Hattab Re-Sentence Provokes Blast,” *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social, and Cultural Series*, July 30, 2007, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-825X.2007.01081.x>

<sup>23</sup> “Hattab, Hassan (1967-).” *Historical Dictionary of Algeria*. 297.

<sup>24</sup> “Algerian Salafi Group Founder Hattab Calls for Laying Down Arms.”

<sup>25</sup> “Hattab, Hassan (1967-).” *Historical Dictionary of Algeria*. 297.

<sup>26</sup> Algerianchannel. “قناة الجزيرة شريط جديد من المعتقل حسان حطاب” *YouTube Video*, 3:16, February 9, 2009. Accessed March 23, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpsV3hNJ5m0>.

**Rolecode** 25  
**Leadercode** 324  
**Name of leader** Nabil Sahraoui (Sharawi)  
**Organization** GSPC  
**Conflict country** Algeria  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1969<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Batna, Algeria<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2004<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 2004.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2003, so at age 34.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed leader.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/43/Nabil\\_Sahraoui.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/43/Nabil_Sahraoui.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Mathieu Guidère, *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 402.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “GSPC Rival Leader Hattab Reclaims Title,” *The Jamestown Foundation, Terrorism Focus Vol. 2 Issue 21*, Accessed September 7, 2021. <https://jamestown.org/program/gspc-rival-leader-hattab-reclaims-title/>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He studied until he got a state engineer certificate in thermal energy.”<sup>6</sup> “Nabil Sahraoui, 39, a native of Constantine, where he did his university studies at the university in that city, is viewed by security specialists as the ‘first Salafist to introduce foreign elements into Algeria who had trained at Al-Qa’idah camps in Afghanistan.”<sup>7</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He joined the ranks of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) since its founding in 1990 and in a short time became a prominent activist in Batna.”<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> “أبو إبراهيم مصطفى (الأمير الثاني) للجماعة السلفية للدعوة والقتال بالجزائر” [Abu Ibrahim Mustafa (second prince) of the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat in Algeria], September 22, 2015, Accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.islamist-movements.com/31421>.

<sup>7</sup> “Algeria: GSPC leader Hattab replaced by man ‘close’ to Al-Qa’idah,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, October 10, 2003, Accessed September 10, 2018, Retrieved from Nexis Uni.

<sup>8</sup> “زعيم «الجماعة السلفية» الجزائرية ينفي مقتل سلفه حسان حطاب «المستقبل»” [“Leader of the Algerian Salafist Group denies the death of his ‘predecessor, Hassan Hattab,’ resigned”], Accessed May 8, 2018, <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&article=235626&issueno=9309#.WvHg5YgvwdV>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

He was an Imam.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he joined the ranks of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) since its founding in 1990 and in a short time became a prominent activist in Batna. Joined the armed groups in the autumn of 1992 immediately after the cancellation of the results of the elections of the same year. Sahraoui took charge of armed action in Batna in 1994 and joined the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) under the leadership of its leader, Sharif Qusami (Ahmad Abu Abdullah). After the death of the latter, he was appointed by the new commander, Jamal Zeitouni, in charge of Area V in mid-1995.”<sup>11</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was in nonstate militaries as noted. More importantly, it is specifically noted that he took charge of armed action in Batna in 1994.<sup>12</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He “was killed during a fight with Algerian security forces.”<sup>13</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic as his primary language.

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1



**Rolecode** 26  
**Leadercode** 6  
**Name of leader** Abdelkader Chebouti  
**Organization** Islamic State Movement (MEI)  
**Conflict country** Algeria  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Larbaa, Algeria<sup>1</sup>  
**Year of death** Unknown

**Deceased**

Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

He founded the Islamic State Movement (MEI) in March and April 1992 with Said Mekhloufi and Azzedin Ba'a.<sup>2</sup>

**Powersharing**

At the end of 1992, he entered into a powersharing agreement with other rebel organizations. The unity organization fragmented after Abdelhaq Layada withdrew his support from Chebouti and founded the Armed Islamic Group (GIA).<sup>3</sup> Chebouti did not share power while head of MEI.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Martinez, Luis. *The Algerian Civil War 1990-1998*. Translated by Jonathan Derrick, (New York: Columbia University Press), 60

<sup>2</sup> Hafez, Mohammed. "Armed Islamist Movements and Political Violence in Algeria." *Middle East Journal*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2000, 574.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 575.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Closest associates were Said Mekhloufi, Azzedin Ba'a and Abdelhaq Layada (see "Powersharing" and "Leadership entry method").

**Physical and mental health**

He was in ill-health in the 1990s.<sup>4</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a soldier.<sup>5</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He served in the military

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>4</sup> Hafez, 577.

<sup>5</sup> "Islamism, the State, and Armed Conflict." *Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada*, June 1995. Accessed September 7, 2021. Available at <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a8228.html>

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Possibly; he was sentenced to death in 1987 by Algerian security forces but was given amnesty in 1990.<sup>6</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Likely spoke Arabic and French

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<sup>6</sup> Hafez, 575.

<b>Rolecode</b>	27
<b>Leadercode</b>	252
<b>Name of leader</b>	Madani Mezrag
<b>Organization</b>	MIA/FIA/AIS
<b>Conflict country</b>	Algeria
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1960 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Jijel, Eastern Algeria <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

“In January 1995, Mezrag became an emir of the Islamic Army with his eastern and western details, signing his military and political statements in the name of Abu al-Haytham.”<sup>3</sup> He was aged 35.

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://vid.alarabiya.net/images/2015/10/12/77c94da9-e3ed-439d-a445-0e8533bb78f2/77c94da9-e3ed-439d-a445-0e8533bb78f2\\_16x9\\_600x338.jpg](https://vid.alarabiya.net/images/2015/10/12/77c94da9-e3ed-439d-a445-0e8533bb78f2/77c94da9-e3ed-439d-a445-0e8533bb78f2_16x9_600x338.jpg)

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“مدني مزراق” [Madani Mezrag], *Al Jazeera*, Accessed May 10, 2018,

<http://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/icons/2014/12/8/%D9%85%D8%AF%D9%86%D9%8A-%D9%85%D8%B2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%82>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Madani Mezrag studied primary and junior high school at Jill Ferry School in Jijel and moved to the Al Kindi Secondary Institute where he graduated at the end of the 1970s.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.

### **Children**

Yes, he has children.

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He joined the secret organization of the Nadha movement led by Sheikh Abdullah Jaballah in 1987.”<sup>5</sup> His other political affiliations are too closely related to his future leadership position.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He seems to have done nothing else besides activist activities after graduating school.<sup>6</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Whether he has state military experience is unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was involved in the Nahdha Movement, but it is unclear whether that counts.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes. "Once Mezrag graduated from high school until the nuts trade began between Tunisia, Algeria and Libya, he briefly entered prison in Libya and returned from it in 1983 to Algeria...He was arrested in February 1992 and imprisoned in Bijelj before being transferred to Algiers and sentenced to one year in prison."<sup>7</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Arabic.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 28  
**Leadercode** 177  
**Name of leader** Henriques Tiago N’Zita<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) – Armed Forces of Cabinda (FAC)  
**Conflict country** Angola  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1927<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Mboma Lubinda<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** 2016<sup>4</sup>



### **Birth order**

Unknown

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

FLEC was founded in 1963, making him approximately 37.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Founding member of FLEC.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

He founded FLEC with two other leaders of different rebel organizations.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown.

### **Children**

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<sup>1</sup> Image credit: Wikimedia. "Tiago277.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed September 20, 2021, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tiago277.jpg>.

<sup>2</sup> “Morreu Nzita Tiago, Líder Histórico Da Resistência de Cabinda,” *DW*, March 6 2016. Available at <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/morreu-nzita-tiago-l%C3%ADder-hist%C3%B3rico-da-resist%C3%AAncia-de-cabinda/a-19304409>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



He had at least one son.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was most likely Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

Unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown.

**Physical and mental health**

Deceased.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, for having led the first FLEC rebellion in 1994-1998.

**Combat experience**

Unknown.

**Held government position prior to rebellion?**

No

**Lived in exile?**

Yes. He died in France<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>7</sup> “Rebels Alive and Kicking in Angolan Petro-Province, Oil Workers Say,” *Reuters*, June 14 2006. Available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/angola-oil-security-idUSL8N1952C9>

<sup>8</sup> “RELIGIONS,” *The World Factbook*. Accessed 1 December 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Angolan Separatist Rebel Leader Died in Exile in France,” *Reuters*, June 7 2016. Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-angola-separatists-idUKKCN0YT1JM>

Unknown.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No.

**Cause of Death?**

The cause of death was unclear – likely natural causes given his advanced age.<sup>10</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown.

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<sup>10</sup> Martin, James. *Historical Dictionary of Angola* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

**Rolecode** 29

**Leadercode** 78

**Name of leader** António Bento Bembe

**Organization** Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda-Renovada (FLEC-R)

**Conflict country** Angola

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1950<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Bungo-Fuana, Cabinda Province

**Year of death** N/A



**Deceased**

No

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1985, so at age 35.<sup>2</sup>

**Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive\\_large/public/images/201004071206480781.jpg?ieQ.CBHZxBSPF49.lpDBhLXmDygSusMX&itok=EnNr0Der](https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive_large/public/images/201004071206480781.jpg?ieQ.CBHZxBSPF49.lpDBhLXmDygSusMX&itok=EnNr0Der)

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“Portal Oficial Do Governo Da República de Angola,” *Government of Angola Website*, 2015, accessed January 17, 2017, <http://www.angola.gov.ao/VerSintese.aspx?Ministro=511>.

<sup>2</sup> “The Evolution of the Conflict: 1885-2003,” *The New Humanitarian*, January 12, 2010, Accessed August 5, 2021, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/ar/node/247687>.

Bembe “was elected leader of FLEC-R February 5, 1997.”<sup>3</sup>

“Between 1998 and 2002, he was President-elect of the Enclave Liberation Front of Cabinda (ex-FLEC / Renovada).”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Bembe received a Master’s degree in 2012 at Polytechnic University of Madrid in Spain. He “holds a degree in Public Administration from the School of Business & Economics (SBE), Atlantic International University (AIU), Distance Learning, United States of America (USA).”<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence that he was married.

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence that he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He is most likely Christian.<sup>6</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown.

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>3</sup> University of Central Arkansas, Dynamic Analysis of Dispute Management (DADM) Project, “57. Angola/Cabinda (1975-Present),” <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/angolacabinda-1975-present/>.

<sup>4</sup> “António Bento Bembe,” *Angola Ministry of Justice and Human Rights*, Accessed November 3, 2018, <http://www.minjusdh.gov.ao>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> “Africa: Angola,” *The World Factbook*, Accessed November 3, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ao.html>.

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a secondary school teacher.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He served in 1973-1974 with the Portuguese Army in Cabinda.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

In 1977 he “formally joined the Forces Armadas de Cabinda (FAC) as Ensign of Operations...Between 1983 and 1991, he was Head of FLEC for the Organization and Education of Cabinda, by appointment.\* 1983: Co-founder of FLEC, based on the philosophy of the Creation of the "New Man" in the context world, as a decisive first step towards the political shift of the "Cabinda Cause" that with the political, military and social commitment of 1 August 2006 between Government/FCD. \*Between 1977 and 1983, he officially held at FLEC/LUBOTA (Pau-Ferro) the functions of Coordinator of the Nucleus of Information and Security of the General Staff and the position of Secretary of Mobilization and Propaganda of FLEC.”<sup>9</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “[i]n April 1977, following the Angolan/Cabinda political-military conflict (1975-2006), he took refuge with the whole family in Zaire (now DR/Congo) and formally joined the Forces Armadas de Cabinda (FAC) as Ensign of Operations.”<sup>10</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No. See “Education” above. He obtained a degree via distance education in the United States, which is not coded as studying abroad.

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He taught abroad.<sup>11</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Portuguese, likely his primary language, in addition to English, French, Spanish, Ibinda, Kongo and Lingala.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<b>Rolecode</b>	30
<b>Leadercode</b>	222
<b>Name of leader</b>	Jose Tiburcio
<b>Organization</b>	Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda-Renovada (FLEC-R)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Angola
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1954 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Cabinda <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

He died of old age in 2011.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was a co-founder of FLEC-PM/FLEC-R in 1984 and was appointed as president. He would have been 30 years old.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed president of FLEC-PM.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> “Morreu Dirigente Da FLEC Renovada,” *VOA Portugues*, December 2, 2011, accessed January 29, 2017, <http://www.voaportugues.com/a/article-12-02-2011-flecdeath-voanews-134911408/1261720.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed at least high school, with some college. “José Tibúrcio completed primary education at the Catholic mission in Cabinda until 1970. He completed his Secondary School in 1972 at the Baron de Puna School and concludes the second year of the General Agricultural Course in 1975 at the commercial and industrial school Silvino Silvério Marques, current Polytechnic Institute of Cabinda, in the City of Cabinda.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least two children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence he is from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He seems to have gone directly from school to being a violent activist.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> “Religions”, *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1



Whether he was involved in a state military is unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “after the coup d'etat of 25 of April of 1974 that overthrew the dictatorship in Portugal and that resulted in the Independence of the Portuguese colonies overseas, the deceased, together with other young people, Joined the ranks of FLEC, in the then Republic of Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo.”<sup>11</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he had combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

He died of old age.<sup>12</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

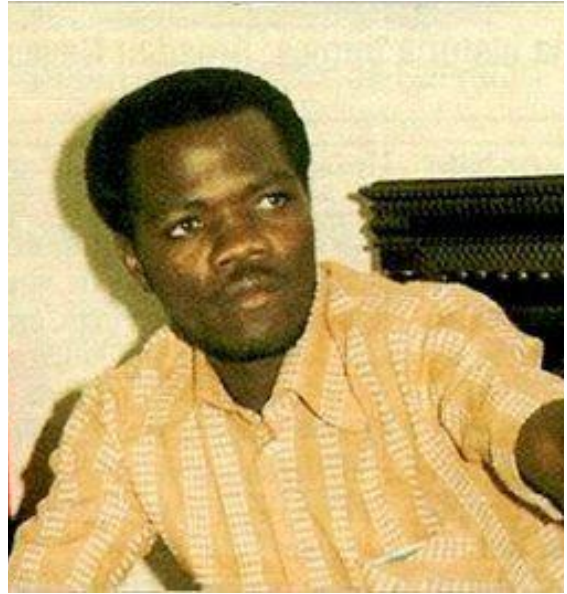
He likely spoke Kongo as his primary language and Portuguese.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 31  
**Leadercode** 79  
**Name of leader** Antonio Dembo  
**Organization** União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA)  
**Conflict country** Angola  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1944<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Nambuagongo, Luanda Province<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2002<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2002.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2002, so at age 58.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He became leader of UNITA after Savimbi was killed. But he died two weeks later.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/antnio-dembo-52f2bf92-46e5-428d-a125-844472a1d5e-resize-750.jpeg>

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<sup>1</sup> The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, *The UNITA Leadership* (Jamba, Angola: UNITA, 1990), 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> W. Martin James, *Historical Dictionary of Angola* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), 79.

<sup>5</sup> “New Angola Rebel Leader ‘dead,’” *BBC Africa* (BBC News), March 5, 2002, Accessed June 23, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1855355.stm>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to primary school at Muxaluando and Quimai Methodist schools. Next, he went to secondary school at El Harrach and the Ecol Nationale d'Ingénieurs et Techniciens in Algeria.<sup>6</sup> Finally he then went to a radio-electronic school in Paris.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was married.

### **Children**

No, there was no evidence that he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He was Methodist.<sup>8</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

He may have been diabetic.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist, and he joined UNITA immediately after completing education.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Maybe since he spent so much time in the UNITA, but there is no clear evidence.<sup>9</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

In 1975, he was appointed Minister of Labor in the Transitional Government of Angola.<sup>10</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence that he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Algeria and France.<sup>11</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died either from wounds in battle, death from diabetes complications, or starvation.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.4

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He probably spoke Umbundu primary and also French, since he attended French schools.<sup>13</sup> There is no evidence that English was a first or second language.

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.10

**Rolecode** 32

**Leadercode** 218

**Name of leader** Jonas Savimbi

**Organization** União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA)

**Conflict country** Angola

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1934<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Munhango, Bie Province<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2002<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in 2002.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

UNITA was founded in 1966, so he was 33 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He founded UNITA in 1966 after splitting from the FNLA.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: Boldstad, Eric. "Jonas Savimbi." Store Norske Leksikon. Accessed September 20, 2021, [https://snl.no/Jonas\\_Savimbi](https://snl.no/Jonas_Savimbi).

<sup>1</sup> Barry Munslow, "Savimbi, Jonas (1934-2002)," In *Encyclopedia of African History*, edited by Kevin Shillington, (Routledge, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Elaine Windrich, "Savimbi, Jonas Malheiro," In *Dictionary of African Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2012). <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1821>.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He briefly attended secondary school in Lisbon, Portugal on a scholarship from the United Church of Christ, before moving to Switzerland and obtaining a bachelor's equivalent degree in political science at the University of Lausanne.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but at what age is unknown.

**Children**

Yes, he had at least three children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Protestant.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father was a church pastor and railway station master.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He met Kenya's Tom Mboya at a student conference in 1961 in Uganda, who suggested he join Holden Roberto to form a resistance group.<sup>9</sup> He also met other Angolan nationalist leaders during his time in Portugal.<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> W. Martin James III, "Savimbi, Jonas (1934-2002)," In *Encyclopedia of African History*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 50.

<sup>6</sup> "Angolan Rebel Jonas Savimbi's Family Lose Call of Duty Case," *BBC Africa* (BBC News), March 24, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35894116>.

<sup>7</sup> "Savimbi, Jonas Malheiro." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

<sup>8</sup> "Savimbi, Jonas (1934-2002)." In *Encyclopedia of African History*

<sup>9</sup> Norbert C. Brockman, "SAVIMBI, Jonas Malheiro." In *An African Biographical Dictionary* (Grey House Publishing, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> "Savimbi, Jonas (1934-2002)." In *Encyclopedia of African History*



He was a politician.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Savimbi was briefly the foreign minister for the GRAE in March 1962 until July 1964.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Lisbon, Portugal and Switzerland.<sup>11</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he had guerrilla warfare training in China.<sup>12</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, in Egypt at one point when he was working as foreign minister for the FNLA as a government-in-exile.<sup>13</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was detained for a short period by Portuguese secret police in 1959.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>11</sup> "Savimbi, Jonas (1934-2002)." In *Encyclopedia of African History*.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> "Savimbi, Jonas Malheiro." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

### **Cause of Death?**

He was killed by Angolan troops on February 22, 2002.<sup>14</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke several languages. His primary language was Portuguese. He also spoke English. He no doubt also spoke the language of his ethnic group, Umbundu.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid

**Rolecode** 33

**Leadercode** 351

**Name of leader** Paulo Lukamba Gato

**Organization** União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA)

**Conflict country** Angola

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1954<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Bailundo, province of Huambo, Angola<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He joined UNITA in 1974, he took over as leader in 2002, following the death of Savimbi and Dembo. So he was 48 years old.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

The previous leaders died.<sup>4</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive\\_large/public/images/2052318.jpg?4YND3VS2B46Ue\\_1nnA.P7ppOJ1nf6Sp5&itok=c7079QQD](https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive_large/public/images/2052318.jpg?4YND3VS2B46Ue_1nnA.P7ppOJ1nf6Sp5&itok=c7079QQD)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> “Paulo Armino Lukamba,” *Ikuska*, Accessed July 7, 2017, [http://www.ikuska.com/Africa/Historia/biografias/1/lukumba\\_paulo.htm](http://www.ikuska.com/Africa/Historia/biografias/1/lukumba_paulo.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “General Gato: Unita’s New Leader,” *BBC Africa* (BBC News), April 4, 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1910501.stm>.

<sup>4</sup> “General Gato: Unita’s New Leader,” *BBC Africa*.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He only had a high school education.<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is most likely Christian.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He became an activist in UNITA immediately after completing his education.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Whether he has experience in a state military is unknown.

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<sup>5</sup> *The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, The UNITA Leadership* (Jamba, Angola: UNITA, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Leon Kukuk, *Letters to Gabriella* (Sarasota: FLF Press Sarasota, 2005), 251.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Portuguese as his primary language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	34
<b>Leadercode</b>	413
<b>Name of leader</b>	Suret Husseinov
<b>Organization</b>	Husseinov Military Faction
<b>Conflict country</b>	Azerbaijan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1959 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Ganja, Azerbaijan (Formerly Soviet Union) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1993, so at age 34.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“On 30th April 1993, a group of officers and Surat Huseynov’s supporters in Ganja announced the creation of an organisation they called the Military Union and elected Surat its chairman.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> “!Новый премьер Азербайджана” [ Your new Prime Minister of Azerbaijan ], *Kommersant*, July 1, 1993, Accessed July 9, 2017, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/52340>.

<sup>2</sup> “Leader Bios,” *Carnegie Mellon University*, Accessed July 9, 2017, <http://www.cs.cmu.edu/~ark/bio/modelvis/events/eventclass184.html>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Elmira Akhundova, *Return* (Baku: TEAS Press Publishing House, 2017), 235.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He graduated from Leninabad Institute of Technology.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “since 1990 - a member of the Azerbaijani Parliament. In 1992 he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and the authorized representative of President Elchibey in Nagorno-Karabakh, there commanded expeditionary corps.”<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“He worked as a mechanic, warehouse worker, assistant foreman, assistant operator at the Ganja kovrosukonnom plant.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Vardkes Khachaturov, “АЗЕРБАЙДЖАН В ИЮНЕ 1993 ГОДА” [AZERBAIJAN IN JUNE 1993], IGPI, Accessed September 30, 2017, <http://www.igpi.ru/monitoring/1047645476/jun1993/azerb.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed July 9, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup>See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.5

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, from “1977-1979 he served in the Soviet Army.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Huseynov created an armed gang and went to fight in Karabakh.”<sup>12</sup> “Since 1990, he became a soldier.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, it is likely that he did while in the aforementioned nonstate military.<sup>14</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “since 1990 - a member of the Azerbaijani Parliament. In 1992 he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and the authorized representative of President Elchibey in Nagorno-Karabakh, there commanded expeditionary corps”<sup>15</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, he fled to Russia in 1994, but he was not leader anymore.<sup>16,17</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Technically no, since even though he studied in Tajikistan, it was part of the Soviet Union.<sup>18</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Thomas de Waal, “Глава 13. Июнь 1992 - сентябрь 1993 г.г. Эскалация конфликта: Главы из русского издания книги "Черный сад" [Chapter 13. June 1992 - September 1993 GG escalation of the conflict: The Heads of the Russian edition of the book "Black Garden"], *BBC Russian*, July 14, 2005, Accessed July 9, 2017, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/in\\_depth/newsid\\_4682000/4682089.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/in_depth/newsid_4682000/4682089.stm).

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>14</sup> Se f.n.11

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>16</sup> “Ex-Interior Minister of Azerbaijan: Heydar Aliyev was at the head of rebellion by Surat Huseynov,” *Panorama*, May 6, 2013, Accessed July 9, 2017, <http://www.panorama.am/en/news/2013/06/05/heydar-aliyev/504424>.

<sup>17</sup> “Prime Ministers of Azerbaijan Since 1991,” *World Atlas*, Accessed April 8, 2019, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/prime-ministers-of-azerbaijan-since-1991.html>.

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.1



No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, because his prison time came after he was leader. “In 1997, the Russian Federation gave Huseynov to Azerbaijan, who was sentenced to life imprisonment at home. On March 17, in 2004 Surat Huseynov was pardoned and released.”<sup>19</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

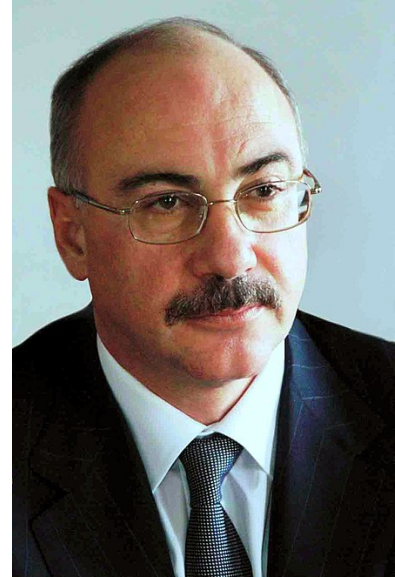
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Azerbaijani as his primary language.

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<sup>19</sup> See f.n.15

**Rolecode** 35  
**Leadercode** 82  
**Name of leader** Arkday Gukasyan  
**Organization** NKR  
**Conflict country** Azerbaijan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1957<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan (Soviet Union)<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died in any sources.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1997, so at age 40.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9e/Արկադի\\_Ղուկասյան.jpg/440px-Արկադի\\_Ղուկասյան.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9e/Արկադի_Ղուկասյան.jpg/440px-Արկադի_Ղուկասյան.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “Arkadi Ghuykasyan,” *Persons*, January 1, 2006, Accessed July 9, 2017,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110402070202/http://www.persons.am/en/91.html>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Gukasyan “finished the secondary school No8 of Stepanakert.”<sup>5</sup> “He graduated in 1979 from Yerevan State University with a degree in linguistics.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but at what age he married is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had two children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is probably Christian, since he is Armenian.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“He started his working career as a correspondent for “Soviet Karabagh” newspaper, becoming its Deputy Editor-in- Chief in 1981.”<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

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<sup>5</sup> “Arkady A. Ghukasyan,” *National Assembly of the Republic of Artsakh*, Accessed September 11, 2018, <http://www.nankr.am/en/2435>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No because even though he studied in Armenia, Armenia was part of the Soviet Union.<sup>10</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence of he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He probably spoke Armenian as his primary language. No evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



<b>Rolecode</b>	36
<b>Leadercode</b>	83
<b>Name of leader</b>	Artur Mkrthcyan
<b>Organization</b>	NKR
<b>Conflict country</b>	Azerbaijan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1959 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Village of Ukhtadzor in Hadrut district, region of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan (Former Soviet Union) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1992 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was fatally shot in 1992.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1992, so at age 33.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Artur Mkrthcyan." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed September 26, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Artur\\_Mkrthcyan\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Artur_Mkrthcyan_(cropped).jpg).

<sup>1</sup> "The First Chairman of the NKR Supreme Council Artur Mkrthcyan would have turned 57 today," *National Assembly of the Republic of ArsaKh (Nagorno-Karabakh)*, February 16, 2016, Accessed July 13, 2017, <http://www.nankr.am/en/1515>.

<sup>2</sup> "Մկրտչյան Արտուր" [Mkrthcyan Arthur], *Biographies*, Accessed September 10, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130223032537/http://hay.do.am/publ/26-1-0-142>

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> "First Karabakh president remembered in Stepanakert

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from village secondary school.<sup>6</sup> “In 1981 he graduated from the History Department of Yerevan State University and entered postgraduate studies at the Moscow Institute of Local History and Ethnography...In 1988, Arthur Mkrtchyan, Ph.D., received the degree of candidate of historical sciences.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He likely was, as he had two children.

### **Children**

Yes, he had two children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was probably Christian based on his ethnic background.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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April 15, 1996,” *Armenian Revolutionary Federation – Dashnaksutyun*, Accessed July 13 ,2017, <http://www.arfd.info/1996/04/15/first-karabakh-president-remembered-in-stepanakert/>.

<sup>6</sup> “Artur A. Mkrtchyan,” *National Assembly of the Republic of Artsakh*, Accessed September 11, 2018, <http://www.nankr.am/en/2434>.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.6

“He returned to Yerevan and worked for a time at the Institute of Local History and Ethnography. Then he returned to his homeland and worked as director of the Hadrout Museum of Local Lore.”<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes. “In his native Hadrut, Arthur Mkrtychyan led the movement in the name of Artsakh. He and his supporters were one of the initiators and founders of the independent Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, as well as the leaders of self-defense.”<sup>10</sup> To clarify, he was “one of the first Karabakh movement fighters born in 1959.”<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1



### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

He may have died from an accident, though the circumstances are suspicious.<sup>12</sup> He “was fatally shot under unclear circumstances.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Armenian as his primary language.<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence that he spoke English as a first or second language.

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<sup>12</sup> “Killing in Caucasus Enclave Is Described as an Accident,” *The New York Times*, April 16, 1992, Accessed July 13, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/04/16/world/killing-in-caucasus-enclave-is-described-as-an-accident.html>.

<sup>13</sup> “Artur Mkrtyan,” *Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press*, Accessed July 13, 2017, [http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/Artur\\_Mkrtyan](http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/Artur_Mkrtyan).

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.2

<b>Rolecode</b>	37
<b>Leadercode</b>	150
<b>Name of leader</b>	Garen Baburyan
<b>Organization</b>	NKR
<b>Conflict country</b>	Azerbaijan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1954 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Stepanakert, Nagorno Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan (former Soviet Union) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2011 of cardiac arrest.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1993, so at age 39.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“In 1993, Baburyan was appointed the acting Chairman of NKR Supreme council.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> “NKR President’s aide Karen Baburyan dies,” *PanARMENIAN.Net*, July 8, 2011, Accessed July 13, 2017, <http://www.panarmenian.net/eng/news/74063/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied at Stepanakert secondary school No 8 and then at the law faculty of Azerbaijan State University.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence he was married.

**Children**

There is no evidence he had children.

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian based on his ethnic background.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

There is no clear evidence of poor physical or mental health, but he did die young.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“In 1980-1992, he worked in executive bodies of Nagorno Karabakh.”<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he served in the Soviet army.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> “Karen Z. Baburyan,” *National Assembly of the Republic of Artsakh*, Accessed September 18, 2018, <http://www.nankr.am/en/2414>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “[i]n 1980-1992, he worked in executive bodies of Nagorno Karabakh.”<sup>9</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of cardiac arrest.<sup>10</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Armenian as his primary language. There is no evidence that English is a primary or secondary language.<sup>11</sup>

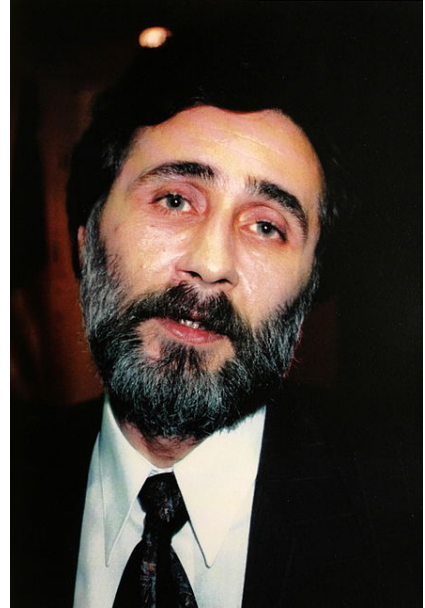
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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> “Languages,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 38  
**Leadercode** 155  
**Name of leader** Georgy Petrosyan  
**Organization** NKR  
**Conflict country** Azerbaijan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1953<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Stepanakert (capital and largest city of the de facto Republic of Artsakh), Azerbaijan (formerly Soviet Union)  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1992, so age at 39.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4f/Georgi\\_Petrosyan.JPG/440px-Georgi\\_Petrosyan.JPG](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4f/Georgi_Petrosyan.JPG/440px-Georgi_Petrosyan.JPG)

<sup>1</sup> "Georgi Petrosian," *Office of the Nogrono Karabakh Republic*, Accessed July 13, 2017, [http://www.nkrusa.org/foreign\\_policy/georgi-petrosian-bio.shtml](http://www.nkrusa.org/foreign_policy/georgi-petrosian-bio.shtml).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to “secondary education in Stepanakert School No8.”<sup>4</sup> “Georgi Petrosian is a graduate of the Minsk Institute of Radio Engineering with a degree in electrical engineering.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has two children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian due to his ethnic background.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“In 1978-1990 Petrosian worked as electrical engineer, including as department head and chief technologist at the Stepanakert Capacitor Plant.”<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>4</sup> “Georgy M. Petrosyan,” *National Assembly of the Republic of Artsakh*, Accessed September 10, 2018, <http://www.nankr.am/en/67>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Yes, he served in the Soviet Army.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was “one of the active participants of the Artsakh liberation struggle.”<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

His primary language is likely Armenian.<sup>12</sup> There is no evidence of English as a primary or secondary language.

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<sup>12</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



**Rolecode** 39  
**Leadercode** 249  
**Name of leader** Leonard Petrosyan  
**Organization** NKR  
**Conflict country** Azerbaijan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1953<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Martouni, Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1999<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 1999.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1991, so at age 38.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Leonard-petrosyan.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed September 26, 2021. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonard-petrosyan.jpg>.

<sup>1</sup> "Leonard Petrosyan," *Government of Nagorno Karabakh Republic*, Accessed July 11, 2017, <http://gov.nkr.am/en/former-prime-ministers/bio/90/>.

<sup>2</sup> "Leonard G. Petrosyan," *NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of the Republic of Artsakh*, Accessed September 11, 2018, <http://www.nankr.am/en/2417>.

<sup>3</sup> "Armenia's prime minister killed in parliament shooting," *CNN*, October 27, 1999, Accessed July 11, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9910/27/armenia.04/>.

<sup>4</sup> "Leonard G. Petrosyan," *National Assembly of the Republic of Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) Official Website*, Accessed August 5, 2021, <http://www.nankr.am/en/2417>.

He was elected Prime Minister and then when the President became P.M. of Armenia, Leonard became president of the NKR.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended a local secondary school in Martouni. He was also a student of the Yerevan Cooperation Institute (Moscow branch).<sup>6</sup> In 1979, he graduated from the Yerevan Institute of National Economy.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had four children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian based on his ethnic background.<sup>10</sup>

### **Family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> “Leonard G. Petrosyan,” *NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of the Republic of Artsakh*, Accessed September 11, 2018, <http://www.nankr.am/en/2417>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Bridget Coggins, *Power Politics and State Formation in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2014), 184-185.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“1975-1990 worked in the system of common nutrition of Martouni, at a vine factory, in Communist Party of Martouni regional committee, in agricultural centre.”<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he served in the Soviet Army.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was “elected chairman of the regional council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.”<sup>13</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Technically no, even though he studied in Moscow because Russia and Azerbaijan were part of the Soviet Union.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by five gunmen who entered the parliament.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Armenian, and may have also spoken Russian.

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<sup>15</sup> “1999 Armenian Parliament Shooting,” *Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press*, Accessed July 11, 2017, [http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/1999\\_Armenian\\_parliament\\_shooting](http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/1999_Armenian_parliament_shooting).

<b>Rolecode</b>	40
<b>Leadercode</b>	385
<b>Name of leader</b>	Rovshan Javadov
<b>Organization</b>	OPON
<b>Conflict country</b>	Azerbaijan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1951 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Lachin, Nagorno- Karabakh Republic, Azerbaijan
<b>Year of death</b>	1995 <sup>2</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1995 of wounds sustain in a battle.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1990, so at age 39.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/82/Ровшан\\_Джавадов.jpg/440px-Ровшан\\_Джавадов.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/82/Ровшан_Джавадов.jpg/440px-Ровшан_Джавадов.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Rovshan Javadov," *World Library*, Accessed July 13, 2017,

<http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/rovshan%20javadov?&words=rovshan%20javadov>.

<sup>2</sup> "Azerbaijan Coup Attempt Crushed: Caucasus: Loyal forces storm a building and overcome mutinous police units, president reports," *Los Angeles Times*, Accessed July 13, 2017,

[http://articles.latimes.com/1995-03-18/news/mn-44128\\_1\\_police-unit](http://articles.latimes.com/1995-03-18/news/mn-44128_1_police-unit).

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In 1973, he graduated from Azerbaijan State Medical University...In 1976, Rovshan Javadov entered the USSR Interior Ministry Military Academy in Rostov from which he graduated in 1980.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is likely Muslim based on his ethnic background.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a police inspector.<sup>6</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “after completing his military education in 1980 he volunteered for service in Afghanistan.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, but only because Russia and Azerbaijan were both part of the Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“Javadov was wounded by the pro-Aliyev militia and was taken to the Interior Ministry Hospital by his security personnel. Upon his arrival at the hospital, Presidential Guards arrested all five OPON soldiers guarding Javadov and prevented the doctors from giving medical aid to him. Javadov died of his wounds on 17 March 1995.”<sup>9</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

He probably spoke Azerbaijani and also Russian.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



**Rolecode** 41  
**Leadercode** 227  
**Name of leader** Jyotirindra Bodhipriya (Santu)  
Larma  
**Organization** Shanti Bahini  
**Conflict country** Bangladesh  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1944<sup>1</sup>



**Place of birth** Mahapuram village, Burighat Mouza, Naniarchar upazila, Rangamati Hill District, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1983, he assumed the leadership role of the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS)/ Shanti Bahini (Army of Peace). Therefore, he was 39 years old when he assumed the leadership role of the organization.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a0/Santu\\_Larma%2C\\_President%2C\\_JSS.jpg/440px-Santu\\_Larma%2C\\_President%2C\\_JSS.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a0/Santu_Larma%2C_President%2C_JSS.jpg/440px-Santu_Larma%2C_President%2C_JSS.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma,” *Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti*, accessed September 3, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170414221046/http://www.pcjss-cht.org/jyotirindra-bodhipriya-larma/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

He was appointed the leadership role shortly after his brother's assassination, who was the founder and previous leader of the organization.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished a bachelors level education or equivalent.<sup>5</sup> He attended Dhaka University.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>7</sup> he married when he was 20.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has two daughters.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Buddhist, due to his ethnic background.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he is no from an elite family background.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In the 1960s, he got involved in political activities while he was still a college student. In the early 1960s, he played a leading role in the Hill Students' Association. In 1961, he joined East Pakistan Student Union. In 1966, he formed CHT Welfare Association (a quasi-political organization). In 1970, he played vital role as Convener of CHT Election Organizing Committee. In 1972, he was one of founding leaders of Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS) and played a leading role in organizing the movement for

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<sup>4</sup> Willem van Schendel, *A History of Bangladesh* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen May, Tariq Modood, and Judith Squires, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Minority Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 136.

rights to self-determination in CHT.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist. Although there is no clear information on his career, there is evidence that he was active in a number of political movements and organizations that fight for the rights and autonomy of his ethnic group.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, on September 17, 1975, he was arrested from Kukichara under Panchai Upazila in Khagrachari district. Then on January 22, 1980, he was released.<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Bengali.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 42  
**Leadercode** 265  
**Name of leader** Manobendro Narayon Larma  
**Organization** Shanti Bahini  
**Conflict country** Bangladesh  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1941<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Khagrachhari district  
(Chittagong Hill Tract), Bangladesh<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1983<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 1983 by a rival nonstate group.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1975, he became the leader of the Shanti Bahini (Army of Peace). Therefore, he was 34 years old at start of leadership.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit:<https://www.pcjss.org/manabendra-narayan-larma/>

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<sup>1</sup> Willem van Schendel, *A History of Bangladesh* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Banks, Alan Day, and Thomas C, *Political Handbook of the World 1998* (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 1998), 76.

<sup>5</sup> Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 553.

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he was the political leader of the organization.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He obtained LLB degree, a bachelor of laws degree at Chittagong Law College.<sup>7 8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married at age 30.<sup>9 10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had a son and a daughter.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was likely a Buddhist, based on his ethnic background.<sup>12</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Larma was associated with political movements in his student life. He participated in the Jumia student movement in 1956 and organized the hill tract student conference in 1962. Larma pioneered a movement for realizing proper compensation and for the rehabilitation of the displaced hill people.<sup>13</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly, *Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>8</sup> "Larma, Manabendra Narayan," *Banglapedia National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, accessed September 3, 2017, [http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Larma,\\_Manabendra\\_Narayan](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Larma,_Manabendra_Narayan).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "Manabendra Narayan Larma," *Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press*, accessed September 3, 2017, [http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/manabendra\\_narayan\\_larma](http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/manabendra_narayan_larma).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Stephen May, Tariq Modood, and Judith Squires, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Minority Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 136.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.7

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, in 1970, Larma was elected as a member of the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly as an independent candidate. In 1973, he was elected as a member of the Jatiya Sangsad, the parliament of Bangladesh, as a nominee of the Jana-Samhati Samiti.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.7

Yes, on February 10, 1963, he was arrested under the East Pakistan Public Security Ordinance.<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by rival nonstate group.<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Chakma, the primary language of his ethnic group, as well as Bengali, the official language of Bangladesh.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Tom Lansford, *Political Handbook of the World 2015* (New York: CQ Press, 2015).



<b>Rolecode</b>	43
<b>Leadercode</b>	138
<b>Name of leader</b>	Fikret Abdic
<b>Organization</b>	Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia
<b>Conflict country</b>	Bosnia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1939 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Donja Vidovska, Bosnia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is the third of twelve children of Hashim and Zlata Abdic.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

It appears the group started in 1993, so he would have been 54.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization by making an agreement with the Bosnian Croats, Serbia's leader, and the head of the Bosnia's Serbs.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> Paul R. Bartrop, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide Portraits of Evil and Good* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Biography of Fikret Abdic," *Laburistibih*, Accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.laburistibih.ba/ekskluzivno-biografija-fikreta-abdica/>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>6</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He finished elementary school in Donja Vidovska, secondary agricultural school in Derventa, higher agricultural school in Križevci and agricultural faculty in Sarajevo. Upon completion of high school, with 21 years, 01.06.1960.”<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence he is married.

**Children**

There is no evidence he has children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

No elite family background is mentioned anywhere, and the fact that “he made a name for himself”<sup>9</sup> implies that his parents were not elites.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “[i]n September 1960, he was elected Secretary of the Municipal Committee of People's Youth Velika Kladusa, and seven months later, he was elected President of the Youth. After a year, he was elected organizing secretary of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists of Velika Kladusa. With less than 24 years, 10.04.1963. In the same year, he became a People's Deputy in the Assembly of BiH, the youngest in Yugoslavia...Since 1964, he was Vice President of the Municipality of Velika Kladusa, where he remained appointed for many years. He volunteered for one year as Secretary of the Committee. From the age of 34, he was elected a member of the Central Committee of BiH (Central Committee of BiH), the highest body in the Republic of BiH, where he remained until the affair of Agrokomerc in 1987. In addition to his membership in the CK BiH, he was also a member of the BiH Parliament. This was the subject of a debate,

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

because it was the only member of both bodies, but because of the work of life and achievements in the work, he had this privilege. At the beginning of 1986, he was elected to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, the highest representative body in the former SFRY.”<sup>10</sup> In 1990 he became a member of the Party of Democratic Action and won the election to become the president of the organization; however, behind the scene politics led to Izetbegovic becoming president instead. Again in 1992, Abdic tried to run for president, but was ignored when Izetbegovic picked his own successor.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He became famous for turning an agricultural cooperative into a modern food combine.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, as noted in the political affiliations section.

**Lived in exile?**

No, he fled to Croatia as the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia fell, which means he could no longer be its leader.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was imprisoned in Bosnia “for massive financial impropriety”<sup>14</sup> before he founded the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia and later (although does not count for variable) after the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia fell, he was imprisoned in Croatia for setting up the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia and for multiple deaths related to it.<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there was no assassination attempt, although the Bosnian army did take out his Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Bosniak.<sup>1617</sup> There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>"Bosnian," Bosnian - Language Information & Resources, Accessed November 20, 2016, <https://www.alsintl.com/resources/languages/Bosnian/>.

**Rolecode** 44  
**Leadercode** 242  
**Name of leader** Kresimir Zubak  
**Organization** Croatian Republic  
**Conflict country** Bosnia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1947  
**Place of birth** Doboj, Bosnia<sup>1</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1994, so at age 47.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected president.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: Cropped: US National Archives & DVIDS. "During Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR Presidents Momcilo Krajisnik, and Kresimir Zubak (left to right)." Public Domain Archive. Accessed September 26, 2021. <https://nara.getarchive.net/media/during-operation-joint-endeavor-presidents-momcilo-krajisnik-and-kresimir-zubak-3693fb>.

<sup>1</sup> "Krešimir Zubak," *Večernji list*, Accessed January 11, 2017,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160305002006/https://www.vecernji.hr/biografije/kresimir-zubak-333>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated in law in Sarajevo in 1970.<sup>4</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has a wife.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has two sons.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, from 1980 to 1984 he was “deputy minister in the Ministry of Justice of Bosnia and Herzegovina” and for the next eight years he was President of the High Court in Doboj.<sup>8</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "Religion in Bosnia," *Bosnia and Genocide*, Accessed January 11, 2017, <http://bosniaandgenocide.tripod.com/id5.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Yes, before the war in Bosnia started, Zubak was employed by the Ministry of Justice and injured in combat.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, between 1980 and 1992 he was deputy minister in the Ministry of Justice of Bosnia and president of the high court.<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after Zubak recovered from his hospital injuries, his family was kicked out of Doboj and forced into Vodice.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Croatian as his primary language.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



<b>Rolecode</b>	45
<b>Leadercode</b>	273
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mate Boban
<b>Organization</b>	Croatian Republic
<b>Conflict country</b>	Bosnia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1940 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Sovići, Bosnia (former Yugoslavia) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1997 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of disease in 1997.

### **Birth order**

He was born as the fifth of eight children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was appointed as president in 1991, so at age 52.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization at a time when he was Vice President of the ruling party in the Bosnian parliament, and Yugoslavia was collapsing. In this environment, “there was a drive to connect all the Croat communities outside of the recently declared Republic of

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/Mate\\_Boban.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/Mate_Boban.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Paul R. Bartrop, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide Portraits of Evil and Good* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 43.

<sup>2</sup> “Mate Boban,” *Večernji list*, Accessed November 30, 2016, <http://www.vecernji.hr/biografije/mate-boban-209>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

Croatia with the new state itself.”<sup>6</sup> It has also been suggested that Boban was chosen by Croatian president Tudjman to form the organization.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from high school<sup>8</sup> and then obtained a master’s degree at the Faculty of Economics in Zagreb.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married in 1965, so at age 25.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had three children.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>12</sup>

### **amily background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, in 1958 he was a member of Yugoslavia’s League of Communists and eventually became the local Communist Party secretary.<sup>13</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> "Religions," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed January 30, 2017,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked in business.<sup>14 15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was the Vice President and then President of the ruling party in the Bosnian parliament, in fact he founded the organization while president of Bosnia.<sup>16</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

Yes, “due to the accusation of economic crime due to the disappearance of larger quantities of sugar, he spent two years in an investigative jail in Split, but his associates later claimed that the indictment was mounted due to Croatian nationalism.”<sup>17</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>18</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Croatian due to his ethnic background.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Danijel Ivankovic, “Mate Boban, founder and first president of Herceg-Bosna, was born 77 years ago,” *DNEVNO*, February 12, 2017, Accessed March 19, 2018, <http://www.dnevno.ba/vijesti/video-prije-77-godina-roden-mate-boban-utemeljitelj-i-prvi-predsjednik-herceg-bosne-74783/>.

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>19</sup> “Languages,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	46
<b>Leadercode</b>	117
<b>Name of leader</b>	Dobroslav Paraga
<b>Organization</b>	HOS
<b>Conflict country</b>	Bosnia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1960 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Zagreb, Croatia (Former Yugoslavia) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1991, so at age 31.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization at the start of the Homeland War.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

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<sup>1</sup> "Dobroslav Paraga," *Biografije*, Accessed January 31, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110501070908/http://www.biografije.org/paraga.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

“He finished elementary and high school and studied law and lay theology.”<sup>5</sup>

“He completes primary school and grammar school in Zagreb and enrolls in law and laity law studies.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married but at what age is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has a daughter and two sons.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In 1980 he signed an amnesty petition for political prisoners. Then, in 1986 he “begins to write about the mounted political processes in Slovenian New Revival and Ljubljana's Mladen. Slovenes give him a passport with which he travels to Germany and other Western countries, talking about the problems of political prisoners.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> “Dobroslav Paraga,” *Vecernji*, December 1, 2016, Accessed September 10, 2018, <https://www.vecernji.hr/enciklopedija/dobroslav-paraga-18228>.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Religion,” Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed January 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>

<sup>10</sup> “Dobroslav Paraga,” *Vecernji*, December 1, 2016, Accessed October 1, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Fergus M. Bordewich, “Yugoslavia Since Tito,” *The New York Times*, April 12, 1986, Accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/04/13/magazine/yugoslavia-since-tito.html?pagewanted=all>.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1986 he was drafted into the Yugoslav army.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he had experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military experience abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested in 1980 for signing an amnesty petition and imprisoned for either four or five years depending on the source.<sup>13</sup><sup>14</sup> Then on November 22, 1991, he was arrested while leader of the HOS.<sup>15</sup> However, since he was only kept in detention until December 18, 1991, this does not count as imprisonment.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> Robert Stallaerts, *Historical Dictionary of Croatia* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), xxxv.

<sup>16</sup> “Dobroslav Paraga v. Croatia, Communication No. 727/1996, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/71/D/727/1996 (2001).,” *University of Minnesota*, 2001, Accessed August 23, 2019, <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/undocs/727-1996.html>.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Croatian because he is Croat.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Languages," Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



**Rolecode** 47  
**Leadercode** 242  
**Name of leader** Kresimir Zubak  
**Organization** HOS  
**Conflict country** Bosnia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1947  
**Place of birth** Doboj, Bosnia<sup>1</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1994, so at age 47.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected president and thus given control of the military of the Croatian Republic.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: Cropped: US National Archives & DVIDS. "During Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR Presidents Momcilo Krajisnik, and Kresimir Zubak (left to right)." Public Domain Archive. Accessed September 26, 2021. <https://nara.getarchive.net/media/during-operation-joint-endeavor-presidents-momcilo-krajisnik-and-kresimir-zubak-3693fb>.

<sup>1</sup> "Krešimir Zubak," *Večernji list*, Accessed January 11, 2017,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160305002006/https://www.vecernji.hr/biografije/kresimir-zubak-333>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Krešimir Zubak," *Večernji list*, Accessed January 11, 2017,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160305002006/https://www.vecernji.hr/biografije/kresimir-zubak-333>.

No evidence of powersharing.<sup>4</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated in law in Sarajevo in 1970.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has a wife.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has two sons.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, from 1980 to 1984 he was “deputy minister in the Ministry of Justice of Bosnia and Herzegovina” and for the next eight years he was President of the High Court in Doboj.<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Religion in Bosnia," *Bosnia and Genocide*, Accessed January 11, 2017, <http://bosniaandgenocide.tripod.com/id5.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Yes, before the war in Bosnia started, Zubak was employed by the Ministry of Justice and injured in combat.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.<sup>12</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, between 1980 and 1992 he was deputy minister in the Ministry of Justice of Bosnia and president of the high court.<sup>13</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after Zubak recovered from his hospital injuries, his family was kicked out of Doboje and forced into Vodice.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Croat as his primary language.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 48  
**Leadercode** 273  
**Name of leader** Mate Boban  
**Organization** HOS – Croatian Defense Forces  
**Conflict country** Bosnia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1940<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Sovići, Bosnia (former Yugoslavia)<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1997<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of disease in 1997.

### **Birth order**

He was born as the fifth of eight children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1992 when the HVO (absorbed the HOS) formed, so at age 52.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed as President, which also put him in charge of the military of the Croatian Republic.<sup>6</sup> He was picked by Mr. Tudjman in 1992.<sup>7</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/Mate\\_Boban.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/Mate_Boban.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Paul R. Bartrop, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide Portraits of Evil and Good* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 43.

<sup>2</sup> “Mate Boban,” *Večernji list*, Accessed November 30, 2016, <http://www.vecernji.hr/biografije/mate-boban-209>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Charles R. Shrader, *The Muslim-Croat Civil War in Central Bosnia* (College Station: Texas A&M, 2003), 25.

<sup>6</sup> Paul R. Bartrop, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide Portraits of Evil and Good* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 43.

<sup>7</sup> Chris Hedges, “Mate Boban, 57, Chief Builder of Croatian Enclave in Bosnia,” *The New York Times*, July 8, 1997, Accessed January 28, 2019.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from high school<sup>8</sup> and then obtained a master's degree at the Faculty of Economics in Zagreb.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married in 1965, so at age 25.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had three children.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is most likely Christian.<sup>12</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, in 1958 he was a member of Yugoslavia's League of Communists and eventually became the local Communist party secretary.<sup>13</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> "Religions," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed January 30, 2017,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

He worked in business.<sup>14 15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was the Vice President and then President of the ruling party in the Bosnian parliament, in fact he founded the organization while President of Bosnia.<sup>16</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “due to the accusation of economic crime due to the disappearance of larger quantities of sugar, he spent two years in an investigative jail in Split, but his associates later claimed that the indictment was mounted due to Croatian nationalism.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Danijel Ivankovic, “Mate Boban, founder and first president of Herceg-Bosna, was born 77 years ago,” *DNEVNO*, February 12, 2017, Accessed March 19, 2018, <http://www.dnevno.ba/vijesti/video-prije-77-godina-roden-mate-boban-utemeljitelj-i-prvi-predsjednik-herceg-bosne-74783/>.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>18</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**


He likely spoke Croatian as his primary language.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>19</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



<b>Rolecode</b>	49	
<b>Leadercode</b>	393	
<b>Name of leader</b>	Radovan Karadzic (Dr. Dragan Dabic) <sup>1</sup>	
<b>Organization</b>	Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Republika Srpska	
<b>Conflict country</b>	Bosnia	
<b>Gender</b>	Male	
<b>Year of birth</b>	1945 <sup>2 3</sup>	
<b>Place of birth</b>	Šavnik, Yugoslav (now Montenegro) <sup>4</sup> Petnjica, a mountain village in Montenegro	
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A	

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown, but he has a younger brother, Luka Karadzic.<sup>5</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1992, so at age 47.<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/e4/RadovanKaradzic.jpg/440px-RadovanKaradzic.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Jennifer Newton and Sara Malm, "Butcher of Bosnia will Die in Jail," *Mail Online*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 29, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>3</sup> "War Crimes Suspect Radovan Karadzic Arrested in Serbia," *CNN*, July 22, 2008, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>5</sup> Julian Borger, "How Radovan Karadzic Embraced Evil," *The Daily Beast*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

His leader entry method is unclear, but he was elected president<sup>7</sup> or he declared himself president of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992.<sup>8</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Karadžić studied medicine in Sarajevo and became a physician and a psychiatrist.”<sup>9</sup> He graduated in medicine in 1971.<sup>10</sup> “He studied psychiatry and medicine at the University of Sarajevo during the 1960s and took courses in psychiatry and poetry at Columbia University from 1974 to 1975.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>12</sup> he met Ljiljana Zelen in medical school.<sup>13</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has at least one son.<sup>14</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is probably Serbian Orthodox Christian.<sup>15</sup>

### **Elite family background**

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>8</sup> “War Crimes Suspect Radovan Karadzic Arrested in Serbia,” *CNN.com*, July 22, 2008, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>10</sup> “Radovan Karadzic: Former Bosnian Serb Leader,” *BBC News*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 29, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19960285>

<sup>11</sup> “Radovan Karadzic: From Psychiatrist to ‘Butcher of Bosnia,’” *CNN*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 29, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2012/10/16/world/europe/radovan-karadzic-profile/index.html>

<sup>12</sup> “Karadzic's wife urges surrender,” *BBC News*, July 29, 2005, Accessed December 28, 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4725923.stm>.

<sup>13</sup> Julian Borger, “How Radovan Karadzic Embraced Evil,” *The Daily Beast*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> “Karadzic's wife urges surrender,” *BBC News*, July 29, 2005, Accessed December 28, 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4725923.stm>.

<sup>15</sup> Religious Tolerance, "Religious aspects of the Yugoslavia - Kosovo conflict," Accessed January 03, 2017, [http://www.religioustolerance.org/war\\_koso.htm](http://www.religioustolerance.org/war_koso.htm).

No, his father was a cobbler. His father was ostracized (for raping and killing a cousin) and his grandfather killed a neighbor.<sup>16</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health. After he was leader, he got medical attention in 2004.<sup>17</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His primary occupation was medicine.<sup>18</sup> He was a psychiatrist. He also published poetry in his book.<sup>19</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he founded the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1990. He became "President of Serbia's National Security Council" in 1992.<sup>20</sup> He was elected as the party's first President.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "G2: The Edge of Madness," *The Guardian*, July 23, 2008, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Julian Borger, "How Radovan Karadzic Embraced Evil," *The Daily Beast*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>19</sup> Julian Borger, "How Radovan Karadzic Embraced Evil," *The Daily Beast*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>20</sup> Jennifer Newton and Sara Malm, "Butcher of Bosnia will Die in Jail," *Mail Online*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 29, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> "Serbian Agency Profiles War Crimes Suspect Karadzic," *BBC*, July 24, 2008, Accessed January 29, 2019.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, he was no longer leader when he went into exile. After Karadzic gave up his government position in 1996, “Karadžić went into hiding in 1997, with reports over the ensuing years placing him in, among other places, Serbia, eastern Bosnia, Russia, and Montenegro.”<sup>22</sup> He was in hiding for 2005.<sup>23</sup> He had been on the run for over 12 years in 2008.<sup>24</sup> He was believed to be hiding in either Bosnia or in Montenegro.<sup>25</sup> He was found in Belgrade.<sup>26</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he “took courses in psychiatry and poetry at Columbia University from 1974 to 1975.”<sup>27</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “in 1985, Karadžić was imprisoned for 11 months for fraud involving the use of state funds” and in “March 24, 2016, Karadžić was found guilty of 10 of the 11 counts against him, including the crime of genocide against the residents of Srebrenica, and he was sentenced to 40 years in prison.” This was after he was leader.<sup>28</sup> In November 1984 he was detained for fraud and released 11 months later. He was sentenced in September 1985 for three years, but he did not serve the sentence.<sup>29</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>22</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>23</sup> Julian Borger, “How Radovan Karadzic Embraced Evil,” *The Daily Beast*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>24</sup> “War Crimes Suspect Radovan Karadzic Arrested in Serbia,” *CNN.com*, July 22, 2008, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> “NATO Force Denies Search for Suspect Karadzic Radovan Karadzic,” *Birmingham Post*, August 15, 2002, Accessed January 28, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> “Radovan Karadzic: Former Bosnian Serb Leader,” *BBC News*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 29, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19960285>

<sup>27</sup> “Radovan Karadzic: From Psychiatrist to ‘Butcher of Bosnia,’” *CNN.com*, March 24, 2016, Accessed January 29, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2012/10/16/world/europe/radovan-karadzic-profile/index.html>

<sup>28</sup> Robert Raunch, "Radovan Karadzic," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. March 24, 2016, Accessed December 28, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Radovan-Karadzic>.

<sup>29</sup> “Serbian Agency Profiles War Crimes Suspect Karadzic,” *BBC*, July 24, 2008, Accessed January 29, 2019.

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Serbian as his primary language, and he speaks English.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “Serbian Agency Profiles War Crimes Suspect Karadzic,” *BBC*, July 24, 2008, Accessed January 29, 2019.

<b>Rolecode</b>	50
<b>Leadercode</b>	97
<b>Name of leader</b>	Blaise Compaore
<b>Organization</b>	N/A
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burkina Faso
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1951 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Ouagadoudou, Burkina Faso <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is one of seven children, possibly the eldest.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

The first coup he participated in was in 1983; he was 32.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He led a coup with Sankara and two other individuals originally. He was already a part of the state military and never really led an outside organization.

### **Powersharing**

He originally worked with Sankara once Sankara became president. Then he led his own coup. He did not share power after that.

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/04/Blaise\\_Compaor%C3%A9\\_2014\\_White\\_House.png/440px-Blaise\\_Compaor%C3%A9\\_2014\\_White\\_House.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/04/Blaise_Compaor%C3%A9_2014_White_House.png/440px-Blaise_Compaor%C3%A9_2014_White_House.png)

<sup>1</sup>Witherbee, Amy. 2005. *Blaise Compaor%C3%A9*. Toledo, OH: Great Neck Publishing.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended primary and secondary school in Burkina Faso, and then Military Academy of Cameroon where he graduated in 1974.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was 34 at the time.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

He had one daughter.

**Religious identification**

He is a Christian.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He met Thomas Sankara in Morocco during military training. He supported Charles Taylor and Foday Sankoh in their respective rebellions. A 2002 United Nations investigation found that Compaoré played a significant role in arming the RUF and Taylor in violation of a U.N. arms embargo.<sup>8</sup> He is married to a protégé of Ivory Coast leader Felix Houphouët-Boigny. Trust between Compaoré and Houphouët-Boigny allowed Charles Taylor to use the Ivory Coast as a base of operations for attacking Liberia.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Hagberg, Sten. "Compaoré, Blaise." In *Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>7</sup> "The Global Intelligence Files," *WikiLeaks*, February 21, 2013, Accessed October 22, 2017, [https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/23/2371458\\_-africa-wikileaks-burkina-faso-compaore-seeks-to-win-favor.html](https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/23/2371458_-africa-wikileaks-burkina-faso-compaore-seeks-to-win-favor.html).

<sup>8</sup> "Harvard for Tyrants," *Foreign Policy*, March 5, 2011, accessed September 22, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/03/05/harvard-for-tyrants/>.

He had a military career.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he has experience in a state military, as noted above.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he likely had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he held several positions, as noted above.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he presently lives in exile after leaving the presidency.<sup>10</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad at a military academy in Yaoundé, Cameroon.<sup>11</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he did military training in France, Morocco, Cameroon and Libya. He made many connections during this time.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he did military training in France, Morocco, Cameroon and Libya. He made many connections during this time.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>9</sup> "Compaoré, Blaise." In *Who's Who in the World 2016*. New Providence: Marquis Who's Who LLC.

<sup>10</sup> BBC, "Burkina Faso Ex-Leader Blaise Compaore Becomes Ivorian," *BBC Africa* (BBC News), February 24, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35650193>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.6



No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Mossi and French. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	51
<b>Leadercode</b>	248
<b>Name of leader</b>	Leonard Nyangoma
<b>Organization</b>	Conseil National pour la Defense de la Democratie-Forces de Defence de la Democratie (CNDD-FDD)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burundi
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Rutundwe in Songa commune, Province Bururi, Burundi <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1994, so at age 41.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup> “Léonard Nyangoma, un ministre burundais devenu chef de maquis” [Léonard Nyangoma, a Burundian minister who became a maquis leader], *Liberation*, April 19, 1995, Accessed June 26, 2017, [http://www.liberation.fr/planete/1995/04/19/leonard-nyangoma-un-ministre-burundais-devenu-chef-de-maquis\\_129739](http://www.liberation.fr/planete/1995/04/19/leonard-nyangoma-un-ministre-burundais-devenu-chef-de-maquis_129739).

<sup>2</sup> “Portrait succinct du député Léonard NYANGOMA, Président du CNDD et candidat aux élections présidentielles 2010 Par Burundi Réalité” [Short profile of MP Leonard Nyangoma, President The CNDD and candidate for Presidential elections 2010 By Burundi Reality], *Burundi Realite*, March 15, 2010, Accessed June 27, 2017, [http://burundirealite.org/news\\_pdf.cfm?ID=3341](http://burundirealite.org/news_pdf.cfm?ID=3341).

<sup>3</sup> Willy Nindorera. 2012. “The CNDD-FDD in Burundi,” in *The CNDD-FDD in Burundi. The path from armed to political struggle*. Berghof Foundation. [http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/Transitions\\_Series/transitions10\\_burundi.pdf](http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/Transitions_Series/transitions10_burundi.pdf).

He was designated.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He completed his primary 1960 to 1966, before continuing high school in The Rutovu Normal School, where he graduated D7 in 1974. From 1975 to 1979, he launched in higher education at the University of Burundi, At the end of which he is awarded the Bachelor's Degree in Mathematical Sciences.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>6</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“From 1980 to 1991, he was a trade union leader in the Union of Workers of Burundi UTB. In February 1988, President Pierre Buyoya dismissed Nyangoma from the student circles and appointed him Deputy Secretary General of the Workers' Union of Burundi, UTB, a movement then integrated into the single party Uprona.

Leonard Nyangoma, under a single party regime and leader of a union affiliated to the single party, opposed the corporatist, dictatorial and divisionist ideology of the single party to inculcate in the workers and those around them the ideology of the Emancipation of the workers and the people against the oligarchy of power. It was on these ideological bases, the foundation of democracy, that Leonardo NYANGOMA played a leading role in the...emergence of the Burundian associative movement in the years 1985-1992,

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed June 27, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

discreetly rebellious movement against the dictatorial power of the time. Conscious of the balance of power in favor of the power of the single party, Leonard Nyangoma adopted the strategy of struggling from within against the dictatorship. His strategy of struggle was multifaceted. Thus he was a fierce craftsman of the consciousness of the workers to free themselves from the yoke of the oligarchy imposed by the single party; That he made the necessary contacts and arrangements for the establishment of the first Burundian League for Human Rights, the ITEKA League, as well as the first Free Trade Union of Teachers of Burundi (SLEB). It also participated in the creation of the Solidarity Fund for the Workers of Education in Burundi (FSTEB). All these associations had as their foundation the struggle for the advent of a democratic society against the current ideology of the party in power. By gnawing the Uprona power from within, the revolutionaries around the Honorable Nyangoma and his fellow traveler Melchior Ndadaye ended up being right in power Uprona. A founding member of the Sahwanya-Frodebu Party, Léonard NYANGOMA was appointed in 1988 by the Party Steering Committee as National Secretary for Propaganda, Implementation, Recruitment and Ideological Formation of Frodebu.

Since 1988, Leonardo NYANGOMA has been working to set up a vast network of Frodebu Party structures, from the base to the top, as well as democratic mass organizations and development agencies. His position at the UTB in 1988 was an opportunity for him to accelerate the establishment of the structures of his real party, the Front for Democracy in Burundi, Frodebu, which, at that time, still operated underground. He took advantage, in particular, to appoint certain competent Frodebu militants to the provincial leadership of the UTB. And it was under these conditions and by his care that Melchior NDADAYE, President of Frodebu, was appointed first provincial secretary of the UTB in Gitega.

Léonard NYANGOMA was also a key craftsman and the strategist of the Frodebu election campaign in 1993. This work, carried out in a team spirit, coupled with the charisma of his fellow combatant, Frodebu leader Melchior NDADAYE, contributed strongly to the victory in the presidential and legislative elections of June 1993. Leonardo NYANGOMA was elected as Representative of the People in the constituency of Bururi after these elections.

On 10 July 1993, at the hearing...Léonard Nyangoma is also the survivor of the bloody military coup of October 21, 1993, which killed the democratically elected president Melchior Ndadaye triggering the 1993-99 civil war.

While the military coup plotted a man-hunting operation, Nyangoma narrowly escaped his executioners and took refuge at the French embassy in Bujumbura alongside the other survivors of the government

The Frodebu Political Bureau, meeting at the Club of Lake Tanganyika, Designated Leonardo NYANGOMA as organizer of the popular resistance. Leonardo NYANGOMA was appointed Minister of State in charge of the Interior and Public Security in the government of President Cyprien NTARYAMIRA in order to give him the means of this difficult mission.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Qui est le député Léonard NYANGOMA, Président du parti CNDD ?” [Who is the deputy Leonardo NYANGOMA, President of the CNDD party?], *CNDD*, September 3, 2013, Accessed June 27, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141002101301/http://www.cndd-burundi.com/president>.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was a former government minister.<sup>9</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he lived in exile for 10 years.<sup>10</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>8</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>9</sup> 2005. "Ex-Rebel Leader Returns Home to Burundi After Long Exile." *New York Amsterdam News*, February 17.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Kirundi, the main language of Burundi.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 52  
**Leadercode** 212  
**Name of leader** Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye  
**Organization** National Council for the Defense of Democracy – Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD)  
**Conflict country** Burundi  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown



### **Birth order**

Unknown

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Age is unknown, but he assumed rebel leadership in 1998.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Ndayikengurukiye removed the previous leader, Leonard Nyangoma, with support from Hussein Radjabu, who was reported to have been the nominal leader.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

There is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

### **Children**

Unknown

### **Religious identification**

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<sup>1</sup> “The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations,” *International Crisis Group*, 6 August 2010. <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/4651/2354.pdf;sequence=1>.

<sup>2</sup> Nindorera, Willy. “The CNDD-FDD in Burundi,” in *The CNDD-FDD in Burundi. The path from armed to political struggle* (Canada: Berghof Foundation, 2012). [http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/Transitions\\_Series/transitions10\\_burundi.pdf](http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/Transitions_Series/transitions10_burundi.pdf).

He is likely Christian.<sup>3</sup>

**Elite family background**

He had at least one brother (Nzajibwami) who was the leader of the internal grouping of FRODEBU. Also he was the nephew of Léonard Nyangoma, who was president of the CNDD.<sup>4</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

There is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a military officer.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to rebellion?**

No

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he operated out of the Democratic Republic of Congo.<sup>5</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> “Religions,” *The World Factbook*, Accessed 16 March 2018.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>4</sup> “Burundi Assessment,” *US Department of Justice*, April 2003. Accessed 16 March 2018.

[https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2014/10/21/0403\\_Burundi.pdf](https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2014/10/21/0403_Burundi.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> See note 1.



**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death**

He is still alive.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Kirundi.

<b>Rolecode</b>	53
<b>Leadercode</b>	355
<b>Name of leader</b>	Pierre Nkurunziza
<b>Organization</b>	Democratique-Forces de Defence de la Democratie (CNDD-FDD)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burundi
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	December 18, 1963 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Ngozi, Burundi <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was one of seven.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He took over as chair of one of the factions in 2001, so at age 38.

### **Leader entry method**

He was voted into the position.<sup>4</sup>

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Image Credit: "Pierre Nkurunziza - World Economic Forum on Africa 2008" by World Economic Forum is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

<sup>1</sup> "Pierre Nkurunziza," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed January 22, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Pierre-Nkurunziza>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "16 Things You Didn't Know about Burundian President Pierre Nkurunziza," *Features*, February 29, 2016, accessed January 22, 2017, <http://afkinsider.com/71607/10-things-didnt-know-burundis-president-pierre-nkurunziza/11/>.

<sup>4</sup> Government of Burundi, *Biographical Resume of His Excellency Pierre Nkurunziza,, President of the Republic of Burundi*, (n.p.: Burundi Government, 2011), [http://presidence.gov.bi/images/PDF/RESUME-PIERRE\\_NKURUNZIZA.pdf](http://presidence.gov.bi/images/PDF/RESUME-PIERRE_NKURUNZIZA.pdf).

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He has a degree from University of Burundi in physical education, earned in 1990.<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, married his wife Denise Bucumi in 1994, so he was 31 years old.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

He has five children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>8</sup>

### **Family background**

His father was elected to the Parliament of Burundi in 1965, and was Governor of two provinces before he was killed during ethnic violence. His father was a Hutu, and mother a Tutsi.<sup>9</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He may have had connections through his father's influence.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Hugo Williams, "Burundi's President Pierre Nkurunziza in Profile," *BBC Africa* (BBC News), October 14, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32490645>.

<sup>6</sup> "16 Things You Didn't Know about Burundian President Pierre Nkurunziza."

<sup>7</sup> Government of Burundi, *Biographical Resume of His Excellency Pierre Nkurunziza, President of the Republic of Burundi*, (n.p.: Burundi Government, 2011), [http://presidence.gov.bi/images/PDF/RESUME-PIERRE\\_NKURUNZIZA.pdf](http://presidence.gov.bi/images/PDF/RESUME-PIERRE_NKURUNZIZA.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Government of Burundi, *Biographical Resume of His Excellency Pierre Nkurunziza, President of the Republic of Burundi*, (n.p.: Burundi Government, 2011), [http://presidence.gov.bi/images/PDF/RESUME-PIERRE\\_NKURUNZIZA.pdf](http://presidence.gov.bi/images/PDF/RESUME-PIERRE_NKURUNZIZA.pdf).

He was a teacher and assistant lecturer at University of Burundi.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He joined the CNDD-FDD rebels, the armed wing of CNDD, a Hutu exile group.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, he was almost killed by soldiers when they attacked his university, but it was not an assassination attempt. This was before he joined the rebels.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>10</sup> “16 Things You Didn’t Know about Burundian President Pierre Nkurunziza.”

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Kirundi and French.

<b>Rolecode</b>	54
<b>Leadercode</b>	223
<b>Name of leader</b>	Joseph Karumba
<b>Organization</b>	National Liberation Front (FROLINA)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burundi
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A, no evidence he has died based on any sources.

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

The organization began in 1987; age of entry is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

**Leader entry method**

Karumba founded the organization.<sup>2</sup> FROLINA is a breakaway faction of the National Forces of Liberation (PALIPEHUTU).<sup>3</sup>

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> “Burundi: Hutu, Tutsi Officials React to Mandela Remark on Ethnic Imbalance.” *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 26 February 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Prunier, Gerard. *From Genocide to Continental War: The ‘Congolese’ Conflict and the Crisis of Contemporary Africa*. (London: Hurst), 2009. 59.

<sup>3</sup> “Burundi; Between Hope and Fear.” *Africa News*, 22 March 2001.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-resistance organization leader occupation**

He was previously a member of PALIPEHUTU before FROLINA.<sup>4</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He is identified as a major general but unclear if it was in a state military.<sup>5</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a member of PALIPEHUTU.<sup>6</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

There is no evidence of government experience.

**Lived in exile?**

He was exiled to Tanzania in 1972 for 32 years, and returned to Burundi in 2004.<sup>7 8 9 10</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> "Burundi." *Political Handbook of the World 2015 Online Edition*. Originally published in *Political Handbook of the World 2008*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet, (Washington: CQ Press), 2008.

<sup>5</sup> "Former Burundi Rebel Leaders to be Demobilized 12 August- UN Military Spokesman." *BBC Selected Wire Articles: Burundi*, 11 August 2005.

<sup>6</sup> See note 4.

<sup>7</sup> See note 4.

<sup>8</sup> England, Andrew. "Historians in Burundi Hope to Fill that Contributes to African Nation's Violence." *Associated Press Archive*, 2 September 2001.

<sup>9</sup> "Burundi: Leader of Former Rebel Movement Returns from Asylum." *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 23 June 2004.

<sup>10</sup> "Tanzania; Political Parties and Armed Opposition Groups Which Attend the Arusha Negotiations." *Africa News*, 22 March 2001.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of death?**

N/A; Evidence supports the idea that he is still alive.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown



<b>Rolecode</b>	55
<b>Leadercode</b>	132
<b>Name of leader</b>	Etienne Karatasi
<b>Organization</b>	Palipehutu
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burundi
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1943 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Musema, Butaganzwa Commune, Kayanza Province, Burundi <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was age 47.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

The prior leader, GAHUTU, died in a Tanzanian prison in 1990.<sup>4</sup> He took power after.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> Leander Sikuyavuga, "Au coin du feu avec Etienne Karatasi" [By the fire with Etienne Karatasi]. *Iwacu*, September 29, 2019, Accessed April 12, 2019, <http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/au-coin-du-feu-avec-etienne-karatasi/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Burundi." *Political Handbook of the World 2015 Online Edition*. Originally published in *Political Handbook of the World 2008*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet (Washington: CQ Press, 2008).

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In 1965 he continued his studies in Denmark at the Medical Technical School of Denmark. He later attended the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Odense where he received a medical degree, specializing in anesthesiology in 1980.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he is married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he has children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Protestant Christian.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

His political affiliations are unknown.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a medical doctor.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he lived in exile for over 39 years. He returned from exile in Denmark in 2004, therefore went into exile in 1965.<sup>8</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Denmark from 1965-1980 for his doctoral degree.<sup>9</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

From 1985 to 1987, he was employed as a medical expert in Zambia and was a doctor in different hospital departments for four years from roughly between 1980 and 1984 outside Burundi.<sup>10</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Whether there was an assassination attempt by the state is unknown.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>8</sup> “Rebel Leader Karatasi Ends 39-Year Exile,” *Irin News*, January 7, 2016, accessed January 29, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/news/2004/03/02/rebel-leader-karatasi-ends-39-year-exile>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

He likely spoke Gihutu and Kirundi,<sup>11</sup> as well as possibly French and Danish.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Nigel Watt, "Rebels and Extremists," in *Burundi: Biography of a Small African Country* (NY, USA: 2008):86.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<b>Rolecode</b>	56
<b>Leadercode</b>	41
<b>Name of leader</b>	Agathon Rwasa
<b>Organization</b>	Palipehutu-FNL
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burundi
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1964 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Ngozi Province, Burundi <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, he has not been reported as deceased.

### **Birth order**

He is the seventh boy of 14 children.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2001, so at the age of 37.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“In February 2001, Rwasa assumed leadership of the armed wing National Liberation Forces (FNL) after ousting former leader Cossen Kabura.”<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Agathon Rwasa.png." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed Oct 1, 2021. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Agathon\\_Rwasa.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Agathon_Rwasa.png).

<sup>1</sup> “Agathon Rwasa: 5 choses à savoir sur cet opposant burundais au long passé de chef de guerre” [Agathon Rwasa: 5 things to know about this Burundian opponent with the long past of war chief], *Jeune Afrique* July 21, 2015, Accessed June 23, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/252724/politique/agathon-rwasa-5-choses-a-savoir-sur-cet-opposant-au-long-passe-de-chef-de-guerre/>.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> “Agathon Rwasa,” *All Africa*, July 6, 2010, Accessed June 23, 2017, [http://myafrica.allafrica.com/view/people/main/id/0BBq\\_S4sVHZBGepu.html](http://myafrica.allafrica.com/view/people/main/id/0BBq_S4sVHZBGepu.html).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence that he was not the top leader.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He attended primary and secondary education in his native province but also in Muramvya (center).”<sup>6</sup> He went on to graduate from the University of Burundi in Psychology.<sup>7</sup> “He entered the Palipehutu Rebellion in 1990, while at the Kigwa refugee camp in Tabora Province, Tanzania. A camp he joined in 1988 after the events of Ntega and Marangara, while he was in the 1st year at the University of Burundi, in the Faculty of Psychology.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He is married, but at what age he was married is unknown.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

There is no evidence he has children.

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

There is no evidence he was from an elite background.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “at just 20 years of age, he was appointed head of the association of young intellectuals in his native province.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Agathon Rwasu, du rebelle au politicien” [Agathon Rwasu, from the rebel to the politician], *IWACU*, September 4, 2015, Accessed June 23, 2017, <http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/agathon-rwasu-du-rebelle-au-politicien/>.

<sup>9</sup> “Wife of Burundi politician shot in hair salon,” *Nehanda Radio*, March 16, 2015, Accessed June 23, 2017, <http://nehandaradio.com/2015/03/16/wife-of-burundi-politician-shot-in-hair-salon/>.

<sup>10</sup> “Young lions of the African Century,” *ANC*, August 20, 2004, Accessed June 23, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20041010030152/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2004/at33.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He became an activist in Palipehutu in his youth and seems to have done nothing else.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he joined the Papilehutu at age 24.<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Lived in exile?**

He fled to Tanzania in roughly 1988<sup>14</sup> and fled again 1998 to Rwanda<sup>15</sup> and then again in 2009 or 2010 fearing for his life.<sup>16</sup> It appears he was still leader in 2009/2010.<sup>17</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he has extensive experience working abroad.

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.4; See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.9

<sup>17</sup>Rebecca Rattner and Adrienne Lemon, “The Dramatic Return of Burundi’s Rawasa,” *Aljazeera*, August 13, 2013, Accessed April 21, 2020,

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/08/201381172611527791.html>.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence that he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence that there was an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Kirundi as his primary language. There is no evidence of English as a second language.



<b>Rolecode</b>	57
<b>Leadercode</b>	111
<b>Name of leader</b>	Cossan Kabura
<b>Organization</b>	Palipehutu-FNL
<b>Conflict country</b>	Burundi
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Burundi
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He split from the Palipehutu organization and created the FNL faction in 1993.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He entered his position by splitting from the parent organization and creating his own faction.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

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<sup>1</sup> "Burundi." Political Handbook of the World 2008, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet (Washington: CQ Press, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence regarding whether he was married.

**Children**

There is no evidence regarding is he had children.

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>3</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He appears to have had connections and dealings with important people.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a trader.<sup>4</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

His experience in a state military is unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he has experience from the original Palipehutu group.<sup>5</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>3</sup> "Religions," *CIA Factbook*, Accessed May 7, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>4</sup> "The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations," *International Crisis Group*, August 6, 2002, Accessed June 30, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> International Crisis Group. *Burundi: Breaking the Deadlock*. (Brussels/Nairobi, 2001), <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/29-burundi-breaking-the-deadlock-the-urgent-need-for-a-new-negotiating-framework.pdf>.

Yes, he has combat experience.<sup>6</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, “[i]n 1992, leadership again changed to Cossan Kabura, a militant trained in Rwanda and much quicker to use armed insurrection and combat as a tactic than previous leaders.”<sup>7</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Cara Eugenia Jones, “Giving Up the Gun: Rebel to Ruler Transformations in Africa’s Great Lakes Region,” 2013, Accessed May 7, 2018, [http://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/UF/E0/04/51/74/00001/JONES\\_C.pdf](http://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/UF/E0/04/51/74/00001/JONES_C.pdf).

He likely speaks Kirundi, and there is no evidence he spoke English as a first or second language.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “Languages,” *CIA*, Accessed July 2, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 58  
**Leadercode** 359  
**Name of leader** Prince Sihanouk  
**Organization** FUNCINPEC  
**Conflict country** Cambodia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1922<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Phnom Penh, Cambodia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2012<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

He died of disease in 2012.

### **Birth order**

He was born as the eldest son.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In March 1981, he established FUNCINPEC.<sup>5</sup> He was 59 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/32/Norodom\\_Sihanouk\\_%281983%29.jpg/1024px-Norodom\\_Sihanouk\\_%281983%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/32/Norodom_Sihanouk_%281983%29.jpg/1024px-Norodom_Sihanouk_%281983%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Norodom Sihanouk King of Cambodia,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 15, 2012, accessed January 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Norodom-Sihanouk>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> William Branigin, “Norodom Sihanouk dies at 89; former king led Cambodia through decades of strife,” *The Washington Post*, October 15, 2012, accessed January 20, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/norodom-sihanouk-dies-at-89-former-cambodian-king-led-country-through-decades-of-strife/2012/10/14/95dd23fa-d616-11df-8694-5a653f4d5a7a\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.7ed00f3a614a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/norodom-sihanouk-dies-at-89-former-cambodian-king-led-country-through-decades-of-strife/2012/10/14/95dd23fa-d616-11df-8694-5a653f4d5a7a_story.html?utm_term=.7ed00f3a614a).

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Liow and Michael Leifer, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 162.

He founded the organization.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished secondary school at the Lycee Chasseloup-Laubat in Saigon.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, in 1942, he married for the first time.<sup>8</sup> He was 20 years old.

### **Children**

Yes, he fathered at least 14 children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Buddhist.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he came from a royal family. Sihanouk was, on his mother's side, the grandson of King Monivong (reigned 1927–41), whom he succeeded to the throne at age 18.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was the Supreme Councilor of his party, the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum, usually referred to as Sangkum). He was also President of the Council of Ministers, or chief executive, and President of the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère-JSRK), which organized and led the nation's young people.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Becker and Seth Mydans, "Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Leader Through Shifting Allegiances, Dies at 89," *The New York Times*, October 14, 2012, accessed January 20, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/15/world/asia/norodom-sihanouk-cambodian-leader-through-shifting-allegiances-dies-at-89.html>.

<sup>8</sup> "King Norodom Sihanouk," *Global Security*, accessed January 20, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/cambodia/king-norodom-sihanouk.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Woollacott, "King Norodom Sihanouk obituary," *The Guardian*, October 15, 2012, accessed January 20, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/15/king-norodom-sihanouk>.

<sup>10</sup> N. Ross Reat, *Buddhism: A History* (Fremont: Jain Publishing Company, 1994), 107.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He served as the King and Head of State of Cambodia.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was the King of Cambodia (1941-55 and 1993-2004) and the Head of State (1960-1970).<sup>13</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1970, he was ousted in a U.S.-sponsored coup led by General Lon Nol and fled to Beijing as the titular head of government-in-exile. In 1975, he returned to Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge takeover.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he finished his secondary education in Saigon, Vietnam.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, in mid-1948, he spent some weeks attending courses on equitation and military tactics at the famous French cavalry school in Saumur.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Milton Osborne, *Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of Darkness* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 62.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

From 1975-1979, he was put under house arrest by Khmer Rouge's dictator Pol Pot.<sup>16</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

There was a special intelligence operations proposal calling for a request of authorization to insert a U.S.-trained assassination team disguised as Viet Cong insurgents into Phnom Penh to assassinate him. This proposal was strongly rejected by General Lon Nol, the leader of the coup, and was proposed by the U.S. initially.<sup>17</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>18</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Sihanouk was fluent in three languages - Khmer, French and English.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>17</sup> George Kahin, *Southeast Asia: A Testament* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 285.

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>19</sup> "Profile: Norodom Sihanouk," *BBC*, October 14, 2004, accessed January 20, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3722474.stm>.



<b>Rolecode</b>	59
<b>Leadercode</b>	368
<b>Name of leader</b>	Prince Norodom Ranariddh
<b>Organization</b>	FUNCINPEC
<b>Conflict country</b>	Cambodia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1944 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Phnom Penh, Cambodia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was born as the eldest son of King Norodom Sihanouk.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1989, so at age 45.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

It is unclear how he was able to assume the leadership role; possibly he was appointed or designated to succeed his father as head of the FUNCINPEC.

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9a/Ranariddh\\_self\\_portrait.jpg/440px-Ranariddh\\_self\\_portrait.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9a/Ranariddh_self_portrait.jpg/440px-Ranariddh_self_portrait.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Liow and Michael Leifer, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 319.

<sup>2</sup> "Norodom Ranariddh Biography," *The Famous People*, Accessed March 14, 2018, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/norodom-ranariddh-5859.php>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> "Cambodian Prince will be President," *New York Times*, September 18, 1993, Accessed August 5, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/18/world/cambodian-prince-will-be-president.html>

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished his doctorate degree in Public International Law from the University of Aix-en-Provence in France and joined the faculty there in 1976.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married Marie Eng in 1968. Therefore, he was 24 years old when he got married for the first time.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.

**Religious identification**

He is Buddhist.<sup>7</sup>

**Family background**

He was born into a royal family of King Norodom Sihanouk and his ballerina wife, one of Sihanouk's six wives.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In 1983, his father appointed him as his personal representative in Cambodia and Asia based in Bangkok.<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a professor of Law at the University of Law and Political Sciences in Aix-en-

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Benny Widyono, *Dancing in Shadows: Sihanouk, the Khmer Rouge, and the United Nations in Cambodia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 153.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Swearer, *The Buddhist World of Southeast Asia* (Albany, SUNY Press, 1995), 104.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

Provence, France.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1986, he was appointed commander-in-chief of staff of the *Armée Nationale Sihanoukienne* (ANS), which later became the *Armée Nationale pour un Kampuchea Independent* (ANKI), the armed wing of FUNCINPEC.<sup>11</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 2007, Ranariddh was convicted of corruption by a Cambodian court and fled to Malaysia to avoid imprisonment. He lived in exile in Malaysia until October 2008, when he received a royal pardon and returned to Cambodia.<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he obtained his doctorate degree in France.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, according to his official website, he worked as Professor of Law at the University of Law and Political Science in Aix-en-Provence in France (1979-2007), served as Chairperson of the Association of Asian Parliaments for Peace (AAPP) (2001-2002), served as Chairperson of the Drafting Committee of Human Rights Charter for ASEAN

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<sup>10</sup> “Biography of Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh President of the Supreme Privy Council to HM the King of Kingdom of Cambodia with the rank of Prime Minister,” *NorodomRanariddh.org*, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.norodomranariddh.org/blog.html>.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 5, 154.

<sup>12</sup> *Cambodia: Doing Business and Investing in Cambodia Guide Volume 1 Strategic, Practical Information and Contacts* (Washington D.C.: International Business Publications, 2015), 30.

Nations (2002-2005), and still serving as Vice President of the Centrist Democrat International for Asia and Pacific (CDI Asia – Pacific) (2005-present).<sup>13</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Khmer (primary language), French (due to his experience as a student in France), and English (due to his extensive experience with international organizations).

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.9

<b>Rolecode</b>	60
<b>Leadercode</b>	357
<b>Name of leader</b>	Pol Pot (Saloth Sar)
<b>Organization</b>	Khmer Rouge
<b>Conflict country</b>	Cambodia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1925 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Kompong Thom province, Cambodia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1998 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 1998.

### **Birth order**

He was born as the eighth of nine children to his parents.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1976, he officially became the prime minister of the new Khmer Rouge government.<sup>5</sup> Pol Pot was 51 years old when he became leader.

### **Leader entry method**

He seized power by force when he led the Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces in their overthrow of Lon Nol's regime in 1975.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: <https://www.historytoday.com/sites/default/files/most-cruel-leader-in-the-world-pol-pot.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> "Pol Pot Cambodian Political Leader," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 1, 2006, accessed January 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Pol-Pot>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Seth Mydans, "Pol Pot's Siblings Remember the Polite Boy and the Killer," *The New York Times*, August, 6, 1997, accessed January 27, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/06/world/pol-pot-s-siblings-remember-the-polite-boy-and-the-killer.html>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

In 1949, the Kampuchean government sent him to study radio electricity at the Sorbonne in Paris. However, he failed his exams and never received a qualification. While he was studying in Paris, he became a committed Marxist under the influence of the French Communists, which caused him to neglect his education. Eventually, he also met Yeng Sary and Khieu Samphan, future Khmer Rouge leaders as well.<sup>7</sup> He also studied carpentry before studying radio electronics.<sup>8</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, on July 14, 1956, he married his first wife, Khieu Ponnary. He was 31 years old when he got married for the first time.<sup>9</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he had a daughter.<sup>10</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He was an Atheist, but his ideology was heavily influenced by Theravada Buddhist thought.<sup>11</sup>

## **Elite family background**

Pol Pot was born into a wealthy Khmer farm family with royal connections.<sup>12</sup>

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In his 20's, he received a government scholarship to study radio technology in France, where he spent three years and became involved in Communist activities at a time when the French party was dominated by Stalinists. It was there that he began his long association with Mr. Son Sen, Ieng Sary, and others who became members of his inner

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<sup>7</sup> Ronald Ringer, *Excel HSC Modern History* (Glebe: Pascal Press, 2006), 268.

<sup>8</sup> "Pol Pot," *Alpha History*, Accessed February 4, 2019, <https://alphahistory.com/vietnamwar/pol-pot/>.

<sup>9</sup> Philip Short, *Pol Pot: Anatomy of a Nightmare* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), 453.

<sup>10</sup> Matthew Weltig, *Pol Pot's Cambodia* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2012), 130.

<sup>11</sup> Nick Harding, *How to Be a Good Atheist* (Harpenden: Oldcastle Books, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> See f.n. 9, 140.

circle.<sup>13</sup> In Paris, he became involved with the French Communist Party and joined a group of young left-wing Cambodian nationalists who later became his fellow leaders in the Khmer Rouge.<sup>14</sup> In 1960, he established the congresses of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. With the active support of the Chinese government, he was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the party in 1962.<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

In late 1995, he suffered a stroke.<sup>16</sup> There was an indication that Pol Pot had a narcissistic personality disorder.<sup>17</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher. In 1953, when he returned to Cambodia from France, Pol Pot worked as a French language teacher in two private establishments of Phnom Penh.<sup>18</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1953 Pol Pot joined the Indochina Communist Party, which was engaged in an armed struggle to free the French colonies of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (collectively known as French Indochina).<sup>19</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>13</sup> Seth Mydans, "Death of Pol Pot," *The New York Times*, April 17, 1998, accessed January 27, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/04/17/world/death-pol-pot-pol-pot-brutal-dictator-who-forced-cambodians-killing-fields-dies.html>.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>16</sup> Seth Mydans, "In an Interview, Pol Pot Declares His Conscience Is Clear," *The New York Times*, October 23, 1997, accessed January 27, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/10/23/world/in-an-interview-pol-pot-declares-his-conscience-is-clear.html>.

<sup>17</sup> Jean Twenge and W. Campbell, *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), 196.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Frank Coppa, *Encyclopedia of Modern Dictators: From Napoleon to the Present* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 247.

Yes, in 1985 he was forced into exile in Thailand, when the Vietnamese initiated an offensive into Khmer Rouge territory. He stayed in Thailand, only moving to the People's Republic of China in 1986 to receive medical treatment for cancer. He returned to Thailand in 1988, and when the Vietnamese left Cambodia in 1989, he returned to Cambodia where he rallied the Khmer Rouge and disrupted attempts to broker peace for the country and the region.<sup>20</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, in 1949, he went to Paris on a scholarship to study radio electronics. There he became involved with the French Communist Party and spent more time on revolutionary activities than on his studies. His scholarship was cut short after he failed examinations, and he returned to Phnom Penh in 1953.<sup>21</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, in 1997, Pol Pot was captured and placed under house arrest by his Khmer Rouge adversary, Ta Mok.<sup>22</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Whether there was an assassination attempt by the state is unknown.

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.<sup>23</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Khmer as his primary language because he was an ethnic Khmer, and French as studied abroad in Paris and worked as a French teacher in Phnom Penh.

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<sup>20</sup> Ronald Frankum Jr., *Historical Dictionary of the War in Vietnam* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 371.

<sup>21</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>22</sup> Robert Skloot, *The Theatre of Genocide: Four Plays about Mass Murder in Rwanda, Bosnia, Cambodia, and Armenia* (Madison: Univ of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 125.

<sup>23</sup> See f.n.1



<b>Rolecode</b>	61
<b>Leadercode</b>	415
<b>Name of leader</b>	Ta Mok (Chhit Choen) (Ngon Kang)
<b>Organization</b>	Khmer Rouge
<b>Conflict country</b>	Cambodia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1926 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Takeo province, Cambodia, French Indochina <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2006 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2006 of tuberculosis.

### **Birth order**

He was the eldest of seven children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1977, Mok was appointed to become commander-in-chief of the army for Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime.<sup>5</sup> In 1996 he overthrew Pol Pot as head of Khmer Rouge (some sources say 1997<sup>67</sup>), so he was age 70.

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Image Credit: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ta\\_Mok](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ta_Mok)

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<sup>1</sup> "Ta Mok Cambodian Guerilla Leader," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 31, 2006, accessed January 13, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ta-Mok>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Sarah Jackson-Han and Luisetta Mudie, "Khmer Rouge Leader Ta Mok Dies Ahead of Trial," *Radio Free Asia*, July 21, 2006, accessed January 13, 2017, [http://www.rfa.org/english/news/politics/cambodia\\_tamok-20060721.html](http://www.rfa.org/english/news/politics/cambodia_tamok-20060721.html).

<sup>5</sup> John Aglionby, "Obituary: Ta Mok," *The Guardian*, July 21, 2006, accessed January 13, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/jul/22/guardianobituaries.johnaglionby>.

<sup>6</sup> David Lamb, "Ta Mok, 80; Key Figure in Cambodian Genocide," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 2006, Accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-jul-21-me-tamok21-story.html>.

<sup>7</sup> "Biography of a mass murderer," *The Phnom Penh Post*, July 28, 2006, Accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/biography-mass-murderer>.

### **Leader entry method**

He overthrew Pol Pot.<sup>8</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He obtained an elementary Pali school degree (a degree to teach at an elementary level) in the early 1960s.<sup>9</sup> He also trained as a Buddhist monk while receiving an education until age 16.<sup>10</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>11</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Buddhist.<sup>13</sup>

### **Elite family background**

He was born to a well-to-do peasant family.<sup>14</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In the early 1960s, he was a member of Khmer Issarak, an anti-French, Khmer nationalist

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 161.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.11

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>13</sup> “Hundreds pay respects to Ta Mok,” *BBC News*, July 22, 2006, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/5205534.stm>.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Bartrop, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide: Portraits of Evil and Good* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 309.

political movement formed in 1945 with the backing of the government of Thailand.<sup>15</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

He lost a leg. There are conflicting reports on date and reason, although it seems to be before he was leader, which means it would also affect him as leader.<sup>16</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was running the family's timber business.<sup>17</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was the commander-in-chief of the army of Democratic Kampuchea.<sup>18</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he joined the resistance against French colonialists in the 1940s.<sup>19</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Probably yes, because he joined a movement to fight the French.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> "Ta Mok, Khmer Rouge Head Facing Genocide Trial, Dies," *The New York Times*, July 21, 2006, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/21/world/asia/21tamok.html>.

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

In 1999, the Cambodian army arrested him in Thailand for participating in the outlawed Khmer Rouge. He spent the rest of his life imprisoned in Phnom Penh until his death in 2006.<sup>20</sup> However, he was no longer leader of the organization, as the Khmer Rouge was last active in 1999.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of tuberculosis.<sup>21</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Khmer as his primary language.

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<sup>20</sup> See f.n.15

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 62

**Leadercode** 411

**Name of leader** Son Sann (Samdech Borvor Setha)

**Organization** The Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF)

**Conflict country** Cambodia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1911<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Phnom Penh, Cambodia<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2000<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2000 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1979, he established the KPNLF.<sup>4</sup> He was 68 years old when he founded the organization.

### **Leader entry method**

Sann founded the organization.

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: "Camdodian Prime Minister Son Sann. Nov 1967" by manhhai is licensed under CC BY 2.0

<sup>1</sup> "Son Sann Cambodian Politician," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 31, 2000, accessed January 14, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Son-Sann>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Leifer, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 252.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing, although the KPNLF suffered from problems of divided leadership and lack of internal cohesion.<sup>5</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from the elite School for Advanced Commercial Studies in Paris in 1933, so he must have attained a bachelor's degree or equivalent.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, in 1940, Sann married Nema Machwa.<sup>7</sup> He was 29 years old when he first married.

**Children**

Yes, Sann had five sons and two daughters.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Buddhist.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

He was born into a prosperous family.<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he became a minister in the pre-independence government headed by Sihanouk. He also founded the National Bank of Cambodia in 1955, was briefly prime minister in 1967-68, and served as Sihanouk's personal economic adviser.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

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<sup>5</sup> Joseph Liow and Michael Leifer, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 215.

<sup>6</sup> "Son Sann, 89, Strong Nationalist for Cambodia for Six Decades," *The New York Times*, December 22, 2000, accessed January 14, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/22/world/son-sann-89-strong-nationalist-for-cambodia-for-six-decades.html>.

<sup>7</sup> John Gittings, "Son Sann Cambodian leader in hoc to western aims in Asia," *The Guardian*, December 22, 2000, accessed January 14, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2000/dec/23/guardianobituaries.johngittings>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ian Harris, *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth Century Asia* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 69.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 7.

There was a report that he suffered from poor health when he returned to the Cambodian jungle in 1979 after living in exile in France.<sup>12</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a long political career as a high-level government official in Cambodia.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, under the French rule, he served as deputy governor of Battambang province in the 1930s. From June 1950 – March 1951, he served as foreign minister. After Cambodia achieved independence, he served as the head of the National Bank of Cambodia from 1964-1968. Eventually, from 1967-1968, he served as prime minister under President Norodom Sihanouk.<sup>14</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1970, he went into exile in Paris when Sihanouk was overthrown.<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Paris, France.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> Jim Morris, *The Devil's Secret Name* (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 166.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Bartrop and Steven Jacobs, *Modern Genocide: The Definitive Resource and Document Collection* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 537.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 13.

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, in 1970, after General Lon Nol ousted Sihanouk with U.S. support, Sann was kept under house arrest before he left to live in exile in Paris. House arrest does not qualify as imprisonment.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Khmer was likely his primary language due to his ethnicity, and he may speak English and French because he went to school in Paris, France.

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<sup>17</sup> Harish Mehta and Julie Mehta, *Strongman: The Extraordinary Life of Hun Sen: The Extraordinary Life of Hun Sen* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International, 2013), 37.



**Rolecode** 63  
**Leadercode** 188  
**Name of leader** Ibrahim Saleh  
**Organization** Military Faction  
**Conflict country** Cameroon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Northern region of Cameroon<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1984<sup>3</sup>

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Dike DeLancey, Rebecca Mbuh, and Mark W. Delancey, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon* (Lanham, Scarecrow Press, 2010), 205.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Deceased

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was detained along with a handful of rebels after a fight with loyalists following a coup attempt against President Paul Biya.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> “Toll Reported High in Cameroon,” *The New York Times*, 11 April 1984.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1984/04/11/world/toll-reported-high-in-cameroon.html>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No

**Cause of Death?**

He was executed by the state after a failed rebellion against President Biya.<sup>5</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> See note 1.

**Rolecode** 64

**Leadercode** 10

**Name of leader** Abdoulaye Hissene<sup>1</sup>

**Organization** Popular Front for Central African Republic's Rebirth (FPRC)

**Conflict country** Central African Republic

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1967<sup>2</sup>

**Place of birth** Unknown

**Year of death** Still alive<sup>34</sup>



### **Birth order**

Unknown

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

If his birth year was 1967 and he started his rebel activities in 2008, he would have been 42.

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder of the organization.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: CROPPED: Wikimedia. "File:Negociations a Khartoum.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed October 11, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Négociations\\_a\\_Khartoum.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Négociations_a_Khartoum.jpg).

<sup>2</sup> "Consolidated List of Financial Sanctions Targets in The UK," *UK Government*, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/616947/central\\_african\\_republic.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/616947/central_african_republic.pdf). Accessed 7 June 2017.

<sup>3</sup> "CAR ousted assembly leader vows to wage court fight," *News24*, 29 October 2018. <https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/car-ousted-assembly-leader-vows-to-wage-court-fight-20181029>.

<sup>4</sup> "Centrafrique: l'accord de paix de Khartoum fragilisé par la chute d'el-Béehir?" [Central African Republic: the Khartoum peace agreement weakened by the fall of al-Bas], *RFI*, Accessed 19 April 2019, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20190412-centrafrique-accord-paix-khartoum-fragilise-chute-el-bechir>.

<sup>5</sup> Kristin Palitza, "Q&A: Rescuing Child Soldiers in CAR," *Inter Press Service News Agency*, 28 August 2012. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/08/qa-swapping-children-for-protection-in-central-african-republic/>

At one point he was part of a coalition of rebel organizations (Séléka) that fragmented, and he eventually sided with former CAR President François Bozizé.<sup>6</sup> Hissene did share power while leading FPRC.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was previously part of the rebel coalition Séléka that was composed of several organizations. Séléka fragmented into FPRC, which subsequently split in 2019 into two factions. Hissene is part of the faction composed primarily of the Runga ethnic group, while another faction is composed of the Gula and Kara ethnic groups.<sup>7</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a collector.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>6</sup> “Abdoulaye Hissine.” *United Nations Security Council*.

<https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/2127/materials/summaries/individual/abdoulaye-hissene>. Accessed 8 December 2020.

<sup>7</sup> “25 Killed in Clashes in C. African Republic.” *Barron's*, 30 April 2020.

<https://www.barrons.com/news/25-killed-in-clashes-in-c-african-republic-01588277711>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was arrested by CAR police in 2016 but escaped with the help of his militia.<sup>9</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks French.

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<sup>9</sup> Abdoulaye Hissine.” *United Nations Security Council*.

<https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/2127/materials/summaries/individual/abdoulaye-hissene>.

Accessed 8 December 2020.

**Rolecode** 65  
**Leadercode** 108  
**Name of leader** Charles Massi  
**Organization** CPJP  
**Conflict country** Central African Republic  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Baboua, Central African Republic<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2010<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, was executed in 2010, although there are some rumors that he is still alive.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He assumed leadership in 2009, so at age 57.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/Charles-Massi>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Kalck, *Historical Dictionary of the Central African Republic* (Lanham, Scarecrow Press, 2005), 131.

<sup>2</sup> “Charles Massi Candidat à l’élection présidentielle de 2005” [Charles Massi Candidate for the 2005 presidential election], *Fodem.org*, Accessed September 6, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070927102712/http://www.fodem.org/fodem%20rca/biographie.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Paul-Marin Ngoupana, “Rebel leader is dead, says Bozize,” *IOL*, February 1, 2010, Accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/rebel-leader-is-dead-says-bozize-472063>.

<sup>4</sup> Paul-Marin Ngoupana, “Rebel leader is dead, says Bozize,” *IOL*, February 1, 2010, Accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/rebel-leader-is-dead-says-bozize-472063>.

<sup>5</sup> “CPJP - Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/cpjp.htm>.

His entry method into leadership is unclear. “Former Minister of Defense Charles Massi declared himself to be the spokesman of the group, but as his home is in the extreme west of the country and he had no previous engagement in the Ndele region, his role and importance are not clear.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational history is as follows:

“Primary school of Baboua: October 1959-June 1965. Lycée Barthélémy Boganda de Berbérati: October 1965-June 1972-Baccalauréat serie D. October 1972-June 1973: University of Bangui: Certificate of License of Chemistry-Biology-Geology. October 1973: University studies at the School of the Health Service of the Armies of Bordeaux (France), at the Mixed Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy: Section Pharmacie (Medical Biology). 1978: success in the competition of Internat of the Hospitals of Bordeaux. 4 years of hospital training, 4 Certificates of Special Studies: Bacteriology and Virology Clinics, Hematology, Immunology and Clinical Biochemistry.”<sup>7</sup> “Former student of the Ecole de Santé Navale de Bordeaux.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> “Is Colonel Massi dead?” *Africa Confidential*, January 22, 2010, Accessed May 29, 2017, [https://www.africa-confidential.com/article-preview/id/3403/Is\\_Colonel\\_Massi\\_dead](https://www.africa-confidential.com/article-preview/id/3403/Is_Colonel_Massi_dead).



“...in 1997 he formed an opposition party, the Forum Democratique pour la Modernité (FODEM; Democratic Forum for Modernity.... After founding the Front Uni por la Restauration de l’Unité Nationale et de la Démocratie en Centrafrique (FRUD; United Front for the Restoration of National Unity and Democracy in Central Africa) on March 2002, Massi was stricken from armed forces register.”<sup>10</sup> In 2003 Massi joined Bozize’s CNT.<sup>11</sup> He also served many Minister positions in different governments due to political connections, specifically noted in the Government positions section.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was a Pharmacist-Army Biologist and Commanding Officer.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was Minister of Agriculture and Livestock.<sup>14</sup> He was also a former minister of Energy and Mineral Resources.<sup>15</sup> He was also Minister of Transport.<sup>16</sup> He was also

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Richard Bradshaw and Juan Fandos-Rius, *Historical Dictionary of the Central African Republic* (Lanham, Rowman & LittleField, 2016) 280.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>15</sup> “Patasse's resignation will not solve crisis in CAR,” *Panapress*, January 3, 2003, Accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.panapress.com/Patasse-s-resignation-will-not-solve-crisis-in-CAR--13-471018-18-lang1-index.html>.

<sup>16</sup> “Newly-appointed premier names cabinet,” *IRIN*, June 21 2005, Accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/54989/central-african-republic-newly-appointed-premier-names-cabinet>.

Minister of State.<sup>17</sup> In 2003 Massi joined Bozize's CNT.<sup>18</sup> Lastly, he was a member of the Baboua Parliament for many years.<sup>19</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled the Central African Republic after General Andre Kolingba's failed coup attempt in May 2001.<sup>20</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

"October 1973: University studies at the School of the Health Service of the Armies of Bordeaux (France), at the Mixed Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy: Section Pharmacie (Medical Biology). 1978: success in the competition of Internat of the Hospitals of Bordeaux. 4 years of hospital training, 4 Certificates of Special Studies: Bacteriology and Virology Clinics, Hematology, Immunology and Clinical Biochemistry."<sup>21</sup> "Former student of the Ecole de Santé Navale de Bordeaux."<sup>22</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he was a "former student of the Ecole de Santé Navale de Bordeaux."<sup>23</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, he was handed over by Chadian forces to CAR authorities in 2009, but he was likely no longer leader after this.<sup>24</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there was an assassination attempt, but it was after he was no longer leader.

### **Cause of Death?**

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<sup>17</sup> "Dote 3 Succede A Dote 2, *Fodem*, March 9, 2006, Accessed May 30, 2017, [https://web.archive.org/web/20110717112247/http://www.fodem.org/la\\_depeche/200609/060903%20DOT\\_E3.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20110717112247/http://www.fodem.org/la_depeche/200609/060903%20DOT_E3.htm).

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>19</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>20</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>21</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Andreas Mehler, "Pathways to Elite Insecurity," *Cultural Anthropology*, Accessed May 30, 2017, <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/549-pathways-to-elite-insecurity>.

According to family he was tortured and executed by the CAR authorities.<sup>25</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He at least spoke French based on his education, but there is no further evidence of languages spoken.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	66
<b>Leadercode</b>	145
<b>Name of leader</b>	Francois Bozize
<b>Organization</b>	Forces of Francois Bozize
<b>Conflict country</b>	Central Africa Republic
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1946 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Mouila, Gabon <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he is dead.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2001, so at age 55.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Francois Bozize.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francois\\_Bozize.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francois_Bozize.jpg).

<sup>1</sup> Richard A. Bradshaw, and Juan Fandos-Rius, "Bozizé, François," *In Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2012,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-0387>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Bozizé attended primary school at Tchibanga (Gabon) and continued his studies at Bossangoa and the Lycée Technique in Bangui. Joining the Central African army some time around 1966, he entered the École Speciale de Formation des Officiers d’Active (ESFOA) at Bouar in 1967, graduating as a second lieutenant in September 1969. After attending the Centre National des Commandos at Mont-Louis, France (1970–1971), Bozizé was promoted to first lieutenant (1 September 1970), and after officer training at the École d’Application de l’Artillerie at Chalons (1973–1974) and the Centre Interarmées des Sports at Fontainebleau (1975), he rose up through the ranks to ... two-star general (31 December 2004).”<sup>5</sup> In 1980 he also briefly studied at the École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris.<sup>6</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but at what age he married is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he has at least one son.<sup>8</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>9</sup>

## **Elite family background**

“His father, Yangouvonda, a Baya (Gbeya) from Ouham region, served in the French colonial army and the colonial gendarmerie (police forces) in Gabon and then Bossangoa, near his hometown.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Francoise Bozize Junior released on bail in CAR,” *Africa News*, August 10, 2016, Accessed April 3, 2017, <http://www.africanews.com/2016/08/10/francoise-bozize-junior-released-on-bail-in-car-the-morning-call/>.

<sup>9</sup> Elsa Buchanan “Francois Bozizé: Ex-president of CAR and Christian militia leader still at large,” *International Business Times*, January 13, 2017, Accessed April 3, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/who-car-ex-president-francois-bozize-christian-militia-leader-still-large-1600486>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“Bozizé served as commander at the CAR Army’s training unit, head of then-President Jean Bedel Bokassa’s private safety unit, aide-de-camp (1976), director of the National Office for Ex-Combatants (that is, Veterans; 1977), and technical adviser to the Minister of National Defense (1977). After Bokassa’s downfall in 1979, President David Dacko appointed Bozizé Deputy Chief of Staff of the CAR Army (28 September), Deputy Minister in charge of National Defense (30 October), and Minister of National Defense from July to September 1980...When General André Kolingba seized power, Bozizé was appointed Minister of Information and Culture (December 1981–3 March 1982) in the new President’s Comité Militaire de Redressement National (CMRN; Military Committee of National Recovery)... Bozizé fled to Germany, France, and finally Benin where, in June 1983, he founded the Parti Révolutionnaire Centrafricain (PRC; Central African Revolutionary Party) which attempted to unite Patassé’s Mouvement de Libération du Peuple Centrafricain (MLPC; Central African People’s Liberation Movement) and Abel Goumba’s Front Patriotique Oubanguien (FPO; Ubangian Patriotic Front) without success. In September 1983 a special session of the MLPC congress removed Patassé from the presidency and chose Bozizé as president of the MLPC executive committee...“In February 1997, Bozizé was appointed Army Chief of Staff.”<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes. “After attending the Centre National des Commandos at Mont-Louis, France (1970–1971), Bozizé was promoted to first lieutenant (1 September 1970), and after officer training at the École d’Application de l’Artillerie at Chalons (1973–1974) and the Centre Interarmées des Sports at Fontainebleau (1975), he rose up through the ranks to captain (30 August 1976), commander (9 December 1976), lieutenant-colonel (April 1978), colonel (1 August 1978), brigadier general (17 August 1978), major general (1979), and two-star general (31 December 2004).” He also “served as commander at the CAR Army’s training unit.”<sup>13</sup> “After Bokassa’s downfall in 1979, President David Dacko appointed Bozizé Deputy Chief of Staff of the CAR Army (28 September), Deputy Minister in charge of National Defense (30 October), and Minister of National Defense from July to September 1980.”

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, on March 3, 1982, “Bozizé joined a coup against Kolingba, publicly accused the president of treason on Radio Bangui, and announced Ange Patassé’s seizure of power.”<sup>14</sup> “...in June 1983, he founded the Parti Révolutionnaire Centrafricain (PRC; Central African Revolutionary Party) which attempted to unite Patassé’s Mouvement de Libération du Peuple Centrafricain (MLPC; Central African People’s Liberation Movement) and Abel Goumba’s Front Patriotique Oubanguien (FPO; Ubangian Patriotic Front) without success. In September 1983 a special session of the MLPC congress removed Patassé from the presidency and chose Bozizé as president of the MLPC executive committee.” “...in 1996, President Patassé called Bozizé back to service as inspector general of the army of the CAR (October 1996), vice-president of the army’s representative assembly, and head of the committee for collecting weapons from former rebels and others. In February 1997, Bozizé was appointed Army Chief of Staff, but after an attempted coup by Kolingba supporters in May 2001.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.<sup>16</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “Bozizé served as commander at the CAR Army’s training unit, head of then-President Jean Bedel Bokassa’s private safety unit, aide-de-camp (1976), director of the National Office for Ex-Combatants (that is, Veterans; 1977), and technical adviser to the Minister of National Defense (1977). After Bokassa’s downfall in 1979, President David Dacko appointed Bozizé Deputy Chief of Staff of the CAR Army (28 September), Deputy Minister in charge of National Defense (30 October), and Minister of National Defense from July to September 1980.” “When General André Kolingba seized power, Bozizé was appointed Minister of Information and Culture (December 1981–3 March 1982) in the new President’s Comité Militaire de Redressement National.” In 1996, “President Patassé called Bozizé back to service as inspector general of the army of the CAR (October 1996), vice-president of the army’s representative assembly, and head of the committee for collecting weapons from former rebels and others. In February 1997, Bozizé was appointed Army Chief of Staff.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1982 “Bozizé fled to Germany, France, and finally Benin.” “On 24 July 1989, Bozizé was arrested in a hotel in Cotonou; a month later he was repatriated to Bangui, imprisoned, released on 1 December 1991, and exiled to France.”<sup>18</sup> In October 2001,

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

“Bozizé fled north with loyal troops to Chad, where he hired mercenaries and prepared to overthrow the president.”<sup>19</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in the Central African Republic and in France.<sup>20</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“On 24 July 1989, Bozizé was arrested in a hotel in Cotonou; a month later he was repatriated to Bangui, imprisoned, released on 1 December 1991, and exiled to France.”<sup>21</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks French as his primary language.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See f.n.1.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> “Languages,” Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



<b>Rolecode</b>	67
<b>Leadercode</b>	71
<b>Name of leader</b>	Andre Kolingba
<b>Organization</b>	Military Faction (forces of Andre Kolingba)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Central African Republic
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1936 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Bangui, Central African Republic <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2010 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of disease in 2010.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2001, so at age 65.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/e/ec/Kolingba.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> "André-Dieudonné Kolingba," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 10, 2010, Accessed April 5, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andre-Kolingba>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended “French-language schools and [received] a secondary school certificate in 1950.” From “1962 to 1964, Kolingba attended officer training school at École de formation des officiers du régime transitoire des Troupes d’Outre-Mer.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but at what age is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least one son.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was likely Christian.

**Elite family background**

He was probably not married; “Gen. Moses Ali lost both his parents, Wani Loke and Dusman Dore when he was barely 11 years old.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“Kolingba also served as the CAR’s Ambassador to Canada (1975–1976) before returning home to serve as Emperor Bokassa I’s aide de camp and technical adviser to the minister of national defense, ex-veterans, and war casualties (1 March 1977). He was then appointed minister of information and ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany....Bokassa’s Imperial Armed Forces became the Forces armées Centrafricaines (FACA, Central African Armed Forces) and Dacko appointed Kolingba the army chief of staff (30 October 1979) with the rank of major general....Then, on 1 September 1981, Kolingba took power with the support of local French advisers but apparently without the prior consent of François Mitterand’s new socialist government in Paris.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> “Kolingba, André,” In *Dictionary of African Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2012, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1113>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Okudi, “The man behind the general,” *Daily Monitor*, September 9, 2012, Accessed March 15, 2018, <http://mobile.monitor.co.ug/Life/The-man-behind-the-general/1055104-1499468-format-xhtml-xf28az/index.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.6

There is no evidence of bad health, although he was sick in 2003 so he was potentially sick in 2001.<sup>11</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

“Kolingba enlisted in the French army at age eighteen and served from 1954 to 1962 in the Middle Congo and France, reaching the rank of sergeant. In August 1960 he was transferred by the French Military and Technical Assistance program to the CAR army to serve under Jean Bedel Bokassa in the government of David Dacko. Then, from 1962 to 1964, Kolingba attended officer training school at École de formation des officiers du régime transitoire des Troupes d’Outre-Mer (EFORTOM, Officers Training School for Overseas Troops), after which he was promoted to second lieutenant (1 October 1964) and lieutenant. President Bokassa awarded him the rank of battalion head (15 January 1966)...During Bokassa’s rule, Kolingba rose rapidly in rank to commander (5 April 1968), colonel, brigadier general (3 April 1973), major general (1976), and two-star general (July 1981)...While he was in Germany, on 20 September 1979, President Bokassa was overthrown and President Dacko was returned to power by the French. Bokassa’s Imperial Armed Forces became the Forces armées Centrafricaines (FACA, Central African Armed Forces) and Dacko appointed Kolingba the army chief of staff (30 October 1979) with the rank of major general.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

“He took part in Colonel Bokassa’s coup d’état that deposed President Dacko on 1 January 1966, during which he seized control of Radio Bangui and read Bokassa’s address to the nation.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

“Kolingba also served as the CAR’s Ambassador to Canada (1975–1976) before returning home to serve as Emperor Bokassa I’s aide de camp and technical adviser to the minister of national defense, ex-veterans, and war casualties (1 March 1977). He was

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<sup>11</sup> Pierre Kalck, *Historical Dictionary of the Central African Republic* (Lanham, Scarecrow Press, 2005), 113.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

then appointed minister of information and ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany....Bokassa's Imperial Armed Forces became the Forces armées Centrafricaines (FACA, Central African Armed Forces) and Dacko appointed Kolingba the army chief of staff (30 October 1979) with the rank of major general....Then, on 1 September 1981, Kolingba took power with the support of local French advisers but apparently without the prior consent of François Mitterrand's new socialist government in Paris."<sup>15</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

"On 28 May 2001 Kolingba and collaborators, including his sons, launched an armed uprising in Bangui which was quickly defeated by pro-Patassé forces. Kolingba escaped and fled to exile in Uganda."<sup>16</sup> No exile status, because he was likely no longer leader.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received French military training.<sup>17</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he served in the French military and spent some of the time from 1954 to 1962 serving in France. Additionally, from 1975 to 1976 he served as the Central African Republic Ambassador to Canada. In the late 1970s, he also spent some time in Germany as the minister of information and ambassador to Germany.<sup>18</sup>

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> "Central African Republic – Past Leaders," *Global Security.org*, Accessed April 5, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/car-6.htm>.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He probably spoke at least Yakomba primarily as well as French.

**Rolecode** 68

**Leadercode** 112

**Name of leader** Damane Zakaria  
(Moustapha Maloum)<sup>1</sup>

**Organization** Union for Democratic  
Forces of Unity (UFDR)

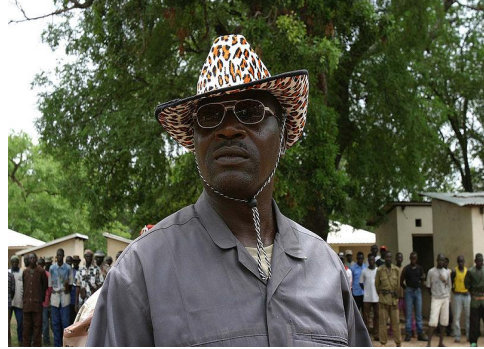
**Conflict country** Central African Republic

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** Unknown

**Place of birth** Boromata, Vakaga  
prefecture of the CAR<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2008<sup>3</sup>



### **Birth order**

He has at least one older brother; it is unclear whether he has other siblings.<sup>45</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was the founder of the UFDR.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> Image retrieved from Wikimedia Commons. Accessed 4 January 2021.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Damane\\_Zakaria.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Damane_Zakaria.jpg).

<sup>2</sup> Brashaw, Richard and Juan Foandos-Rius. *Historical Dictionary of the Central African Republic* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 202.

<sup>3</sup> "A widening war around Sudan: The proliferation of armed groups in the Central African Republic," *Sudan Issue Brief*, 5 January 2007.

<http://www.smallarmssurveysudan.org/fileadmin/docs/issue-briefs/HSBA-IB-05-CAR.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> "UFDR (Union of Democratic Forces for Unity)," *Global Security*, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/ufdr.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> Lombard, Louisa, "Central African Republic: President Michel Djotodia and the Good Little Putschist's Tool Box," *African Arguments*, <https://africanarguments.org/2013/04/02/central-african-republic-president-michel-djotodia-and-the-good-little-putschists-tool-box-by-louisa-lombard/>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

There is some indication of possible powersharing with Michel Djotodia.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

“By mid-2009 General Zakaria Damane, who led the UFDR to prominence in between 2006 and 2007, was reportedly suffering severe renal trouble, possibly as a result of kidney stones.”<sup>8</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a counselor in the small town of Tiringoulou.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

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<sup>8</sup> See note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Lombard, Louisa, “Meet the Polygot who just took Over the Central African Republic,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 March 2013. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/Africa-Monitor/2013/0325/Meet-the-polygot-who-just-took-over-the-Central-African-Republic>.

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed in a French-FACA joint operation to retake parts of the Central African Republic from rebel forces.<sup>10</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke French. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.3



**Rolecode** 69  
**Leadercode** 281  
**Name of leader** Michel Djotodia  
**Organization** UFDR  
**Conflict country** Central African Republic  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1949<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Vakaga, Central African Republic<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2006, so at age 57.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He helped found the organization.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: MINUSCA. "Sixieme President de la Republique, Michel Dojotodia." flickr. Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://www.flickr.com/photos/information\\_binuca/9546515948/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/information_binuca/9546515948/).

<sup>1</sup> Farouk Chothia, "Michel Djotodia: Central African Republic rebel leader," *New Times*, March 29, 2013, Accessed April 5, 2017, <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/64387/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "C. African Republic rebel leader faces power struggles," *CBC News*, March 28, 2013, Accessed April 5, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/c-african-republic-rebel-leader-faces-power-struggles-1.1325223>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Yes, he shared power with Damane Zakaria.<sup>5</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied economics in the Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he got married while he was in the Soviet Union for 10 years, which was before he was leader.<sup>7</sup> He was likely around age 26.

**Children**

Yes, he had two daughters while in the Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

He was “born in 1949 in what Ms Lombard describes as CAR's ‘remote, neglected, and largely Muslim north-east.’”<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of significant political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He held different Civil Service positions, as noted in government position section.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> “Central African Republic: A country in the hands of Seleka war criminals,” *Fidh*, Accessed April 9, 2018, <https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/rca616a2013basdef.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> “Profile: Central African Republic's Michel Djotodia,” *BBC News*, January 11, 2014, Accessed April 5, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21938297>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.6

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, Djotodia served in the ministry of planning, in the foreign ministry and as a consul in Nyala.<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 2006 he lived in Cotonou, Benin.<sup>13</sup> Then in 2014, he went back into exile in Benin, although he was no longer leader so this does not count.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in the Soviet Union.<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was imprisoned in Benin in 2006 “for using the country as a base for his rebellion against Mr Bozize.”<sup>16</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is most likely French, and he is also fluent in several other languages including Russian.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	70
<b>Leadercode</b>	255
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mahamat Nouri (Mohamed Ahmet Nouri)
<b>Organization</b>	AN (National Alliance)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1974 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Faya-Largeau, Chad <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2008, so at age 34.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques Baud, "Mahamat Nouri," *Global Terror Watch*, October 24, 2013, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.globalterrorwatch.ch/index.php/mahamat-nouri/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "AN," *UCDP*, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://ucdp.uu.se/additionalinfo?id=716&entityType=0>.

<sup>4</sup> "Tchad: éclatement et recomposition de l'alliance rebelle autour de Nouri – Afp" [Chad: break-up and recomposition of the rebellious alliance around Nouri – Afp], Accessed February 28, 2008, <http://www.tchadactuel.com/?p=1527>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is likely married since he has at least one son.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has at least a son.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He joined the rebels in 1969 and was a member of the 1st Army of the Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT). With the splits within the revolutionary movement he created with Hissène Habré, the Council of Command of the Armed Forces of the North (CCFAN). In line with the Khartoum agreements in 1978, the CCFAN reconciled with the Military Superior Council (HMC) and Nouri became Minister of the Interior of the Government of National Unity (GUNT). In June 1982, the CCFAN was in power and Nouri became Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation. In 1983, he was appointed general manager of the national airline Air Tchad. He is often in competition with Hissène Habré in the Goran ethnic group and is also known as "Dougli" (lion). Ambassador of Chad in Saudi Arabia, he defected on 5 May 2006, joined the political and military opposition and moved closer to the RPJ and created the Union of Forces for Progress and Democracy (UFDP).”<sup>8</sup> In addition to this, in 1984 he was commissioner for

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<sup>5</sup> “Un écrivain français arrêté et expulsé du Niger” [French writer arrested and deported from Niger], *RFI*, December 22, 2016, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20161222-ecrivain-francais-thomas-dietrich-arrete-expulse-niger-tchad-hussain-nouri>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “Le Triumvirat de la rébellion” [The Triumvirate of the Rebellion], *Jeune Afrique*, November 2, 2008, Accessed April 12, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110813143719/http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/LIN10028letrinoille0/actualite-afriquele-triumvirat-de-la-rebellion.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

External Affairs in the Executive Bureau of UNIR.<sup>9</sup> He also served in the Deby government from 1990 – 2004.

### **Physical and mental health**

Yes, he appears to have some physical health problems.<sup>10</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a postman.<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he participated in the Chadian-Libyan conflict as commander of the Chadian Forces during the battle of Aouzou in August 1987.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1969 he “was a member of the 1st Army of the Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT). With the splits within the revolutionary movement he created with Hissène Habré, the Council of Command of the Armed Forces of the North (CCFAN)... Ambassador of Chad in Saudi Arabia, he defected on 5 May 2006, joined the political and military opposition and moved closer to the RPJ and created the Union of Forces for Progress and Democracy (UFDP).”<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “he is accused of numerous crimes including the massacre of Southern civilian officers and cadres during the 1979 civil war and the killings organized by Habré's men in 1982 and 1984.”<sup>14</sup> He also “joined the rebellion” in 2006<sup>15</sup> implying that he was in combat.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “[i]n line with the Khartoum agreements in 1978, the CCFAN reconciled with the Military Superior Council (HMC) and Nouri became Minister of the Interior of the Government of National Unity (GUNT). In June 1982, the CCFAN was in power and

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<sup>9</sup> Samuel Decalo, *Historical dictionary of Chad* (London: Scarecrow, 1987), 236.

<sup>10</sup> “Tchad: Remaniement Ministériel” [Chad: Cabinet reshuffle], March 2, 2004, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://web.archive.org/web/20140407100358/http://www.afrique-express.com/archive/CENTRALE/tchad/tchadpol/287remaniement.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>12</sup> James Brooke, “African Disputes Pit Arab Vs. Black,” *The New York Times*, June 5, 1988, Accessed October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/06/05/world/african-disputes-pit-arab-vs-black.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.7

Nouri became Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation. In 1983, he was appointed general manager of the national airline Air Tchad.”<sup>16</sup> He spent time in the Deby government from 1990 to 2004, most recently as Minister of National Defense.<sup>17</sup> He was late Ambassador of Chad in Saudi Arabia from 2004 to 2006.<sup>18</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Daza as his primary language, and also French.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.11

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>19</sup> “Languages,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



<b>Rolecode</b>	71
<b>Leadercode</b>	32
<b>Name of leader</b>	Acheikhn Ibn Oumar
<b>Organization</b>	CDR
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1951 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Batha region (central Chad) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1982, so at the age of 31.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

“Acheikh presented himself as Acyl’s heir.” This line makes it sound like he convinced the group to designate him as the next leader.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/ff/Acheikh\\_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg/1600px-Acheikh\\_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/ff/Acheikh_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg/1600px-Acheikh_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “Oumar Acheikh Ibn,” *Le Maitron*, Accessed April 9, 2017, <http://maitron-en-ligne.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article178055>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> David Lea and Annamarie Rowe, *A Political Chronology of Africa* (London: Europa Publications, 2005), 84.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Yes, “the young Arab, Awlad Rashid from Batha (a region in central Chad), had come to continue his studies in France. In 1975, together with other students including Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh, Nadji Bassiguet and Mahamat Ali Younouss, he took part in setting up an underground group whose mission was to transform the Frolinat into a revolutionary movement.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence of marriage.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence of him having children

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “together with other students including Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh, Nadji Bassiguet and Mahamat Ali Younouss, he took part in setting up an underground group whose mission was to transform the Frolinat into a revolutionary movement.”<sup>7</sup> “[He] joined the armed struggle in the field in 1977.”<sup>8</sup> Acheikh decided to support Goukouni Oueddei in 1978 when Frolinat split into multiple factions.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Marielle Debos, *Living by the Gun in Chad: Combatants, Impunity and State Formation* (London: Zed Books, 2016), 80 – 83.

<sup>6</sup> John Obert Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 275.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

He was an activist.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “in 1975, together with other students including Ibni Oumar Mahamat aleh, Nadji Bassiguet and Mahamat Ali Younouss, he took part in setting up an underground group whose mission was to transform the Frolinat into a revolutionary movement. Acheikh joined the armed struggle in the field in 1977, at which point he discovered the discrepancy between the theoretical analyses made by the student movement on the socio economic mechanisms of the revolution on the one hand, and the actual motivations and experiences of the combatants on the other. In 1978, when the Frolinat was already split into several factions, Acheikh decided to support Guokouni Oueddei. He joined the CDR, a tendency within the Frolinat that recruited from among Arab circles and that was the heir of a faction created by Mohamed al-Baghalani....Between 1981 and 1982, under the GUNT led by Goukouni, Acheikh Ibn Oumar occupied the post of Minister of Education. Acheikh took over the CDR in 1982 when the movement’s founder, Ahmat Acyl, was cut down by the propeller of a helicopter.”<sup>10</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he “joined the armed struggle in the field in 1977.”<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “between 1981 and 1982, under the GUNT (Government of National Unity) led by Goukouni, Acheikh Ibn Oumar occupied the post of Minister of Education.”<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

After serving as United Nations representative for Chad from 1992 to 1993 he went into exile in France. In 2008, after being expelled from the UFDD-F he fled to France again.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied mathematics for his bachelor’s degree in France.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic as his primary language, and French as well. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	72
<b>Leadercode</b>	2
<b>Name of leader</b>	Abbas Koty
<b>Organization</b>	CNR
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1952 <sup>12</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b> Region, Chad <sup>3</sup>	Canton Dourene in the prefecture of Iriba in the Wadi Fira
<b>Year of death</b>	1993 <sup>4</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

His leadership of the organization began in 1992, so at the age of 40.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was the founder.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> “Les martyrs du CNR: Le colonel Abbas Koty Yacoub” [The Martyrs of the CNR: Colonel Abbas Koty Yacoub], *CNR DU TCHAD*, Accessed April 16, 2017, <http://web.archive.org/web/20110725142558/http://www.cnr dutchad.com/martyrs.html>.

<sup>2</sup> “La Famille d’Abbas Koty retrace son parcours héroïque et réclame son corps” [Abbas Koty’s Family traces his heroic journey and claims his body], *Tchad Actuel*, January 27, 2019, Accessed April 20, 2019, <http://www.tchadactuel.com/?p=16101>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He had his primary education at the Iriba school before continuing his secondary education at the Franco-Arab school of Abbot and the Lycée of Faya-Largeua and then at the Lycée Félix Éboué in Ndjamena...Interested early in the profession of weapons, young Abbas, holder of a Baccalauréat series 4, enters the inter-arms military school of the officers of Ndjamena in 1976 where he leaves [as an] officer in 1978”.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence of Western education.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence of marriage.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence of children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim, based on his ethnic group<sup>8</sup>

**Family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In 1978, he joined the National Liberation Front of Chad. Soon after he became a member of the Provisional Council of the Revolution, member of the General Staff and brigade commander of the city of Faya under Frolinat control. “In February 1979, as a member of the Goukouni People’s Armed Forces (FAP) and the Revolutionary Council, Abbas Koty occupied the posts of director of the military cabinet of President Goukouni Weddeye and commander of the military of the military regions of Chari-Baguirmi, Guéra, Salamat and part of Ouaddai...In 1986, he was appointed then [diplomatic representative] of Chad to the Republic of Sudan]....Due to his relations with the Sudanese and Libyans, Abbas played a leading role in the success of the Patriotic Salvation movement (MPS). A member of the Political Bureau of the MPS, he was in

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Mohamed-Salih and El Tigani Mustafa, “Islam, traditional beliefs and ritual practices among Zaghawa of Sudan,” *St. Andrews Research Repository*. Accessed April 16, 2017, <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/2618>.

charge of Logistics. Named head of the General Staff in 1990, Abbas weighed all his weight to calm Deby's protest within the MPS and keep the movement united.... Abbas Koty, appointed to the rank of Colonel, became Chief of the General Staff of the new Chadian National Army (ANT) in December 1990.... In May 1991 he returned to the government with the portfolio of the Defense, veterans and victims of wars. Then Minister of Public Works and Transport. After Congress of the MPS, Colonel Abbas [was] also elected to the party's executive committee and responsible for defense and security.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>10</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1979 he was director of the military cabinet of President Goukouni and commander of the military regions, which included Chari-Baguirmi, Guera, Salamat, and some of Ouaddai. “Abbas Koty, appointed to the rank of Colonel, became Chief of the General Staff of the new Chadian National Army (ANT) in December 1990.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1978 he joined the National Liberation Front of Chad. Soon after he became a member of the Provisional Council of the Revolution, member of the General Staff and brigade commander of the city of Faya under Frolinat control. He was also a member of FAP and the Revolutionary Council. He then took part in the action of April 1, 1989. He played a large role in the Patriotic Salvation Movement's success. In 1990, he became head of the General Staff of the Patriotic Salvation Movement.<sup>12</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he fought as part of National Liberation Front of Chad which he joined in 1978.<sup>13</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, in 1979 he was a director of Goukouni's military cabinet. In 1986, he was diplomatic representative of Chad to the Republic of Sudan. In 1990, he became Chief of

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

the General Staff of the Chadian National Army. He also served as Minister of Defense, Veterans, and War Victims. In 1991, he became Minister of Public Works and Transport.<sup>14</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes. “In June 1982, After the defeat of the GUNT of Goukouni against the Fan of Hissein Habré, Abbas takes refuge in Negeria where he lived until 1985 without renouncing his political objectives.”<sup>15</sup> In 1992 he fled to Cameroon.<sup>16</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, the assassination attempt occurred while he was a leader.<sup>17</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by order of President Deby.<sup>18</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Zaghawa as his primary language as well as French. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



<b>Rolecode</b>	73
<b>Leadercode.</b>	133
<b>Name of leader</b>	Eugene Koty
<b>Organization</b>	National Council for Recovery (CNR)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

**Rolecode** 74

**Leadercode** 303

**Name of leader** Moise Kett (Kette Nodji Moise)

**Organization** CSNPD (National Revival Committee for Peace and Democracy)

**Conflict country** Chad

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** Unknown

**Place of birth** Unknown

**Year of death** 2000<sup>1</sup>

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

He founded the CSNPD in 1992.<sup>2</sup>

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> *Africa South of the Sahara*, Europa Publications, 32 ed. (London 2003), 2010.

<sup>2</sup> "Chad: The Habre Legacy," *AI Index*, 16 October 2001.

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an army officer and former security officer.<sup>3</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He served in the military.<sup>4</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> See note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

It is unclear; some reports indicate he was killed in a firefight with government forces while other sources indicate he was killed in an extrajudicial killing.<sup>5 6</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> *Africa South of the Sahara*, Europa Publications, 32 ed. (London 2003): 2010

<sup>6</sup> "Chad: The Habre Legacy," *AI Index*, October 16, 2001.

<b>Rolecode</b>	75
<b>Leadercode</b>	181
<b>Name of leader</b>	Hissene Habre
<b>Organization</b>	FAN
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1942 <sup>12</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Faya-Largeau <sup>3</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1972, so at age 30.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was likely designated as leader.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:President Hissene Habre of Chad.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:President\\_Hissène\\_Habré\\_of\\_Chad.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:President_Hissène_Habré_of_Chad.jpg).

<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Rich, "Habré, Hissène." In *Dictionary of African Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-0783>.

<sup>2</sup> Conor Gaffey, "Who is Hissene Habre, Chad's Brutal Dictator?" *Newsweek*, April 31, 2016, Accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www.newsweek.com/who-hissene-habre-chads-brutal-dictator-464915>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He received his religious instruction from local Islamic schools and then found work for a French military public works project in Faya-Largeau....Habr  was appointed by Tombalbaye’s government to become an assistant administrator of the Moussoro region in 1963 despite his young age. After a short time the Chadian state sent Habr  for further education at the Institut des Hautes  tudes d’Outre-Mer in Paris. He wished to study law, even though the Chadian government preferred that he focus his efforts on civil administration. Ultimately, Habr  received a political science degree in 1971.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but at what age is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had four children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, he was born to a herder.<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“The Chadian president assigned Habr  to go to Libya to negotiate a settlement with Abba Siddick’s rebel Front de Lib ration Nationale du Tchad (FROLINAT; National Liberation Front of Chad) armed movement, which had received much support from northern Chadians and Muslims who despised Tombalbaye’s valorization of his Sara heritage. Habr  went to Tripoli but switched his allegiances to FROLINAT as he hoped to obtain a senior leadership position.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.



### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He held various government positions.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in the National Liberation Front of Chad.<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “Habré was appointed by Tombalbaye’s government to become an assistant administrator of the Moussoro region in 1963 despite his young age.”<sup>14</sup> Then he was sent by Habre to go negotiate a settlement in Libya with the National Liberation Front of Chad.<sup>15</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, “Habré rebelled against FROLINAT in March 1980, and the ensuing eight-month struggle led to the destruction of much of the Chadian capital of N’Djamena. FROLINAT, backed by Libyan troops and weapons, drove Habré into exile in Sudan...Habré personally commanded military units in eastern Chad against his former protégé but was bested in a series of battles in November 1990. Habré chose exile instead of remaining in N’Djamena.”<sup>16</sup> The exile in 1990 does not count though for the variable as he was no longer leader.

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in France.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Tebu as his primary language, and he likely also speaks French.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 76  
**Leadercode** 245  
**Name of leader** Laokein Barde Frisson  
**Organization** Armed Forces for a Federal Republic (FARF)  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 1998<sup>1</sup>

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Szajkowski, Bogdan (ed.), "Chad," in *Revolutionary and Dissident Movements of the World* (John Harper Publishing), 2004, 65.

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a “former military officer in the GUNT, that broke away when the CSNPD rallied to Deby in 1994.” CSNPD is the Committee of National Upswing for Peace and Democracy. GUNT is the Gouvernement d’union nationale de transition.<sup>2</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

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<sup>2</sup> See note 1.

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed on April 8, 1998, by government troops.<sup>3 4</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke French and Arabic.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> “U.S. Department of State Country Report on Human Rights Practices 1998 – Chad,” *RefWorld*, 25 February 1999. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6aa5e30.html>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	77
<b>Leadercode</b>	78
<b>Name of leader</b>	Ngarbaroum Djeramian
<b>Organization</b>	Armed Forces for a Federal Republic (FARF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	78
<b>Leadercode</b>	436
<b>Name of leader</b>	Wadel Abdelkader Kamougue
<b>Organization</b>	FAT
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1938 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Southern Gabon <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2011 from disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1979, so age 41.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the Chadian Armed Forces (FAT).<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> “Tchad: mort de l’opposant Wadal Abdelkader Kamougué” [Chad: death of opponent Wadal Abdelkader Kamougué], *RFI*, October, 5, 2011, Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20110510-le-general-kamougue-est-mort>.

<sup>2</sup> “Chad opposition leader Kamougue dies,” *News 24*, May 9, 2011, Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Chad-opposition-leader-Kamougue-dies-20110509>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> “Chad: Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue,” *Afrique Express*, May 16, 2001, Accessed April 19, 2017, <http://web.archive.org/web/20120206221319/http://www.afrique-express.com/archive/CENTRALE/tchad/tchadpol/tchad-presidentielle2001.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Attracted very early by the army, he entered the General Leclerc Troupe Children's School in Brazzaville and followed a classical military training that would take him to Saint-Cyr, France, where he also obtained a degree in criminology.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father served in the French army.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was “Minister of Foreign Affairs and a member of the military superior council chaired by General Felix Malloum.”<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he played a large part in the 1975 overthrow of Francois-Ngarta Tombalbaye.<sup>11</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he took part in overthrowing Francois-Ngarta Tmbalbaye.<sup>12</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was “Minister of Foreign Affairs and a member of the military superior council chaired by General Felix Malloum.”<sup>13</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he returned from exile in 1987.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at the Children's School of Troupe General Leclerc, in Brazzaville and in France.<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he had military training abroad, as noted directly above.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> James Brooke, “Chad Said to Win Vast Libyan Booty,” *The New York Times*, April 1, 1987, Accessed November 20, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/04/01/world/chad-said-to-win-vast-libyan-booty.html>.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes/disease.<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Mbya as his primary language in addition to French.

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<sup>17</sup> See f.n.2

**Rolecode** 79  
**Leadercode** 58  
**Name of leader** Alarit Bachar  
**Organization** Chad National Front (FNT)  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	80
<b>Leadercode</b>	254
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mahamat Nour Abdelkarim (Mohammed Nour Abdelkarim)
<b>Organization</b>	FUCD
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1960 or 1970 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Dar Tama, Department of Wadi Fira, a region of Chad <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2005, so at age 45.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> "Mohammed Nour Abdelkarim," *In.com*, Accessed May 9, 2017, <http://www.in.com/mohammed-nour-abdelkerim/biography-201193.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Marielle Debos, *Living by the Gun in Chad: Combatants, Impunity and State Formation* (London: Zed Books, 2016), 83-84.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Wiafe-Amoako, *Africa 2016-2017* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2016), 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence he is married.

**Children**

There is no evidence he has children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.

**Elite family background**

Yes, “he spent a good part of his younger years in the home of one of his relatives, Mahmat Garfa, who was at that time one of the most significant Tama personalities.”<sup>5</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, in 1989 he joined the Patriotic Salvation Movement. “After the MPS victory in 1990, he became sub-prefect in Biltine, near his home region.... When his uncle Garfa founded the ANR in 1994, he followed him and resumed the armed struggle.”<sup>6</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “after 2003, when the repression of the Darfur movements was organized, he pursued his career as an auxiliary in the Sudanese armed forces in Darfur...He rose to the rank of general coordinator of the PDF of West Darfur.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1989 he joined the Patriotic Salvation Movement. In 1994 he joined the ANR founded by his uncle Garfa.<sup>9</sup> He was the former leader of the Rally for Democracy and Liberty rebel group.<sup>10</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was in the Patriotic Salvation Movement and he “resumed the armed struggle” in the ANR. Additionally, he was in multiple rebel groups and the Sudanese armed forces; it seems likely that he had true combat experience in at least one of these.<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “after the MPS victory in 1990, he became sub-prefect in Biltine, near his home region.”<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No (he was no longer leader) – he fled to the Gulf states in the end of 2009, after a failed attempt to try to regain support.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

“Nour himself is fluent in Arabic, French and his native tribal language Tama, speaking each with a slight stutter.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> “Chad rebel leader demands change, by force if needed,” *AlertNet*, February 12, 2006, Accessed May 9, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060227121953/http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/MCD148547.htm>

<b>Rolecode</b>	81
<b>Leadercode</b>	32
<b>Name of leader</b>	Acheikhn Ibn Oumar
<b>Organization</b>	GUNT
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1951 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Batha region (central Chad) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1986, so at the age of 35.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

His leader entry method is unclear.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/ff/Acheikh\\_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg/1600px-Acheikh\\_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/ff/Acheikh_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg/1600px-Acheikh_IBN-OUMAR-1.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Oumar Acheikh Ibn," *Le Maitron*, Accessed April 9, 2017, <http://maitron-en-ligne.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article178055>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> David Lea and Annamarie Rowe, *A Political Chronology of Africa* (London: Europa Publications, 2005), 84.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Yes, “the young Arab, Awlad Rashid from Batha (a region in central Chad), had come to continue his studies in France. In 1975, together with other students including Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh, Nadji Bassiguet and Mahamat Ali Younouss, he took part in setting up an underground group whose mission was to transform the Frolinat into a revolutionary movement.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence of marriage.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence of him having children

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “together with other students including Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh, Nadji Bassiguet and Mahamat Ali Younouss, he took part in setting up an underground group whose mission was to transform the Frolinat into a revolutionary movement.”<sup>7</sup> “[He] joined the armed struggle in the field in 1977.”<sup>8</sup> Acheikh decided to support Goukouni Oueddei in 1978 when Frolinat split into multiple factions. Then he also joined the CDR and became the leader in 1982.<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> Marielle Debos, *Living by the Gun in Chad: Combatants, Impunity and State Formation* (London: Zed Books, 2016), 80 – 83.

<sup>6</sup> John Obert Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 275.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>10</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “in 1975, together with other students including Ibni Oumar Mahamat aleh, Nadji Bassiguet and Mahamat Ali Younouss, he took part in setting up an underground group whose mission was to transform the Frolinat into a revolutionary movement. Acheikh joined the armed struggle in the field in 1977, at which point he discovered the discrepancy between the theoretical analyses made by the student movement on the socio economic mechanisms of the revolution on the one hand, and the actual motivations and experiences of the combatants on the other. In 1978, when the Frolinat was already split into several factions, Acheikh decided to support Guokouni Oueddei. He joined the CDR, a tendency within the Frolinat that recruited from among Arab circles and that was the heir of a faction created by Mohamed al-Baghalani....Between 1981 and 1982, under the GUNT led by Goukouni, Acheikh Ibn Oumar occupied the post of Minister of Education. Acheikh took over the CDR in 1982 when the movement’s founder, Ahmat Acyl, was cut down by the propeller of a helicopter.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he “joined the armed struggle in the field in 1977.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “between 1981 and 1982, under the GUNT (Government of National Unity) led by Goukouni, Acheikh Ibn Oumar occupied the post of Minister of Education.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

After serving as United Nations representative for Chad from 1992 to 1993 he went into exile in France. In 2008, after being expelled from the UFDD-F he fled to France again.<sup>14</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Yes, he studied mathematics for his bachelor's degree in France.<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic as his primary language, and French as well. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	82
<b>Leadercode</b>	162
<b>Name of leader</b>	Goukoni Oueddei
<b>Organization</b>	GUNT
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1942 or 1944 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Zouar, Chad <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is the youngest of four brothers.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1979, so age 37 or age 35.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was designated as president.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: <https://prabook.com/web/show-photo-icon.jpg?id=12484&width=220&cache=false>  
 (For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please  
 contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Rich, "Oueddei, Goukouni," In *Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2011, Accessed March 23, 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1645>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Norbert C. Brockman, "Oueddei, Goukouni," In *An African Biographical Dictionary*, 2nd ed (Grey House Publishing, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence that he is not the top leader.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He attended Qur’anic schools.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was likely married.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least a daughter.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His father was the chief who “judged disputes between various Toubou clans.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He “found work in the northern Chadian provincial capital of Faya-Largeau.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> “Chad: Saadie Koukouni Weddeye, child of exile,” *Jeune Afrique*, February 7, 2013, accessed March 23, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/138409/politique/tchad-saadie-goukouni-weddeye-enfant-de-l-exil/>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

In the late 1960s he “chose to lead a group of Toubou warriors who joined the Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad.” In 1971 “Ouddei and Habré split from FROLINAT and formed the Forces Armées du Nord (FAN; Armed Forces of the North), which continued to fight against the Chadian regime.” In the late 1970s “Goukouni Oueddei led the reconstituted FROLINAT. Oueddei reformed the rebels into the Front Armée Populaire (FAP; Armed Popular Front), and won a series of battles in 1978.”<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he has combat experience as noted above.<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “Habré used his foreign aid to capture N’Djamena and seized power in 1982. Goukouni Oueddei fled to Cameroon and then returned to Libya.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was detained in 1986 by the Libyan government.<sup>15</sup> No, he was not leader while in prison because the organization disintegrated in 1986, in fact his arrest was part of the cause.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.



**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Tebu primarily and Arabic and French as well.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	83
<b>Leadercode</b>	308
<b>Name of leader</b>	Muammar Gadaffi
<b>Organization</b>	Islamic Legion
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1942 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Near Surt, Libya <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 2011.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest with three older sisters.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1972, so at age 30.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Muammar al-Gaddafi at the AU summit.jpg." Wikimedia. Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muammar\\_al-Gaddafi\\_at\\_the\\_AU\\_summit.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muammar_al-Gaddafi_at_the_AU_summit.jpg).

<sup>1</sup> "Muammar al-Qaddafi," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Muammar Gaddafi Biography," *The Famous People*, Accessed November 1, 2017, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/muammar-gaddafi-3727.php>.

<sup>5</sup> "The Islamic Legion: Gaddafi's former Mercenaries," *Soldiers of Misfortune*, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.soldiers-of-misfortune.com/history/islamic-legion.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Academically, he achieved his preliminary education from a local elementary school after which the family moved to Sabha for better educational opportunities.”<sup>7</sup> He graduated from the University of Libya in 1963 and then from the Libyan military academy in 1965.<sup>8</sup> Other sources say he studied history at the University of Libya and dropped out to join the military.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married once in 1969, at age 27,<sup>10</sup> and again in 1970, at age 28.<sup>11</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had seven sons and a daughter.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>13</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he was the son of an itinerant Bedouin farmer, born in a tent in the Libyan desert.<sup>14</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> “Gaddafi’s Family,” *Gaddafi.info*, Accessed March 2017, <http://gaddafi.info/family.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Colin Freeman, "Gaddafi's widow allowed back to Libya as part of 'reconciliation' drive," *The Telegraph*, May 09, 2016, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/09/gaddafis-ex-widow-allowed-to-return-to-libya-after-five-years-in/>.

<sup>12</sup> Muammar Gaddafi Top Photos, Facts, and Quotes, *Africa News*, October 20, 2016, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.africanews.com/2016/10/22/photos-5-years-on-muammar-gaddafi-12-top-photos-facts-and-quotes/>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1963 he went to the Benghazi Military Academy. Around the same time period “Gaddafi formed the Free Officers Movement, a group modelled on the organization set up by Nasser for revolution in Egypt. Commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Signal Corps in 1965, he was sent on a training course to England in 1966 to learn English and advanced signals procedures. In 1969, following his failure to receive a promotion to captain, Gaddafi used the Free Officers Movement to execute a carefully planned bloodless coup, overthrowing the regime of King Idris (1890–1983) and proclaiming the Libyan Arab Republic.”<sup>16</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes. “On September 1, 1969, Qaddafi seized control of the government in a military coup that deposed King Idrīs.”<sup>17</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he had combat experience, as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, in 1969 “Qaddafi was named commander in chief of the armed forces and chairman of Libya’s new governing body, the Revolutionary Command Council.”<sup>18</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>“Muammar al- Qaddafi,” *Oxford Reference*, January 1, 2003, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100356782>.

<sup>17</sup>See f.n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

Yes, he had military training abroad, as noted in the state military section.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“Qaddafi was killed in Surt on October 20 as rebel forces took control of the city, one of the last remaining loyalist strongholds.”<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic as his primary language as well as some English.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Mackey, “Text of New Qaddafi Letter to Obama,” *The New York Times*, April 6, 2011, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/06/text-of-new-qaddafi-letter-to-obama/>

**Rolecode** 84  
**Leadercode** 161  
**Name of leader** Goukouni Guet  
**Organization** Movement for Development and Democracy (MDD)  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 1991 or 1992<sup>1</sup>

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Yes, he had at least one daughter.<sup>2</sup>

**Religious identification**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> *Amnesty International Annual Report Entries on Nigeria 1968-2010*. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2010), 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Deceased

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a military commander of the Daza branch of the Toubou.<sup>3</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes. He received formal military training at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in the United Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was kept in Abdallah Mahamat Ali's cellar in N'Djamena and was tortured until Ali was demoted; Guet was then killed.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Mario J. Azevedo and Samuel Decalo, *Historical Dictionary of Chad* (Rowman and Littlefield, New York), 2018, 251.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes (successfully).

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by state forces.<sup>6</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>6</sup> “Chad: Goukouni Guet, his daughter(s) and the names of their/husbands.” *Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada*, October 14, 1999. Available at *Refworld*. Accessed August 27, 2022. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad794b.html>



<b>Rolecode</b>	85
<b>Leadercode</b>	307
<b>Name of leader</b>	Moussa Medellah Mahamat Seid
<b>Organization</b>	Chad Movement for Development and Democracy (MDD)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became head of the executive bureau of the reunited MDD factions in April 1995.<sup>1</sup>

**Leader entry method:**

They elected the executive bureau with Seid at its leader.<sup>2</sup>

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Chad," *Political Handbook of the World: 2015*, ed. Tom Lansford, (New York: CQ Press), 2015, 271.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	86
<b>Leadercode</b>	275
<b>Name of leader</b>	Maurice Hel Bongo
<b>Organization</b>	Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1930 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Sarh, Chad <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2010 <sup>3</sup>

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied locally and in France. In France, he studied at the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer and at the Political Science Institute in Paris, graduating with a law degree.<sup>4</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice Hel-Bongo, Adoum. *Africa Intelligence*, 15 September 2004.

<https://www.africaintelligence.fr/LC-/who-s-who/1994/09/15/adoum-maurice-hel-bongo,27140-ART>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Décès de M. Adoum Maurice HEL-BONGO : hommage à un grand homme!” [Death of Mr. Adoum Maurice Hel-Bongo: tribute to a great man!], *Overblog.com*, 19 January 2010. <http://adamhamid.overblog.com/article-deces-de-m-adoum-maurice-hel-bongo-hommage-a-un-grand-homme-43262442.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Mario J. Azevedo and Samuel Decalo. *Historical Dictionary of Chad* (London, U.K., Rowman and Littlefield), 2018, 266.

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was President of Chad's interim National Assembly and a presidential hopeful.<sup>5</sup> He also served as a director of consular affairs in France. Upon his return, he was the director of the civil service and later Director of Economic Affairs. In 1964, he was named Minister of Agriculture. He became head of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs in 1966. He then became the regional director of the ILO in Dakar, then ILO's executive in Switzerland. In 1993, he was elected Presidency of the Conference Nationale. He sat on the interim legislature.<sup>6</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

See "Political affiliations."

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he had a government position prior to leadership (see "Political affiliations").

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

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<sup>5</sup> See note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

He studied locally and in France. In France, he studied at the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer and at the Political Science Institute in Paris.<sup>7</sup>

**Study abroad duration**

Given that he graduated with a law degree, likely about three years.<sup>8</sup>

**Study abroad education level**

He earned a law degree.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad city**

He studied in Paris, France.<sup>10</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He worked in France for the government as counselor on administrative affairs.”<sup>11</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See note 4.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	87
<b>Leadercode</b>	448
<b>Name of leader</b>	Youssef Togoimi
<b>Organization</b>	MDJT
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Zouar, northern Tibesti area, Chad <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2002 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2002 from an accident.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1998, so at age 46.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/yousseuf-togomi-924d3e8d-10cf-4cb7-8fc2-992c85699ab-resize-750.jpeg>

<sup>1</sup> "Youssef Togoïmi," *Afrique Express*, Accessed April 17, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20051230181806/http://www.afrique-express.com/archive/CENTRALE/tchad/tchadbios/256yousseuftogoimi.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> "Youssef Togoimi and the MDJT Movement," *Refworld*, May 8, 2000, Accessed April 17, 2017, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad7d4.html>.

<sup>3</sup> "Rebel leader dies in hospital," *IRIN*, September 25, 2002, Accessed April 17, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/news/2002/09/25/rebel-leader-dies-hospital>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“According to the leader of a Chadian opposition party in parliament, Youssef Togoimi studied at the University of Reims from 1975 to 1982...From 1982 to 1983, he attended the École Nationale de la Magistrature (ENM) in Paris.”<sup>67</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married before forming rebel group.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“When Idriss Déby came into power in 1990, Togoimi was appointed Minister of Justice. In 1995, he became Minister of Defence. As such he negotiated, in April 1997, a peace agreement with Laoukéin Bardé, the leader of the rebellion in the south of the country. A month later, Togoimi became Minister of Interior.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>7</sup> Kelly Buchanan, “The French National School for the Judiciary,” *Library of Congress*, January 26, 2011, Accessed June 16, 2019, <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2011/01/the-french-national-school-for-the-judiciary/>.

<sup>8</sup> “Situation of the family of Youssouf Togoimi,” *Refworld*, June 27, 2000, Accessed April 17, 2017, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4beafc.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2



He was a judge.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he served as Minister of Justice, Minister of Defense, and Minister of Interior.<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “from 1983 to 1985, he was in exile in the French capital.”<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in France at the University of Reims and at the École Nationale de la Magistrature.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

### **Cause of Death?**

He suffered injuries from a landmine accident that led to his death, according to his political advisor.<sup>15</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Tebu as his primary language as well as French.

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<sup>15</sup> See f.n.3

**Rolecode** 88  
**Leadercode** 260  
**Name of leader** Maldoum Bada Abbas  
**Organization** Military Faction  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 2006<sup>2</sup>

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Mario J. Azevedo and Samuel Decalo, *Historical Dictionary of Chad 4<sup>th</sup> ed.* (London, Rowman and Littlefield), 2018, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

See “study abroad”; he may have served in the Ethiopian military due to attendance at the staff officer’s college.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Yes. He attended a staff officer’s college in France.<sup>3</sup>

**Study abroad duration**

Unknown

**Study abroad education level**

Unknown.

**Study abroad city**

He studied in France (city unknown).<sup>4</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Yes, he received military training abroad.<sup>5</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes. Maldoum was arrested on October 13, 1991, and accused of complicity in a coup attempt. Additionally, he was accused of having opposed the reorganization of the national army. He was ultimately released and reintegrated into the government when it was revealed he was framed.<sup>6 7</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed in a government purge in 2008.<sup>8</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Sam C. Nolutshungu, *Limits of Anarchy: Intervention and State Formation in Chad* (University Press of Virginia, VA, USA), 1996, 250.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 89  
**Leadercode** 99  
**Name of leader** Boda Maldoun  
**Organization** Movement for the National Salvation of Chad (MOSANAT)  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Military

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was an army lieutenant.<sup>1</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was the former prefect of Guéra Prefecture.<sup>2</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> *Chad: A Country Study*. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Ed. Thomas Collelo, December 1988. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a226715.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown



<b>Rolecode</b>	90
<b>Leadercode</b>	189
<b>Name of leader</b>	Idris Deby
<b>Organization</b>	MPS - Patriotic Salvation Movement
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1952 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Fada, Chad
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1990, so at age 38.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“Deby fought his way to power in 1990 ousting his long-time rival Hissene Habre.”<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Idriss\\_Deby\\_Itno\\_IMG\\_3617.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Idriss_Deby_Itno_IMG_3617.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Déby, Idriss," In *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, by Paul Lagasse, and Columbia University (Columbia University Press, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Jeremy Rich, “Déby Itno, Idriss,” In *Dictionary of African Biography*: Oxford University Press, 2012, Accessed March 26, 2017,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-0519>.

<sup>3</sup> “Slow Voting as Elections Get Underway in Chad,” *Agence France Presse*, January 5, 1997, Accessed February 7, 2019.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He began his education at a qur’anic school in Tiné and the École Française at Fada before attending secondary school at the Lycée Franco-Arabe at Abéché, the Lycée Jacques Moudeina at Bangor. He then entered the military and graduated from an officers’ training school in the Chadian capital of N’Djamena. Like many other military officers, he then received further training to become a pilot in France in the late 1970s.”<sup>4</sup>  
“In 1985 he attended the “École Supérieure de Guerre Inter-Armées.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has been married multiple times.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has had many children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, “[h]is father was a poor herder who belonged to the Bidayat clan of the small Zaghawa ethnic community.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in the French military.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Déby joined the FAN and led the first FAN force to reach the capital of N’Djamena when Habré seized power from Oueddi. In 1983, Déby became Habré’s second-in-command of the military.”<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he had combat experience possibly in the army and certainly in the FAN.<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “Déby’s relationship with Habré soured, and in April 1989 Déby was accused of plotting to overthrow Habré’s government. Hounded by Habré’s forces, Déby was able to evade capture and managed to escape to the neighbouring country of Sudan.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he went to France in 1976 and attended flight school.<sup>15</sup> “In 1985 he attended the “École Supérieure de Guerre Inter-Armées.”<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes. “He began his education at a qur’anic school in Tiné and the École Française at Fada before attending secondary school at the Lycée Franco-Arabe at Abéché, the Lycée Jacques Moudeina at Bangor. He then entered the military and graduated from an officers’ training school in the Chadian capital of N’Djamena. Like many other military officers, he then received further training to become a pilot in France in the late 1970s.”<sup>17</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence he has extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Zaghawa as his primary language, as well as French (since he attended École Française, Lycée Franco-Arabe, and Lycée Jacques Moudeina) and Arabic.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 91  
**Leadercode** 39  
**Name of leader** Adoum Yacoub ‘Kougou’<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** Popular Front for National Rebirth (PFNR/FPRN)  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown



**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

He founded the FPRN in 2001.<sup>2</sup>

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

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<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: <http://tchadoscopie.over-blog.com/article-31486152.html>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup> “Front populaire pour la renaissance nationale/ Popular Front for National Rebirth (FPRN),” *Small Arms Survey, Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA)* (2011).

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was a “veteran of Chadian armed opposition.”<sup>3</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> See note 2.

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

**Rolecode** 92  
**Leadercode** 425  
**Name of leader** Timane Erdimi  
**Organization** Rally of  
Democratic Forces (RAFD)  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1955<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Keoura,  
northeastern Chad<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** Unknown



### **Birth order**

He has a twin brother, Tom Erdimi.<sup>3</sup> He also had a younger brother, Mahamat Erdimi, and a younger sister, Gani Nassour. Both brothers were killed.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected leader of the group.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Unknown

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

### **Children**

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Image Credit: Store Norske Leksikon. "Timane Erdimi." Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://snl.no/Timane\\_Erdimi](https://snl.no/Timane_Erdimi).

<sup>1</sup> "Qui est Timane Erdimi" [Who is Timane Erdimi], *Waldari Wa Akhbaara*, 27 June 2009. <http://waldar.over-blog.com/article-33168719.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> McGregor, Andrew, "A Family Affair: The Erdimi Twins and the Zaghawa Battle for Chad," *Aberfoyle International Security*, 30 July 2010. <https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=2263>.

<sup>4</sup> Kebayo, Jean. "Chad – Who killed brother twins Tom and Timan Erdimi?" *Courrier des Afriques*, 8 December 2015. <http://www.courrierdesafriques.net/2015/12/tchad-qui-a-tue-le-frere-des-jumeaux-tom-et-timan-erdimi>.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1.



Unknown

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

Timane is the son of the cousin of the Chadian president, Idriss Déby Itno.<sup>7</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was manager of Cotontchad, the state cotton monopoly.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

He is currently in exile in Doha, Qatar.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>6</sup> “Timane Erdimi, l’homme qui fait trembler N’Djamena” [Timid Erdimi, the man who shakes N’Djamena], *DjaZaireess*, 5 September 2009. <http://www.djazaireess.com/fr/elwatan/125225>.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> See note 3.

<sup>9</sup> “Chad Socio-political crisis,” *Escola de Cultura de Pau*, Accessed 8 May 2017.

<http://escolapau.uab.es/conflictosypaz/actualizaciones.php?idfichasubzona=176&paramidioma=1>.

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

There is no evidence that he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

He is still alive.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He probably speaks Zaghawa as his primary language as well as French. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	93
<b>Leadercode</b>	189
<b>Name of leader</b>	Idris Deby
<b>Organization</b>	Revolutionary forces of 1 April
<b>Conflict country</b>	Chad
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1952 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Fada, Chad
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader between 1986 and 1989, so between the ages of 34 to 37.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the revolutionary group.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Idriss\\_Deby\\_Itno\\_IMG\\_3617.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Idriss_Deby_Itno_IMG_3617.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Déby, Idriss," In *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, by Paul Lagasse, and Columbia University (Columbia University Press, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Jeremy Rich, "Déby Itno, Idriss," In *Dictionary of African Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), Accessed March 26, 2017,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-0519>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He began his education at a qur’anic school in Tiné and the École Française at Fada before attending secondary school at the Lycée Franco-Arabe at Abéché, the Lycée Jacques Moudeina at Bangor. He then entered the military and graduated from an officers’ training school in the Chadian capital of N’Djamena. Like many other military officers, he then received further training to become a pilot in France in the late 1970s.”<sup>4</sup>  
“In 1985 he attended the “École Supérieure de Guerre Inter-Armées.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has been married multiple times.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has had many children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, “[h]is father was a poor herder who belonged to the Bidayat clan of the small Zaghawa ethnic community.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in the French military.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Déby joined the FAN and led the first FAN force to reach the capital of N’Djamena when Habré seized power from Oueddi. In 1983, Déby became Habré’s second-in-command of the military.”<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he had combat experience possibly in the army and certainly in the FAN.<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “Déby’s relationship with Habré soured, and in April 1989 Déby was accused of plotting to overthrow Habré’s government. Hounded by Habré’s forces, Déby was able to evade capture and managed to escape to the neighbouring country of Sudan.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he went to France in 1976 and attended flight school.<sup>15</sup> “In 1985 he attended the École Supérieure de Guerre Inter-Armées.”<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, “[h]e began his education at a qur’anic school in Tiné and the École Française at Fada before attending secondary school at the Lycée Franco-Arabe at Abéché, the Lycée Jacques Moudeina at Bangor. He then entered the military and graduated from an officers’ training school in the Chadian capital of N’Djamena. Like many other military officers, he then received further training to become a pilot in France in the late 1970s.”<sup>17</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he has extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

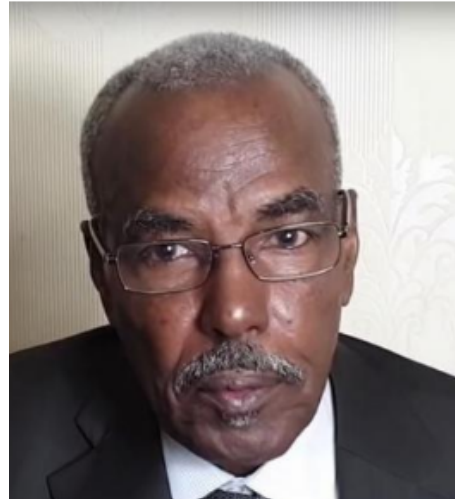
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Zaghawa as his primary language, as well as French (since he attended École Française, Lycée Franco-Arabe, and Lycée Jacques Moudeina) and Arabic.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 94  
**Leadercode** 255  
**Name of leader** Mahamat Nouri (Mohamed Ahmet Nouri)  
**Organization** UFDD  
**Conflict country** Chad  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1974<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Faya-Largeau, Chad<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2006, so at age 32.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: <https://new.in-24.com/News/146803.html>

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques Baud, "Mahamat Nouri," *Global Terror Watch*, October 24, 2013, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.globalterrorwatch.ch/index.php/mahamat-nouri/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is likely married since he has at least one son.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has at least a son.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He joined the rebels in 1969 and was a member of the 1st Army of the Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT). With the splits within the revolutionary movement he created with Hissène Habré, the Council of Command of the Armed Forces of the North (CCFAN). In line with the Khartoum agreements in 1978, the CCFAN reconciled with the Military Superior Council (HMC) and Nouri became Minister of the Interior of the Government of National Unity (GUNT). In June 1982, the CCFAN was in power and Nouri became Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation. In 1983, he was appointed general manager of the national airline Air Tchad. He is often in competition with Hissène Habré in the Goran ethnic group and is also known as "Dougli" (lion). Ambassador of Chad in Saudi Arabia, he defected on 5 May 2006, joined the political and military opposition and moved closer to the RPJ and created the Union of Forces for Progress and Democracy (UFDP).”<sup>8</sup> Also, in 1984 he was commissioner for External Affairs in the Executive Bureau of UNIR.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> “Un écrivain français arrêté et expulsé du Niger” [French writer arrested and deported from Niger], *RFI*, December 22, 2016, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20161222-ecrivain-francais-thomas-dietrich-arrete-expulse-niger-tchad-hussain-nouri>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “Le Triumvirat de la rébellion” [The Triumvirate of the Rebellion], *Jeune Afrique*, November 2, 2008, Accessed April 12, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110813143719/http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/LIN10028letrinoille0/actualite-afriquele-triumvirat-de-la-rebellion.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Samuel Decalo, *Historical dictionary of Chad* (London: Scarecrow, 1987), 236.



### **Physical and mental health**

Yes, he appears to have some physical health problems.<sup>10</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a postman.<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he participated in the Chadian-Libyan conflict as commander of the Chadian Forces during the battle of Aouzou in August 1987.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1969 he “was a member of the 1st Army of the Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT). With the splits within the revolutionary movement he created with Hissène Habré, the Council of Command of the Armed Forces of the North (CCFAN).”<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “he is accused of numerous crimes including the massacre of Southern civilian officers and cadres during the 1979 civil war and the killings organized by Habré's men in 1982 and 1984.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “[i]n line with the Khartoum agreements in 1978, the CCFAN reconciled with the Military Superior Council (HMC) and Nouri became Minister of the Interior of the Government of National Unity (GUNT). In June 1982, the CCFAN was in power and Nouri became Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation. In 1983, he was appointed general manager of the national airline Air Tchad.”<sup>15</sup> He spent time in the Deby government from 1990 to 2004, most recently as Minister of National Defense.<sup>16</sup> He was Ambassador of Chad to Saudi Arabia from 2004 to 2006.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> “Tchad: Remaniement ministériel” [Chad: Cabinet reshuffle], March 2, 2004, Accessed April 12, 2017, <http://web.archive.org/web/20140407100358/http://www.afrique-express.com/archive/CENTRALE/tchad/tchadpol/287remaniement.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>12</sup> James Brooke, “African Disputes Pit Arab Vs. Black,” *The New York Times*, June 5, 1988, Accessed October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/06/05/world/african-disputes-pit-arab-vs-black.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.11

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.1

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

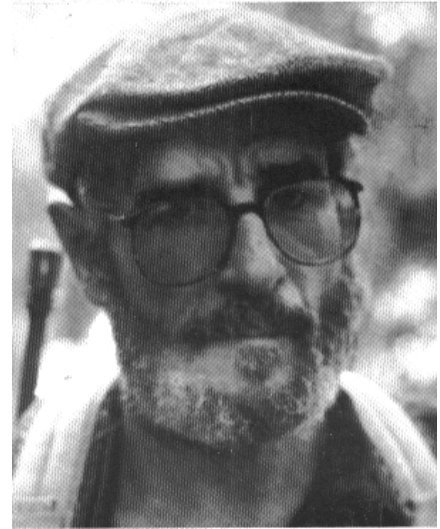
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Daza as his primary language as well as French.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 97  
**Leadercode** 267  
**Name of leader** Manuel Perez Martinez  
**Organization** ELN  
**Conflict country** Colombia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1943<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Alfamén, province of Zaragoza, Spain<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1998<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1998 of hepatitis.

### **Birth order**

He was the eldest of two children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1973, so at age 30.<sup>5</sup> “The ELN’s near destruction became a pivotal moment for the group in which Manuel Perez and Nicolas Rodriguez Bautista, known as “Gabino,” took over leadership.”<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f4/Manuel\\_Perez\\_Martinez.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f4/Manuel_Perez_Martinez.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Pilar Lozano, “The death of the ‘priest Perez’ threatens the peace agreement and the future of the ELN,” *EL PAIS*, April 8, 1998, Accessed August 7, 2017,

[https://elpais.com/diario/1998/04/08/internacional/891986410\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1998/04/08/internacional/891986410_850215.html).

<sup>2</sup> PILAR LOZANO, “Confusion around the execution of Colombian ELN chief Manuel Perez,” *EL PAIS*, March 30, 1990, Accessed August 7, 2017,

[https://elpais.com/diario/1990/03/30/internacional/638748008\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1990/03/30/internacional/638748008_850215.html).

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Angel Díaz Arenas, *Reflexiones en torno a Noticia de un secuestro de Gabriel García Márquez* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1998), 161.

<sup>5</sup> “Pérez Martínez, Manuel (1943-1998),” *Mcnbiografias*, Accessed August 7, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170713114459/http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=perez-martinez-manuel>.

<sup>6</sup> “National Liberation Army,” *Stanford University Mapping Militants Project*, Accessed August 7, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/87>.

### **Leader entry method**

It seems likely that he was designated/appointed as next leader.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he shared power.<sup>8</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“At the age of twelve he was sent to the minor seminary of Alcoriza (Teruel) and in 1959 he went to the major seminary of the city of Zaragoza, where he studied philosophy. In 1962 he joined the Hispano-American Priestly Cooperation Work (OCSHA) and completed his theological studies in the seminary that this association had in Madrid.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but at what age is unknown.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>12</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, his parents were farmers.<sup>13</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he “decided to march with his friend and countryman Domingo Lain and also the worker priest Carmelo Gracia to Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) as members of [the Sacerdotal Cooperative of Hispanic-American]... Throughout the Colombian territory, the ‘red priests,’ priests and lay people involved in social and political activities,

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.4

led to what in 1968 was called "the Galconda movement," to which Perez belonged as a prominent member."<sup>14</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a Priest, for example "[i]n 1966 he was ordained priest in Rome by Pope Paul VI. Returning to Spain, he moved back to Madrid, where he spent three years at the head of a parish in the Getafe neighborhood with two other colleagues from his promotion, Spaniards Domingo Laín and José Antonio Jiménez."<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Technically no, since he was born in Spain, but "on February 3, 1969, Manuel Pérez and Domingo Laín were expelled from Colombia and destined for Spain."<sup>16</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, he studied in Madrid,<sup>17</sup> but he was born in Spain technically.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, he spent three years as the head of a Parish in Madrid,<sup>18</sup> but technically he was born in Spain.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of hepatitis.<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>20</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 98

**Leadercode** 335

**Name of leader** Nicolas Rodriguez Bautista,  
alias: (Gabino)

**Organization** ELN

**Conflict country** Colombia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1950<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** San Vicente de Chucuri,  
Department of Santander, Colombia<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

“In the late 1970s, he assumed joint leadership with Manuel Perez, alias "El Cura," the Spanish priest who had joined the group in the 1960s. After El Cura's death in 1998, Gabino became commander-in-chief of the ELN.”<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was likely designated.<sup>4</sup>

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Image Credit: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/12/colombia-to-investigate-eln-rebel-leaders-for-nearly-16000-war-c/>

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<sup>1</sup> Harvey F. Kline, *Historical Dictionary of Colombia* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), 432.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Nicolas Rodriguez Bautista, alias 'Gabino',” *Insight Crime*, Accessed August 7, 2017,

<http://www.insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/nicolas-rodriguez-bautista-gabino>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

### **Powersharing**

Yes,<sup>5</sup> there is powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He studied until third year of primary school and from there went to the mountain.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>7</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he was not from an elite family background.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist (joined [ELN] immediately after partially completing primary school).<sup>8</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> “Who is Nicolas Rodriguez, Alias Gabino,” *EL TIEMPO*, January 27, 1992, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-21756>.

<sup>7</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 7, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.5



No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, in 1965, Gabino participated in the ELN's first military assaults in the municipality of Simacota, Santander.<sup>9</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

He likely spoke Spanish as his primary language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	99
<b>Leadercode</b>	75
<b>Name of leader</b>	Anibal Palacios Tamayo
<b>Organization</b>	Ejercito Popular de Liberacion (EPL) Esperanza, Paz, y Libertad, Popular Liberation Army – Hope, Peace and Liberty Movement
<b>Conflict country</b>	Colombia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1957 or 1958, He was 45 in March 2003 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Santa Rosa de Osos, Antioquia, Colombia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

### **Birth order**

Unknown

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was a new leader in August 1990.<sup>3</sup> He was appointed to the political commission in 1991, which would have made him 32-33.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was appointed to the political commission in 1991.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes. Bernardo Gutierrez, former commander of the EPL, created an EPL directorate with Dario Mejia, Fred Cifuentes, Julio Carrascal, and Anibal Palacios to assume Gutierrez's responsibilities.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

High school and two semesters at the National University.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Men Allegedly Posing as Police Arrested for String of Robberies," *Associated Press*, March 14, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> See *Estrategia económica y financiera, Issues 180-183 (1993)*. Colombia: Servicios de Informacion Ltda.

<sup>3</sup> "Colombia Francisco Caraballo Expelled from EPL General Staff," *BBC*, August 17, 1990.

<sup>4</sup> "Columbia M-19 Leader criticizes CNGSB; Rebels Release Three French Technicians," *BBC*, August 1, 1991.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See note 2.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, was in the legalized terrorist organization M-19.<sup>8</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

He held at least two positions after leadership. He was a senator in 1994.<sup>9</sup> He was also elected mayor of Turbo in 2000.<sup>10</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

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<sup>8</sup> Javier Almario, "Samper Leads Colombia into Surrender to Narco-Terrorists," *EIR*, Vol 21, No. 28, 9 December 1994: 39, [https://larouche.com/eiw/public/1994/eirv21n49-19941209/eirv21n49-19941209\\_038-samper\\_leads\\_colombia\\_into\\_surre.pdf](https://larouche.com/eiw/public/1994/eirv21n49-19941209/eirv21n49-19941209_038-samper_leads_colombia_into_surre.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Baena, Javier. "At Least 35 Slain in Massacre in Northwest Colombia," *The Associated Press*, January 23 1994.

<sup>10</sup> "Columbia: Current Status of the Esperanza, Paz y Libertad (Hope, Peace and Freedom, EPL) party, particularly in Bogota and the department of Cordoba; mistreatment of the EPL party members," *Refworld, Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada*, May 15 2001, COL37061, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4be228.html>

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was arrested for robbery in 2003 with 5 others. This occurred after his leadership.<sup>11</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Spanish.

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<sup>11</sup> Kandel, Jason. "7 Arrests Made in Robberies," *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, March 14 2003.

<b>Rolecode</b>	100
<b>Leadercode</b>	143
<b>Name of leader</b>	Francisco Caraballo (Armando Ramírez, Pacho, El Negro and Lorenzo)
<b>Organization</b>	EPL
<b>Conflict country</b>	Colombia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1936 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Colombia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1987, so at age 51.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

It seems he was appointed/designated.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> “Communiqué On the Arrest of Francisco Caraballo,” *La Forge*, July 1994, Accessed August 8, 2017, <http://www.mltranslations.org/Colombia/carabarrst.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “El Terror de Francisco Caraballo,” *El Tiempo*, June 23, 1994, Accessed August 5, 2021, <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-156964>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“I completed the full baccalaureate in the city of Mompox, Bolivar, in the Pinillos National College; I completed studies in 1957; I also attended a semester of Natural Resources at the Jorge Tadeo Lozano University in Bogotá in the first half of 1958 and two and a half years at the University of Cartagena in 1959.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but at what age is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least a son.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Family background**

No, “[he] grew up in a humble family that formed on the basis of respect for society and the rights of other people.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was part of the Liberal Revolutionary Movement.<sup>10</sup> “At a very early age he joined the Communist Party of Colombia. In 1964, along with other comrades he founded the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist).”<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> “Francisco Caraballo: ‘Soy un Rebelde Consecuente y Comunista Convencido’ [Francisco Caraballo: “I am a Conscious Rebel and Convinced Communist”], *Cedemam*, June 6, 1994, Accessed August 8, 2017, <http://www.cedema.org/ver.php?id=2357>.

<sup>6</sup> “Caraballo ya está en libertad” [Caraballo is already free], April 18, 2008, Accessed August 8, 2017, <http://www.elspectador.com/noticias/nacional/articulo-francisco-caraballos-estaria-libre-hoy>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 8, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“At the end of 58 I worked as a teacher in a school. In Mompox, I do not remember the name now, but that school disappeared later anyway; While studying in Cartagena I also worked in a school; Later I was secretary of the Criminal Court of the municipality of Sucre. Later I joined the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (MRL).”<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “[h]e was sentenced to 38 years in prison for the crimes of rebellion, kidnapping and terrorism, but upon serving fourteen of his sentence, the sixth execution judge of Penas de Medellín accepted the request for parole. He was sentenced to 29 years in prison for

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.5



the kidnapping of Beatriz Elena Turbay and Army Major Luis Demetrio Yepes, in 1992 and 1994, department of Santander.”<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Spanish as his primary language.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>14</sup> “Languages,” Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	101
<b>Leadercode</b>	205
<b>Name of leader</b>	Jairo de Jesus Calvo Ocampo (aka Ernesto Rojas)
<b>Organization</b>	EPL
<b>Conflict country</b>	Colombia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1949 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Manizales, Colombia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1987 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, in 1987 the National Police tortured and executed Ocampo.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began in the early 1980s, so he would have been in his 30s.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> Luis Eduardo Celis, “Ernesto Rojas, el comandante del EPL que abrió su ruta a una paz negociada” [Ernesto Rojas, the PLA commander who opened his way to a negotiated peace], *EL ESPECTADOR*, February 14, 2017, Accessed August 26, 2017, <http://www.elespectador.com/opinion/ernesto-rojas-el-comandante-del-epl-que-abrio-su-ruta-una-paz-negociada-columna-680008>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Colombia (1910-present),” *University of Central Arkansas*, Accessed August 26, 2017, <http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/colombia-1910-present/>.

<sup>4</sup> “En memoria de Ernesto Rojas” [In memory of Ernesto Rojas], *Semanario Virtual Caja de Herramientas*, Accessed August 26, 2017, <http://viva.org.co/cajavirtual/svc0530/articulo03.html>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He grew up in Cartago and from a very young age stood out for his social sensitivity and discipline, which led him to political militancy in the nascent Communist Party of Colombia (Leninist Marxist) in 1966 as a student of the academic school of Cartago, and shortly thereafter to its armed structure, the nascent Popular Army of Liberation, in which he remained until his death.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

**Elite family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist (joined EPL immediately after completing education).<sup>6</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

There is no evidence of experience in a state military.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he had combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested in 1975<sup>8</sup> and was in jail for 18 months for being in the EPL.<sup>9</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“Returning from a CNG tour abroad, they were captured in Bogotá by the National Police. Ernesto Rojas and Alonso Correa - a PLA militant who accompanied him - were tortured and then killed.”<sup>10</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>8</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.4

He likely speaks Spanish as his primary language.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 103  
**Leadercode** 434  
**Name of leader** Victor Ramon Navarro (aka  
“Megateo,” “El Viejo,” El Mono”)  
**Organization** EPL  
**Conflict country** Colombia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1976<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Norte de Santander,  
Colombia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2015<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in 2015.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in the late 1990s or early 2000s.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: <https://colombiareports.com/megateo/>

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<sup>1</sup> “Narcotics Rewards Program: Victor Ramon Navarro-Cerrano,” *U.S. Department of State*, Accessed August 9, 2017,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160415051616/https://www.state.gov/j/inl/narc/rewards/185786.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Victor Navarro dead: Colombia kills most wanted drug lord,” *BBC News*, October 2, 2015, Accessed August 9, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-34430555>.

<sup>4</sup> “Victor Navarro, alias 'Megateo',” *InSight Crime*, Accessed August 9, 2017, <http://www.insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/megateo-epl>.

His leader entry method is unclear.<sup>5</sup>

**Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He was not an applied learner and he barely learned to read and write.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was married.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, he was not from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “Popular Liberation Army,” *Stanford University*, Accessed August 9, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/119>.

<sup>6</sup> “Megateo’, de humilde campesino a capo del narcotráfico” [‘Megateo’, from humble peasant to drug lord], *EL UNIVERSAL*, August 17, 2015, Accessed August 9, 2017, <http://www.eluniversal.com.co/colombia/megateo-de-humilde-campesino-capo-del-narcotrafico-203067>.

<sup>7</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 9, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

“With his studies abandoned and the life of a peasant, he opted for arms, power, coca and gold, precious metal of which he made ostentation with thick chains, clocks, handcuffs and extravagant charms, like a 9mm pistol.”<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “like many young men in the region at the time, he participated in urban militias that trained members as guerrillas.”<sup>9</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.4



Yes, he was assassinated by Colombia.<sup>10</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed by the Colombian government in air strikes.<sup>11</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was Spanish.

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 104  
**Leadercode** 61  
**Name of leader** Alfonso Cano  
(Guillermo Leon Saenz Vargas)  
**Organization** FARC  
**Conflict country** Colombia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1948<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Bogota, Colombia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2011<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 2011.

### **Birth order**

He is the fifth of seven children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2008, so at age 60.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: <https://lab.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Alfonso-Cano.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> “Obituary: Alfonso Cano,” *BBC News*, November 5, 2011, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-15604609>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army,” *Stanford University Mapping Militants Project*, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/89>.

<sup>4</sup> “Alfonso Cano: Leader of the FARC Marxist guerrilla group in Colombia,” *Independent*, November 8, 2011, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/alfonso-cano-leader-of-the-farc-marxist-guerrilla-group-in-colombia-6258552.html>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

He was appointed. “After the sudden death by natural causes of Farc leader Manuel Marulanda, Alfonso Cano took over the rebel movement's leadership.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He “studied anthropology and law at the prestigious National University in the capital. He is believed to have developed a keen interest in left-wing politics during his time as a student, closely following the Cuban revolution.”<sup>7</sup> “Increasingly radical, he dropped out of university and spent several years in the Soviet Union in the 1970s.”<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence he was educated in the West.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but at what age is unknown.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>10</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Christian.

### **Elite family background**

No, he was the son of a middle-class agronomist and teacher.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He joined the Communist Youth movement and soon rose to a position of leadership thanks to his way with words and a good grasp of rhetoric...From 1999–2002, he founded the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia, a clandestine radical left-wing

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>9</sup> Marisol Gomez Giraldo, “El jefe de las Farc, cuando era Guillermo León” [The head of the FARC, when he was Guillermo León], *EL TIEMPO*, November 5, 2011, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-10708732>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.4

political group.”<sup>12</sup> “He was also in charge of the Colombian Clandestine Communist Party.”<sup>13</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence of him living in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of experience that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> “Guillermo Leon Saenz Vargas, alias ‘Alfonso Cano’,’ *InSight Crime*, Accessed July 10, 2018, <https://www.insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/guillermo-leon-saenz-vargas-alfonso-cano/>.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.13

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“In 1981, Cano was arrested in a raid on his family home and remained imprisoned until 1982 when President Betancur granted him amnesty.”<sup>15</sup> Also, he was supposedly arrested in the 1970s multiple times for protest activities and spent six months in prisons.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed in action.<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Spanish as his primary language. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>15</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>16</sup> “‘La cúpula de las Farc se va derrumbando como un castillo de naipes’: Santos” [‘The dome of the FARC collapses like a house of cards’: Saints], June 11, 2011, Accessed August 14, 2017, [http://caracol.com.co/radio/2011/11/05/judicial/1320483600\\_573230.html](http://caracol.com.co/radio/2011/11/05/judicial/1320483600_573230.html)

**Rolecode** 105

**Leadercode** 266

**Name of leader** Manuel Marulanda Velez (Pedro Antonio Marin Marin, aka “Tirofijo”)

**Organization** FARC

**Conflict country** Colombia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1930<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Génova, Colombia<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2008<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2008 of a heart attack.

### **Birth order**

He was the “firstborn of five siblings.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1964, so at age 34.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/manuel-marulanda-commander-of-the-farc-guerrilla-army-during-four-decades-of-insurgency-against-the-834337.html>

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“Manuel Marulanda Vélez,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, June 17, 2008, Accessed August 14, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Manuel-Marulanda-Velez>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> “Manuel Marulanda Vélez [Tirofijo],” *Biografías y Vidas*, Accessed August 14, 2017, <https://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/m/marulanda.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

Yes, but only before Jacob Arenas died in 1990.<sup>7</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to primary school.<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>9</sup> he was married apparently at age 70.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had 17 children.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.

### **Elite family background**

No, he came from peasant origins.<sup>12</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Manuel Marulanda: Commander of the Farc guerrilla army during four decades of insurgency against the Colombian state,” *Independent*, May 25, 2008, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/manuel-marulanda-commander-of-the-farc-guerrilla-army-during-four-decades-of-insurgency-against-the-834337.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Phil Gunson, “Manuel Marulanda: obituary,” *The Guardian*, May 26, 2008, Accessed August 14, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/may/26/colombia1>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> “Manuel Marulanda, Top Commander of Colombia’s Largest Guerrilla Group, Is Dead,” *The New York Times*, May 26, 2008, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/26/world/americas/26marulanda.html>.

No, there is no evidence of poor mental health, although he ended his leadership due to death from a heart attack, so he likely had some physical health issues at least near the end of his term.<sup>13</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“For a while, he even worked as a highway inspector.”<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “when the famous Bogotazo (the popular insurrection that followed the assassination of the liberal caudillo Jorge Eliécer Gaitán) took place on April 9, 1948, Pedro Antonio Marin took up arms and joined other young liberal peasants, first to defend themselves against the gangs armed with the conservatives (Los Pájaros) and then to attack them.”<sup>15</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> “Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army,” *Stanford University*, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/89#note40>.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.4



No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of a heart attack.<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See f.n.14

<sup>17</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 106

**Leadercode** 379

**Name of leader** Rodrigo Londono (Timoleón Jiménez) (aka Timochenko)

**Organization** FARC

**Conflict country** Colombia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1959<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Quindío, Colombia<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2011, so at age 52.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed by unanimous vote.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ae/Timochenko-GoraHerria.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> "Alias Timochenko," *Lasillavacia*, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://lasillavacia.com/quienesquien/perfilquien/alias-timochenko>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Rodrigo Londoño Echeverri, alias 'Timochenko,'" *InSight Crime*, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/rodrigo-londono-echeverri-timochenko>.

<sup>4</sup> Tim Hinchliffe, "FARC appoints 'Timochenko' as new supreme leader," *Colombia Reports*, November 15, 2011, Accessed August 14, 2017, <https://colombiareports.com/farc-appoints-timochenko-as-new-supreme-leader/>.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“From his time as a student at the Rufino José Cuervo school in Armenia, Colombia, where he graduated in 1976, Londoño, described as an introverted and inveterate reader, was a member of the Communist Youth (Juco), which at that time opposed the government of Alfonso López Michelsen. La Juco sent him to the University Patricio Lumumba of Moscow, one of the most important universities of the former Soviet Union and which today is called "Russian University of the Friendship of Peoples.” This university was known for the offers of study to young people of Communist countries and children of the elite of the countries of the newly decolonized “Third World.” Its political function was to reproduce Communism in these young people. There is no clarity about the studies conducted by Londoño in Moscow. Some sources indicate that the medical knowledge for which he is known within the guerrilla ranks is due to the fact that he studied medicine and cardiology in Moscow; other versions indicate that Londoño was in that university, but only for some months and to receive classes of Marxism and languages...In addition, Londoño completed some studies in Cuba, and received other intelligence and counterintelligence training in the former Yugoslavia of Tito.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married to a woman in Venezuela.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has two daughters<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, he is “son of a communist couple close to Manuel Marulanda.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> “Colombia's new FARC boss, a doctor and strategist,” Reuters, November 16, 2011, Accessed August 14, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-colombia-rebels-idUSTRE7AF2DJ20111116>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor mental health, although he has diabetes<sup>10</sup> and recently had a stroke.<sup>11</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist (joined FARC immediately after completing education).<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at schools in Moscow and Cuba.<sup>13</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received intelligence training in Yugoslavia.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> “Colombia: Farc leader Timochenko recovering from stroke,” *BBC News*, July 3, 2017, Accessed August 15, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-40476101>.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

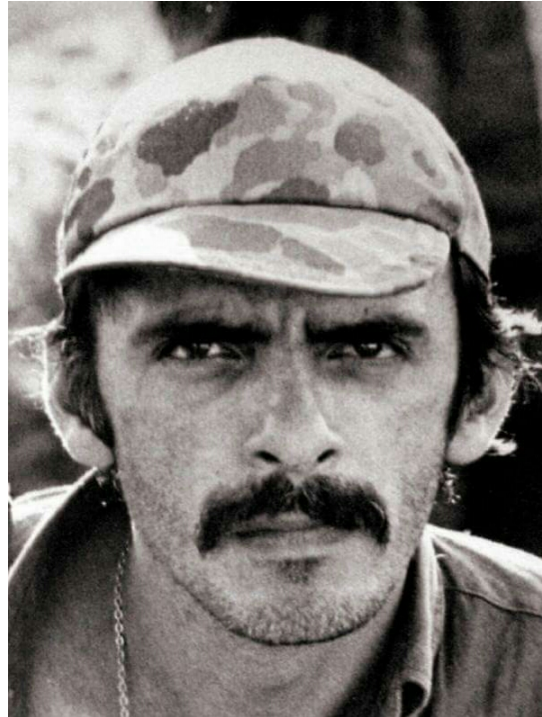
**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Spanish as his primary language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	107
<b>Leadercode</b>	69
<b>Name of leader</b>	Alvaro Fayad Delgado
<b>Organization</b>	M-19
<b>Conflict country</b>	Colombia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Ulloa, Department of Valle del Cauca, Colombia <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	1946 <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1986 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed by Colombian Special Forces in 1986.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1985, so roughly age 40.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Alvaro Fayad.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alvaro\\_Fayad.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alvaro_Fayad.jpg).

<sup>1</sup> "The Slow Death of the M-19," *Semana*, April 14, 1986, Accessed August 15, 2017, <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/la-lenta-muerte-del-19/7582-3>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "April 19 Movement," *Stanford University Mapping Militants Project*, Accessed August 15, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/91#note20>.

<sup>4</sup> Mauricio García Durán, Vera Grabe Loewenherz, and Otty Patiño Hormaza, "The M-19's Journey from Armed Struggle to Democratic Politics," *Berghof Papers Series*, Accessed February 4, 2018, [http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/Transitions\\_Series/transitions\\_m19.pdf](http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Papers/Transitions_Series/transitions_m19.pdf).

He was elected the new commander.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to high school at the Seminary of Santa Rosa.<sup>6</sup> “In 1965 he entered the National University to study psychology, there he met Camilo Torres and they became friends but did not share the same militancy.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was married.

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian (though perhaps non-religious due to his ideology).<sup>8</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“Fayad joined the Communist Youth and there he met Jaime Bateman, of whom he would say that he ‘changed the course of my life.’  
With Bateman they entered the FARC where they remained until the end of 1969, when they decided with other comrades to enter the Anapo.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>5</sup> René De La Pedraja, *Wars of Latin America, 1982-2013: The Path to Peace* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2013), 129.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 15, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

Yes, he had some physical health problems, he had an ulcer that was always causing him severe pain. There is no evidence of mental health issues.<sup>10</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a member of FARC until 1969.<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



Before becoming leader, he was sentenced to 26 years in prison, which he did not have to serve due to being pardoned.<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, Colombia successfully assassinated him.<sup>14</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed by Colombian Special Forces.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 108  
**Leadercode** 106  
**Name of leader** Carlos Pizarro Leon Gomez  
**Organization** M-19  
**Conflict country** Colombia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1951<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Cartagena de Indias<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1990<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he killed in 1990 by an assassin.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership in 1986, so at age 35.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear, but other M-19 leaders were elected.

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Carlos Pizarro Leongomez.jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed October 25, 2021. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carlos\\_Pizarro\\_Leóngoméz.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carlos_Pizarro_Leóngoméz.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Carlos Pizarro Leongómez," *Historia y Biografía*, June 5, 2017, Accessed August 21, 2017, <https://historia-biografia.com/carlos-pizarro-leongomez/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "El ex guerrillero Carlos Pizarro ametrallado en un avión en vuelo" [Former guerrilla Carlos Pizarro machine-gunned in a plane in flight], *EL PAIS*, April 27, 1990, Accessed August 21, 2017, [https://elpais.com/diario/1990/04/27/internacional/641167201\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1990/04/27/internacional/641167201_850215.html).

<sup>4</sup> "April 19 Movement," *Stanford University Mapping Militants Project*, Accessed August 21, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/91>.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He studied in several secular and religious schools, finally graduated from high school in La Salle College in Bogotá. In 1969 he began studying law at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, where he had as partners Ernesto Samper, Noemí Sanín, Carlos Vicente de Roux, Gustavo Camilo Arciniegas, Mario Alario, Guillermo Bueno, Guillermo Márquez Amado, among other important figures of the Colombian policy. In 1971, anguished by social inequalities, he joined the university's student movements and supported the reopening of the National University which had been closed for a time.”<sup>5</sup> In the same year, Javeriana University decided to deny him the right to keep studying there, so Pizarro decided to finish his studies at National University and became a political activist.”<sup>6</sup> “He entered the Colombian Communist Youth (JUCO), where he was sent to carry out social services in areas of violence.”<sup>7</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>10</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, his mother was a teacher, but his father was the only seaman to become Commander of the Armed Forces.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Las cartas de amor de Carlos Pizarro,” *EL ESPECTADOR*, April 22, 2015, Accessed August 16, 2017, <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/cultura/cartas-de-amor-de-carlos-pizarro-articulo-556314>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> “Anamarta y Juan Antonio Pizarro: Amor Comunista” [Anamarta and Juan Antonio Pizarro: Communist Love], *Jet-set*, August 14, 2014, Accessed August 21, 2017, <http://www.jetset.com.co/edicion-impresa/temas-revista-jetset/articulo/anamarta-juan-antonio-pizarro/113699>.

<sup>11</sup> “Margoth Leongómez de Pizarro, una madre coraje” [Margoth Leongómez de Pizarro, a mother courage], *EL TIEMPO*, January 22, 2015, Accessed August 21, 2017, <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-15131175>.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was part of a university student movement and was in the Colombian Communist Youth. He also went on to join the FARC. In January 1986, together with the Armored Movement Quintín Lame, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement of Peru, and Alfaro Vive ¡Carajo! of Ecuador and the Tupamaros of Uruguay, he founded the America Battalion.<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was part of FARC. And in January 1986, together with the Armored Movement Quintín Lame, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement of Peru and Alfaro Vive ¡Carajo! of Ecuador and the Tupamaros of Uruguay, he founded the America Battalion.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, "he was captured on September 14, 1979, during the government of President Julio Cesar Turbay. He was taken to Cimitarra where he was questioned and then taken to La Picota jail in Bogota. He was detained for 3 years where he was tried by the Verbal Council of War, along with more than 150 members of the armed group. In 1982, Carlos Pizarro and his companions were released, after passing the amnesty law that released more than 1,200 prisoners, most of them convicted of rebellion."<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was gunned down on a plane flight by an assassin.<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>17</sup> Central Intelligence Agency. "Languages." *The World Factbook*. Accessed July 1, 2020. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 109  
**Leadercode** 200  
**Name of leader** Ivan Marino Ospina  
**Organization** M-19  
**Conflict country** Colombia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1940<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Roldanillo, Colombia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1985<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1985 in a shootout with police.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1983, so at age 43.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He inherited the leadership position.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/20/Ivan\\_Marino\\_Ospina.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/20/Ivan_Marino_Ospina.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “Dies the hard: With Ivan Marino Ospina, the M-19 loses its fourth leader in two years,” *Semana*, September 30, 1985, Accessed August 21, 2017, <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/muere-el-duro/6948-3>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Colombian rebel leader killed in shootout,” *UPI*, August 28, 1985, Accessed August 21, 2017, <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1985/08/28/Colombian-rebel-leader-killed-in-shootout/1315494049600/>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In Pereira, being a student leader of high school in the school Deogracias Cardona, Iván Marino Ospina entered the JUCO (Communist Youth), of which soon became political responsible for Caldas. In 1961 he was sent by the Party to the Soviet Union, to follow courses in school for cadres of the Komsomol (Soviet Communist Youth).”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married in 1966, so he would have been 26 years old.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence he is from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was active in the Communist Youth. He also joined FARC before being later expelled for accusations of being a CIA agent.<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Jorge Ivan Ospina Gomez, “So I saw my father murdered, the commander of the M-19, Ivan Marino Ospina,” *Las Orillas*, April 9, 2014, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.las2orillas.co/asi-vi-asesinar-a-mi-padre-el-comandante-del-m-19-ivan-marino-ospina-jorge-ivan/>.

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 21, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence that he received state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in FARC and fought with the Venezuelan guerillas.<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “after fighting in the ranks of the Venezuelan guerrilla until his disappearance.”<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in the Soviet Union.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was arrested in Cali in January of 1979 for activities in M-19 but managed to escape six months later.<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.



“The shootout began before dawn when a police patrol arrived at the rebel stronghold seeking to confiscate a cache of weapons, and were greeted by machine-gun fire and grenades thrown from inside the house, an army spokesman said. More than 100 soldiers were dispatched to assist police in a gun battle that raged for six hours. Four guerrillas were killed, including Ivan Marino Ospina, a former M-19 supreme commander who was considered a key leader of the group.”<sup>16</sup>

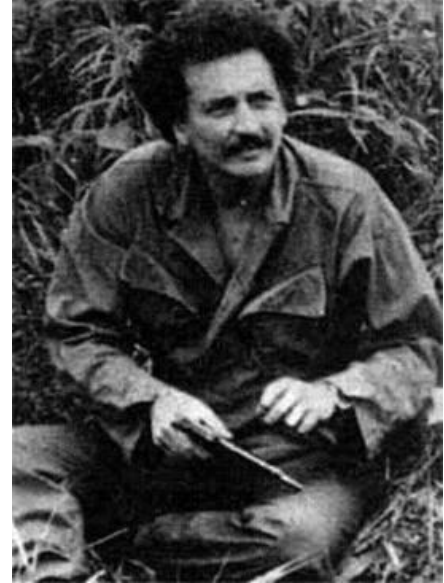
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language.

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<sup>16</sup> See f.n.3

**Rolecode** 110  
**Leadercode** 204  
**Name of leader** Jaime Bateman Cayon (El Flaco<sup>1</sup>)  
**Organization** M-19 - Movimiento 19 de Abril  
**Conflict country** Colombia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1940<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Santa Marta, Colombia<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** 1983<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in a plane crash in 1983.

### **Birth order**

He was the third son.<sup>5</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was 33, as the movement was either formed in late 1973 or early 1974.<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>7</sup>

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/e/ec/Jaimebatemancayon.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> "Jaime Alfonso Bateman Cayon (El Flaco or Comandante Pablo)," *Banrepcultural*, Accessed December 19, 2018,

[http://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=Jaime\\_Alfonso\\_Bateman\\_Cay%C3%B3n\\_\(El\\_Flaco\\_o\\_Comandante\\_Pablo\)](http://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=Jaime_Alfonso_Bateman_Cay%C3%B3n_(El_Flaco_o_Comandante_Pablo))

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> "April 19 Movement," *Stanford Mapping Militant Organizations*, January 17, 1974 Accessed December 19, 2018, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/91>

<sup>7</sup> "Biography of Jaime Bateman Cayón (1940-1983)," *The Biography*, Accessed June 11, 2018, <https://thebiography.us/en/bateman-cayon-jaime>.

## **Powersharing**

No, while there are other leaders, many of them led the AD M-19, a different faction.<sup>8</sup>

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Romero influenced Jaime Bateman to enter the Communist Youth (JUCO), thus forming the first group of young Magdalena communists. In 1957, as a student of the Celedón High School, the civic strikes began against the dictatorship of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, organized by the liberals and conservatives united.

Bateman participated in these demonstrations as a student activist. Carlos Romero married [Bateman’s] sister Matilde. Bateman traveled with them to Bogotá, and he entered to obtain his baccalaureate in the Pan-American School, following firmly his militancy in the JUCO. In 1963 he was arrested for a month for distributing subversive propaganda, then for participating in a protest against the high cost of living. He was a member of the National Secretariat of the Communist Youth and political secretary. He participated in 1963, as a delegate of the organization, at the sixteenth Komsomol Congress in Moscow, where he received a course in social sciences and criticized the method of dogmatic study that characterized the cadre school.”<sup>9</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence he was married.

## **Children**

There is no evidence he had children.

## **Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>10</sup>

## **Elite family background**

He was born into a middle-class family.<sup>11</sup> Clementine Cayon (mother) was a “militant of the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (MRL) and defender of political prisoners, [though he] was raised by his stepfather Jorge Olarte.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See f.n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> “South America: Colombia,” *CIA*, Accessed June 11, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/co.html>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n. 7.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He began his revolutionary participation as a member of the Communist Youth (Juco), then he participated in civic stoppages organized against the dictatorship of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (1957). He traveled to Santafe de Bogota, where he was arrested (1963) by participating in protests and distribute subversive propaganda. He held various administrative positions in Colombian revolutionary groups such as the political Secretary of the National Secretariat of the Communist Youth, Secretary of Manuel Marulanda Vélez (Tirofijo), Jacobo Arenas and Ciro Trujillo. Prepared and organized the revolutionary armed forces of Colombia (1966-1970).”<sup>13</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Yes, he had a lifelong injury from an accident in which he fractured his leg and almost lost it.<sup>14</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He also held “various administrative positions in Colombian revolutionary groups such as the political Secretary of the National Secretariat of the Communist Youth, Secretary of Manuel Marulanda Velez (Tirofijo), Jacobo Arenas and Ciro Trujillo.”<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in the JUCO (arguably not a non-state military; however, it seems he took part in militant activities affiliated with the JUCO).<sup>16</sup> He worked within FARC as a secretary from 1966 to 1970.<sup>17</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was taking part in militant activities while in the JUCO.<sup>18</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n. 7.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in Moscow, as he took a course in social sciences there.<sup>19</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “in 1963 he was arrested for a month for distributing subversive propaganda, then for participating in a protest against the high cost of living.”<sup>20</sup> He was also arrested in 1980.<sup>21</sup> He was arrested for a month in 1963,<sup>22</sup> but by our standards a month does not count for this variable.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

“Jaime Bateman died on April 28, 1983 in a plane crash when flying from Santa Marta to Panama, accompanied by conservative politician Antonio Escobar Bravo, who piloted the single-engine plane Piper PA 28 with Colombian license plate HK 2139P, and the Nelly Vivas guerrillas and Conrado Marín.”<sup>23</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> See f.n. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> “Jaime Alfonso Bateman,” *HIJOS*, January 15, 2015, Accessed June 11, 2018, <http://www.hijosbogota.org/index.php/recordar-con-el-corazon/galeria-de-la-memoria/item/103-jaime-alfonso-bateman>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	111
<b>Leadercode</b>	20
<b>Name of leader</b>	Foundi Abdullah Ibrahim
<b>Organization</b>	Republic of Anjouan (MPA)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Comoros
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1922 (est.) <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Mutsamudu, Comoros <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2018 <sup>3</sup>

#### **Birth order**

Unknown

#### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader at age 75.<sup>4</sup>

#### **Leader entry method:**

After he was arrested, he was named President of the “State of Anjouan.”<sup>5</sup> It remains unclear how he gained his initial leadership position in the MPA.

#### **Powersharing**

There is no evidence of powersharing.

#### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

#### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.

#### **Children**

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<sup>1</sup> Moussa, Sardou. “Obituary: disappearance of Fundi Abdallah Ibrahim,” *Al-Watwan*, 19 January 2018. <https://alwatwan.net/societe/nécrologie-disparition-de-fundi-abdallah-ibrahim.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Lansford, Tom. *Political Handbook of the World 2015* (Singapore: CQ Press, 2015), 316

Yes, he had two sons.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was a Muslim.

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was in business before he became a rebel.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he served in the Comoros army when it was a French colony.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n. 1.

He was arrested on July 22, 1997, before being released a few days later.<sup>9</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

There were two attempts on his life while he was leader of the MPA.<sup>10</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

Natural causes

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Comorian and Arabic.

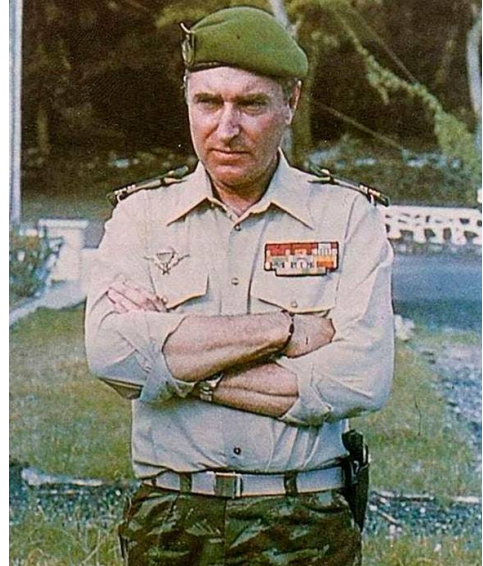
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<sup>9</sup> See f.n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> "Militias fighting on Comoros' rebel island," *CNN.com*, 8 December 1998.  
<http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/africa/9812/08/comoros.01/>.



<b>Rolecode</b>	112
<b>Leadercode</b>	98
<b>Name of leader</b>	Bob Denard (Gilbert Bourgeau)
<b>Organization</b>	Presidential Guard
<b>Conflict country</b>	Comoros
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1929 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Bordeaux, France <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1978, so at age 49.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“With 50 mercenaries, Denard seized control of the Comoros in 1978, toppling President Ali SOILIH, who was killed ‘while attempting to escape.’ Denard placed the exiled Ahmed ABDALLAH in the presidential palace and became head of the Presidential Guard—effectively his own private army.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: [https://topwar.ru/uploads/posts/2020-06/1592374181\\_rober-denar.jpg](https://topwar.ru/uploads/posts/2020-06/1592374181_rober-denar.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Denard, Bob." In *An African Biographical Dictionary*, by Norbert C. Brockman, 2nd ed, Grey House Publishing, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he had “been married seven times polygamously.”<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least eight children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He converted to Islam in the late 1970s.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence of an elite family.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked for the police. He was part of the colonial police in Morocco.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Marlise Simons, “Bob Denard, Hired Gun for Coups, Is Dead at 78,” *The New York Times*, October 16, 2017, Accessed March 23, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/16/world/europe/16denard.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.6

Yes, “Denard served with the French army in Indo-china in his late teens and early twenties.”<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Denard re-emerged in the early 1960s as a soldier of fortune, working for the secessionist Congolese leader, Moïse Tshombe. He then moved from one adventure to another—Yemen, Congo-Zaire, and finally the Comoros.”<sup>11</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, state and non-state military experience noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, he was no longer leader when he lived in exile. “Denard overthrew four Comoros governments. In the last incident, Denard had lost his undercover patron, the French secret service. In 1989, the French moved against him with a naval task force and 3,000 soldiers. He was arrested and spent 10 months in French jails. He then went into exile in South Africa for five years, then returned to France to face charges stemming from a failed coup in Benin.”<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he worked in the colonial police in Morocco.<sup>13</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

In 1956, he was sentenced to a year in jail for a plot to kill France’s prime minister (this is probably the only prison sentence that technically counts, since other ones likely came

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

after he was leader.)<sup>14</sup> “In 1989, the French moved against him with a naval task force and 3,000 soldiers. He was arrested and spent 10 months in French jails. He then went into exile in South Africa for five years, then returned to France to face charges stemming from a failed coup in Benin. After prominent French officials spoke up for him and he showed that the coup attempt had been done with the support of the French government, Denard was given a suspended sentence.”<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke French.

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<b>Rolecode</b>	113
<b>Leadercode</b>	114
<b>Name of leader</b>	Denis Sassou-Nguessou
<b>Organization</b>	Cobras
<b>Conflict country</b>	Congo
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1943 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Edou, Republic of the Congo <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1992, so at age 49.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He helped found the organization.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/97/Denis\\_Sassou\\_Nguesso\\_2014.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/97/Denis_Sassou_Nguesso_2014.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Denis Sassou-Nguesso," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 24, 2016, Accessed March 27, 2017,

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Denis-Sassou-Nguesso>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Sassou-Nguesso attended Loubomo Secondary School from 1956 until 1961.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age of his marriage is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least one daughter.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, he was the “son of a peasant family.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, in the early 1970s “he joined the Congolese Labour Party (Parti Congolais du Travail; PCT), which embraced a Marxist-Leninist ideology and was designated the country’s sole ruling party in 1970. Sassou-Nguesso became a protégé of Pres. Marien Ngouabi (1968–77), who appointed him minister of defense in 1975. After Ngouabi was assassinated in 1977, Sassou-Nguesso’s rival within the PCT, Joachim Yhombi-Opango, came to power and appointed Sassou-Nguesso first vice president of the PCT’s military committee. Yhombi-Opango was forced to resign in February 1979, and the following month the PCT appointed Sassou-Nguesso president of the republic and head of the party... The country initially enjoyed a period of relative stability under Sassou-Nguesso, and the PCT reelected him to the presidency in 1984 and again in 1989. In regional

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Bertrand Boukaka, “Congo – Présidence : Non ! Antoinette Sassou Nguesso n'est pas décédée” [Congo - Presidency: No! Antoinette Sassou Nguesso is not deceased], *Les Echos du Congo Brazzaville*, March 3, 2017, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://lesechos-congobrazza.com/politique/2618-congo-presidence-non-antoinette-sassou-nguesso-n-est-pas-decedee>.

<sup>7</sup> “Wife of Gabon’s President Bongo dies,” *Reuters Africa*, March 15, 2009, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJJOE52E01R20090315>.

<sup>8</sup> “The spraying of Congo-Brazzaville by Denis Sassou-Nguesso,” *Congo Page*, November 22, 2016, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.congopage.com/La-pulverisation-du-Congo-Brazzaville-par-Denis-Sassou-Nguesso>.

<sup>9</sup> Biography of The President of Congo-Brazzaville, *The President of Congo-Brazzaville website*, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.sassou.cg/en/>.

affairs, he was chosen to serve as chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1986–87.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he then joined the army, which sent him to Algeria and France for military training. In 1963 Sassou-Nguesso was appointed commander of military forces in Brazzaville and by the early 1970s had risen to the rank of colonel.”<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

There is not enough evidence to say conclusively that he did, although there is a chance he did while he was in the army.<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, as noted in the political affiliation section he was president from 1979 – 1992.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.9

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Yes, in 1961 he “joined the army, which sent him to Algeria and France for military training.”<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke French as his primary language in addition to Mbochi.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.



**Rolecode** 114  
**Leadercode** 101  
**Name of leader** Boutsi Moukoko  
**Organization** Cocoyes  
**Conflict country** Congo Brazzaville  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

**Rolecode** 115  
**Leadercode** 347  
**Name of leader** Pascal Lissouba  
**Organization** Cocoyes  
**Conflict country** Congo  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1931<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Village of Tsinguidi in the Grand Niari region of the Republic of Congo<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1993, so at age 62.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

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Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Visit of Pascal Lissouba President of Congo, to the EC (cropped).jpg." Wikimedia Commons. Accessed October 25, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Visit\\_of\\_Pascal\\_Lissouba,\\_President\\_of\\_Congo,\\_to\\_the\\_EC\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Visit_of_Pascal_Lissouba,_President_of_Congo,_to_the_EC_(cropped).jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Rich, "Lissouba, Pascal," In *Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2012, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1179>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Cocoyes," *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed March 29, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/cocoyes.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“After completing his primary schooling in the Congolese towns of Mossenjo and Boko, Lissouba commenced his secondary education in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville. He then managed to find the financial support to travel to France in 1948, where he enrolled at the Lycée Félix-Faure in the southern French city of Nice. Lissouba graduated from this secondary school in 1952 and passed his baccalaureate examinations. His interest in science led him to commence his undergraduate education at the École Supérieur d’Agriculture in Tunis, which was still a part of the French empire. He continued his undergraduate career at the University of Paris from 1958 to 1961. The French research agency ORSTOM funded Lissouba’s graduate work at the University of Strasbourg. This institution then awarded Lissouba a doctorate in biology in 1961. His doctoral research concerned the genetics of plants.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, while studying in France (1958-1961) he met and then married Jocelyn Rosdam.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, they had eleven children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Christian.

### **Elite family background**

Most likely no, since a source notes that he “managed to find...financial support.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In 1962, Lissouba became the Director General of the Congo’s agricultural ministry. In 1963 he was appointed Minister of Agriculture. Later in 1963 he was appointed as Prime Minister. In 1968 he was appointed as Minister of Education. In 1991, Lissouba formed

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

the Union Panafricaine pour la Démocratie Sociale political party. In 1992, he ran and won the presidency.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

In 1962, Lissouba became the Director General of the Congo's agricultural ministry. In 1963 he was appointed Minister of Agriculture. Later in 1963 he was appointed as Prime Minister. In 1968 he was appointed as Minister of Education. In 1992, he ran and won the presidency.<sup>10</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after having his death sentence in 1979 commuted, he lived in exile in France.<sup>11</sup> In 1997 after losing the civil war against Denis Sassou-Nguesso, "he fled to England, and eventually resettled in Paris in a home he had purchased, allegedly with embezzled government funds, in the 1990s."<sup>12</sup> (Note that the 1997 exile does not count for this variable since he was no longer leader)

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he went to study in France and Tunis.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested “for supposedly backing a general strike that arose against Ngouabi’s purges of late 1975.” He was released after only a month. In 1977, accused of assassinating Captain Marien Ngouabi, Lissouba was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted and he instead was given a life sentence in prison. He ended up being freed in 1979.<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Nzebi as his primary language in addition to French.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 116  
**Leadercode** 93  
**Name of leader** Bernard Kolelas  
**Organization** Ninjas  
**Conflict country** Congo  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1933<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** District of Kinkala,  
Congo<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2009<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2009.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In the early 1990s, so he would have been roughly 58.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit:

<https://alchetron.com/cdn/bernard-kollas-6d19a941-5ec9-4e63-b597-a7443f704f4-resize-750.jpeg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>1</sup> “Le jeu triangulaire et dramatique au Congo” [The triangular and dramatic game in Congo], *L’Etudiant Congolais*, May 3, 2008, Accessed April 15, 2017,

[https://web.archive.org/web/20080503120412/http://www1.planeteafrique.com/acorem/Index.asp?affiche=News\\_Display.asp&articleID=2329&rub=Vitrine](https://web.archive.org/web/20080503120412/http://www1.planeteafrique.com/acorem/Index.asp?affiche=News_Display.asp&articleID=2329&rub=Vitrine).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Congo Ninja leader dies, aged 76,” *BBC News*, November 13, 2009, Accessed April 15, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8359087.stm>.

<sup>4</sup> “Profile of ex-Prime Minister Bernard Kolelas, *IRIN*, December 9, 2005, Accessed April 15, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/57515/congo-profile-ex-prime-minister-bernard-kolelas>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Bernard Kolelas attended primary and secondary school in Brazzaville.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but at what age is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least one son.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Under the Congo’s first president, he was Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the late 1980s he founded the MCDDI, a political party.<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> John Frank Clark and Samuel Decalo, *Historical Dictionary of Republic of the Congo* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 234.

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed April 15, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “Bernard Kolelas,” *World Library*, Accessed April 15, 2017, [http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/bernard\\_kolelas](http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/bernard_kolelas).



He had a career in the government, being appointed Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1961. He later founded the MCDDI, a political party.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1964 after the death of former Congo president Marcel Ibalico, he “assumed leadership of the Congolese anti-Alphonse Massamba-Débat dissidents and mounted an assault across the river at Brazzaville.”<sup>12</sup> “In November 1969, Kolélas unsuccessfully attempted a coup d'état against President Marien Ngouabi.”<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, as there is only evidence that he was in charge of the coups, not that he specifically fought in them.<sup>14</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he “began working in the Public Service early in 1949, first in Public Health and then in the Foreign Office where he held the post of Secretary General.”<sup>15</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

During the mid to late 1960s he fled to Kinshasa in the DRC.<sup>16</sup> Also, after “rebel forces prevailed in the [1997] civil war, he lived in exile for eight years until an amnesty made it possible for him to return.”<sup>17</sup> (The forces of Kolelas continued to fight for some time after he was exiled.<sup>18</sup>)

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, first in 1963 after a political conflict, then in 1964, and then in 1969 when he returned to the Congo.<sup>19</sup> He was also arrested in 1978 for a connection with another presidential coup plot.<sup>20</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease/natural causes.<sup>21</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke primarily Lari and also French. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>19</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>20</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	117
<b>Leadercode</b>	94
<b>Name of leader</b>	Bernard Tandou
<b>Organization</b>	Ninjas
<b>Conflict country</b>	Congo Brazzaville
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method:**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	118
<b>Leadercode</b>	348
<b>Name of leader</b>	Pasteur Ntoumi (Frederuc Bintsamou)
<b>Organization</b>	Ntsiloulous
<b>Conflict country</b>	Congo
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1964 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Brazzaville, Republic of the Congo <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

“According to some sources, Ntoumi was the eldest of eight children.”<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

“During the initial round of civil wars in Congo (Brazzaville) that tore apart the country, Ntoumi drew a growing number of followers, so probably around 1993.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5d/Pastor\\_Ntumi\\_in\\_2007.jpg/400px-Pastor\\_Ntumi\\_in\\_2007.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5d/Pastor_Ntumi_in_2007.jpg/400px-Pastor_Ntumi_in_2007.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Jeremy, Rich, "Ntoumi, Pasteur," In *Dictionary of African Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1574>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He completed his studies at the primary level; he never attended middle school nor graduated from secondary school. Religious pamphlets and the Bible were his favorite reading materials.”<sup>6</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown. “Etanislav Ngodi, author of the most detailed study of Ntoumi’s Nsilulu religious and political movement as of 2009, noted that he so frightened informants in Brazzaville that they refused to provide much concrete information about his family.”<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a pastor.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.1.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

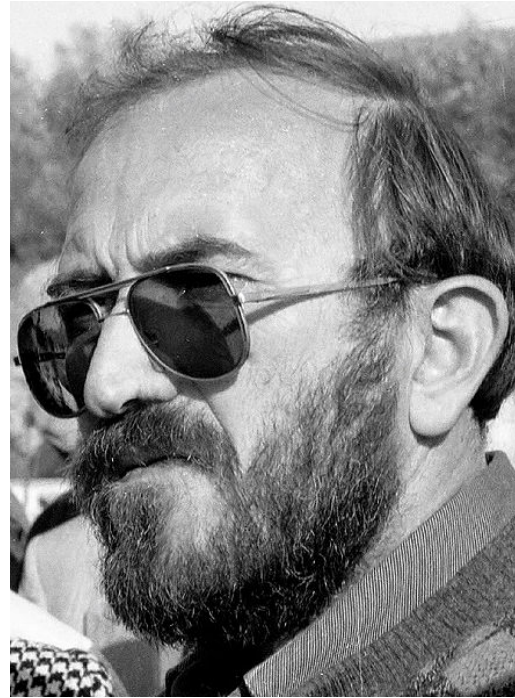
His primary language is French, and he likely also speaks Lari.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> “Ntoumi, Pasteur,” *Library of Congress*, Accessed April 9, 2017, <http://id.loc.gov/authorities/names/no2006027049.html>.



<b>Rolecode</b>	119
<b>Leadercode</b>	160
<b>Name of leader</b>	Goran Hadzic
<b>Organization</b>	Serbian Republic of Krajina
<b>Conflict country</b>	Croatia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1958 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Vinkovci, Croatia (former Yugoslavia) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2016 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2016 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1991, so at age 33.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected president of the Republic.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goran\\_Hadzic\\_1992.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goran_Hadzic_1992.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Goran Hadzic, Ex-Leader of Rebel Serbs in Croatia," *The New York Times*, July 13, 2016, January 15, 2017, [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/europe/goran-hadzic-obituary.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/europe/goran-hadzic-obituary.html?_r=0).

<sup>2</sup> "Goran Hadzic – Indictment," *The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*, Accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.icty.org/x/cases/hadzic/ind/en/had-ii040716e.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he was married at is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had a son.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, "Goran Hadzic had been a member of the League of Communists since his youth. Prior to 1990, Goran Hadzic was President of the Local Community of Pacetin. In the spring 1990, Goran Hadzic was elected a councilman at the Municipal Council of Vukovar as a candidate of the League of Communists – Party for Democratic Changes /Savez Komunista – Stranka za Demokratske Premene/ ("SK-SDP"). Goran Hadzic later joined the Serbian Democratic Party / Srpska Demokratska Stranka / ("SDS"). Goran Hadzic was elected chairman of the SDS for Vukovar on 10 June 1990. By March 1991, Goran Hadzic was President of the Municipal Board of Vukovar, a member of the Main Board and Executive Committee of SDS in Knin, and Vice-President of the Regional Board of SDS for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem in Pakrac."<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> "Serbia extradites war crimes suspect to Hague," *Aljazeera*, Accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2011/07/201172274234923301>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Religion," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed January 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked as a warehouseman at a VUPIK plant.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he had experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he had experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, many positions as noted in political affiliations section.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile while he was a leader. However, he disappeared from his home in Novi Sad in Serbia and at one point was supposedly seen in a monastery.<sup>11</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>11</sup> Peter Cluskey, "Fugitive Goran Hadzic still in sights of tribunal prosecutors," *The Irish Times*, July 04, 2011, Accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/fugitive-goran-hadzic-still-in-sights-of-tribunal-prosecutors-1.591749>.

No, while he was arrested and put in the Hague prison in 2011 for war crimes and crimes against humanity, that was after he was leader.<sup>12</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>13</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Serbian as his primary language, perhaps in addition to Croatian.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "Goran Hadzic in The Hague prison," *EXPATICA*, July 22, 2011, Accessed November 15, 2017, [https://www.expatica.com/nl/news/country-news/Goran-Hadzic-in-The-Hague-prison\\_275980.html](https://www.expatica.com/nl/news/country-news/Goran-Hadzic-in-The-Hague-prison_275980.html).

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	120
<b>Leadercode</b>	284
<b>Name of leader</b>	Milan Babic
<b>Organization</b>	Serbian Republic of Krajina
<b>Conflict country</b>	Croatia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1956 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Kukor, Croatia (former Yugoslavia) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2006 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of suicide in 2006.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1991, so at age 35.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Milan\\_Babi%C4%87\\_crop.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Milan_Babi%C4%87_crop.jpg)  
Gabriel Partos, "Milan Babic," *The Independent*, March 6, 2006, Accessed January 03, 2017,  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/milan-babic-6107318.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He graduated from Belgrade University's School of Dentistry in 1981.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had two children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Serbian Orthodox.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was primarily a dentist.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> "Milan Babic Sentenced to 13 years in prison," *United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia*, June 29, 2004, Accessed January 03, 2017, <http://www.icty.org/en/press/judgement-case-prosecutor-v-milan-babic-milan-babic-sentenced-13-years-imprisonment>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Religious aspects of the Yugoslavia - Kosovo conflict," *Religious Tolerance*, Accessed January 03, 2017, [http://www.religioustolerance.org/war\\_koso.htm](http://www.religioustolerance.org/war_koso.htm).

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.7

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, in “1990 Babic was elected mayor of Knin, a sleepy railway town that was to become the capital of the Serb-controlled areas of Croatia.”<sup>10</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, while in 2003 he was sentenced to 13 years in prison for the ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs while leader of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, that was after he was leader.<sup>11</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of suicide.<sup>12</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

He spoke Serbian, and he may have also spoken Croatian.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Bracewell, C.W., David-Barrett, Liz, Lampe, John R., and Pleština, Dijana, "Croatia," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, May 31, 2016. Accessed January 03, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Croatia>.



**Rolecode** 121  
**Leadercode** 286  
**Name of leader** Milan Martić  
**Organization** Serbian Republic of Krajina  
**Conflict country** Croatia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1954<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Village of Žagrović, Knin municipality in the Republic of Croatia, SFRY<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1994, so at age 34.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected president.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Milan\\_Martić\\_ICTY.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Milan_Martić_ICTY.png)  
"Milan Martić," *Večernji.list*, Accessed January 11, 2017, <http://www.vecernji.hr/biografije/milan-martić-279>.

<sup>2</sup> "Judgement on Milan Martić," *United Nations*, Accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.icty.org/x/cases/martić/tjug/en/070612.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from high school and then from Post-Secondary Police School in Zagreb.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He was Christian like most Serbians.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was police.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> "Religion," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed January 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

Yes, he was in Sibenk's militia for five years.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he "was a senior inspector with the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs until 1990."<sup>9</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

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<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> "The Prosecutor of the Tribunal Against Milan Martić," *The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*, Accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.icty.org/x/cases/martic/ind/en/mar-2ai030909e.pdf>.

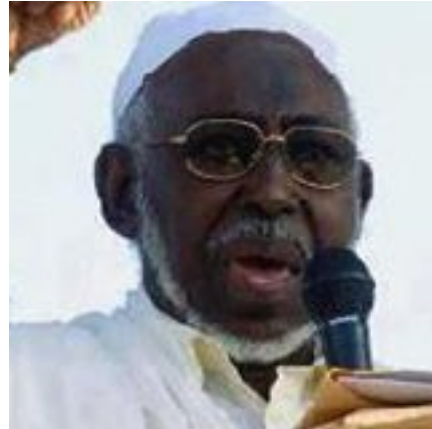
## **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Serbian and maybe Croatian as well.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> C.W. Bracewell, Dijana Pleština, John R. Lampe, and Liz David-Barrett, "Croatia." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. May 31, 2016. Accessed January 03, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Croatia>.

**Rolecode** 122  
**Leadercode** 43  
**Name of leader** Ahmed Dini Ahmed  
**Organization** Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD)  
**Conflict country** Djibouti  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1930<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Mabla mountain area, north of Obock, Afar<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2004<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2004.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

FRUD was established on August 8, 1991, so he would have been 61 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He became president of FRUD; he is thought to have been appointed. He led the splinter group of FRUD after 1994 when the main faction made peace with the Djibouti government.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dini1.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> BBC, "Opposition Leader Welcomed Back to Djibouti," *BBC Middle East* (BBC News), March 29, 2000, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/694949.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/694949.stm).

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed primary school.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was married.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He had a close relationship with Hassan Gouled, who became the country's president following independence. Ahmed was heavily involved in politics at a young age.<sup>6</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

He had diabetes and poor health overall towards the end of his life.<sup>7</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a political career.<sup>8</sup> In 1959, Ahmed was elected vice president of the Governing Council. In 1977, he was elected president of the Chamber of Deputies. Following independence, he was named prime minister (a virtually meaningless position since President Hassan Gouled held the roles of head of state and head of government).<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he had experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he held several positions, and he was the first Prime Minister of Djibouti. See above under "Occupation."

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he lived in exile for some time in France and Yemen. He returned from exile in 2000.<sup>10</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He traveled a lot for his political career it seems.<sup>11</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was imprisoned for about 5 months, from September 7, 1981, to January 3, 1982, for having created an opposition party that was immediately outlawed.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> University of Central Arkansas Dynamic Analysis of Dispute Management (DADM) Project, "61. Djibouti (1977-Present)," 2017, accessed January 31, 2017,

<sup>11</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes. Towards the end of his life, he had open-heart surgery, diabetes, and “general poor health.”<sup>13</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

People from the Afar tribe speak Afar, so this was likely his primary language. He also most likely spoke French and Arabic since those were the major national languages. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



<b>Name of leader</b>	Ali Mohamed Daoud (Jean Marie)
<b>Organization</b>	FRUD
<b>Conflict country</b>	Djibouti
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1950
<b>Place of birth</b>	Djibouti <sup>1</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became president of FRUD in 1994 at age 44, when FRUD split into two factions, the moderate led by Daoud and the radical wing by Ahmed Dini Ahmed.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He seems to have been designated as leader.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied health services in Paris from 1973-1976 and was a member of Political Bureau of "Mouvement Populaire de Liberation" starting in 1975.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Who's Who in the Arab World* (Beirut: Publitec Publications, 2007), 257.

<sup>2</sup> "Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy," *TRAC*, Accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/front-restoration-unity-and-democracy>.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was married.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>4</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a “member of Political Bureau of “Mouvement Populaire de Liberation” (1975-1977).

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked as a health technician.<sup>5</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

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<sup>4</sup> “Religions,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>5</sup> “L’ancien Premier ministre djiboutien est décédé le 12 septembre.” *Jeune Afrique*, September 20, 2004. Accessed November 5, 2021. Available at <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/88668/archives-thematique/ahmed-dini-ahmed/>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in Paris for three years.<sup>6</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

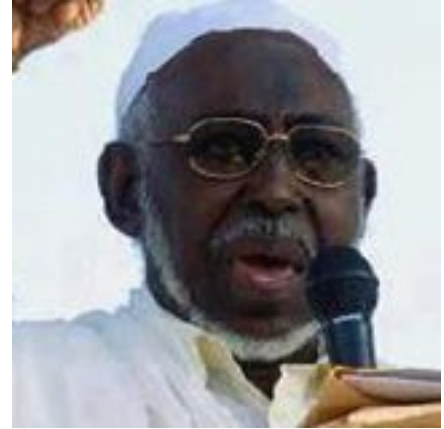
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Qafaraf as his primarily language and likely French as well.

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

**Rolecode** 124  
**Leadercode** 43  
**Name of leader** Ahmed Dini Ahmed  
**Organization** Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD)  
**Conflict country** Djibouti  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1930<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Mabla mountain area, north of Obock, Afar<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2004<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2004.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

FRUD was established on August 8, 1991, so he would have been 61 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He became president of FRUD; he is thought to have been appointed. He then led the splinter group of FRUD after 1994 when the main faction made peace with the Djibouti government.<sup>4</sup> In 1994, he was appointed the head of the executive committee of the FRUD's Dini faction.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dini1.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> BBC, "Opposition Leader Welcomed Back to Djibouti," *BBC Middle East* (BBC News), March 29, 2000, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/694949.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/694949.stm).

<sup>5</sup> Horn of Africa Bulletin Vol. 6, No. 5 (Sept-Oct 1994), [https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Newsletters/hab\\_ocsp.html](https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Newsletters/hab_ocsp.html).

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed primary school.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was married.

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He had a close relationship with Hassan Gouled, who became the country's president following independence. Ahmed was heavily involved in politics at a young age.<sup>7</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

He had diabetes and poor health overall towards the end of his life.<sup>8</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a political career.<sup>9</sup> In 1959, Ahmed was elected vice president of the Governing Council. In 1977, he was elected president of the Chamber of Deputies. Following

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<sup>6</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

independence, he was named prime minister (a virtually meaningless position since President Hassan Gouled held the roles of head of state and head of government).<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

This case is the second episode in his fight against the state. The first episode (1991-1994) is counted as experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he held several positions, and he was the first Prime Minister of Djibouti. See above under "Occupation."

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he lived in exile for nine years in France and Yemen, between 1991 and 2000, when he returned to Djibouti.<sup>11</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He traveled widely for his political career it seems.<sup>12</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>10</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

<sup>11</sup> University of Central Arkansas, Dynamic Analysis of Dispute Management (DADM) Project. "61. Djibouti (1977-Present)," 2017, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/djibouti-1977-present/>; BBC News, "Djibouti profile – Timeline," May 8, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13232162>.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke, Walter. "Ahmed, Dini Ahmed." In *Dictionary of African Biography*.

Yes, he was imprisoned for about 5 months, from September 7, 1981 to January 3, 1982, for having created an opposition party that was immediately outlawed.<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes. Towards the end of his life, he had open-heart surgery, diabetes, and “general poor health.”<sup>14</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

People from the Afar tribe speak Afar, so this was likely his primary language. He also most likely spoke French and Arabic since those were the major national languages. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	125
<b>Leadercode</b>	246
<b>Name of leader</b>	Laurent Kabila
<b>Organization</b>	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1939 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Likasi, Katanga province, DRC <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2001 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2001.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1967, he founded the People's Revolutionary Party.<sup>4</sup> Then in 1996 it was one of several groups that combined to form the ADFL.<sup>5</sup> So he became leader at age 57.

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Visit\\_of\\_Laurent\\_D%C3%A9sir%C3%A9\\_Kabila,\\_President\\_of\\_the\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Congo,\\_to\\_the\\_EC\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Visit_of_Laurent_D%C3%A9sir%C3%A9_Kabila,_President_of_the_Democratic_Republic_of_Congo,_to_the_EC_(cropped).jpg)

"Laurent Kabila," *Britannica Academic*, accessed January 30, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Laurent Kabila," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, March 30, 2012, Accessed January 6, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Laurent-Kabila>.

<sup>5</sup> "Laurent Kabila Facts," *Your Dictionary*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://biography.yourdictionary.com/laurent-kabila>.



The ADFL was formed by multiple groups and Kabila began leading it in 1996.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied political philosophy at a university in France and attended the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. He met Yoweri Museveni here, the future president of Uganda.<sup>7</sup> Another source claims that he also studied political philosophy in East Germany.<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had six children.<sup>10</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“In 1960 Kabila became a youth leader in a political party allied to Congo’s first post-independence prime minister, Patrice Lumumba. In 1961 Lumumba was deposed by

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Declan Walsh, “The Leopard is back: Mobutu's sons return to reclaim the nation plundered by their father,” *Independent*, November 28, 2003, Accessed March 19, 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/the-leopard-is-back-mobutus-sons-return-to-reclaim-the-nation-plundered-by-their-father-80381.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Laurent Kabila,” *The Telegraph*, Jan 18, 2001, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/democraticrepublicofcongo/1318326/Laurent-Kabila.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> “Africa: Democratic Republic of the Congo,” *CIA*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cg.html>.

Mobutu and later killed. Assisted for a time in 1964 by guerrilla leader Che Guevara, Kabila helped Lumumba supporters lead a revolt that was eventually suppressed in 1965 by the Congolese army led by Mobutu, who seized power later that year; in 1971 Mobutu renamed the country Zaire.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a student and was involved politically. He failed to lead a revolt in 1964 against Mobutu. He founded the People’s Revolutionary Party in 1967, a Marxist territory in eastern Zaire (DRC).<sup>13</sup> He ran a business selling gold in Dar es Salaam.<sup>14</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he received assistance from Che Guevara and Cuba in 1964 to revolt against Mobutu.<sup>15</sup> “In 1967 Kabila founded the People’s Revolutionary Party, which established a Marxist territory in the Kivu region of eastern Zaire and managed to sustain itself through gold mining and ivory trading.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, he left Zaire in 1977 and worked in Tanzania for some time.<sup>1718</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> “Laurent Kabila,” *SAHO*, Accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/laurent-kabila>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.12

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.9

<sup>16</sup> “Laurent Kabila,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 1, 2019, Accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Laurent-Kabila>.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.9

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.5

Yes, he studied for his bachelor's degree in France and Tanzania.<sup>19</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he sold gold in Dar es Salaam.<sup>20</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.<sup>21</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

A bodyguard of his while he was president shot him, although this may not count.<sup>22</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by his own forces.<sup>23</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Luba-Kasai, and he spoke French.

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<sup>19</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 126

**Leadercode** 331

**Name of leader** Ne Muanda Nsemi  
(Badiegisa Zakalia)

**Organization** BDK

**Conflict country** Democratic Republic of Congo

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1948<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Mongo-Luala, territory of Luozi, DRC<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1986, so he was roughly 38.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://naijagists.com/christian-sect-leader-ne-muanda-nsemi-freed-church-members-attack-congo-prison-photos/>

Yolanda Covington-Ward, *Gesture and Power: Religion, Nationalism, and Everyday Performance in Congo*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “DR Congo jail-break: Bundu dia Kongo leader flees Kinshasa prison,” *BBC News*, May 17, 2017, Accessed May 19, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39946722>.

<sup>4</sup> “Bundu dia Kongo,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed May 19, 2017, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/bundu-dia-kongo.htm>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied math, physics, and chemistry at Lovanium University.<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has three wives.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has a son.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is part of Bundu Dia Kongo.<sup>8</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a chemistry professor at the University of Kinshasa.<sup>9</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “‘More than 3,000 escaped’ Makala jail in DR Congo,” *BBC News*, May 18, 2017, Accessed May 19, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39964974>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested in March 2017 and escaped from jail on May 17 2017.<sup>10</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Kongo as his primary language and likely French as well.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



<b>Rolecode</b>	127
<b>Leadercode</b>	100
<b>Name of leader</b>	Bosco Ntaganda
<b>Organization</b>	CNDP
<b>Conflict country</b>	DRC
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1973 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Rwanda <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2006, so at age 33.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He seized power by force, overthrowing then-leader General Nkunda with the help of Rwanda.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> Penny Dale, "Profile: Bosco Ntaganda the Congolese 'Terminator'," *BBC Africa*, August 28, 2015, Accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17689131>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "International Court Unseals Arrest Warrant Against Bosco Ntaganda," *Human Rights Watch*, April 29, 2008, Accessed April 1, 2017, <http://pantheon.hrw.org/legacy/english/docs/2008/04/29/congo18670.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.2



**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“As a teenager, Mr Ntaganda fled to Ngungu, in eastern DR Congo, following attacks on fellow ethnic Tutsis in Rwanda. He attended secondary school there - but did not graduate.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married, but the age of his marriage is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, he is likely not from an elite family background.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "RDC: en grève de la faim, Bosco Ntaganda refuse de se présenter à son procès" [DRC: On hunger strike, Bosco Ntaganda refuses to stand trial], *Jeune Afrique*, September 14, 2016, Accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/357244/societe/rdc-greve-de-faim-bosco-ntaganda-refuse-de-se-prenter-a-proces/>.

<sup>8</sup> "Religions," *CIA*, Accessed April 1, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> "Strongman of the Eastern DRC," *Rift Valley Institute Briefing*, March 12, 2013, Accessed April 2, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2

“After Rwanda's unrest spilled over into DR Congo, he started to flip between fighting rebellions and serving in national armies - both Rwandan and Congolese.”<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

In 1990, he joined the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels. “After Rwanda's unrest spilled over into DR Congo, he started to flip between fighting rebellions and serving in national armies - both Rwandan and Congolese. In 2002, he joined the rebel Union of Congolese Patriots in the Ituri district - and spent the next three years as Thomas Lubanga's chief of military operations.”<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes. “As a teenager, Mr Ntaganda fled to Ngungu, in eastern DR Congo, following attacks on fellow ethnic Tutsis in Rwanda.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Kinyarwanda as his primary language as well as French. There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

**Rolecode** 128  
**Leadercode** 247  
**Name of leader** Laurent Nkunda  
**Organization** CNDP  
**Conflict country** DRC  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1967<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Rutshuru region in the North Kivu province, Congo<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2006, so at age 39.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: [https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive\\_large/public/images/20048231.jpg?EOgWEfLaJtahSA40mlrJ0GJahKf.9yqE&itok=KmAPHeEI](https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive_large/public/images/20048231.jpg?EOgWEfLaJtahSA40mlrJ0GJahKf.9yqE&itok=KmAPHeEI)

<sup>1</sup> Aidan O'Donnell, "Who is Laurent Nkunda?" *RFI*, November 7, 2008, Accessed March 26, 2017, [http://www1.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/107/article\\_2083.asp](http://www1.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/107/article_2083.asp).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He attended university in Kisangani, studying psychology.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he likely is married since he has six children.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has six children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, they were descendants of a local tribal chief who helped release them from prison.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Aidan O'Donnell, "Who is Laurent Nkunda?" *RFI*, November 7, 2008, Accessed March 26, 2017, [http://www1.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/107/article\\_2083.asp](http://www1.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/107/article_2083.asp).

<sup>6</sup> “Congo’s maverick warlord who kills in the name of Christianity,” *The Times of London*, November 1, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Scott Baldauf, “ What does Congo’s Gen. Nkunda want,” *The Christian Science Monitor*,” November 14, 2008, Accessed March 26, 2017, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2008/1114/p06s01-woaf.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Stewart Andrew Scott, *Laurent Nkunda et la rébellion du Kivu: au cœur de la guerre congolaise* (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 45.

He had a military career.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1994, Nkunda joined the Rwandan Patriotic Front. In 2002, “As a member of the RCD, Nkunda was integrated into the regular Congolese armed forces, the Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC) and was promoted to General. Nkunda soon defied orders and refused to leave North-Kivu. In 2004 he captured Bukavu, the capital of South-Kivu, claiming to be protecting Congolese Tutsis.”<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1996, “Nkunda fought in the newly-formed Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre (AFDL) which regrouped Tutsi militias and the Parti de la Révolution Populaire (PRP) of Congolese guerrilla leader Laurent-Désiré Kabila in an attempt to topple Mobutu.”<sup>12</sup> In the early 2000s, Nkunda commanded the Seventh Brigade of RCD-Goma forces. He continued fighting as a commander for the next four years.<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he has significant experience.<sup>14</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>10</sup> Stewart Andrew Scott, *Laurent Nkunda et la rébellion du Kivu: au cœur de la guerre congolaise* (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 45.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Yes, “Nkunda joined the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1994 and was given military training at the Gabiro military camp in Rwanda.”<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is probably Kinyarwanda, and he is also fluent in English, French, and Swahili.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Stewart Andrew Scott, *Laurent Nkunda et la rébellion du Kivu: au cœur de la guerre congolaise* (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 45.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.6

**Rolecode** 129  
**Leadercode** 213  
**Name of leader** Jean-Pierre Bemba  
**Organization** MLC  
**Conflict country** DRC  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1962<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Bokada, Équateur Province, in the DRC<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1998, so at age 36.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The\\_Vice\\_President\\_of\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Congo,\\_Mr.\\_Jean\\_Pierre\\_Bemba\\_calls\\_on\\_the\\_Vice\\_President\\_Shri\\_Bhairon\\_Singh\\_Shekhawat\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi\\_on\\_March\\_3,\\_2005.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Vice_President_of_Democratic_Republic_of_Congo,_Mr._Jean_Pierre_Bemba_calls_on_the_Vice_President_Shri_Bhairon_Singh_Shekhawat_in_New_Delhi_on_March_3,_2005.jpg)

Hans-Peter Kaul, Fatoumata Dembele Diarra, Ekaterina Trendafilova, *International Criminal Court*, May 23, 2008, Accessed April 2, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20081031144733/http://www.icc-cpi.int/library/cases/ICC-01-05-01-08-1-tENG.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Profile: Jean-Pierre Bemba, DR Congo's ex-rebel and vice-president,” *BBC News*, October 19, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35845556>.

<sup>4</sup> “Profile: Jean-Pierre Bemba, DR Congo's ex-rebel and vice-president,” *BBC News*, October 19, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35845556>.



### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“After studying at Boboto College in Kinshasa, Jean-Pierre Bemba pursued graduate studies in Belgium. He obtained a degree in commercial and consular affairs at the Catholic Institute of Higher Commercial Studies (ICHEC) from Brussels.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married to Lilia Teixeira, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has five children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>8</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he was the son of a famous businessman and had a very privileged childhood.<sup>9,10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo,” *Trial International*, December 4, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2017, <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/jean-pierre-bemba-gombo/>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>8</sup> “Religions,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed April 2, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>10</sup> “Jean-Pierre Bemba Biography,” *The Famous People*, Accessed May 2, 2019, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/jean-pierre-bemba-5872.php>.

After studying in Brussels, “he then returned to the DRC where he took over the running of the family business. In 1990 he created various new businesses, particularly in the telecommunications, aviation and audiovisual industries.”<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes. “In 1997, Jean-Pierre Bemba went into exile following the seizure of power by Laurent-Desire Kabila’s forces.”<sup>12</sup> Then he fled to Belgium in 2007 after being accused of treason.<sup>13</sup> (This fleeing to exile probably does not count for the variable as he was likely no longer leader.)

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he went to a business school in Brussels.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>12</sup> “Jean-Pierre Bemba Biography,” *The Famous People*, Accessed May 2, 2019, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/jean-pierre-bemba-5872.php>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

No, while he was arrested in 2008 and his trial began in 2010, he was no longer leader. In 2016, he sentenced to 18 years in jail by the International Criminal Court for war crimes and crimes against humanity.<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke French as his primary language.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Jean-Pierre Bemba Biography," *The Famous People*, Accessed May 2, 2019, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/jean-pierre-bemba-5872.php>.

<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 130  
**Leadercode** 38  
**Name of leader** Adolphe Onusumba Yemba  
**Organization** Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)  
**Conflict country** Democratic Republic of the Congo  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Katakombé, DRC  
**Year of death** N/A, no sources indicate that he has died.



**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

He replaced the previous leader, Emile Ilunga.<sup>1</sup>

**Powersharing**

No; the RCD split into two organizations (RCD-Kisanagani and RCD-Goma). Onusumba was the uncontested leader of RCD-Goma.<sup>2</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

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<sup>1</sup> “Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD).” *FAS.org*. Accessed 14 December 2020. <https://fas.org/irp/world/para/rcd.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Unknown

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Unknown

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, when he was likely no longer the leader, he was sentenced to a year in prison in the DRC in 2013 for rape.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> “Adolphe Onusumba Condamné À 12 Mois De Prison Pour Viol,” *LeCongolais*, 2 January 2013. <http://www.lecongolais.cd/adolphe-onusumba-condamne-a-12-mois-de-prison-pour-viol/>.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

**Rolecode** 131  
**Leadercode** 129  
**Name of leader** Emile Ilunga  
**Organization** Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)  
**Conflict country** Democratic Republic of Congo  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** North Katanga  
**Year of death** Unknown



**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1999. He was President from May 16, 1999, to October 28, 2000.<sup>1</sup>

**Leader entry method**

He was appointed.<sup>2</sup>

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*, Zed Books Ltd. (London, England, 2013), n.p.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson, Chris. "Politics-Dr Congo: New Rebel Leader Appointed," *IPS News*, 20 May 1999. <http://www.ipsnews.net/1999/05/politics-dr-congo-new-rebel-leader-appointed>.

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a “longtime associate of Kabila,” from the Revolutionary People’s Party. Kabila became president.<sup>3</sup> He was even promised the Vice Presidency under Kabila, but was not offered it after the election.<sup>4</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a physician.<sup>5</sup> He was also involved in politics.<sup>6</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

He served as President of the National Resistance Council (CNR).<sup>7</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> Simpson, “Politics-Dr Congo: New Rebel Leader Appointed.”

<sup>4</sup> “The War’s Origins (cont.): The Motivations of the Anti-Mobutu Alliance,” *American Diplomacy*, August 2000. [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD\\_Issues/amdipl\\_16/weiss/weiss\\_congo2.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD_Issues/amdipl_16/weiss/weiss_congo2.html).

<sup>5</sup> Jake Smith. *Dinner with Mobutu: A Chronicle of My Life and Times*. 2005. Bloomington, IN: Xilbris Corporation.

<sup>6</sup> See note 5.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He represented Kabila's Revolutionary People's Party (PRP) in Brussels, Belgium.<sup>8</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of Death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>8</sup> Jake Smith. *Dinner with Mobutu: A Chronicle of My Life and Times*. 2005. Bloomington, IN: Xilbris Corporation.

**Rolecode** 132  
**Leadercode** 131  
**Name of leader** Ernest Wamba dia Wamba  
**Organization** Rally for Congolese Democracy  
(Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie, RCD)  
**Conflict country** Democratic Republic of Congo  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1942<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Sundi-Lutete in the Kongo Central Province of the DRC<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2020



### **Deceased**

He died in 2020. Coded *not deceased* as of December 31, 2018.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

“The original RCD was formed on 12 August 1998 by various political elements opposing President Kabila. Key opposition leaders were called to a meeting in Goma where the movement was formed with direct support from Rwanda and Uganda...At the beginning of the war Professor Ernest Wamba dia Wamba emerged as chairman of the RCD,” so he would have been roughly age 56.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.transcend.org/tms/2020/08/ernest-wamba-dia-wamba-1942-15-jul-2020-a-healer-from-within/>  
Philippe Wamba, *Kinship: A Family's Journey in Africa and America* (New York: Penguin Group, 1999), 204.

<sup>2</sup>“Pr. Ernest Wamba-Dia-Wamba,” *CODESRIA*, Accessed April 10, 2017, <http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article1480>.

<sup>3</sup>“RCD,” *Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) Database*, accessed, April 10, 2017, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/actor/424>.

He was elected president of the RCD, according to his own account.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

After being raised in Swedish mission schools,<sup>5</sup> he went on to study English at the Experiment for International Living for a few months.<sup>6</sup> He then won a scholarship to the United States, earning a bachelor's degree in economics and philosophy at Western Michigan University and an MBA at Claremont Graduate School.<sup>7</sup> While at Western Michigan University he became involved in the Black Action Movement, African Student Association, and the U.S. chapter of the General Union of Congolese Students.<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He married an American woman he met while studying for his bachelor's degree at Western Michigan University.<sup>9</sup> The exact age when he married is unknown but it was before he became rebel leader.

### **Children**

Yes, he had three children, all born in the United States.<sup>10</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was a Protestant Christian.<sup>11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

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<sup>4</sup> Michael C. Vazquez and Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, "The Guerrilla Professor," *Transition* 85(2000): 140-159, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Emizet Francois Kisangani, *Historical Dictionary of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (London: Roman & Littlefield, 2016), 624.

<sup>6</sup> Philippe Wamba, *Kinship: A Family's Journey in Africa and America* (New York: Penguin Group, 1999), 205.

<sup>7</sup> Michael C. Vazquez and Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, "The Guerrilla Professor," *Transition* 85(2000): 140-159, p. 142; "Ernest Wamba dia Wamba," *Global Philanthropy Forum*, Accessed April 10, 2017, <https://philanthropyforum.org/people/ernest-wamba-dia-wamba/>.

<sup>8</sup> Philippe Wamba, *Kinship: A Family's Journey in Africa and America* (New York: Penguin Group, 1999), 206.

<sup>9</sup> Randy Kennedy, "His Father is a Rebel Leader..." *The New York Times*, August 29, 1999, pg. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Philippe Wamba, *Kinship: A Family's Journey in Africa and America* (New York: Penguin Group, 1999), 171; Randy Kennedy, "His Father is a Rebel Leader..." *The New York Times*, August 29, 1999, pg. 26.

<sup>11</sup> María Torrellas, "Interview with Wamba Dia Wamba. Part II," *DAWN*, Accessed April 10, 2017, <http://www.thedawn-news.org/2016/04/15/interview-with-wamba-dia-wamba/>.

Yes, he is from an elite family background.<sup>12</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was involved in civil rights movements including the Black Action Movement, African Student Association and the U.S. chapter of the General Union of Congolese Students.<sup>13</sup> In the 1980s he “became a figure in academic and political circles in Africa.”<sup>14</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a history professor at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ernest Wamba dia Wamba in discussion with Harry Krelsler, March 17, 2004, <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people4/Wamba/wamba-con1.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.11

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>15</sup> Michael C. Vazquez and Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, “The Guerrilla Professor,” *Transition* 85(2000): 140-159.

Yes. Most accounts of Wamba dia Wamba's life describe his life in Tanzania following his imprisonment as exile.<sup>16</sup> One source describes him as a "longtime exiled academic."<sup>17</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in the United States. See education, above.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, following his studies in the United States, he taught at Brandeis University, Harvard University, and Boston College.<sup>18</sup> In 1980, he began working as a history professor at the University of Dar es Salaam.<sup>19</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, in 1981 he returned to Congo from Tanzania to visit his family, and during this trip was arrested by the government of Mobutu Sese Seko for a year due to a "subversive" paper he had authored.<sup>20</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

There is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes on July 15, 2020.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke French as his primary language, in addition to English.

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<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Michael C. Vazquez and Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, "The Guerrilla Professor," *Transition* 85(2000): 140-159, p. 157; "Wamba dia Wamba in Kinshasa," *The New Humanitarian*, October 4, 2001, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/27442/drc-wamba-dia-wamba-kinshasa>.

<sup>17</sup> "Congo Rebel Seeks Peace but Ready to Battle On," *Relief Web*, October 30, 1998, <https://reliefweb.int/report/democratic-republic-congo/congo-rebels-seek-peace-ready-battle>.

<sup>18</sup> Michael C. Vazquez and Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, "The Guerrilla Professor," *Transition* 85(2000): 140-159.

<sup>19</sup> Emizet Francois Kisangani, *Historical Dictionary of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (London: Roman & Littlefield, 2016), 624.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

**Rolecode** 133  
**Leadercode** 321  
**Name** Mustafa Hamza  
**Organization** al-Gama'a al-Islamiya (IG)  
**Conflict Country** Egypt  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of Birth** 1958<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of Birth** Unknown  
**Year of Death** N/A

#### **Birth Order**

He has a younger brother.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Age at Start of Rebel Leadership**

He became the leader of IG in 1998, which would make him 40 years old.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Leader Entry Method**

The IG appoints its leaders.<sup>4</sup>

#### **Powersharing**

No evidence that he was not the main leader. IG has a spiritual leader and a consultative body. It has been described as having a decentralized decision-making process from 1989-1993.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Education**

He was a student of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman.<sup>6</sup> Hamza worked as an agricultural engineer, which suggests he held at least a bachelor's degree or equivalent.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ketz, Sammy. "Jihad Leaders Hiding in Pakistan." *The Australian*, 21 November 1995.

<sup>2</sup> "Brother of Alleged Assassination Attempt Mastermind Goes on Trial." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 11 July 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Ashour, Omar. "Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into the Causes of De-Radicalization of Armed Islamist Movements: The Case of the Egyptian Islamic Group." *Middle East Journal* 61, no. 4 (2007): 596-623. 617.

<sup>4</sup> Mobley, Blake W. *Terrorism Counter-Intelligence: How Terrorist Groups Elude Detection* (New York: Columbia University Press), 2012. 173.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Atkins, Stephen E. "Islamic Group (al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya) (Egypt)." *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press), 2004, 146.

<sup>7</sup> Sehever, Michael. *Through Our Enemies' Eyes: Osama bin Laden, Radical Islam and the Future of America, Second Edition* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc.), 2006. 103.

**Ever Married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious Identification**

He is a Muslim.

**Elite Family Background**

Unknown

**Political Affiliations and Intellectual Circles**

Unknown

**Physical and Mental Health**

Unknown

**Pre-Resistance Organization Leader Occupation**

He was an agricultural engineer.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a State Military and Role**

He served as a senior officer in the Egyptian military.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a Nonstate Military Prior to Assuming Resistance or Organization Leadership Role**

He was a senior officer in the Vanguard of the Conquest.<sup>10</sup> He was a member of Hekmatyar's rebel group in Afghanistan in the 1990s.<sup>11</sup> He was also a member of Islamic Jihad before he was a member of IG.<sup>12</sup>

**Combat Experience Prior to Assuming Resistance Organization Leadership**

He fought in Afghanistan.

**Held Government Position Prior to Assuming Leadership?**

No evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in Exile**

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Chasri, Richard J. *Tapestry of Terror: A Portrait of Middle East Terrorism, 1994-1999* (Lanham: Lexington Books), 2002. 171.

<sup>11</sup> "A Thorn in Everyone's Side." *Moneyclips*, 14 April 1994.

<sup>12</sup> Ketz, Sammy. "Jihad Leaders Hiding in Pakistan." *The Australian*, 21 November 1995.

<sup>12</sup> "Brother of Alleged Assassination Attempt Mastermind Goes on Trial." *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 11 July 1995.

Yes, he lived in exile in Somalia and Afghanistan. He had been in Afghanistan for a few months when he fled to Somalia in 1996.<sup>13</sup>

**Study Abroad**

Unknown

**Did the Leader Receive Military Training Abroad?**

Unknown. He has fought abroad, but sources do not indicate whether he has trained abroad.

**Did the Leader Have Extensive Work Experience Abroad?**

He worked in Sudan for Osama bin Laden's company.<sup>14</sup>

**Serve Time in Prison? Social Connections During that Time?**

He served time in an Egyptian prison between 1981-1988.<sup>15</sup> He was briefly arrested in Afghanistan.<sup>16</sup>

**Was There an Assassination Attempt on the Leader by the State?**

No

**Cause of Death?**

He is still alive; no evidence of death.

**Primary Language and Other Language Spoken as Adult**

Unknown

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<sup>13</sup> "Reported: Suspect in Mubarak Assassination Attempt in Somalia." *Associated Press International*, 11 September 1996.

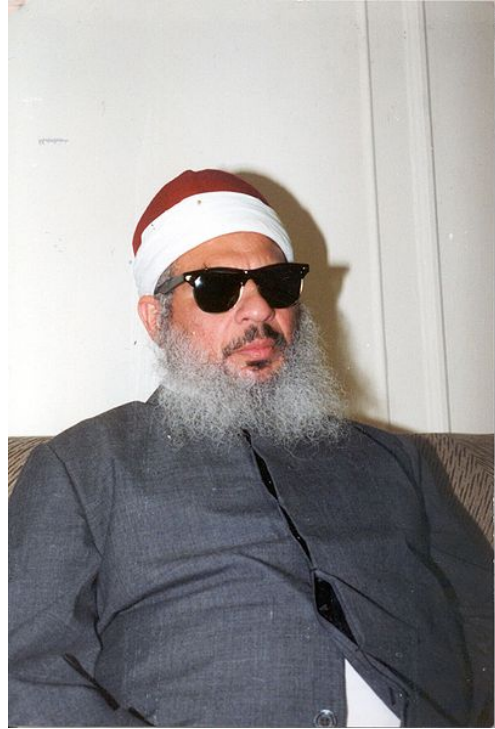
<sup>14</sup> Sehever, Michael. *Through Our Enemies' Eyes: Osama bin Laden, Radical Islam and the Future of America, Second Edition* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc.), 2006. 103.

<sup>15</sup> See note 7.

<sup>16</sup> See note 11.



**Rolecode** 134  
**Leadercode** 341  
**Name of leader** Umar Abdel-Rahman  
**Organization** al-Gama'a al-Islamiya (IG)  
**Conflict country** Egypt  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1938<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** El Gamallia, Egypt;<sup>2</sup> Fayyum, Egypt;<sup>3</sup> Tanta, Egypt.<sup>4</sup>  
**Year of death** 2017<sup>5</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2017 of diabetes and heart disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

A credible source indicates that Rahman was the leader by 1979.<sup>6</sup> If true, he would have been 41.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Omar\\_Abdel-Rahman.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Omar_Abdel-Rahman.jpg)  
Matt Schudel, "Omar Abdel Rahman, Imprisoned 'Blind Sheikh' Linked to Terrorist Efforts Dies at 78," *The Washington Post*, February 18, 2017, Accessed May 24, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/omar-abdel-rahman-blind-sheik-convicted-in-1993-world-trade-center-attack-dies-at-78/2017/02/18/807c4f2c-f603-11e6-8d72-263470bf0401\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1f1b90ed8aab](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/omar-abdel-rahman-blind-sheik-convicted-in-1993-world-trade-center-attack-dies-at-78/2017/02/18/807c4f2c-f603-11e6-8d72-263470bf0401_story.html?utm_term=.1f1b90ed8aab).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer C. Tucker, "Abdel-Rahman, Omar (aka the Blind Sheikh)," *The War on Terror Encyclopedia: From the Rise of Al-Qaeda to 9/11 and Beyond*, Edited by Jan Goldman (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mamoun Fandy, "Egypt's Islamic Group: Regional Revenge?" *Middle East Journal* 48, no. 4 (1994): 607-25, 607.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Schaizer, *Al-Qaeda's Armies: Middle East Affiliate Groups & the Next Generation of Terror* (New York: Specialist Press International, 2005), 33.

### **Leader entry method**

A member nominated him as the IG's spiritual leader, and he accepted the position.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, IG has a spiritual leader and a consultative body. It has been described as having a decentralized decision-making process from 1989-1993. Rahman was its spiritual leader.<sup>8</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He has a doctorate in Islamic law from al-Azhar University.<sup>9</sup> He also has a Master's degree from Cairo University.<sup>10</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he has married twice.<sup>11</sup> A source says that he had begun to marry by 1971.<sup>12</sup> He was 33 years old at 1971.

### **Children**

Yes, he has ten kids.<sup>13</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>14</sup>

### **Family background**

His family were poor Egyptian farmers,<sup>15</sup> as well as village merchants.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Sageman. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Blake W. Mobley, *Terrorism: Counter-Intelligence: How Terrorist Groups Elude Detection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 173.

<sup>9</sup> Schudel.

<sup>10</sup> John K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism, Third Edition* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 41.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Cooley. 42.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> "Omar Abdel-Rahman- Egyptian Cleric Known as the 'Blind Sheikh', Who Inspired a Generation of Islamic Terrorist Attacks Against the West," *The Times*, February 20, 2017, Accessed May 27, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>16</sup> Julia Preston, "Omar Abdel Rahman, Blind Cleric Found Guilty of Plot to Wage 'War of Urban Terrorism,' Dies at 78," *The New York Times*, February 18, 2017, Accessed May 29, 2018 via Lexis Nexis.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

He became blind before he turned one years old. He suffered from diabetes and heart disease.<sup>17</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an Imam.<sup>18</sup> He was also a professor at the Theological Collage in Asyut, Egypt.<sup>19</sup> He taught in Saudi Arabia as well before becoming a rebel leader.<sup>20</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military. However, he recruited people to fight with Afghan rebels. He was associated with Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's Afghan rebel group.<sup>21</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, the state assigned to him the position of Imam of Fayoum.<sup>22</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he was expelled from Egypt in the 1980s and stayed in Afghanistan. In the 1990s, he left Egypt to avoid prosecution for terror attacks.<sup>23</sup> He asked for political asylum in the

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<sup>17</sup> Schudel.

<sup>18</sup> Schudel.

<sup>19</sup> Spencer. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Youssef M. Ibrahim, "Far From Trade Center, Few But Family in Oasis Town Remember a Sheik," *The New York Times*, March 22, 1993, Accessed May 30, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Katzman, "Shaykh Umar Abd al-Rahman and His Followers," *Congressional Research Service*, 1993, 5.

<sup>22</sup> Cooley. 42.

<sup>23</sup> Spencer. 1.

United States in 1992.<sup>24</sup> He had political asylum in Sudan.<sup>25</sup> He also hid in exile in Saudi Arabia.<sup>26</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he worked in the United States as an Imam. He taught in Saudi Arabia.<sup>27</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he served time in an Egyptian prison and an U.S. prison. He was convicted in 1995 to a life sentence.<sup>28</sup> He was also under house arrest in Egypt.<sup>29</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of diabetes and heart disease.<sup>30</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic.<sup>31</sup> He claimed to know only 10 words in English.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Schudel.

<sup>25</sup> Samuel M. Makinda, "Iran, Sudan and Islam," *The World Today* 49, no. 6 (1993): 108-111, 110.

<sup>26</sup> Philippe Migaux, "The Roots of Islamic Radicalization" In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, Edited by Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, Translated by Edward Schneider, Kathryn Pulver, and Jesse Browner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 291.

<sup>27</sup> Schudel.

<sup>28</sup> Schudel.

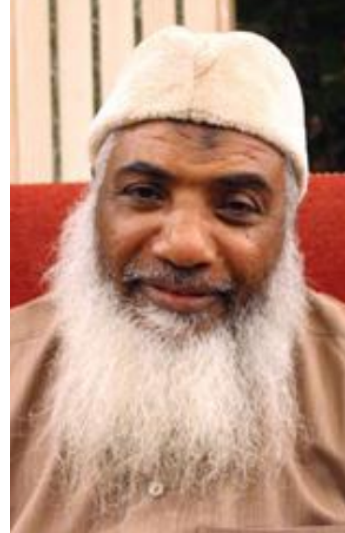
<sup>29</sup> Gordon Barthos, "Poverty Feeds Egypt's Muslim Revival," *The Toronto Star*, April 21, 1990, Accessed May 27, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>30</sup> Schudel.

<sup>31</sup> Schudel.

<sup>32</sup> "Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman; Washington Waste; The Woman Next Door; Tango," *ABC News Primetime Live*, March 18, 1993.

**Rolecode** 135  
**Leadercode** 375  
**Name of leader** Rifa'i Taha Musa  
**Organization** al-Gama'a al-Islamiya (IG)  
**Conflict country** Egypt  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1954, 1955 or 1956<sup>12</sup>  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 2016<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2016 from an air strike.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

A source states that Musa became a leader after leaving prison in Egypt for the first time and went to Afghanistan.<sup>4</sup> That year would have been 1986. Musa would have been either 30, 31, or 32 years old (est. 31).

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-protests-gamaa-insight-idUSBRE95M05Q20130623>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Joby Warrick, "Double Game? Even As It Battles ISIS, Turkey Gives Other Extremists Shelter," *Washington Post*, July 10, 2016, Accessed June 1, 2018. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/double-game-even-as-it-battles-isis-turkey-gives-other-extremists-shelter/2016/07/10/8d6ce040-4053-11e6-a66f-aa6c1883b6b1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.e737225a3b4c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/double-game-even-as-it-battles-isis-turkey-gives-other-extremists-shelter/2016/07/10/8d6ce040-4053-11e6-a66f-aa6c1883b6b1_story.html?utm_term=.e737225a3b4c).

<sup>2</sup>"13 on Egypt's 'Terrorist' Blacklist," *Intelligence Newsletter*, July 13, 1995. Accessed June 5, 2018.

<sup>3</sup>Dania Akkad, "Exclusive: US Drone Strike in Syria Killed Mediator Trying to Rein in al-Qaeda," *Middle East Eye*, May 9, 2016, Accessed June 1, 2018, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/exclusive-killing-egyptian-islamist-syria-blow-deradicalisation-efforts-611322701>.

<sup>4</sup>Montasser al-Zayyat, *The Road to Al-Qaeda: The Story of bin Laden's Right-Hand Man*, translated by Ahmed Fekry, Ed. by Sara Nimis (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 30.

The IG appoints its leaders.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing. IG has a spiritual leader and a consultative body. From 1989 – 1993 it has been described as having a decentralized decision-making process. Rahman was its spiritual leader.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the proper test is whether one can name or identify a top leader and it appears that Rifa'i Taha Musa succeeded Omar Abdel-Rahman, so Musa would qualify as the top leader.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Rifai Ahmed Taha joined the GAI in the nineteen seventies apparently while at college in Cairo.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>5</sup> Blake W. Mobley, *Terrorism: Counter-Intelligence: How Terrorist Groups Elude Detection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 173.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 173.

<sup>7</sup> “A Leading Jihadist is Dead,” *ACDemocracy*, April 28, 2016, Accessed July 3, 2018, <http://acdemocracy.org/a-leading-jihadist-is-dead/>.

<sup>8</sup> “US Air Strike Kills Senior al-Qaeda Leader,” *Al Jazeera*, April 8, 2016, Accessed June 1, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/04/air-strike-kills-senior-al-qaeda-leader-160408163048147.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Egypt; Islamic Group Leader Reportedly in Cairo Prison,” *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, December 1, 2004, Accessed June 3, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> “Sheikh Rifai Ahmad Taha,” *Biographies for International Security* 10, *International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*. Accessed June 1, 2018.

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

His health is unknown.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist, so he joined the IG while at college in Cairo.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he was in exile in Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup> There, he trained fighters to fight the Soviets and fought in the war.<sup>13</sup> He lived in exile in Turkey from 2013 to 2016.<sup>14</sup> He reportedly also spent time in Iran,<sup>15</sup> London,<sup>16</sup> and Yemen.<sup>17</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>12</sup> Julia Preston, "Defendant Tells of His Role in Edict Urging Killing of Jews," *New York Times*, December 09, 2004. Accessed June 1, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> "US Strike in Idlib Kills the Mastermind Behind the Assassination Attempt on Mubarak," *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, April 8, 2016, Accessed June 1, 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Akkad.

<sup>15</sup> "Syria Reportedly Extradites Egyptian Islamic Group Official to Cairo," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, November 13, 2001, Accessed June 1, 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Yossef Bodansky, *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America*. Roseville (CA: Forum, 2001), 258-259.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Labeviere, *Dollars for Terror: The United States and Terror*, Translated by Martin DeMers (New York: Algora Publishing, 2000), 91.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was in an Egyptian prison from 1981 to 1986 and 2001 to 2011.<sup>18</sup> For a brief period of time in 2001, Musa was in a Syrian prison.<sup>19</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died from a U.S. drone strike. Some people question which country ordered the drone strike. It does not appear that Egypt ordered the strike.<sup>20</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was Arabic. For example, he wrote a letter to an Arabic-language newspaper,<sup>21</sup> and wrote documents in Arabic.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “US Air Strike Kills Senior al-Qaeda Leader,” Akkad.

<sup>19</sup> “Egypt: Islamic Group Leader Reportedly in Cairo Prison.”

<sup>20</sup> Akkad.

<sup>21</sup> “Egypt Cracks Down on Terrorist Group,” *Herald News*, October 19, 1999, Accessed June 3, 2018.

<sup>22</sup> Roland Jacquard, *In the Name of Osama Bin Laden: Global Terrorism & the Bin Laden Brotherhood*, Translated by George Holloch (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 230-233, 248-249.



<b>Rolecode</b>	136
<b>Leadercode</b>	389
<b>Name of leader</b> (Marcial)	Salvador Cayetano Carpio
<b>Organization</b> Liberacion (FPL)	Fuerzas Populares
<b>Conflict country</b>	El Salvador
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1919 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	El Salvador
<b>Year of death</b>	1983 <sup>2</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1983 of suicide.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at age 51.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the FPL after leaving the Communist party.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/totalwar-ar/images/b/b6/Cayetano\\_Carpio.jpg/revision/latest/scale-to-width-down/180?cb=20160307003716https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cateyano\\_Carpio\\_-\\_Comandante\\_Marcial.jpg](https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/totalwar-ar/images/b/b6/Cayetano_Carpio.jpg/revision/latest/scale-to-width-down/180?cb=20160307003716https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cateyano_Carpio_-_Comandante_Marcial.jpg)

“Salvador Cayetano Carpio – Comandante Obrero,” *Marxists.org*, August 6, 2011, <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/tematica/elsalvador/carpio/comandanteobrero/comandante-obrero-biografia-y-escritos.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Richard J. Meislin, “Top Salvadoran Rebel Chief Dies in Mystery,” *New York Times*, April 22, 1983, <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/04/22/obituaries/top-salvadoran-rebel-chief-dies-in-mystery.html>

<sup>3</sup> “Salvador Cayetano Carpio – Comandante Obrero,” *Marxists.org*, August 6, 2011, <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/tematica/elsalvador/carpio/comandanteobrero/comandante-obrero-biografia-y-escritos.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He dropped out of religious school at 13 years of age.<sup>5</sup> After leading union strikes and having no place for work in El Salvador, the Communist party gave him a scholarship to go study for 34 years in the Soviet Union. He went to the Higher School of the CPSU and learned to speak Russian perfectly and held a course on Marxism.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least a daughter.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

He was from a lower-class family.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a trade union leader of the bakers, managed to create the Workers' Reorganization Committee Salvadoran Trade Union,<sup>11</sup> and was part of the Communist party.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "Salvador Cayetano Carpio: Biografia," *Cedema.org*, Accessed August 16, 2017, <http://www.cedema.org/uploads/Biografia%20Marcial.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "UPI Rebel commanders old and new; NEWLN: Salvador Cayetano Carpio and Salvador Guerra," *UPI.com*, April 21, 1983 <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1983/04/21/Rebel-commanders-old-and-newNEWLNSalvador-Cayetano-Carpio-and-Salvador-Guerra/5643419749200/file>

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.7

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a baker.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in a nonstate military.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he was deported to Nicaragua.<sup>15</sup> (Counted as exiled pre leader, but hard to know for sure because dates of exile are not completely clear)

**Study abroad?**

Yes, the Communist party gave him a scholarship to study in the Soviet Union.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he was trained by US Special Forces for about 6 months.<sup>17</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> “Salvador Cayetano Carpio: Biografía,” *Cedema.org*, Accessed August 16, 2017, <http://www.cedema.org/uploads/Biografia%20Marcial.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>15</sup> “UPI Rebel commanders old and new; NEWLN: Salvador Cayetano Carpio and Salvador Guerra,” *UPI.com*, April 21, 1983 <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1983/04/21/Rebel-commanders-old-and-newNEWLNSalvador-Cayetano-Carpio-and-Salvador-Guerra/5643419749200/file>

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.14

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he served time in prison three times.<sup>18</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of suicide.<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Spanish as his primary language and Russian.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> See f.n.6

**Rolecode** 137  
**Leadercode** 390  
**Name of leader** Salvador Sánchez Cerén  
**Organization** FMLN  
**Conflict country** El Salvador  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1944<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Quezaltepeque, El Salvador<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is the 9th of 12 children.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1983, so at age 39.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed general commander of FMLN and later elected president as the FMLN party candidate.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f9/Cadena\\_12\\_%2834186610605%29\\_cropped.jpg/440px-Cadena\\_12\\_%2834186610605%29\\_cropped.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f9/Cadena_12_%2834186610605%29_cropped.jpg/440px-Cadena_12_%2834186610605%29_cropped.jpg)

“Republic President,” *EL Salvador Presidencia De La Republica*, Accessed August 16, 2017, <http://www.presidencia.gob.sv/presidente-de-la-republica/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; “Salvador Sanchez Ceren: From Guerrilla Commander to President?” *Share El Salvador*, December 6, 2013, Accessed 24 May, 2017, <http://www.share-elsalvador.org/2013/12/salvador-sanchez-ceren-from-paramilitary-commander-to-president.html>

<sup>4</sup> “Sanchez Ceren, Salvador.” *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6<sup>th</sup> Ed. Accessed August 8, 2021.

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/reference/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/sanchez-ceren-salvador>

<sup>5</sup> See f.n. 3

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed secondary school.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married at age 24.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has four children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Catholic.<sup>9</sup>

### **Family background**

He was from a lower-class family.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a member of many leftist organizations, including FUAR, PRAM, UNO, UDN, and PAR.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid; "Salvador Sanchez Ceren: From Guerrilla Commander to President?" *Share El Salvador*, December 6, 2013, Accessed 24 May, 2017, <http://www.share-elsalvador.org/2013/12/salvador-sanchez-ceren-from-paramilitary-commander-to-president.html>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid; "Salvador Sanchez Ceren: From Guerrilla Commander to President?" *Share El Salvador*, December 6, 2013, Accessed 24 May, 2017, <http://www.share-elsalvador.org/2013/12/salvador-sanchez-ceren-from-paramilitary-commander-to-president.html>

He was a teacher.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he joined the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL).<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid; "El Salvador Profiles: Leaders," *BBC News*, September 9, 2014, Accessed on 24 May, 2017 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19401934>

<sup>12</sup> "Biografía oficial del compañero Salvador Sánchez Cerén, Presidente de la República de El Salvador," *Granma*, May 25, 2015, Accessed September 4, 2017, <http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2015-05-25/biografia-oficial-del-companero-salvador-sanchez-ceren-presidente-de-la-republica-de-el-salvador>.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Spanish.



**Rolecode** 139  
**Leadercode** 174  
**Name of leader** Hassan Dahir Aweys  
**Organization** AIAI  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Between 1935 and 1943<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Galgaduud region, Somalia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

The age at which he assumed leadership is unknown.

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear, but it seems he only led the military faction of AIAI. Aweys served as AIAI's top military commander. He was allegedly recruited into AIAI by Warsame in the late 1980s or early 1990s, around the time of Barre's overthrow.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.somaliaonline.com/community/topic/32143-hassan-dahir-aweys-vows-to-fight-on/>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

"A Profile of Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys," *Countering Terrorism Center*, Accessed May 3, 2019, <https://ctc.usma.edu/a-profile-of-sheikh-hassan-dahir-aweys/>.

<sup>2</sup> "Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys," *Countering Terrorism Center - West Point*, 2011, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Aweys.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

Some possibility that there was powersharing with Sheikh Ali Warsame, though Warsame's role may have been more of a figurehead.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence about his marriage status.

**Children**

There is no evidence he has children.

**Religious identification**

He identified as a Salafi.<sup>4</sup>

**Elite family background**

He is a member of the Ayr sub-clan of the Habargadir group of the Hawiye clan. Although not the most powerful sub-clan in Somalia, Ayr is reportedly one of the most powerful clans in Mogadishu.<sup>5</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

His political affiliations are unknown.

**Physical and mental health**

There is no evidence about his health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was in the military in the 70s, but afterwards it is unclear what he did prior to becoming a leader in AIAI.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>4</sup> "Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys," *Countering Terrorism Center - West Point*

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

Yes, he was a Somali colonel during Somalia's war with Ethiopia.<sup>6</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

There is no evidence about his nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he most likely had combat experience during the war with Ethiopia.<sup>7</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

There is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, both exile experiences came after he was leader of another organization. In 2006, he and the organization were ousted from Somalia, and he then fled to Eritrea in 2007 where he lived in exile for two years.<sup>8</sup> After the events of September 11, 2001, he went into hiding because of his alleged connection to Osama bin Laden. He returned to the public in 2004.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

There is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

He was jailed in 1983 and sentenced to death. He was later pardoned. The arrest was part of a government crackdown on Islamists.<sup>10</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> "Somalia: Security Funding Conference." 17942. *Vesley*.

<sup>9</sup> Shay. *Somalia in Transition since 2006*. 49.

<sup>10</sup> Afyare Abdi Elmi, *Understanding the Somalia Conflagration: Identity, Political Islam, and Peacebuilding* (New York: Pluto Books, 2010), 59.

There is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Somali as his primary language, in addition to Amharic.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 140  
**Leadercode** 257  
**Name of leader** Mahmouda Ahmed Gaas  
**Organization** Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front (ARDUF)  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method**

Unknown

**Powersharing**

Unknown

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>1</sup>

**Children**

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<sup>1</sup> Yasin Mohammed Yasin. "Political History of the Afar in Ethiopia and Eritrea." *Africa Spectrum* 43, no. 1 (2008): 39-65.

Yes, he had children.<sup>2</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>3</sup>

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Gaas was part of the Afar National Liberation Movement leadership, former secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia for Assab Autonomous Region, a founder of ARDU in Djibouti in July 1991 and the State Minister of Culture and Tourism of Ethiopia.<sup>4</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Unknown

**Pre-resistance organization leader occupation**

He served as an administrator in the Derg region.<sup>5</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown

**Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes (see “Political affiliations”).<sup>6</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership**

Unknown

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Email correspondence with Michael Woldemariam, October 4, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1.

Yes, he was a state minister of Culture and Tourism.<sup>7</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Unknown

**Study abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Unknown

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Unknown

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Unknown

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Unknown

**Cause of death?**

Unknown

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	141
<b>Leadercode</b>	52
<b>Name of leader</b>	Ahmed Nasser
<b>Organization</b>	ELF
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1946 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Ayromale, located in the plains of Dioot of Eastern Akkele-Guzai <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2014 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2014 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at 29 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected in 1975.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

He was the top leader in a committee.

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<sup>1</sup>“Eulogy to Ahmad Mohammad Nasser,” *Awate.com*, March 28, 2014. Available at <http://awate.com/eulogy-to-ahmad-mohammad-nasser/> (16 April 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> “An Interview with an Eritrean Icon: Ahmed M. Nasser.” *Awate.com*, March 30, 2014. Available at <http://awate.com/an-interview-with-an-eritrean-icon-ahmed-m-nasser/>



**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In 1967, the ELF sent me to Iraq to study in its Military College and, after graduation, I specialized in artillery.”<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence of education in the West.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Details about marriage are unknown.

**Children**

He had children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was a Muslim.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

His grandfather heavily influenced Nasser regarding Eritrean independence and took part in student demonstrations in secondary school in Asmara.<sup>7</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He joined the ELF.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> See note 1.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> "An Interview with an Eritrean Icon: Ahmed M. Nasser." *Awate.com*, March 30, 2014. Available at <http://awate.com/an-interview-with-an-eritrean-icon-ahmed-m-nasser/>

Yes, with the ELF he was a fighter before becoming a leader. He moved up the ranks.<sup>9</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, it is very likely that he had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, in Iraq in 1967, he was sent to the Military College and specialized in artillery and graduated from there.<sup>10</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, in Iraq in 1967, he was sent to the Military College and specialized in artillery and graduated from there.<sup>11</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence that he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See note 1.

<sup>10</sup> "An Interview with an Eritrean Icon: Ahmed M. Nasser." *Awate.com*, March 30, 2014. Available at <http://awate.com/an-interview-with-an-eritrean-icon-ahmed-m-nasser/>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See note 1.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Tigre, Saho, Tigrinya, Arabic, English and Amharic languages.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Q+A With Ahmed Nasser – Chairman of Eritrean National Salvation Front". November 30, 2011. [AI] *Asmarino Independent*. Available at <https://www.asmarino.com/interviews/1268-qa-with-ahmed-nasser-chairman-of-eritrean-national-salvation-front>

**Rolecode** 143  
**Leadercode** 417  
**Name of leader** Tamrat Layne  
**Organization** Ethiopian People's Democratic Party  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1955<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Addis Ababa, Ethiopia or "northern market villages"<sup>23</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown. Tamrat has a younger half-sister.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

The EPDM, which Tamrat is credited with founding and/or leading, was begun in 1992. Tamrat was 27 at the time.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/d/da/Tamerat\\_Layne.jpg/398px-Tamerat\\_Layne.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/d/da/Tamerat_Layne.jpg/398px-Tamerat_Layne.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Tamrat Layne, "Tamrat & Mulu's Story,"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20170701122148/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Baisley, "Tamrat Layne: Another Botched Marxist Rollout," *ECADF Ethiopian*, December 14, 2013, <http://ecadforum.com/2013/12/14/tamrat-layne-another-botched-marxist-rollout/>

<sup>3</sup> Tamrat Layne, "Tamrat & Mulu's Story,"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160503110956/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Sarah Vaughan, "Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia," *PhD diss., Univeristy of Edinbourough*, 2013.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110813043308/http://www.ihasa.org/documents/special-reports/ethnicity-in-ethiopia.pdf>, 241

Tamrat's personal biography somewhat indicates that he was designated the leader of the organization, while another source names him as the founder of both EPDM and Amhara National Democracy Movement.<sup>67</sup> A further source records "there came the time to elect leaders of EPDM" a few weeks after the initial founding of the organization.<sup>8</sup> It is unclear how exactly Tamrat came into leadership although it appears to have been at or soon after the founding of the group.

### **Powersharing**

Tamrat is called the "leader of EPDM" and "head of the EPDM" in various sources and there is no indication of power-sharing, though by his own testimony he was quite close with other rebel group leaders, with whom he shared governmental power after the civil war.<sup>9 10 11</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

There are indications that Tamrat had at least some university studies, but appears not to have completed a degree. It was during his time as a student that he became involved with a radical Marxist student movement and eventually formed the EDPM. No reference was found to which university he was attending at the time.<sup>12</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, Tamrat married wife Mulu, a fellow rebel.<sup>13</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, Tamrat has two children, a boy and a girl.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Tamrat Layne, "Tamrat & Mulu's Story,"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160503110956/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>

<sup>7</sup> Issayas Mekuria, "Ethiopia - Seye Abreha and Tamrat Layne found Guilty," *Nazret*, July 3, 2007,

[http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2007/07/03/ethiopia\\_seye\\_abreha\\_and\\_tamrat\\_layne\\_fo](http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2007/07/03/ethiopia_seye_abreha_and_tamrat_layne_fo)

<sup>8</sup> Adal Isaw, "The Making of EPDM (Now Known as ANDM): An Abridged Firsthand Historical Account," *Aigaforum.com*, November 29, 2015, <http://aigaforum.com/article1/Abridged-History-of-ANDM.htm>

<sup>9</sup> John Young, "The Tigray and Eritrean Peoples Liberation Fronts: A History of Tensions and Pragmatism," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, no. 1 (1996): 105-20.

<sup>10</sup> David Hamilton Shinn and Thomas P. Ofcansky, *Historical dictionary of Ethiopia*, (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2013), xxviii.

<sup>11</sup> Tamrat Layne, "Tamrat & Mulu's Story,"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160503110956/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>

<sup>12</sup> Verna Stanton, "Former Ethiopia prime minister testifies to changed heart," *Engage Magazine*,

November 10, 2014, <http://engagemagazine.com/content/former-ethiopia-prime-minister-testifies-changed-heart>

<sup>13</sup> Tamrat Layne, "Tamrat & Mulu's Story,"

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160503110956/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

### **Religious identification**

He is Protestant Christian.<sup>15</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Tamrat was born to a poor family. His father abandoned the family when Tamrat was six and he was raised by a single mother.<sup>16 17</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

Tamrat records working as a tutor to fellow students, then leaving his studies to join the resistance movement.<sup>18</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

There is little indication that Tamrat was part of any nonstate military organization prior to his leadership in EPDM, although one source claims he was part of the leadership, the so-called “wicked quartet” of the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front.<sup>19</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Habtamu Alemayehu, "Ethiopia: Tamrat Layne and the corruption circus of the mid-'90s," *Nazret*, April 19, 2015, <http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2015/04/19/ethiopia-tamrat-layne-and-the>

<sup>17</sup> Tamrat Layne, “Tamrat & Mulu’s Story,” <https://web.archive.org/web/20160503110956/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Getahune Bekele, “Exposed: ex-sinister warlord Tamrat Layne is an anointed puppet,” *The Horn Times Newsletter*, September 4, 2015, <http://ecadforum.com/2015/09/04/ex-sinister-warlord-tamrat-layne/>

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

At least one source considers Tamrat's current location in the United States as living in exile, though there is no indication that Tamrat himself or other Ethiopians consider him to be in exile.<sup>20</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, Tamrat was imprisoned in 1996 and sentenced to 18 years for embezzlement in 2000. He served 12 years of the sentence before his release in 2008. He spent most of his time in solitary confinement and appeared to have made no important social connections during that time.<sup>21 22 23</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Amharic and English.

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<sup>20</sup> Shalini Rai, "Tamrat Layne: A life less ordinary," *Tehelka.com*, March 16, 2015, <http://www.tehelka.com/2015/03/tamrat-layne-a-life-less-ordinary/>

<sup>21</sup> Tamrat Layne, "Tamrat & Mulu's Story," <https://web.archive.org/web/20160503110956/http://tamratlayne.com/story/>

<sup>22</sup> Groum Abate, "Ethiopia – Former PM Tamrat Layne free after 12 years in prison," *Nazret*, December 23, 2008, [http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2008/12/23/ethiopia\\_former\\_pm\\_tamrat\\_layne\\_free\\_aft](http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2008/12/23/ethiopia_former_pm_tamrat_layne_free_aft)

<sup>23</sup> Issayas Mekuria, "Ethiopia - Seye Abreha and Tamrat Layne found Guilty," *Nazret*, July 3, 2007, [http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2007/07/03/ethiopia\\_seye\\_abreha\\_and\\_tamrat\\_layne\\_fo](http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2007/07/03/ethiopia_seye_abreha_and_tamrat_layne_fo)

<b>Rolecode</b>	144
<b>Leadercode</b>	195
<b>Name of leader</b>	Isaias Afwerki
<b>Organization</b>	EPLF
<b>Conflict country</b>	Eritrea
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	February 2, 1946 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Asmara, Eritrea (Formerly Ethiopia) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was elected secretary-general of EPLF in 1987, when he was roughly 41.

### **Leader entry method**

He was a founding member of EPLF in 1977. He was then elected in 1987 to be secretary-general of EPLF.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f0/Isaias\\_Afwerki\\_in\\_2002.jpg/1024px-Isaias\\_Afwerki\\_in\\_2002.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f0/Isaias_Afwerki_in_2002.jpg/1024px-Isaias_Afwerki_in_2002.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Isaias Afwerki," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, accessed February 8, 2017,

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Isaias-Afwerki>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> "Afwerki, Issaias." In *The Hutchinson Unabridged Encyclopedia with Atlas and Weather Guide*, Helicon, 2016.



No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Afwerki studied engineering in Ethiopia at the University of Addis Ababa, but he left the university in 1966 to join the ELF. He did not graduate.<sup>4</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

He came from the working-class suburbs of Asmara.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence he had outside political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a student and then a soldier for the resistance.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

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<sup>4</sup> “Isaias Afwerki,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, accessed February 8, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Isaias-Afwerki>.

<sup>5</sup> “Isaias Afwerki,” *Marquis Who’s Who*, accessed February 8, 2017, <https://marquiswhoswho.com>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Martin Plaut, “Who Is Isaias Afwerki, Eritrea’s Enigmatic President?” *Newsweek* (Newsweek Europe), November 1, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/who-isaias-afwerki-eritreas-enigmatic-dictator-515761>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was part of the ELF before forming the EPLF.<sup>9</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, was a soldier for the ELF.<sup>10</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he lived in exile in Sudan when he joined the ELF in 1966.<sup>11</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, originally trained as an engineer, Afwerki joined the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in 1966. He received military training in China that same year.<sup>12</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>9</sup> "Isaias Afwerki," *Marquis Who's Who*

<sup>10</sup> "Isaias Afwerki," *Marquis Who's Who*

<sup>11</sup> "President Isaias Afwerki's Biography," *Madote*, November 14, 2010, accessed February 12, 2017, <http://www.madote.com/2010/11/president-isaias-afwerkis-biography.html>.

<sup>12</sup> "Afwerki, Issaias." In *The Hutchinson Unabridged Encyclopedia with Atlas and Weather Guide*, Helicon.

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Tigrinya as his primary language, in addition to English and Arabic.

<b>Rolecode</b>	145
<b>Leadercode</b>	383
<b>Name of leader</b>	Romodan Mohammed Nur (alternate spellings Ramadan, Romedan, Romadan)
<b>Organization</b>	Eritrean People's Revolutionary Party, Eritrean People's Liberation Front
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1941
<b>Place of birth</b>	Hirghigo, Ethiopia "from the coastal lowlands" <sup>1</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Romodan was a founder of the EPRP in 1971.<sup>2</sup> The EPRP was reorganized into the Eritrean People's Liberation Front in 1973, so he became leader at age 30.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Romodan was a founder of EPRP and EPLF and was elected Secretary.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dan Connell, "Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the 'People's Party & its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea," *Review of African Political Economy*, 2001, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Tahir Badouri, "The founding meeting of the Eritrean Peoples' Revolutionary Party (the clandestine party of the EPLF)," *Hedgait Blogspot*, August 22, 2015, <https://hedgait.blogspot.com/2015/08/the-founding-meeting-of-eritrean.html>

<sup>3</sup> "The First Liberation of Eritrea (1975-1977)," *Globalsecurity.org*, Accessed August 5, 2021. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/eritrean2.htm>

<sup>4</sup> Ahmed Tahir Badouri, "The founding meeting of the Eritrean Peoples' Revolutionary Party (the clandestine party of the EPLF)" *Hedgait Blogspot*, August 22, 2015, <https://hedgait.blogspot.com/2015/08/the-founding-meeting-of-eritrean.html>

## **Powersharing**

No, however “during the organization’s early years, Isaias was the leader of both the party and the Liberation Front. Romodan was the second in command of both. Another half-dozen or so individuals made up the collective party/front leadership — mainly those I have already named. (Throughout most of the EPLF’s existence, its Politburo was composed of the party’s smaller central committee.) [...] Delegates elected a central committee with Isaias and Romodan as the Secretary General and Assistant Secretary General, respectively. [...] Nearly a year later, in January 1977, the EPLF held its first organizational congress, adopting a National Democratic Program drafted by party members and circulated among fighters and civilian members before its acceptance. The party also drew up a leadership slate that was accepted more or less as presented. Henceforth, the Front would be led by a 13-member political bureau selected from within a 37-member central committee that was chosen at the Congress. Romodan was to be the EPLF’s general secretary, Isaias the vice general secretary.”<sup>5</sup>

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Romodan was a student in a secondary school in Cairo.<sup>6</sup> There is no indication of his completion or not of secondary school.<sup>7</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

## **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

## **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

## **Elite family background**

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<sup>5</sup> Dan Connell, “Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the ‘People’s Party & its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 2001, 12-13

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Dan Connell and Tom Killion, “Romedan Mohammed Nur (1941-),” *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea* (Scarecrow Press, 2010), 453.

<sup>8</sup> Tekle Mariam Woldemikael, “Eritrea: An Emerging New Nation in Africa’s Troubled Horn?” *Africa Today*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1991, 31-42.

Romodan was born to a merchant family.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere it is stated that he is “from a ruling clan in Massawa.”<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Romodan joined the Eritrea Liberation Front (ELF) while a student. His time in the ELF gave rise to his founding of the EPLF.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

His health is unknown.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Romodan was the political commissar in the 4<sup>th</sup> division (Zone 4) of the ELF, and a student before that.<sup>1213</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, Romodan was the leader in the 4<sup>th</sup> division of the ELF and was chosen for specialized military and political training.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

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<sup>9</sup> Dan Connell and Tom Killion, “Romedan Mohammed Nur (1941-),” *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea* (Scarecrow Press, 2010), 453.

<sup>10</sup> Teclai Ghebre-Mariam, Statement given to Ethiopian journalists, December 23, 1980, <http://www.ehrea.org/Letter%20100.htm>

<sup>11</sup> Dan Connell, “Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the ‘People’s Party & its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 2001, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Dan Connell and Tom Killion, “Romedan Mohammed Nur (1941-),” *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea* (Scarecrow Press, 2010), 453.

<sup>14</sup> Dan Connell, “Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the ‘People’s Party & its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 2001, 6.

Yes, Romodan spent a few months in Yemen while the ELF was disintegrating, prior to the formation of EPLF.<sup>15</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, Romodan studied at a secondary school in Cairo, beginning in 1957.<sup>16</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, Romodan studied Maoist guerrilla strategy in China in the 1967.<sup>17</sup> In China, Romodan met Isaias Afwerki who would become an ally and co-founder of EPLF.<sup>18</sup> During that time, he was “involved in the Eslah (reform) movement and Tripartite Unity Forces.”<sup>19</sup> Previously, Romodan was “sent to Syria for military and political training.”<sup>20</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

N/A

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Tigre.<sup>21</sup> Secondary languages are likely but unknown and unconfirmed.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>16</sup> Dan Connell and Tom Killion, “Romedan Mohammed Nur (1941-),” *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea* (Scarecrow Press, 2010), 453.

<sup>17</sup> “The first liberation of Eritrea (1974-1977),” *GlobalSecurity.org*, accessed July, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/eritrea2.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Dan Connell, “Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the ‘People’s Party & its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 2001, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Dan Connell and Tom Killion, “Romedan Mohammed Nur (1941-),” *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea*, (Scarecrow Press, 2010), 454.

<sup>20</sup> Dan Connell, “Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the ‘People’s Party & its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 2001, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Dan Connell and Tom Killion, “Romedan Mohammed Nur (1941-),” *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea* (Scarecrow Press, 2010), 453.





<b>Rolecode</b>	146
<b>Leadercode</b>	277
<b>Name of leader</b>	Meles Zenawi
<b>Organization</b>	EPRDF
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1955 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Adwa, Tigrai, Ethiopia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2012 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2012 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest of three children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became chairman of the EPRDF in 1989, so he would have been 34 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

It is unclear, but since he was already leading the TPLF when the EPRDF was created, he was likely appointed chairman of the latter.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Meles\\_Zenawi\\_-\\_World\\_Economic\\_Forum\\_Annual\\_Meeting\\_2012.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Meles_Zenawi_-_World_Economic_Forum_Annual_Meeting_2012.jpg)

<sup>2</sup> Aregawi Berhe, *A Political History of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (1975-1991): Revolt, Ideology and Mobilisation in Ethiopia* (Tsehai Publishers, 2009), 415.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Biography of Meles Zenawi," *Durame*, Accessed November 20, 2017, <http://www.durame.com/2011/09/meles-zenawis-biography.html>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He attended the Queen of Sheba elementary school in Adwa and went on to attend the prestigious General Wingate [High School] in Addis Ababa. After graduating, Meles attended the University of Addis Ababa as a medical student. He studied medicine for two years before dropping out in 1974 to join the Tigrayan National Organization (TLO), the forerunner of the Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF).”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Zenawi married fellow TPLF militant Azeb Mesfin in the mid-1980s, and the couple had three children, Semhal, Senay, and Marda.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had three children.

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.

**Elite family background**

No, his father, Zenawi Asresu, was a member of the area's Tigray ethnic group; his mother, Alemash Gebreleul, was from what is now the nation of Eritrea.<sup>7</sup> His father had 20-30 heads of cattle near the River Mereb.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was aided by the fact that he was distantly related to Eritrean leader Isaias Afewerki. Zenawi worked out an agreement leading to the independence of Eritrea in 1993.<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

He had liver cancer and died in 2012 from it.<sup>10</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> "Meles Zenawi." In *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, edited by James Craddock.

He was an activist.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in the late 1970s Zenawi served as a fighter himself in the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF).

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was a fighter for the TPLF.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Tigrinya, English, and Amharic.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Meles Zenawi." In *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, edited by James Craddock.

**Rolecode** 147  
**Leadercode** 376  
**Name of leader** Riyaale Ahmed  
**Organization** Issa and Gurgura Liberation Front  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1955  
**Place of birth** Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
**Year of death** Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
IGLF was founded in 1991<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background

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<sup>1</sup> "Issa and Gurgura Liberation Front." *Terrorist-Groups Online Resource*. <http://terrorist-groups.insidegov.com/1/7565/Issa-And-Gurgura-Liberation-Front>

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

None

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

**Rolecode** 148

**Leadercode** 70

**Name of leader** Amsha Desta (alternate spelling Amha)

**Organization** Military Faction

**Conflict country** Ethiopia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** Unknown

**Place of birth** Unknown

**Year of death** 1989<sup>1</sup>



**Birth order**

Unknown

**Age at start of rebel leadership**

Unknown

**Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead the organization?**

Desta was a “major conspirator” and coordinator of the coup.<sup>23</sup>

**Powersharing**

Amsha is listed with General Merid Negusie as the coup leadership. Some sources also include Fanta Belay and other high-ranking military leaders.<sup>45</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Perlez, Jane, “Ethiopia Coup Attempt Reported; Authorities Say Revolt is Crushed,” *New York Times*, 17 May 1989. <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/05/17/world/ethiopia-coup-attempt-reported-authorities-say-revolt-is-crushed.html>

<sup>2</sup> Ofcansky, Thomas and David Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 103

<sup>3</sup> Oluwole Badmus, “August Coup: How IBB’s Paranoia Destroyed the Military,” *Olubadmus Blogspot*, 2017, <http://olubadmus.blogspot.com/2017/05/august-coup-how-ibbs-paranoia-destroyed.html>

<sup>4</sup> See note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Shifaw, Dawit. *The Diary of Terror: Ethiopia 1974-1991* (Trafford Publishing, 2012), 171



**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown

**Children**

Unknown

**Religious identification**

Unknown

**Elite family background**

Unknown

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Unknown

**Physical and mental health**

There are no indications that Amsha had major health problems prior to or during the coup attempt.

**Pre-resistance organization leader occupation**

Amsha was a major general in the Ethiopian Air Force. At the time of the coup, he was Commander of the Air Force.<sup>6</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Amsha was a major general in the Ethiopian Air Force. He “carried out as many as five sorties a day to repel the Somali invaders. His memorable heroic deeds came in July 1977 with his successful elimination of convoys of Somali tanks in the Dire Dawa, Jire and Jijiga wars.”<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties**

None

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<sup>6</sup> See note 2.

<sup>7</sup> “Spotlight,” *Mediaethiopia.com*, 2011, <http://www.mediaethiopia.com/spotlight/spotlight.htm>.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership**

Amssha participated in combat as part of the Ethiopian Air Force.<sup>8</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No

**Lived in exile?**

No

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No

**Cause of death?**

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

Amha was killed at some point during the coup attempt in 1989.<sup>9</sup> One source claims that he was executed by order of Colonel Mengistu.<sup>10</sup> Several others state that he committed suicide.<sup>111213</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown

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<sup>9</sup> Harden, Blaine. "Army Coup Attempted in Ethiopia," *The Washington Post*, 17 May 1989, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/05/17/army-coup-attempted-in-ethiopia/98fbdaf0-26c6-4d27-89dd-afcc9eb6e5c7/?utm\\_term=.a3d6b3b5aa32](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/05/17/army-coup-attempted-in-ethiopia/98fbdaf0-26c6-4d27-89dd-afcc9eb6e5c7/?utm_term=.a3d6b3b5aa32).

<sup>10</sup> "Victims of Red-Terror Memorial Web-Site," *Ethiopians.com*, [http://www.ethiopians.com/qey\\_shibir.htm](http://www.ethiopians.com/qey_shibir.htm).

<sup>11</sup> See note 6.

<sup>12</sup> Wolde Giorgis, Dawit. "Ethiopia: Claiming This Flag!" *ECADF Ethiopian News*, 30 August 2016, <http://ecadforum.com/2016/08/30/ethiopia-claiming-this-flag/>.

<sup>13</sup> Ababya, Robele. "Divisive journalist accuses former Ethiopian Air Force of carnage," *Addisportal.com*, 2009, <http://addisportal.com/comment/?p=2059>

<b>Rolecode</b>	149
<b>Leadercode</b>	113
<b>Name of leader</b>	Dawud Ibsa Ayana (alternate spelling Daoud)
<b>Organization</b>	Adda Bilisummaa Oromoo (ABO)/Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1952
<b>Place of birth</b>	Abuna village, Horro Guduru District in Wolega <sup>12</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Dawud became part of the OLF Central Committee for the first time in 1977 at the age of 25, then the Executive Committee in 1988 at the age of 36. In 1999, he was made the OLF's chairman at the age of 47.<sup>34</sup> When the OLF merged with its splinter group OLF-TA in 2014, Dawud became the chairman of the unified group at the age of 62.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dawud\\_Ibsa\\_Ayana.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dawud_Ibsa_Ayana.png)

<sup>2</sup> Ofcansky, Thomas P. and David H. Shinn, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana (1952-)," *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Scarecrow Press, 2013 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., 116.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 116-117

<sup>4</sup> Owuor, Henry, "Oromos live peacefully in Ethiopia," *Daily Nation*, 2009, <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/1066-640172-6rkip0z/index.html>

<sup>5</sup> Abidhe Gerba, "[Breaking News] OLF merged under leadership of Dawud Ibsa with Dhugassa Bakako as deputy," *SiiTube*, 2014, [https://www.siiube.com/articles/breaking-newsolf-merged-under-dawud-ibsa-with-dhugassa-bakako-as-deputy\\_279.html](https://www.siiube.com/articles/breaking-newsolf-merged-under-dawud-ibsa-with-dhugassa-bakako-as-deputy_279.html)

Dawud held elected positions in OLF leadership.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, while Dawud's original leadership role was as part of a committee, as chairman he does not share power.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Dawud attended primary and secondary school in Shambo, then attended Haile Selassie I University from 1970-1971.<sup>7</sup> He was an early member of the Association of Oromo University Students and was active in the student movement against Haile Selassie. He graduated from Haile Selassie I University and continued his studies in statistics at Addis Ababa University from 1979-1980.<sup>8</sup> Before receiving his degree, he fled to Sudan.<sup>9,10</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

From 1974-1976 Dawud was a part of the Zemacha campaign.<sup>11</sup> Originally designed by the Derg to quell student discontent, Zemacha soon turned into an opportunity for

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<sup>6</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David H. Shinn, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana (1952-)," *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 116.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David H. Shinn, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana (1952-)," *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 116.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 316-317

<sup>9</sup> *Les nouvelles d'Addis*, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana," *Advocacy for Oromo*, 2006, interviewed by Colette Delsol, Katia Girma, Alain Leterrier, <https://advocacy4oromia.org/dreaming/dawud-ibsa-ayana/>

<sup>10</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David H. Shinn, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana (1952-)," *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 116.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

students and teachers to denounce the Derg and demand the formation of a people's government.<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Dawud was a student before joining the OLF.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes. "In April 1981, Dawud commanded the OLF unit that started the armed struggle in Wollega Province."<sup>13</sup> Dawud also led the OLF's military department until 1991.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes. "In April 1981, Dawud commanded the OLF unit that started the armed struggle in Wollega Province."<sup>15</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, Dawud lived in Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, and Eritrea while on the run from the Derg.<sup>16,17</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 435.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 116-177.

<sup>14</sup> *Les nouvelles d'Addis*, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana," *Advocacy for Oromo*, 2006, interviewed by Colette Delsol, Katia Girma, Alain Leterrier, <https://advocacy4oromia.org/dreaming/dawud-ibsa-ayana/>

<sup>15</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David H. Shinn, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana (1952-)," *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 116-177.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 317

Yes, Dawud received basic military training in Eritrea.<sup>18</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, Dawud was imprisoned twice, first by the Derg from October 1977 to December 1979, then again from December 1981 to December 1986.<sup>19</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, the Derg attempted to poison Dawud in 1981.<sup>20</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Amharic.<sup>21</sup> There is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 116

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 116-117.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>21</sup> *Les nouvelles d'Addis*, "Dawud Ibsa Ayana," *Advocacy for Oromo*, 2006, interviewed by Colette Delsol, Katia Girma, Alain Leterrier, <https://advocacy4oromia.org/dreaming/dawud-ibsa-ayana/>

**Rolecode** 151

**Leadercode** 149

**Name of leader** Galassa Dilbo (alternate spelling Galasa, Galassaa, alternate name Yohannis Benti<sup>1</sup>)

**Organization** Adda Bilisummaa Oromoo (ABO)/Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)

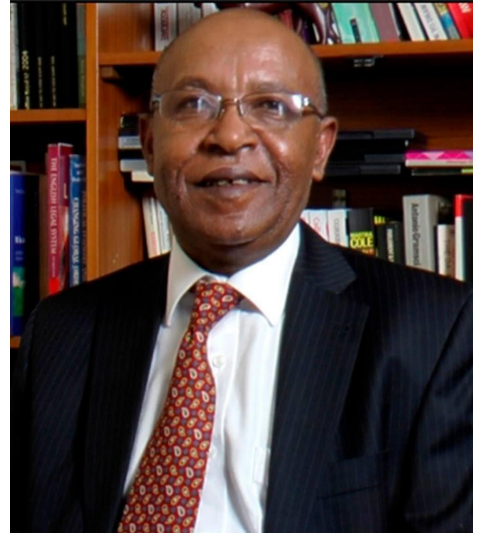
**Conflict country** Ethiopia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** Unknown

**Place of birth** Horo Gudru, Wollega Region<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Galassa took over as acting OLF chairman in 1980.<sup>3</sup> He was confirmed as the chairman of a united OLF in 1988.<sup>45</sup> From 1992-1998, Galassa again served in OLF leadership as the Secretary General.<sup>67</sup> Most recently, Galassa regained his leadership role as chairman

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <http://oromiyaa.org/attachments/Image/GALAASAA-DILBOO.jpg?template=generic>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 179.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 179.

<sup>3</sup> John Markakis, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011), 197.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 199

<sup>5</sup> Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, *Ethiopia: The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), including origin, mandate, leadership, structure, legal status, and membership; treatment of members and supporters by authorities (2014-2015)*, 2015, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/5696030f4.html>

<sup>6</sup> John Markakis, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011), 28.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 180.



in 2016.<sup>8</sup> This most recent chairman position is somewhat disputed, but Galassa did release a New Year message in 2017 as OLF chairman.<sup>9</sup><sup>10</sup> Galassa's date of birth is unknown, so the age he gained leadership is unknown.

### **Leader entry method**

Galassa worked his way up the ranks in the OLF and was elected into leadership.<sup>11</sup><sup>12</sup><sup>13</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Galassa dropped out of Addis Ababa University after the Derg seized power and enrolled in the Yekatit 66 Political School.<sup>14</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he has children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

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<sup>8</sup> "Oromo Liberation Front proudly announces the election of Galasa Dilbo as its Chairman," *Oromo Liberation Front*, December 2016, <http://oromoliberationfront.net/data/documents/OLF-restructure.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> "Deliberately creating confusion in the name of the OLF is a criminal act," *Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)*, February 2017, <http://oromoliberationfront.org/english/deliberately-creating-confusion-in-the-name-of-the-olf-is-a-criminal-act/>

<sup>10</sup> Galasa Dilbo, "2017 New Year Message from Galasa Dilbo," *Oromo Liberation Front*, 2017, <http://oromoliberationfront.net/data/documents/2017-New-Year-Message.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> "Oromo Liberation Front proudly announces the election of Galasa Dilbo as its Chairman," *Oromo Liberation Front*, December 2016 <http://oromoliberationfront.net/data/documents/OLF-restructure.pdf>

<sup>12</sup> John Markakis, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011), 197.

<sup>13</sup> Biyaa Oromiyaa, "Galasa Dilbo is re-appointed as Chairman of OLF," *SiiTube*, 2016, [https://www.siiutube.com/articles/galasa-dilbo-is-re-appointed-as-chairman-of-olf\\_3358.html](https://www.siiutube.com/articles/galasa-dilbo-is-re-appointed-as-chairman-of-olf_3358.html)

<sup>14</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 179.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

After his time as a student, Galassa was “associated with Negede Gobezie, leader of the pro-Derg Meison party. During 1975-1977, he belonged to the Ethiopian Oppressed People’s Revolutionary Party, which was part of the Provisional Office for Mass Organizational Affairs.”<sup>15</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Galassa was a student prior to his involvement in politics and ultimately the OLF.<sup>16</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

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<sup>15</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 180.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 179.

Yes, Galassa lived in Sudan after breaking his ties with the pro-Derg party. While serving as the OLF's general secretary Galassa lived and worked out of Germany.<sup>17</sup> Galassa was exiled to Kenya in 2004.<sup>18</sup> He also spent time in London and Washington D.C.<sup>19,20</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Galassa was placed under house arrest in the early 2000s by the Ethiopian government.<sup>21</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, in 1984 the Derg army ambushed the command post of the OLF leadership in a place called Billiqa in an attempt to take the lives of several leaders including Galassa, who was Secretary General at that time.<sup>22</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Oromo as his primary language in addition to Amharic.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David. H. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 180.

<sup>18</sup> *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*, CQ Press, 2006, 364

<sup>19</sup> David H. Shinn, "Oromo Liberation Front," *Advocacy for Oromia*, 2011, <https://advocacy4oromia.org/2011/08/27/>

<sup>20</sup> Asafa Jalata, "The Emergence of Oromo Nationalism and Ethiopian Reaction." *Social Justice* 22, no. 3 (61) (1995): 165-89, [www.jstor.org/stable/29766899](http://www.jstor.org/stable/29766899).

<sup>21</sup> *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*, CQ Press, 2006, 364

<sup>22</sup> "The Birth of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)," *The Oromo Chronology*, <http://www.gadaa.com/OromoLiberationFront.html>

<sup>23</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 152  
**Leadercode** 178  
**Name of leader** Merid Negusie (alternate spelling Merid Negussie)  
**Organization** Military Faction  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1934  
**Place of birth** Leku



**Year of death** Several sources indicate that he is dead (see causes of death section below), but the year remains unclear

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Unknown

Leader entry method. How did this individual come to lead the organization?  
Organized and led the military faction responsible for the coup attempt.<sup>1</sup>

Powersharing  
Yes. Merid shared leadership with Amha Desta, a fellow general in the Ethiopian armed forces.<sup>23</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown; he did not have academic education outside of military courses after high school.

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Yes, he was married but the marriage age is unknown.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Harwood, Richard. "A Bloodbath the Media Missed," *The Washington Post*, 1989, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1989/07/23/a-bloodbath-the-media-missed/d7a4fd4d-466d-4656-8650-69cbe127f428/?utm\\_term=.714861cf41d3](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1989/07/23/a-bloodbath-the-media-missed/d7a4fd4d-466d-4656-8650-69cbe127f428/?utm_term=.714861cf41d3).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Beyene, Teshome. "Flashbacks to May 1989," *Aigaforum.com*, 2014. <http://aigaforum.com/articles/flash-back-coup-1989.php>.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2.

Children

He had five daughters and four sons.<sup>5</sup>

Religious identification

Unknown

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

At least one source claims Merid suffered from depression following the death of his wife.<sup>6</sup>

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Merid was a Major General in the Ethiopian armed forces, as well as the Chief of Staff.<sup>7</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Merid was a Major General in the Ethiopian armed forces.<sup>8</sup>

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

None

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Yes. Merid was a high-ranking member of the Ethiopian military and had been a field commander in combat situations.<sup>9</sup>

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Yes. Merid was an original member of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup> Merid was the Chief of Staff at the time of the coup.<sup>11 12</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See note 1.

<sup>6</sup> See note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Zeleke, Neamin. “‘Abate Yachin Se’at’: Major General Demissie Bulto and the coup d’état of May 1989” *Ethiopian Review*, 2009, <http://www.ethiopianreview.com/index/10968>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Tareke, Gebru. *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press), 2013, 162.

<sup>10</sup> Clapham, Christopher S. *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (Cambridge University Press), 1989, 74.

<sup>11</sup> See note 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ginbot 7 Research Team, “The Ethiopian Military Leadership Under Haile Selassie and Derg Regimes,” *Ginbot 7 Movement for Justice, Freedom and Democracy*, 2010, [http://httpworldpoliticiacom.blogspot.com/2012\\_02\\_01\\_archive.html](http://httpworldpoliticiacom.blogspot.com/2012_02_01_archive.html).

Lived in exile?

There is no evidence that he lived in exile.

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

No, there is no evidence of time in prison.

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

Cause of death?

Some sources state that Merid was shot after his arrest following the failed coup in 1989.<sup>1314</sup> Other sources claim that Merid committed suicide.<sup>1516</sup> Still others say he was simply killed in the attempt.<sup>17</sup> Another source says he was executed.<sup>18</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

He likely spoke Oromo as his primary language as well as Amharic.

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<sup>13</sup> See note 2.

<sup>14</sup> Agence France-Pressc, "Attempt at a coup fails in Ethiopia," *Canberra Times*, 1989, <https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-10450-8917312/canberra-times-act>.

<sup>15</sup> Shifaw, Dawit. *The Diary of Terror: Ethiopia 1974 to 1991* (Trafford Publishing), 2012, 177.

<sup>16</sup> Ginbot 7 Research Team, "The Ethiopian Military Leadership Under Haile Selassie and Derg Regimes," *Ginbot 7 Movement for Justice, Freedom and Democracy*, 2010, [http://httpworldpoliticiaccom.blogspot.com/2012\\_02\\_01\\_archive.html](http://httpworldpoliticiaccom.blogspot.com/2012_02_01_archive.html)

<sup>17</sup> Jones, David W., "Military leaders killed in Ethiopian coup attempt," *United Press International*, 17 May 1989. <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1989/05/17/Military-leaders-killed-in-Ethiopian-coup-attempt/1849611380800/>.

<sup>18</sup> Email correspondence with Michael Woldemariam, 4 October 2018.

<b>Rolecode</b>	153
<b>Leadercode</b>	253
<b>Name of leader</b>	Magarsa Bari (alternative spelling Margarsaa Bari)
<b>Organization</b>	Adda Bilisummaa Oromoo (ABO)/Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Bale
<b>Year of death</b>	1980 (alt. date 1981)

#### Birth order

There is reference to Magarsa having a younger brother, but there is no definitive evidence that this brother was the only sibling, or that Magarsa did not have an older sibling.<sup>1</sup>

#### Age at start of rebel leadership

In the early days of the OLF, Magarsa was elected to the five-member Supreme Politico Military Command.<sup>2</sup> The date of this election is unknown. Magarsa was elected chairman of the OLF in 1977.<sup>3</sup> His age at this time is unknown.

#### Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead the organization?

Magarsa was elected into the position of chairman of the OLF.<sup>4</sup>

#### Powersharing

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

#### Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He was a college student at Addis Ababa University when he was recruited.<sup>5</sup> Thus it can be presumed that he has at least a high school diploma.

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<sup>1</sup> Bultum, Roobaa. "Ethiopia's Oromo Face Increased Repression," *hawaas.blogspot.com*, 2008, <http://hawaas.blogspot.com/2008/12/ethiopias-oromo-face-increased.html>.

<sup>2</sup> "The Birth of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)," *Gaddaa.com*, <http://www.gadaa.com/OromoLiberationFront.html>.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Email correspondence with Michael Woldermariam, 4 October 2018.

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

There are no indications that Magarsa had major health problems prior to or during his time as OLF leader.

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown



Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

This is unclear; one source claims that Magarsa was killed by assassination.<sup>6</sup> Others state that the attack was carried out by Somali agents rather than Ethiopian.<sup>7</sup> One source says he was assassinated in 1980 or 1981.<sup>8</sup>

Cause of death?

He was murdered.<sup>9</sup><sup>10</sup> On April 15, 1980, ten key leaders of the OLF, including Bari, were killed by Somali militiamen and buried in one grave while they were trying to cross to Somalia for a mission.<sup>11</sup><sup>12</sup> Another source indicates that he was assassinated in the 1980-1981 timeframe.<sup>13</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

He likely spoke Oromo as his primary language and Amharic as well.

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<sup>6</sup> Jalasta, A., *Fighting Against the Injustice of the State and Globalization: Comparing the African American and Oromo Movements*, Springer, 2002, 143

<sup>7</sup> Mohammed, Jawar, "An Ethiopian Muslim man, Jemaal Rahmaan, has been identified as one of the two dozen Ethiopians killed by ISIS," *Madda Walaabuu Press*, 2015, <http://maddawalaabuupress.blogspot.com/2015/04/an-ethiopian-muslim-man-jemaal-rahmaan.html>

<sup>8</sup> See note 10.

<sup>9</sup> See note 11.

<sup>10</sup> Dagaga, Albasa. "Oromo: Keep Your Eye on the Prize," *ZeHabesha.com*, 2016, <http://www.zehabesha.com/oromo-keep-your-eye-on-the-prize-by-albasa-dagaga/>.

<sup>11</sup> See note 3.

<sup>12</sup> See note 12.

<sup>13</sup> See note 10.

**Rolecode** 154  
**Leadercode** 300  
**Name of leader** Mohammed Omar Osman  
(alternative spelling Mohamed)  
**Organization** Ogaden National Liberation  
Front (ONLF)  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1940<sup>12</sup>  
**Place of birth** Ogaden Region in Ethiopia<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Osman was chosen as the leader of ONLF in 1998 at the age of 58.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Osman was chosen – “appointed” – as ONLF party Chairman.<sup>56</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohammed\\_Omar\\_Osman.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohammed_Omar_Osman.jpg)

<sup>2</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David P. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 311.

<sup>3</sup> “Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman,” *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Abdullahi, Abdi M., “The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF): The Dilemma of its Struggle in Ethiopia,” *Review of African Political Economy* 34, No 113: 2007, 557.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Osman received his basic education in the Ogaden Region of Ethiopia, then moved to Mogadishu where he completed his secondary education. He graduated from the War College in Cairo, Egypt, and continued his military studies in the USSR.<sup>7 8</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>9</sup> “Unlike the region’s Islamic Nasrullah resistance movement of the 1960s, the ONLF is notably secular and nationalist in orientation, though there remains a subtext of tension between the Christian rulers of Ethiopia and the Muslim clans of the Ogaden region. Some reports maintain that the ONLF portrays itself as a secular movement for external consumption, but increasingly relies on an emphasis on Muslim identity and calls for jihad in its recruiting. In discussions with the Arab press, Osman has not hesitated to describe the Ogaden issue as ‘an Arab-Islamic cause because the Ogaden people are an Arab Muslim people.’”<sup>1011</sup>

**Elite family background**

Osman recalls growing up in a “rural area herding the family camels.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman,” *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>8</sup> Thomas P. Ofcansky and David P. Shinn, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, (Scarecrow Press, 2013), 311.

<sup>9</sup> “Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman,” *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>10</sup> Andrew McGregor, “Admiral of the Desert – Muhammad Omar Osman and the Ogadeni Rebellion,” *Aberfoyle Security*, 2010, <http://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?paged=43>

<sup>11</sup> Mohammed Mealin Seid, “The Role of Religion in the Ogaden Conflict,” *SSRC*, 2009, <http://hornofafrica.ssrc.org/mealin/printable.html>

<sup>12</sup> Yusuf M. Hasan, “Somaliland: ONLF Maintains Neutrality towards Issues Related to the Collapsed Republic of Somalia,” *Ogaden News Agency*, 2013, <http://www.ogadennet.com/?p=28162>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Osman was a member of the Somali Socialist Party in the 1970s.<sup>13</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

Osman was a member of the Somali Socialist Party in the 1970s as well as serving in the Somali naval forces where he attained the rank of admiral.<sup>14</sup> Osman also claims to have been a teacher.<sup>15</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Osman was a commander in the Somali naval forces and was promoted to the rank of admiral.<sup>16</sup> “Loyalty to the Siad Barre regime [Somali] resulted in Osman’s appointment to Admiral of Somalia’s tiny navy of Soviet-built fast-attack craft.”<sup>17</sup> In an interview Osman recalled, “I joined the Somali Army and was trained as a navy officer. I held many positions in the navy and other government roles; I finally became an Admiral commander of the Somali Navy and member of the chief of staff.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

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<sup>13</sup> “Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman,” *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>14</sup> “Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman,” *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>15</sup> Yusuf M. Hasan, “Somaliland: ONFL Maintains Neutrality towards Issues Related to the Collapsed Republic of Somalia,” *Ogaden News Agency*, 2013, <http://www.ogadennet.com/?p=28162>

<sup>16</sup> “Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman,” *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>17</sup> Andrew McGregor, “Admiral of the Desert – Muhammad Omar Osman and the Ogadeni Rebellion,” *Aberfoyle Security*, 2010, <http://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?paged=43>

<sup>18</sup> Yusuf M. Hasan, “Somaliland: ONFL Maintains Neutrality towards Issues Related to the Collapsed Republic of Somalia,” *Ogaden News Agency*, 2013, <http://www.ogadennet.com/?p=28162>

Yes, Osman held positions on the central committee and the chief of the party's political bureau in the ruling Somali Socialist Party.<sup>19</sup> "Osman turned to a military career and pursued military studies in Egypt and the Soviet Union. As an officer of Somalia's armed forces, Osman assumed a position within Siad Barre's Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Soviet-inspired Marxist-Leninist political wing of Barre's military regime. Founded in 1976, the party's leadership was dominated by military officers and Osman eventually rose to a prominent position in the party's five-member Politburo."<sup>20</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes. "Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman is one of a few army generals who have applied for political asylum in the United Kingdom after the collapsed Somali state. Later, he became a British citizen, and has been living in the United Kingdom for more than seventeen years."<sup>21</sup> One source claims that the "leadership of the ONLF surprisingly resides outside the Somali region, a reason why its detractors describe it as a rebel-movement-in-exile."<sup>22</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, Osman studied in both Egypt and the Soviet Union.<sup>23</sup> He studied for four years for secondary school, four years for the college in Cairo and two years for the further military study in USSR.<sup>24</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, Osman received military training in Egypt and the Soviet Union.<sup>25</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>19</sup> "Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman," *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>20</sup> Andrew McGregor, "Admiral of the Desert – Muhammad Omar Osman and the Ogadeni Rebellion," *Aberfoyle Security*, 2010, <http://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?paged=43>

<sup>21</sup> Mohamed Yusuf Shiil, "Admiral Mohammed Omar Osman was strongly denied admission to the US," *Rasaasa News*, 2010, <http://rasaasa.com/?p=2783>

<sup>22</sup> Dauda Abubakar and Caroline Varin, *Violent Non-State Actors in Africa: Terrorists, Rebels and Warlords* (Springer, 2017), 175.

<sup>23</sup> "Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman," *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> "Aharq Al-Awsat Talks to ONLF Leader, Admiral Mohamed Omar Osman," *Asharq Al-Awsat*, English Edition, 2009, <https://english.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/asharq-al-awsat-talks-to-onlf-leader-admiral-mohamed-omar-osman>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

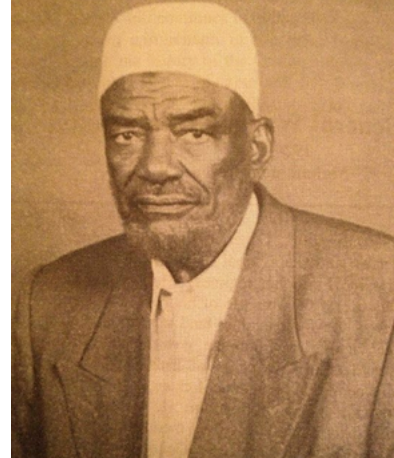
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Somali as his primary language in addition to Amharic.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	157
<b>Leadecode</b>	438
<b>Name of leader</b>	Wago Gutu Usa (alternate spelling Waqu, Wako, Usu)
<b>Organization</b>	Oromo Liberation Army
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1924
<b>Place of birth</b>	Near Madda Walabuu, at the village of Odaa
<b>Year of death</b>	2006



### **Deceased**

Yes, he did in 2006 of unknown causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Wago Gutu was an initiator of the Bale guerilla movement in 1963.<sup>1</sup> He was 39 at the time. This movement gave rise to the Somali Abbo Liberation Front (SALF).<sup>2</sup> He was also a leader of the United Oromo People's Liberation Front.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqo\\_Gutu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqo_Gutu)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Asafa Jalata, "Speaking in the Language the Colonialists Understand: The Case of the Bale Oromo Armed Struggle," *Paper delivered at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Oromo revolt*, 2013,

<https://freedomfororomo.wordpress.com/2013/12/21/speaking-in-the-language-the-colonialists-understand/>

<sup>2</sup> Terje Ostebo, *Muslim Ethiopia: The Christian Legacy, Identity Politics, and Islamic Reformism* (Springer, 2013), 54.

<sup>3</sup> Terje Ostebo, *Localising Salafism: Religious Change Among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia* (BRILL, 2011), 292.

His leader entry method is unclear. Most sources refer to Wago Gutu as “emerging” rather than giving more specific information about election or seizing control of the organization.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Wago Usu had children and was probably married.

### **Children**

Yes, Wago was survived by 20 sons and 17 daughters.<sup>5</sup>

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown. According to one source, Waqo Gutu was “A member of traditional sacred Oromo spiritualists, [the] Qallu.”<sup>6</sup> Wago apparently was given a *qubee meetaa* (ring) from his uncle that was a symbol of the Qallu.<sup>7</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Wago was “from the Rayitu clan of Arsi,” and there is some indication that his family was religiously influential.<sup>8 9</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>4</sup> Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, (Ohio University Press, 2002), 216.

<sup>5</sup> Lemi Kebebew, “The Father, Leader of Oromo Struggle Passes Away,” February 10, 2006, Accessed November 15, 2018,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20070312220851/http://www.romiagov.org/newsdetail.asp?NewsID=110>.

<sup>6</sup> Mohammed Ademo, “Commemorating 50 Year of Oromo Struggle led by General Wago Gutu,” *OPride*, 2013, <https://www.opride.com/2013/10/15/commemorating-50-years-of-oromo-struggle-led-by-waqo-gutu/>

<sup>7</sup> Terje Ostebo, *Localising Salafism: Religious Change Among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia* (BRILL, 2011), 192.

<sup>8</sup> Kadiro A. Elemo, “Remembering the past to advance the Oromo struggle forward,” *Free Oromia*, 2013, [http://freeoromia.blogspot.com/2013\\_09\\_08\\_archive.html](http://freeoromia.blogspot.com/2013_09_08_archive.html)

<sup>9</sup> Terje Ostebo, *Localising Salafism: Religious Change Among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia* (BRILL, 2011), 192.



No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

The Somalis trained “a cadre of insurgent leaders, foremost among them an Oromo named Wako Gutu, who was given the rank of general.”<sup>10</sup> This does not appear to be the work of official Somali armed forces, but other nonstate military groups.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Whether he lived in exile is unclear. One source referenced his living as a refugee in Kenya.<sup>11</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, “sometime in the early 1960s, Waqo Gutu and few companions embarked on a mission to neighboring Somalia to acquire military training and modern weapons. Shortly

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Henze, *Rebels and Separatists in Ethiopia: Regional Resistance to a Marxist Regime* (United States Department of Defense, 1985), 31.

<sup>11</sup> Nagran Mahtama Sidrak, *Silvan: Refugees Crossing the Gulf of Aden, a Perilous Journey*, (Xlibris Corporation, 2017).

after, they returned to Madda Walabuu, about 600kms south of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, to militarily challenge feudal landlords.”<sup>12</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

His cause of death is unknown.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages he spoke are unknown.

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<sup>12</sup> Mohammed Ademo, “Commemorating 50 Year of Oromo Struggle led by General Wago Gutu,” *OPride*, 2013, <https://www.opride.com/2013/10/15/commemorating-50-years-of-oromo-struggle-led-by-waqo-gutu/>

**Rolecode** 160

**Leadercode** 440

**Name of leader** Wolde Emmanuel Dubale (alternate spelling Wolde Amanuel Dubale, Woldeamanuel Dubale, Woldeamanuel Ubae Hankarso)

**Organization** Sidama Liberation Movement (SLM)

**Conflict country** Ethiopia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** Unknown

**Place of birth** Unknown

**Year of death** 2007

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Dubale founded the SLM in 1975.<sup>1</sup> His age at that time is unknown.

Leader entry method  
Dubale was a founder of the SLM.<sup>23</sup>

Powersharing  
None

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
This is unknown; several sources claim that Dubale was “educated.”<sup>4</sup>

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children

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<sup>1</sup> Aalen, Lovise, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Ethiopia: Actors, Power and Mobilization Under Ethnic Feudalism* (BRILL, 2011), p.83

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.78

<sup>3</sup> Teessonke, Hawassa. “Historical Foundation of the Sidama Regional Question: Overview,” *Hawassa Sidama*, 2012. <https://hawassasidama.wordpress.com/2012/09/23/historical-foundation-of-the-sidama-regional-question-overview/>.

<sup>4</sup> Markakis, John. *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers* (Rochester: James Curry, 2011), 200.

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown.

Elite family background

Dubale is from the Hollo-Garbicho clan. His ancestor, Abo, is considered particularly powerful in Sidama traditional belief. Dubale is the son of a local *balabat*, representing the indigenous nobility.<sup>56</sup>

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

See “Government” and “Nonstate Military” sections. Dubale was a member of the Ethiopian Parliament and also a Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF) member.

Physical and mental health

There are no indications that Dubale had major health problems until the end of his life.

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Dubale was a member of the Ethiopian parliament.<sup>7</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

There is no evidence of experience in a state military.

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Yes. He traveled to Somalia and served in the SALF.<sup>8</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Yes. Dubale was a member of the Ethiopian parliament under Haile Selassie before founding the SLM.<sup>9</sup>

Lived in exile?

Yes. Dubale lived in exile in Somalia from the late 1970s to 1991, then fled to the United Kingdom after escaping an assassination attempt in 1992.<sup>1011</sup>

Study abroad?

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<sup>5</sup> See note 2, 93.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See note 5.

<sup>9</sup> See note 8.

<sup>10</sup> “Ethiopia,” *Human Rights Watch* 1995, <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/WR95/AFRICA-03.htm>

<sup>11</sup> “The Former Leader of Sidama Liberation Movement Passes Away,” *Sidama Chronicle*, 2007. <http://sidamachronicle.blogspot.com/2007/11/former-leader-of-sidama-liberation.html>.

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

There is no evidence of military training abroad.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

There is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

There is no evidence of time in prison.

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Yes. There was a failed assassination attempt attributed to the Ethiopian People's Republic Democratic Front, the ruling political coalition in Ethiopia in 1992.<sup>12</sup>

Cause of death?

This is unclear. One source claims the death was accidental.<sup>13</sup> Another makes reference to his death in a London hospital and his "ill health" a year before.<sup>14</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

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<sup>12</sup> See note 11.

<sup>13</sup> See note 1.

<sup>14</sup> See note 12.

**Rolecode** 161  
**Leadecode** 7  
**Name of leader** Abdi Nassir Sheikh Aden  
**Organization** Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown (Described as elderly)  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
He is described as elderly.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method  
Unknown

Powersharing  
He served as Secretary General of the WSLF; served with Deputy Secretary General Abdi Ismail Farah, Secretary for Defense Mohammad Ugas Abdulleh, Secretary for Foreign Affairs Umarow Abdi Ali and Secretary for Internal Affairs Hassan Haji Abd ar-Rahman.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

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<sup>1</sup> Khalif, Mohmaud and Martin Doornbos. "The Somali Region in Ethiopia: A Neglected Human Rights Tragedy." *Review of African Political Economy* vol. 29 no. 91, March 2002, 82.

<sup>2</sup> "Somalia: Information on Ahmed Wakile, who is alleged to be one of the six founding members of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)." *Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada*, 1 January 1993. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ac6b88.html>.

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

See "Powersharing"

Physical and mental health

He is possibly deceased.

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

This is unknown; in 1996, he was imprisoned without trial.<sup>3</sup>

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> See note 1.



**Rolecode** 162  
**Leadercode** 19  
**Name of leader** Abdi Nassir Sheikh Aden  
**Organization** Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)  
**Conflict country** Ethiopia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown (Described as elderly)  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Unknown

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	163
<b>Leadercode</b>	277
<b>Name of leader</b>	Meles Zenawi
<b>Organization</b>	TPLF
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1955 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Adwa, Tigray, Ethiopia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2012 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2012 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest of three children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became secretary general of the TPLF in 1985, so he was 30 years old.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He helped found the TPLF in 1975 and was elected to its top leadership position in 1985.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Meles\\_Zenawi\\_-\\_World\\_Economic\\_Forum\\_Annual\\_Meeting\\_2012.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Meles_Zenawi_-_World_Economic_Forum_Annual_Meeting_2012.jpg)

<sup>2</sup> Aregawi Berhe, *A Political History of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (1975-1991): Revolt, Ideology and Mobilisation in Ethiopia* (Tsehai Publishers, 2009), 415.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Biography of Meles Zenawi," *Durame*, Accessed November 20, 2017, <http://www.durame.com/2011/09/meles-zenawis-biography.html>.

<sup>5</sup> "Meles Zenawi." In *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, by Paul Lagasse, and Columbia University (Columbia University Press, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.; also "Leader of TPLF & EPRDF," [http://www.ethiopiantreasures.co.uk/meleszenawi/tplf\\_eprdf.html](http://www.ethiopiantreasures.co.uk/meleszenawi/tplf_eprdf.html).

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He attended the Queen of Sheba elementary school in Adwa and went on to attend the prestigious General Wingate [high school] in Addis Ababa. After graduating, Meles attended the University of Addis Ababa as a medical student. He studied medicine for two years before dropping out in 1974 to join the Tigrayan National Organization (TLO), the forerunner of the Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF).”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Zenawi married fellow TPLF militant Azeb Mesfin in the mid-1980s, and the couple had three children, Semhal, Senay, and Marda.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had three children.

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.

### **Elite family background**

No, his father, Zenawi Asresu, was a member of the area's Tigray ethnic group; his mother, Alemash Gebreleul, was from what is now the nation of Eritrea.<sup>9</sup> His father had 20-30 heads of cattle near the River Mereb.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was aided by the fact that he was distantly related to Eritrean leader Isaias Afewerki. Zenawi worked out an agreement leading to the independence of Eritrea in 1993.<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

He had liver cancer and died in 2012 from it.<sup>12</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was a fighter for the TPLF.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>12</sup> "Meles Zenawi." In *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, edited by James Craddock.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Tigrayan, English and Amharic.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Meles Zenawi." In *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, edited by James Craddock.

**Rolecode** 164

**Leadercode** 243

**Name of leader** Kukli Samba Sanyang (alternate spelling Kukoi, Koukoie, original name Dominique Salvoa Kukoi Samba,<sup>1</sup> pseudonym Dr. Sarjo Manneh or Dr Manning)

**Organization** Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party, National Convention Party,<sup>2</sup> Movement for Justice in Africa, National Patriotic Front of Liberia,<sup>3</sup> Gambia Underground Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party<sup>4</sup>

**Conflict country** Gambia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1952

**Place of birth** Wassadu

**Year of death** 2013

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2013 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

At the age of 29, Sanyang was the mastermind and leader of the 1981 coup attempt.<sup>5</sup> He led the Supreme Council of the Revolution (alternate name National Revolutionary

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<sup>1</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 382.

<sup>2</sup> Jeggan Colley Senghor, *The Politics of Senegambian Integration, 1958-1994* (Peter Lang: 2008), 223.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy Updated Edition: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War* (NYU Press: 2006), xiv.

<sup>4</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 16.

<sup>5</sup> Editors, "Editorial Reflection: the 1981 Gambian Coup, Deciphered," *My Basse*, 2011, <http://mybasse.webnode.com/news/editorial-reflection-the-1981-gambian-coup-deciphered/>



Council), which consisted of 12 members.<sup>67</sup> An alternate source lists Sanyang's age at the time of the coup as 28.<sup>8</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Sanyang became the leader of the Gambia Underground Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party in a reorganization.<sup>9</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Sanyang studied at a Catholic seminary in Ngasobil, and later transferred to St. Augustine's School in Bathurst.<sup>10</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, one interview makes mention of Sanyang's wife, but does not give a name.<sup>11</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, one interview makes mention of Sanyang's daughter and her family, but does not give any names.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

Although educated as a Roman Catholic, Sanyang claims to follow Islam.<sup>1314</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Amadou Scattered Janneh, *Standing Up Against Injustice* (Xlibris Corporation: 2013), 52.

<sup>7</sup> Godfrey Mwakikagile, *Ethnic Diversity and Integration in the Gambia: The Land, the People and the Culture* (Continental Press: 2010), 23.

<sup>8</sup> Tijin M. Sallah, "Economics and Politics in the Gambia," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 28, No. 4, (1990), 636

<sup>9</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 16.

<sup>10</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 382.

<sup>11</sup> "Koukoie Samba Sanyang Is Dead!," *Freedom Newspaper*, 2013,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20130621193613/http://freedomnewspaper.com/Homepage/tabid/36/newsid367/8804/Koukoie-Samba-Sanyang-Is-Dead/Default.aspx>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Kukoi Samba Sanyang, "Letter to the Editor, Kukoi Samba Sanyang: New Year's Message," *The Gambia Journal*, 2009,

[http://thegambiajournal.com/artman/publish/article\\_2826.shtml](http://thegambiajournal.com/artman/publish/article_2826.shtml)[http://thegambiajournal.com/artman/publish/printer\\_2416.shtml](http://thegambiajournal.com/artman/publish/printer_2416.shtml)

<sup>14</sup> "An Exclusive Interview with Koukoie Samba Sanyang Part 3," *The Gambia Journal*, 2009,

[http://thegambiajournal.com/artman/publish/article\\_2826.shtml](http://thegambiajournal.com/artman/publish/article_2826.shtml)

### **Elite family background**

Sanyang was born to a Roman Catholic Jola family.<sup>15</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Sanyang “gained his first taste of radical politics in the Black Scorpions, a militant youth organization.”<sup>16</sup> There are indications that Sanyang had numerous connections in various radical groups in Gambia, Libya, and Burkina Faso.<sup>17</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

Sanyang worked as an electrician prior to leading the 1981 coup.<sup>18</sup> He also unsuccessfully ran for election to parliament twice before the coup.<sup>19</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, Sanyang ran for office as “a candidate for the National Convention Party in Eastern Foni but won only 14 percent of the vote.”<sup>20</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>15</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 382.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Jeggan Colley Senghor, *The Politics of Senegambian Integration, 1958-1994* (Peter Lang: 2008), 272.

<sup>18</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 382.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

Yes, “after the failed coup attempt, Kukoi and some of his collaborators fled to Guinea Bissau, and he has ever since been living abroad as a dissident.”<sup>21</sup> “Samba Sanyang had gone with eleven others to Cuba where, according to one of the group, ‘after 18 months studying propaganda techniques they were recruited by Libya’s ambassador in Havana and sent to Libya in 1983 for three years of military training.’ Samba Sanyang himself stayed in Libya.”<sup>22</sup> Another source stated that Sanyang was actually deported to Cuba by the government of Guinea-Bissau.<sup>23</sup> He further lived in Senegal and Burkina Faso.<sup>24</sup> He died in exile in Mali.<sup>25</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, Sanyang was arrested and held in a detention center in Guinea Bissau in 2006, but escaped in May 2007.<sup>26</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, while being held in Guinea Bissau, Sanyang claims to have survived two attempts on his life by Gambian President Jammeh’s counter-intelligence agent, Yankuba Badji.<sup>27</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> “Kukoi Samba Sanyang speaks after Senegal expulsion,” *The Point*, 2013,

<http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/kukoi-samba-sanyang-speaks-after-senegal-expulsion>

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy Updated Edition: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War* (NYU Press: 2006), 71.

<sup>23</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 382.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Mathew K Jallow, “The Gambia: Kukoi Samba Sanyang; a revolutionary to the bitter end,” *GAINAKO*, 2013, <http://gainako.com/the-gambia-kukoi-samba-sanyang-a-revolutionary-to-the-bitter-end/>

<sup>26</sup> David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia* (Rowman & Littlefield: 2016), 382.

<sup>27</sup> “An Exclusive Interview with Koukoie Samba Sanyang Part 3,” *The Gambia Journal*, 2009, [http://thegambijournal.com/artman/publish/article\\_2826.shtml](http://thegambijournal.com/artman/publish/article_2826.shtml)

<sup>28</sup> “Kukoi Samba Sanyang reported dead,” *The Point*, 2013, <http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/kukoi-samba-sanyang-reported-dead>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages he spoke are unknown.

<b>Rolecode</b>	165
<b>Leadercode</b>	298
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mohammed Dirye Urdoh (alternate spelling Mohamed Diriyeh Urdoh)
<b>Organization</b>	Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ethiopia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

Urdoh became the secretary general of the WSLF in 1981.<sup>1</sup> It is unknown how old he was at that time.

Leader entry method

Urdoh took over the secretary general position after ousting the former leadership in 1981.<sup>2</sup>

Powersharing

None

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown.

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<sup>1</sup> Nelson, Harold D. Ed. "Somalia: A Country Study," *Foreign Area Studies*. The American University, 1982, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership,

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	166
<b>Leadercode</b>	202
<b>Name of leader</b>	Jaba Ioseliani
<b>Organization</b>	Anti Govt Alliance
<b>Conflict country</b>	Georgia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1926 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Khashuri, Georgia (former Soviet Union) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2003



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2003.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1989, so at age 63.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the Mkhedrioni which made up part of the Anti Govt Alliance.<sup>45</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jaba\\_Ioseliani.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jaba_Ioseliani.jpg)  
 "Jaba Ioseliani," *The Independent*, March 24, 2003, Accessed January 08, 2017,  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/jaba-ioseliani-36372.html.5>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Bonner, "Georgian Fighter Wilds Guns, Money and Charm." *The New York Times*, November 15, 1993, Accessed January 08, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/11/16/world/georgian-fighter-wields-guns-money-and-charm.html>.



Yes, “the Anti-Government Alliance was a set of organizations opposed to Gamsakhurdia’s rule. These organizations did not present one coherent political alternative, however.”<sup>6</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He began his studies at the “Faculty of Oriental Studies at Leningrad University after the war but did not graduate, having discovered something he preferred to studying: crime.”<sup>7</sup> After he was released from prison, he “returned to Georgia, enrolled at night school, then university. He got a degree, then a doctorate in art history.”<sup>8</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>9</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had one son.<sup>10</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.

**Elite family background**

“Jaba Ioseliani was born into a family well-connected in the Tbilisi artistic world.”<sup>11</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“It was not until the nationalist fervour whipped up in the Caucasus in the late 1980s that Ioseliani came to prominence, joining the Georgian National Congress.”<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, David Cunningham, and Idean Salehyan, “Non-State Actor Data: Version 3.4,” November 23, 2013, Accessed December 10, 2017, [http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~ksg/data/NSAEX\\_casedesc.pdf](http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~ksg/data/NSAEX_casedesc.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> “The Day of the Mkhedrioni,” *Bright Review*, Accessed October 1, 2017, <http://www.brightreview.co.uk/ARTICLE-The-Day-Of-The-Mkhedrioni.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a professor at the Georgian Institute of Theatre Arts.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was in the Georgian National Congress.<sup>14</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “as a young man he staged a massive bank robbery in Leningrad, but was arrested. He served 17 years in prison before being freed in 1965. (He would later serve another sentence for manslaughter...)” Then in February 1991 Ioseliani was imprisoned by Gamsakhurdia. In prison, Ioseliani went on a hunger strike and went on to escape from prison in December 1991.

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.4

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.<sup>15</sup>

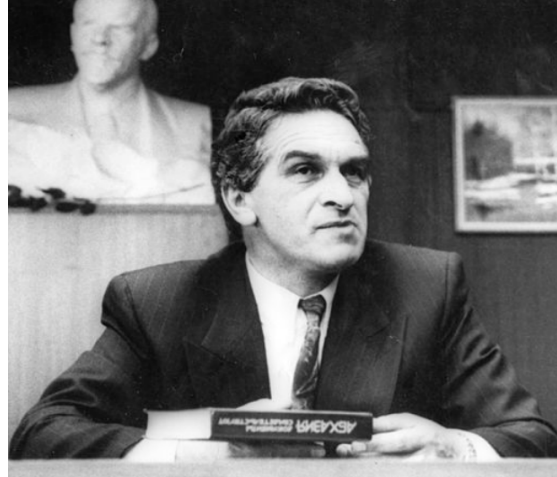
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Georgian.

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<sup>15</sup> Civil Georgia, "Death of the Prince," *The Clarion*, March 5, 2003, Accessed January 08, 2017, <http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=3291>.

**Rolecode** 167  
**Leadercode** 435  
**Name of leader** Vladislav Ardzinba  
**Organization** Republic of Abkhazia  
**Conflict country** Georgia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1945<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Lower Eshera, Abkhazia province, Georgia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2010<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2010 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 1990, so at age 45.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%D0%92%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2\\_%D0%90%D1%80%D0%B4%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B1%D0%B0\\_%D0%B2\\_%D0%9C%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B2%D0%B5.jpeg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%D0%92%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2_%D0%90%D1%80%D0%B4%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B1%D0%B0_%D0%B2_%D0%9C%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B2%D0%B5.jpeg)

"Vladislav Grigoryevich Ardzinba," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, April 1, 2010, Accessed January 02, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vladislav-Grigoryevich-Ardzinba>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Vladislav Ardzinba," Once Led Abkhazia, Dies at 64," *The New York Times*, March 05, 2010, Accessed January 02, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/06/world/europe/06ardzinba.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Ardzinba studied at the Pedagogical Institute (1962–66) in Sukhumi (now Sokhumi), the capital of Abkhazia, and at the Academy of Sciences’ Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow (Ph.D., 1985), specializing in ancient Middle Eastern history.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married at age 27.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has a daughter.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “Ardzinba was elected to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet in 1989.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Yes, he resigned in 2004 due to his physical health deteriorating.<sup>11</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> “Vladislav Ardzinba: Historian who became the first President of Abkhazia,” *The Independent*, April 18, 2010, Accessed January 02, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/vladislav-ardzinba-historian-who-became-the-first-president-of-abkhazia-1948231.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed November 18, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> “Vladislav Ardzinba, First Leader of Abkhazia, Dies,” *Spero News*, March 4, 2010, Accessed March 03, 2017, <http://www.speroforum.com/a/28398/Vladislav-Ardzinba-First-Leader-of-Abkhazia-Dies#.WLxEZH-mgg8>.

He was a historian.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “Ardzinba was elected to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet in 1989.”<sup>13</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow for 18 years.<sup>14</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.7

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> Nodar Gabashvili, *The Geopolitical Curse of the Caucasus* (n.p., Simplicissimus Book Farm srl, 2013).

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Abkhaz, the Abkhazian language.

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<sup>15</sup> See f.n.7

<b>Rolecode</b>	168
<b>Leadercode</b>	123
<b>Name of leader</b>	Eduard Kokoyty
<b>Organization</b>	Republic of South Ossetia
<b>Conflict country</b>	Georgia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1964 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Tskhivali South Ossetia Georgia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became leader in 2001 when he was elected president of South Ossetia; he would have been 37 years old.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected by the voters.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/Eduard-Kokoity>  
 (For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
 "Eduard Kokoity," *Credo Reference*, Accessed May 10, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard Toal, *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest Over Ukraine and the Caucasus* (New York: Oxford University Press), 133.

<sup>3</sup> "Eduard Kokoity," *The Guardian*, Accessed February 06, 2017,  
<https://www.theguardian.com/profile/eduard-kokoity>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married before he was leader, but at what age he married is unknown.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was first Secretary Union Communist Youth, Tskhinvali from 1989-1992, and from 1997-1999 he was permanent representative to the Russian Federation Government of South Ossetia.<sup>7</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a businessman.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> "Russian First Lady Invites Kokoiti's Wife to Moscow," *Interpressnews*, November 11, 2009, Accessed May 10, 2017, <http://www.interpressnews.ge/en/conflicts/12873-russn-fst-ldy-intes-kokots-wfe-to-moscow.html?ar=A>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, there is experience in a nonstate military as a campaign in the dataset has already been led by Kokoyty.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence that he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he was a businessman in Moscow.<sup>9</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence that he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Russian.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> "Languages," Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	169
<b>Leadercode</b>	426
<b>Name of leader</b>	Torez Georgievich Kulumbegov
<b>Organization</b>	Republic of South Ossetia
<b>Conflict country</b>	Georgia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1938 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Stalinir (now named Tskhinvali), Georgia (ex-Soviet Union) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2006 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2006 from illness.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was chosen to be the leader, but then was imprisoned. It seems that Znaur Gassiyev was an interim leader of sorts from 1991-1992, and then starting again in 1992 Torez became the president. Based on this, he would have been age 54.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> "Countries Ga-Gi," *Rulers.org*, Accessed May 10, 2017, <http://rulers.org/rulg1.html#georgia>.

<sup>2</sup> "Kulumbegov Torez Georgievich," *famous-birthdays.ru*, Accessed September 18, 2018, [http://famous-birthdays.ru/data/02\\_sentyabrya/kulumbegov\\_torez\\_georgievich.html](http://famous-birthdays.ru/data/02_sentyabrya/kulumbegov_torez_georgievich.html).

<sup>3</sup> "Died Torez Georgievich Kulumbegov," *Osradio.ru*, October 5, 2006, Accessed January 16, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20171217013949/http://osradio.ru/osetija/2672-skonchalsja-torez-georgievich-kulumbegov.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London, Reaktion Books, 2012), 380.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He had some higher education.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was most likely married, since he had several children.

**Children**

Yes, he had three children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.

**Elite family background**

“A revolutionary and a scientist of South Ossetia, T. Kulumbegov's parents were friends with the family of Maurice Thorez, after whom they named their son.”<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“Kulumbegov began to work on the line of the Komsomol.”<sup>9</sup> “In different periods of his work he worked in party and Soviet bodies, headed the State TV and Radio of South Ossetia, until being elected head of the republic was director of Tskhinvali Secondary School No. 2.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Кулумбегов Торез Георгиевич — Биография,” [Kulumbegov Toretz Georgievich - Biography], *pomnipro*, Accessed September 10, 2017, <http://pomnipro.ru/memorypage47029/biography>.

<sup>9</sup> “Торез Кулумбегов. На берегах Памяти” [Toretz Kulumbegov. On the banks of the Memory], *ugo-osetia.ru*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <http://ugo-osetia.ru/index.php/society/item/7232-toretz-kulumbegov-na-beregakh-pamyati>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.8

He was a Communist school master.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he served in different government positions within the Soviet system.<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, “in 1983 he was purged from the Communist Party. However, he got a job as a secondary school director in Tskhinval. For three years after that, he had to live in hiding in Moscow and around Armenia.” However, at that period of time these were all part of the Soviet Union, so exile should be coded as negative.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he spent almost year in a Tbilisi prison in 1991.<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>11</sup> Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London, Reaktion Books, 2012), 380.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.9

<sup>13</sup> “Torez Georgievich died Kulumbegov,” *Osradio*, October 5, 2006, Accessed May 10, 2017, <http://osradio.ru/osetija/2672-skonchalsja-torez-georgievich-kulumbegov.html>.

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died in 2006 after a serious illness.<sup>14</sup>

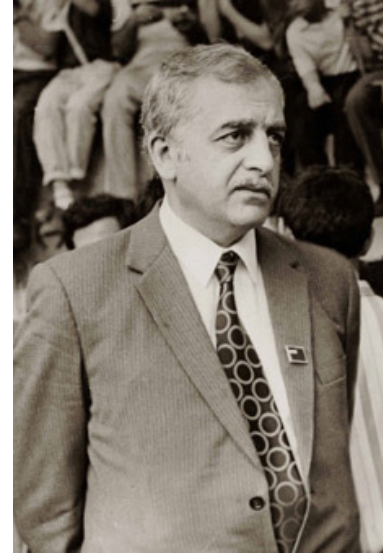
**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Georgian, and he spoke Russian as well.

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.9

<b>Rolecode</b>	171
<b>Leadercode</b>	454
<b>Name of leader</b>	Zviad Gamsakhurdia
<b>Organization</b>	Zviadists
<b>Conflict country</b>	Georgia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1939 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Tbilisi, Georgia (former Soviet Union) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1993 or 1994 (December 31 or January 1) <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 1993 or 1994.

### **Birth order**

Unknown

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1992, technically, which means he was aged 52. In 1991 he was still the president of Georgia, so he was not a leader of the rebel group at that point.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected, although it is important to note that he was actually elected as president of Georgia and then when he was ousted, he and his supporters, known as Zviadists, fought back.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/38/Zviad\\_Gamsakhurdia%2C\\_Tbilisi%2C\\_1988.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/38/Zviad_Gamsakhurdia%2C_Tbilisi%2C_1988.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Zviad Konstantinovich Gamsakhurdia," *Oxford Reference*, 2016, Accessed December 06, 2016, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095842143>.

<sup>2</sup> "Biography of Zviad Gamsakhurdia," *Press Bureau of Zviad Gamsakhurdia*, accessed December 06, 2016, [http://www.geocities.ws/shavlego/zgbiog\\_1.html](http://www.geocities.ws/shavlego/zgbiog_1.html).

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In... [1957] he entered the University of Tbilisi and graduated it in 1962 (the faculty of Roman and German Languages and philology), as a specialist of English and American literature. He began lecturing at University of Tbilisi and Foreign Languages Institute from 1966. In the same year he becomes the member of Writers Union of Georgia. In 1973 there was his promotion at the Tbilisi University, where he received the degree of a candidate of sciences for his thesis.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup> Age of first marriage is unknown.

**Children**

Yes, he had three sons.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was likely Christian, like most Georgians.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, he was “the son of Konstantin Gamsakhurdia, a leading Georgian literary figure. Some of his forebears were princes.”<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “he became politically active in the 1950s, was arrested but continued to be politically active in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.”<sup>11</sup> During that time, he helped found the initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights Literary, helped found “a group monitoring observation of the Helsinki Accords of 1975”<sup>12</sup> and two secret journals, the Golden Fleece and the Georgian Messenger.<sup>13</sup> He also met with many significant individuals such as Gleb Jakunin, Juri Orlov,

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed November 13, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “Obituary: Zviad Gamsakhurdia,” *The Independent*, February 24, 1994, accessed December 06, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-zviad-gamsakhurdia-1396384.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Andrei Sakharov, Aleksander Ginsburg, Sergei Kovalev, Juri Gastew, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, Alexander Lavrit, and Merab Kostava.<sup>14</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He “was a literary scholar by profession.”<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he was president of Georgia.<sup>16</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after being overthrown as president “Gamsakhurdia was finally driven into exile in Armenia in January 1992.”<sup>17</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.10

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was put in prison in 1978 for acts that were anti-Soviet and released early in 1979.<sup>18</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, in 1989 there “were two unsuccessful attempts of assassinating him, but the activists of national movement organized groups to guard him, and [Georgian] KGB terrorists could not realize their plans.”<sup>19</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed in combat fighting against the new government of Georgia.<sup>20</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Georgian and he likely spoke Russian as well.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See f.n.1 and f.n.2

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>21</sup> See f.n.2

<b>Rolecode</b>	172
<b>Leadercode</b>	124
<b>Name of leader</b>	Edward Adjei-Ampofo (alternate order Adjei Edward Ampofo)
<b>Organization</b>	Unnamed Forces
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ghana
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown.

Age at start of rebel leadership

Adjei-Ampofo led an attempted coup in 1983, but it is unclear how old he was at that time.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method

Adjei-Ampofo is credited as an organizer and leader of the attempted coup.<sup>2</sup>

Powersharing

Adjei-Ampofo is listed as a co-leader with Ekow Dennis.<sup>3</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> “Annex 2b. Coups d’Etat in Africa, 1946-2004,” systemicpeace.org, <http://www.systemicpeace.org/africa/ACPPAnnex2b.pdf>, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Derouen, Karl Jr., *An Introduction to Civil Wars*. (SAGE, 201), 243.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

There are no indications that Adjei-Ampofo had major physical health problems prior to or during the coup.

Mental health

There are no indications that Adjei-Ampofo had major mental health problems prior to or during the coup.

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Adjei-Ampofo was a member of the Ghanaian military.<sup>4</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Adjei-Ampofo was a captain and head of the Ghana Military Intelligence.<sup>5</sup> *The New York Times* lists Adjei-Ampofo as a Major in the Ghanaian Army.<sup>6</sup>

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Yes. Adjei-Ampofo fled after the failure of the coup attempt and lived in Togo for a time before he was apprehended upon his return to Ghana.<sup>7</sup>

Study abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> "Ghanaian Ex-Official Is Held for Questioning," *The New York Times*, 24 August 1986, <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/24/world/ghanaian-ex-official-is-held-for-questioning.html?mcubz=1>

<sup>5</sup> Owusu-Bediako, Victor, "Let's Join Hands With the Hero His Excellency Jerry John Rawlings", *Ghana Star*, 2016, <https://www.ghanastar.com/opinion/lets-join-hands-with-the-hero-his-excellency-jerry-john-rawlings/>.

<sup>6</sup> "Ghanaian Ex-Official Is Held for Questioning," *The New York Times*, 24 August 1986, <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/24/world/ghanaian-ex-official-is-held-for-questioning.html?mcubz=1>.

<sup>7</sup> "IRB-Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada: Information on Captain Adjei Edward Ampofo," Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, *European Country of Origin Information Network*, 1992, [https://www.ecoi.net/local\\_link/177519/294440\\_de.html](https://www.ecoi.net/local_link/177519/294440_de.html).

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Yes, Adejei-Ampofo was arrested in 1986 and held over 16 years before his death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was eventually pardoned.<sup>8 9 10</sup>

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

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<sup>8</sup> See note 7.

<sup>9</sup> "President Rawlings grants amnesty to 70," *GRI Newsreel Ghana*, April 2000, <http://www.mclglobal.com/History/Apr2000/10d2000/10d0n.html>.

<sup>10</sup> "Ghana: Briefing on the death penalty," *Amnesty International*, 2000, <file:///Users/TheValiantQueen/Downloads/afr280012000en.pdf>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	173
<b>Leadercode</b>	125
<b>Name of leader</b>	Ekow Dennis (alternate spelling Ekow Denis, alternate name Solomon Ekow-Dennis <sup>1</sup> )
<b>Organization</b>	Unnamed forces
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ghana
<b>Gender</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

Unknown

Leader entry method

Dennis was a leader of the failed 1983 coup.

Powersharing

Listed as a co-leader with Captain Edward Adjei<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Ghana: Political imprisonment and the death penalty." (*Amnesty International*), 1991, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Roessler, Philip, *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa*. (Cambridge University Press), 2016, p. 342.

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

There are no indications that Dennis had major health problems prior to or during his time as a coup leader.

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Dennis is listed as a lieutenant colonel in the Ghana armed forces.<sup>3</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Dennis is listed as a lieutenant colonel<sup>4</sup>

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> See note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

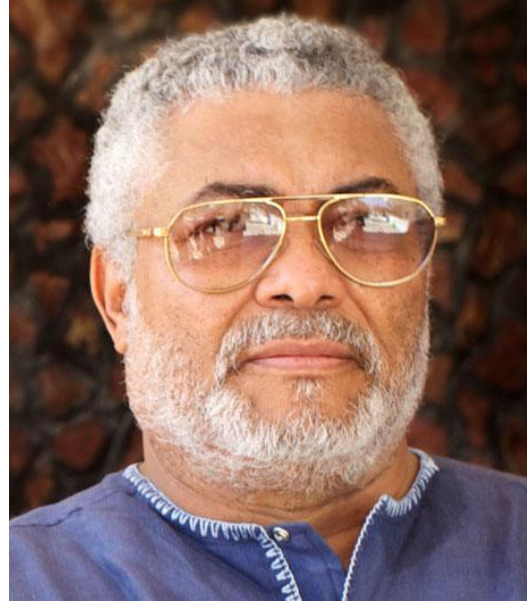


Cause of death?

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

**Rolecode** 174  
**Leadercode** 214  
**Name of leader** Jerry John Rawlings  
**Organization** Rawlings military faction  
**Conflict country** Ghana  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1947<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Accra, Ghana<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest of two.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Probably 1981, so aged 34.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jerry\\_Rawlings\\_2011\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jerry_Rawlings_2011_(cropped).jpg)  
"Jerry J. Rawlings," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 18, 2013, Accessed June 5, 2018,  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jerry-J-Rawlings>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Rawlings loses brother," *Graphics Online*, November 15, 2014, Accessed June 6, 2018,  
<https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/rawlings-loses-brother.html>.

<sup>4</sup> "Government of Ghana - Military faction (forces of Jerry John Rawlings)," *UCDP*, Accessed June 5, 2018,  
<http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/636>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He was educated at Achimoto College (earning the equivalent of a high school diploma)<sup>6</sup> and the military academy at Teshie.<sup>7</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>8</sup> He married in 1997, so he was aged 49.<sup>9</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>10</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>11</sup>

**Elite family background**

“Little is known about his family background except that it was unusual—his mother was a Ghanaian of the Ewe ethnic group, his father was from Scotland.”<sup>12</sup> Supposedly his mother was a prostitute and his father could never serve as a parent.<sup>13</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“During his service with the Ghanaian Air Force, Rawlings perceived a deterioration of discipline and morale, reflecting the corruption of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) at that time. As promotion brought him into contact with the privileged classes and their social values, his view of the injustices in society hardened. He was thus regarded with some unease by the SMC. He read widely and discussed social and political ideas with a growing circle of like-minded friends and colleagues.”<sup>14</sup> “Accused of leading a mutiny among junior officers, Rawlings went to jail in May of 1979. At his court hearing he denounced the ruling government, headed by

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<sup>6</sup> “Rawlings, Jerry 1947–,” *Encyclopedia.com*, 2005, Accessed June 5, 2018, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/african-history-biographies/jerry-john-rawlings>.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>9</sup> “President Jerry John Rawlings,” *About President Rawlings*, Accessed June 6, 2018, <http://www.presidentrawlings.com/pgs/ey.php>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>11</sup> “AFRICA: GHANA,” *CIA World Factbook*, Accessed June 5, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Thompson and Willard Scott Thompson, *The Baobab and the Mango Tree: Lessons about Development: African and Asian Contrasts* (White Lotus: n.p., 2000).

<sup>14</sup> “FLT LT JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS,” *jjrawlingsinfo*, Accessed June 6, 2018, <http://www.jjrawlings.info/index.html>.

Frederick Akuffo, as corrupt and elitist. Rawlings did not languish in prison for long. His confederates among the junior officers secured his release on June 4, and they immediately set about taking over power.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Ghanaian air force in 1969 and became a flight lieutenant and expert pilot, skilled in aerobatics.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “in June 1979 Rawlings and other junior officers led a successful military coup with the purported aim of purging the military and public life of widespread corruption.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he probably gained experience when he led the first coup in 1979.<sup>19</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “he and his Armed Forces Revolutionary Council ruled for 112 days, during which time the former heads of state, Gen. Ignatius Kutu Acheampong and Lieut. Gen. Frederick W.K. Akuffo, were tried and executed.”<sup>20</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “accused of leading a mutiny among junior officers, Rawlings went to jail in May of 1979. At his court hearing he denounced the ruling government, headed by Frederick Akuffo, as corrupt and elitist. Rawlings did not languish in prison for long. His confederates among the junior officers secured his release on June 4, and they immediately set about taking over power.”<sup>21</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He possibly spoke Ewe as his primary language and English as his secondary.

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<sup>21</sup> See f.n.6

<b>Rolecode</b>	175
<b>Leadercode</b>	374
<b>Name of leader</b>	Ricardo Arnolando Ramírez de León (Nom de guerra: Rolando Moran)
<b>Organization</b>	<i>Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres</i> (EGP), or Guerrilla Army of the Poor
<b>Conflict country</b>	Guatemala
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1929 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Quetzaltenango, Guatemala <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1998 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1998 of a heart attack at the age of 67.

### **Birth order**

Unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1971, so he was aged 42.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the EGP in 1971 and was elected commander-in-chief in 1980.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> “Murio Rolando Morán, guerrillero y artífice de la paz en Guatemala” [He died Rolando Moran, guerrilla and architect of peace in Guatemala

], *jornada*, Accessed September 9, 2017, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/1998/09/13/murio.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence that he shared power while leading the EGP (as opposed to his joint leadership of the URNG umbrella group later).

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied agronomy at UFCO trade school.<sup>6</sup> He also studied law at the San Carlos National University in Guatemala City.<sup>7</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was probably Christian.<sup>10</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father was a soldier who died when Ricardo was 14, and there is no sign of elite or political background.<sup>11</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “in 1950s he was a leader of the Union of Roads and secretary general of the Democratic University Front during the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.... He also formed the Patriot Youth of Labor, of the November 13 Movement.”<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

“Ramirez had tuberculosis as a child, and lost one lung in an operation.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth Burgos Debray, *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú: testimonio*, (Ed. Casa de las Américas, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Paul R. Bartrop, Steven Leonard Jacobs, *Modern Genocide: The Definitive Resources and Document Collection* (Stanta Barabara: ABC-CLIO, 2015), 931.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> “Religions,” *CIA World Fact Book*, Accessed September 10, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Iosu Perales, *Los buenos años: Nicaragua en la memoria*, (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2005), 29.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> “Former Guatemalan Rebel Leader Ramirez Dies,” CNN, September 12, 1998, <https://www.latinamericanstudies.org/guerrilla/ramirez.htm>.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in the 1960s he was a founder of the Rebel Armed Forces and the Patriot Youth of Labor and in 1971 he founded the EGP, which he was elected commander-in-chief in 1980.<sup>15</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “in 1990, Ramirez and the heads of three other guerrilla groups that formed the URNG began to negotiate, from exile, with the government to eliminate the repression and institute an agrarian reform... He spent much of his life in exile in Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Cuba, Mexico and Argentina.”<sup>16</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied agriculture in Honduras.<sup>17</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.10



No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of a heart attack.<sup>18</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Spanish, and “he dominated six languages.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “Ricardo Ramirez, 67, Guatemala Rebel Chief,” *The New York Times*, September 15, 1998, Accessed July 7, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/09/15/world/ricardo-ramirez-67-guatemala-rebel-chief.html>.

<sup>19</sup> See f.n.1

**Rolecode** 176  
**Leadercode** 219  
**Name of leader** Jorge Soto (aka Pablo Monsanto)  
**Organization** *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), or Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity*  
**Conflict country** Guatemala  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1945<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown



Deceased

Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

Roughly age 37.<sup>2</sup>

Leader entry method:

He was the founder.<sup>3</sup>

Powersharing

Yes, he likely shared power with Moron and Rodrigo.

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://wikiguate.com.gt/pablo-monsanto/>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

“Pablo Monsanto,” wikiguate. Accessed 9 May 2019. <https://wikiguate.com.gt/pablo-monsanto/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Yes.<sup>4</sup>

Children

He has four children.<sup>5</sup>

Religious identification

He was a Christian.<sup>6</sup>

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

He was leader of FAR.

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Likely Spanish.

**Rolecode** 177

**Leadercode** 219

**Name of leader** Jorge Soto (aka Pablo Monsanto)

**Organization** *Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes* (FAR), or Rebel Armed Forces

**Conflict country** Guatemala

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1945<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Unknown

**Year of death** N/A, no sources indicate that he has died.



Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
He assumed leadership in 1968, so he would have been 23.<sup>2</sup>

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://wikiguate.com.gt/pablo-monsanto/>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
“Pablo Monsanto,” *wikiguate*. Accessed 9 May 2019. <https://wikiguate.com.gt/pablo-monsanto/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Yes<sup>3</sup>

Children

He has four children.<sup>4</sup>

Religious identification

He was a Christian.<sup>5</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

N/A; still alive

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Likely Spanish

**Rolecode** 179

**Leadercode** 378

**Name of leader** Rodrigo Asturias (Nom de guerre: Gaspar Ilom)

**Organization** Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas (ORPA), or Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms

**Conflict country** Guatemala

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1939<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Guatemala

**Year of death** 2005<sup>2</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2005 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

Unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at approximately age 32.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the ORPA.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/Rodrigo-Asturias>  
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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid



Yes, he probably shared power with Soto and Moron.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated law school in Argentina.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had two children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was probably Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father was a Nobel Prize-winning author.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“To survive in Mexico, I began to work in the world of editorial writing; I worked with the editorial board of Fondo de Cultura Económica for two years. Later, I was called to collaborate with a group of editors for the newspaper Siglo 21, and I did this for seven years.”<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> “Religions,” *CIA World Factbook*, Accessed September 3, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> Rodrigo Asturias, interview by Mansur Johnson, September 6, 2003, transcript.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he participated in the civic-military uprising against the corruption of the regime Ydígoras, in November 1962, which gave rise to the guerrilla over more than three decades bloodied the Guatemalan soil and resulted in 250,000 dead and missing.”<sup>11</sup> He was a member of FAR.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he attempted to start a guerrilla organization in 1962, but it ended in capture and being deported to Mexico. He did not return home until 1971.<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he went to law school in Argentina.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he worked with an editorial writing board for seven years while in Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was jailed in 1962 for 15 months before being exiled.<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>11</sup> “Rodrigo Asturias, guerrillero y ex candidato a la presidencia de Guatemala,” *EL PAIS*, June 17, 2005, Accessed August 17, 2017, [https://elpais.com/diario/2005/06/17/agenda/1118959208\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/2005/06/17/agenda/1118959208_850215.html).

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

He died of natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages he spoke is unknown, although Spanish is likely.

**Rolecode** 180

**Leadercode** 378

**Name of leader** Rodrigo Asturias (Nom de guerre: Gaspar Ilom)

**Organization** Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), or Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity

**Conflict country** Guatemala

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1939<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Guatemala

**Year of death** 2005<sup>2</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2005 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

Unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at approximately age 43.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was leader of ORPA which came together with other armed groups to form the URNG.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he probably shared power with Soto and Moron.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/Rodrigo-Asturias>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated law school in Argentina.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had two children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was probably Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father was a Nobel Prize-winning author.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“To survive in Mexico, I began to work in the world of editorial writing; I worked with the editorial board of Fondo de Cultura Económica for two years. Later, I was called to collaborate with a group of editors for the newspaper Siglo 21, and I did this for seven years.”<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed September 3, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> Rodrigo Asturias, interview by Mansur Johnson, September 6, 2003, transcript.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he participated in the civic-military uprising against the corruption of the regime Ydígoras, in November 1962, which gave rise to the guerrilla over more than three decades bloodied the Guatemalan soil and resulted in 250,000 dead and missing.”<sup>11</sup> He was a member of FAR and a leader of ORPA.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he attempted to start a guerrilla organization in 1962, but it ended in capture and being deported to Mexico. He did not return home until 1971.<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he went to law school in Argentina.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he worked with an editorial writing board for seven years while in Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was jailed in 1962 for 15 months before being exiled.<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>11</sup> “Rodrigo Asturias, guerrillero y ex candidato a la presidencia de Guatemala,” *EL PAIS*, June 17, 2005, Accessed August 17, 2017, [https://elpais.com/diario/2005/06/17/agenda/1118959208\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/2005/06/17/agenda/1118959208_850215.html).

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

He died of natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages he spoke is unknown, although Spanish is likely.

**Rolecode** 181

**Leadercode** 374

**Name of leader** Ricardo Arnoldo Ramírez de León (Nom de guerre: Rolando Moran)

**Organization**            Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), or Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity

**Conflict country**        Guatemala

**Gender**                    Male

**Year of birth**            1929<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth**            Quetzaltenango, Guatemala<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death**            1998<sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1998 of a heart attack.

### **Birth order**

Unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1982, so he was aged 53.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was a founding member of the URNG and served as its general secretary since 1997.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he shared power with Jorge Soto, among others.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

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<sup>1</sup> “Murió<sup>3</sup> Rolando Morán, guerrillero y artífice de la paz en Guatemala” [He died Rolando Moran, guerrilla and architect of peace in Guatemala

], *jornada*, Accessed September 9, 2017, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/1998/09/13/murio.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



He studied agronomy at UFCO trade school.<sup>6</sup> He also studied law at the San Carlos National University in Guatemala City.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was probably Christian.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His father was a soldier who died when Ricardo was 14, and there is no sign of elite or political background.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “in 1950s he was a leader of the Union of Roads and secretary general of the Democratic University Front during the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.... He also formed the Patriot Youth of Labor, of the November 13 Movement.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

Yes, he had a physical health issue. “Ramirez had tuberculosis as a child, and lost one lung in an operation.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>13</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth Burgos Debray, *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú: testimonio*, (Ed. Casa de las Américas, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed September 10, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Iosu Perales, *Los buenos años: Nicaragua en la memoria*, (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2005), 29.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> “Former Guatemalan Rebel Leader Ramirez Dies,” CNN, September 12, 1998, <https://www.latinamericanstudies.org/guerrilla/ramirez.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1.

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in the 1960s he was a founder of the Rebel Armed Forces and the Patriot Youth of Labor and in 1971 he founded the EGP, which he was elected commander-in-chief in 1980.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “in 1990, Ramirez and the heads of three other guerrilla groups that formed the URNG began to negotiate, from exile, with the government to eliminate the repression and institute an agrarian reform... He spent much of his life in exile in Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Cuba, Mexico and Argentina.”<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied agriculture in Honduras.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.10

He died of a heart attack.<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Spanish

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<sup>17</sup> “Ricardo Ramirez, 67, Guatemala Rebel Chief,” *The New York Times*, September 15, 1998, Accessed July 7, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/09/15/world/ricardo-ramirez-67-guatemala-rebel-chief.html>.

**Rolecode** 182  
**Leadercode** 293  
**Name of leader** Mohamed Lamine Fofana  
**Organization** Rally of Democratic Forces of Guinea (RFDG)  
**Conflict country** Guinea  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown



Note: Minimal information was found on Mohamed Lamime Fofana. It appears that he is not the same individual as the former prime minister with the same name.<sup>1</sup> BBC and Radio France Internationale have reported claims by a previously unknown Mohamed Lamine Fofana to be the spokesman of the hitherto unheard-of Mouvement des Forces Democratiques de Guinee (MFDG), which, he claims, has organized attacks on Guinean targets. He claims that security prevents him from identifying the movement's leader. One newspaper states that the real Mohamed Lamine Fofana is under arrest and that his name is used by Captain Souleymane Farath Camara, who deserted after the 1996 mutiny.<sup>2</sup>

Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Unknown

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohamed\\_Lamine\\_Fofana\\_-\\_2011.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohamed_Lamine_Fofana_-_2011.jpg)  
Turner, Barry. *The Politics, Cultures And Economies of the World* (New York: Macmillan Publishers).

<sup>2</sup> "Africa Research Bulletin," 22 February 2001. <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/doi/pdf/10.1111/1467-825X.00123>.

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

**Rolecode** 183  
**Leadercode** 76  
**Name of leader** Ansumane Mané  
**Organization** Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice (MJCDPJ)  
**Conflict country** Guinea-Bissau  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1945<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Sukuta, Gambia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2000<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2000.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began as leader in 1998, so he would have been aged 53.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: <https://www.publico.pt/2000/11/30/mundo/noticia/ansumane-mane-abatido-2042>

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Peter Karibe Mendy and Lobban Jr., *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau* (Lanham: The Scrawcrow Press, 2013), 266 – 267.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “Government of Guinea-Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice,” *UCDP*, Accessed May 14, 2018, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#statebased/866>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Considering that at the age of 14 he went as an adventurer to Portuguesa Guinea and at the age of 16 became a guerilla fighter, he likely did not go beyond finishing high school.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was probably Muslim because Gambia is 95% Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was in the PAIGC, guerrilla fighter as part of FARP, and later was chief of defense staff.<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Jules S. Gueye, "Guinea Bissau: With Ansumane Mane's Death, a Myth Has Shattered," *allAfrica*, December 1, 2000, Accessed May 14, 2018, <http://allafrica.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/stories/200012010308.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "GAMBIA, THE," *The World Factbook*, Accessed May 14, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ga.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1



Yes. “After the declaration of independence in 1973 and the final end of the war a year later, Ansumane Mané remained a career soldier and rose through the ranks to brigadier.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he joined the PAIGC in 1961 and “with the launching of the armed national liberation struggle in 1963, he became a guerrilla fighter of the Forças Armadas Revolucionárias do Povo (FARP).” After returning from military training in North Korea, he “led numerous operations in the Southern Front under the command of Joao Bernardo “Nino” Vieira. He became the personal bodyguard of Comandante Nino Vieira throughout the war”<sup>13</sup> He also claimed credit for the 1980 coup d’état toppling the regime of president Luis Cabral.<sup>14</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he was a guerrilla fighter, led numerous operations in the Southern Front, was a personal bodyguard, along with other military experiences that could possibly have involved combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he “was appointed chief of defense staff by President Vieira in the early 1990s, but promptly dismissed on 5 June 1998 for alleged “neglect” in controlling arms trafficking to the MFDC.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, although some sources report he was exiled to Portugal.<sup>16</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he “underwent military training in North Korea in 1967.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Binnih Minteh, “A Tale of Guinea-Bissau's Legendary Liberators: Power, Money, Greed, Drugs, or Patriotism?,” *glimpse.org*, Accessed May 14, 2018, [http://archive.glimpse.org/people/blog/user/facebook\\_819015/2009/mar/13/a-tale-of-guinea-bissaus-legendary-liberators-powe/index.html](http://archive.glimpse.org/people/blog/user/facebook_819015/2009/mar/13/a-tale-of-guinea-bissaus-legendary-liberators-powe/index.html).

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.1

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was assassinated by the state.<sup>18</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by the state.<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Portuguese as his primary language.

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<sup>18</sup> “Rebel General Shot Dead, Guinea-Bissau Says,” *The New York Times*, Dec 1, 2000, Accessed May 14, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/01/world/rebel-general-shot-dead-guinea-bissau-says.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	184
<b>Leadercode</b>	104
<b>Name of leader</b>	Buteur Metayer
<b>Organization</b> (FLRN)	National Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of Haiti
<b>Conflict country</b>	Haiti
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1970 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	2005 <sup>2</sup>

Birth order

Several sources reference his brother Amiot Metayer (it is unclear who was the elder sibling).

Age at start of rebel leadership

He was 33.<sup>3</sup>

Leader entry method

He assumed leadership after the assassination of his brother Amiot Metayer.

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He was a former law student.<sup>4</sup>

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Buteur Metayer," *Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press*. Accessed 31 July 2017.  
[http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/Buteur\\_Metayer](http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/Buteur_Metayer).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Abbott, Elizabeth. *Haiti*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011), 415.

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

He was anti-Duvalierist.<sup>5</sup>

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

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<sup>5</sup> See note 4.

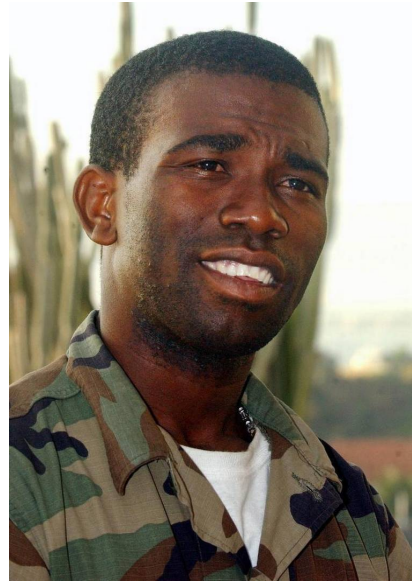
He died of kidney failure.<sup>6</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult  
Likely French

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<sup>6</sup> Deibert, Michael. *Haiti Will Not Perish: A Recent History*. London: Zed Books.

**Rolecode** 185  
**Leadercode** 167  
**Name of leader** Guy Philippe  
**Organization** Front for National Reconstruction (FLRN)  
**Conflict country** Haiti  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1968<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Pestel, in the province of Nippes, Haiti<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2001, so he was aged 33.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

<https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.miamiherald.com%2Fnews%2Fnation-world%2Fworld%2Famericas%2Fhaiti%2Farticle212217649.html&psig=AOvVaw2dPAL0iT259FVX4R7Pwcm&ust=1637747665281000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CAsQjRxqFwoTCLC-49abrvQCFQAAAAAdAAAAABAD>

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“GUY PHILIPPE,” *World Library*, Accessed August 1, 2017, [http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/Guy\\_Philippe](http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/Guy_Philippe).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Pleading Guilty, Guy Philippe Cuts Deal with U.S. Attorney for Lighter Sentence,” *Haiti Liberte*, April 24, 2017, Accessed August 1, 2017, <https://haitiliberte.com/pleading-guilty-guy-philippe-cuts-deal-with-u-s-attorney-for-lighter-sentence/>.

His entry method is unclear.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he shared power.<sup>5</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He obtained his primary and secondary education at Saint-Louis de Gonzague.”<sup>6</sup> Supposedly, he also “has a law degree from Ecuador and studied medicine in Mexico for a year,” according to Philippe.<sup>7</sup> He also received “a scholarship from FADH to the Escuela Superior de Policia General Alberto Enriquez Gallo in Ecuador.”<sup>8</sup> He studied at that school in Ecuador for three years.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has a daughter.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.

### **Elite family background**

Yes, his father was mayor of his city and his family often discussed politics.<sup>12</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

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<sup>4</sup> “RIC Query – Haiti (4 March 2004), *Depart of Homeland Security*, Accessed September 9, 2017, <https://www.uscis.gov/tools/asylum-resources/ric-query-haiti-4-march-2004>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>10</sup> “Guy Philippe Senateur Elu D’Haiti,” *Guy Philippe Website*, Accessed September 9, 2017, <https://www.guyphilippe.com/a-propos>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> “Who is Guy Philippe,” *Guy Philippe Senateur Elu D’Haiti*, Accessed August 1, 2017, <https://www.guyphilippe.com/biographie>.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was in the Haiti police force<sup>13</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, his role in the police was part of the Haiti Military at the time.<sup>14</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, “Philippe had fled Haiti in October 2000, when the authorities discovered him plotting a coup with a group of security forces officials.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Mexico and Ecuador.<sup>16</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad. However, he did receive police training at a police academy in Ecuador.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Jeb Sprague, *Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2012), 103.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>15</sup> “Human Rights in Haiti: An analysis by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs,” *Canada Haiti Action Network*, December 1, 2014, Accessed August 1, 2017, <http://www.canadahaitiaction.ca/content/human-rights-haiti-analysis-council-hemispheric-affairs>.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>17</sup> “RIC Query – Haiti (4 March 2004), *Department of Homeland Security*, Accessed September 9, 2017, <https://www.uscis.gov/tools/asylum-resources/ric-query-haiti-4-march-2004>, <https://www.uscis.gov/archive/ric-query-haiti-4-march-2004>.



**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, although he was sentenced to nine years in U.S. prison, he was no longer leader at that time.<sup>18</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks French as his primary language.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "Haiti's one-time fugitive Guy Philippe gets nine years in U.S. prison," *Miami Herald*, June 21, 2017, Accessed August 1, 2017, <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/haiti/article157345769.html>.

<sup>19</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 186  
**Leadercode** 372  
**Name of leader** Raol Cedras (Raoul Cedras)  
**Organization** Military Faction (Cedras)  
**Conflict country** Haiti  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1949<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Jérémie, Haiti<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1991, so was aged 42.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unknown.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.geni.com/people/Raoul-C%C3%A9dras/6000000008201661783>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
“Raoul Cedras,” *TRIAL International*, October 25, 2012, Accessed July 31, 2017,  
<https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/raoul-cedras/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Despite Rumors, Military Ruler's Fate Looks Settled : Haiti: Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras' resignation appears unavoidable. Chief of staff's behavior is less predictable.,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 1994, Accessed July 31, 2017, [http://articles.latimes.com/1994-10-09/news/mn-48394\\_1\\_raoul-cedras](http://articles.latimes.com/1994-10-09/news/mn-48394_1_raoul-cedras).

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He was educated in the United States.<sup>4</sup> His high school was Saint Louis College of Jermiah. His terminal classes were at Roger Anglade College, and he went to the Military Academy, class of 1971.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had two sons and a daughter.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Methodist.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was trained with the US and Spanish military. He was then the Commander-in-Chief of the army in Haiti.<sup>9</sup> “He spent much of his career in the military academy as an assistant to the commander of the anti-guerrilla battalion of Los Leopardos and as commander of the Field of Application where the non-commissioned officers and responsible for the rural police.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> “Raoul Cedras - the effective de facto leader of Haiti,” *HAITI OBSERVER*, February 20, 2013, Accessed September 29, 2018, <http://www.haitiobserver.com/blog/raoul-cedras-the-effective-de-facto-leader-of-haiti.html>.

<sup>5</sup> “Raoul Cedras,” *Haiti-Reference*, Accessed September 29, 2018, <https://www.haiti-reference.com/notables/getperson.php?personID=I18&tree=Politique>.

<sup>6</sup> “Raoul Cedras,” *Current biography* 56 no. 7 (1995): 82.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Raoul Cedras,” *Alchetron*, <https://alchetron.com/Raoul-C%C3%A9dras>

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>10</sup> “Raoul Cédras,” *EcuRed*, Accessed September 30, 2018, [https://www.ecured.cu/Raoul\\_Cedr%C3%A1s](https://www.ecured.cu/Raoul_Cedr%C3%A1s).

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was named the Commander-in-Chief of the army by Jean-Bertrand Aristide.<sup>11</sup> “He was educated in the US and later joined the Leopard Corps which was trained by the US forces.”<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, he was exiled only after he had become the de facto leader of Haiti.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in the US.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he has “received advanced military training in Spain.”<sup>15</sup> “He specialized in Spain and Mexico in sports training, in Panama in land transport and in Taiwan he did a course on political warfare.”<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>13</sup> “1991-1994 – Raul Cedras,” *Global Security*, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/haiti/politics-cedras-1991.htm>

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>15</sup> “Raoul Cedras”, *Current biography* 56 no.7(1995):82.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.11

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His likely speaks French and Spanish.

<b>Rolecode</b>	187
<b>Leadercode</b>	166
<b>Name of leader</b>	Guy Francois
<b>Organization</b>	Military Faction (Himler and Francois)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Haiti
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	2006 <sup>1</sup>

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

He began rebellion in 1989 but birth year is unknown.<sup>2</sup>

Leader entry method:

Unclear; he appears to have led a faction of the military to overthrow the government while in the military. Consequently, he would have been “appointed” if rebellion occurred while he was commanding the Dessalines Battalion.

Powersharing

Yes, but may have lost power when the Presidential Guard assaulted his base of operations.<sup>3</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He attended a military academy and graduated between 1971 and 1973.<sup>4</sup>

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Yes.<sup>5</sup> Age unknown.

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<sup>1</sup> “Former Haitian Army Colonel Fatally Shot,” *FOX NEWS*, 15 September 2006.

[http://www.foxnews.com/printer\\_friendly\\_wires/2006Sep15/0,4675,Haiti,00.html](http://www.foxnews.com/printer_friendly_wires/2006Sep15/0,4675,Haiti,00.html).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Schanche, Don. “Troops From Strongest Rebel Battalion Surrender After 2-Day Fight, Haiti Says,” *Los Angeles Times*, 9 April 1989. [http://articles.latimes.com/1989-04-09/news/mn-1892\\_1\\_dessalines-battalion-rebel-soldiers-avril.I](http://articles.latimes.com/1989-04-09/news/mn-1892_1_dessalines-battalion-rebel-soldiers-avril.I).

<sup>4</sup> Dumay, Emmanuel. *The Era of Military Coups d’Etat*, (Xlibris Corporation, U.S.), 218.

<sup>5</sup> “Guy Andre Francois v. Haiti,” University of Minnesota Human Rights Center. Accessed 3 December 2018.

<http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/cases/79-03.html>.

Children

Yes.<sup>6</sup>

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

He served in the military for 18 years in different military units, including the Presidential Guard, the Leopards Corps, and the Dessalines Battalion.<sup>7</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

At least 18 years of service in the military.<sup>8</sup>

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

None other than his military career.

Lived in exile?

Francois fled to Venezuela in 1989 after the coup attempt but there are conflicting reports as to whether he was formally exiled or whether it was voluntary. One account suggests that General Prosper Avril exiled Francois while another source indicates that General Avril compelled Francois into exile. Most research suggests that Francois went to Venezuela voluntarily.<sup>9</sup>

Study abroad?

Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of study abroad.

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<sup>6</sup> See note 5.

<sup>7</sup> See note 4.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Sprague, Jeb. *Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti*, (New York: Monthly Review Press), 153; see also note 4; *ibid.*, 218;

<sup>9</sup> "Timeline Haiti," *Timelines of History*. <https://www.timelines.ws/countries/HAITI.HTML>.

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Francois served two years in prison in 2001 after attempting a second coup.<sup>10</sup>

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

He was shot to death in Petion-Ville, a wealthy suburb of Port-au-Prince, by unknown assailants.<sup>11</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown, likely French.

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<sup>10</sup> See note 9.

<sup>11</sup> “Décès du général de brigade Philippe Biamby” [Death of Brigadier-General Philippe Biamby], *RadioKiskeya*, 15 December 2008. <http://radiokiskeya.com/spip.php?article5509>. See also note 9 and note 4.



**Rolecode** 188  
**Leadercode** 179  
**Name of leader** Himmler Rebu<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** Military Faction (Himmler and Francois)  
**Conflict country** Haiti  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 2008<sup>3</sup>



Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

In 1989, so he was aged 37.<sup>4</sup>

Leader entry method:

Unknown

Powersharing

Yes, with Guy Francois.

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He went to a military academy from 1971-1973.<sup>5</sup>

Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of Western education.

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Yes<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.haitilibre.com/en/news-5277-haiti-security-the-former-colonel-himmler-rebu-speaks-of-a-general-staff-phantom.html>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup> "Décès du général de brigade Philippe Biamby" [Death of Brigadier-General Philippe Biamby], *radiokiskeya*, 15 December 2008. <http://radiokiskeya.com/spip.php?article5509>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> <https://books.google.com/books?id=rVCPAAAAQBAJ&pg=PA187&dq=Himmler+Rebu+Haiti&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi6qr2CrtbdAhUI6YMKHU1EAuQQ6AEIQDAE#v=onepage&q=Himmler%20Rebu&f=false> pg 244

<sup>6</sup> Lorch, Donatella. "3 Haitian Officers to Leave U.S.," *New York Times*, 22 July 1989.

Children

Yes.<sup>7</sup> He has four children.

Religious identification

Probably Christian.<sup>8</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown.

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown.

Physical and mental health

No evidence of poor health.

Pre-militant leader occupation

Soldier.<sup>9</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Yes. He served in the military and eventually became deputy commander of the Leopard Corps under Colonel Abelard Denis.<sup>10</sup>

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown.

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown.

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown.

Lived in exile?

No. Rebu moved to Panama in 1994 but was no longer a rebel leader at the time.<sup>11</sup>

Study abroad?

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of study abroad.

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/1989/07/22/world/3-haitian-officers-to-leave-us.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN :: HAITI," *The World Factbook*. Accessed 26 September 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Dumay, Emmanuel. *The Era of Military Coups d'Etat: Haiti 1986-1991*. Rev. Emmanuel Dumay, 2011, pg 187.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown.

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

No.

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

No.

Cause of death?

Natural causes (cancer).<sup>12</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Likely French.

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<sup>12</sup> See note 9.

<b>Rolecode</b>	189
<b>Leadercode</b>	211
<b>Name of leader</b>	Jean-Bertrand Aristide
<b>Organization</b>	OP Lavalas
<b>Conflict country</b>	Haiti
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Haiti <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1997, so he was 44 years old.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence that he was not the top leader.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean-Bertrand\\_Aristide.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean-Bertrand_Aristide.jpg)  
 “Jean-Bertrand Aristide,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, May 8, 2017, Accessed July 30, 2017,  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jean-Bertrand-Aristide>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Aristide attended a school in Port-au-Prince run by the Roman Catholic Salesian order, and in 1966 he moved to the Salesian seminary at Cap-Haitien and began to prepare for the priesthood. In 1975 he first aligned himself with the poor and Ti Legliz (“Little Church”), a movement that sprang from liberation theology. The following year he returned to Port-au-Prince to study psychology (B.A., 1979) at the state university. The late 1970s was a time of increasing militancy against the brutal regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier, and Aristide, who was responsible for programming at Radio Cacique (the Roman Catholic radio station), urged change. He often found himself at odds with his superiors, who encouraged him to leave the country. Aristide spent most of the next six years studying biblical theology abroad, earning a master’s degree in 1985 at the University of Montreal in Quebec, Canada.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married at age 43.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has two children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Catholic.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence of an elite family background.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“Aristide returned to Haiti in 1985, eventually becoming parish priest at St. Jean Bosco, a centre of resistance in Port-au-Prince.... Encouraged to run for president by the mass movement known as the Lavalas ..., Aristide in 1990 won Haiti’s first free democratic election and was inaugurated on February 7, 1991.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> “Jean-Bertrand Aristide Fast Facts,” *CNN*, June 26, 2017, Accessed July 30, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/07/18/world/jean-bertrand-aristide-fast-facts/index.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a priest.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “encouraged to run for president by the mass movement known as the Lavalas (which means “flood” or “torrent” in Creole), Aristide in 1990 won Haiti’s first free democratic election and was inaugurated on February 7, 1991.”<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, as president his reforms, “angered the military and Haiti’s elite, and on September 30, 1991, Aristide was ousted in a coup. He lived in exile until October 15, 1994, when the military, faced with a U.S. invasion, agreed to let Aristide return to power.... He fled the country in February 2004 amid antigovernment protests that had turned into a full-scale rebellion. Despite efforts by the United States to ensure that he remain in South Africa—where he had been living in exile—he returned to the country several days prior to the presidential runoff elections of March 2011.”<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied biblical theology at the University of Montreal.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there have been many attempts.<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He learned to read and speak French, Spanish, English, Hebrew, Italian, German, and Portuguese in addition to his native Creole, which is spoken by 90 percent of Haitians.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> “Jean-Bertrand Aristide Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed July 30, 2017, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/An-Ba/Aristide-Jean-Bertrand.html>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	190
<b>Leadercode</b>	396
<b>Name of leader</b>	Sanchuma Khunggur Bwismauthiary
<b>Organization</b>	All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1960 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Goybari village (Mongolian Bazar), Distt. Erstwhile Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon (now Chirang under earlier undivided Goalpara district, Bodoland (Assam)) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1990, he became the President of ABSU. Therefore, he was 30 years old when he assumed the leadership role.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He became the leader as a direct successor of ABSU's previous leader who died young in 1990.<sup>4</sup> He may have been appointed.

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>"Bwismuthiary, Shri Sansuma Khunggur," *The Parliament of India*, accessed September 11, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060619230131/http://164.100.24.208:80/ls/lsmember/biodata.asp?mpsno=66>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 273.



No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished his bachelor's degree<sup>5</sup> at Guwahati University, Guwahati (Assam).<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>7</sup> he was married at age 21.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has 4 sons.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is possibly Hindu, under a strong assumption due to the fact that it is the predominant religion of his ethnic group.

**Elite family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

From 1981-1983, he was a member of the Central Working Committee for Bodo Sahitya Sabha. From 1984-1985, he was the General-Secretary of the All Bodo Students' Union and actively involved in persuading the Government headed by Late Shri Hiteswar Saikia to accord Associate Official Language Status to Bodo language in Assam.<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Unknown.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

In 1998, he participated in the 53rd Regular Session of the UN General Assembly in New York as a member of the non-official delegation. In 1999, he participated in the International Conference of the UN Working Group on the Indigenous and Tribal People held in Geneva. Then, he participated in the International Workshop on 'Innovative Urban Management' in Sydney and Bangkok under the auspices of the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, a New Delhi based international NGO and HUDCO, New Delhi. He joined the contingent of Air India headed by the then Union Minister of Civil Aviation Syed Shahnawaz Hussain on the occasion of Air India's to and from Maiden (Inaugural) Flight on Guwahati-Bangkok International Sector'.<sup>12</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Bodo language, assuming the fact that it is the primary language spoken within his ethnic group, and English, assuming the fact that he has travelled abroad extensively to participate in international conferences.

**Rolecode** 191  
**Leadercode** 428  
**Name of leader** Upendranath Brahma  
**Organization (ABSU)** All Bodo Students Union  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1956<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** “Boragari village near Dotma, a small township at Kokrajhar district of Assam, India.”<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1990



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1990 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest of five.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1986, he became the President of ABSU, at age 30.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/Upendranath-Brahma>

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“Upendranath Brahma,” *Travel themes*, Accessed September 30, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180316034113/http://travelthemes.in/upendranath-brahma/>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> S. P. Sinha, *Lost Opportunities: 50 Years of Insurgency in the North-east and India's Response* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2007), 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“From 1963, Brahma studied at various schools, including Dotma High School, Kokrajhar High School and, in 1973, at Sakti Ashram High and Vocational School under the guidance of Swamiji. In 1975, he passed the matriculation examination in the first division with letter marks in Mathematics. He secured 67% marks in the examination. Thereafter he obtained a BSc honours degree in Physics from Cotton College before enrolling at Gauhati University in 1981 for his MSc degree. Brahma also worked as a graduate science teacher at the Nehru Vocational High School in Gossainichina, and studied for a BA at Kokrajhar College during that period. He obtained his BA in 1985 and his MSc in 1986. He had also been admitted to study law on an LLB course in 1984 but this ended abruptly due to him being bullied.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Unknown.

**Children**

Unknown.

**Religious identification**

He was Hindu.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

No, he came from poverty.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “Brahma was elected as the President of the Goalpara District Students Union in 1978–79.”<sup>9</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Yes, he was suffering from cancer while leader.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> Monjib Mochahari, “Bodofa Upendra Nath Brahma, the Great visionary leader of Bodos!,” *Assam Times*, October 11, 2008, Accessed September 30, 2017, <https://www.assamtimes.org/node/2093>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.8

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a student almost his whole life, but based on our coding criteria he would be an activist.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of disease/natural causes.<sup>12</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was Bodo.

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<sup>12</sup> Sabita Goswami, *Along the Red River: A Memoir* (New Delhi: Zubaan, 2013).

**Rolecode** 192  
**Leadercode** 371  
**Name of leader** Ranjit Debbarma  
**Organization** All Tripura Tribal Force and  
All Tripura Tiger Force  
(ATTF)  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1973. He was 21 in 1994<sup>1,2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Tripura, India  
**Year of death** N/A  
**Deceased** No



#### Birth order

Unknown.

#### Age at start of leadership (age)

On July 11, 1990, he became the leader of the original ATTF at age 17.<sup>3</sup> He changed organizations from the ATTF to All Tripura Tiger Force in 1993.<sup>4</sup> Another source states that he founded the ATTF in 1994, at the age of 21.<sup>5,6</sup>

#### Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

He founded the organization.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/Ranjit-Debbarma>

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<sup>2</sup> “ATTF Supremo Acquitted in Fourth Case of Extremism,” *United News of India: India’s Multi Lingual News Agency*, 17 May 2016. <http://www.uniindia.com/attf-supremo-acquitted-in-fourth-case-of-extremism/other/news/485517.html>

<sup>3</sup> “Court Puts ATTF Chief in 7-Day Custody,” *The Times of India*, 25 January 2013. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/Court-puts-ATTF-chief-in-7-day-custody/articleshow/18178692.cms>

<sup>4</sup> Kumar, Kuldeep. *Police and Counterinsurgency: The Untold Story of Tripura’s COIN Campaign* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2016), 162.

<sup>5</sup> “Tripura Rebel Leader Arrested,” *The Telegraph*, 24 January 2013. <https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/tripura-rebel-leader-arrested/cid/342348>

<sup>6</sup> “ATTF Supremo Acquitted in Fourth Case of Extremism,” *United News of India: India’s Multi Lingual News Agency*, 17 May 2016. <http://www.uniindia.com/attf-supremo-acquitted-in-fourth-case-of-extremism/other/news/485517.html>.

<sup>7</sup> “Court Puts ATTF Chief in 7-Day Custody,” *The Times of India*, 25 January 2013. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/Court-puts-ATTF-chief-in-7-day-custody/articleshow/18178692.cms>

<sup>7</sup> See note 3.



Powersharing

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>8</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

Unknown

Religious identification

Hindu<sup>9</sup>

Elite family background

He was the son of communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) leader Krishna Debbarma. He was also a close relative of CPI-M MLA leader Naresh Jamatia.<sup>10</sup>

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Yes. He was a former CPM youth wing leader from Sidhai area.<sup>11</sup>

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "SOUTH ASIA :: INDIA." Accessed 1 January 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>10</sup> "ATTF Chief Arrested in Tripura," *India Blooms*, 24 January 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Manas, Paul. *The Eyewitness: Tales from Tripura's Ethnic Conflict* (Frankfort: Lancer Publishers, 2009), 172.

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?  
Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization  
Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?  
No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

Lived in exile?  
Unknown

Studied abroad?  
Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?  
Yes. He established the base for his group in Bangladesh, where the Directorate of Forces Intelligence of Bangladesh supplied weapons and training.<sup>12</sup>

Extensive professional work abroad?  
Unknown

Imprisoned?  
Yes. In January 2013, he was arrested.<sup>13</sup>

Assassination attempt by the state?  
Unknown

Cause of death?  
N/A

Primary language(s)  
Presumably Kok Borok, as it is the native language of his ethnic group.

Other languages spoken as adult.  
Unknown

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<sup>12</sup> Rammohun, E M. *Countering Insurgencies in India: An Insider's View* (New Delhi: Vij Multimedia, 2011), 143.

<sup>13</sup> See note 1.

<b>Rolecode</b>	193
<b>Leadercode</b>	315
<b>Name of leader</b>	Muppala Lakshman Rao (alias Ganapathi)
<b>Organization</b>	Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-M)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1949 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Beerpur Village, near Karimnagar, northern Andhra Pradesh, India <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

Unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On October 14, 2004, he was elected as general secretary of CPI-M. He was aged 55.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear. He may have been either elected or appointed.<sup>45</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup> Prakash Putul, "Reward over Hafeez or Dawood," *BBC News*, September 12, 2014, Accessed November 19, 2017, [http://www.bbc.com/hindi/india/2014/09/140912\\_ganapati\\_maoists\\_ia.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/hindi/india/2014/09/140912_ganapati_maoists_ia.shtml).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Gunaratna Rohan and Kam Stefanie Li Yee, *Handbook Of Terrorism In The Asia-pacific* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016), 267.

<sup>4</sup> Ashish Pandey, "CPI (Maoist) Gets a New Leader," *India Today*, November 6, 2018, Accessed December 17, 2018, [https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/cpi-maoist-gets-a-new-leader-1383395-2018-11-06?utm\\_source=rss](https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/cpi-maoist-gets-a-new-leader-1383395-2018-11-06?utm_source=rss)

<sup>5</sup> Gunaratna Rohan and Kam Stefanie Li Yee, *Handbook Of Terrorism In The Asia-pacific* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016), 267.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“MLR likely began his involvement with the Communist Party of India in 1974-75, when he was a student at the Government College of Education. During that time he was apparently exposed to several Communist ideologues who had a great impact on his personal beliefs; this exposure led him to accept the idea that radical change could only occur through violence, propelling him towards inciting political violence against the state.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has a son.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

**Elite family background**

He was from a landholding family.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He “began organizing youth protests in 1975.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> “Asia-Pacific Counter-IED Fusion Center Monthly IED Activity Report,” *U.S. Army Pacific*, September 30, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2018,

[http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09\\_IED\\_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09_IED_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us).

<sup>7</sup> “The most wanted Maoists,” *The Times Of India*, September 22, 2015, Accessed April 2, 2018,

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hyderabad/The-most-wanted-Maoists/articleshow/1240027.cms>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>10</sup> “Asia-Pacific Counter-IED Fusion Center Monthly IED Activity Report,” *U.S. Army Pacific*, September 30, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2018,

[http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09\\_IED\\_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09_IED_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us).

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher in Karimnagar.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was “MLR began organizing youth protests in 1975, and was arrested that year for his activities; he was released on bail in 1977, only to be arrested again for engaging in violent activities and arson.”<sup>12</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.8

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Hindi. <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 194  
**Leadercode** 282  
**Name of leader** Jewel Garlosa (Mihir Barman)<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** Dima Halim Daoga-Black Widow (DHD-BW)  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Roughly 1968 based on when he graduated from high school  
**Place of birth** Ujangram Village, near Barkhala in Cachar District, southern Assam, India<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was the second of three sons.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1995, he formed DHD and became its leader, so was around age 27.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <http://e-pao.net/GP.asp?src=2..060609.jun09>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

“Jewel Garlosa has hardly any takers in his ancestral village,” *The Times Of India*, June 9, 2009, Accessed May 7, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/Jewel-Garlosa-has-hardly-any-takers-in-his-ancestral-village/articleshow/4633119.cms>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “From guitars to guns, how Mihir Barman became Jewel Gorlosa,” *The Indian Express*, Accessed September 16, 2018, <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/from-guitars-to-guns-how-mihir-barman-became-jewel-gorlosa/472190/>.

<sup>4</sup> Sagarika Dutt and Alok Bansal, *South Asian Security: 21st Century Discourses* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 182.

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In 1986, when he was just out of St. Agnes Convent at Haflong, the headquarters of North Cachar Hills district, Mihir Barman was known as the young boy who played the guitar well enough to become a rock star.”<sup>7</sup> (St. Agnes Convent is a high school. He was a college dropout).<sup>8,9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, “The cruelty of Garlosa was not confined to his opponents alone. His two former wives were also exposed to atrocities by the militant leader. He had abandoned his first wife Champa Nunisa and killed his second wife Bontha Thaosen on suspicion that she had conducted an extra marital relationship with an armed force personnel. Garlosa's third wife is a Nepali woman presently living in Kathmandu.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

There is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Hindu.<sup>11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

“Garlosa, hails from a lower middle class family in Haflong, the headquarters in NC Hills.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>5</sup> Braja Kumāra, *Problems of Ethnicity in the North-East India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2007), 49.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>8</sup> Nava Thakuria, “Northeast India: Trailing a Notorious Rebel,” *The Seoul Times*, Accessed September 11, 2018, <http://theseoultimes.com/ST/?url=/ST/db/read.php?idx=8485>

<sup>9</sup> Nava Thakuria, “Tamin a Rebel Leader in Assam,” *Modern Ghana*, June 15, 2009, Accessed September 11, 2018, <https://www.modernghana.com/news/222033/taming-a-rebel-leader-in-assam.html>

<sup>10</sup> “Jewel Garlosa captured in Bangalore,” *merinews*, June 16, 2009, Accessed September 16, 2018, <http://www.merineews.com/article/jewel-garlosa-captured-in-bangalore/15772903.shtml>.

<sup>11</sup> “SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA,” *The World Factbook*, Accessed January 2, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.10



Yes, after quitting college he joined the Autonomous State Demand Committee (ASDC), a regional political party that holds considerable sway in the two hill districts of Assam.<sup>13</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “it was around 1993 that an outfit called Dimasa National Security Force (DNSF) was formed — its goal being the creation of a separate 'Dimaraji' state. Jewel shared the same ideology and joined the DNSF, quickly rising in its ranks. While Jewel Gorlosa was appointed 'commander-in-chief' of the armed wing of DNSF, the chairman of DNSF surrendered and dissolved the outfit in 1995.”<sup>15</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after being arrested by the government of Bangalore, “police disclosed that Garlosa had been out of the state for many months. It also revealed that Jewel was operating from Kathmandu and that he held a Nepali passport as well. Garlosa had come to Bangalore for another fake passport.”<sup>16</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.10

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was captured by the government in Bangalore in 2009.<sup>17</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He possibly spoke Dimasa as his primary language, and also Hindi.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Namrata Goswami, *Indian National Security and Counter-Insurgency: The Use of Force Vs Non-violent Response* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 177.

<sup>18</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	195
<b>Leadercode</b>	404
<b>Name of leader</b>	Senggoi Meetei
<b>Organization</b>	Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In October 2006, he was selected to become the president of KCP during its second national convention. However, his age at the time is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

He was possibly appointed.<sup>2</sup>

Powersharing

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>3</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Prakash, Ved. *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 571.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

Unknown

Religious identification

Probably Hindu.<sup>4</sup>

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> "SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA," *The World Factbook*. Accessed 2 January 2018.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	196
<b>Leadercode</b>	422
<b>Name of leader</b>	Thangboi Kipgen
<b>Organization</b>	Kuki National Front (KNF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In 1995, he became the president of KNF (Presidential Faction) after KNF split into the presidential and military factions. However, his age was unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

He was possibly appointed.<sup>2</sup>

Powersharing

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>3</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

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<sup>1</sup> Prakash, Ved. *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 647.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Unknown

Religious identification

Probably Hindu.<sup>4</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> "SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA," *The World Factbook*. 2 January 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

He probably spoke Kuki-Chin as his primary language.

Other languages spoken as adult.

Possibly Hindi.



<b>Rolecode</b>	197
<b>Leadercode</b>	358
<b>Name of leader</b>	Pramod Mishra
<b>Organization</b>	Maoist Communist Centre (MCC)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In the mid-and-late 1980, he took leadership of MCC. However, his age was unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unknown

Powersharing

Yes. He took leadership of MCC with Sanjay Dusadh.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Yes, assumed from the fact that he has a brother-in-law<sup>3</sup>

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Yes, he had at least one son who had been previously arrested also as a militant/resistance member.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Srivastava, Arun. *Maoism in India* (New Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan, 2015), 82.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>“What will happen to the Mishra case?,” *Rediff News*, 27 February 2009.

<http://www.rediff.com/news/report/naxals-what-will-happen-to-the-mishra-case-the-maoist/20090227.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

Unknown

Religious identification

Probably Hindu<sup>5</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

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<sup>5</sup> "SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA," *The World Factbook*, Accessed 2 January 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

No. He was arrested by Jharkand police in 2009, but he was no longer the leader then.<sup>6</sup>

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown. Possibly still alive today.

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.3

**Rolecode** 198  
**Leadercode** 369  
**Name of leader** Ranjan Daimary (alias D.R Nabla, Doimary Ranjan, Ronsaigra Nabla Doirmary, P. P. Nabla)  
**Organization** National Democratic Front of Boroland  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1960<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Harisinga, Udalguri District<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown. He has a sister by the name of Anjali. <sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On October 3, 1986, he became the leader of the newly formed NDFB.<sup>4</sup> He was aged 26.

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.eastmojo.com/news/2019/01/28/ranjan-daimary-14-others-convicted-in-assam-serial-blasts-case/>

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“Interpol issues Daimary alert,” *The Telegraph*, January 3, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018,

[https://www.telegraphindia.com/1100103/jsp/northeast/story\\_11937370.jsp](https://www.telegraphindia.com/1100103/jsp/northeast/story_11937370.jsp).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Provide info about Daimary’s family: HC,” *The Assam Tribune*, May 5, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018,

<http://www.assamtribune.com/scripts/mdetails.asp?id=may0510/state05>.

<sup>4</sup> D. Suba Chandran and P. R. Chari, *Armed Conflict, Peace Audit and Early Warning 2014: Stability and Instability in South Asia* (New Delhi: SAGE Publishing India, 2015), no page number.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing. He leads the NDFB which is one of three branches of the original Boro Security Forces. NDFB is the more hardline separatist of the two groups.<sup>6</sup>

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended Union Christian College, Barapani, Shilong, India, where he finished his bachelors's degree.<sup>7</sup> He holds a master's degree in Political Science.<sup>8</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married to Lina Daimary. He was married to Nisha Daimary in 2010.<sup>9</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he has two: Udangsa Daimary and Udangsree Daimary.<sup>10</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He is Catholic.<sup>11</sup>

## **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He has been affiliated with ULFA, ANVC, KLO, and NSCN-K.<sup>12</sup> He was primarily backed by the Bangladesh government<sup>13</sup>

## **Physical and mental health**

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6

<sup>7</sup> E. M. Rammohun, *Countering Insurgencies in India: An Insider's View* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2011), 83.

<sup>8</sup> Vasbir Hussain, "Dhaka Arrests Terror," *Outlook India*, May 5, 2010, Accessed October 11, 2018, <https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/dhaka-arrests-terror/265323>

<sup>9</sup> Aravind Gowda, "New Militants Find a Haven in Bangalore," *India Today*, October 18, 2010, Accessed September 25, 2018. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/south/story/ne-militants-find-a-haven-in-bangalore-84091-2010-10-18>

<sup>10</sup> "Provide info about Daimary's family: HC."

<sup>11</sup> Gowda, "New Militants Find a Haven in Bangalore."

<sup>12</sup> "Bangladesh hands over NDFB chief Ranjan Daimary to BSF," *The Times Of India*, May 1, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Bangladesh-hands-over-NDFB-chief-Ranjan-Daimary-to-BSF/articleshow/5879908.cms>.

<sup>13</sup> "Sufferings of the Bodo community in Assam's appalling political scenario," *Hindu Janajagruti Samiti*, June 1, 2015, Accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.hindujagruti.org/news/47864.html>.

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He has been a life-long militant.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he used to hide from the Indian authorities and established his base in Bangladesh.<sup>14</sup> He turned over to by BDR from exile in May 2010.<sup>15</sup> His faction was founded in 2008, so it was after his leadership of the non-factioned organization. (See other supplement on the same individual).

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, there are confirmed rumors of training by the ISI and Burmese intelligence forces.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>14</sup> Chandran and P.R. Chari, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2013*: 4, 85.

<sup>15</sup> “Bangladesh hands over NDFB Chief Ranjan Daimary to BSF,” *Times of India*, May 1, 2010, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Bangladesh-hands-over-NDFB-chief-Ranjan-Daimary-to-BSF/articleshow/5879908.cms>

Yes, he had been imprisoned for 27 years, from 1986 to 2013. He was still referred to as leader upon his release.<sup>16</sup> On June 23, 2014, he was released from Guwahati Central Jail.<sup>17</sup> His faction was founded in 2008.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Bodo. He also speaks English, Assamese, Hindi, and Bengali.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> “Ranjan Daimary gets bail, returns home after 27 years,” *The Hindu*, June 24, 2013, Accessed on November 1, 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/ranjan-daimary-gets-bail-returns-home-after-27-years/article4844611.ece>

<sup>17</sup> Satish Kumar, *India's National Security: Annual Review 2014* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 173.

<sup>18</sup> “Interpol issues Daimary alert,” *The Telegraph*, January 3, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018,

**Rolecode** 199

**Leadercode** 369

**Name of leader** Ranjan Daimary (alias D.R Nabla, Doimary Ranjan, Ronsaigra Nabla Doirmary, P. P. Nabla)

**Organization** National Democratic Front of Boroland-Ranjan Daimary (NDFB-RD)

**Conflict country** India

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1960<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Harisinga, Udalguri District<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown. He has a sister by the name of Anjali. <sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2008, he became the leader of the newly formed splinter faction of NDFB,<sup>4</sup> so he was 48 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.eastmojo.com/news/2019/01/28/ranjan-daimary-14-others-convicted-in-assam-serial-blasts-case/>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

“Interpol issues Daimary alert,” *The Telegraph*, January 3, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018, [https://www.telegraphindia.com/1100103/jsp/northeast/story\\_11937370.jsp](https://www.telegraphindia.com/1100103/jsp/northeast/story_11937370.jsp).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Provide info about Daimary’s family: HC,” *The Assam Tribune*, May 5, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.assamtribune.com/scripts/mdetails.asp?id=may0510/state05>.

<sup>4</sup> D. Suba Chandran and P. R. Chari, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2013: Transitions* (New York: Routledge, 2015), no page number.



He founded the faction.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended Union Christian College, Barapani, Shilong, India, where he finished his bachelors degree.<sup>6</sup> He holds a master's degree in Political Science.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married to Lina Daimary. He was married to Nisha Daimary in 2010.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has two: Udangsa Daimary and Udangsree Daimary.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Catholic.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He has been affiliated with ULFA, ANVC, KLO, and NSCN-K.<sup>11</sup> He was primarily backed by the government of Bangladesh.<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> E. M. Rammohun, *Countering Insurgencies in India: An Insider's View* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2011), 83.

<sup>7</sup> Vasbir Hussain, "Dhaka Arrests Terror," *Outlook India*, May 5, 2010, Accessed October 11, 2018, <https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/dhaka-arrests-terror/265323>

<sup>8</sup> Aravind Gowda, "New Militants Find a Haven in Bangalore," *India Today*, October 18, 2010, Accessed September 25, 2018. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/south/story/ne-militants-find-a-haven-in-bangalore-84091-2010-10-18>

<sup>9</sup> "Provide info about Daimary's family: HC."

<sup>10</sup> Gowda, "New Militants Find a Haven in Bangalore."

<sup>11</sup> "Bangladesh hands over NDFB chief Ranjan Daimary to BSF," *The Times Of India*, May 1, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Bangladesh-hands-over-NDFB-chief-Ranjan-Daimary-to-BSF/articleshow/5879908.cms>.

<sup>12</sup> "Sufferings of the Bodo community in Assam's appalling political scenario," *Hindu Janajagruti Samiti*, June 1, 2015, Accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.hindujagruti.org/news/47864.html>.

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He has been a life-long militant.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he used to hide from the Indian authorities and established his base in Bangladesh.<sup>13</sup> He turned over to by BDR from exile in May 2010.<sup>14</sup> His faction was founded in 2008, so it was after his leadership of the non-factioned organization (See other supplement on the same individual).

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, there are confirmed rumors of training by the ISI and Burmese intelligence forces.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>13</sup> Chandran and P.R. Chari, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2013*: 4, 85.

<sup>14</sup> “Bangladesh hands over NDFB Chief Ranjan Daimary to BSF,” *Times of India*, May 1, 2010, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Bangladesh-hands-over-NDFB-chief-Ranjan-Daimary-to-BSF/articleshow/5879908.cms>

Yes, he had been imprisoned for 27 years, from 1986 to 2013. He was still referred to as leader upon his release.<sup>15</sup> On June 23, 2014, he was released from Guwahati Central Jail.<sup>16</sup> His faction was founded in 2008.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Bodo. He also speaks English, Assamese, Hindi, and Bengali.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> “Ranjan Daimary gets bail, returns home after 27 years,” *The Hindu*, June 24, 2013, Accessed on November 1, 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/ranjan-daimary-gets-bail-returns-home-after-27-years/article4844611.ece>

<sup>16</sup> Satish Kumar, *India's National Security: Annual Review 2014* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 173.

<sup>17</sup> “Interpol issues Daimary alert,” *The Telegraph*, January 3, 2010, Accessed June 18, 2018,

**Rolecode** 200  
**Leadercode** 96  
**Name of leader** Biswamohan Debbarma (alias D Baithang)<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT/ BM)  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1968<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Sumanta Para, PS KLN<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A  
**Deceased** No



Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

On February 12, 2001, he became the leader of the newly formed faction of the NLFT. He was 33 years old.<sup>4</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Founded his own faction post a splintering of ideology. Was expelled from the original NLFT for extreme violence.

Powersharing  
No.<sup>5</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:<https://www.insidene.com/nlft-commander-parimal-debbarma-nabbed-by-police-in-mizoram/>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>“Wanted DEBBARMA, Biswamohan,” *Interpol*, 19 July 2011.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180323064654/http://cbi.nic.in/rnotice/A-1367-12-2003.html>.

<sup>3</sup><https://web.archive.org/web/20090409235818/http://www.tripurapolice.nic.in/aw3.asp?sn1=29>.

<sup>4</sup>Manas, Paul. *The Eyewitness: Tales from Tripura's Ethnic Conflict* (Frankfort: Lancer International Inc, 2009), 230.

<sup>5</sup>Scott Gates and Kaushik Roy. *Unconventional Warfare in South Asia: Shadow Warriors and Counterinsurgency* (London: Routledge, 2016), no page number.

He had no formal education beyond the 10<sup>th</sup> grade.

Ever married?

Yes.<sup>6</sup>

Age of first marriage

He was 23 or 24.<sup>7</sup>

Children

He had two children from his marriage, and allegedly has a son with another woman.

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

N/A

Religious identification

Christianity (Baptist)<sup>8</sup>

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Baptist Church of Tripura (extensive support).<sup>9</sup>

Physical and mental health

There is no evidence of physical or mental health issues.<sup>10</sup>

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence.

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

He was part of the original NLFT prior to his expulsion.

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

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<sup>6</sup> “Biswamohan Debbarma,” *Tripura Police*, 24 February 2014. <http://tripurapolice.gov.in/node/385>.

<sup>7</sup> Conversation with expert.

<sup>8</sup> Tan, Andrew T.H. *Politics of Terrorism: A Survey* (London: Routledge, 2011), 191.

<sup>9</sup> “National Liberation Front of Tripura.” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Liberation\\_Front\\_of\\_Tripura](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Front_of_Tripura). Accessed 3 January 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Conversation with expert.

Lived in exile?

He is suspected to live in Bangladesh.<sup>11</sup>

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

No, there is no evidence of work experience abroad.

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

N/A

Primary language(s)

Bengali and Kokborok.<sup>12</sup>

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<b>Rolecode</b>	201
<b>Leadercode</b>	330
<b>Name of leader</b>	Nayanbasi Jamatiya
<b>Organization</b>	National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership

In February 2001, he led his own faction after the dispute between the Christian members and the Hindu tribes that split NLFT into two factions. However, his age was unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unknown

Powersharing

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Samaddar, Ranabir. *Government of Peace: Social Governance, Security and the Problematic of Peace* (New York: Routledge), 2016, n.p.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Religious identification

Possibly Hindu.<sup>3</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> Rammohun, E. M. *Countering Insurgencies in India: An Insider's View* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.), 2011, 145.



Imprisoned?

He surrendered to police in India in 2013 but fled to Bangladesh. He was also arrested in Bangladesh and was imprisoned in both countries.<sup>4</sup>

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> “Dreaded Insurgent Nayanbasi Jamatiya Leader Surrenders,” *The Economic Times*, 10 August 2013.  
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/dreaded-insurgent-nayanbasi-jamatiya-leader-surrenders/articleshow/21742420.cms>.

**Rolecode** 202  
**Leadercode** 196  
**Name of leader** Isak Chisi Swu  
**Organization** NSCN-IM (Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak Muivah)  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1929<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Chishilimi Village in Ghathashi Tehsil, Zunheboto, Nagaland, India<sup>2,3</sup>  
**Year of death** 2016<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2016.<sup>5</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On April 30, 1988, the NSCN split into two factions, namely the NSCN-K led by S. S. Khaplang, and the NSCN-IM, led by Isak Chisi Swu (age 59) and Thuingaleng Muivah.<sup>6</sup> He was 59 years old.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.aviation-defence-universe.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/defence.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Vibi Yhokha, *thehindu*, June 30, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017,  
<http://www.thehindu.com/thread/reflections/article8792488.ece>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “5 lesser known facts about NSCN co-founder Isak Chishi Swu,” *The Northeast Today*,  
<https://thenortheasttoday.com/archive/5-lesser-known-facts-about-nscn-co-founder-isak-chishi-swu/>

<sup>4</sup> “Naga leader Isak Chisi Swu passes away in Delhi,” *Zee News*, June 28, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017,  
[http://zeenews.india.com/news/north-east/nscn-im-chairman-isak-chisi-swu-passes-away-in-delhi\\_1901089.html](http://zeenews.india.com/news/north-east/nscn-im-chairman-isak-chisi-swu-passes-away-in-delhi_1901089.html).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> “National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak-Muivah,” *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, accessed December 9, 2017, [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/terrorist\\_outfits/nscn\\_im.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/terrorist_outfits/nscn_im.htm).

### **Leader entry method**

He cofounded the organization.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he shared power with Thuingaleng Muivah.<sup>8</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He took early education at the American Mission School at Chishilimi and the Government High School at Kohima.”<sup>9</sup> He graduated from St. Anthony’s College, Shillong with a degree in political science.<sup>10</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>11</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had five sons and one daughter.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was a Christian.<sup>13, 14</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 936.

<sup>9</sup> “Naga leader Isak Chishi Swu passes away,” *The Morung Express*, June 28, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, <http://morungexpress.com/naga-leader-isak-chishi-swu-passes-away>.

<sup>10</sup> Vibi Yhokha, *thehindu*, June 30, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, <http://www.thehindu.com/thread/reflections/article8792488.ece>.

<sup>11</sup> Vibi Yhokha, *thehindu*, June 30, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, <http://www.thehindu.com/thread/reflections/article8792488.ece>.

<sup>12</sup> “Naga leader Isak Chishi Swu passes away,” *The Morung Express*, June 28, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, <http://morungexpress.com/naga-leader-isak-chishi-swu-passes-away>.

<sup>13</sup> Vibi Yhokha, *thehindu*, June 30, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, <http://www.thehindu.com/thread/reflections/article8792488.ece>.

<sup>14</sup> Nandita Haksar, “First person: When Naga leader Isak Chishi Swu cooked me some soup,” *Scroll.In*, July 1, 2016,

<https://scroll.in/article/810940/first-person-when-naga-leader-isak-chishi-swu-cooked-me-some-soup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was initially part of the original National Socialist Council of Nagaland and served as the organization's foreign secretary and would meet his future cofounder.<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist, and "having graduated in political science from St. Anthony's College, Shillong, Swu could have chosen the life of an officer, instead he joined the fight for the Naga's right for self-determination."<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of state military experience.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, they based their rebellion movement from Thailand.<sup>17</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>15</sup> Nandita Haksar, "First person: When Naga leader Isak Chishi Swu cooked me some soup," *Scroll.In*, July 1, 2016,

<https://scroll.in/article/810940/first-person-when-naga-leader-isak-chishi-swu-cooked-me-some-soup>

<sup>16</sup> "Naga leader Isak Chishi Swu passes away," *The Morung Express*, June 28, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, <http://morungexpress.com/naga-leader-isak-chishi-swu-passes-away>.

<sup>17</sup> "National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak-Muivah," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, accessed December 9, 2017, [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/terrorist\\_outfits/nscn\\_im.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/terrorist_outfits/nscn_im.htm).

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, Isak and Thuingaleng were reportedly being trained at two camps in Pakistan. Their faction also has connection with the Naga groups operating in Myanmar. Their faction also established reliable contacts for arms procurement in Thailand.<sup>18</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was Sema.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Khomdan Singh Lisam, *Encyclopaedia Of Manipur* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2011), 459.

<sup>19</sup> “Naga leader Isak Chisi Swu passes away in Delhi,” *Zee News*, June 28, 2016, Accessed December 17, 2017, [http://zeenews.india.com/news/north-east/nscn-im-chairman-isak-chisi-swu-passes-away-in-delhi\\_1901089.html](http://zeenews.india.com/news/north-east/nscn-im-chairman-isak-chisi-swu-passes-away-in-delhi_1901089.html).

<sup>20</sup> Radhabinod Kojiam, “‘Act Northeast’ before ‘Act East’,” *The Hindu*, July 06, 2016, <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/‘Act-Northeast’-before-‘Act-East’/article14474492.ece>

**Rolecode** 203

**Leadercode** 424

**Name of leader** Thuingaleng Muivah

**Organization** NSCN-IM (Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak Muivah)

**Conflict country** India

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1934<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Somdal village in Ukhrul district of Manipur, India<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On April 30, 1988, the NSCN split into two factions, namely the NSCN-K led by S S Khaplang, and the NSCN-IM, led by Isak Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah (age 54).<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He cofounded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://th.thgim.com/news/national/sopcd0/article32153575.ece/ALTERNATES/FREE\\_460/vbk-NSC-Muivah](https://th.thgim.com/news/national/sopcd0/article32153575.ece/ALTERNATES/FREE_460/vbk-NSC-Muivah)

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Chonmipem Horam, "Who is Thuingaleng Muivah?" *ZEENEWS*, August 12, 2010, Accessed December 18, 2017, [http://zeenews.india.com/exclusive/who-is-thuingaleng-muivah\\_2996.html](http://zeenews.india.com/exclusive/who-is-thuingaleng-muivah_2996.html).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak-Muivah," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, accessed December 9, 2017, [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/terrorist\\_outfits/nscn\\_im.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/terrorist_outfits/nscn_im.htm).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he shared power with Isak Chisi Swu.<sup>5</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He completed Matriculation from Ukhrul High School and later finished his graduation from St Edmunds College in Shillong. He pursued his Masters degree in political Science from Guwahati Cotton College and also studied law.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>7</sup> he married in 1985 at age 51.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 936.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> “Muvah wife steps out,” *The Telegraph India*, April 17, 2003, Accessed December 18, 2017, [https://www.telegraphindia.com/1030417/asp/frontpage/story\\_1881244.asp](https://www.telegraphindia.com/1030417/asp/frontpage/story_1881244.asp).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Vibha Joshi, *A Matter of Belief: Christian Conversion and Healing in North-East India* (N.P., Berghahn Books, 2012), 256.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

“After finishing education, he went back home and initially rendered his service as a teacher and social worker until fate took its own turn and he decided to work for Nagas’ cause.”<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

His experience in a state military is unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

His experience in a nonstate military is unknown.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, Isak and Thuingaleng based their rebellion movement from Thailand.<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.<sup>13</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, they were reportedly being trained at two camps in Pakistan. Their faction also has connection with the Naga groups operating in Myanmar. Their faction also established reliable contacts for arms procurement in Thailand.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, in January 2000, Thai authorities arrested Thuingaleng.<sup>15</sup> He was jailed for 9 months.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>14</sup> Khomdan Singh Lisam, *Encyclopaedia Of Manipur* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2011), 459.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 460.

<sup>16</sup> Bharat Bhushan, “Naga leader flies into Thai airport drama,” *The Telegraph*, July 28, 2004, Accessed August 31, 2019, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/naga-leader-flies-into-thai-airport-drama/cid/729685>.



**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Tangkhul.

<b>Rolecode</b>	204
<b>Leadercode</b>	386
<b>Name of leader</b>	S.S. Khaplang
<b>Organization</b>	NSCN-K (National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1940 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Burma <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2017 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2017 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest of 10 siblings.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On April 30, 1988 (age 48), he became the leader of NSCN-K as a split faction of the NSCN.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization/faction.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:NSCNK-chairman-S-S-Khaplang-at-a-camp-in-Myanmar-Rajeev-Bhattacharyya.jpg>

“SS Khaplang: 75-year-old, head of NSCN-K in Nagaland, is emerging as the most wanted militant leader in NE,” *FirstPost*, June 12, 2015, Accessed January 1, 2018, <http://www.firstpost.com/india/ss-khaplang-75-year-old-head-of-nscn-k-in-nagaland-is-emerging-as-the-most-wanted-militant-leader-in-ne-2290444.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Insight Guides, *Insight Guide Myanmar (Burma)* (UK: Apa Publications Limited, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Jagran Josh, *Current Affairs July 2017 eBook* (Jagran Josh, 2017), 270.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> Ranabir Samaddar, *Government of Peace: Social Governance, Security and the Problematic of Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 33.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Khaplang used to claim he first attended an Assamese medium school in Margherita (Assam) before joining the Baptist Mission School in Myitkina, Kachin state in 1959 to shift to another missionary school in Kalemyo in 1962 to finally drop out.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Probably yes, he was likely married since he had children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has three sons and one daughter.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

Yes, he suffered from diabetes during part of his leadership.<sup>11</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>7</sup> Samudra Gupta Kashyap, “SS Khaplang dead: Another rebel bids adieu,” *The Indian Express*, June 9, 2017, Accessed January 2, 2018, <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/ss-khaplang-dead-another-rebel-bids-adieu-nscnk-naga-insurgent-group-myanmar-4696776/>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>11</sup> Prabin Kalita, “Dreaded NSCN-K chief Khaplang dead,” *The Times Of India*, June 9, 2017, Accessed January 2, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/nscn-chief-s-s-khaplang-dies-of-prolonged-illness/articleshow/59075121.cms>.

He became an activist after leaving school.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Khaplang as a child had seen the Second World War standing amid it, which probably inspired him to float the Naga Defence Force (NDF) in 1964, and then to become first vice-chairman and then chairman of Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council (ENRC) that he and a few others formed in 1965.”<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Possibly, he may have lived in exile considering the fact that the he established the base for his group in Burma.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 47.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He most likely died of disease/natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He possibly spoke Naga as his primary language.

<b>Rolecode</b>	205
<b>Leadercode</b>	193
<b>Name of leader</b>	Irengbam Chaoren
<b>Organization</b>	People's Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown
<b>Deceased</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

Age is unknown but he assumed leadership in 1981.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unclear. He became the leader of the PLA immediately after Bisheshwar Singh, founder of the PLA, was arrested in an army operation.

Powersharing

No.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

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<sup>1</sup> Goswami, Namrata. *Indian National Security and Counter-Insurgency: The Use of Force Vs Non-violent Response* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 86.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Unknown

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

Unknown

Religious identification

Probably Hindu<sup>3</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Yes. He served as the president of the RPF (Revolutionary People's Front), which is a political wing of the PLA that runs a government-in-exile in Bangladesh.<sup>4</sup> He ran the RPF from exile in

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<sup>3</sup> "SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA," *The World Factbook*, Accessed 2 January 2018.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

Bangladesh.<sup>5</sup> No indication that he was in exile before taking leadership. Also, it was noted in 2011 that he was hiding in China.<sup>6</sup>

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> “Revolutionary People’s Front (RPF) People’s Liberation Army (PLA),” *Global Security*. Accessed 29 January 2021. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/rpf.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> “Maoists’ Dragon link discovered Govt cautious about truce offer,” *The Times Of India*, 8 October 2011. <https://www.pressreader.com/india/the-times-of-india-mumbai-edition/20111008/281934539700883>.



<b>Rolecode</b>	206
<b>Leadercode</b>	231
<b>Name of leader</b>	Achamba Singh <sup>1</sup> (aka Meisnam Biren, Oja Biren, or Chamba Luwang)
<b>Organization</b>	People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown.

Age at start of leadership (age)  
Unknown.

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Achamba appears to have assumed leadership after previous leaders were killed. PREPAK's founder, Tulachandra, was killed by Indian security forces in 1986. After his death, S. Wanglen was named Commander in Chief. PREPAK's General Secretary, Lumbeban Masunga, was killed on May 19, 1993.<sup>2</sup> Achamba succeeded Masunga.<sup>3</sup>

Powersharing

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/prepak.htm>

<sup>2</sup> "People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak." *South Asia Terrorism Portal*. Accessed 11 December 2020. [https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/manipur/terrorist\\_outfits/prepak.htm](https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/manipur/terrorist_outfits/prepak.htm).

<sup>3</sup> "People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)." *GlobalSecurity.org*. Accessed 11 December 2020. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/prepak.htm>.

No.<sup>4</sup> He was the Chairman of PREPAK. Tajila is Commander-in-Chief but this does not appear to be a powersharing arrangement.<sup>5</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Name of university/universities attended (if any)

Unknown

Religious identification

Probably Hindu.<sup>6</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> Parkash, Ved. *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 609.

<sup>5</sup> "PREPAK Militant Arrested by Assam Rifles Personnel in Manipur's Tengenoupal." *Insidene*, 18 April 2020. <https://www.insidene.com/prepak-militant-arrested-by-assam-rifles-personnel-in-manipurs-tengenoupal/>.

<sup>6</sup> "SOUTH ASIA: INDIA," *CIA World Factbook*. Accessed 2 January 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	207
<b>Leadercode</b>	229
<b>Name of leader</b>	Kaji Ibrahim
<b>Organization</b>	People's United Liberation Front (PULF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown, no sources indicate that he has died.
<b>Deceased</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In May 2006, he became the leader of the PULF. However, his age is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

He became the leader of the PULF immediately after its previous leader was killed during a military operation.<sup>2</sup>

Powersharing

No.<sup>3</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "People's United Liberation Front," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*. Accessed September 15 September 2017.

[http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/manipur/terrorist\\_outfits/pulf.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/manipur/terrorist_outfits/pulf.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Children  
Unknown

Name of university/universities attended (if any)  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Islam.<sup>4</sup>

Elite family background  
Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made  
Unknown

Physical health  
Unknown

Mental health  
Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation  
Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties  
Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?  
Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization  
Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?  
Unknown

Lived in exile?  
Unknown

Studied abroad?  
Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?  
Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

Extensive professional work abroad?  
Unknown

Imprisoned?  
Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?  
Unknown

Cause of death?  
Unknown

Primary language(s)  
Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.  
Unknown

**Rolecode** 208

**Leadercode** 240

**Name of leader** Kondapalli Sittaramayya  
(Seetharamaiah)

**Organization** People's War Group (PWG)

**Conflict country** India

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1915<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Janardhanapuram village near  
Gudivada in Krishna district<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2002<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2002 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In April 1980, he established the PWG. However, his age cannot be determined.<sup>4</sup> According to a birth year of 1915, he would have been 65.

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://images.outlookindia.com/public/uploads/gallery/20170615/CS\\_Varavara-Rao\\_20170626.jpg](https://images.outlookindia.com/public/uploads/gallery/20170615/CS_Varavara-Rao_20170626.jpg)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>"Kondapalli Seetharamaiah dead," *The Hindu*, April 13, 2002, Accessed December 18, 2017, <http://www.thehindu.com/2002/04/13/stories/2002041303380600.htm>.

<sup>3</sup>Syed Amin Jafri, "PWG founder Kondapalli Seetharamaiah dead," *rediff.com*, Accessed December 18, 2017, <http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/apr/12jafri.htm>.

<sup>4</sup>Sumantra Bose, *Transforming India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 183.

<sup>5</sup>Arun Srivastava, *Maoism in India* (New Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan, 2015), 69.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>6</sup> he was married at age 19.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Hindu.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “He became the secretary of Krishna district unit of the united Communist Party, which played a crucial role in Telangana Armed Struggle. Following a split in the Communist Party of India (CPI), he could not join either group and moved away from politics.”<sup>10</sup> (The experience in the CPI (ML) should not count because the PWG seems to be a splinter group of it.)

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

“He went to Warangal to work as a Hindi teacher in Fatima...”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>7</sup> “A rebel with a cause,” *The Times of India*, Nov 25, 2012, Accessed December 19, 2017, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/visakhapatnam/A-rebelwith-a-cause/articleshow/17399646.cms>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>9</sup> “SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA,” *The World Factbook*, Accessed December 18, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.



**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, he was not imprisoned as leader, as he was the leader only up until 1992.<sup>12</sup> “After the state government imposed a ban on the PWG on May 21, 1992, Kondapalli Seetharamaiah was arrested by the police in 1993. He was released on humanitarian grounds after spending a few years in jail.”<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>12</sup> Group Captain AV Chandrasekaran, *Insurgency and Counter Insurgency: A Dangerous War of Nerves: A Dangerous War of Nerves* (New Delhi: KW Publishers Pvt Ltd, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.2

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease/natural causes.<sup>14</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Hindi as least.

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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.1

<b>Rolecode</b>	209
<b>Leadercode</b>	315
<b>Name of leader</b>	Muppala Lakshman Rao (alias Ganapathi)
<b>Organization</b>	People's War Group (PWG)
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1949 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Beerpur Village, near Karimnagar, northern Andhra Pradesh, India <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1992, so at age 43,<sup>3</sup> or in 1991, so at age 42.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“Less than two years later, in 1992, Rao differed with his guru, now a somewhat mellowed Seetharamaiah, on the need to expand the PWG and turn more militant, expelled him and took charge as the all powerful Secretary.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup> Prakash Putul, “Reward over Hafeez or Dawood,” *BBC News*, September 12, 2014, Accessed November 19, 2017, [http://www.bbc.com/hindi/india/2014/09/140912\\_ganpati\\_maoists\\_ia.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/hindi/india/2014/09/140912_ganpati_maoists_ia.shtml).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Amarnath K Menon, “Rise of Muppala Lakshman Rao and his ways,” *India Today*, Accessed April 30, 2018, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/north/story/rise-of-muppala-lakshman-rao-and-his-ways-164885-2013-05-29>.

<sup>4</sup> Krishna Pokharel, “Q&A: The Future of India’s Maoist Movement,” *The Wall Street Journal* July 14, 2011, Accessed April 30, 2018, <https://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2011/07/14/qa-the-future-of-indias-maoist-movement/>.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.3

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“MLR likely began his involvement with the Communist Party of India in 1974-75, when he was a student at the Government College of Education. During that time he was apparently exposed to several Communist ideologues who had a great impact on his personal beliefs; this exposure led him to accept the idea that radical change could only occur through violence, propelling him towards inciting political violence against the state.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has a son.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

**Elite family background**

He was from a landholding family.<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He “began organizing youth protests in 1975.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> “Asia-Pacific Counter-IED Fusion Center Monthly IED Activity Report,” *U.S. Army Pacific*, September 30, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2018, [http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09\\_IED\\_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09_IED_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us).

<sup>7</sup> “The most wanted Maoists,” *The Times Of India*, September 22, 2015, Accessed April 2, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hyderabad/The-most-wanted-Maoists/articleshow/1240027.cms>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>10</sup> “Asia-Pacific Counter-IED Fusion Center Monthly IED Activity Report,” *U.S. Army Pacific*, September 30, 2016, Accessed April 2, 2018, [http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09\\_IED\\_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:jimF6wjYleEJ:www.usarpac.army.mil/apcied/Monthly/2016-09_IED_Report.pdf+&cd=76&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us).

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher in Karimnagar.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was “MLR began organizing youth protests in 1975, and was arrested that year for his activities; he was released on bail in 1977, only to be arrested again for engaging in violent activities and arson.”<sup>12</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.8

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke at least Hindi.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 210  
**Leadercode** 95  
**Name of leader** Bijoy Kumar Hrangkhawl  
**Organization** Tripura National Volunteers (TNV)  
**Conflict country** India  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1947<sup>1</sup> or 1945<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Sarduk, India<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In December 1978, he formed TNV.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he was either 31 or 33 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://s3.ap-south-1.amazonaws.com/cms-abp-prod-media/library/THE\\_TELEGRAPH/mig/1020925/images/25BIJOY.jpg](https://s3.ap-south-1.amazonaws.com/cms-abp-prod-media/library/THE_TELEGRAPH/mig/1020925/images/25BIJOY.jpg)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Chaube, Shibani Kinkar. *Electoral Politics in Northeast India*. Ann Arbor: Universities Press, 1985. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Hazarika, Sanjoy. "Ex-Rebel Chief in India Seeks Immigrants' Ouster". *The New York Times*, August 14, 1988. Accessed August 2, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/08/14/world/ex-rebel-chief-in-india-seeks-immigrants-ouster.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Chaube.

<sup>4</sup> Braja Kumāra, *Problems of Ethnicity in the North-East India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2007), 53.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>6</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married, but the age of his first marriage is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian,<sup>9</sup> specifically Baptist.<sup>10</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes. In 1969, he was appointed as the chief of 'Tripura Sena,' which was the militant wing of TUJS (Tripura Upajati Juba Samity).<sup>11</sup> He was the assistant general secretary of the TUJS.<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

There is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.<sup>13</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Hamlet Bareh, *Encyclopaedia of North-East India: Tripura* (New Delhi: Mittal Productions, 2001), 126.

<sup>8</sup> Karlsson, Bengt G. "Bonnie Guest House: Fieldwork and Friendship Across Borders" In *Northeast India: A Place of Relations*, Edited by Yasmin Saikia and Amit R. Baishya. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Manas Paul, *The Eyewitness: Tales from Tripura's Ethnic Conflict* (Frankfort: The Lancer International Inc, 2009), 140.

<sup>10</sup> Hazarika.

<sup>11</sup> Manas. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Bareh. 125.

<sup>13</sup> "A Tribe Fades Into Oblivion". *Tehelka*, December 18, 2010. Accessed August 2, 2018. <http://old.tehelka.com/a-tribe-fades-into-oblivion/>.



**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was the chief of 'Tripura Sena.'

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Whether he lived in exile is unknown.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Whether he had extensive work experience abroad is unknown.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes. In June 1980, he was arrested.<sup>14</sup> He was also in jail in 1971-1978.<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 1.

<sup>15</sup> "A Tribe Fades Into Oblivion". M. D. G. "Problem-Ridden Accord in Tripura." *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, no. 36 (1988): 1833-834. 1833.

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is unknown, but it may be Kokborok. His political party introduced Kokborok textbooks into schools and churches.<sup>16</sup> His son knows English and Hindi.<sup>17</sup> Hrangkhawl can write in English and Mizo.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Halliday, Adam. "In Their Own Write". *Indian Express*, May 11, 2014. Accessed August 2, 2018. <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/in-their-own-write/>.

<sup>17</sup> "Tripura Rapper Uses Music to Fight Discrimination". *The Statesman*, February 9, 2016. Accessed August 2, 2018. <https://www.thestatesman.com/northeast/tripura-rapper-uses-music-to-fight-discrimination-122321.html>.

<sup>18</sup> "On Whose Hands Is This Blood?" *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, no. 40 (1988): 2028.

**Rolecode** 211

**Leadercode** 80

**Name of leader** Arabinda Rajkhowa

**Organization** United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)

**Conflict country** India

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1956<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Lukwa Unani Konwargaon, Simaluguri, Sibsagar, Assam, India<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was the younger of two brothers.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On April 7, 1979, he founded the ULFA. Therefore, he was 23 years old.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The\\_ULFA\\_Leader,\\_Shri\\_Arabinda\\_Rajkhowa\\_meeting\\_the\\_Union\\_Home\\_Secretary,\\_Shri\\_R.K.\\_Singh,\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi\\_on\\_October\\_25,\\_2011.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_ULFA_Leader,_Shri_Arabinda_Rajkhowa_meeting_the_Union_Home_Secretary,_Shri_R.K._Singh,_in_New_Delhi_on_October_25,_2011.jpg)

“Most Wanted,” *Assam Police*, December 12, 2009, accessed November 26, 2017,

[https://web.archive.org/web/20091212094910/http://assampolice.com/departments/cid/lookout/wanted\\_rajib.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20091212094910/http://assampolice.com/departments/cid/lookout/wanted_rajib.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Prasun Acharya, “Once upon a rebel and a cause,” *The Telegraph*, August 10, 2017, Accessed December 3, 2018, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/7-days/once-upon-a-rebel-and-a-cause/cid/1315240>.

<sup>4</sup> D. Suba Chandran, P. R. Chari, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2013: Transitions* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), 49.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished high school.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>7</sup> he married in the late 1980s.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has two children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Hindu.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He also served as Vice President of Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front.<sup>11</sup> He also was a leader of a radical student group in Assam called Asom Jatiyatabadi Yuva Chatra Parishad (AJYCP).<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical health. However, the Assam police considered him as suicidal.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> "Bangladesh hands over Ulfa chairman Rajkhowa to India," *The Times Of India*, December 4, 2009, Accessed January 3, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Bangladesh-hands-over-Ulfa-chairman-Rajkhowa-to-India/articleshow/5298994.cms>.

<sup>8</sup> "Rajkhowa, from student leader to India's most wanted," *NEWS 18*, December 4, 2009, Accessed December 3, 2018, <https://www.news18.com/news/india/rajkhowa-from-student-leader-to-indias-most-wanted-329849.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA," *The World Factbook*, Accessed January 2, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.10

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a school teacher.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “he has been out of India since 1992 and reportedly living in Bangladesh for close to two decades.”<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes. He was trained under Kachin Independence Army and National Socialist Council of Nagaland.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>14</sup> “Who’s afraid of the ULFA?,” *The Indian Express*, January 14, 2007, Accessed January 3, 2018, [https://archive.is/20130103120831/http://www.indianexpress.com/story\\_print.php?storyId=20829#selection-35.0-35.25](https://archive.is/20130103120831/http://www.indianexpress.com/story_print.php?storyId=20829#selection-35.0-35.25).

<sup>15</sup> “Rajkhowa: Teacher to insurgent,” *India Today*, December 3, 2009, Accessed December 4, 2018, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/rajkhowa-teacher-to-insurgent-62203-2009-12-03>.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.1

Yes.<sup>17</sup> He was in prison while he was a leader in December 2009, so he was imprisoned for at least a month.<sup>18</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Assamese as his primary language.<sup>19</sup> He also spoke English, Nagamese, Bengali, Hindi, Kachin.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Paul B. Rich and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), no page number.

<sup>18</sup> “Incidents and Statements involving ULFA: 1979-2009,” *SATP*, [http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist\\_outfits/ulfa2009.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist_outfits/ulfa2009.htm)

<sup>19</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	212
<b>Leadercode</b>	346
<b>Name of leader</b>	Paresh Barua (alias Paban Baruah)
<b>Organization</b> (ULFA)	The United Liberation Front of Assam
<b>Conflict country</b>	India
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1957 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Jeraichakali Bhariagaon, Assam, India <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1979, so at age 22.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://images.outlookindia.com/public/uploads/articles/2020/1/30/news\\_3\\_20200210\\_570\\_850.jpg](https://images.outlookindia.com/public/uploads/articles/2020/1/30/news_3_20200210_570_850.jpg)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

“Paresh Baruah,” *World Library*, Accessed December 10, 2017,  
[http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/eng/Paresh\\_Baruah](http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/eng/Paresh_Baruah).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “India’s Most Wanted Terrorist Still a Railway Employee in Assam,” *Hindustan Times*, December 1, 2009, August 5, 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/india-s-most-wanted-terrorist-still-a-railway-employee-in-assam/story-Cu8S6rjphynFScIRtUkUMM.html>

<sup>4</sup> D. Suba Chandran and P. R. Chari, *Armed Conflict, Peace Audit and Early Warning 2014: Stability and Instability in South Asia* (New Delhi: SAGE Publishing India, 2015).

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>5</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied at Dibrugarh University.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Hindu.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

His health is unknown.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a football player and railway employee.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> "Paresh Baruah's wife, children willing to return: G K Pillai," *The Times of India*, February 13, 2012, Accessed December 10, 2017, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Paresh-Baruahs-wife-children-willing-to-return-G-K-Pillai/articleshow/11875182.cms>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "South Asia: India", *CIA*, Accessed December 10, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India's North-east: A Gathering Storm, Volume 1* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008), 196.



No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Whether he had experience in a nonstate military is unknown.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he remains at-large from the Indian authorities. They believe that he is hiding near the Burmese border in China's Yunnan province.<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, his group received support from the Bangladesh Directorate General of Forces Intelligence (DGFI) and Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).<sup>13</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he is said to have business operations throughout India, Bangladesh, and the Persian Gulf, including hotels, consulting firms, driving schools, tanneries, department stores, textile factories, travel agencies, investment companies, shrimp trawlers, and soft drink factories.<sup>14</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>11</sup> "Paresh Barua – The Ulfa man," *DhakaTribune*, Accessed December 10, 2017, <http://archive.dhakatribune.com/law-amp-rights/2014/jan/31/paresh-barua-%E2%80%93-ulfa-man>.

<sup>12</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Great Game East: India, China, and the Struggle for Asia's Most Volatile Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 258.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 10, 387.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 11, 83.

Yes, the Bangladeshi arrested him briefly, then released him.<sup>15</sup> He was detained in Bangladesh in 2009.<sup>16</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was shot at and injured by Myanmar's army while in the jungle of northwest Myanmar in 2011.<sup>17</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Assamese, and he may also speak Hindi.

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<sup>15</sup> E M Rammohun, *Countering Insurgencies in India: An Insider's View* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2011), 112.

<sup>16</sup> Subir Bhaumik, "India's Ulfa Rebel Leader: Son Abducted in Bangladesh," *BBC News*, December 23, 2010, Accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12065557>

<sup>17</sup> "ULFA chief Paresh Baruah shot at by Myanmar army: Sources," *NDTV*, Accessed December 10, 2017, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/ulfa-chief-paresh-baruah-shot-at-by-myanmar-army-sources-467200>.

**Rolecode** 213

**Leadercode** 366

**Name of leader** Rajkumar Meghen (alias Sana Yaima)

**Organization** United National Liberation Front), also known as the United National Liberation Front of Manipur (UNLF)

**Conflict country** India

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1946<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Manipur, India

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1984, so at age 38.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected general secretary.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://c.ndtvimg.com/2019-11/m5kgqcik\\_rajkumar-meghen-ndtv-\\_625x300\\_10\\_November\\_19.jp](https://c.ndtvimg.com/2019-11/m5kgqcik_rajkumar-meghen-ndtv-_625x300_10_November_19.jp)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Sushanta Talukdar, "Meghen seeks plebiscite, peacekeepers in Manipur," *The Hindu*, February 22, 2011, Accessed January 5, 2018, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/Meghen-seeks-plebiscite-peacekeepers-in-Manipur/article15454389.ece>.

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Great Game East: India, China, and the Struggle for Asia's Most Volatile Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 128.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He has his postgraduate degree in International Relations from Jadavpur University in Kolkata<sup>4</sup> or Law at Jadavpur University in Kolkata.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has at least a son.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Hindu.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, “Mr. Meghen is the great-grandson of Manipuri patriot Prince Tikendrajit Singh, who led the army of the Manipur kingdom in the Anglo-Manipur War of 1891.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He established contact with the Naga underground in Myanmar.<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>6</sup> “NIA gets 13 days custody of UNLF chief Meghen,” *rediff NEWS*, December 3, 2010, Accessed January 5, 2018, <http://www.rediff.com/news/report/nia-gets-13-days-custody-of-unlf-chief-meghen/20101203.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> Sushanta Talukdar, “Sanayaima remanded to 13 days in NIA custody,” *The Hindu*, December 4, 2010, Accessed January 5, 2018, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/Sanayaima-remanded-to-13-days-in-NIA-custody/article15580054.ece>.

<sup>8</sup> “SOUTH ASIA:: INDIA,” *The World Factbook*, Accessed January 2, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 59.

He was an activist, it appears he went directly from college to the UNLF.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

His experience in a state military is unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison. In September 2010, he was arrested, but was no longer leader after being arrested.<sup>12</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>12</sup> See f.n.4

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He possibly spoke Meitei language as his primary language, and he possible also spoke Hindi.

**Rolecode** 214

**Leadercode** 220

**Name of leader** Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, alternate name José Alexandre Gusmão<sup>1</sup>

**Organization** Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin)

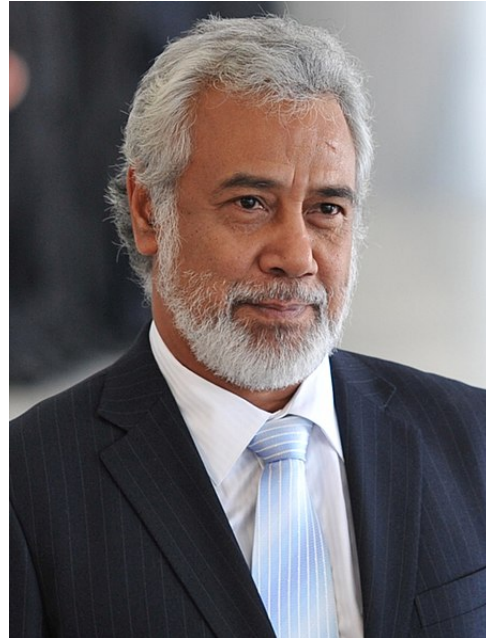
**Conflict country** Indonesia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1946<sup>2</sup>

**Place of birth** Manatuto, Portuguese Timor<sup>3</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

N/A

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown, but he was raised in his family with a brother and five sisters.<sup>4</sup> He was the second son in a family of nine children according to another source.<sup>5</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1979, so at age 33.<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Xanana\\_2011\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Xanana_2011_(cropped).jpg)

The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, "Xanana Gusmão President of East Timor," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2016, accessed December 16, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Xanana-Gusmao>.

<sup>2</sup> "Biography Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and Security of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste," *Government of Timor Leste*, accessed December 16, 2016, <http://timor-leste.gov.tl/?p=3&lang=en>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Robert Bartrop, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide Portraits of Evil and Good* (ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara, 2012), 108.

<sup>6</sup> "East Timor: Remembering History, The Trial of Xanana Gusmao and a Follow-Up on the Dili Massacre," *Human Rights Watch Reports*, April 1993, Accessed August 5, 2021.

<https://www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/i/indonesia/indones3934.pdf>

After the Carnation Revolution in Portugal on April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974, Gusmão decided to join the newly formed *Associação Social Democrata* –ASDT (Social Democrat Association) which was later that same year transformed into the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin). Having worked as a journalist and photographer, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão took on the party's job of Deputy-Director of the Department of Information. Following the death of the then President of FRETILIN, Nicolau Lobato in December 1978, and coupled with the loss of a majority of the Central Committee Members of Fretilin, Gusmão was left with the task of reorganizing the struggle.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, Gusmão was able to rise to prominence within Fretilin since then.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed primary and started secondary school at the Catholic mission of "Nossa Senhora de Fátima" in Dare.<sup>8</sup> He attended high school in Dili, the capital.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, in 1969, he married Emilia Batista, of whom he later divorced and then he married his second wife in 2000.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, Gusmão was 23 when he got married for the first time.

### **Children**

Yes, he had 5 children.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was a Roman Catholic.<sup>12</sup>

### **Family background**

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "Biography of Xanana Gusmao," *The Biography*, <https://thebiography.us/en/gusmao-xanana>

<sup>10</sup> "Biography Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and Security of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste," *Government of Timor Leste*.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



Both of his parents were schoolteachers.<sup>13</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In March 1981, Gusmão organized the first national conference of Fretilin, where he was formally elected to become the leader of the resistance movement and commander-in-chief of Falintil.<sup>14</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a journalist and photographer.<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, from 1968-1971, he served and reached the rank of corporal in the Portuguese Colonial Army after being recruited for three years of national service.<sup>16</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, for his leadership of Fretilin in the earlier phases of the war.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

He served as the Deputy-Director of the Department of Information.<sup>17</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, while technically he was imprisoned by the Indonesian government in Jakarta, which is outside his homeland of East Timor, this does not count as exile.

**Study abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Xanana Gusmao: The President," *Government East Timor*, accessed December 21, 2016, <http://gov.east-timor.org/AboutTimorleste/pres.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.2

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No. He had “mandatory military service in the Portuguese armed service.”<sup>18</sup> Since East Timor was Portuguese colony at the time, this does not count as foreign military training.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, on November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1992, the Indonesian military captured Gusmão in Díli and charged him with subversion. At his trial, which begins in February 1993, he was prevented from reading his 27-pages defense statement. On May 21<sup>st</sup>, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in Jakarta's Cipinang jail for having, according to the presiding judge, "disturbed the life of East Timorese." The sentence is later commuted to 20 years. Faced with international commendation, Gusmão faced a kangaroo-court trial and was imprisoned in a prison reserved for criminals only, but amid pressure from the international community, the Indonesian authorities were forced to transfer him to Cipinang prison reserved for political prisoners. In prison, Xanana Gusmão devoted his time to the elaboration of the strategies of the Resistance, while studying Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language), English and Law.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, Gusmão met his second wife, the Australian foreign aid worker and teacher Kirsty Sword. Sword, who also works covertly for the East Timorese resistance, passed messages from Gusmão to his colleagues outside. He was imprisoned in 1997, when Mandela visited him. The two bonded.<sup>20</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Tetum as his primary language, in addition to Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Portuguese.

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<sup>18</sup> “Biography of Xanana Gusmao,” *The Biography*, <https://thebiography.us/en/gusmao-xanana>

<sup>19</sup> “Xanana Gusmao: The President,” *Government East Timor*

<sup>20</sup> Amanda Wise, *Exile and Return Among the East Timorese*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: 2006), 80

<b>Rolecode</b>	217
<b>Leadercode</b>	170
<b>Name of leader</b>	Hasan di Tiro
<b>Organization</b>	The Free Aceh Movement (GAM)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Indonesia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1925 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Aceh, Dutch East Indies (Indonesia)
<b>Year of death</b>	2010



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2010 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1976, di Tiro founded GAM. He was 51 years old.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the original founder of GAM, who in 1955, was appointed by the Acehese leaders of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII), an Islamist separatist movement in Indonesia in the past, to serve as its Ambassador to the United Nations. Di Tiro was able to convince the Acehese leaders to appoint him such position after he had successfully convinced them that their movement needed to gather support from Western democracies in order to succeed.<sup>3</sup> For those reasons, he had the legitimacy to assume the highest leadership position in GAM.

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hasan\\_Tiro.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hasan_Tiro.JPG)

The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, "Hasan di Tiro Indonesian Rebel Leader," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, July 1, 2010, accessed December 2, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hasan-di-Tiro>.

<sup>2</sup>"Profile: Aceh's Gam separatists," *BBC News*, January 24, 2005, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3039243.stm>.

<sup>3</sup>Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, *The Republican Revolt: A Study of the Acehese Rebellion* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 236.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence that Di Tiro ever shared power with others in GAM. In December 1976, Di Tiro declared Aceh's independence from Indonesia and declared himself as its Head of State (Wali Negara).<sup>4</sup>

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to Columbia University in New York City.<sup>5</sup> He received a doctorate in international law from the University of Plano in Texas.<sup>6</sup> During his time in New York City, he did part-time work for Indonesian Mission to the United Nations. Additionally, while a student in New York City in 1953, he declared himself the "foreign minister" of the rebellious Darul Islam movement, which in Aceh was led by Daud Bereueh. Due to this action, he was immediately stripped of his Indonesian citizenship, causing him to be imprisoned for a few months on Ellis Island as an illegal alien.

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>7</sup> there is no information on the specific year when he married his American wife. Therefore, his age on first marriage cannot be determined.

## **Children**

He had one son.<sup>8</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

## **Elite family background**

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<sup>4</sup> Rajat Ganguly, *Autonomy and Ethnic Conflict in South and South-East Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Kathy Marks, "Hasan di Tiro: Founder of Acehnese independence movement who helped end three decades of war," *Independent*, June 18, 2010, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/hasan-di-tiro-founder-of-acehnese-independence-movement-who-helped-end-three-decades-of-war-2004818.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Damien Kingsbury, "Independence leader kept up the fight for Aceh's autonomy Hasan di Tiro, 1925 – 2010," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 18, 2010, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/obituaries/independence-leader-kept-up-the-fight-for-acehs-autonomy-20100617-yjpa.html>.

Di Tiro descended from a line of influential Muslim scholars. He was a descendant of Tengku Cik di Tiro on maternal side, an Indonesian national hero who was killed fighting the Dutch in 1891. Cik di Tiro was also Aceh's last Sultan, which gave the family quasi-royal status.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Di Tiro attempted to earn international legitimacy and garner support for The Free Aceh Movement by characterizing the struggle as a fight for self-determination.<sup>11</sup> For example, di Tiro had successfully received the support from the late dictator of Libya, Muammar Gaddafi. During the late 1980s, di Tiro served as chairman of the political committee of the “Mathaba Against Imperialism, Racism, Zionism, and Fascism”, which is a Libyan-based organization that was established in 1985 to supply moral and financial support to liberation movements headed by Colonel Gaddafi himself. In his capacity, di Tiro ran a “personal network of contacts” with the movements’ leaders and other armed groups in the South Pacific and Indonesia.<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

In the 1990s, di Tiro suffered two strokes.<sup>13</sup> In 2010, he died as a result of multiple organ dysfunction syndrome.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a diplomatic and business career in the U.S. before he left for Aceh in 1974.<sup>14</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of state military experience.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>11</sup> Robert Shaw, “Aceh’s Struggle for Independence: Considering the Role of Islam in a Separatist,” *The Fletcher School Online Journal on Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization* (Fall 2008): 6, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~media/Fletcher/Microsites/al%20Nakhlah/archives/pdfs/Aceh.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Tim Kell, *Roots of Acehnese rebellion, 1989-1992* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1995), 112-113.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.6

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in October 2008, di Tiro returned to Aceh after more than 30 years living in self-imposed exile in Stockholm, Sweden.<sup>15</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at Columbia University (NY) and received doctorate degree from University of Plano (TX).

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, by having business in the U.S., di Tiro was able to support GAM financially from overseas during GAM's first rebellion. As a result, he had established an external support structure that is essential in making GAM into a transnational network very quickly.<sup>16</sup>

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Whether there was an assassination attempt by the state is unknown.

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>17</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Acehnese, Bahasa Indonesia, and English.

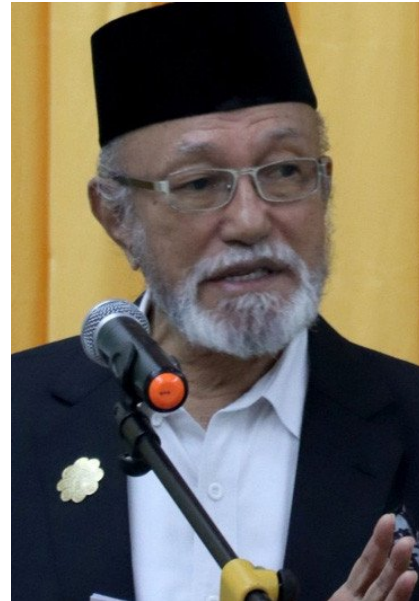
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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Justin Hastings, *No Man's Land: Globalization, Territory, and Clandestine Groups in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 115.

<sup>17</sup> See f.n.6

**Rolecode** 218  
**Leadercode** 262  
**Name of leader** Malik Mahmud  
**Organization** The Free Aceh Movement (GAM)  
**Conflict country** Indonesia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1939  
**Place of birth** Singapore<sup>1</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

Mahmud has an older brother, Amir Mahmud.<sup>2</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, so at age 60.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Mahmud was able to achieve prominence in GAM because his father and older brother, Maimud Haitar and Amir Mahmud, had a very close friendship with Hasan di Tiro who founded GAM. It all happened at a time when di Tiro used to come to Singapore frequently in the early 1960s to negotiate business deals with his partners in Singapore, including Mahmud's father who was an Acehese businessman in Singapore.<sup>4</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6d/Wali\\_Nanggroe\\_Aceh\\_Malik\\_Mahmud.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6d/Wali_Nanggroe_Aceh_Malik_Mahmud.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Edward Aspinall, "From War to Peace Internationalization, Democratization, and the Domestication of Nationalism," in *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Antje Missbach, *Separatist Conflict in Indonesia: The Long-distance Politics of the Acehese Diaspora* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 137.

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.1

### **Powersharing**

Yes. Mahmud did not serve as the highest leader of GAM. He used to serve as GAM's Minister of State before eventually appointed to become its Prime Minister.<sup>5</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes. There is no specific information available about his marriage other than that he married to Maryam.<sup>6</sup> So, his age on his first marriage cannot be determined.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

Mahmud is the son of Maimud Haitar. His father was an Acehnese merchant who resided in Singapore with his family after they emigrated from the Dutch East Indies in the 1920s.<sup>7</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Malik Mahmud had made Singapore as a safe haven for GAM and an important part of its command and control network and intelligence structures.<sup>8</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> Jessica Stanton, *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 160.

<sup>6</sup> Husaini Hasan, *Dari Rimba Aceh ke Stockholm* (Jakarta: Batavia Publishing, 2015), 340.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Justin Hastings, *No Man's Land: Globalization, Territory, and Clandestine Groups in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 131.



His occupation is unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

It is unknown whether he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, Mahmud used to live in self-imposed exile in Stockholm, Sweden alongside Hasan di Tiro and other GAM leaders.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

It is unknown whether he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, in the second half of the 1980s, while living in Singapore, Mahmud was assigned by di Tiro to be in charge of organizing the military training in Libya for GAM new recruits from Aceh.<sup>10</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>10</sup> See f.n. 3, 108.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Acehnese, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Melayu, English.

<b>Rolecode</b>	219
<b>Leadercode</b>	60
<b>Name of leader</b>	Alex (Donald) Derey
<b>Organization</b>	The Free Papua Movement (OPM)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Indonesia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1949
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	2014 <sup>1</sup>

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

Unknown

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead the organization?

Derey had the opportunity to assume leadership role in the OPM in the early 1980s, when both Prai and Rumkorem had been granted asylum in Sweden and left Papua.<sup>2</sup>

Powersharing

None

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Overlijdensbericht de heer Alexander B. Derey," *Freewestpapua*, 3 December 2014.

<http://freewestpapua.eu/2014/12/overlijdensbericht-de-heer-alexander-b-derey/>.

<sup>2</sup> Bilveer Singh. *Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 141.

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Derey is member of the top leadership positions of the OPM. There is a report that Derey served as the Defense Minister for OPM President James Nyaro.<sup>3</sup>

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

No

Combat experience

Unknown

Held government position prior to rebellion?

No

Lived in exile?

Yes. In the 1980s, Derey and James Nyaro were deported to Ghana.<sup>4</sup> He had been living outside Indonesia since then.

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

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<sup>3</sup> R. J. May, *Between Two Nations the Indonesia - Papua New Guinea border and West Papua Nationalism* (Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates), 1986, 236.

<sup>4</sup> Sands, Susan. *West Papuan Refugees from Irian Jaya in Papua New Guinea* (Queensland: University of Queensland School of Social Science), 1994, 134.

Unknown

Cause of death?

Natural causes.<sup>5</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Papuan of indeterminate dialect

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<b>Rolecode</b>	220
<b>Leadercode</b>	128
<b>Name of leader</b>	Elkey Bemey
<b>Organization</b>	The Free Papua Movement (OPM)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Indonesia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	1981 <sup>1</sup>

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In 1978, Bemey assumed a leadership role in the OPM after Jacob Prai and Seth Rumkorem were granted asylum in Sweden. However, his age at start of leadership cannot be determined.<sup>2</sup>

Organizational founder?

No.

Powersharing

No.<sup>3</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown.

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown.

Children

Unknown.

Religious identification

Unknown.

Elite family background

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<sup>1</sup> Elmslie, Jim. *Irian Jaya Under the Gun: Indonesian Economic Development Versus West Papuan Nationalism*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 44.

<sup>2</sup> Singh Bilveer. *Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 141.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

Unknown.

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown.

Physical and mental health

Unknown.

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown.

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown.

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown.

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown.

Held government position prior to rebellion?

No.

Significant overseas experience? Note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Lived in exile?

No.

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

No

Was the leader assassinated?

Yes. In 1981, Bemey was reportedly killed by his own men.<sup>4</sup>

Cause of death?

Fratricide (intentionally killed by own forces).<sup>5</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

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<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	222
<b>Leadercode</b>	209
<b>Name of leader</b>	James Nyaro
<b>Organization</b>	The Free Papua Movement (OPM)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Indonesia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A, no sources indicate that he has died.

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In 1984, Nyaro assumed military leadership of OPM-Pemka after the previous leader, Elkey Bemey, disappeared in 1981.<sup>1</sup> However, his age at start of leadership is unknown.

Organizational founder?

No.

Powersharing

Yes. Nyaro shared leadership positions with Martin Tabu, Elkey Bemey, and Alex Derey.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Nyaro studied agriculture in the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup>

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Yes. He was formerly married to a German, who is reportedly still living in Jayapura. However, his age on his first marriage is unknown.<sup>4</sup>

Children

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<sup>1</sup> May, R.J. *Between Two Nations the Indonesia - Papua New Guinea border and West Papua Nationalism* (Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates: 1986), 57.

<sup>2</sup> Singh, Bilveer. *Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 141. ; Jim Elmslie, *Irian Jaya Under the Gun: Indonesian Economic Development Versus West Papuan Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 44.

<sup>3</sup> See f.n. 1, 58.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



Yes. Possibly a daughter.<sup>5</sup>

Religious identification

Christian.<sup>6</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to rebellion?

No.

Significant overseas experience? Note any relevant social connections made

Agricultural education in the Netherlands (see “Education).

Lived in exile?

Yes. In 1985, Nyaro and Alex Derey fled to Papua New Guinea as they feared for their lives from other OPM members.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See note 1. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Elmslie, Jim. *Irian Jaya Under the Gun: Indonesian Economic Development Versus West Papuan Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 46.

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

N/A

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	223
<b>Leadercode</b>	270
<b>Name of leader</b>	Martin Tabu
<b>Organization</b>	The Free Papua Movement (OPM)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Indonesia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A, no sources indicate that he died.

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In 1978, after Jacob Prai left Papua, the OPM-Pemka group reorganized its command structure under Martin Tabu as its new leader.<sup>1</sup> However, his age at start of leadership is unknown.

Organizational founder?

No

Powersharing

No. Although there may have been multiple leaders, supreme authority was always with one individual.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Possibly Christian.

Elite family background

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<sup>1</sup> May, R. J. *Between Two Nations the Indonesia - Papua New Guinea border and West Papua Nationalism* (Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates), 1986, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Singh, Bilveer, *Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers), 2011, 141.

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

He was admitted into the Indonesian forces, but after he had been in OPM.<sup>3</sup>

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Unknown

Held government position prior to rebellion?

No

Significant overseas experience? Note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Lived in exile?

No

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Possibly. In 1980, the Indonesian forces captured Tabu at Waris village.<sup>4</sup> His whereabouts and conditions have become unknown since then.

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

No.

Cause of death?

N/A

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

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<sup>3</sup> Hernawan, Budi. *Torture and Peacebuilding in Indonesia: The Case of Papua*, (New York: Routledge), 2018, n.p.

<sup>4</sup> Elmslie, Jim. *Irian Jaya Under the Gun: Indonesian Economic Development Versus West Papuan Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 2002, 44.

Unknown

**Rolecode** 226

**Leadercode** 16

**Name of leader** Abdul Rahman Haji Ahmadi<sup>1</sup>

**Organization** Kurdistan Free Life Party (JPAK)

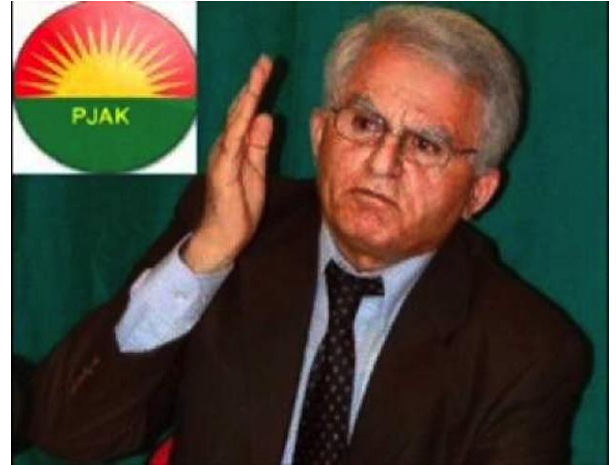
**Conflict country** Iran

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1941<sup>2</sup>

**Place of birth** Iran<sup>3</sup>

**Year of death** N/A, he was alive as of 2018.<sup>4</sup>



Deceased

No

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

He became leader in 2004; would have been 63 upon leadership.<sup>5</sup>

Leader entry method:

He was the founder.<sup>6</sup>

Powersharing

Based on multiple biographical sources, there is no evidence.

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He is a trained agricultural engineer.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Image from Rojhelat.info. <https://rojhelat.info/en/?p=5422>. Accessed 10 December 2020.

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup> Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. *The Militant Kurds*, (Santa Barbara: PRAEGAR), 2011, 213.

<sup>3</sup> Stefan Buchen, John Goetz, and Sven Röbel, "Germany Concerned About PJAK Activities," *Institute Kurde De Paris*, 14 April 2008. <https://www.institutkurde.org/info/germany-concerned-about-pjak-activities-1208441132.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Nazli Gurbuz Seyma. "YPG, PKK: Sharing same ideology, structure, leadership," *Daily Sabah*, 26 February 2018. <https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2018/02/27/ypg-pkk-sharing-same-ideology-structure-leadership>.

<sup>5</sup> "Kurdistan Free Life Party," *National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism*, January 2015, <http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/kurdistan-free-life-party>.

<sup>6</sup> "Iranian troops attack Kurdish PJAK rebel bases in Iraq," *BBC*, 18 July 2011. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14189313>.

<sup>7</sup> Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. *The Militant Kurds: A Dual Strategy for Freedom*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC), 2011, 213

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Was supposedly in contact and inspired by Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdish Workers Party insurgent group in Turkey.

Physical and mental health

Unknown.

Pre-militant leader occupation

He was an agricultural engineer.<sup>8</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Yes, currently he is living in Cologne, Germany.<sup>9</sup>

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Stefan Buchen, John Goetz, and Sven Röbel, "New Kurdish Terror Group? Germany Concerned About PJAK Activities," *Spiegel Online*, 14 April 2008.

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/new-kurdish-terror-group-germany-concerned-about-pjak-activities-a-547211.html>.

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

He was arrested, but then quickly released.<sup>10</sup>

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

N/A

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown, possibly Persian and Kurdish.

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<sup>10</sup> See f.n.4



**Rolecode** 227

**Leadercode** 14

**Name of leader** Abdul Malik Rigi (Emir Abdul Malik Baloch)

**Organization** Jondullah

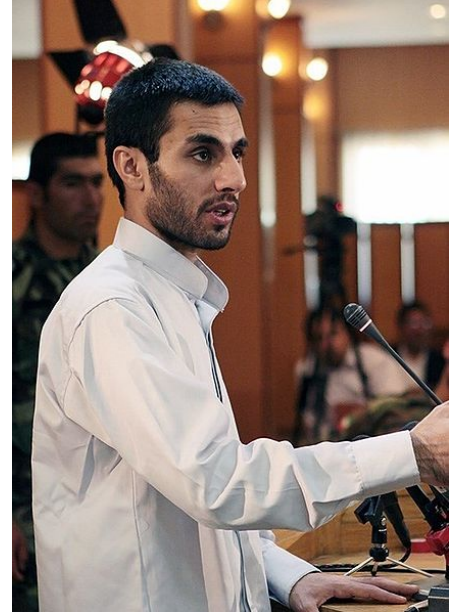
**Conflict country** Iran

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1979, another source 1983

**Place of birth** Sistan & Balochistan, Iran

**Year of death** 2010



### **Deceased**

Yes<sup>1</sup>

### **Birth order**

He appears to have one younger brother and one other brother, Abdul Rauf Rigi<sup>23</sup>.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2003, at either age 20 or 24.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was the founder.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image credits: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abdolmalek\\_Rigi\\_in\\_Islamic\\_Revolutionary\\_Court.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abdolmalek_Rigi_in_Islamic_Revolutionary_Court.jpg)  
Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Nazila Fathi, "Iran Executes Sunni Rebel Leader," *New York Times*, June 20, 2010, Accessed January 21, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/21/world/middleeast/21iran.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Amir Mir, "The rise and fall of Rigi brothers," *BBC Arabic*, January 2, 2011, Accessed January 21, 2018, [http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:wYOthMnJ044J:metranspcem.cluster011.ovh.net/spip.php%3Fpage%3Darticle%26id\\_article%3D12265%26var\\_lang%3Den%26lang%3Den+%&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:wYOthMnJ044J:metranspcem.cluster011.ovh.net/spip.php%3Fpage%3Darticle%26id_article%3D12265%26var_lang%3Den%26lang%3Den+%&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us).

<sup>4</sup> Moign Khawaja, "Iran Executes Jundullah Founder Abdul Malik Rigi," *Foreign Policy Journal*, June 20, 2010, Accessed January 21, 2018, <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/06/20/iran-executes-jundullah-founder-abdul-malik-rigi/>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Although lacking any formal secular education, Rigi had been educated at Karachi's Binnori Town seminary, a Sunni Madrasah which was school to many of the Taliban leaders.”<sup>6</sup> In a personal interview he claims to have attended high school, although he did not finished it.<sup>7</sup>

Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of Western education.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but age of marriage is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

He claimed to have three young children.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is a Sunni Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

**Elite family background**

He is unlikely to be of an elite background.<sup>11</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, likely any activities would be too closely related to the individual's organization.

**Physical and mental health**

There is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>7</sup> Willem Marx, “Double Agent,” *Tablet*, May 10, 2011, Accessed January 21, 2018, <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/66964/double-agent>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

He was an activist. “According to him, from the age of 19 he has taken up arms and carried out terrorist operations.”<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, he did not have nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, he did not hold a government position prior to assuming leadership.

**Lived in exile?**

Possibly, since he was living in Pakistan; however there is no direct evidence of exile.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, he did not have extensive experience working abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “prior to founding Jundallah, while a teenager, Rigi was convicted of assault with a knife, for which he served time in prison.”<sup>14</sup> He was also arrested in February of 2010 and then executed in June (the 2010 arrest does not count since this was after he was leader).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>13</sup> B. Raman, “And Now Iran...,” *Outlook India*, October 19, 2009, Accessed January 21, 2018, <https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/and-now-iran/262392>.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.5

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt.

**Cause of Death?**

He was hung in Iran due to his acts of terrorism.<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Likely Balochi was primary, and also Persian.<sup>17</sup>

Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Abdulmalik Rigi, "The Most Wanted Man in Iran," Interview by Dan Rather, *Dan Rather Reports*, April 24, 2008.

**Rolecode** 228  
**Leadercode** 309  
**Name of leader** Muhamed Dhahir Baloch (Muhammad Dhahir Baluch)  
**Organization** Jondullah  
**Conflict country** Iran  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

Deceased

Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

In 2010; age unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method

He was appointed.<sup>2 3</sup>

Powersharing

No<sup>4</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Iranian insurgent group chooses new leader," *Associated Press*. Accessed 26 February 2018.  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20100303074315/https://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5gyOxMZGzm\\_5ScK16psO7NFK4MOAAD9E52PMG0](https://web.archive.org/web/20100303074315/https://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5gyOxMZGzm_5ScK16psO7NFK4MOAAD9E52PMG0).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Iran Hangs Sunni Group Leader," *Al Jazeera*, 20 June 2010.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2010/06/201062034410244183.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

He was a Muslim.<sup>5</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

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<sup>5</sup> Cappuccino, Nicholas, "Baluch Insurgents in Iran," *The Iran Primer*, 27 April 2017. <https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2017/apr/05/baluch-insurgents-iran>.

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Probably Baloch was his primary language

**Rolecode** 230

**Leadercode** 9

**Name of leader** Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou  
(Qasemlu)

**Organization** KDPI

**Conflict country** Iran

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1930<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Village of Qasemlu, at the outskirts of Orumieh in the West Azerbaijan province of Iran <sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 1989<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

He had two older brothers.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1973, so at the age of 43.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fb/Rahman\\_ghasemlu.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fb/Rahman_ghasemlu.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "GHASSEMLOU ABDUL RAHMAN

(1930-1989)," *UNIVERSALIS.fr*, Accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/abdul-rahman-ghasemlou/>.

<sup>2</sup> Chiya Qadri, "ABDUL RAHMAN GHASSEMLOU," November 16, 2017, Accessed January 22, 2018, <http://chiyaqadri.com/chiyaqadri/abdul-rahman-ghasemlou/>.

<sup>3</sup> "Dr A. R. Qasemlo," *saradistribution.com*, Accessed January 22, 2018, <http://www.saradistribution.com/abdurahmanqasimlo.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> "QĀSEMLU, 'ABD-AL-RAḤMĀN,'" *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, February 18, 2012, Accessed January 22, 2018, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qasemlu>.



He was elected secretary general.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He completed his early education in Urmia.”<sup>7</sup> “In 1947, Qāsemlu left for France.

After an assassination attempt against Moḥammad-Rezā Shah in 1949 at the University of Tehran, Iranian students in Paris organized a demonstration against the shah. Qāsemlu gave a speech at the event. The Iranian embassy put him under surveillance. His father was not allowed to send him any more funding, so Qāsemlu, through his contacts with the International Students Union, which was controlled by the communists, received a scholarship to study in Czechoslovakia (Randal, 1986, apud Prunhuber, p. 167; Krulich, p. 27).

In 1949 Qāsemlu entered the School of Political and Economic Science of Prague. It was the beginning of the Cold War, and the Stalinist regime was now gripping the country. As a young student and dogmatic Marxist-Leninist, Qāsemlu considered himself a Stalinist. He was elected president of the student union and participated in youth festivals in the International Congress of Students of Prague in 1950, and later in Berlin in 1951 (Randal, 1986, apud Prunhuber, pp. 167-68).<sup>8</sup> He completed his doctorate in economics and political science in Prague in 1962.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

“In 1952 he married a Czech student and graduated in the same year with a degree in social and political sciences.”<sup>10</sup> So at the age of 22.

### **Children**

Yes, he had two daughters.<sup>11</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was an Atheist.<sup>12</sup>

### **Elite family background**

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>12</sup> Prunhuber, Carol. 2009. *The Passion and Death of Rahman the Kurd: Dreaming Kurdistan*. Bloomington, IN: iUniverse.

He came from a wealthy landowning family.<sup>13</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, while as a student, noted in the education section.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor mental or physical health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He “taught the theory of economic growth and long-term planning at the School of Economics at the University of Prague.”<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, there is experience in a nonstate military since this is the second campaign in the dataset led by Ghassemlou.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he returned to Iraq in 1970, where he worked as an advisor to the Ministry of Economic Planning.<sup>15</sup> This is not the government that he fought the resistance campaign against.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled to Europe in 1979 because one of Khomeini first commissions when he took power was to crush the IKDP.<sup>16</sup>

**Study abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen C. Pelletiere, *Oil and the Kurdish Question: How Democracies Go to War in the Era of Late Capitalism* (Lexington Books: Lanham, 2016), 24.

Yes, he studied in France and Czechoslovakia.<sup>17</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, “He returned to Iraq in 1970, where he worked as an advisor to the Ministry of Economic Planning.”<sup>18</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was assassinated while he was a leader in Vienna by the agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran on July 13, 1989.<sup>19</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated.<sup>20</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

“He could read and write and speak and understand Kurdish, Farsi, Arabic, Turkish, Azerbaijani, French, English, Russian, Czech and Slovak and was familiar with German.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See f.n.2

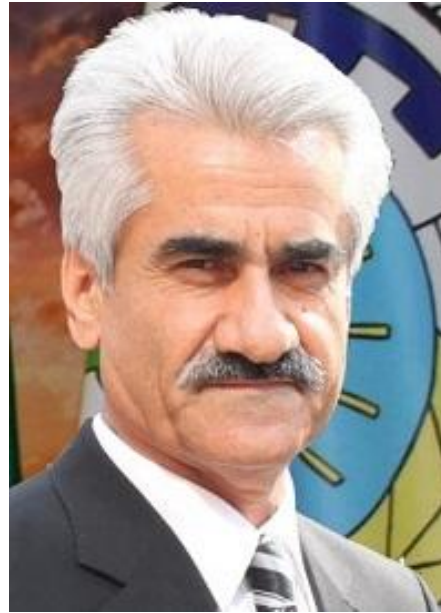
<sup>18</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>19</sup> “DR. ABDUL RAHMAN GHASSEMLOU,” *PDKI*, Accessed January 22, 2018, [http://pdki.org/english/?page\\_id=4547](http://pdki.org/english/?page_id=4547).

<sup>20</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<b>Rolecode</b>	232
<b>Leadercode</b>	322
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mustafa Hijri (Moustapha Hedriji)
<b>Organization</b>	KDPI
<b>Conflict country</b>	Iran
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1945 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Naqadeh, Iran <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1992, so at age 47.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected head of party.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

---

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://dckurd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Hij.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
“A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MUSTAFA HIJRI,” *PDKI*, Accessed February 5, 2018,  
[http://pdki.org/english/?page\\_id=4491](http://pdki.org/english/?page_id=4491).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He graduated from the Teachers’ College of Agriculture in Urmiye in 1963 .... In 1970, he started studying Persian literature at Tehran University, where he obtained a Bachelor’s Degree.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“Mr. Hijri played a prominent role in the demonstrations in 1978 against the Shah’s regime.”<sup>7</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a secondary school and college teacher.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> “Kurdistan – Iran,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 5, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/kurdistan-iran.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes “Mr. Hijri himself has survived several assassination attempts. The latest attempt on his life was as recent as 2007.”<sup>9</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Kurdish as his primary language and Persian.

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<sup>9</sup> See f.n.1

**Rolecode** 234  
**Leadercode** 387  
**Name of leader** Sadegh Sharafkandi  
**Organization** KDPI  
**Conflict country** Iran  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1938<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Bukan, West Azerbaijan Province, Iran<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1992<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 1992 by Iran's secret service.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, so at age 51.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.saradistribution.com/foto13/sadiqi-sherefkendi-folkloric-suit.JPG>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

"Dr. Sadegh Sharafkandi," *Peshawa.org*, Accessed January 24, 2018,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190517181905/http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:wMUHX3ZoQ74J:peshawa.org/dr-sadegh-sharafkandi/+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us>.

<sup>2</sup> "DR SHARAFKANDI," *PDKI*, Accessed January 24, 2018, [http://pdki.org/english/?page\\_id=4975](http://pdki.org/english/?page_id=4975).

<sup>3</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>4</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He spent two years of his elementary studies in his native village, then his family moved to Mahabad, where he completed his primary and secondary education.

In 1959, he received his degree in chemistry at the Institute of Higher Education in Teheran; from then onwards, up to 1965, he taught chemistry in the Kurdish towns of Ourmieh and Mahabad.

In 1972, he went to France to study at the University of Paris VI, where he received his Ph.D. in analytical chemistry in 1976.... While studying in Paris in 1973, he met Dr. Abdul Rahman GHASSEMLOU, the Secretary-general of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (PDKI), and joined the Party.”<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had three children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Sunni Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, while a student, “Because of his political activities, he was transferred first to Arak, then to Karaj by the Shah’s regime, before being appointed assistant lecturer in chemistry at the Teachers’ Higher Training College in Teheran.”<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.2

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1



He taught chemistry in the Kurdish towns of Ourmieh and Mahabad and at the Teachers' Higher Training College in Tehran as an assistant lecturer in chemistry.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, "Sadegh Sharafkandi, the exiled leader of the Iranian Democratic Party of Kurdistan, two other party activists and a translator were shot dead when a masked hit squad opened fire with automatic weapons at the Mykonos restaurant in Berlin."<sup>12</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in France.<sup>13</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Tony Barber, "Berlin court exposes Tehran's terrorism," Thursday 10, April 1997, Accessed January 24, 2018, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/berlin-court-exposes-tehrans-terrorism-1266430.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See f.n.1

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was assassinated by Iranian secret service.<sup>14</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by Iranian secret service.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Kurdish as his primary language, along with Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and French.<sup>16</sup>

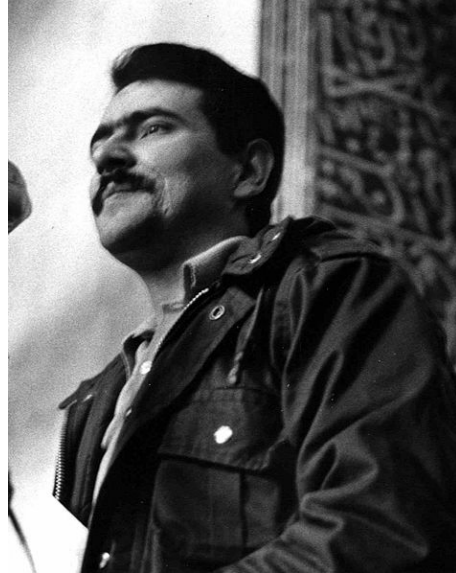
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<sup>14</sup> See f.n.14

<sup>15</sup> See f.n.14

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.2

**Rolecode** 235  
**Leadercode** 272  
**Name of leader** Massoud Rajavi  
**Organization** MEK  
**Conflict country** Iran  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1947<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Tabas, Iran<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** Unclear whether alive or dead, possibly died in 2016.<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

It is unclear, he may have died in 2016.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

He seems to be the middle child of three children.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1975, so at age 28.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masoud\\_Rajavi\\_1970%27s.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masoud_Rajavi_1970%27s.jpg)  
“Massoud Rajavi Biography,” *People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran*, Accessed February 7, 2018, <https://english.mojahedin.org/en/massoudrajavi>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “The death of Massoud Rajavi,” *Iran-Interlink.org*, August 19, 2016, Accessed February 7, 2018, <http://iran-interlink.org/wordpress/?p=7625>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He attended Tehran University where he earned his degree in political science. Rajavi became influenced by PMOI’s modern interpretation of Islam early in life...”<sup>7</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he had several marriages. However, his most recent was with Maryam Rajavi.<sup>8</sup> His first marriage was in 1980 (age 33).<sup>9</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>10</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>11</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He joined the MEK while a student and did no other jobs. He should thus be coded as an activist.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> IslamKotob, *Women, Islam & Equality* (N.P.: Foreign Affair Committee of the National Council of Resistance of Iran, 1995), 13.

<sup>10</sup> “Rajavi’s son,” *Iranian.com*, Accessed February 7, 2018, <https://iranian.com/main/2011/sep/rajavis-son.html>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he has been missing since 2003 and was almost certainly a leader in exile for many years. He may still be in exile or may possibly dead.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “in 1971, all the founders and the Central Committee of the PMOI, including Rajavi, were arrested and sentenced to death by SAVAK, the secret police, domestic security and intelligence service established by Iran’s Mohammad Reza Shah. From 1975 up until his release in 1979, Massoud Rajavi led the Mojahedin’s resistance against all three fronts while incarcerated in different prisons.”<sup>14</sup> He was in prison throughout the whole time (1971 – 1979).<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>13</sup> “Grand Controversy As MEK Can’t Prove Leader Massoud Rajavi Is Dead Or Alive,” *HuffintonPost*, July 13, 2016, Accessed February 7, 2018, [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/grand-controversy-as-mek-cant-prove-leader-massoud\\_us\\_578679cae4b0cbf01e9f0334](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/grand-controversy-as-mek-cant-prove-leader-massoud_us_578679cae4b0cbf01e9f0334).

<sup>14</sup> “Massoud Rajavi” *Iran Freedom*, Accessed August 24, 2019, <https://iranfreedom.org/en/massoud-rajavi-mek-pmoi/>.

<sup>15</sup> “Massoud Rajavi,” *Supporters of PMOI*, Accessed August 24, 2019, <https://mek-iran.com/massoud-rajavi/>.

Probably, although it is still unclear if he was killed.<sup>16</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Persian as his primary language.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See f.n.3

<sup>17</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Rolecode</b>	236
<b>Leadercode</b>	316
<b>Name of leader</b>	Moqtada al-Sadr
<b>Organization</b>	Al-Mahdi Army
<b>Conflict country</b>	Iraq
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1974 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Al-Najaf, Iraq <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was the fourth son.<sup>3</sup> There were six children, so he was fourth of six.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2003, so age 29.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He is the founder.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Moqtada\\_Sadr.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Moqtada_Sadr.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Louay Bahry, "Muqtadā al-Şadr," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muqtada-al-Sadr>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Gregg Zoroya, "Why you should know who Iraqi cleric Muqtada al-Sadar is," *USA TODAY*, May 2, 2016, Accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/05/02/iraqi-cleric-behind-weekend-protests-re-emerges-anti-corruption-force/83822424/>.

<sup>4</sup> A.B.D.R. Eagle, "Obituary: Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad al-Sadr," *Independent*, February 24, 1999, Accessed February 12, 2018, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-ayatollah-sayyid-muhammad-al-sadr-1072841.html>.

<sup>5</sup> "Iraq War," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 6, 2017, Accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iraq-War#ref916864>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“After completing middle school, Ṣadr enrolled in the Shi‘ite ḥawzah (religious seminary) in Al-Najaf, but he never finished his studies.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married in 1994 at age 20.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

No, he did not have children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Shia Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, “Ṣadr was the son of Grand Ayatollah Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Ṣadr, one of the most prominent religious figures in the Islamic world.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “exact details of Muqtada’s biography are contentious because of the adoration and hatred he was to inspire after the fall of Saddam Hussein, but there is no doubt that politically he was highly experienced and well connected by the time his father and brothers were assassinated.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Patirck Cockburn, *Muqtada Al-Sadr and the Battle for the Future of Iraq* (New York: SCRIBNER, 2008), 112.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> “Profile: Muqtada al-Sadr,” *Aljazeera*, March 7, 2010, Accessed February 12, 2018, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2008/04/200861517227277282.html>.

<sup>11</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>12</sup> Patirck Cockburn, *Muqtada Al-Sadr and the Battle for the Future of Iraq* (New York: SCRIBNER, 2008), 113.



He was the editor in chief of the Sadrists' Islamic magazine.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, as of 2011 “Moqtada al-Sadr, the leader of Iraq’s Sadrist movement, has returned to the country after three years in exile in Iran and less than a fortnight after his backing helped usher in a new Iraqi government.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>13</sup> See f.n.8

<sup>14</sup> Martin Chulov, *The Guardian*, January 5, 2011, Accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/05/moqtada-al-sadr-returns-iraq>.

Yes, there have been multiple by the US, and possibly others.<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Arabic as his primary language.

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<sup>15</sup> Patrick Cockburn, *counterpunch*, May 21, 2007, Accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.counterpunch.org/2007/05/21/the-secret-us-plot-to-kill-sadr/>.

**Rolecode** 238  
**Leadercode** 197  
**Name of leader** Ishmael Jubouri  
**Organization** Islamic Army in Iraq (IAI)  
**Conflict country** Iraq  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

Deceased

Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

He became a leader of IAI in 2004<sup>1</sup>. Age is unknown.

Leader entry method

Unknown

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

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<sup>1</sup> "Islamic Army in Iraq," *Stanford: Mapping Militant Organizations*, 10 November 2015.  
<http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/5?highlight=Mahdi+Army>.

IAI is a Sunni organization.<sup>2</sup> His tribe was also predominantly Sunni.<sup>3</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

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<sup>2</sup> See note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Spinner, Jackie. "Marines Widen Their Net South of Baghdad," *The Washington Post*, 28 November 2004. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A16794-2004Nov27.html?noredirect=on>.

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Presumably Arabic

**Rolecode** 240  
**Leadercode** 26  
**Name of leader** **Abd-al-Mun'im al-Badawi**  
(Abu Hamza al-Mujahir; Abu Ayyub al-Masri)  
**Organization** ISI  
**Conflict country** Iraq  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1968<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Egypt<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2010<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated by the United States in 2010.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership role in 2006.<sup>5</sup> He would have been 38 years old.

### **Leader entry method:**

He was elected.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/0c/Abu\\_Ayyub\\_al-Masri.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/0c/Abu_Ayyub_al-Masri.png)

<sup>1</sup> Spencer C. Tucker, *U.S. Conflicts in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016), 538.

<sup>2</sup> "Abu Ayyub al-Masri," *Global Security.org*, Accessed February 26, 2018, [https://www.globalsecurity.org/security/profiles/abu\\_ayyub\\_al-masri.htm](https://www.globalsecurity.org/security/profiles/abu_ayyub_al-masri.htm).

<sup>3</sup> Waleed Ibrahim, "Al Qaeda's two top Iraq leaders killed in raid," *REUTERS*, April 19, 2010, Accessed February 26, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-violence-alqaeda/al-qaedas-two-top-iraq-leaders-killed-in-raid-idUSTRE63I3CL20100419>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> "The Islamic State," *Stanford University*, Accessed February 26, 2018, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/1>.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Chalk, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism: Volume 2* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 469.

## **Powersharing**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence that he was not the top leader.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He began “his university studies in Egypt in pharmacy, he transferred to commerce, only to give that up and travel to Saudi Arabia, where he earned a bachelor’s degree in Shariah Islamic Studies from the prestigious Medina University in 1985.<sup>7</sup> In Jordan “he deepened his understanding of Islam by studying ‘ilm al kalam (religious sciences) and Salafism under noted religious scholars.”<sup>8</sup> He earned a master’s degree in religious sciences in Pakistan at a university in Peshawar.<sup>9</sup>

Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of Western education.

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, and he married before being leader.<sup>10</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he had a child.<sup>11</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>12</sup>

## **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was in the Muslim Brotherhood as a young member and worked with al-Zarqawi in the Egyptian Islamic Jihad.<sup>13</sup> At some point he was also leader of the Mujahdeen Shura Council.<sup>14</sup>

## **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>7</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Brian L. Steed, *An Introduction and Guide to the Islamic State* ( Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016), 16.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked in religion.<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of state military experience.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in the Muslim Brotherhood as a young member and worked with al-Zarqawi in the Egyptian Islamic Jihad.<sup>16</sup> At some point he was also leader of the Mujahdeen Shura Council.<sup>17</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No source directly says he is exiled from Egypt, but he likely was as the leader of ISIS.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, and he may have studied in Jordan.<sup>18</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, “he went to Afghanistan in 1999 and received training in one of the training camps operated by Osama bin Laden where he learned explosive skills.”<sup>19</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.14

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>19</sup> See f.n.14



No, the United States denied reports of arrest, and there is no evidence of jail time.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was assassinated by the United States in 2010.<sup>20</sup> Although officially he was no longer leader in 2010, some reports indicate that he maintained control.<sup>21</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by the United States.<sup>22</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic as his primary language.

Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>20</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>21</sup> See f.n.5

<sup>22</sup> See f.n.1

**Rolecode** 241

**Leadercode** 44

**Name of leader** Ahmad Fadeel al-Nazal al-Khalayleh  
(Abu Musab al-Zarqawi)

**Organization** Al-Tawhid wal-Jihad/Tanzim Qaidat  
al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn/Majlis Shura al-Mujahedin fil-  
'Iraq (Organization of Monotheism and Jihad/al-Aqeda in Iraq  
(ISI))

**Conflict country** Iraq

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** October 20/30, 1966<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Al-Zarqa, Jordan<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** June 7, 2006<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated by an American strike in 2006.

### **Birth order**

He is one of ten children.<sup>4</sup> “He had seven sisters and two brothers”<sup>5</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2004, so age 38.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Abu\\_Musab\\_al-Zarqawi\\_\(1966-2006\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Abu_Musab_al-Zarqawi_(1966-2006).jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abu-Musab-al-Zarqawi>.

<sup>2</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abu-Musab-al-Zarqawi>.

<sup>3</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abu-Musab-al-Zarqawi>.

<sup>4</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>5</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Times*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>6</sup> Ted Kemp, “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi is the man who founded ISIS,” *CNBC*, August 11, 2016, Accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2016/08/11/who-founded-isis-abu-musb-al-zarqawi-started-the-terror-group.html>.

Al Qaeda supported Zarqawi start his own terrorist camp after 1999 when he returned to Jordan.<sup>7</sup> It's believed that his first major terrorist attack was New Year's Eve 1999.<sup>8</sup> He formed the organization in the 1990s. He joined AQ in late 2004.<sup>9</sup> He changed the name of his organization to al-Qaeda in Iraq in 2004.<sup>10</sup> His organization evolved several times under his leadership (hence the several names of the organization).<sup>11</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>12</sup> He formed the organization in the 1990s.<sup>13</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence that he was not the top leader.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

It is assumed that he finished primary school, but not secondary school since he made it to high school. He was a high school dropout.<sup>14</sup> He quit school in 1982 as a teenager.<sup>15</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

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<sup>7</sup> "Terror Group's Dark Origins," *Canberra Times Australia*, December 31, 2015, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>8</sup> "The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>9</sup> "Media Sources Confirm Capture of Brother of Al-Qaeda's Zarqawi in Iraq," *FARS News Agency*, June 17, 2014, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>10</sup> "Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," *The Times*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>11</sup> "The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>12</sup> Ted Kemp, "Abu Musab al-Zarqawi is the man who founded ISIS," *CNBC*, August 11, 2016, Accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/08/11/who-founded-isis-abu-musab-al-zarqawi-started-the-terror-group.html>.

<sup>13</sup> "Media Sources Confirm Capture of Brother of Al-Qaeda's Zarqawi in Iraq," *FARS News Agency*, June 17, 2014, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>14</sup> Joby Warrick, *The Washington Post*, June 14, 2014, Accessed February 19, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/isis-gains-in-iraq-fulfill-founders-violent-vision/2014/06/14/921ff6d2-f3b5-11e3-914c-1fbd0614e2d4\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.6a272f36cbc4](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/isis-gains-in-iraq-fulfill-founders-violent-vision/2014/06/14/921ff6d2-f3b5-11e3-914c-1fbd0614e2d4_story.html?utm_term=.6a272f36cbc4).

<sup>15</sup> John Vause, Jamie McIntyre, Paula Zahn, David Ensor, Michael Ware, Candy Crowley, "Interview with Iraqi Ambassador to United States Samir Al-Sumaidaie; Who was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi?" *CNN*, June 8, 2006, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

He married in 1988 or 1999, so age 22 or 23.<sup>16</sup> He had other marriages too. Before he started his organization.<sup>17</sup> He had two wives. One of his marriages, presumed his first, was while he was in Afghanistan, but the year is unclear, assumed between 1989 and 1993.<sup>18</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had four children.<sup>19</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is a Sunni Muslim.<sup>20</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he was from a poor family.<sup>21</sup> His hometown was “poor, cramped, a place of intense tribal loyalties, but few opportunities.”<sup>22</sup> “His clan of the Bani Hasan were originally Beduin in the Jordanian desert, not Palestinians as sometimes claimed. The circumstances of his upbringing could hardly differ more drastically from those of the pampered and wealthy Osama bin Laden in Saudi Arabia.”<sup>23</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was part of Islamic Jihad, “Zarqawi's commitment to Islamist thought also deepened as he came under the influence of Sheikh Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, a radical Sunni cleric and fellow native of Zarqa whom Zarqawi met in Afghanistan.”<sup>24</sup> Zarqawi also helped start Jund al-Sham.<sup>25</sup> He met several influential people while traveling in Afghanistan and Iraq, including Abu

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<sup>16</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>17</sup> Ismail Khan, “Zarqawi – the Link Between Pakistani and Iraqi Militants,” *Dawn (Pakistan)*, November 23, 2014, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>18</sup> The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>19</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Independent*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/abu-musab-al-zarqawi-481622.html>

<sup>20</sup> “Terror Group’s Dark Origins,” *Canberra Times Australia*, December 31, 2015, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>21</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>22</sup> John Vause, Jamie McIntyre, Paula Zahn, David Ensor, Michael Ware, Candy Crowley, “Interview with Iraqi Ambassador to United States Samir Al-Sumaidaie; Who was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi?” *CNN*, June 8, 2006, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>23</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Times*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>24</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>25</sup> Craig Whitlock, “Al-Zarqawi's Biography,” *Washington Post*, Accessed February 19, 2018, [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/08/AR2006060800299.html?nav=rss\\_world/africa](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/08/AR2006060800299.html?nav=rss_world/africa).

Muntassir Bilah Muhammad who would become his co-founder for his first organization. He also met Al-Maqqdis who became his ideological mentor.<sup>26</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

Yes, his leg was seriously injured in an airstrike in Afghanistan in 2006.<sup>27</sup>

He was wounded in the leg and stomach during an air-raid in December 2001 and got treatment in Iraq.<sup>28</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was in the mujahedeen in Afghanistan and militia groups.<sup>29</sup> He held a “series of short-term menial jobs” followed by petty crimes before going to prison. He was later a “reporter for an Islamic newspaper, Al-Bonyaan al Masous” before returning the Zarqa where he was jailed again.<sup>30</sup> He managed a video rental shop in the summer of 1993.<sup>31</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he was conscripted into the army in 1984.”<sup>32</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “recruiters for the Islamic jihad or holy war against the government of Afghanistan, which was allied with the officially atheist Soviet Union, found Zarqawi an easy mark. He left for Afghanistan to join the fighting in 1989 and saw action with Islamic mujahedeen fighters in several battles that eventually led to the takeover of Afghanistan by the repressive Taliban militia. ‘He was an ordinary guy, an ordinary fighter, and didn't really distinguish himself,’ one militiaman recalled to Mary Anne Weaver of the Atlantic Monthly. ‘He was a quiet guy who didn't talk much. But he was brave. Zarqawi doesn't know the meaning of fear.’ Wounded several times, Zarqawi seemed ‘to place himself in the middle of the most dangerous

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<sup>26</sup> “The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>27</sup> “Autopsy: Bomb Killed Al-Zarqawi,” *military.com*, June 13, 2006, Accessed August 8, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060616163011/http://www.military.com/NewsContent/0%2C13319%2C100880%2C00.html>.

<sup>28</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Independent*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/abu-musab-al-zarqawi-481622.html>

<sup>29</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>30</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Times*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>31</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Independent*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/abu-musab-al-zarqawi-481622.html>

<sup>32</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Independent*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/abu-musab-al-zarqawi-481622.html>

situations.’ ”<sup>33</sup> Zaraqawi returned to Jordan and helped found Jund al-Sham.<sup>34</sup> He was arrested after being caught with hand grenades.<sup>35</sup> After being released from prison, Zaraqawi “was given seed money by bin Laden allies in Afghanistan's radical Islamic government to set up a militia training camp in the desert near Herat, in western Afghanistan.” His band of followers grew from a few dozen to some 3,000 men between early 2000 and the American invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001.”<sup>36</sup> “After the Americans attacked Afghanistan in the wake of bin Laden's terrorist bombings of September 11, 2001, Zaraqawi and his men joined with the Afghan government to fight the invasion. Zaraqawi was wounded in the chest when a building that was bombed by American planes collapsed on top of him.”<sup>37</sup> In 1989, he joined the guerrillas and learned to build bombs and did not return to 1992.<sup>38</sup>

He fought after he returned to Afghanistan. He had been “wounded five or six times in Afghanistan and Iraq.”<sup>39</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, after being released from prison “the Jordanian government suspected him of involvement in plans for the bombing of a series of hotels and Christian sites, to be executed on New Year's Eve, 1999. The plan was foiled, and Zaraqawi left the country, hoping to join separatist Islamic rebels in the Russian province of Chechnya. Instead he was arrested in Pakistan for having an expired visa. Forced to leave the country, he entered Afghanistan. Equipped with a letter of introduction from a Jordanian cleric, he was taken to the city of Kandahar to meet bin Laden.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zaraqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zaraqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Craig Whitlock, “Al-Zaraqawi's Biography,” *Washington Post*, Accessed February 19, 2018, [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/08/AR2006060800299.html?nav=rss\\_world/africa](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/08/AR2006060800299.html?nav=rss_world/africa).

<sup>35</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zaraqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zaraqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>36</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zaraqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zaraqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>37</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zaraqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zaraqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>38</sup> John Vause, Jamie McIntyre, Paula Zahn, David Ensor, Michael Ware, Candy Crowley, “Interview with Iraqi Ambassador to United States Samir Al-Sumaidaie; Who was Abu Musab al-Zaraqawi?” *CNN*, June 8, 2006, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>39</sup> “The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zaraqawi,” *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>40</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zaraqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zaraqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

He traveled to Afghanistan in search for Russian troops, but not really exile.<sup>41</sup> He also lived in Pakistan for 10 years.<sup>42</sup> There is no indication this was exile.

He hid in Northern Iraq, near the Iran border.<sup>43</sup> However, this was internal exile.

Shortly after he took his mother to Pakistan in early 2000, Jordan issued a warrant for his arrest and he sent his mom home and ran to Afghanistan.<sup>44</sup>

He spent a lot of time in Iraq – however, it was an expansion of his organization and to continue his attacks.<sup>45</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, he “ran a paramilitary training camp in Afghanistan.”<sup>46</sup> He wasn’t training, however.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he was later a “reporter for an Islamic newspaper, Al-Bonyaan al Masous” in Afghanistan, before returning the Zarqa where he was jailed again.<sup>47</sup>

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he served time before he was a leader, but no sources indicate he was prisoned while leader.

He was “jailed in the 1980s for drugs and sexual assault.”<sup>48</sup> He was jailed in 1992 and convicted for 5 years imprisonment.<sup>49</sup> “Jordanian police also accused him of sexual assault, and he may

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<sup>41</sup> “Terror Group’s Dark Origins,” *Canberra Times Australia*, December 31, 2015, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>42</sup> Ismail Khan, “Zarqawi – the Link Between Pakistani and Iraqi Militants,” *Dawn (Pakistan)*, November 23, 2014, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>43</sup> “Abu Musaab al-Zarqawi, a Fanatic Muslim with Poison Gas Expertise,” *Associated Press International*, February 5, 2003, Accessed December 20, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>44</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Times*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>45</sup> “The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>46</sup> “Media Sources Confirm Capture of Brother of Al-Qaeda’s Zarqawi in Iraq,” *FARS News Agency*, June 17, 2014, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>47</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Times*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>48</sup> Eric F. Mallonga, “Doubletake Rivers of Blood,” *Manila Times*, July 31, 2006, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>49</sup> Eric F. Mallonga, “Doubletake Rivers of Blood,” *Manila Times*, July 31, 2006, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

have been active as a pimp. In all, he was charged with 37 separate crimes. He served a brief prison term, and it was in prison that he first encountered strict forms of Islam.”<sup>50</sup>

He was sent to Swaqa in 1992 to 1999.<sup>51</sup> He preached to other inmates while imprisoned.<sup>52</sup> “Back in Jordan in 1993, the two planned to blow up a movie theater that was showing X-rated films. The plot was botched, and another plan went awry when Zarqawi was caught by police carrying seven hand grenades. Sentenced to 15 years in prison, “he would flourish there,” in the words of the Atlantic’s Weaver. In prison, Zarqawi apparently became a combination of Islamic scholar and gang leader. He spent long hours memorizing the Koran, but he also wore the outfit of an Afghan militiaman and made an impression on his fellow prisoners.”<sup>53</sup> In 1994, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He flourished there but also got in several altercations. He “began to eclipse his mentor in prison, and would continue to do so over the coming years, but their final, and public, break did not occur until November 2005,” when he criticized his mentor.<sup>54</sup> He was released in May 1999.<sup>55</sup> He was released in 1999 “when Jordan’s King Abdullah II declared an amnesty.”<sup>56</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was assassinated by an American strike.<sup>57</sup> He was killed by a US F-16 that bombed his safe house in Iraq in 2006.<sup>58</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by an American strike.<sup>59</sup> He was killed by a US F-16 that bombed his safe house in Iraq in 2006.<sup>60</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>50</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>51</sup> “Terror Group’s Dark Origins,” *Canberra Times Australia*, December 31, 2015, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>52</sup> Tobin Harshaw, “Tobin Harshaw: Three Views of Islamic State’s Dark Beginnings,” *Tulsa World*, January 17, 2016, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>53</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>54</sup> The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *The Atlantic*, July 1, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>55</sup> “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,” *Independent*, June 9, 2006, Accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/abu-musab-al-zarqawi-481622.html>

<sup>56</sup> “Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-Sp-Z/Al-Zarqawi-Abu-Mussab.html>.

<sup>57</sup> John F. Burns, June 8, 2006, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/08/world/middleeast/08cnd-iraq.html?mtrref=www.google.com>.

<sup>58</sup> “Terror Group’s Dark Origins,” *Canberra Times Australia*, December 31, 2015, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>59</sup> John F. Burns, June 8, 2006, Accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/08/world/middleeast/08cnd-iraq.html?mtrref=www.google.com>.

<sup>60</sup> “Terror Group’s Dark Origins,” *Canberra Times Australia*, December 31, 2015, Accessed December 19, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.



He spoke fluent Pushto. <sup>61</sup> Since he studied the Quran and the region, it is assumed he spoke Arabic. Based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

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<sup>61</sup> Ismail Khan, "Zarqawi – the Link Between Pakistani and Iraqi Militants," *Dawn (Pakistan)*, November 23, 2014, Accessed December 19, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

**Rolecode** 243  
**Leadercode** 271  
**Name of leader** Masoud Barzani  
**Organization** KDP  
**Conflict country** Iraq  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1946<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Mahabad, Iran<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1979, so at age 33.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected president.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masoud\\_Barzani\\_2019.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masoud_Barzani_2019.jpg)  
Michael M. Gunter, *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), 59.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Biography President Masoud Barzani,” *europarl*, Accessed February 18, 2017, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009\\_2014/documents/afet/dv/20140120\\_cvbarzani\\_/20140120\\_cvbarzani\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/afet/dv/20140120_cvbarzani_/20140120_cvbarzani_en.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> “Massoud Barzani Fast Facts,” *CNN*, September 3, 2017, Accessed February 18, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2012/12/14/world/meast/massoud-barzani---fast-facts/index.html>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Following the collapse of the republic, Mustafa Barzani fled to the Soviet Union. Massoud returned to Iraq and lived with his grandfather in Mosul, where he completed his primary education.

Following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958, Mustafa Barzani also returned to Iraq and the young Massoud moved to Baghdad.

He ended his schooling in 1961 when Mustafa Barzani declared an armed rebellion against the Iraqi Government, after promises to grant national rights to Kurds were not fulfilled.”<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has eight children.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Sunni Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, he “comes from a very rich and influential tribe in Iraqi Kurdistan.”<sup>9</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He fought in the Peshmerga after leaving school in 1961.<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “Profile: Massoud Barzani,” *BBC News*, November 26, 2002, Accessed February 18 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/2480149.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2480149.stm).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See f.n.4

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Masoud Barzani,” *TheKurdishProject*, Accessed February 18, 2018, <https://thekurdishproject.org/history-and-culture/famous-kurds/masoud-barzani/>.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.4

Activist.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “At the age of 16, Masoud Barzani sacrificed his education and joined the Peshmerga forces.”<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes probably. “President Barzani’s experiences in the mountains of Kurdistan were to provide him with the skills that were to later propel him to the leadership of Kurdistan's movement.”<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Technically yes because his primary education was in Iraq and he was born in Iran. However, his father was actually born in Iraq and Masoud almost certainly identifies as Kurdish and not Iranian. The only reason Masoud was born in Iran was because his father was head of the military of the short lived Mahabad Republic in Iran.<sup>14</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> “President Masoud Barzani,” *Kurdistan Regional Government*, Accessed February 18, 2018, <http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?l=12&p=232>.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See f.n.3

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there was an assassination attempt that was probably done by Iraq: “Mr. Barzani escaped an assassination attempt in Vienna in 1979 in which one of his aides was wounded.”<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

“He is fluent in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian, and understands English.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> “Profile: Massoud Barzani,” *BBC News*, November 26, 2002, Accessed February 18, 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/2480149.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2480149.stm).

<sup>16</sup> See f.n.3

<b>Rolecode</b>	246
<b>Leadercode</b>	206
<b>Name of leader</b>	Jalal Talabani
<b>Organization</b>	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Iraq
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1933 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Kelkan, Iraq <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2017 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2017 of a brain hemorrhage and stroke.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1975, so at age 42.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He helped found the organization, although it is possible he was appointed or elected secretary general.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e0/Meetings\\_of\\_Presidents\\_participated\\_in\\_Nowruz\\_with\\_Ali\\_Khamenei\\_-\\_Tehran%2C\\_Iran\\_%28Cropped\\_on\\_Talabani%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e0/Meetings_of_Presidents_participated_in_Nowruz_with_Ali_Khamenei_-_Tehran%2C_Iran_%28Cropped_on_Talabani%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 3, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jalal-Talabani>.

<sup>2</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 3, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jalal-Talabani>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “Jalal Talabani Fast Facts,” *CNN*, November 30, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/01/04/world/meast/jalal-talabani---fast-facts/index.html>.

<sup>6</sup> “Jalal Talabani Fast Facts,” *CNN*, November 30, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/01/04/world/meast/jalal-talabani---fast-facts/index.html>.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He received his elementary and intermediate school education in Koya (Koysanjak) and his high school education in Erbil and Kirkuk.... In 1953 he was allowed to enter law school but was obliged to go into hiding in 1956 to escape arrest for his activities as founder and Secretary General of the Kurdistan Student Union. Following the July 1958 overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy, Mr. Talabani returned to law school, at the same time pursuing a career as a journalist and editor of two publications, Khabat and Kurdistan.”<sup>7</sup> The law school was Baghdad University.<sup>8</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married Hero Ibrahim Ahmed in 1970, so at age 37.<sup>9</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he has two children.<sup>10</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He was Sunni Muslim.<sup>11</sup>

## **Elite family background**

Yes, his father was Mustafa Barzani,<sup>12</sup> who was one of the most influential political figures in modern Kurdish politics. “The Talabani family itself goes back at least some 300 years. The Talabani sheikhs belonged to the Qadiri order and played an important religious and political role that no doubt helped young Jalal Talabani get his start.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Kurdish Aspect*, Accessed February 17, 2018, <http://www.kurdishaspect.com/biographytalabani.html>.

<sup>8</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 3, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jalal-Talabani>.

<sup>9</sup> “Jalal Talabani obituary,” *The Guardian*, October 4, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/04/jalal-talabani-obituary>.

<sup>10</sup> “Jalal Talabani Fast Facts,” *CNN*, November 30, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/01/04/world/meast/jalal-talabani---fast-facts/index.html>.

<sup>11</sup> “Jalal Talabani Fast Facts,” *CNN*, November 30, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/01/04/world/meast/jalal-talabani---fast-facts/index.html>.

<sup>12</sup> “Jalal Talabani obituary,” *The Guardian*, October 4, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/04/jalal-talabani-obituary>.

<sup>13</sup> Michael M. Gunter, *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), 285.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “he joined the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) at age 14 and was elected to the KDP’s central committee at age 18. In 1956 he founded the Kurdistan Student Union, later becoming its secretary-general.”<sup>14</sup> Another source says he started a secret Kurdish student association at age 13.<sup>15</sup> “When in September 1961, the Kurdish revolution for the rights of the Kurds in Iraq was declared against the Baghdad government of Abdul Karim Qassem, Mr. Talabani took charge of the Kirkuk and Sulaimani battle fronts and organized and led resistance in Mawat, Rezan and the Karadagh regions. In March 1962 he led a coordinated offensive that brought about the liberation of the district of Sharbazher from Iraqi government forces. When not engaged in fighting in the early and mid-1960s, Mr. Talabani undertook numerous diplomatic missions, representing the Kurdish leadership at meetings in Europe and the Middle East. When the KDP split in 1964, Mr. Talabani was part of the "Political Bureau" group that broke away from General Mustafa Barzani's leadership, although he later rejoined the KDP and fought during the 1974-1975 revolution against Iraq’s Ba’athist dictatorship.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

“When the Kurds sought independence and rose against the Iraqi government in 1961, Talabani led battles at home in Iraq, as well as diplomatic missions to Europe and elsewhere in the Middle East to drum up support for his people.”<sup>17</sup>

Mr. Talabani returned to law school, at the same time pursuing a career as a journalist and editor of two publications, Khabat and Kurdistan.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “in 1959, Mr. Talabani performed national service in the Iraqi army where he served in artillery and armor units and served as a commander of a tank unit.”<sup>19</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>14</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 3, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jalal-Talabani>.

<sup>15</sup> Michael M. Gunter, *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), 285.

<sup>16</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Kurdish Aspect*, Accessed February 17, 2018, <http://www.kurdishaspect.com/biographytalabani.html>.

<sup>17</sup> “Profile: Jalal Talabani,” *Aljazeera*, March 4, 2010, Accessed February 17, 2018, <http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/iraqelection2010/2010/03/201032115546873162.html>.

<sup>18</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Kurdish Aspect*, Accessed February 17, 2018, <http://www.kurdishaspect.com/biographytalabani.html>.

<sup>19</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Kurdish Aspect*, Accessed February 17, 2018, <http://www.kurdishaspect.com/biographytalabani.html>.



Yes, “when in September 1961, the Kurdish revolution for the rights of the Kurds in Iraq was declared against the Baghdad government of Abdul Karim Qassem, Mr. Talabani took charge of the Kirkuk and Sulaimani battle fronts and organized and led resistance in Mawat, Rezan and the Karadagh regions. In March 1962 he led a coordinated offensive that brought about the liberation of the district of Sharbazher from Iraqi government forces. When not engaged in fighting in the early and mid 1960s, Mr. Talabani undertook numerous diplomatic missions, representing the Kurdish leadership at meetings in Europe and the Middle East. When the KDP split in 1964, Mr. Talabani was part of the "Political Bureau" group that broke away from General Mustafa Barzani's leadership, although he later rejoined the KDP and fought during the 1974-1975 revolution against Iraq's Ba'athist dictatorship.”<sup>20</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, noted above in nonstate military section.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “in 1953 he was allowed to enter law school but was obliged to go into hiding in 1956 to escape arrest for his activities as founder and Secretary General of the Kurdistan Student Union.”<sup>21</sup> “Saddam's successful military campaign against the Kurds (1987–88) forced Talabani to flee Iraq.”<sup>22</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, it appears that all his training was in Iraq.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>20</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Kurdish Aspect*, Accessed February 17, 2018, <http://www.kurdishaspect.com/biographytalabani.html>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> “Jalal Talabani,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 3, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jalal-Talabani>.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of a brain hemorrhage and stroke at 83.<sup>23</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was probably Kurdish. He was also fluent in Arabic, Persian, French, and English.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Mark McDonald, "Jalal Talabani, Kurdish Leader and Iraq's First Postwar President, Is Dead at 83," October 3, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/03/obituaries/jalal-talabani-kurdish-dead.html?mtrref=www.google.com&gwh=4BE4CB822EB82B52D20958DFC5E2C951&gwt=pay>.

<sup>24</sup> "Jalal Talabani obituary," *The Guardian*, October 4, 2017, Accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/04/jalal-talabani-obituary>.

**Rolecode** 247

**Leadercode** 311

**Name of leader** Hojatolislam Seyyed Mohammed Bakr al-Hakin (Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim)

**Organization** Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI)

**Conflict country** Iraq

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1939<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Najaf, Iraq<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2003<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2003 by a rival nonstate group.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1982, so at age 43.<sup>4, 5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/7/78/Shahheed\\_Ayatullah\\_Sayyid\\_Muhammad\\_Baqir\\_al-Hakim.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/7/78/Shahheed_Ayatullah_Sayyid_Muhammad_Baqir_al-Hakim.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim," *The Guardian*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/30/guardianobituaries.iraq>.

<sup>2</sup> "Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim," *The Guardian*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/30/guardianobituaries.iraq>.

<sup>3</sup> "Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim," *The Guardian*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/30/guardianobituaries.iraq>.

<sup>4</sup> "Ayatollah Sayed Mohamad Baqir Al-Hakim," *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/baqir-hakim.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> "Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim," *Independent*, August 30, 2003, Accessed June 29, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>

He founded the group<sup>6</sup>, but it is uncertain whether this is when he became leader.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Hakim studied at several centres of Shia theology in Najaf, many headed by his father, uncles and elder brothers. Two of his mentors, whom he always acknowledged, were Yousuf al-Hakim, who was arrested by Saddam, and Ayatollah Bakr al-Sadr, assassinated by Saddam.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had two sons and five daughters.<sup>10</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Shia Muslim.<sup>11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, “the Al-Hakim family is a well known religious Iraqi family loved and respected by millions of Shia Muslims in Iraq and throughout the Muslim world. Grand Ayatollah Muhsin [Mohsen] Al Hakim [, his father,] was the spiritual leader for the Shia in the world for the period 1955-1970.”<sup>12</sup> “His family tree leads to Imam al-Hussein, grandson of the prophet Mohamed and founder of the Shia faith.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 30, 2003, Accessed June 29, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>

<sup>7</sup> “Ayatollah Sayed Mohamad Baqir Al-Hakim,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/baqir-hakim.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 24, 2018, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 24, 2018, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 24, 2018, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>.

<sup>11</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim,” *The Guardian*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/30/guardianobituaries.iraq>.

<sup>12</sup> “Ayatollah Sayed Mohamad Baqir Al-Hakim,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/baqir-hakim.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 30, 2003, Accessed June 29, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “al-Hakim joined Ayatollah Sayid Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr in founding a political group called the Islamic Movement in the late 1960s.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

“A great scholar and author of 33 books on Islamic philosophy, theology, politics, history and logic, Hakim enjoyed political and philosophical debate. He had an academic and open-minded approach and was tolerant of other points of view. He taught Theology and Koranic Research at Baghdad College of Religious Essence from 1965 until the Baath closed it down, following the successful military coup in 1969 which established a secular, one-party dictatorship.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, he “fled to Syria, then Lebanon, before settling in Iran.” This was before he founded SCIRI. He stayed in exile for over 2 decades.<sup>16</sup> He fled to Iran in 1980 shortly after the Iraq – Iran war and did not return until 2003.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> “Ayatollah Sayed Mohamad Baqir Al-Hakim,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/baqir-hakim.htm>.

<sup>15</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 29, 2003, Accessed February 24, 2018, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>.

<sup>16</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 30, 2003, Accessed June 29, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>

<sup>17</sup> “Ayatollah Sayed Mohamad Baqir Al-Hakim,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/baqir-hakim.htm>.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“After studying at a seminary and working as his father's representative, al-Hakim joined Ayatollah Sayid Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr in founding a political group called the Islamic Movement in the late 1960s. Both ayatollahs were jailed several times for their opposition to Ba'athist rule. In 1972 Sayed Al-Hakim was arrested and tortured by the Bathist regime. He was released after a wide spread popular pressure on the regime. In 1977 he was re-arrested following the people's uprising in Feb. 1977 in Najaf, and immediately sentenced to life imprisonment by special court without any trial. He was released in July 1979 following huge public pressure on the regime.”<sup>18</sup> In 1976 he was arrested for “‘inciting a rebellion’ and for his membership of the banned Aldawa Islamic party.” He was released after 6 months.<sup>19</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there were “seven attempts on his life, five of which were certain to have been by Baath regime hitmen.”<sup>20</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by a rival non-state group since al-Zarqawi was from ISI. He was assassinated by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's father-in-law.<sup>21</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic as well as most likely Persian, given his experience in Iran.

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<sup>18</sup> “Ayatollah Sayed Mohamad Baqir Al-Hakim,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iraq/baqir-hakim.htm>.

<sup>19</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 30, 2003, June 29, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>

<sup>20</sup> “Ayatollah Mohammad Bakr al-Hakim,” *Independent*, August 30, 2003, Accessed, June 29, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/ayatollah-mohammad-bakr-al-hakim-37024.html>

<sup>21</sup> Mohamad Bazzi, “Zarqawi kin reportedly bombed shrine in Iraq,” *Newsday*, February 7, 2005, Accessed February 14, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070302140417/http://www.newsday.com/news/nationworld/world/ny-wozarq0208,0,4101449.story?coll=ny-worldnews-toputility>.



**Rolecode** 248  
**Leadercode** 256  
**Name of leader** Mahmoud Abbas (aka Abu Mazen)  
**Organization** Fatah  
**Conflict country** Israel  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1935  
**Place of birth** Safed, Mandatory Palestine  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, he is not dead.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

While living in Qatar he helped form Fatah which eventually became the leading organization in the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).<sup>1</sup> He was about 20 years old at the time.

### **Leader entry method**

On March 19, 2003, Yasser Arafat appointed Abbas prime minister of the Palestinian National Authority. Then in November 2004, he won a democratic vote to become chairman of the PLO and President of the PNA.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5d/Mahmoud\\_Abbas\\_May\\_2018.jpg/440px-Mahmoud\\_Abbas\\_May\\_2018.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5d/Mahmoud_Abbas_May_2018.jpg/440px-Mahmoud_Abbas_May_2018.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.



**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to the University of Damascus for a Law degree. He then went to Oriental College in Russia where he received a Ph.D. in History. He was supposedly only one out of a few Palestinians to have formally studied Israeli history and politics; his dissertation claimed that the Holocaust is a myth created by Zionists.<sup>2</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married to Amina Abbas.<sup>3</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has three children, Mazen Abbas – ran a building company in Doha and died in Qatar of a heart attack in 2001, age 42, Yasser Abbas – Canadian businessman, and Tareq Abbas – a business executive.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.

**Elite family background**

During 1948 war, Abbas and his family fled and settled in Syria where he grew up in the city of Damascus.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In the 1950s, Abbas became involved in underground (secret) Palestinian politics.<sup>4</sup> He helped to form Fatah and within the PLO worked behind the scenes as a security adviser and a fundraiser<sup>5</sup>. In 1972, Abbas was in charge of gathering funds to finance the Munich Massacre.<sup>6</sup> In

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<sup>2</sup> Benny Morris, "Exposing Abbas," *The National Interest*, May 19, 2011, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/exposing-abbas-5335>.

<sup>3</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

<sup>4</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

<sup>5</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

<sup>6</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas," *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

1996, Abbas became Secretary General of the PLO's executive committee.<sup>7</sup> In 2014, Abbas formed an interim government of independent technocrats.<sup>8</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

In 2005, Abbas underwent a successful, minor heart procedure in Amman, Jordan and in 2016 was hospitalized to have his heart tested.<sup>9</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked in a variety of careers:

Teacher – Worked as an elementary teacher (year unknown).<sup>10</sup>

Activist – While living in Qatar, he, along with other exiled Palestinians formed Fatah.<sup>11</sup>

Career politician – When Arafat signed the Oslo Accords (1993), Abbas was with him. In 1996, Abbas became Secretary General of PLO's Executive Committee. Simultaneously, Abbas started becoming the public face of the PLO in part because of his continued diplomatic duties. March, 2003, Abbas was appointed prime minister of the PNA.<sup>12</sup>

Writer –

- "The Other Side: The Secret Relationship Between Nazism and Zionism", published in 1984 in Arabic and is based on his CandSc thesis.<sup>13</sup>
- "Through Secret Channels: The Road to Oslo (1995)" – an account on the Oslo negotiations.<sup>14</sup>
- "Framework for the Conclusion of a Final Status Agreement Between Israel and the PLO" also known as, "Abu-Mazen-Beilin Plan)" – written together with his Israeli counterpart Yossi Beilin in 1995, but its existence was denied for five years, finally being published in September 2000<sup>15</sup>.

Business/entrepreneurship – Family business based on Abbas's own commercial ties and his connections with states and large companies worldwide – all of which benefit his two sons' business concerns<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

<sup>8</sup> "MIDDLE EAST :: GAZA STRIP," *CIA*, Accessed January 14, 2018, [https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/print\\_gz.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/print_gz.html).

<sup>9</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Fast Facts," *CNN*, December 19, 2017, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/12/04/world/meast/mahmoud-abbas---fast-facts/index.html>.

<sup>10</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas," *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

<sup>11</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

<sup>12</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas Biography," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

<sup>13</sup> Ronan Bergman, "Abbas' book reveals: The 'Nazi-Zionist plot' of the Holocaust," *ynetnews.com*, November 26, 2014, Accessed January 14, 2018, <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4596121,00.html>.

<sup>14</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas," *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

<sup>15</sup> "Mahmoud Abbas," *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

<sup>16</sup> Yoni Ben Menachem, "Mahmoud Abbas and Iran," *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*, November 20, 2017, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://jcpa.org/mahmoud-abbas-iran/>.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “Abbas served as head of the Central Election Commission for the Palestine Legislative Council elections in January 1996 when he was elected as a representative of Qalqilya”.<sup>17</sup> Abbas was named the first Prime Minister of the PA in 2003 (but was never given full authority from Arafat).<sup>18</sup> He was also the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization but resigned in 2015.<sup>19</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after 48 years in exile, Abbas returned to the territories and took residence in Gaza and Ramallah (1995).<sup>20</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in Russia.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he had extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>17</sup> “Mahmoud Abbas,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

<sup>18</sup> “Mahmoud Abbas,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

<sup>19</sup> Khaled Abu Toameh, “Purported Abbas resignation from PLO Executive Committee ridiculed as 'silly show',” *The Jerusalem Post*, February 26, 2016, Accessed January 14, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160226064619/http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Purported-Abbas-resignation-from-PLO-Executive-Committee-ridiculed-as-silly-show-413006>.

<sup>20</sup> “Mahmoud Abbas,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/mahmoud-abbas>.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, although he resigned as prime minister of PNA after just six months partly due to receiving death threats.<sup>21</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Arabic, and he also speaks English.

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<sup>21</sup> “Mahmoud Abbas Biography,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, Accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/news/A-Ca/Abbas-Mahmoud.html>.

**Rolecode** 251  
**Leadercode** 235  
**Name of leader** Khaled Meshal  
**Organization** Hamas  
**Conflict country** Israel/Palestine/Jordan/Syria  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1956<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Silwad, Jordanian-ruled West Bank<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

At age 46,<sup>3</sup> he assumed leadership of Hamas after the assassination of al-Rantissi.

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

<https://hamas.ps/en/thumb.php?src=uploads/images/259cbf2963edcaaf54165938f9c03bb7.png&w=279&h=300&zc=1>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>“Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash’al),” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 13 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-leaders/profile-khaled-meshal-aka-khalid-meshaal-khaleed-mashal/p11111>

<sup>3</sup>“Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash’al),” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 13 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-leaders/profile-khaled-meshal-aka-khalid-meshaal-khaleed-mashal/p11111>

<sup>3</sup> He also formed al-Rabita al-Islamiyye li-Talabat Filastin (Islamic league for Palestinian Students) in 1980 at the age of 24. See “Khaled Meshal Biography,” *The Famous People*, <http://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/khaled-mashal-5906.php>

“When Iraq invaded Kuwait, Meshal moved his family to Jordan and began his work with Hamas as one of its founders. He has been a member of the Hamas Political Bureau since its inception and became its chairman in 1996.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

“Though he is the top-ranking Hamas official, Meshal cannot return to the Palestinian territories for fear that he will be arrested or killed by Israeli authorities. Ismail Haniyeh serve[d] as prime minister of Hamas' government, which came to power after elections in the Palestinian territories in January, but he does not control the broader Hamas organization.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He holds a B.S in Physics from Kuwait University.<sup>6</sup> “He led Islamist Palestinians at Kuwait University, challenging the dominance of Yasser Arafat’s PLO on the Kuwait University campus. Meshal participated in the foundation of the Islamic Haqq Bloc, which competed with Fatah’s blocs on leading the General Union for the Palestinian students in Kuwait.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married in 1981 when he was 25.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has four boys and three girls.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Sunni Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>4</sup> “Khaled Meshal,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/khaled-meshal>.

<sup>5</sup> “Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash’al),” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 13 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-leaders/profile-khaled-meshal-aka-khalid-meshaal-khaleed-meshal/p11111>

<sup>6</sup> “Khaled Meshal,” CNN, December 15, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2014/10/09/world/meast/khaled-meshaal-fast-facts>.

<sup>7</sup> “Khaled Meshal,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/khaled-meshal>.

<sup>8</sup> “Khaled Meshal,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/khaled-meshal>.

<sup>9</sup> “Khaled Meshal,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/khaled-meshal>.

<sup>10</sup> “Khaled Meshal Biography,” *The Famous People*, <http://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/khaled-meshal-5906.php>

“When Hamas was founded in 1987, Meshal was still living in Kuwait. He became very active with the organization, eventually leading its Kuwaiti chapter. After the 1990 invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, Meshal moved to Jordan where he became head of the Hamas branch in that country. In 1999, he was briefly imprisoned and then expelled when Jordan's King Abdullah closed the local offices of Hamas. He spent two years in Doha, Qatar before leaving his family behind and moving to Damascus, where he currently resides.”<sup>11</sup>

“Meshal is head of the Hamas politburo, a leadership body separate from Hamas' Palestinian Authority government, making him the group's top-ranking member. Exiled in Damascus since 2001, Meshal nevertheless exercises control over Hamas.”<sup>12</sup>

“Operating free of Israeli restraints, Meshal has served as Hamas' top ambassador, raising crucial funds for Palestinians at a time when the United States and European Union have cut aid.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

He almost died by poison after assassination attempt of 1997. Today all evidence points to relatively normal health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a physics teacher.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>11</sup> “Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash’al),” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 13 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-leaders/profile-khaled-meshal-aka-khalid-meshaal-khaleed-mashal/p11111>

<sup>12</sup> “Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash’al),” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 13 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-leaders/profile-khaled-meshal-aka-khalid-meshaal-khaleed-mashal/p11111>

<sup>13</sup> “Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash’al),” *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 13 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-leaders/profile-khaled-meshal-aka-khalid-meshaal-khaleed-mashal/p11111>

He changed base countries frequently; went from Jordan to Kuwait for university, back to Jordan, exiled to Qatar after failed Mossad assassination attempt, then eventually landed in Syria. He has since moved back to Qatar as a result of the Syrian Civil War.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in Kuwait.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, as noted in political affiliations.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there was an attempt in 1997.<sup>14</sup> Mossad agents attempted to poison him; he almost died but the agents were captured and provoked a crisis in Israeli-Jordanian relations. King Hussein of Jordan forced Israel to send over the antidote that would save Meshal, and only released the Mossad agents later in a prisoner exchange in which Israel released Sheikh Ahmed Yassin from jail.<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Arabic.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>"Khaled Meshaal: How Mossad bid to assassinate Hamas leader ended in fiasco," *The Telegraph*, December 3 2012,

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/9730669/Khaled-Meshaal-How-Mossad-bid-to-assassinate-Hamas-leader-ended-in-fiasco.html>

<sup>15</sup> "Khaled Meshal," *Jewish Virtual Library*, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/khaled-mashal>.

<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



**Rolecode** 252  
**Leadercode** 1  
**Name of leader** Sheikh Sayyed Abbas al-Musawi  
**Organization** Hezbollah  
**Conflict country** Israel  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** al-Nabi Shayth, Lebanon<sup>23</sup>  
**Year of death** 1992<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was one of the founding members of Hezbollah during its establishment in 1982, so approximately 30 years of age.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abbas\\_al\\_Musawi.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abbas_al_Musawi.jpg)  
Encyclopedia Britannica. "Abbās al-Mūsawī: Lebanese Religious Leader." Accessed Jan. 16, 2017.  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abbas-al-Musawi>.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. "Abbās al-Mūsawī: Lebanese Religious Leader." Accessed Jan. 16, 2017.  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abbas-al-Musawi>.

<sup>3</sup> Deeb, Marius (April 1988). "Shia Movements in Lebanon: Their Formation, Ideology, Social Basis, and Links with Iran and Syria". *Third World Quarterly*. 10 (2): 683–698. doi:10.1080/01436598808420077. JSTOR 3992662.

<sup>4</sup> Haberman, Clyde. "Israelis Kill Chief of Pro-Iran Shiites in South Lebanon," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1992, Accessed Jan. 16, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/02/17/world/israelis-kill-chief-of-pro-iran-shiites-in-south-lebanon.html>

<sup>5</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. "Abbās al-Mūsawī: Lebanese Religious Leader." Accessed Jan. 16, 2017.  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abbas-al-Musawi>.

He first held a seat on the 9-member Islamist-movement constituent council that would later form the core of Hezbollah. This was the precursor to Hezbollah's Shura Council in which al-Musawi held a seat. He was elected Hezbollah's second secretary-general in 1990,<sup>6</sup> succeeding Sheikh Subhi al-Tufayli and preceding Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah (*current*).<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

In 1974, at Shiite Madrasa in Al-Najaf, Iraq, Musawi was strongly influenced by the Shiite teachings of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.<sup>8</sup> He was also a student of Baqir al-Sadr<sup>9</sup> before he returned to Lebanon in 1978.<sup>10</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He was married to Siham (date unknown).<sup>11</sup> She was killed in the car along with Abbas al-Musawi.

### **Children**

He had a child named Hussein al-Musawi (1987-1992).<sup>12</sup> The child was killed at age five or six in the car along with Abbas al-Musawi. This is cited by Hezbollah's Islamic Jihad Organization as the justification for the attack on the Israeli Embassy in Argentina in 1992.<sup>13</sup>

### **Religious identification**

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<sup>6</sup> Haberman, Clyde. "Israelis Kill Chief of Pro-Iran Shiites in South Lebanon," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1992, Accessed Jan. 16, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/02/17/world/israelis-kill-chief-of-pro-iran-shiites-in-south-lebanon.html>

<sup>7</sup> Harfoush, Mohammad. "Hezbollah, Part 1: Origins and Challenges." *Al-Monitor*, July 11, 2013. Accessed Jan. 21, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Harfoush, Mohammad. "Hezbollah, Part 1: Origins and Challenges." *Al-Monitor*, July 11, 2013. Accessed Jan. 21, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Deeb, Marius (April 1988). "Shia Movements in Lebanon: Their Formation, Ideology, Social Basis, and Links with Iran and Syria". *Third World Quarterly*. 10 (2): 683–698. doi:10.1080/01436598808420077.

<sup>10</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. "Abbās al-Mūsawī: Lebanese Religious Leader." Accessed Jan. 16, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abbas-al-Musawi>.

<sup>11</sup> Haberman, Clyde. "Israelis Kill Chief of Pro-Iran Shiites in South Lebanon," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1992, Accessed Jan. 16, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/02/17/world/israelis-kill-chief-of-pro-iran-shiites-in-south-lebanon.html>

<sup>12</sup> Levitt, Matthew. *Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God*. Georgetown University Press, 2015: 98.

<sup>13</sup> Levitt, Matthew. *Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God*. Georgetown University Press, 2015: 98.

He was a Shia Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Prior to rebellion, he was associated with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. They met at Shiite Madrasa in Al-Najaf, Iraq.<sup>14</sup> Then he was affiliated with Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Mohammad Baquir al-Sadir (founder of the Da'wa party in Iraq), and he studied under him C. 1974, at a Shiite Madrasa in Al-Najaf, Iraq<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

His physical and mental health was unknown.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

His pre-militant leader occupation is unknown.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, he did not have experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

“Hizballah clerics, such as Subhi Tufayli, Abbas Musawi, and Abd al-Karim Ubayd command distinct Shia militia contingents in the Bekaa Valey, Beirut, and the south. These paramilitary groups, based in the Bekaa Valey and usually referred to as “Hizballah,” probably have a membership in the hundreds.”<sup>16</sup>

“Abbas Musawi, who Western intelligence sources believe heads a terrorist cell, declared at a recent rally in the southern city of Tyre that the intervention of Syrian troops was a ‘political scheme’ and warned them to stay out of Beirut’s southern suburbs.

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<sup>14</sup> Deeb, Marius (April 1988). "Shia Movements in Lebanon: Their Formation, Ideology, Social Basis, and Links with Iran and Syria". *Third World Quarterly*. 10 (2): 683–698. doi:10.1080/01436598808420077.

<sup>15</sup> Deeb, Marius (April 1988). "Shia Movements in Lebanon: Their Formation, Ideology, Social Basis, and Links with Iran and Syria". *Third World Quarterly*. 10 (2): 683–698. doi:10.1080/01436598808420077.

<sup>16</sup> Declassified CIA memorandum (November, 18, 1985). “Terrorism Review.” <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP87T00685R000200270002-7.pdf>

Our weapons will remain in our hands and we will not allow anyone to disarm us in the Bekaa, the south or Beirut... We are restraining ourselves, but if the situation explodes, we will blow up the whole world and its people.”<sup>17</sup>

*Known Affiliates:*

- Muhammed Husayn Fadlallah<sup>18</sup>
- Husayn Musawi (leader of Amal, a precursor to Hezbollah)<sup>19</sup>
- Hassan Nasrallah
- Subhi al-Tufayli

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, he did not hold a government position prior to assuming leadership.

**Lived in exile?**

No, he did not live in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Around 1974, he studied at a Shiite madrassa/hawza in Najaf, Iraq headed by Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Mohammad Baqir al-Sadir (founder of the Iraqi Da’wa party), and also influenced by the views of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, he did not receive military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, he did not have extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, he did not serve time in prison.

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<sup>17</sup> Kifner, John. (March 22, 1987). Shiite Radicals: Rising Wrath Jars the Mideast. New York Times.

<sup>18</sup> Declassified CIA memorandum (September 27, 1984). “Lebanon: The Hizb Allah.”  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp85t00287r001302140001-2>

<sup>19</sup> Declassified CIA memorandum (November, 18, 1985). “Terrorism Review.”  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP87T00685R000200270002-7.pdf>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

There was no attempt by Lebanon. Israel did attempt assassination, *see* Cause of Death.

### **Cause of Death?**

His cause of death was an assassination/targeted killing. On February 16, 1992, Israeli forces killed al-Mussawi “in a lightning strike by helicopter gunships that reportedly also left his wife, his son and at least four bodyguards dead.”<sup>20</sup>

“Two Israeli helicopters descended on a seven-vehicle convoy carrying the 39-year-old sheik and his family after they left a rally in the southern Lebanese town of Jibchit. Rockets blew apart the Mercedes-Benz limousine carrying the sheik and two Range-Rovers carrying bodyguards. A Party of God spokesman said the sheik, his wife, Siham, and their 6-year-old son, Hussein, were burned to death in the car.”<sup>21</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was Arabic.

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<sup>20</sup> Haberman, Clyde. “Israelis Kill Chief of Pro-Iran Shiites in South Lebanon,” *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1992, Accessed Jan. 16, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/02/17/world/israelis-kill-chief-of-pro-iran-shiites-in-south-lebanon.html>

<sup>21</sup> Haberman, Clyde. “Israelis Kill Chief of Pro-Iran Shiites in South Lebanon,” *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1992, Accessed Jan. 16, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/02/17/world/israelis-kill-chief-of-pro-iran-shiites-in-south-lebanon.html>

**Rolecode** 253  
**Leadercode** 176  
**Name of leader** Hassan Nasrallah  
**Organization** Hezbollah  
**Conflict country** Israel  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** August 31, 1960  
**Place of birth** Bourj Hammoud, Lebanon<sup>1</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No.

### **Birth order**

He is the oldest of 9 children.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was 32 at the time he gained leadership.

### **Leader entry method**

After the assassination of al-Musawi, Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, appointed Nasrallah the leader of Hezbollah.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/2c/Sayyid\\_Nasrallah.jpg/440px-Sayyid\\_Nasrallah.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/2c/Sayyid_Nasrallah.jpg/440px-Sayyid_Nasrallah.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/background/profile-hassan-nasrallah](http://www.cfr.org/background/profile-hassan-nasrallah).

<sup>2</sup> "Profile: Sayed Hassan Nasrallah," *Al-Jazeera*, April 10, 2006, [www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html).

No, although some report that in 2007 Iran ordered Nasrallah to hand over control of Hezbollah's military operations to Naim Qasim.<sup>3</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

After finishing secondary school, he went to seminary in Najaf, Iraq.<sup>4</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, Nasrallah has three living children; one was killed fighting the IDF.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is a Shi'a Muslim.

**Elite family background**

No, he was not from an elite family background.<sup>7</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, Nasrallah was originally and briefly affiliated with Amal and Islamic Amal.<sup>8</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>3</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/background/profile-hassan-nasrallah](http://www.cfr.org/background/profile-hassan-nasrallah).

<sup>4</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/background/profile-hassan-nasrallah](http://www.cfr.org/background/profile-hassan-nasrallah).

<sup>5</sup> "Profile: Sayed Hassan Nasrallah," *Al-Jazeera*, April 10, 2006, [www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html).

<sup>6</sup> Neil MacFarquhar, "Arab World Finds Icon in Leader of Hezbollah," *New York Times*, August 7, 2006, [nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07nasrallah.html](http://nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07nasrallah.html).

<sup>7</sup> Neil MacFarquhar, "Arab World Finds Icon in Leader of Hezbollah," *New York Times*, August 7, 2006, [nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07nasrallah.html](http://nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07nasrallah.html).

<sup>8</sup> "Profile: Sayed Hassan Nasrallah," *Al-Jazeera*, April 10, 2006, [www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html).

Nasrallah taught at Abbas al-Musawi's Amal-affiliated school.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he has experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he has experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, Nasrallah was a guerrilla commander of Hezbollah.<sup>10</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Yes. In 1978, Nasrallah studied at a *hawza* in Najaf, Iraq.<sup>11</sup> In 1989, Nasrallah studied at a *hawza* in Qom, Iran.<sup>12</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, Nasrallah did, however, work as Hezbollah's representative in Iran.<sup>13</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>9</sup> "Profile: Sayed Hassan Nasrallah," *Al-Jazeera*, April 10, 2006, [www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/2008410115816863222.html).

<sup>10</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..](http://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..)

<sup>11</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..](http://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..)

<sup>12</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..](http://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..)

<sup>13</sup> Eben Kaplan, "Profile: Hassan Nasrallah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..](http://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/profile-hassan-nasrallah..)



No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, in July 2006, “Israeli war planes destroyed Nasrallah’s home and office.” There was another rumor that there was an attempt to poison him in October 2008.<sup>14</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Levantine Arabic and Classical Arabic.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Eben Kaplan, “Profile: Hassan Nasrallah,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, August 11, 2010, [www.cfr.org/backgrounder/profile-hassan-nasrallah](http://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/profile-hassan-nasrallah). “Hassan Nasrallah Survives Assassination Attempt,” *Jerusalem Post*, October 22, 2008, [fr.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1222017595194&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull](http://fr.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1222017595194&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull).

<sup>15</sup> Neil MacFarquhar, “Arab World Finds Icon in Leader of Hezbollah,” *New York Times*, August 7, 2006, [www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07nasrallah.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07nasrallah.html).

**Rolecode** 254  
**Leadercode** 412  
**Name of leader** Subhi al-Tufayli  
**Organization** Hezbollah  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1948<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Brital, Lebanon<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

is the year al-Tufayli started the rebel leadership, according to multiple sources. Therefore, he was 41 years old.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://www.middleeasteye.net/sites/default/files/styles/article\\_page/public/main-images/tuf.PNG?itok=0lDUg-4F](https://www.middleeasteye.net/sites/default/files/styles/article_page/public/main-images/tuf.PNG?itok=0lDUg-4F)

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Magnus Ranstorp, "Hizbollah's Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision-Making, and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institution" In *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, Edited by John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, (London: Routledge, 2012), 163.

<sup>2</sup> Magnus Ranstorp, "Hizbollah's Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision-Making, and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institution" In *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, Edited by John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, (London: Routledge, 2012), 163.

<sup>3</sup> Ranstorp. "Hizbollah's Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision-Making, and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institution," 153. Karim El-Bar, " 'They Exploited Sectarianism': Former Hezbollah Leader Tufayli Talks Iran, Syria," *Middle East Eye*, December 28, 2016, Accessed June 9, 2018, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/they-exploited-sectarianism-former-hezbollah-leader-tufayli-talks-iran-syria-154451209>.

<sup>4</sup> "Tehran 'Acutely' Needs an Islamic Lebanese Republic," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 14, 1987, Accessed June 13, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected as secretary-general.<sup>5</sup> Another source argues that Iran appointed al-Tufayli.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No,<sup>7</sup> but Hezbollah has a Shura council.<sup>8</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from seminaries in Najaf, Iraq and Qom, Iran.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had a son-in-law, which indicates he had a daughter.<sup>11</sup> He also had a son.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim; he is a Shia cleric.<sup>13</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>5</sup> Joseph Alagha, *Hizbullah's Documents: From the 1985 Open Letter to the 2009 Manifesto*, (Amsterdam. Pallas Publications, 2011), 22.

<sup>6</sup> Shimon Shapira, "Hizballah's Loyalty." *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review* 4, no. 2 (2013): 137-52, 149.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Masters and Zachary Laub, "Hezbollah," *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 3, 2014, Accessed August 3, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/hezbollah#chapter-title-0-1>.

<sup>8</sup> Ranstorp. "Hizbollah's Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision-Making, and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institution," 153-154.

<sup>9</sup> Eitan Azani, *Hezbollah: The Story of the Party of God, From Revolution to Institutionalization*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 60.

<sup>10</sup> "Hijack of Iranian Aircraft; Israeli Chief of Staff Reportedly Attacked in Southern Lebanon," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, September 20, 1995, Accessed June 13, 2018 via Lexis Nexis.

<sup>11</sup> Alagha. *Hizbullah's Documents: From the 1985 Open Letter to the 2009 Manifesto*, 23.

<sup>12</sup> "Hijack of Iranian Aircraft; Israeli Chief of Staff Reportedly Attacked in Southern Lebanon".

<sup>13</sup> El-Bar.

Al-Tufayli was an associate of Iranian ambassador Ali Akbar Muhtashami.<sup>14</sup> A source described Muhtashami as his mentor.<sup>15</sup> He was a student of Baqir as-Sadr.<sup>16</sup> He was a member of the al-Da'wa party.<sup>17</sup> He was a participant in the 1982 Islamic Movements conference, the First Conference for the Downtrodden.<sup>18</sup> He had known Ayatollah Khomeini when they were in Najaf, Iraq.<sup>19</sup> He also had close ties with various unnamed Syrian and Iranian clerics.<sup>20</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an iman and spiritual leader.<sup>21</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was a member of Amal.<sup>22</sup> He was the head of Hezbollah's headquarters in Baalbek and was Hezbollah's main liaison with Iran.<sup>23</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Whether he had a government position is unknown.

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<sup>14</sup> Joseph Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 33.

<sup>15</sup> Judith Palmer Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 56.

<sup>16</sup> Rodger Shanahan, *The Shi'a of Lebanon: Clans, Parties and Clerics*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005), 146.

<sup>17</sup> Rula Jurdi Abisaab and Malek Abisaab, *The Shi'ites of Lebanon: Modernism, Communism, and Hizbullah's Islamists*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 93.

<sup>18</sup> Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah*, (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2004), 24.

<sup>19</sup> Marc R. DeVore and Armin B. Stahli, "Explaining Hezbollah's Effectiveness: Internal and External Determinants of the Rise of Violent Non-State Actors," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27, no. 2: 331-357.

<sup>20</sup> Harik. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Magnus Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon: The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997), 35.

<sup>22</sup> H.E. Chehabi, "Iran and Lebanon in the Revolutionary Decade" In *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*, Edited by H.E. Chehabi, (Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2006), 211.

<sup>23</sup> Ranstorp. "Hezbollah's Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision-Making, and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institution," 148.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, most sources do not mention exile. However, one source mentions he went into “hiding” after clashes with the Lebanese government and Hezbollah in the 1990s.<sup>24</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied theology in Najaf, Iraq and Qom, Iran.<sup>25</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

His work experience abroad is unknown.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Al-Tufayli claims that Iran and Lebanon attempted to kill him in 1998 in what the source calls the “Ayn Burday incident”.<sup>26</sup> In 1998, the Lebanese military did encircle al-Tufayli’s home during clashes between al-Tufayli’s supporters and the military.<sup>27</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

N/A

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Arabic.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Harik. 60.

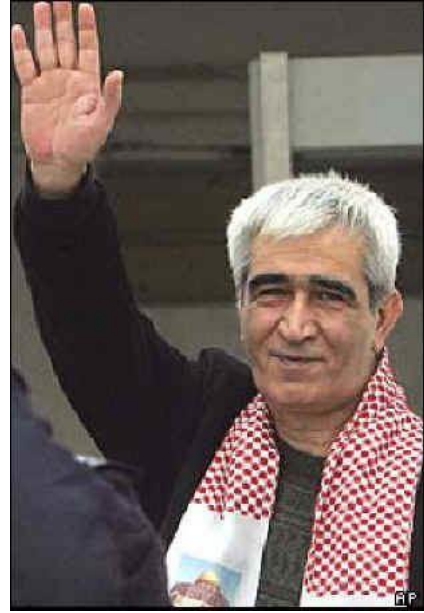
<sup>25</sup> Ranstorp. “Hezbollah’s Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision-Making, and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institution,” 163.

<sup>26</sup> “Former Hezbollah Leader Opposes Attempt to Topple Lebanese Government,” *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, February 9, 2007, Accessed June 12, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>27</sup> “Lebanon: Clashes Resume in South, Army Reportedly Surrounds Tufayli’s House,” *BBC Monitoring Middle East-Political*, January 31, 1998, Accessed June 13, 2018 via Lexis Nexus

<sup>28</sup> El-Bar.

**Rolecode** 255  
**Leadercode** 54  
**Name of leader** Ahmed Sa'dat  
**Organization** Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)  
**Conflict country** Israel  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1953<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** al-Bireh, West Bank<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he is deceased.

### **Birth order**

He has a brother, who may be his younger brother.<sup>3</sup> Other reports say he has multiple siblings.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became the leader in 2001.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, he was 48 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected as the leader following Mustafa Ali Zibri's assassination.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/ahmad-saadat-d4f40c75-7388-4c64-a373-b8c6161bdda-resize-750.jpeg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Broning, Michael. *Political Parties in Palestine: Leadership and Thought*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Broning, Michael. *Political Parties in Palestine: Leadership and Thought*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 107.

<sup>3</sup> "PFLP Says Israeli Army Will 'Pay a Heavy Price' for Killing of Leader's Brother". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, August 21, 2002. Accessed June 28, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> "Interview with Ahmad Saadat: Leading from Prison, Ending Negotiations, and Rebuilding the Resistance." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 43, no. 4 (2014): 49-56. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Broning. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Broning. 107.

## **Powersharing**

No, the PFLP's highest governing body is the national congress, the second highest is the central committee, and the third highest is the politburo. The organization is designed as cells and operates under democratic centralism.<sup>7</sup>

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He has a teaching certificate from the Teacher's Institute of Ramallah. His major was mathematics.<sup>8</sup> In 1967 he joined the Union of High School Students, which was part of the National Liberation Movement.<sup>9</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>10</sup> he was married in 1981.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, he was 28 years old.

## **Children**

Yes,<sup>12</sup> he has four children.<sup>13</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>14</sup>

## **Elite family background**

No, his parents were refugees.<sup>15</sup> They were originally from the village Deir Tarif. His father worked in a wheat factory and as a guard of the Teachers Institute.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Cubert, Harold M., PhD. *The PFLP's Changing Role in the Middle East*. London: Frank Cass, 1997. 117-118.

<sup>8</sup> "Ahmed Saadat". *Biographies for International Security 4. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 23, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> Aaron Mannes, *Profiles in Terror: The Guide to Middle East Terrorist Organizations* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 313.

<sup>10</sup> "Palestinian Group Warns Israel Not to Harm Arrested Leader's Wife". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, January 23, 2003. Accessed June 24, 2018.

<sup>11</sup> "من هو 'أحمد سعادات'". *Donia al Watan*, June 16, 2015. Accessed June 29, 2018.

<https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2015/06/16/730257.html>.

<sup>12</sup> "News Reaches Family that Sa'adat Hunger Strike in Protest of Solitary Confinement Ended on Friday". *Palestinian News Network*, June 14, 2009. Accessed June 25, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> "أحمد سعادات". *Al Jazeera*. Accessed June 29, 2018. <http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/be59614c-0a2a-4b7a-9fb0-5f31b4537e90>.

<sup>14</sup> "من هو 'أحمد سعادات'".

<sup>15</sup> "Ahmad Sa'adat: A Palestinian Prisoner of Conscience". *The Palestine Chronicle*, July 5, 2010. Accessed June 26, 2018.

<sup>16</sup> "من هو 'أحمد سعادات'".

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was a member of the Palestine Student Union.<sup>17</sup> He was a member of the Palestine National Council of the PLO.<sup>18</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

In 1996, he went into a coma following a hunger strike. He later came out of the coma.<sup>19</sup> In 2009, the PFLP alleged that Sa'dat suffered from back and stomach pains while in Israeli custody due to Israeli prison treatment.<sup>20</sup> His health deteriorated to the point of hospitalization in 2011 due to a hunger strike.<sup>21</sup> He was hospitalized again from hunger strike complications in 2012.<sup>22</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher.<sup>23</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there are sufficient sources to make clear that he was probably was not involved in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No (although he was a member of the PFLP Central Committee and political bureau and was the PFLP's leader in the West Bank).<sup>24</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he had combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

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<sup>17</sup> Broning. 107.

<sup>18</sup> "PFLP Spokesman Says Dialogue Not Possible While Faction Members Detained". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, February 23, 1997. Accessed June 23, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Broning. 107.

<sup>20</sup> "Israeli Court Extends Palestinian PFLP Leader's Solitary Confinement". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, October 23, 2009. Accessed June 26, 2018.

<sup>21</sup> "PLO Warns of 'Explosion' in Israeli Jails Following Prisoners' Hunger Strike". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, October 18, 2011. Accessed June 26, 2018.

<sup>22</sup> "Palestinian Leader Ahmad Sa'adat Transferred to Ramle Prison Hospital from Isolation in Ramon". *Palestinian News Network*, April 30, 2012. Accessed June 26, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> "Weighing the Effects of the Jericho Prison Raid". *Talk of the Nation*, March 15, 2006. Accessed June 25, 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Broning. 107.



### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence that he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was imprisoned for three months in 1969, was imprisoned for most of the 1970s, and was imprisoned in 1996.<sup>25</sup> He was imprisoned in 2002.<sup>26</sup> To be specific, he was arrested in 1969 for three months, 1970 for 28 months, 1973 for 10 months, 1975 for 45 days, 1976 for four years, 1989 for nine months, 1992 for 13 months, 1995, 1996, and 2002. He taught and lead the other Palestinian prisoners when he was in prison.<sup>27</sup> He was sentenced to 30 years in prison in 2008.<sup>28</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, in 2006, Israel's defense minister Shaul Mufaz said that Sa'dat would be captured or killed if he was released from Palestinian jail.<sup>29</sup> He never was released.

### **Cause of Death?**

N/A

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Arabic.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Broning. 107.

<sup>26</sup> "Militant Group Shuns Arafat". *BBC News*, February 2, 2002. Accessed June 23, 2018. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1797459.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1797459.stm).

<sup>27</sup> "Ahmed Saadat".

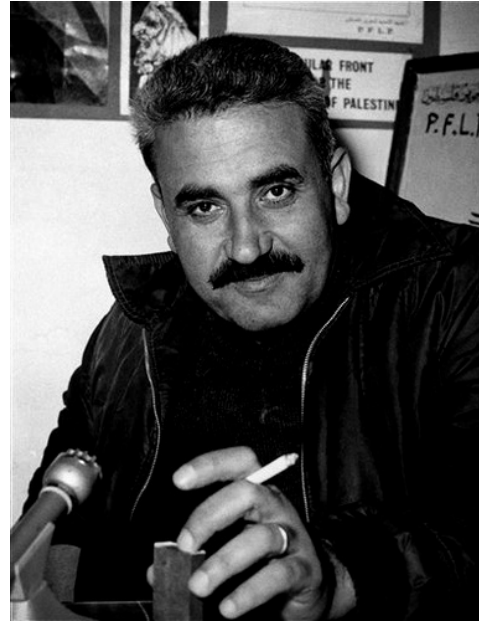
<sup>28</sup> Vick, Karl. "Palestinian Leader Abbas Brings Weak Hand to White House". *Time*, March 17, 2014. Accessed June 23, 2018. <http://time.com/26966/palestinian-leader-abbas-brings-weak-hand-to-white-house-meeting/>.

<sup>29</sup> "Israel Would Capture or Kill Ministers 'Killers' If Freed- Defense Minister". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, March 12, 2006. Accessed June 28, 2018.

<sup>30</sup> "ماذا ولماذا؟ من هو أحمد سعادات". *Al Mayadeen News*, August 15, 2016. Accessed June 29, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=txXUu0jgepg>.



<b>Rolecode</b>	256
<b>Leadercode</b>	154
<b>Name of leader</b>	George Habash, aka <i>al-Hakim</i>
<b>Organization</b>	al-Jabha al-Sha'biyye li-Tahrir Filastin
<b>Conflict country</b>	Israel; Jordan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	August 2, 1926 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Lydda, British Mandatory Palestine
<b>Year of death</b>	January 26, 2008 <sup>2</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of a heart attack in 2008.

### **Birth order**

He was the second of three children.<sup>3</sup> According to another source he had six siblings.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership role at age 41.

### **Leader entry method**

He was a founder.

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George\\_Habash.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Habash.jpg)

“George Habash,” *Ma’an*, March 1, 2010, [www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=264026](http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=264026).

<sup>2</sup> “George Habash,” *Ma’an*, March 1, 2010, [www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=264026](http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=264026).

<sup>3</sup> Mahmoud Soueid, “Taking Stock: An Interview with George Habash,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, 1 (1998): 86.

<sup>4</sup> “George Habash,” *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Habash studied medicine. “Habash completed his elementary education in Lydda and then moved to the National Orthodox College in Jaffa for his secondary education; he received his matriculation certificate at Terra Sancta College in Jerusalem.”<sup>5</sup> He earned a medical degree at the American University of Beirut in 1951.<sup>6</sup> “He was an exceptional student who divided his university years between his study and his numerous hobbies such as athletics, art, and music in addition to cultural and political activities. The latter assumed growing importance especially in light of events in Palestine and the UN Partition Resolution issued in November 1947.”<sup>7</sup> “The dominant influence on his thought and nationalist identity came from contact with the thought and teachings of Arab history professor Constantine Zurayk. Dr. Zurayk was a secular Arab unionist, nationalist, and liberal thinker. During this period the university was full of Arab students from all the Arab countries who carried with them their national concerns and dreams. Their meeting place was the cultural student society al-‘Urwa al-wuthqa. Zurayk was its spiritual father, and Habash was elected its general secretary for the academic year 1949–50.”<sup>8</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, Habash was married to his cousin Hilda Habash in 1961. He was age 35 when he married.<sup>9</sup>

**Children**

Yes, Habash had two daughters.<sup>10</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was a Greek Orthodox Christian.<sup>11</sup>

**Elite family background**

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<sup>5</sup> “George Habash,” *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

<sup>6</sup> “George Habash,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 5, 2012, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-Habash>.

<sup>7</sup> “George Habash,” *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

<sup>8</sup> “George Habash,” *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

<sup>9</sup> Edmund L. Andrews and John Kifner, “George Habash, 82, Founder of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2008, [www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/africa/27iht-obits.1.9523942.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/africa/27iht-obits.1.9523942.html).

<sup>10</sup> Edmund L. Andrews and John Kifner, “George Habash, 82, Founder of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2008, [www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/africa/27iht-obits.1.9523942.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/africa/27iht-obits.1.9523942.html).

<sup>11</sup> Mahmoud Soueid, “Taking Stock: An Interview with George Habash,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, 1 (1998): 86.

Yes, he was born “to a rich Arab Christian Orthodox family that owned agricultural lands and commercial stores.”<sup>12</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, Habash was originally affiliated with the pan-Arab movement and help found the Arab National Movement (ANM).<sup>13</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

Yes, “on the personal level Habash suffered a near-fatal heart attack in 1972 and a severe brain hemorrhage in 1980 with which he coped through strength of will.”<sup>14</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked in medicine.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was a part of the ANM. In the early 1950s, he was also a member of the Organization, “Oppose to Political Settlement with Israel” and associated with the Pan-Arabist movement of Gamal Nasser.<sup>15</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, it was reported that he died while in exile in Amman in 2008.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> “George Habash,” *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

<sup>13</sup> “George Habash,” *Ma’an*, March 1, 2010, [www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=264026](http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=264026).

<sup>14</sup> “George Habash,” *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

<sup>15</sup> “George Habash,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/george-habash>.

<sup>16</sup> “Rebel from a Bygone Era,” *The Guardian*, January 28, 2008, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jan/29/israelandthepalestinians.comment>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, Habash was imprisoned in Syria.<sup>17</sup> He spent 5 years in prison in 1990 for killing his sister's boyfriend.<sup>18</sup> Also, after graduating from medical school "he devoted his efforts organizing street demonstrations by students, which led to his being arrested a number of times, and establishing a nationalist and progressive youth organization."<sup>19</sup> No evidence any of these arrests soon after graduating from medical school were over a month.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes,<sup>20</sup> Israel forced a Libyan airline down in 1976. While Habash was not on the airliner, he was the target.<sup>21</sup> From 1961- 1965 "he and his colleagues were subject to pursuit and detention as well as assassination by the forces that carried out the break-up [of Syria-Egypt union]."<sup>22</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

He had cancer but died of a heart attack.

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>17</sup> Gideon Levy, "This Biography Makes It Clear," *Haaretz*, April 15, 2018, [www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/.premium-biography-makes-it-clear-this-palestinian-leftist-leader-was-right-1.5994244](http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/.premium-biography-makes-it-clear-this-palestinian-leftist-leader-was-right-1.5994244).

<sup>18</sup> Edmund L. Andrews and John Kifner, "George Habash, 82, founder of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," *The New York Times*, January 27, 2008, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/27/world/africa/27iht-obits.1.9523942.html>

<sup>19</sup> "George Habash," *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

<sup>20</sup> Ian Black and Benny Morris, *Israel's Secret Wars* (New York: Grove, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Dan Fisher and John M. Broder, "Value of Israel's Assassination Policy Debated: Killing Wazir Ruthless and Efficient," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1988, [http://articles.latimes.com/1988-04-22/news/mn-2053\\_1\\_israel-today/5](http://articles.latimes.com/1988-04-22/news/mn-2053_1_israel-today/5)

<sup>22</sup> "George Habash," *palestinian journeys*, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.paljourneys.org/en/biography/6564/george-habash>.

He spoke Arabic as his primary language, and he also spoke English.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “George Habash,” *The Telegraph*, January 27, 2008, [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1576681/George-Habash.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1576681/George-Habash.html).

**Rolecode** 257

**Leadercode** 320

**Name of leader** Mustafa Alhaj

**kunya** Abu Ali Mustafa

**nom de guerre** Mustafa Ali Zibri)

**Organization** Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

**Conflict country** Israel

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1935<sup>1</sup> or 1938<sup>2</sup>

**Place of birth** Arraba, West Bank<sup>3</sup>

**Year of death** 2001<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2001 after Israel fired missiles at his office.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/05/Abu\\_ali\\_mustafa\\_ap.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/05/Abu_ali_mustafa_ap.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Mustafa Zibri," *CNN*, August 28, 2001, Accessed June 12, 2018,

<http://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/meast/08/28/profile.mustafa/index.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Lawrence Joffe, "Abu Ali Mustafa," *The Guardian*, August 27, 2001, Accessed June 12, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/aug/28/guardianobituaries.israel>.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Joffe, "Abu Ali Mustafa," *The Guardian*, August 27, 2001, Accessed June 12, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/aug/28/guardianobituaries.israel>.

<sup>4</sup> Alan Philps, "PLO Founder Killed by Israeli Missile Attack," *The Telegraph*, August 28, 2001, Accessed June 12, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/1338783/PLO-founder-killed-by-Israeli-missile-attack.html>.



He became the leader in 2000.<sup>5</sup> If 1935 is his birth year, he was 65 years old. Another source says he was 63 in 2001, which indicates he was 62 in 2000.<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected as the PFLP leader.<sup>7</sup> However, he was the only candidate in the election.<sup>8</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, the PFLP has a politburo and a central committee.<sup>9</sup> The national congress is the organization's highest governing authority. The organization operates under democratic centralism.<sup>10</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He left school before graduating in order to become a farm-hand.<sup>11</sup> The education he did have was in Jenin, the West Bank.<sup>12</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>13</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had five kids.<sup>14</sup>

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

### **Elite family background**

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<sup>5</sup> "Mustafa Zibri".

<sup>6</sup> Philips.

<sup>7</sup> "Mustafa Zibri".

<sup>8</sup> "Radical Palestinian Group Chooses New Leader," *Associated Press Archive*, July 8, 2000, Accessed June 18, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>9</sup> Jon Immaneuil, "PFLP Freezes Membership in PLO," *The Jerusalem Post*, July 2, 1996, Accessed June 19, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>10</sup> Harold M. Cubert, PhD, *The PFLP's Changing Role in the Middle East*, (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 117-118.

<sup>11</sup> "Abu Ali Mustafa, Pragmatist Killed by Israel After Leading PFLP," *Agence France Presse-English*, August 27, 2001 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>12</sup> "أبو علي مصطفى." *Al Jazeera*, Accessed June 22, 2018, <http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/787a3d68-08ee-4048-b174-b3fd0f942ec8>

<sup>13</sup> "Mustafa Zibri".

<sup>14</sup> "Mustafa Zibri".

His father was a farmer and horse-breeder in the West Bank.<sup>15</sup> A source describes his origins as “modest”.<sup>16</sup> Another source says his family were peasants.<sup>17</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a member of the PLO Executive Committee and the head of the Department of Palestinian Refugees.<sup>18</sup> In the PLO, he was in charge of Lebanese affairs.<sup>19</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

His physical and mental health are unknown.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked in a Jordanian bank in the 1950s.<sup>20</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He served in the Egyptian military. The source does not say if he was an Egyptian citizen. However, he returned to Jordan after his service, and his family was in Jordan. His village was considered Jordanian territory at the time.<sup>21</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was the deputy to PFLP leader George Habash.<sup>22</sup> He was the commander-in-chief of the PFLP’s military forces.<sup>23</sup> He was also the head of the PFLP delegation in the Aden-Algiers talks in 1984. He was the PFLP representative to the European Community.<sup>24</sup> He was a member of the Arab Nationalist Movement.<sup>25</sup> A source states that Zibri founded a para-military organization in the West Bank before joining Habash but does not say what this para-military organization was.<sup>26</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>15</sup> “The PFLP’s Abu-Ali Mustafa: Habash Envious My Homecoming and Fahoum Yearns for Nazareth,” *Mideast Mirror*, October 8, 1999, Accessed June 20, 2018 via Lexis Nexis.

<sup>16</sup> “Abu Ali Mustafa (Palestine),” *Intelligence Newsletter*, July 27, 2000, Accessed June 20, 2018 via Lexis Nexis.

<sup>17</sup> “Abu Ali Mustafa, Pragmatist Killed by Israel After Leading PFLP”.

<sup>18</sup> Nafez Nazzal and Laila A. Nazzal. *Historical Dictionary of Palestine*, (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1997), 209.

<sup>19</sup> David Rudge, “S. Lebanon Army Patrol Kills Gunman, Wounds Another, in Security Zone Clash,” *The Jerusalem Post*, April 4, 1991, Accessed June 19, 2018 via Lexis Nexis.

<sup>20</sup> “أبو علي مصطفى.”

<sup>21</sup> “أبو علي مصطفى.”

<sup>22</sup> “Mustafa Zibri”.

<sup>23</sup> Joe Stork and Kristen Kane, *Erased in a Moment: Suicide Bombing Attacks Against Israeli Civilians*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002), 87.

<sup>24</sup> “Al-Zabri, Mustafa (1938-2001),” *Encyclopedia of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Volume 3, R-Z*, Edited by Cheryl A. Rubenberg, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 1653.

<sup>25</sup> Joffe.

<sup>26</sup> “Abu Ali Mustafa (Palestine)”.

A source states that Zibri personally lead PFLP guerilla forces into the West Bank after the group was formed in 1967.<sup>27</sup> In 1955, he was arrested for participating in guerilla raids into Israel. He planned and executed fedayeen attacks on Israel in the 1960s.<sup>28</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he was in exile in Syria and Jordan after the 1967 War<sup>29</sup>, also in Lebanon.<sup>30</sup> Another source says he had been in exile since 1958.<sup>31</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received military training in Egypt in 1965.<sup>32</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he was the PFLP representative to the European Community in 1984.<sup>33</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“In 1957, the 19-year-old youth was imprisoned for belonging to Habash's Arab Nationalist Movement.”<sup>34</sup> He was also sent to Jordanian prison in 1965.<sup>35</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>27</sup> Michael R. Fischbach, “Zibri, Mustafa,” *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians, Revised Edition*, Edited by Philip Mattar, (New York: Facts on File, Inc, 2005), 549.

<sup>28</sup> “Al-Zabri, Mustafa (1938-2001)”. 1653.

<sup>29</sup> “Mustafa Zibri”.

<sup>30</sup> “Radical Palestinians Choose Leader” *The Associated Press*, 2000, accessed June 12, 2018 via Newspaper Source Plus.

<sup>31</sup> Danna Harman and Lamia Lahoud, “Hawatmeh Entry Depends on ‘Change in Deeds,’” *The Jerusalem Post*, September 30, 1999, Accessed June 18, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>32</sup> Fischbach. 549.

<sup>33</sup> “Al-Zabri, Mustafa (1938-2001)”.

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/aug/28/guardianobituarries.israel>

<sup>35</sup> "أبو علي مصطفى".

### **Cause of Death?**

Israel fired two missiles at his office.<sup>36</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Philps.

<sup>37</sup> “Jordan: Palestinian Dissident Abu Ali Mustafa,” *AP Archive*, Accessed June 21, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G1ccRvuxhLU>.

**Rolecode** 258

**Leadercode** 49

**Name of leader** Ahmad Jibril, aka *al-Khalifa (the Caliph)*

**Organization** al-Jabha al-Sha'biyye li-Tahrir Filastin-al-Qaedat al-'Aama (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command)

**Conflict country** Israel

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1938<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Yazur, British Mandatory Palestine<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no indication that he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership role at age 30.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He is the founder.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/olmedia/735000/images/\\_736490\\_jibril150.jpg](http://news.bbc.co.uk/olmedia/735000/images/_736490_jibril150.jpg)

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<sup>2</sup>“Ahmed Jibril and the PFIP-GC,” *BBC* (20 May 2002): accessible at [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1998598.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1998598.stm).

<sup>3</sup>Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

<sup>4</sup>“Ahmed Jibril and the PFIP-GC,” *BBC* (20 May 2002): accessible at [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1998598.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1998598.stm).

<sup>5</sup>“Ahmed Jibril and the PFIP-GC,” *BBC* (20 May 2002): accessible at [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1998598.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1998598.stm).

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“After obtaining a high school diploma in scientific specialization in Damascus in 1956, he moved to Cairo and joined the military college and graduated in 1959, so Ahmed Jibril is considered one of the few Palestinian leaders who received an academic military formation.... During his studies in Egypt cofounded the General Union of Palestinian Students, where the idea of armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine began to crystallize.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married but at what age is unknown.

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least one son.<sup>6</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

No, there is no evidence that he is from an elite family background.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he helped found the Palestine Liberation Front and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine prior to creating the PFLP-GC.<sup>7</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

Yes, Jibril’s health problems have contributed to the PFLP-GC’s decline.<sup>8</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “Ahmed Jibril,” *Aljazeera*

<sup>6</sup> “Ahmed Jibril and the PFIP-GC,” *BBC* (20 May 2002): accessible at [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1998598.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1998598.stm).

<sup>7</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

<sup>8</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

He had a military career.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1956, Jibril joined the Syrian army. He reached the rank of captain in the engineering brigade. He became a demolition expert. In 1958, he was dishonorably discharged for holding radical political views.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he had experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he had combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, his family moved to Syria.<sup>10</sup> He was described as an exiled leader in Damascus.<sup>11</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he was trained in demolition in Syrian army.<sup>12</sup> He also studied in Egypt as noted in the education section.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he was trained in Syrian army.<sup>13</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, as he was in the Syrian military.

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<sup>9</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

<sup>10</sup> "Ahmed Jibril and the PFIP-GC," *BBC* (20 May 2002): accessible at [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/1998598.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1998598.stm).

<sup>11</sup> Anwar Ambo, "Israel, Lebanon: Tehran Reins in Hezbollah," *Stratfor*, January 6, 2009, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/israel-lebanon-tehran-reins-hezbollah>

<sup>12</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, Egypt briefly imprisoned Jibril for holding anti-Nasserist views.<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there was an attempt in 1988.<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

There is no evidence he has died.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was Arabic.

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<sup>14</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 160-161.



**Rolecode** 263

**Leadercode** 312

**Name of leader** Yasser Arafat (Muhammed Yasser Abdel Rahman Abdel Raouf Arafat al-Qudwa; Abu Ammar)

**Organization** Munazzamat at-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyeh (Palestinian Liberation Organization)

**Conflict country** Israel; Jordan; Lebanon

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1929

**Place of birth** Cairo, Egypt

**Year of death** 2004



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2004 of a blood disease.

### **Birth order**

He was the 6th of 7 children.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at age 40.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed/designated.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/74/Flickr\\_-\\_Government\\_Press\\_Office\\_%28GPO%29\\_-\\_THE\\_NOBEL\\_PEACE\\_PRIZE\\_LAUREATES\\_FOR\\_1994\\_IN\\_OSLO.\\_%28cropped%29.jpg/450px-Flickr\\_-\\_Government\\_Press\\_Office\\_%28GPO%29\\_-\\_THE\\_NOBEL\\_PEACE\\_PRIZE\\_LAUREATES\\_FOR\\_1994\\_IN\\_OSLO.\\_%28cropped%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/74/Flickr_-_Government_Press_Office_%28GPO%29_-_THE_NOBEL_PEACE_PRIZE_LAUREATES_FOR_1994_IN_OSLO._%28cropped%29.jpg/450px-Flickr_-_Government_Press_Office_%28GPO%29_-_THE_NOBEL_PEACE_PRIZE_LAUREATES_FOR_1994_IN_OSLO._%28cropped%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> He became the leader of the PLO in 1969 at age 40. He founded Fatah in 1958 at 29. See Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism* (London: Transaction, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Efraim Karsh, *Arafat's War* (New York: Grove, 2003).

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He received an Engineering Bachelor's degree from Faud I University (later renamed Cairo University) in 1956<sup>3</sup>.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.

**Children**

He had at least one child.

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

**Elite family background**

No, he was not from an elite family background.<sup>4</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

Yes, Arafat suffered for years from an unknown disease before he died.<sup>5</sup>

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

While trained as an engineer, it is likely Arafat never worked in the field. He career was always that of a "guerrilla."<sup>6</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>3</sup> See Alain Gresh, "Yasser Arafat: Palestinian Leader," *Encyclopedia of Britannica*, [www.britannica.com/biography/Yasser-Arafat](http://www.britannica.com/biography/Yasser-Arafat).

<sup>4</sup> Despite Arafat claiming family ties to Hajj Amin al-Husseini, biographers have not been able to substantiate the claims. See David Brooks, "A Brief History of Yasir Arafat," *The Atlantic*, [www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/07/a-brief-history-of-yasir-arafat/302532](http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/07/a-brief-history-of-yasir-arafat/302532).

<sup>5</sup> "Arafat's Funeral Held in Cairo," *BBC*, November 12, 2004, [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/4005027.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4005027.stm).

<sup>6</sup> Efraim Karsh, *Arafat's War* (New York: Grove, 2003).

Yes, after graduating from university, Arafat was commissioned into the Egyptian Army, and in October 1956 he served on behalf of Egypt during the Suez Crisis.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, Arafat's claims of combat experience are almost universally questioned.<sup>8</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, living in multiple places, Arafat was exiled from the Gaza strip for nearly 27 years.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in Egypt.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received training in Egypt.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he worked in Kuwait.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he served time in prison in Syria.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there were assassination attempts.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Alain Gresh, "Yasser Arafat: Palestinian Leader," *Encyclopedia of Britannica*, [www.britannica.com/biography/Yasser-Arafat](http://www.britannica.com/biography/Yasser-Arafat).

<sup>8</sup> David Brooks, "A Brief History of Yasir Arafat." *The Atlantic*, [www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/07/a-brief-history-of-yasir-arafat/302532](http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/07/a-brief-history-of-yasir-arafat/302532).

<sup>9</sup> BBC, "1994: Yasser Arafat ends 27-year exile," [news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/july/1/newsid\\_2489000/2489631.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/july/1/newsid_2489000/2489631.stm).

<sup>10</sup> Ronen Bergman, "How Arafat Eluded Israel's Assassination Machine," *New York Times Magazine*, January 23, 2018, [www.nytimes.com/2018/01/23/magazine/how-arafat-eluded-israels-assassination-](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/23/magazine/how-arafat-eluded-israels-assassination-)

**Cause of Death?**

He died of an unknown blood disease.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic and English.

<b>Name of leader</b>	Jamal Abu Samhadana
<b>Organization</b>	Popular Resistance Committees
<b>Conflict country</b>	Israel
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1963 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Maghazi refugee camp in Gaza <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2006 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2006.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2000, so age 37.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was a co-founder.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://cdnph.upi.com/pv/upi/42fecc3e0ed467296d62fdf441f5990c/JAMAL-ABU-SAMHADANA.jpg>

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<sup>2</sup>“Jamal أبو سمهدانة"أبو عطايا".. استشهد في الميدان” [Jamal Abu Samhadana "Abu Ataya" .. Killed in the field], *samanews*, June 8, 2011, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/97486/>.

<sup>3</sup>“Wanted militant dies in Gaza raid,” *BBC News*, June 8, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5062360.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5062360.stm).

<sup>4</sup>“Wanted militant dies in Gaza raid,” *BBC News*, June 8, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5062360.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5062360.stm).

<sup>5</sup>“Palestinian Terror Groups: Popular Resistance Committees (PRC),” *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/popular-resistance-committees-prc>.

<sup>6</sup>“Palestinian Terror Groups: Popular Resistance Committees (PRC),” *Jewish Virtual Library*, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/popular-resistance-committees-prc>.

Yes, he shared power with Abu Awad.<sup>7</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He finished high school in Rafah and joined the Department of Geography at the Faculty of Arts at the Islamic University.”<sup>8</sup> He also studied for three years at the German Military Academy<sup>9</sup> (Officer’s training)<sup>10</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>11</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had five children.<sup>12</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

**Family background**

“Abu Samhadana, who is a descendant of his father's father, Hajj Attaya, a prominent member of Rafah.”<sup>13</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a Fatah leader and later was an officer in the General Security Service.<sup>1415</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Khaled Abu Toameh, “IAF ‘WIPE OUT PRC’S MOST IMPORTANT’ LEADER,” *The Jerusalem Post*, August 22, 2011, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/IAF-wiped-out-PRCs-most-important-leader>.

<sup>8</sup> “جمال أبو سمهدانة” أبو عطايا” .. استشهد في الميدان” [Jamal Abu Samhadana "Abu Ataya" .. Killed in the field], samanews, June 8, 2011, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/97486/>.

<sup>9</sup> “جمال أبو سمهدانة” أبو عطايا” .. استشهد في الميدان” [Jamal Abu Samhadana "Abu Ataya" .. Killed in the field], samanews, June 8, 2011, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/97486/>.

<sup>10</sup> Hanan Grennberg, “Who are you, Jamal Abu Samhadana?,” *ynet*, June 9, 2006, Accessed July 16, 2018, <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3260716,00.html>.

<sup>11</sup> “PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike,” *Ma’ an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>12</sup> “PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike,” *Ma’ an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>13</sup> “جمال أبو سمهدانة” أبو عطايا” .. استشهد في الميدان” [Jamal Abu Samhadana "Abu Ataya" .. Killed in the field], samanews, June 8, 2011, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/97486/>.

<sup>14</sup> “PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike,” *Ma’ an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>15</sup> “جمال أبو سمهدانة” أبو عطايا” .. استشهد في الميدان” [Jamal Abu Samhadana "Abu Ataya" .. Killed in the field], samanews, June 8, 2011, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/97486/>.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he led military groups which were part of the Fatah movement and served as an officer in the General Security Service.<sup>1718</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, "Israel has been hunting him down since 1982 for being a prominent Fatah leader. He managed to move to Egypt and from there to Syria and Morocco; he also travelled to the former East Germany where he went through military college where he graduated in 1989. He then moved to Algeria and then to Iraq where he witnessed the first Iraq war in 1991. He then returned to Algeria and then after the Oslo Accords, he returned to the Gaza Strip."<sup>19</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at a military college in Germany.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike," *Ma' an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannnews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>17</sup> "جمال أبو سمهدانة" أبو عطايا" .. استشهد في الميدان" [Jamal Abu Samhadana "Abu Ataya" .. Killed in the field], samanews, June 8, 2011, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://samanews.ps/ar/post/97486/>.

<sup>18</sup> "جمال أبو سمهدانة.. قصة رجل من زمن آخر" [Jamal Abu Samhadana .. The story of a man of another time], <https://www.moqawama.org/essaydetails.php?eid=32345&cid=330>.

<sup>19</sup> "PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike," *Ma' an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannnews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>20</sup> "PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike," *Ma' an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannnews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he studied at a military college in Germany.<sup>21</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“He was also arrested by [the Palestinian Authority] security bodies in 1997 for 19 months for helping the Islamic Jihad Movement in its military activities.”<sup>22</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there were multiple attempts by Israel.<sup>2324</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by Israel.<sup>25</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic as his primary language.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> “PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike,” *Ma’ an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>22</sup> “PRC leader, Jamal Abu Samhadana, killed in Israeli air strike,” *Ma’ an News Agency*, June 9, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=186679>.

<sup>23</sup> “ Hamas defies 'security force' ban,” *BBC News*, April 21, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/4932724.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4932724.stm).

<sup>24</sup> “Wanted militant dies in Gaza raid,” *BBC News*, June 8, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5062360.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5062360.stm).

<sup>25</sup> “Wanted militant dies in Gaza raid,” *BBC News*, June 8, 2006, Accessed March 26, 2018, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5062360.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5062360.stm).

<sup>26</sup> “Languages,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>



<b>Rolecode</b>	267
<b>Leadercode</b>	230
<b>Name of leader</b>	Kamal al-Naryab (Abu Awad)
<b>Organization (PRC)</b>	Popular Resistance Committees
<b>Conflict country</b>	Israel
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1968 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Shaboura Refugee Camp, Rafah, Gaza Strip <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	August 18, 2011 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated by Israel in 2011.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He co-founded the PRC with Jamal Abu Samhadana in 2000, so he would have been 32.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He co-founded the PRC with Jamal Abu Samhadana in 2000.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://images.jpost.com/image/upload/f\\_auto,fl\\_lossy/t\\_JD\\_ArticleMainImage/172936](https://images.jpost.com/image/upload/f_auto,fl_lossy/t_JD_ArticleMainImage/172936)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>“من هو أبو عوض النيرب” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

<sup>2</sup>“من هو أبو عوض النيرب” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Gil Ronen, “Instant Payback: Terror Assault Commander Killed,” *ARUTZ SHEVA*, August 18, 2011, Accessed April 1, 2018, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/146953>.

<sup>4</sup> Khaled Abu Toameh, “IAF ‘WIPED OUT PRC’S MOST IMPORTANT’ LEADER,” *The Jersualem Post*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/IAF-wiped-out-PRCs-most-important-leader>.

<sup>5</sup> Khaled Abu Toameh, “IAF ‘WIPED OUT PRC’S MOST IMPORTANT’ LEADER,” *The Jersualem Post*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/IAF-wiped-out-PRCs-most-important-leader>.

### **Powersharing**

Yes, he shared power with Jamal Abu Samhadana.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in the mid-1980s and joined the struggle in his ranks while he was receiving university education at the Islamic University in Gaza City.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had four children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

No, he was born to refugee parents.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in the mid-1980s and joined the struggle in his ranks while he was receiving university education at the Islamic University in Gaza City. When the first Intifada broke out in 1987, he served as a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which was called the Popular Resistance Committees, along with Rafiq Imad Hammad, and then Imad Nasr. Because of their excessive

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “من هو أبو عوض النيرب؟” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

<sup>8</sup> “كلمات-الشهيد-كمال-النيرب-” [Words of Martyr Kamal Al - Nayrab for his wife in the last hours], *paltoday*, August 21, 2011, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://paltoday.ps/ar/post/116721/>-والاستشهاده-يكشف-حجم-جهاده (تقرير) لزوجته-في-ساعاته-الأخيرة.

<sup>9</sup> “Gaza deposed commander Neirb .. Martyrdom reveals the size of his jihad (report),” *The Palestinian Information Center*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.palinfo.com/news/2011/8/20/>-حجم-والاستشهاده-يكشف-حجم-جهاده-تقرير.

<sup>10</sup> “من هو أبو عوض النيرب؟” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

enthusiasm and willingness to work in armed cells, Nayrab and several of his comrades, including Hammad, moved to Fatah in 1989.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in the mid-1980s and joined the struggle in his ranks while he was receiving university education at the Islamic University in Gaza City. When the first Intifada broke out in 1987, he served as a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which was called the Popular Resistance Committees, along with Rafiq Imad Hammad, and then Imad Nasr. Because of their excessive enthusiasm and willingness to work in armed cells, Nayrab and several of his comrades, including Hammad, moved to Fatah in 1989.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “when the first Intifada broke out in 1987, he served as a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which was called the Popular Resistance Committees, along with Rafiq Imad Hammad, and then Imad Nasr. Because of their excessive enthusiasm and willingness to work in armed cells, Nayrab and several of his comrades, including Hammad, moved to Fatah in 1989.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>11</sup> “من هو أبو عوض النيرب؟” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

<sup>12</sup> “من هو أبو عوض النيرب؟” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Yes, “after a few months of his involvement in the armed struggle against the occupation forces, Nayrab, Hammad and several other Fatah members were forced to leave the Gaza Strip to Egypt via the border controlled by the Israeli occupation forces.”<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, although arrested in Egypt, it appears, he was not in prison for very long.<sup>16</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, he was assassinated by Israel.<sup>17</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by Israel.<sup>18</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic as his primary language.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> “من هو أبو عوض النيرب?” [Who is Abu Awad al-Nairab ?], *raya*, Accessed May 9, 2018, <https://www.raya.ps/news/526800.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> “Languages,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 268

**Leadercode** 187

**Name of leader** Ibrahim Coulibaly

**Organization** FDSI-CI (Forces de Defense et de Securite Impartiales de Cote d'Ivoire: also known as the 'invisible commandos)

**Conflict country** Cote d'Ivoire

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1964<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Bouaké, Ivory Coast<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** 2011<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 2011.<sup>4</sup>

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2011, so at age 47.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IBRAHIMA\\_COULIBALY\\_dit\\_MAJOR\\_IB.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IBRAHIMA_COULIBALY_dit_MAJOR_IB.JPG)  
"Ivory Coast: Key people and Parties," *Peace Direct*, Accessed May 30, 2018,  
<https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/ivory-coast/conflict-profile/key-people/>.

<sup>2</sup> "IB", putschiste en chef d'une Côte d'Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>3</sup> "Ivory Coast: Key people and Parties," *Peace Direct*, Accessed May 30, 2018,  
<https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/ivory-coast/conflict-profile/key-people/>.

<sup>4</sup> "IB", putschiste en chef d'une Côte d'Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>5</sup> "IB", putschiste en chef d'une Côte d'Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

His entry method is unclear.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence he was married.

### **Children**

There is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He had many prior political affiliations as listed below.

“With his American basketball style, he discovered the political world by becoming a bodyguard for several personalities, including former Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara.

His career as a putschist began on December 24, 1999, with the overthrow of President Henri Konan Bédié. He is one of the leaders of the first coup in the history of the country.

But General Robert Guéi himself, head of the junta, is suspicious of him and appoints him military attache near the embassy of Ivory Coast in Canada.

His exile begins after the attempted assassination in September 2000 of General Guéi who lost the month following the presidential election against Laurent Gbagbo.

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<sup>6</sup> “‘IB’, putschiste en chef d’une Côte d’Ivoire troublée” [“IB”, chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Miran Marie, *Islam, histoire et modernité en Côte d’Ivoire* (Paris: Karthala, 2006), 163.

‘IB’ acknowledges that he also participated in a coup attempt in January 2001.

After this failure, the former putschist and his companions take the road to Burkina Faso, where they create what will become the rebellion of the Forces Nouvelles (FN)...

In 2003 a leadership war broke out with Guillaume Soro, spokesman of the FN to whom he had left the front of the stage. The deadly fights the following year turn to the advantage of the Soro clan, who will become Prime Minister in 2007 in favor of a peace agreement.

‘IB’ flees to France where he is arrested in September 2003 in Paris, accused of fomenting a new coup against Laurent Gbagbo. But he regains his liberty after 21 days of detention and disappears. His exile leads him this time to Benin.

Even installed there, he is seen behind the attack on Mr. Soro in June 2007. He is also involved in a mysterious coup attempt in late December. A pitiful "Christmas in Abidjan" which results in the arrest of several people.

However, the ex-military claims to have finished with the putschs and want to enter politics, even considering participating in the presidential election then scheduled for 2008.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>9</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he joined the army in 1985 and later was promoted to the bodyguard unit for former Prime Minister Alasanne Ouattara.<sup>10</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “his career as a putschist began on December 24, 1999, with the overthrow of President Henri Konan Bédié. He is one of the leaders of the first coup in the history of the country... ‘IB’ acknowledges that it also participated in a coup attempt in January 2001. After this failure, the former putschist and his companions take the road to Burkina Faso, where they create what will become the rebellion of the Forces Nouvelles (FN). In 2003 a leadership war broke out with Guillaume Soro, spokesman of the FN to whom he had left the front of the stage. The deadly

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<sup>8</sup> “‘IB’, putschiste en chef d’une Côte d’Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “‘IB’, putschiste en chef d’une Côte d’Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “‘IB’, putschiste en chef d’une Côte d’Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

fights the following year turn to the advantage of the Soro clan, who will become Prime Minister in 2007 in favor of a peace agreement. His exile leads him this time to Benin.

Even installed there, he is seen behind the attack on Mr. Soro in June 2007. He is also involved in a mysterious coup attempt in late December. A pitiful "Christmas in Abidjan" which results in the arrest of several people."<sup>11</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

### **Lived in exile?**

“His exile begins after the attempted assassination in September 2000 of General Guéi who lost the month following the presidential election against Laurent Gbagbo. "IB" acknowledges that it also participated in a coup attempt in January 2001.

After this failure, the former putschist and his companions take the road to Burkina Faso, where they create what will become the rebellion of the Forces Nouvelles (FN).<sup>12</sup> Later “"IB" flees to France where he is arrested in September 2003 in Paris, accused of fomenting a new coup against Laurent Gbagbo. But he regains his liberty after 21 days of detention and disappears. His exile leads him this time to Benin.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>11</sup> “'IB', putschiste en chef d'une Côte d'Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>12</sup> “'IB', putschiste en chef d'une Côte d'Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>13</sup> “'IB', putschiste en chef d'une Côte d'Ivoire troublée" ["IB", chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.



He was imprisoned for 21 days in 2003.<sup>14</sup> Under our one month standard, this does not count.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed in action by the FRCI.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages he spoke are unknown.

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<sup>14</sup> “‘IB’, putschiste en chef d’une Côte d’Ivoire troublée” [“IB”, chief putschist of a troubled Ivory Coast], April 28, 2011, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://news.abidjan.net/h/397710.html>.

<sup>15</sup> “Ivory Coast renegade warlord Ibrahim Coulibaly killed,” *BBC News*, April 11, 2018, Accessed May 30, 2018, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13218243>; Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), IXXV.

**Rolecode** 269  
**Leadercode** 164  
**Name of leader** Guillaume Kigbafori Soro  
**Organization** FN (Forces Nouvelles)  
**Conflict country** Ivory Coast  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1972<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Village of Diawala, far north of Ivory Coast  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was the eldest child.<sup>2</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2003, so at age 31.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“In December 2002, Soro’s MPCJ combined with two other rebel groups — the Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO) and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP) — to form the Forces Nouvelles (New Forces). Soro became secretary-general of the group.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Guillaume\\_Soro\\_janvier\\_2011.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Guillaume_Soro_janvier_2011.jpg)

<sup>2</sup>“FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>3</sup>Joan Baxter, “Profile: Ivory Coast’s charming rebel,” *BBC News*, February 24, 2003, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2793729.stm>.

<sup>4</sup>“BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>5</sup>“FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Graduate of the English department of the Faculty of Arts, Arts and Humanities, University of Cocody-Abidjan, Soro Guillaume is a former resident of the minor seminary of Katiola (1985) and the classical high school of Bouaké (1988). His student life is marked by intense trade union activity at the head of the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) which he will be the Secretary General from 1994 to December 1998. This will earn him several arrests and prison stays, with in premium, the status of prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International in 1995 and Man of the Year in Côte d'Ivoire in 1997. After Ivory Coast, Soro Guillaume continued his studies in France where he enrolled in English at Paris VII and Political Science at Paris VIII.”<sup>5</sup> Also was preparing a BA in English at the University of Abidjan from 1995-1998.<sup>6</sup> Note about contradictory information: possibly also or maybe instead of studying political science, studied Law in France.<sup>7</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he seems to have married around 2015.<sup>8</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he has four children.<sup>9</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He is Catholic.<sup>10</sup>

## **Elite family background**

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<sup>5</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>6</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>7</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>8</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *Blog Guillaume Soro*, November 17, 2016, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.blogguillaumesoro.com/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>9</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *Blog Guillaume Soro*, November 17, 2016, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.blogguillaumesoro.com/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>10</sup> Joan Baxter, “Profile: Ivory Coast's charming rebel,” *BBC News*, February 24, 2003, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2793729.stm>.

No, he comes from a family of modest means.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“His student life is marked by intense trade union activity at the head of the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) which he will be the Secretary General from 1994 to December 1998.”<sup>12</sup> “In December 1999, with the FIEF, International Forum of French-speaking students that he founded, Guillaume Soro is a member of the alliance of forces who are trying to convince General Guéi not to take control of power.”<sup>13</sup> “In December 2000, he was a member of the RDR General Secretary, Henriette Dagri-Diabaté, for the legislative elections in Abidjan-Port Bouët.”<sup>14</sup> Also supposedly in 2000, “he was asked to head the youth wing of the political party of the man who became his arch enemy, current President Laurent Gbagbo.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he allied with the RDR.<sup>17</sup> He was also leader of the MPCFI.<sup>18</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>11</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>12</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>13</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>14</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>15</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>16</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>17</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>18</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

Yes, “He opposes frontally General Guéi and allies with Alassane Ouattara and the RDR when General Guéi makes the decision to exclude the latter from the presidential election of October 2000.

Thus, on October 27, 2000, when Laurent Gbagbo took the oath at the end of a contested presidential election, armored vehicles surrounded Alassane Ouattara's residence and opened fire on the elements of his security.

Inside, were Guillaume Soro and the square of the last faithful, determined to defend the residence and its occupants, until the end. Testimony of his courage and his loyalty to the couple Ouattara, Soro is wounded in the left arm during fights and bleeds profusely.”<sup>19</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, he went into exile in 2000 in Burkina Faso.<sup>20</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he has studied in France.<sup>21</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “his student life is marked by intense trade union activity at the head of the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) which he will be the Secretary General from 1994 to December 1998. This will earn him several arrests and prison stays, with in premium, the status of prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International in 1995 and Man of the Year in Côte d'Ivoire in 1997.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>20</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>21</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>22</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Senoufou.<sup>23</sup> He also speaks French.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>24</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	270
<b>Leadercode</b>	151
<b>Name of leader</b>	Gaspard Deli
<b>Organization</b>	Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Ivory Coast
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Unknown

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown





**Rolecode** 271

**Leadercode** 164

**Name of leader** Guillaume Kigbafori Soro

**Organization** Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI, or Patriotic Movement of Cote d'Ivoire)

**Conflict country** Ivory Coast

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1972<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Village of Diawala, far north of Ivory Coast

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence that he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was the eldest child.<sup>2</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2002, so at age 30.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Guillaume\\_Soro\\_janvier\\_2011.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Guillaume_Soro_janvier_2011.jpg)

<sup>2</sup>“FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, ccessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>3</sup>Joan Baxter, “Profile: Ivory Coast’s charming rebel,” *BBC News*, February 24, 2003, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2793729.stm>.

<sup>3</sup>“FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

“After a September 2002 rebellion against Gbagbo which triggered the civil war, Soro was named secretary-general of the rebel Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast (MPCI).”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

He may have shared power with Tuo Fozie.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Graduate of the English department of the Faculty of Arts, Arts and Humanities, University of Cocody-Abidjan, Soro Guillaume is a former resident of the minor seminary of Katiola (1985) and the classical high school of Bouaké (1988). His student life is marked by intense trade union activity at the head of the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) which he will be the Secretary General from 1994 to December 1998. This will earn him several arrests and prison stays, with in premium, the status of prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International in 1995 and Man of the Year in Côte d'Ivoire in 1997. After Ivory Coast, Soro Guillaume continued his studies in France where he enrolled in English at Paris VII and Political Science at Paris VIII.”<sup>5</sup> Also was preparing a BA in English at the University of Abidjan from 1995-1998.<sup>6</sup> Note about contradictory information: possibly also or maybe instead of studying political science, studied Law in France.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he seems to have married around 2015.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has four children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Catholic.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>5</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>6</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>7</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>8</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *Blog Guillaume Soro*, November 17, 2016, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.blogguillaumesoro.com/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>9</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *Blog Guillaume Soro*, November 17, 2016, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.blogguillaumesoro.com/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>10</sup> Joan Baxter, “Profile: Ivory Coast's charming rebel,” *BBC News*, February 24, 2003, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2793729.stm>.

### **Elite family background**

No, he comes from a family of modest means.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“His student life is marked by intense trade union activity at the head of the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) which he will be the Secretary General from 1994 to December 1998.”<sup>12</sup> “In December 1999, with the FIEF, International Forum of French-speaking students that he founded, Guillaume Soro is a member of the alliance of forces who are trying to convince General Guéi not to take control of power.”<sup>13</sup> “In December 2000, he was a member of the RDR General Secretary, Henriette Dagri-Diabaté, for the legislative elections in Abidjan-Port Bouët.”<sup>14</sup> Also supposedly in 2000, “he was asked to head the youth wing of the political party of the man who became his arch enemy, current President Laurent Gbagbo.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he allied with the RDR.<sup>17</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>11</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>12</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>13</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>14</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>15</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>16</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>17</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

Yes, “He opposes frontally General Guéi and allies with Alassane Ouattara and the RDR when General Guéi makes the decision to exclude the latter from the presidential election of October 2000.

Thus, on October 27, 2000, when Laurent Gbagbo took the oath at the end of a contested presidential election, armored vehicles surrounded Alassane Ouattara's residence and opened fire on the elements of his security.

Inside, were Guillaume Soro and the square of the last faithful, determined to defend the residence and its occupants, until the end. Testimony of his courage and his loyalty to the couple Ouattara, Soro is wounded in the left arm during fights and bleeds profusely.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, he went into exile in 2000 in Burkina Faso.<sup>19</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he has studied in France.<sup>20</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “his student life is marked by intense trade union activity at the head of the student and school federation of Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI) which he will be the Secretary General from 1994 to December 1998. This will earn him several arrests and prison stays, with in premium, the status of prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International in 1995 and Man of the Year in Côte d'Ivoire in 1997.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>19</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

<sup>20</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

<sup>21</sup> “Guillaume Kigbafori Soro,” *abidjan.net*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://abidjan.net/qui/profil.asp?id=202>.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Senoufou.<sup>22</sup> He also speaks French.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> “FACTBOX-Key facts on Ivorian rebel leader Guillaume Soro,” *REUTERS*, April 7, 2007, Accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ivorycoast-soro/factbox-key-facts-on-ivorian-rebel-leader-guillaume-soro-idUSL0713345120070407>.

<sup>23</sup> “BIOGRAPHY OF GUILLAUME KIGBAFORI SORO,” *assnat*, Accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.assnat.ci/assembleenationale/?biographie-de-guillaume-kigbafori-soro>.

**Rolecode** 272  
**Leadercode** 427  
**Name of leader** Tuo Fozie  
**Organization** Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI)  
**Conflict country** Ivory Coast  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** ~1977<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Ivory Coast  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2002, so age 25.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

He may have shared power with Guillaume Soro.

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fb/Tuofozie.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> “Valérie THORIN, “Trip to rebel countries,” *jeuneafrique*, January 21, 2003, Accessed September 8, 2018, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/89682/archives-thematique/voyage-aux-pays-des-rebelles/>.

<sup>2</sup> “MPCI,” *UCDP*, Accessed June 14, 2018, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/actor/556>.

<sup>3</sup> “MPCI,” *UCDP*, Accessed June 14, 2018, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/actor/556>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is likely Muslim.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes probably, based on his role in coups.<sup>4</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>5</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was an ex-warrant officer in the Ivoirian army.<sup>6</sup> “He said he served with an armored battalion and spent 11 years in the commando training department of the armed forces.”<sup>7</sup> “Tuo Fozie played a central in the coup that brought General Robert Guei to power in December 1999. He turned against the general when the latter decided to seek the presidency. He was involved in

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<sup>4</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

<sup>5</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

<sup>6</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

<sup>7</sup> [http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.africatime.com%2FCI%2Fnouvelle.asp%3Fno\\_nouvelle%3D35066](http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.africatime.com%2FCI%2Fnouvelle.asp%3Fno_nouvelle%3D35066) (No longer can access)



the attack on General Guei's residence on the night of 17-18 September 2000 and was the first insurgent to be wounded."<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, noted in state military section.<sup>9</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, after the attack on General Guie's residence on the night of 17-18 September 2000, he escaped to Burkina Faso.<sup>10</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, although he was sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment, he never actually served time.<sup>11</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>8</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

<sup>9</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

<sup>10</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

<sup>11</sup> Cyril K. Daddieh, *Historical Dictionary of Cote d'Ivoire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 250.

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely French.

**Rolecode** 273  
**Leadercode** 137  
**Name of leader** Felix Doh<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO)  
**Conflict country** Ivory Coast  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 2003<sup>2</sup>



Deceased

Yes

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

Unknown

Leader entry method:

Unknown

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Image retrieved from "Ivorian rebel leader 'killed.'" *BBC News*, 28 April 2003.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2981383.stm>.

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<sup>2</sup> Zajtman, Arnaud. "Murky Death of Ivory Coast Rebel," *BBC News*, 29 April 2003.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2985359.stm>.

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background  
Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made  
Unknown

Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?  
Unknown

Physical and mental health  
Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation  
Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties  
Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties  
Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?  
Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?  
Unknown

Lived in exile?  
He was in exile in Liberia after the election of President Gbagbo in 2000. It appears that he was leader during that time.<sup>3</sup>

Study abroad?  
Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?  
Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?  
Unknown

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<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Believed to have been killed by Samuel Bockhare's rival rebel organization.<sup>4</sup>

Another report indicates that he was captured and executed in the battle between rebels and fighters. Same article indicates that he was either killed by a rebel or a fighter<sup>5</sup>

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Presumably French.

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<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Carroll, Rory. "Ivory coast Rebel Chief 'Executed,'" *The Guardian*, 29 April 2003.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/apr/29/sierraleone.westafrica>.

**Rolecode** 274  
**Leadercode** 380  
**Name of leader** Roger Bianchi  
**Organization** Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO)  
**Conflict country** Ivory Coast  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

Deceased  
Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Unknown

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

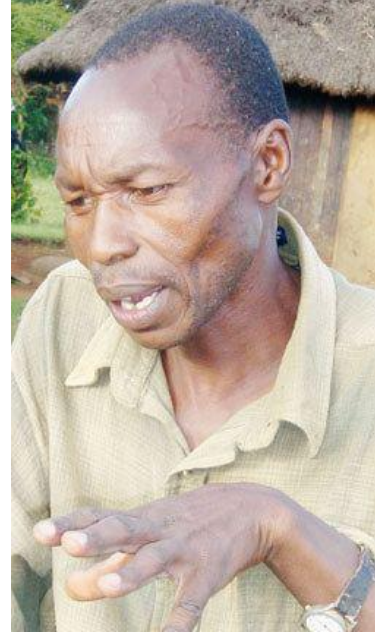
Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult  
Unknown



**Rolecode** 275  
**Leadercode** 178  
**Name of leader** Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka  
**Organization** Military Faction  
**Conflict country** Kenya  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1953<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Nyakach, Kisumu District, Kenya<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1987<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was hanged in 1987 in Kenya.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Around 1982, when his military faction actually attempted a takeover. He would have been around age 29.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/hezekiah-ochuka-e94b3298-8c28-46b4-b24c-2b582c3ff9e-resize-750.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Nademu Barasa Omutolometi, "CORPORAL FENWICKS CHESOLI, HANGED IN 1986 AS ONE OF THE KEY ACTORS OF THE 1982 COUP IN KENYA," Accessed November 11, 2017, <http://burudidavyd.blogspot.com/2017/08/corporal-fenwicks-chesoli-hanged-in.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Obat K Obat, "Meet Kenya's shortest serving ruler," *hivisasa*, Accessed November 11, 2017, <http://www.hivisasa.com/posts/meet-kenyas-shortest-serving-ruler>.

<sup>3</sup> Obat K Obat, "Meet Kenya's shortest serving ruler," *hivisasa*, Accessed November 11, 2017, <http://www.hivisasa.com/posts/meet-kenyas-shortest-serving-ruler>.

<sup>4</sup> Vincent Kejitan, "Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi," *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

He was the founder of the military faction.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“After attending Naki Kabete Primary School and Mirogi Secondary School, Ochuka was recruited into the Kenya Air Force on September 14, 1976, in Mombasa. He underwent eight weeks of military training at Lanet Army Barracks in Nakuru and was posted to Eastleigh Air Base. Between 1976 and 1978, he underwent basic trade training in electrical devices and instruments and worked in hangars and bays. From October 30, 1978, to January 21, 1980, he attended a course in RAF Cosford, UK, after which he worked as a Senior Private Grade-I, the second lowest rank in Kenya’s military.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

There is no evidence he was married.

### **Children**

There is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He was a Christian.<sup>7</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> Vincent Kejitan, “Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi,” *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

<sup>6</sup> Obat K Obat, “Meet Kenya's shortest serving ruler,” *hivisasa*, Accessed November 11, 2017, <http://www.hivisasa.com/posts/meet-kenyas-shortest-serving-ruler>.

<sup>7</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed November 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>8</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

“Ochuka was recruited into the Kenya Air Force on September 14, 1976, in Mobasa and underwent eight weeks of military training at Lanet Army Barracks in Nakuru, and was posted to Eastleigh Air Base.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he had experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, although he fled to Tanzania after the coup failed, he was no longer leader.<sup>10</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he did a military course in RAF Cosford, UK from October 30, 1978 to January 21, 1980.<sup>11</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he did a military course in RAF Cosford, UK from October 30, 1978 to January 21, 1980.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Obat K Obat, “Meet Kenya's shortest serving ruler,” *hivisasa*, Accessed November 11, 2017, <http://www.hivisasa.com/posts/meet-kenyas-shortest-serving-ruler>.

<sup>9</sup> Vincent Kejitan, “Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi,” *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

<sup>10</sup> Vincent Kejitan, “Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi,” *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

<sup>11</sup> Vincent Kejitan, “Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi,” *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

<sup>12</sup> Vincent Kejitan, “Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi,” *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was “extradited back to Kenya where he was tried and found guilty of leading the coup attempt. He was hanged in 1987.”<sup>13</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Luo as his primary language, in addition to English.

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<sup>13</sup> Vincent Kejitan, “Hezekiah Rabala Ochuka: The Man Who Led Coup Against President Moi,” *Kenyans.CO.KE*, July 28, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017, <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/21251-hezekiah-rabala-ochuka-man-who-led-coup-against-president-moi>.

**Rolecode** 276  
**Leadercode** 431  
**Name of leader** Vang Pao  
**Organization** The United Lao National Liberation Front (ULNLF)<sup>1</sup>  
**Conflict country** Laos  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1929<sup>2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Nonghet, Xiangkhoang province, Laos<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** 2011<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2011 of disease.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1981, Pao established the ULNLF.<sup>5</sup> He was 52 years old when he founded it.

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/e/eb/Vang-pao.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Vang Pao Laotian Hmong General," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vang-Pao>.

<sup>2</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Vang Pao Laotian Hmong General," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vang-Pao>.

<sup>3</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Vang Pao Laotian Hmong General," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vang-Pao>.

<sup>4</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Vang Pao Laotian Hmong General," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vang-Pao>.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Tan, *A Handbook of Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia* (Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2009), 361.

He was the founder.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, Pao was the leader of ULNLF's military arm, the Lao Liberation Army, and Outhang Souvannavong was the "prime minister" or the political leader of ULNLF provisional government.<sup>7</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes. He had 5 wives.<sup>8</sup> However, his age on his first marriage cannot be determined.

### **Children**

Yes, he had more than 20 children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

### **Elite family background**

No, Pao was the son of a simple subsistence farmer whose family resided in a house adjacent to a plot of land where vegetables, rice, and opium poppies grew.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Pao had already commanded an anti-communist military forces against the Laotian Communists, the Pathet Lao, before the CIA approached him in 1960 and made him an ally to the U.S. troops during the Vietnam War.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Vang Pao Laotian Hmong General," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vang-Pao>.

<sup>7</sup> Keith Richburg, "Insurgency in Laos Seeking to Emerge from Anonymity," *The Washington Post*, February 11, 1990, accessed December 30, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/02/11/insurgency-in-laos-seeking-to-emerge-from-anonymity/8cfeaba7-f11b-4b55-bedb-57be6ef4bad1/?utm\\_term=.5f880b6a66cf](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/02/11/insurgency-in-laos-seeking-to-emerge-from-anonymity/8cfeaba7-f11b-4b55-bedb-57be6ef4bad1/?utm_term=.5f880b6a66cf).

<sup>8</sup> Douglas Martin, "Gen. Vang Pao, Laotian Who Aided U.S., Dies at 81," *The New York Times*, January 8, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/08/world/asia/08vangpao.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Douglas Martin, "Gen. Vang Pao, Laotian Who Aided U.S., Dies at 81," *The New York Times*, January 8, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/08/world/asia/08vangpao.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Billy Webb, "Young Vang Pao," in *The Secret War in Laos and General Vang Pao 1958-1975* (Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Vang Pao Laotian Hmong General," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vang-Pao>.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a military officer.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, Pao used to serve as a General in the Royal Laotian Army until 1975, when the Communist Pathet Lao took power after the Laotian Civil War.<sup>13</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, Pao was reportedly serving as the commander of the Hmong secret army that was financed by the CIA in the early 1970s.<sup>14</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, Prior to 1960 until 1975, Pao commanded his troops to fight against the Communist forces in Laos.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1975, the CIA evacuated Pao and his Hmong supporters to the U.S. as refugees after the Communists Pathet Lao took over the Laotian government.<sup>15</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> Douglas Martin, "Gen. Vang Pao, Laotian Who Aided U.S., Dies at 81," *The New York Times*, January 8, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/08/world/asia/08vangpao.html>.

<sup>13</sup> Douglas Martin, "Gen. Vang Pao, Laotian Who Aided U.S., Dies at 81," *The New York Times*, January 8, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/08/world/asia/08vangpao.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Douglas Martin, "Gen. Vang Pao, Laotian Who Aided U.S., Dies at 81," *The New York Times*, January 8, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/08/world/asia/08vangpao.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Tom Fawthrop, "Vang Pao obituary Laotian officer in command of a secret anti-communist army," *The Guardian*, February 22, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/22/vang-pao-obituary>.

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, in the U.S., Pao established the ULNLF and sent funds and weapons across the border from Thailand to a group of hardcore Hmong determined to resist the new regime.<sup>16</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease.<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Hmong as his primary language and possibly English and French.

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<sup>16</sup> Tom Fawthrop, "Vang Pao obituary Laotian officer in command of a secret anti-communist army," *The Guardian*, February 22, 2011, accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/22/vang-pao-obituary>.

<sup>17</sup> Mark Arax, "For a Hmong Hero, a Lavish Farewell," *The New York Times*, February 6, 2011, accessed January 4, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/07/us/07hmong.html>.



**Rolecode** 277  
**Leadercode** 323  
**Name of leader** Nabih Berri  
**Organization** Amal  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1938<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Bo, Sierra Leone<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No.

### **Birth order**

He was the firstborn.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1980, so at age 41.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

After al-Sadr's assassination, Amal's upper echelon turned into a power struggle. Berri had always headed Amal's al-Maktab al-Siyasi (The Political Office) even during al-Husseini's short tenure as leader of Amal following al-Sadr's assassination. On April 3, 1980, after al-Husseini's resignation, al-Maktab al-Siyasi appointed Berri the new leader (Norton 1987). Amal's top echelon then formed a "leadership council," which consisted of Berri and most of al-Maktab al-Siyasi plus Musa al-Sadr's sister, Rbab al-Sadr. On April 25, 1980, Berri was elected by the

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/80/Nabih\\_Berri.jpg/440px-Nabih\\_Berri.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/80/Nabih_Berri.jpg/440px-Nabih_Berri.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (University of Texas, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18.

<sup>4</sup> "Nabih Berri Facts," *YOUR DICTIONARY*, Accessed March 31, 2018, <http://biography.yourdictionary.com/nabih-berri>.

leadership council (Norton 1987). In short, Berri appointed himself to the leadership position, but was very skillful in not making it look like a power grab.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed his primary studies in Tebnin- South of Lebanon. He completed his intermediate studies in Bint Jbeil and Tyr- South of Lebanon. He completed his secondary studies in Beirut at the "Sagesse" & "Makassed" schools. He graduated top of his class with a Law Degree from the Lebanese University in 1963. He applied for a D.E.S. at the "Faculté de droit de la Sorbonne". He joined the Students' movement and the University's Federation movement. He later became President of the National Federation of Lebanese Students (UNUL). While a student, he participated in numerous university and political seminars.<sup>6</sup> As a young child, he also had a religious education.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>8</sup> he married subsequently after his first year of law school.<sup>9</sup> He divorced and married a second wife.<sup>10</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had six children with his first wife.<sup>11</sup> He had three children with his second wife.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>13</sup>

### **Elite family background**

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<sup>5</sup> Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (University of Texas, 1987).

<sup>6</sup> "President Berry Biography," *Lebanese Republic National Assembly*, Accessed April 7, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150518190757/https://lp.gov.lb/admin/uploads/files/CV%20President%20Berry%20En.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17.

<sup>8</sup> Elaine Sciolino, "MAN IN THE NEWS; PIVOTAL FIGURE IN THE BEIRUT CRISIS: NABIH BERRI," *The New York Times*, 1985, Accessed March 31, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/06/18/world/man-in-the-news-pivotal-figure-in-the-beirut-crisis-nabih-berri.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 21.

<sup>10</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 24.

<sup>11</sup> Elaine Sciolino, "MAN IN THE NEWS; PIVOTAL FIGURE IN THE BEIRUT CRISIS: NABIH BERRI," *The New York Times*, 1985, Accessed March 31, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/06/18/world/man-in-the-news-pivotal-figure-in-the-beirut-crisis-nabih-berri.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 24.

<sup>13</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18.

Yes,<sup>14</sup> “Nabih Berri's father was a merchant who had migrated to West Africa in order to escape the impoverishment and lack of economic opportunity in his native land. Nabih was born in 1939 in Sierra Leone, where his father had established a relatively successful business.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He was active in student politics, and served as president of the student body at the Lebanese University. He was also active, by the early 1960s, in ideological politics and especially in the Arab Ba'ath (or Renaissance) Party.”<sup>16</sup> “In 1974 he joined the Deprived Movement established by Musa Sadr.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

“Often bios of Berri will say he worked as a lawyer for General Motors. In reality, he worked as a car salesman both in Beirut and Dearborn, Michigan. He always marketed himself as a “lawyer,” but sold cars to pay the bills. Berri’s career as an “appeals court lawyer” in the 1960s consisted of only a few cases. He did not have a solid job until al-Sadr appointed him Spokesman of Amal in 1975. I’ve had multiple people affiliated with Amal tell me this over the years (in both Lebanon and Michigan). A lot of Amal members and supporters actually admire Berri because of this. They brag that a car salesman outsmarted all of the “Ayatollahs” of Hezbollah.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

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<sup>14</sup> Nora Boustany, “Nabih Berri: Voice of Amal,” *The Washington Post*, July 1, 1985, Accessed March 31, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1985/07/01/nabih-berri-voice-of-amal/2cf2c5f0-38a1-4f11-8791-6dce290486e3/?utm\\_term=.cf02d5b472c3](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1985/07/01/nabih-berri-voice-of-amal/2cf2c5f0-38a1-4f11-8791-6dce290486e3/?utm_term=.cf02d5b472c3).

<sup>15</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18.

<sup>16</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18.

<sup>17</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 21.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Benjamin Acosta, email message, 7/25/2018.

Yes, he was a lawyer at the court of appeals.<sup>19</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

After graduating from Beirut Law School, he studied in France for a year at the Sorbonne.<sup>20</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad. However, Berri is said to visit Dearborn, Michigan regularly in part in order to maintain his U.S. green card (he also has many extended family members living there).<sup>21</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

There are some rumors, but there is no clear evidence of an attempted one.<sup>22</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Arabic.<sup>23</sup> He also spoke English.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> “President Berry Biography,” *Lebanese Republic National Assembly*, Accessed April 7, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150518190757/https://lp.gov.lb/admin/uploads/files/CV%20President%20Berry%20En.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.csmonitor.com/1984/0216/021646.html>.

<sup>22</sup> “DE FREIJ: ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS TO TARGET MARCH 14, BERR,” *NNA*, June 20, 2014, Accessed March 31, 2018, <http://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/en/show-news/28560/De-Freij-Assassination-attempts-to-target-March-14-Berri>.

<sup>23</sup> Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri And Lebanese Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18.

<sup>24</sup> “Lebanon’s Berri: Peace first, then talks on economy,” *EURACTIV*, Apr 15, 2008, Accessed April 7, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0qX438Qj1A>.



**Rolecode** 278  
**Leadercode** 280  
**Name of leader** Michel Aoun  
**Organization** Aoun's Forces, Renegade Lebanese Army under General Aoun (LA(Aoun))  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1935<sup>1, 2</sup>  
**Place of birth** Harat Hreik, southern Beirut, Lebanon<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In March 1989, he launched a “War of Liberation” expelling Syrian forces.<sup>4</sup> He was aged 54.

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b7/General\\_Michel\\_Aoun.jpg/440px-General\\_Michel\\_Aoun.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b7/General_Michel_Aoun.jpg/440px-General_Michel_Aoun.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Tom O'Connor, “Who Is Michel Aoun? Lebanon's New Christian President Is Backed By Hezbollah Shiite Muslim Militant Group,” *International Business Times*, October 31, 2016, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.ibtimes.com/who-michel-aoun-lebanons-new-christian-president-backed-hezbollah-shiite-muslim-2439433>.

<sup>2</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>3</sup> Tom O'Connor, “Who Is Michel Aoun? Lebanon's New Christian President Is Backed By Hezbollah Shiite Muslim Militant Group,” *International Business Times*, October 31, 2016, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.ibtimes.com/who-michel-aoun-lebanons-new-christian-president-backed-hezbollah-shiite-muslim-2439433>.

<sup>4</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear. He was appointed by Amine Gemayyel as a caretaker prime minister of Lebanon.<sup>5</sup> In March 1989, he launched a “War of Liberation” expelling Syrian forces.<sup>6</sup> In December 1989, he made a “human shield around Baabda presidential palace.” He surrendered in October 1990.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He obtained his bachelor's degree from the Freres school in Jumayza in Beirut. In 1955 he entered the Military Academy in Beirut and graduated in 1959. He specialized in artillery in his military career. He studied at Challonssur-Marne in France and at Fort Sill in Oklahoma. From 1978 to 1980 he had training at the prestigious Ecole de Guerre in Paris.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>9</sup> he married at age 33.<sup>10</sup> “He is married to Nadia al-Shami.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he and his wife have three daughters, Mireille, Claudne, and Chantal.<sup>12</sup>

### **Religious identification**

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<sup>5</sup> “Biography of Michel Aoun,” *encyclopedia.jrank*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/articles/pages/5530/Aoun-Michel-1935.html>.

<sup>6</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>7</sup> “Lebanon,” *The PRS Group/International Country Risk Guide*, February 1991, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>8</sup> “Michel Aoun Facts,” *Your Dictionary*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://biography.yourdictionary.com/michel-aoun>.

<sup>9</sup> “MICHEL AOUN,” *Free eBooks by Project Gutenberg*, Accessed April 1, 2018, [http://central.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Michel\\_Aoun](http://central.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Michel_Aoun).

<sup>10</sup> Col. (ret.) Dr. Jacques Neriah “Lebanon under General Michel Aoun – A Profile and a Preliminary Assessment,” *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://jcpa.org/lebanon-general-michel-aoun-profile-preliminary-assessment/>.

<sup>11</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>12</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

He is Christian.<sup>13, 14</sup>

### **Elite family background**

“He is a Maronite Christian, the son of Mary and Naim Aoun, the milkman from Haret Hreik, the mixed Shiite-Maronite neighborhood adjacent to the southern Beirut neighborhood of Dahiya.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was an army commander in Lebanon’s civil war from 1974 to 1990.<sup>16</sup> He was an interim Prime Minister in 1998 by the former leader of the government.<sup>17</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “he became the head of the Defense Brigade in 1980. Two years later he was given command of a new Eighth Brigade, which was a multi-confessional army unit.”<sup>18</sup> He was an army commander in Lebanon’s civil war from 1974 to 1990.<sup>19</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>13</sup> “Michel Aoun Facts,” *Your Dictionary*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://biography.yourdictionary.com/michel-aoun>.

<sup>14</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>15</sup> Col. (ret.) Dr. Jacques Neriah “Lebanon under General Michel Aoun – A Profile and a Preliminary Assessment,” *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://jcpa.org/lebanon-general-michel-aoun-profile-preliminary-assessment/>.

<sup>16</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>17</sup> “Political Conditions Lebanon,” *Country Watch Reviews*, June 21, 2018, Accessed through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>18</sup> “Biography of Michel Aoun,” *encyclopedia.jrank*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/articles/pages/5530/Aoun-Michel-1935.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Bassem Mroue, “Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon’s Popular Yet Divisive New President,” *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.



No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he rose to power in September 1988 when he was appointed head of an interim government before another government was elected.<sup>20</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, he was not the leader while exiled. He went to the French embassy in October 1990 when Syrian and Lebanese forces stormed the palace he was holed up in. He then went into exile in France until 2005. He maintained supporters while in exile.<sup>21</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in France.<sup>22</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he studied in France and the US, at Fort Sill in Oklahoma.<sup>23</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

It is unclear whether there was an assassination attempt by the state.<sup>24</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

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<sup>20</sup> "Flees to French Embassy," *Facts on File World News Digest*, October 18, 1990, Accessed December 13, 1990, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>21</sup> Bassem Mroue, "Michel Aoun: Lebanon's Popular Yet Divisive New President; Michel Aoun: Lebanon's Popular Yet Divisive New President," *Canadian Press*, October 31, 2016, Accessed December 13, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>22</sup> "Biography of Michel Aoun," *encyclopedia.jrank*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/articles/pages/5530/Aoun-Michel-1935.html>.

<sup>23</sup> "Biography of Michel Aoun," *encyclopedia.jrank*, Accessed April 1, 2018, <http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/articles/pages/5530/Aoun-Michel-1935.html>.

<sup>24</sup> Nora Boustany, "AOUN ESCAPES ASSASSINATION BID UNHURT," October 13, 1990, Accessed April 1, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/10/13/aoun-escapes-assassination-bid-unhurt/24231fa4-1e5e-4950-a4cc-8b0839f2682e/?utm\\_term=.c3a7f48e7e05](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/10/13/aoun-escapes-assassination-bid-unhurt/24231fa4-1e5e-4950-a4cc-8b0839f2682e/?utm_term=.c3a7f48e7e05).

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Arabic as his primary language, and likely also speaks French.

**Rolecode** 279  
**Leadercode** 393  
**Name of leader** Samir Geagea  
**Organization** Lebanese Forces (LF)  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Ain al-Remaneh, a suburb of Beirut, Lebanon<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He has one sister and one brother.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

“By 1985, Samir Geagea had been promoted to Chief of Staff of the Lebanese Forces.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4c/Samir\\_Geagea\\_%28cropped%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4c/Samir_Geagea_%28cropped%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>2</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>3</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>4</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>5</sup> Samir Geagea Biography, “Histoire Des Forces Libanaises” [History of Lebanese Forces], Accessed March 28, 2018, <https://histoiredesforceslibanaises.wordpress.com/2012/05/21/samir-geagea-biography/>.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Geagea completed his formal education in Ain al-Remaneh public schools, where his academic performance granted him acceptance at the American University of Beirut (AUB) Medical School and a scholarship from the Gebran Khalil Gebran Foundation. The outbreak of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 interrupted Samir’s studies at AUB. The campus, located in west Beirut, fell under the control of hostile militias, forcing Samir to transfer to the Saint Joseph University Medical School in east Beirut. As military operations intensified and spread to the northern parts of the country after 1976, Samir joined the defense against the onslaught of Palestinian guerillas and their allies. Samir climbed the ranks of the Kata’eb Party from a junior member in the party’s student chapter during his high school years to a member of the student chapter at AUB ..... In 1978, just a few months shy of receiving his medical degree, he was forced to leave the university and dedicate his time fully to the military struggle.”<sup>6</sup> “Although he would later complete his studies at the University of St. Joseph, Geagea never practiced medicine – the massacres and dislocations experienced by the Christian community in the early war years impelled him to devote his career to their defense.”<sup>7</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married in 1991, so at age 39.<sup>8</sup>

## **Children**

No, there is no evidence he has children.

## **Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>9</sup>

## **Elite family background**

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<sup>6</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>7</sup> Samir Geagea Biography, “Histoire Des Forces Libanaises” [History of Lebanese Forces], Accessed March 28, 2018, <https://histoiredesforceslibanaises.wordpress.com/2012/05/21/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Fisk, “Warlord gets life, but plans his vacation,” *Independent*, June 24, 1995, Accessed March 28, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/warlord-gets-life-but-plans-his-vacation-1588238.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Hussain Abdul-Hussain, “Lebanon’s Samir Geagea: A Maverick,” *HuffPost*, Accessed March 31, 2018, [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/hussain-abdulhussain/lebanons-samir-geagea-a-m\\_b\\_530976.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/hussain-abdulhussain/lebanons-samir-geagea-a-m_b_530976.html).

He is from a family of modest means.<sup>10</sup> “His father, Farid Geagea, was a warrant officer in the Lebanese Armed Forces, and his mother was a homemaker.”<sup>11</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he fought in the Lebanese Forces against Palestinian guerrillas and their allies in the late 1970s.<sup>13</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>10</sup> Samir Geagea Biography, “Histoire Des Forces Libanaises” [History of Lebanese Forces], Accessed March 28, 2018, <https://histoiredesforceslibanaises.wordpress.com/2012/05/21/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>11</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>12</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>13</sup> Hussain Abdul-Hussain, “Lebanon’s Samir Geagea: A Maverick,” *HuffPost*, Accessed March 31, 2018, [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/hussain-abdulhussain/lebanons-samir-geagea-a-m\\_b\\_530976.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/hussain-abdulhussain/lebanons-samir-geagea-a-m_b_530976.html).

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“On March 23, 1994, a bomb detonated in a church in the heart of the Christian areas, resulting in several deaths and injuries. The authorities immediately blamed the LF for the bombing and arrested Geagea on April 21, 1994.

Despite the usurped judicial system’s best efforts at formulating charges and fabricating evidence, the court could not make a single accusation hold against Geagea and instead resorted to indicting him on fabricated evidence from the war period.

For the next 11 years and 3 months, Samir Geagea was held in solitary confinement in a 2×3 meter underground cell, three stories below the Lebanese Ministry of Defense, where he was deprived of the most basic of rights.”<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, the assassination attempt was likely conducted not by Hezbollah but by The Syrian Social-Nationalist Party.<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

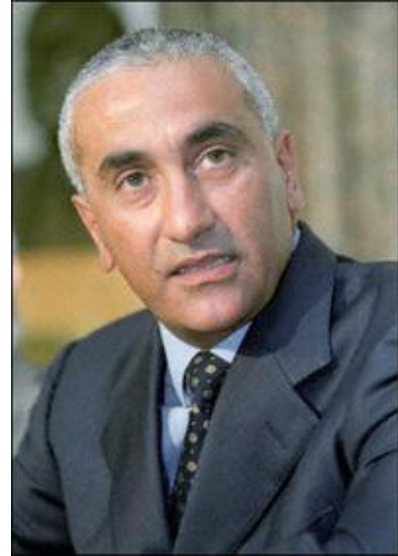
His primary language is Arabic.

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<sup>14</sup> “SAMIR GEAGEA BIOGRAPHY,” *Samir Geagea’s Website*, Accessed March 28, 2018, <http://www.samirgeagea.info/samir-geagea-biography/>.

<sup>15</sup> Benjamin Acosta, Field Research Notes, Discussion with Yasmine Chawaf, reporter for *as-Saffir* newspaper. Beirut, Lebanon. July 2014.

**Rolecode** 280  
**Leadercode** 127  
**Name of leader** Elias “Elie” Joseph Hobeika, aka *HK*<sup>1</sup>  
**Organization** al-Quwwat al-Lubnaniyye (Hobeika)  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1956  
**Place of birth** Qleiaat, Lebanon  
**Year of death** 2002



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 2002.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was 30 when he began his leadership.<sup>2</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He seized power.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <http://wars.meskawi.nl/images/hobeika.jpg>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

“Elie Hobeika,” *The Telegraph* (25 January 2002): accessed at:  
[www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html).

<sup>2</sup> Walid Phares, *Lebanese Christian Nationalism: The Rise and Fall of an Ethnic Resistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 1995), 152-153.

<sup>3</sup> Walid Phares, *Lebanese Christian Nationalism: The Rise and Fall of an Ethnic Resistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 1995), 152-153.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married at age 25.<sup>4</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had one daughter who died in infancy and a son.<sup>5</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was a Maronite Christian.

**Elite family background**

No, he was not from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, Hobeika was originally affiliated with Kata'eb.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he had experience with Kata'eb.

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<sup>4</sup> "Elie Hobeika," *The Telegraph* (25 January 2002): accessed at: [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html).

<sup>5</sup> "Elie Hobeika," *The Telegraph* (25 January 2002): accessed at: [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html).



**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he originally fought for Kata'eb.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by state forces. He was most likely killed by Syria.<sup>6</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

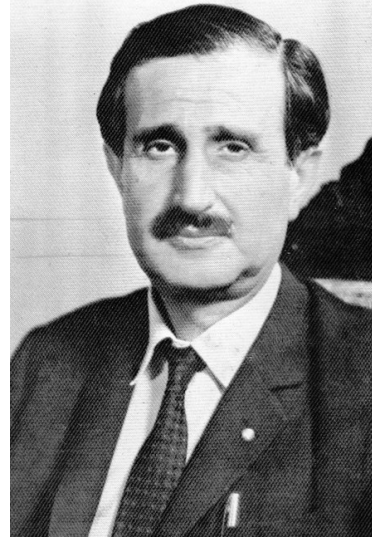
He spoke English and French.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> William Harris, *The New Face of Lebanon: History's Revenge* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> "Elie Hobeika," *The Telegraph* (25 January 2002): accessed at: [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1382591/Elie-Hobeika.html).

**Rolecode** 282  
**Leadercode** 437  
**Name of leader** Kamal Jumblatt (Kamal Jounblatt)  
**Organization** The Lebanese National Movement (LNM)  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1917<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Al Mukhtarah, Lebanon<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1977<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was involved in a targeted killing in 1977.

### **Birth order**

He was the only son of Fuad and Nazirah Jumblatt, according to a source.<sup>4</sup> However, according to the *Guardian* he did have a sister who was killed in the month of May, the year before his own assassination.<sup>5</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at 58 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/08/Kamal\\_Jumblatt\\_%281917\\_-\\_1977\\_%29\\_%28Cropped%29.jpg/440px-Kamal\\_Jumblatt\\_%281917\\_-\\_1977\\_%29\\_%28Cropped%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/08/Kamal_Jumblatt_%281917_-_1977_%29_%28Cropped%29.jpg/440px-Kamal_Jumblatt_%281917_-_1977_%29_%28Cropped%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 283.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 283.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 283.

<sup>4</sup> "Kamal Jumblatt," *Encyclopedia.com*, 2004, Accessed March 14, 2018,

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/kamal-jumblatt>.

<sup>5</sup> "Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated," *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

“Elected to parliament for the first time in 1943 as representative of the Jumblatti clan following the death of his brother-in-law, Hikmat Jumblatt, the 26-year old Kamal entered (perhaps reluctantly) Lebanese politics with a fairly broad exposure to Western education and culture, which he had acquired in Lebanon and France.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Kamal Jumblatt attended French schools throughout his academic career. He went to the Lazarist School in Ayntourah, Lebanon, for his pre-college education. In 1936 he went to Paris where he pursued his interest in the humanities at the Sorbonne. Prospect of World War II prematurely brought him back to Lebanon in 1938, where he joined the Universite Saint Joseph in Beirut and obtained a law degree in 1942.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married *May Shakib Arslan* in 1948 (he was aged 31). They separated soon after they had their first and only son, Walid.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had one son.

### **Religious identification**

He was Druze.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

"He was the only son of Fuad and Nazirah Jumblatt. His ancestors were the Kurdish Janbuladhs who converted to the Druze faith and were in control of an expansive feudal entity in northern Syria. In the 17th century they established themselves among their Druze Tanukh and Manid kin in southeastern Lebanon, by which time their surname had evolved into Jounblatt (written Jumblatt)."<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>6</sup> Farid al-Khazen, “Kamal Jumblatt, the uncrowned Druze prince of the Left”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no.2, (1988): 178-205.

<sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> <sup>8</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 283.

<sup>10</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

“His ideological orientation was a product of diverse intellectual influences coming from West and East. He matured into a mixture of French socialism, Hindu pacifism, and Druze traditionalism. In addition, Jumblatt inherited from his family prestige, wealth, and status, as well as a past full of power feuds between the Jumblatts, their Druze Yazbaki adversaries, and the ruling families of feudal Lebanon and their modern successors: the Ottoman Mutasarrifs and Maronite presidents.”<sup>11</sup>

“Beginning in the mid-1960s his allies were openly the radicals, including the Communists, Nasserites, and Arab nationalist groups. The new alliance, labeled the Front of Progressive parties and National Forces, evolved into the National Movement after the mid-1970s. In the same vein, Jumblatt championed the Palestine cause for a national homeland and went into open alliance with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) against the government after 1967. As minister of interior in 1970 he licensed the Communist party of Lebanon and the Syrian Nationalist Social party, and in 1972 he accepted the general secretariat of the multi-national Front for the Support of the Palestine Resistance. or the qualitative change in his political conduct Jumblatt earned the Lenin Peace Prize and the Order of Lenin from the Soviet government.”<sup>12</sup>

“Following Nasser's death, Jumblatt espoused a position in line with that of Damascus and developed a close relationship with the PLO and several other Arab leftist groups.”<sup>13</sup> While influenced by a variety of thinkers, including Rousseau, Bergson, and primarily Teilhard de Chardin, Jumblatt's brand of socialism was tailored to fit his political agenda and long-term objectives”<sup>14</sup> His known affiliates are his protégé was Rashid al-Solh and was Jumblatt’s nomination for head of the umbrella organization,<sup>15</sup> Yasir Arafat of the PLO, and Fouad Chehab.

### **Physical and mental health**

His physical and mental health is unknown.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

"A lawyer by training, Jumblatt was involuntarily diverted into politics in 1943 after serving for one year as an apprentice lawyer with francophile ex-president Emile Edde's law firm."<sup>16</sup> "In the 1960s he taught history and politics at the Lebanese University and often lectured at all leading institutions of higher learning in Lebanon."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Farid al-Khazen, “Kamal Jumblatt, the uncrowned Druze prince of the Left”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no.2, (1988): 178-205.

<sup>14</sup> Farid al-Khazen, “Kamal Jumblatt, the uncrowned Druze prince of the Left”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no.2, (1988): 178-205.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Jumblatt's group of Druze were militant – “Jumblatt's armed revolt in 1958 was not only directed against Chamoun's domestic and foreign policies; rather, it was an angry Druze reaction to Chamoun's open defiance of the 'seigneur de Mukhtara’”<sup>18</sup>

In 1973, Jumblatt “became the Secretary General of a leftist pro-PLO umbrella organization with members drawn from several Arab countries, known as the Arab Front for the Support of the Palestinian Revolution.”<sup>19</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

He founded the Progressive Socialists party in 1949.<sup>20</sup> Then “in 1952 he was instrumental in forcing out of power Lebanon’s first post-independence president, Bishra Al-Khoury. Six years later he helped to unseat President Camille Chamoun in the civil war of 1958, and then in 1970 he manoeuvred [*sic*] into power Suleiman Frangieh in order to break the power of the army-backed Chehabist regime.”<sup>21</sup>

“Kamal was hardly 26 and totally subsumed by his interest in the humanities when he was cast into the leadership of his Druze community after the death of his uncle Hikmat Jumblatt in 1943 [*note: in the Lebanese confessional system, all minorities are guaranteed seats in the government as part of the built-in institutional structure*]. He was caught unprepared and became a politician "by chance." Between then and 1977 he led an active political life in his own right, serving continuously as a member of parliament and leader of a parliamentary bloc, with a short interruption between 1957 and 1960. He was appointed cabinet minister seven times between 1946 and 1970. Jumblatt was in the opposition even when he, or those he deputized, were in government.”<sup>22</sup>

“Soon after his election in 1943 he backed the struggle for independence from France. He gradually became a leading advocate of socialism, decolonization, and non-alignment. Jumblatt derived influence from nurturing an ever-growing number of political groups clamoring for reform. In 1949 he launched the Progressive Socialist party (PSP), which gradually shrunk from an indigenous socialist-humanist movement into a predominantly Druze political association. In

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<sup>18</sup> Farid al-Khazen, “Kamal Jumblatt, the uncrowned Druze prince of the Left”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no.2, (1988): 178-205.

<sup>19</sup> Farid al-Khazen, “Kamal Jumblatt, the uncrowned Druze prince of the Left”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no.2, (1988): 178-205.

<sup>20</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> <sup>21</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

1951 he was instrumental in establishing the Socialist National Front, which played a central role in forcing the resignation of President Bishara al-Khoury in 1952.”<sup>23</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, Jumblatt spent several years studying at Sorbonne University in France.<sup>24</sup> “Kamal was fascinated by Hinduism and travelled to India to study it”<sup>25</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

It is unclear who was responsible for the assassination although there was speculation of a Syrian role: “In the absence of convincing proof to the contrary the Syrians themselves will be suspected of having engineered the killing to silence the once Left-wing politician with access to an international audience for his condemnation of the Syrian role in Lebanon.”<sup>26</sup> The revolutionary course taken by Jumblatt (his alliance with the radical PLO and his rejection of a Syrian-sponsored program for constitutional reform in February 1976) may have significantly upset Damascus.<sup>27</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

“Jumblatt, aged 59, was killed with his driver and a bodyguard on the road between Beirut and his family palace in the Druze Muslim village of Mukhtara. One report said that two cars were involved in the ambush, but another report said that three gunmen in an Iraqi-registered Pontiac sports car swerved in front of Jumblatt’s car and then opened fire, hitting the politician in the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 283.

<sup>25</sup> “On the 40th anniversary of Kamal Jumblatt's death, is trouble brewing again in Lebanon?” *The Independent*, 2017, accessed March 21, 2017.

<sup>26</sup> <sup>26</sup> “Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt assassinated,” *The Guardian*, 1977, accessed March 20, 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

head and chest. Jumblatt's bodyguards fired back and the report said that the Pontiac was later found abandoned, with the engine still running and with traces of blood inside the car."<sup>28</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic and French.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 283  
**Leadercode** 437  
**Name of leader** Walid Junblatt, aka  
*Walid Jumblatt*  
**Organization** al-Hezb al-  
Taqadummi al-Ishtiraki  
**Conflict country** Lebanon  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** August 7, 1949  
**Place of birth** Moukhtara, Lebanon  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at age 28.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was designated by Druze leadership to takeover PSP after the assassination of his father.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Walid\\_Jumblatt\\_6\\_\(cropped\\_3\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Walid_Jumblatt_6_(cropped_3).jpg)

As'ad Abu-Khalil, "Druze, Sunni and Shiite Political Leadership in Present-Day Lebanon," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 7, 4 (1985), 28-58.

<sup>2</sup> As'ad Abu-Khalil, "Druze, Sunni and Shiite Political Leadership in Present-Day Lebanon," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 7, 4 (1985), 28-58.



**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

In 1972, he graduated with a B.A. in political science and public administration from the American University of Beirut.<sup>3</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes; Jumblatt has been married three times and is currently married to Noura Jumblatt.<sup>4</sup> He first married at age 20.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

Jumblatt is a Druze, which is a derivative of Ismaili Islam.

**Elite family background**

Yes, Jumblatt comes from the most prestigious Lebanese Druze family.<sup>7</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he has political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Jumblatt worked as a journalist for *an-Nahar*.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, for a short period, Jumblatt fled the Lebanese Civil War to Syria in 1982.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there was an assassination attempt in 1982.<sup>10</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

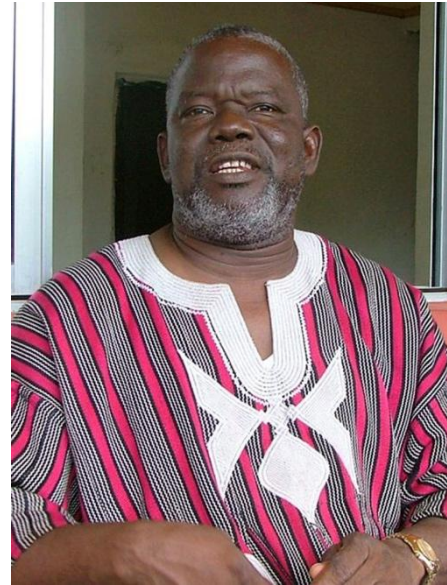
<sup>10</sup> Charles Glass, "The Lord of No Man's Land: A Guided Tour through Lebanon's Ceaseless War," *Harper's Magazine*, March 1, 2007.

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Arabic.

**Rolecode** 284  
**Leadercode** 437  
**Name of leader** Yormie Johnson  
**Organization** Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL)  
**Conflict country** Liberia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Tapeta, Nimba County, Liberia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, so aged 37.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

“An internal power struggle resulted in Johnson breaking off from the Taylor-led NPFL and forming the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL).”<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/warlord-to-kingmaker-an-audience-with-prince-johnson-2370926.html>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>“SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>3</sup>“SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>4</sup>“SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He complete St. Samuel High School<sup>5</sup> and received some “military training in both Liberia and the United States”.<sup>6</sup> According to his Senate campaign website he also supposedly has multiple diplomas<sup>7</sup>: Diploma in Para-Legal Studies — University of Lagos (UNLAG), Diploma in Mass Communications — Lagos State University, and Diploma in Christian Theology & Ministerial Ordination — Deliverance Ministry, Federal Republic of Nigeria.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He was probably married since he has a son.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has at least one son.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He became a Christian while in Nigeria which was after he was leader.<sup>10</sup>

**Elite family background**

His parents were non-literate<sup>11</sup> and he “was brought up by an uncle.”<sup>12</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

According to his campaign website he was a “protégé of great Nimba Torchlighters and Trailblazers who helped President Tubman launch his Liberian Unification Policy early 1959 in

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<sup>5</sup> “MAN IN THE NEWS; A Foe to Be Feared: Prince Yormie Johnson,” *The New York Times*, September 11, 1990, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/09/11/world/man-in-the-news-a-foe-to-be-feared-prince-yormie-johnson.html>.

<sup>6</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>7</sup> “Senator Prince Yormie Johnson,” *Movement For Democracy And Reconstruction*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://mdrcovenantliberia.org/index.php/senator-prince-yormie-johnson/>.

<sup>8</sup> J. V. Boimah, “Liberia: Prince Johnson Intervenes in Arrested Son's Robbery Case,” *allAfrica*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201010210072.html>.

<sup>9</sup> J. V. Boimah, “Liberia: Prince Johnson Intervenes in Arrested Son's Robbery Case,” *allAfrica*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201010210072.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> “Senator Prince Yormie Johnson,” *Movement For Democracy And Reconstruction*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://mdrcovenantliberia.org/index.php/senator-prince-yormie-johnson/>.

<sup>12</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

Sanniquellie City, Nimba County, where the foundation of the OAU was also laid later that same year.”<sup>13</sup> Additionally, “he was the aid-de-camp of General Thomas Quiwonkpa.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>15</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “in 1971, while living in Monrovia, he joined the Liberian National Guard (LNG), which was transformed into the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) in the aftermath of Samuel Doe's 1980 overthrow of President William R. Tolbert. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant, receiving military training in both Liberia and the United States, where he was instructed in military police duties in South Carolina. A stern, often draconian, disciplinarian, he served as aide-de-camp to Gen. Thomas Quiwonkpa, the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of Liberia”<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Johnson later allied with Charles Taylor as part of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), serving as the NPFL's Chief Training Officer.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, he went into exile in 1983 with General Thomas Quiwonkpa.<sup>18</sup> Later after being leader of the INPLF he had “to flee to Nigeria to avoid capture by rebel forces supporting Taylor”.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> “Senator Prince Yormie Johnson,” *Movement For Democracy And Reconstruction*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://mdrcovenantliberia.org/index.php/senator-prince-yormie-johnson/>.

<sup>14</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Howden , “Warlord to Kingmaker: An audience with Prince Johnson,” *Independent*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/warlord-to-kingmaker-an-audience-with-prince-johnson-2370926.html>.

<sup>16</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>18</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

<sup>19</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at universities in Nigeria according to his senator campaign website<sup>20</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received military training in the United States.<sup>21</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He probably spoke Gio as his primary language, as well as English.

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<sup>20</sup> “Senator Prince Yormie Johnson,” *Movement For Democracy And Reconstruction*, Accessed October 28, 2017, <http://mdrcovenantliberia.org/index.php/senator-prince-yormie-johnson/>.

<sup>21</sup> “SEVEN UP: WHO’S WHO?,” *The New Republic Liberia*, August 16, 2017, Accessed October 28, 2017.

**Rolecode** 284  
**Leadercode** 447  
**Name of leader** Sekou Conneh  
**Organization** Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)  
**Conflict country** Liberia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1960<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Gbarnga, Liberia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1999, so at age 39.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed as president.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive\\_large/public/images/20038196.jpg?hGxRKGC4J9yuSAQ3Ar5EV3QHyEoLpbTp&itok=Uu3Cr5zc](https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive_large/public/images/20038196.jpg?hGxRKGC4J9yuSAQ3Ar5EV3QHyEoLpbTp&itok=Uu3Cr5zc)

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"Sekou Damate Conneh Jr. – Became A Rebel Leader," *Brief Biographies – JRank Articles*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <https://biography.jrank.org/pages/2571/Conneh-Sekou-Damate-Jr.html>

<sup>2</sup> "BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR," *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

<sup>3</sup> "Profile of LURD Leader, Sekou Conneh," *The New Humanitarian*, August 19, 2003, Accessed August 5, 2021, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/fr/node/213698>.

<sup>4</sup> "BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR," *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.



## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Young Sekou started his primary education at the St. Martin’s Cathedral School in 1966. Following the completion of his primary education in 1973, he matriculated to the William V.C. Tubman Methodist High School in Gbarnga, from where he obtained a high school diploma in 1979.”<sup>5</sup> In 1986 he went to the University of Liberia for a Bachelor of Arts degree in Business Administration. However, it sounds as if he did not graduate.<sup>6</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married before he was leader.<sup>7</sup>

## **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

## **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

## **Elite family background**

Yes, “Sekou Conneh was born into a prosperous Mandingo family.”<sup>9</sup>

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, “He took the road of struggle, and in 1980, joined the Progressive People’s Party (PPP), the party that lit the beacon-fire of political consciousness and, the restoration of constitutional democracy and social justice in Liberia. He was also a staunch member of the then Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL), the mother organization of the PPP of Gabriel Baccus Matthews. PPP was the first legal political opposition party in Liberia. It was banned and some of its leaders

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<sup>5</sup> “BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR,” *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

<sup>6</sup> “BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR,” *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

<sup>7</sup> “Profile of LURD leader, Sekou Conneh,” *IRIN*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2003/08/19/profile-lurd-leader-sekou-conneh>

<sup>8</sup> “BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR,” *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Anders Themnér, *Warlord Democrats in Africa: Ex-Military Leaders and Electoral Politics* (London: Zed Books, 2017).

were arrested and charged with treason by the Tolbert government. Sekou Damate Conneh Jr. served PPP as Senior Coordinator for the Kokoyah District in Bong County. He fled to Uganda, East Africa, in the aftermath of the crackdown on PPP members by the then administration of William R. Tolbert Jr. in early 1980. While in Uganda, Chairman Conneh was contributing to progressive activities in Liberia. He returned home in 1985 in a bid to contest the parliamentary election on the ticket of the United People's Party (PPP) of Honourable Gabriel Baccus Matthews. Unfortunately, the then Interim National Assembly (INA) government for possessing 'foreign ideology' banned the party."<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a tax collector.<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes probably, he was the leader of LURD forces in northern Liberia, "expanding from territory in the north to share almost two thirds of the country with another rebel group."<sup>12</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, in 1986 "he secured an employment with the Ministry of Finance as a revenue agent assigned in Rivercess County. In 1988, he was transferred to Bentol, the provincial capital of Montserrado County where he remained until the collapse of the Samuel K. Doe administration."<sup>13</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>10</sup> "BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR," *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

<sup>11</sup> "Profile of LURD leader, Sekou Conneh," *IRIN*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2003/08/19/profile-lurd-leader-sekou-conneh>

<sup>12</sup> "Sekou Damate Conneh Jr. – Became A Rebel Leader," *Brief Biographies – JRank Articles*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <https://biography.jrank.org/pages/2571/Conneh-Sekou-Damate-Jr.html>

<sup>13</sup> "BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR," *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

Yes, “he fled to Uganda, East Africa, in the aftermath of the crackdown on PPP members by the then administration of William R. Tolbert Jr. in early 1980.”<sup>14</sup> Then in 1990 he fled to Guinea because of the civil war in Liberia.<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, “Conneh began exporting second-hand cars purchased in Guinea to Liberia. But the activity landed him in trouble a year later when he was arrested by Liberian intelligence officers at the Ganta border crossing and accused of smuggling. Conneh was moved to a prison cell in Monrovia, but his clairvoyant wife interceded with the Guinean head of state to get him released.”<sup>16</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He probably speaks Mandingo as his primary language, as well as English.

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<sup>14</sup> “BIOGRAPHY SEKOU DAMATE CONNEH JR,” *us-africa.tripod.com*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://us-africa.tripod.com/sekou/biography.html>.

<sup>15</sup> “Profile of LURD leader, Sekou Conneh,” *IRIN*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2003/08/19/profile-lurd-leader-sekou-conneh>

<sup>16</sup> “Profile of LURD leader, Sekou Conneh,” *IRIN*, Accessed October 29, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2003/08/19/profile-lurd-leader-sekou-conneh>

**Rolecode** 286  
**Leadercode** 423  
**Name of leader** Thomas Yaya Nimely  
**Organization in Liberia** MODEL – Movement for Democracy in Liberia  
**Conflict country** Liberia  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** November 1956<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Maryland County, Liberia<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

MODEL was founded in 2003, so he was 46 years old.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He helped found MODEL as a faction created out of LURD.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive\\_large/public/images/20038215.jpg?Btw4r0l.TtfYCc0vER3chH\\_SJuJZQmqK&itok=Kt4T6-6s](https://assets.irinnews.org/s3fs-public/styles/responsive_large/public/images/20038215.jpg?Btw4r0l.TtfYCc0vER3chH_SJuJZQmqK&itok=Kt4T6-6s)

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"Profile Of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya," 2003, *IRIN*, accessed March 26, 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2003/08/21/profile-model-chairman-nimely-yaya>.

<sup>2</sup> "Profile Of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya."

<sup>3</sup> Nicholai Hart Lidow, David D Laitin, James D Fearon, and Jeremy Weinstein, *Violent Order: Rebel Organization And Liberia's Civil War*, (Stanford: Stanford University, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Lidow.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Soon after High School, he followed the steps of his father, Tarnyoung Seoh, and became a clinical nurse.”<sup>5</sup> He also got a diploma as a Physician Assistant from Tubman National Institute of Medical Arts. In the United States, he got a Bachelor’s of Science in Health Care management at Saint Francis College in New York and a Master’s of Science in Community Psychology from Springfield Graduate School in Massachusetts.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has four children.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father was a nurse.<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He seemed to have a strong relationship with the Ivory Coast government which helped finance MODEL.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “Profile of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

<sup>6</sup> “Thomas Yaya Nimely,” *Linkedin*, Accessed October 30, 2017, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/thomas-yaya-nimely-57b104b3/>.

<sup>7</sup> “Profile Of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

<sup>8</sup> “Profile Of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

<sup>9</sup> “Africa: Liberia,” *CIA*, Accessed October 30, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/li.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “Profile Of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

<sup>11</sup> Lidow.

“He worked in the medical field in Liberia for UNICEF and continued to the United States where he has stayed for the past twenty years. A behavioral psychologist by profession, he was the director in charge of the Postgraduate Center For Mental Health, New York for 10 years but resigned in 1999.”<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was part of the leadership council for LURD before creating MODEL.<sup>13</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he operated in Ivory Coast and the US while he was leader of MODEL.<sup>14</sup> He was asked to leave Liberia by the government after it discovered that he was petitioning businessmen for supporting his insurgency. He fled to his residence in Philadelphia.<sup>15</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he has worked for UNICEF in Liberia and lives and works in the US.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> “Profile of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

<sup>13</sup> Lidow.

<sup>14</sup> Lidow.

<sup>15</sup> Lidow.

<sup>16</sup> “Thomas Yaya Nimely,” *LinkedIn*, Accessed October 30, 2017, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/thomas-yaya-nimely-57b104b3/>.

<sup>17</sup> “Profile Of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

He was the director of the Postgraduate Center for Mental Health in New York.<sup>18</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Krahn and English.

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<sup>18</sup> “Profile of MODEL Chairman Nimely Yaya.”

<b>Rolecode</b>	287
<b>Leadercode</b>	109
<b>Name of leader</b>	Charles Taylor
<b>Organization</b>	NPLF
<b>Conflict country</b>	Liberia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1948 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Liberia
<b>Year of death</b>	

#### Birth order

#### Age at start of rebel leadership

41 years old.

#### Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead the organization?

He created the NPLF in 1989 while he was in Libya.<sup>2</sup>

#### Powersharing

No

#### Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He received a degree in economics from Bentley College in Massachusetts in 1977<sup>3</sup>

#### Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Yes. Not sure of age but his first marriage was to Enid Toupee Taylor in the US.

#### Children

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<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v “Charles Taylor | president of Liberia” by The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed February 11, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Ghankay-Taylor>.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v “Charles Taylor | president of Liberia” by The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed February 11, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Ghankay-Taylor>.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v “Charles Taylor | president of Liberia” by The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed February 11, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Ghankay-Taylor>.



Yes, he's had several.

### Religious identification

Christian<sup>4</sup>

### Family background

Taylor was the son of a judge, a member of the elite in Liberia descended from the freed American slaves who colonized the region in the early 19th century.<sup>5</sup>

### Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

- Had assistance from RUF leader Foday Sankoh during First Liberian Civil War
  - o Established alliance in mid-1989
- Compaore also provided assistance<sup>6</sup>
- Charles Taylor first encountered the leaders of the RUF at the "World Revolutionary Headquarters" (al-Mathabh al-Thauriya al-Amaniya), a facility run by the Libyan secret services in Benghazi, Libya. Colonel Gaddafi was at the time encouraging a pan-Africanist movement that included the leaderships of various West African revolutionary groups. Taylor had reached Libya by a tortuous route. Having first worked for and then falling out with the Doe government in Liberia, he fled to the United States, pursued by a Liberian arrest warrant for embezzlement. He was taken into custody and held in the Plymouth County House of Correction, Plymouth, Massachusetts, to await extradition, but he escaped and eventually joined a group of Liberian dissidents who had helped Blaise Compaore overthrow Thomas Sankara to become President of Burkina Faso. It was Compaore who introduced Taylor to Gaddafi.<sup>7</sup>
- Strong ties to Viktor Bout, international arms dealer<sup>8</sup>
  - o Sanjivah Ruprah introduced the two in early 1990s allegedly
    - Arms broker in Africa with extensive ties
- Blaise Compaore supported Charles Taylor with his rebellion
- A 2002 United Nations investigation found that Compaoré played a significant role in arming the RUF and Taylor in violation of a U.N. arms embargo.<sup>9</sup>

### Does leader come from the largest ethnic group in the country?

He comes from the Americo-Liberio ethnic group, which is not the largest.

### Physical and mental health

No evidence

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<sup>4</sup> BBC, "Charles Taylor: Preacher, Warlord, President," *BBC Africa* (BBC News), September 26, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12392062>.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v "Charles Taylor

<sup>6</sup> "Harvard for Tyrants," *Foreign Policy*, March 5, 2011, accessed September 22, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/03/05/harvard-for-tyrants/>.

<sup>7</sup> Richards, Paul. "Sierra Leone." *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*. Ed. Dinah L. Shelton. Vol. 2. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005. 946-954. *World History in Context*. Web. 27 Sept. 2016.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas Farah. Merchant of Death

<sup>9</sup> "Harvard for Tyrants," *Foreign Policy*, March 5, 2011

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

After school in the US, he became the director of Liberia's General Services Administration under Pres. Samuel K. Doe, the military leader who had gained power in a bloody coup in 1980.<sup>10</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

No evidence

Experience in a nonstate military prior to assuming resistance organization leadership, and role; any relevant social ties

Yes Charles Taylor assisted Blaise Campaore with the overthrow of Sankara in Burkina Faso.

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership

Most likely

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Yes under President Samuel Doe.

Lived in exile?

Yes, he fled Liberia in 1983 after Doe accused him of embezzlement.<sup>11</sup> He also lived in exile following his removal as president of Liberia (no longer leader).

Study abroad?

Yes, in the US.

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Yes, he received training in Libya.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Yes

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Yes. He was jailed in the US in 1983. He somehow escaped.<sup>12</sup> CIA? He was given a 50 year sentence in 2012.<sup>13</sup> The 2012 imprisonment should not count for coding purposes because he was no longer leader. The organization did not exist anymore.

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

No evidence

Cause of death?

N/A

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<sup>10</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v "Charles Taylor

<sup>11</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v "Charles Taylor

<sup>12</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v "Charles Taylor

<sup>13</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), s.v "Charles Taylor

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult  
He at least spoke English

Coder initials  
EM, AW

<b>Rolecode</b>	288
<b>Leadercode</b>	394
<b>Name of leader</b>	Samuel Doe
<b>Organization</b>	Samuel Doe (Coup led by him)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Liberia
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1951 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Turzon, Liberia <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1990 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed by rebels in 1990.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was 29 when he led the coup.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/07/Secretary\\_of\\_Defense\\_Caspar\\_W.\\_Weinberger\\_-\\_Samuel\\_K.\\_Doe.jpg/600px-Secretary\\_of\\_Defense\\_Caspar\\_W.\\_Weinberger\\_-\\_Samuel\\_K.\\_Doe.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/07/Secretary_of_Defense_Caspar_W._Weinberger_-_Samuel_K._Doe.jpg/600px-Secretary_of_Defense_Caspar_W._Weinberger_-_Samuel_K._Doe.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10,

2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>

<sup>2</sup> "Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10,

2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>

<sup>3</sup> ""Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10,

2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>

<sup>4</sup> Carla Hall, "The Rule of Samuel K. Doe," *Washington Post*, August 19, 1982,

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1982/08/19/the-rule-of-samuel-k-doe/133d4979-671f-4c53-82f7-bb2975ca99d1/?utm\\_term=.105fcfb77a1e](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1982/08/19/the-rule-of-samuel-k-doe/133d4979-671f-4c53-82f7-bb2975ca99d1/?utm_term=.105fcfb77a1e).

He did not really lead an organization so much as lead a coup against President Tolbert on April 12, 1980.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He dropped out of high school to join the army. He completed his high school education through his military training and also received a diploma at the Radio and Communications school of the Ministry of Defense in 1971.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has had children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was a Baptist.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, his family were poor rice farmers.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was not involved in politics. He was a minority compared to the dominating Americo-Liberian elite.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup>"Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>.

<sup>6</sup> "Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>

<sup>7</sup> Hall.

<sup>8</sup> Hall.

<sup>9</sup> Hall.

<sup>10</sup> Hall.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a soldier.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was a master seargeant for the Liberian military and received training from the US Green Berets in Liberia.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unclear.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>11</sup> "Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>

### **Cause of Death?**

He was captured, tortured and killed by rebels in 1990.<sup>12</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke his native language and English.

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<sup>12</sup> "Samuel Kanyon Doe," *Encyclopedia.com*, February 10, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/samuel-kanyon-doe>

<b>Rolecode</b>	289
<b>Leadercode</b>	308
<b>Name of leader</b>	Muammar Gadaffi
<b>Organization</b>	Forces of Muammar Gadaffi
<b>Conflict country</b>	Libya
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1942 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Near Surt, Libya <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he killed in action in 2011.

### **Birth order**

He was the youngest with three older sisters.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2011 after he was overthrown, so age 69.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder (his forces were composed of former members of the Libyan government).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: Wikimedia. "File:Muammar al-Gaddafi at the AU summit.jpg." Wikimedia. Accessed October 11, 2021, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muammar\\_al-Gaddafi\\_at\\_the\\_AU\\_summit.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muammar_al-Gaddafi_at_the_AU_summit.jpg).

The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Muammar al-Qaddafi," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>2</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Muammar al-Qaddafi," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>3</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Muammar al-Qaddafi," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>4</sup> "Muammar Gaddafi Biography," *The Famous People*, Accessed November 1, 2017, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/muammar-gaddafi-3727.php>.

<sup>5</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Muammar al-Qaddafi," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>6</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Muammar al-Qaddafi," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.



## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Academically, he achieved his preliminary education from a local elementary school after which the family moved to Sabha for better educational opportunities.”<sup>7</sup> He graduated from the University of Libya in 1963 and then from the Libyan military academy in 1965.<sup>8</sup> Other sources say he studied history at the University of Libya and dropped out to join the military.<sup>9</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married one time in 1969 at age 27<sup>10</sup> and in 1970, at age 28.<sup>11</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he had seven sons and a daughter.<sup>12</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>13</sup>

## **Elite family background**

No, he was the son of an itinerant Bedouin farmer, born in a tent in the Libyan desert.<sup>14</sup>

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

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<sup>7</sup> “Muammar Gaddafi Biography,” *The Famous People*, Accessed November 1, 2017, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/muammar-gaddafi-3727.php>.

<sup>8</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>9</sup> “Muammar Gaddafi Biography,” *The Famous People*, Accessed November 1, 2017, <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/muammar-gaddafi-3727.php>.

<sup>10</sup> “Gaddafi’s Family,” *Gaddafi.info*, Accessed March 2017, <http://gaddafi.info/family.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Colin Freeman, “Gaddafi’s widow allowed back to Libya as part of ‘reconciliation’ drive,” *The Telegraph*, May 09, 2016, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/09/gaddafis-ex-widow-allowed-to-return-to-libya-after-five-years-in/>.

<sup>12</sup> Muammar Gaddafi Top Photos, Facts, and Quotes, *africanews.*, October 20, 2016, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.africanews.com/2016/10/22/photos-5-years-on-muammar-gaddafi-12-top-photos-facts-and-quotes/>.

<sup>13</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>14</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>15</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, in 1963 he went the Benghazi Military Academy. Around the same time period “Gaddafi formed the Free Officers Movement, a group modelled on the organization set up by Nasser for revolution in Egypt. Commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Signal Corps in 1965, he was sent on a training course to England in 1966 to learn English and advanced signals procedures. In 1969, following his failure to receive a promotion to captain, Gaddafi used the Free Officers Movement to execute a carefully planned bloodless coup, overthrowing the regime of King Idris (1890–1983) and proclaiming the Libyan Arab Republic.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “On September 1, 1969, Qaddafi seized control of the government in a military coup that deposed King Idrīs.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, in 1969 “Qaddafi was named commander in chief of the armed forces and chairman of Libya’s new governing body, the Revolutionary Command Council.”<sup>18</sup> He was also leader of Libya until he was overthrown in 2011.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

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<sup>15</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>16</sup> “Muammar al- Qaddafi,” *Oxford Reference*, January 1, 2003, Accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100356782>.

<sup>17</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>18</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, as noted in the state military section.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“Qaddafi was killed in Surt on October 20 as rebel forces took control of the city, one of the last remaining loyalist strongholds.”<sup>19</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Arabic as his primary language and some English.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, “Muammar al-Qaddafi,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 15, 2013, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muammar-al-Qaddafi>.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Mackey, “Text of New Qaddafi Letter to Obama,” *The New York Times*, April 6, 2011, Accessed March 27, 2017, <https://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/06/text-of-new-qaddafi-letter-to-obama/>

**Rolecode** 290  
**Leadercode** 319  
**Name of leader** Mustafa Abdul Jalil  
**Organization** National Transitional Council (NTC)  
**Conflict country** Libya  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Bayda, Libya<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2011, so age 59.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was chosen to be the first chairman of the NTC, probably designated/appointed.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mustafa\\_Abdul\\_Jalil.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mustafa_Abdul_Jalil.jpg)

<sup>2</sup>“PROFILE: Provisional rebel government leader Mustafa Abdel Jalil,” *m&c*, March 10, 2011, Accessed November 1, 2017,

[https://web.archive.org/web/20110506050512/http://www.monstersandcritics.com/news/africa/news/article\\_1625037.php/PROFILE-Provisional-rebel-government-leader-Mustafa-Abdel-Jalil](https://web.archive.org/web/20110506050512/http://www.monstersandcritics.com/news/africa/news/article_1625037.php/PROFILE-Provisional-rebel-government-leader-Mustafa-Abdel-Jalil).

<sup>3</sup>“Libya crisis: Profile of NTC Chair Mustafa Abdul Jalil,” *BBC News*, August 22, 2011, Accessed November 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14613679>.

<sup>4</sup>“National Transitional Council – Libya,” *NTC*, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://ntclibya.org/>.

<sup>5</sup>“National Transitional Council – Libya,” *NTC*, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://ntclibya.org/>.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

In 1970 he studied at the University of Qar Yunis in Benghazi, then returned to Al-Bayda to attend the University of Libya.<sup>5</sup> There he studied law and Shariah.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“In 2002, he was appointed president of the Court of Appeal. His final post before being named justice minister in 2007 was president of the court in Bayda.”<sup>8</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>5</sup> “مصطفى عبد الجليل” [Mustafa Abdel Jalil], *Al Jazeera*, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/icons/2011/3/24/%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B7%D9%81%D9%89-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84>.

<sup>6</sup> “Libya crisis: Profile of NTC Chair Mustafa Abdul Jalil,” *BBC News*, August 22, 2011, Accessed November 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14613679>.

<sup>7</sup> “The face of the Libyan revolution - Mustafa Jalil,” *DW*, August 24, 2011, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/the-face-of-the-libyan-revolution-mustafa-jalil/a-15340791>.

<sup>8</sup> “Libya crisis: Profile of NTC Chair Mustafa Abdul Jalil,” *BBC News*, August 22, 2011, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14613679>.

“He worked as a lawyer at the public prosecutor's office in Bayda before becoming a judge in 1978.”<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “After graduating, Mr Abdul Jalil worked as a lawyer in the public prosecutor's office in Bayda before becoming a judge in 1978. In 2002, he was appointed president of the Court of Appeal. His final post before being named justice minister in 2007 was president of the court in Bayda.”<sup>10</sup> He was also appointed as Counselor in 1996.<sup>11</sup>

“As a judge, Jalil was known for his rulings against the Gadhafi regime. He is reported to have been brought into the government by Seif al-Islam, Gadhafi's son, in an effort to cast himself and the regime in a more reformist light.”<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

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<sup>9</sup> “The face of the Libyan revolution - Mustafa Jalil,” *DW*, August 24, 2011, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/the-face-of-the-libyan-revolution-mustafa-jalil/a-15340791>.

<sup>10</sup> “Libya crisis: Profile of NTC Chair Mustafa Abdul Jalil,” *BBC News*, August 22, 2011, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14613679>.

<sup>11</sup> “مصطفى عبد الجليل” [Mustafa Abdel Jalil], *Al Jazeera*, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/icons/2011/3/24/%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B7%D9%81%D9%89-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84>.

<sup>12</sup> “The face of the Libyan revolution - Mustafa Jalil,” *DW*, August 24, 2011, Accessed November 4, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/the-face-of-the-libyan-revolution-mustafa-jalil/a-15340791>.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Arabic, and he also may speak English. <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Languages," Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 291

**Leadercode** 62

**Name of leader** Ali Ahmeti (Alija Isam Ahmeti AKA Abaz)<sup>1</sup>

**Organization** UCK – National Liberation Army

**Conflict country** Macedonia

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1959<sup>2</sup>

**Place of birth** Zajas, Macedonia<sup>3</sup> Kicevo district<sup>4</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2001, at age 41.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ali\\_Ahmeti\\_\(portrait\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ali_Ahmeti_(portrait).jpg)

<sup>2</sup>"Ali Ahmeti – and a Number of New Faces," *IPR Strategic Business Information Database*, June 4, 2001, Accessed December 12, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>3</sup>"Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], *Balkan Insight*, October 28, 2010, Accessed December 5, 2016, [http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/ali\\_ahmeti](http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/ali_ahmeti).

<sup>4</sup>"Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>5</sup>Jean-Eudes Barbier, "Ali Ahmeti, Once a Rebel, Now a Politician," *Agence France Presse*, September 16, 2002, Accessed December 12, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>6</sup>"Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.



In 2001 he was elected the leader of the National Liberation Army.<sup>6</sup> He helped create the UCK.<sup>7</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He started in High School when he established “the use of Albanian in his gymnasium in Kicevo. In 1979 Ali started his studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University, where he graduated in 1983. During 1981 and 1983 he made one of the holders of the student movement whose aim was to improve the political status of Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia, [He] has helped organize student protests in Pristina, activity which culminated with the arrest and sentencing to one year in prison for political persuasion.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but age of marriage is unknown.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence of him having children.

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>6</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Eudes Barbier, “Ali Ahmeti, Once a Rebel, Now a Politician,” *Agence France Presse*, September 16, 2002, Accessed December 12, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>8</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>9</sup> “How rich is Ali Ahmeti,” *How Rich?*, October 15, 2015, Accessed June 9, 2017, <http://how-rich.org/net-worth/how-rich-is-ali-ahmeti/>.

<sup>10</sup> “How rich is Ali Ahmeti,” *How Rich?*, October 15, 2015, Accessed June 9, 2017, <http://how-rich.org/net-worth/how-rich-is-ali-ahmeti/>.

Yes, in “the 1980s he was active in Albanian nationalist movements in Kosovo, which earned him a year in jail.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He seemed to be mainly an activist.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Ahmeti was one of the founders of the Kosovo Liberation Army and in 1998, at the beginning of the war, he was elected a member of the General Staff of the Kosovo Liberation Army.”<sup>13</sup> He was affiliated with the Kosovo Liberation Army.<sup>14</sup>

He was active in the Popular Front for Kosovo for many years (LPK) exact years are unclear.<sup>15</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he fought with the KLA.<sup>16</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “In 1986 he was elected a member of the General Council, with liaison office between Kosovo and Europe. In 1988 he was elected a member of the Presidency of the People's Movement of Kosovo.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>11</sup> "Ali Ahmeti: Rebel Turned Politician," *Balkan Insight*, October 28, 2010, Accessed December 5, 2016, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/ali-ahmeti>.

<sup>12</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>13</sup> . "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, “Ahmeti, Ali, (1950-)(Macedonia),” in *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups*, Greenwood Press (Ct. U.S. 2004): 13

<sup>15</sup> “Albanian Rebels Appoint ‘Political Leader’: Report,” *Agence France Presse*, March 18, 2001, Accessed December 12, 2018, through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, “Ahmeti, Ali, (1950-)(Macedonia),” in *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups*, Greenwood Press (Ct. U.S. 2004): 13

<sup>17</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

Yes, he lived in exile before he was a leader. “In 1986, Khan won political asylum in Switzerland, where he lives until 2001 and acts as coordinator of the different groups.”<sup>18</sup> He fled to Switzerland in 1986, after his imprisonment. He was granted status of political refugee two years later.<sup>19</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Technically no since both countries were part of Yugoslavia, but Ahmeti studied Philosophy at the University of Pristina in Kosovo, Serbia from 1979 to 1983.<sup>20</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was sentenced “to one year in prison for political persuasion”<sup>21</sup> He spent time in jail before 1986.<sup>22</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there was no attempt while he was a leader.

There was an assassination attempt in may 2008. Appears to happen after he was leader.<sup>23</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

N/A

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Albanian, and he never learned to speak Macedonian.

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<sup>18</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>19</sup> Jean-Eudes Barbier, “Ali Ahmeti, Once a Rebel, Now a Politician,” *Agence France Presse*, September 16, 2002, Accessed December 12, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>20</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>21</sup> "Biografia e Ali Ahmetit" [Biography of Ali Ahmeti], Democratic Union for Integration party website (N.D.) Available at <http://www.bdi.mk/en/biografia.php>.

<sup>22</sup> Jean-Eudes Barbier, “Ali Ahmeti, Once a Rebel, Now a Politician,” *Agence France Presse*, September 16, 2002, Accessed December 12, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>23</sup> “Macedonian Ethnic Leader Ahmeti Discusses Dispute with Rival Thaci, Politics,” *BBC Monitoring Europe*, May 29, 2008, Accessed December 12, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.



**Rolecode** 293  
**Leadercode** 186  
**Name of leader** Ibrahim Bahanga  
**Organization** National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (ATNMC)  
**Conflict country** Mali  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1967<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Kidal, Mali<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2011<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in a car accident in 2011.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2007, so he would have been around age 40.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Bahanga-1.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
“Ibrahim Ag Bahanga,” *Jeune Afrique*, January 2, 2009, Accessed November 11, 2017,  
<http://www.jeuneafrique.com/206165/politique/ibrahim-ag-bahanga/>.

<sup>2</sup> Yusuf Ibrahim Gamawa, *The Tuaregs and the 2012 Rebellion in Mali* (PatridgeAfrica: n.p., 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Yusuf Ibrahim Gamawa, *The Tuaregs and the 2012 Rebellion in Mali* (PatridgeAfrica: n.p., 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Arch Puddington, Aili Piano, Katrina Neubauer, and Tyler Roylance, *Freedom in the World 2009 The Annual Survey of Political Rights & Civil Liberties* (Freedom House: New York, 2009), 455.

Ibrahim Bahanga who did not agree with a 2006 peace agreement led a rebel faction.<sup>5</sup> He is the founder.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he was ever married.

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he is part of the ruling Ifoghas clan.<sup>8</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he was in the MPLA, MPA, and the Islamic Legion. Further details and citations in the non-state military section.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> Arch Puddington, Aili Piano, Katrina Neubauer, and Tyler Roylance, *Freedom in the World 2009 The Annual Survey of Political Rights & Civil Liberties* (Freedom House: New York, 2009), 455.

<sup>6</sup> “Les clés de la guerre au Nord” [The keys to the war in the North], *Courrier International*, May 21, 2014, Accessed November 11, 2017, <https://www.courrierinternational.com/article/2012/04/05/les-cles-de-la-guerre-au-nord>.

<sup>7</sup> “RELIGIONS,” *CIA*, Accessed November 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Grégory Chauzal and Thibault van Damme, “The roots of Mali’s conflict Moving beyond the 2012 crisis,” *Clingendael*, March 2015, Accessed November 11, 2017, [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/The\\_roots\\_of\\_Malis\\_conflict.pdf](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/The_roots_of_Malis_conflict.pdf).

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>9</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, after peace in 1996, he joined the Malian army and became a lieutenant.<sup>10</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was a veteran of the 1963 and 1990 revolts.<sup>11</sup> During the 1990 revolts he was a member of the MPLA and MPA. In the 1980s he was in Gaddafi's Islamic Legion.<sup>12</sup> In 2006 "he led the Alliance for Democracy and Change (ADC) with Ibrahim ag Bahanga and Hassan ag Fagaga."<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 2009 he sought refuge in Libya after being expelled from Mali.<sup>14</sup> "Ibrahim ag Bahanga, leader of the North Mali Tuareg Alliance for Change (Alliance Touaregue Nord Mali Pour Le Changement-ATNMC), died in a car crash in northeastern Mali on August 26, 2011."<sup>15</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>9</sup> "Les clés de la guerre au Nord" [The keys to the war in the North], *Courrier International*, May 21, 2014, Accessed November 11, 2017, <https://www.courrierinternational.com/article/2012/04/05/les-cles-de-la-guerre-au-nord>.

<sup>10</sup> Cherif Ouzani, "Histoire d'un conflit fratricide" [History of a fratricidal conflict], *Jeune Afrique*, March 19, 2007, Accessed November 11, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/92627/archives-thematique/histoire-d-un-conflit-fratricide/>.

<sup>11</sup> Yusuf Ibrahim Gamawa, *The Tuaregs and the 2012 Rebellion in Mali* (PatridgeAfrica: n.p., 2017).

<sup>12</sup> Djamel Bouatta, "Algeria facing the Sahel powder magazine," *Algeria-Watch*, October 2, 2007, Accessed November 11, 2017, [http://www.algeria-watch.org/fr/article/pol/geopolitique/poudriere\\_sahelienne.htm](http://www.algeria-watch.org/fr/article/pol/geopolitique/poudriere_sahelienne.htm).

<sup>13</sup> Grégory Chauzal and Thibault van Damme, "The roots of Mali's conflict Moving beyond the 2012 crisis," *Clingendael*, March 2015, Accessed November 11, 2017, [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/The\\_roots\\_of\\_Malis\\_conflict.pdf](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/The_roots_of_Malis_conflict.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> Yusuf Ibrahim Gamawa, *The Tuaregs and the 2012 Rebellion in Mali* (PatridgeAfrica: n.p., 2017).

<sup>15</sup> "Mali/Tuaregs (1960-present)," *University of Central Arkansas Political Science Department*, Accessed October 20, 2018, <http://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/malitauregs-1960-present/>.

Yes, he received military training in the Islamic Legion.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

In August 2011, “while continuing to make plans for another revolt in Libya, he was killed in a car crash before his plans came to fruition.”<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Tuareg as his primary language, along with French.

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<sup>16</sup> “Death of Tuareg leader Ibrahim Ag Bahanga in Mali,” *rfi*, Accessed April 9, 2018, <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20110827-mort-mali-chef-touareg-ibrahim-ag-bahanga>.

<sup>17</sup> Yusuf Ibrahim Gamawa, *The Tuaregs and the 2012 Rebellion in Mali* (PatridgeAfrica: n.p., 2017).



**Rolecode** 294  
**Leadercode** 450  
**Name of leader** Zahaby Ould Sidid Mohamed  
**Organization** FIAA (Arab Islamic Front of Azawad)  
**Conflict country** Mali  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1957<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Goundam, Mali<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

In 1991.<sup>3</sup>

Leader entry method:

He founded the FIAA.<sup>4</sup>

Powersharing

No

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

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<sup>1</sup> "BIOGRAPHY OF ZAHABI OULD SIDI MOHAMED: MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION," *Bamada.net*, Accessed November 4, 2017, <http://bamada.net/biographie-de-zahabi-ould-sidi-mohamed-ministre-des-affaires-etrangeres-et-de-la-cooperation-internationale>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Hsain Ilahiane, *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 85.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

“After graduating from the Sévaré public high school (Philo-language series) in June 1978, he joined ENA in Bamako, where he graduated in 1984 as a civil administrator. Zahabi Ould Sidi. Mohamed continued his studies in France at the Pantheon Sorbonne University where he earned a DEA in sociology of the Third World.”<sup>5</sup>

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage

Yes<sup>6</sup>

Children

No evidence

Religious identification

Likely Islam.<sup>7</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

No

Physical and mental health

No evidence of bad health.

Pre-militant leader occupation

“Zahabi Ould Sidi Mohamed served between 1985 and 1990 as deputy director in charge of [the] program [to aid the] Norwegian Church.”<sup>8</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

No

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

No

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<sup>5</sup> See f.n.1

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “RELIGIONS,” *CIA*, Accessed November 4, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

No

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

No

Lived in exile?

No

Study abroad?

Yes, he studied in France.<sup>9</sup>

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

No

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

No

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

No

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

No

Cause of Death?

N/A

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

He speaks French, English, and Arabic (assuming French primary).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See f.n.1

**Rolecode** 295

**Leadercode** 201

**Name of leader** Iyad ag Ghali (Malian Iyad Ag Ghali)

**Organization** Popular Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MPA)

**Conflict country** Mali

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1958<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Abeibera, Mali <sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He helped spark the rebellion on June 29, 1990 with his attack.<sup>3</sup> He would have been 32 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://d.newsweek.com/en/full/563360/iyad-ag-ghaly.jpg?w=737&f=378bb7c64ff26870c6d074013aee62a2>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Christophe Boisbouvier, Cherif Ouazani, and Baba Ahmed, "Mali: Report Profiles 'Masters of the North'," *Jeune Afrique*, April 20, 2012 Accessed November 5, 2017, [http://www.biyokulule.com/view\\_content.php?articleid=4602](http://www.biyokulule.com/view_content.php?articleid=4602).

<sup>2</sup> Christophe Boisbouvier, Cherif Ouazani, and Baba Ahmed, "Mali: Report Profiles 'Masters of the North'," *Jeune Afrique*, April 20, 2012 Accessed November 5, 2017, [http://www.biyokulule.com/view\\_content.php?articleid=4602](http://www.biyokulule.com/view_content.php?articleid=4602).

<sup>3</sup> Al-Sheikh Mohamed, "Iyad Ag Ghali: Mali's Desert Fox," *Asharq Alawsat*, February 15, 2013, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence that he was not the top leader.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

It is unclear. However, it is certainly nothing above secondary school, possibly far less.<sup>5</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>6</sup> he had a wife.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

There was no evidence he had children.

### **Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he is from “the great family of Ifoghas”<sup>9</sup>. Additionally, his father was a Tuareg soldier that sided with the government during a failed rebellion in 1963. When Iyad was six his father was shot and killed by a rebel commander.<sup>10</sup>

He was a “son of a breeder, from a powerful Tuareg tribe of the Ifoghas, who reigns over part of northern Mali”<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>4</sup> “Mali : Iyad Ag Ghali, rebelle dans l’âme” [Mali: Iyad Ag Ghali, rebel in the soul], October 2, 2012, Accessed November 5, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/139884/politique/mali-iyad-ag-ghali-rebelle-dans-l-me/>.

<sup>5</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>6</sup> “Mali : Iyad Ag Ghali, rebelle dans l’âme” [Mali: Iyad Ag Ghali, rebel in the soul], October 2, 2012, Accessed November 5, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/139884/politique/mali-iyad-ag-ghali-rebelle-dans-l-me/>.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Sheikh Mohamed, “Iyad Ag Ghali: Mali’s Desert Fox,” *Asharq Alawsat*, Translated through google, February 15, 2013, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>8</sup> “Africa: Mali,” *CIA*, Accessed November 5, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ml.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Mali : Iyad Ag Ghali, rebelle dans l’âme” [Mali: Iyad Ag Ghali, rebel in the soul], October 2, 2012, Accessed November 5, 2017, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/139884/politique/mali-iyad-ag-ghali-rebelle-dans-l-me/>.

<sup>10</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>11</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, “Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali,” *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

Yes, he founded a rebel group after fleeing to Libya and then joined the Islamic Legion.<sup>12</sup> Libyan military training camps and joined Colonel Gaddafi's Islamic Legion."<sup>13</sup> He was "on board a French steamship in the company of Palestinian President Yasser Arafat." This began the game between him and the French military.<sup>14</sup> He was "close with the central authorities in Bamko in 2007"<sup>15</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

"He survived, like thousands of Tuareg exiles... doing odd jobs- gardening, carpentry, housepainting, and herding cattle, goats, and sheep."<sup>16</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he had experience in a state military. It is reported that he was a career infantryman.<sup>17</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, a couple years after fleeing to Libya he founded a rebel group.<sup>18</sup> In the 1970s he joined Moammar Gadhafi's Islamic Legion in Libya.<sup>19</sup> He visited the "Libyan military training camps and joined Colonel Gaddafi's Islamic Legion."<sup>20</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

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<sup>12</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>13</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, "Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali," *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Sheikh Mohamed, "Iyad Ag Ghali: Mali's Desert Fox," *Asharq Alawsat*, February 15, 2013, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Sheikh Mohamed, "Iyad Ag Ghali: Mali's Desert Fox," *Asharq Alawsat*, February 15, 2013, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>16</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>17</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, "Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali," *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>18</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>19</sup> Martin Vogl, "Spotlight on leader of Islamist group in Mali," *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, April 27, 2012, Accessed November 5, 2017, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-spotlight-on-leader-of-islamist-group-in-mali-2012apr27-story.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, "Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali," *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

Yes, “Ag Ghali was sent to fight against Chad in the 1980s, and fought in Lebanon and the Palestinian territories.”<sup>21</sup> He was a career infantryman for Libya and was sent to Lebanon.<sup>22</sup> He saw combat with the Palestinians against the Israelis.<sup>23</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, at 16 after a terrible drought hit the north, he fled the country, ending up in Libya.<sup>24</sup> He was in Paris when he organized his rebellion<sup>25</sup> He was described to be in exile when in the military and traveling to Beirut and Chad in the early 1980s.<sup>26</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, “he underwent training at a military camp in the Libyan Sahara established in the early 1980s by Qaddafi, ostensibly to prepare the Tuareg exiles for another uprising, but primarily to train disposable young fighters for Libya’s military adventures in Africa and the Middle East.”<sup>27</sup> He visited the “Libyan military training camps and joined Colonel Gaddafi’s Islamic Legion.”<sup>28</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

He was an infantryman in Libya.<sup>29</sup>

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>21</sup> Martin Vogl, “Spotlight on leader of Islamist group in Mali,” *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, April 27, 2012, Accessed November 5, 2017, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-spotlight-on-leader-of-islamist-group-in-mali-2012apr27-story.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, “Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali,” *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Sheikh Mohamed, “Iyad Ag Ghali: Mali’s Desert Fox,” *Asharq Alawsat*, February 15, 2013, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>24</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>25</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, “Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali,” *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>26</sup> SaraHalifa-Legrand, “Iyad Ag Ghali, the Tuareg Rebel Became the Enemy of France,” *The Obs*, translated through google, March 18, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>27</sup> Joshua Hammer, *Praise for The Bad-Ass Librarians of Timbuktu* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 81-82.

<sup>28</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, “Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali,” *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>29</sup> Cyril Bensimon Nathalie, “Iyad Ag-Ghali, the Number One Enemy of France in Mali,” *Le Monde*, July 29, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison, although he was wanted by the U.S. and France.<sup>30</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Unknown. He speaks Arabic.<sup>31</sup> He also speaks French well.<sup>32</sup> He speaks and writes Tuareg.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Patrick Forestier, "Sahel: in the Hunt for the Terrorist Leader Iyad Ag Ghali," *Africa Point*, December 6, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>31</sup> Christophe Boisbouvier, Cherif Ouazani, and Baba Ahmed, "Mali: Report Profiles 'Masters of the North'," *Jeune Afrique*, April 20, 2012 Accessed November 5, 2017, [http://www.biyokulule.com/view\\_content.php?articleid=4602](http://www.biyokulule.com/view_content.php?articleid=4602).

<sup>32</sup> SaraHalifa-Legrand, "Iyad Ag Ghali, the Tuareg Rebel Became the Enemy of France," *The Obs*, Translated through google, March 18, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.

<sup>33</sup> SaraHalifa-Legrand, "Iyad Ag Ghali, the Tuareg Rebel Became the Enemy of France," *The Obs*, March 18, 2018, Accessed December 18, 2018 through Lexus Nexis.



**Rolecode** 296

**Leadercode** 13

**Name of leader** Abdul Malik Drukdal  
(Abdelmalek Droukdel ) (Abu Musab Abdel  
Wadoud)

**Organization** al-Qaeda in the Islamic  
Maghreb (AQIM) (GSPC)

**Conflict country** Mauritania

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1970

**Place of birth** Mefta, Blidad Region, Algeria

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence that he died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2004, so at the age of 34.<sup>1</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

“He later took over as the emir of GSPC in 2004 following the death of his predecessor, Nabil Sahraoui, a position that he continues to hold.”<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

[https://www.middleeasteye.net/sites/default/files/styles/wysiwyg\\_large/public/images/DJ\\_ty8FW0AAzg8D.jpg?itok=Wy-m2kcE](https://www.middleeasteye.net/sites/default/files/styles/wysiwyg_large/public/images/DJ_ty8FW0AAzg8D.jpg?itok=Wy-m2kcE)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> “Northern Africa’s Most Wanted,” *Counter Terror Business*, Accessed April 16, 2018, <http://www.counterterrorbusiness.com/node/12624>.

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence that Abdul is not the top leader.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to Madjine Ibrahim primary school. <sup>3</sup>“The first operations of Islamist groups in the late 1980s, fascinated the young man, who regularly attended the mosque. When he graduated as Bachelor in Mathematics at the University of Blida, he established his first contacts with the Islamic fighters salvation Front (FIS). It is one of his contacts there who recommended him that he should begin studying chemistry. Droukdel graduated in 1994. A year earlier, he had joined the armed struggle joining the Armed Islamic Group (GIA). His academic background makes him a bomb maker.”<sup>4</sup>

Based on multiple biographical sources, there is no evidence that Drukdal has a western education.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

No, there is no evidence he has been married.

**Children**

No, there is no evidence he has children.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim<sup>5</sup>.

**Elite family background**

No, he “grew up in a modest family that was strongly influenced by religion.”<sup>6</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, his political affiliations were too closely related to his rebel leader position.

**Physical and mental health**

There is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> “Mali: Abdelmalek Droukdel, leader of AQIM,” *WorldWideConflicts*, January 29, 2013, Accessed April 16, 2018, <https://worldwideconflicts.wordpress.com/2013/01/29/mali-abdelmalek-droukdel-leader-of-aqim/>.

<sup>5</sup> Vincent Duhem, “Nord-Mali – Aqmi : Abdelmalek Droukdel appelle à imposer « graduellement » la charia,” *jeune afrique*, May 24, 2012, Accessed April 16, 2018, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/175961/politique/nord-mali-aqmi-abdelmalek-droukdel-appelle-imposer-graduellement-la-charia/>.

<sup>6</sup> See f.n.5

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist, as he did nothing else between his education and joining the armed struggle. He was a chemist according to an article, but it appears that he did not actually practice chemistry, just studied it.<sup>7</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of state military experience.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes. In 1993, “he joined the ranks of the armed struggle within the Armed Islamic Group. His university education makes him an artificer. He experiments, climbs the ladder and gets noticed, notably by Hassan Hattab.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, as noted above.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of study abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, based on multiple biographical sources there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See f.n.1

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Arabic as a primary language.

Based on multiple biographical sources, there is no evidence of English as a first or second language.

**Rolecode** 299

**Leadercode** 365

**Name of leader** Subcomandante Marcos  
(Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente)

**Organization** EZLN

**Conflict country** Mexico

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1957<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Tampico, Mexico<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is the fourth of eight children.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1983, so age 26.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marcos\\_in\\_Oaxaca\\_2006.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marcos_in_Oaxaca_2006.png)  
“Rafael Guillén Vicente,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Accessed August 19, 2017,  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rafael-Guillen-Vicente>.

<sup>2</sup>“Rafael Guillén Vicente,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Accessed August 19, 2017,  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rafael-Guillen-Vicente>.

<sup>3</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 15.

<sup>4</sup> “Subcomandante Marcos,” *upclosed.com*, Accessed August 23, 2017,  
<https://upclosed.com/people/subcomandante-marcos/>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

Rafael attended the Collegio Félix de Jesús Rougier for his primary education. While in primary school Rafael felt overshadowed by his brother academically.<sup>5</sup> In 1969, Rafael went on to attend the Jesuit Instituto Cultural de Tampico as part of his secondary education.<sup>6</sup> It was at this time that Rafael became fond of both Miguel de Cervantes, a famous Spanish writer, and Pablo Neruda, a famous poet.<sup>7</sup> In 1973, Rafael entered the school's college (the Instituto Cultural de Tampico). During this time, Rafael began to idol Che Guevara. Then, Rafael went on to earn a degree in philosophy and arts at UNAM<sup>8</sup> While there, he helped with a university union strike, a student tuition strike, and was very politically active.<sup>9</sup> He also wrote an extremely Marxist thesis that won an award by the University.<sup>10</sup> It is also documented that he was working in the FLN movement and it is unknown, but very possible that he was in contact with other revolutionaries.<sup>11</sup> There is much more detail available on the topic of his education at the source provided.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>12</sup>

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is not religious.<sup>13</sup>

**Family background**

“Marcos was born on June 19, 1957 in Tampico, Tamaulipas to a self-described middle-class family.”<sup>14</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

<sup>5</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 20.

<sup>6</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 21.

<sup>7</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 22.

<sup>8</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 15.

<sup>9</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 30.

<sup>10</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 37.

<sup>11</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 38.

<sup>12</sup> “Mexico's masked Marcos married,” *news24*, February 14, 2001, Accessed August 19, 2017,

<http://www.news24.com/xArchive/Archive/Mexicos-masked-Marcos-married-20010214>.

<sup>13</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 21.

<sup>14</sup> “Subcomandante Marcos: Mexico's Zapatista Resistance Leader,” *telesur*, June 19, 2017, Accessed August 19, 2017, <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/analysis/Subcomandante-Marcos-Mexicos-Zapatista-Resistance-Leader-20170619-0001.html>.

He was politically active in Communist circles as noted in the education section.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He started teaching at UAM in 1979.<sup>15</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was part of the FLN<sup>16</sup>, later “reorganizing the FLN into the modern-day Zapatista Army of National Liberation Forces”

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

“In the early 1980s, Marcos abandoned his relatively comfortable life in Mexico City to promote armed struggle in the jungles of Central America. After unsuccessfully trying to recruit impoverished Indigenous Maya people in Chiapas to overthrow the Mexican state and ruling class, he reportedly moved to Nicaragua. There, he assisted the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista National Liberation Front, or Sandinistas, in their fight against the U.S.-backed, right-wing Contras under the nom de guerre “El Mejicano,” or “The Mexican.”<sup>17</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>15</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 39.

<sup>16</sup> “Subcomandante Marcos: Mexico’s Zapatista Resistance Leader,” *telesur*, June 19, 2017, Accessed August 19, 2017, <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/analysis/Subcomandante-Marcos-Mexicos-Zapatista-Resistance-Leader-20170619-0001.html>.

<sup>17</sup> “Subcomandante Marcos: Mexico’s Zapatista Resistance Leader,” *telesur*, June 19, 2017, Accessed August 19, 2017, <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/analysis/Subcomandante-Marcos-Mexicos-Zapatista-Resistance-Leader-20170619-0001.html>.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks French, Portuguese, and Italian<sup>18</sup>, and he probably speaks Spanish as his primary language.

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<sup>18</sup> Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 37.



**Rolecode** 300  
**Leadercode** 191  
**Name of leader** Igor Smirnov  
**Organization** Dniestr Republic  
**Conflict country** Moldova  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1941<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky,  
Russia (former Soviet Union)<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is the youngest of three children.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1991, so at age 50.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected president by popular vote in 1991.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/0a/Igor\\_Smirnov\\_%282017-10-04%29.jpg/440px-Igor\\_Smirnov\\_%282017-10-04%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/0a/Igor_Smirnov_%282017-10-04%29.jpg/440px-Igor_Smirnov_%282017-10-04%29.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>2</sup> "Биография Президента ПМР И.Н. Смирнова" [Biography of the President of the PMR, IN Smirnova], *President of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic* (N.D.) Available at <http://president-pmr.org/category/24.html>.

<sup>3</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>4</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>5</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has two sons.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.

### **Elite family background**

He is "the son of a schoolteacher from Russia."<sup>8</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, "in 1987, Igor Smirnov was elected head of "Electromash", a machine-building plant in Tiraspol, today the capital of Pridnestrovie. There, he organized strikes for the self-determination of Pridnestrovie and got workers of other factories to join him."<sup>9</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>7</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>8</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>9</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

“Igor Smirnov was a welder and a press operator in a factory.”<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, Igor Smirnov was a veteran Soviet paratroop officer.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of nonstate military experience.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes he “had participated in the invasions of Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan.”<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, “in February 1990 was elected a deputy of the Tiraspol City Council of People's Deputies and a People's Deputy of the MSSR.”<sup>12</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>10</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>11</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<sup>12</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

After helping Pridnestrovie declare independence in 1991 he was put in jail by the secret service of Moldova. A peaceful protest however ultimately led to his release before the end of 1991.<sup>13</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Romanian since they were declaring independence from Moldova, and probably Russian, too, since Dniestr is comprised of mostly ethnic Russians.

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<sup>13</sup> "President of Pridnestrovie," *Current Heads of State Dictators*. November 10, 2010, Accessed January 09, 2017, <https://planetrulers.com/pridnestrovie-president/>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	302
<b>Leadercode</b>	296
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mohammed Abdelaziz
<b>Organization</b>	Polisario Front
<b>Conflict country</b>	Morocco
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1947/1948 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Marrakech, Morocco or Semara, Spanish Sahara [now Moroccan-controlled Western Sahara] <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2016 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2016 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became Secretary General of Polisario in 1976, which would have made him 29 years old.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was likely elected since he was later reelected as secretary general.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fa/Mohamed\\_Abdelaziz%2C\\_2005.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fa/Mohamed_Abdelaziz%2C_2005.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Mohammed Abdelaziz," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 8, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammed-Abdelaziz>.

<sup>2</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Mohammed Abdelaziz," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 8, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammed-Abdelaziz>.

<sup>3</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Mohammed Abdelaziz," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 8, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammed-Abdelaziz>.

<sup>4</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Mohammed Abdelaziz," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 8, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammed-Abdelaziz>.

<sup>5</sup> "Morocco: Polisario Front - Mohamed Abdelaziz Re-Elected Secretary General By Overwhelming Majority," *allAfrica*, December 23, 2015, Accessed May 16, 2018, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201512240529.html>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“In the early 1960s he did his primary and secondary schooling in Smara and Bou Izakarn. By the late 1960s he had moved to Casablanca and then Rabat, where he continued his university undergraduate education at Mohamed V University.”<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.

### **Family background**

Yes, his father was a member of the royal advisory council for Saharan Affairs<sup>9</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> “‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Muhammad,” *Oxford Reference*, 2011, Accessed May 16, 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-0010?rskey=pdcfp3&result=1>.

<sup>7</sup> “Mohamed Abdelaziz obituary,” *The Guardian*, June 6, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/W/2016/jun/06/mohamed-abdelaziz-obituary#img-1>.

<sup>8</sup> “Situation of the Sahrawi youth-Lehbib Mohamed Abdelaziz, Saharawi Student Union member,” *YouTube*, September 14, 2011, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6JYr4NeeP9o>.

<sup>9</sup> *Western Sahara A Spy Guide* (Washington: International Business Publications, 2013), 31.

He was an activist.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, his exiled SADR government was based in Tindouf, Algeria.<sup>11</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>10</sup> “‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Muhammad,” *Oxford Reference*, 2011, Accessed May 16, 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-0010?rkey=pdcfp3&result=1>.

<sup>11</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, “Mohammed Abdelaziz,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 8, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammed-Abdelaziz>.

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.<sup>12</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Arabic as his primary language and he also speaks French.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Melinda C. Shepherd, "Mohammed Abdelaziz," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 8, 2016, Accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammed-Abdelaziz>.

<sup>13</sup> *Western Sahara A Spy Guide* (Washington: International Business Publications, 2013), 31.



<b>Rolecode</b>	303
<b>Leadercode</b>	40
<b>Name of leader</b>	Afonso Dhlakama
<b>Organization</b>	Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Mozambique
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Chiba Bava in Sofala Province, Mozambique <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2018 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2018 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He originally joined FRELIMO, led by Samora Machel, but was kicked out. He joined RENAMO in 1976, and started immediately in a leadership position.<sup>4</sup> He became leader of RENAMO at age 26.

### **Leader entry method:**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Afonso\\_Dhlakama\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Afonso_Dhlakama_(cropped).jpg)  
 "Dhlakama, Afonso". 2006. In *An African Biographical Dictionary*, Norbert C. Brockman. Amenia: Grey House Publishing.

<sup>2</sup> Jack Wheeler. December 1985. Accessed January 17, 2017. <https://reason.com/archives/1985/12/01/from-rovuma-to-maputo>.

<sup>3</sup> Borges Nhamire, Matthew Hill, and Brian Latham, "Afonso Dhlakama, Mozambique's Opposition Leader, Dies at 65," Bloomberg, May 3, 2018, Accessed January 20, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-05-03/afonso-dhlakama-mozambique-s-opposition-leader-dies-at-65>.

<sup>4</sup> "Dhlakama, Afonso". 2006. In *An African Biographical Dictionary*

RENAMO's founder died in 1980 and Dhlakama took over by taking out his political rivals.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, it is clear that he was the top leader.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to a Catholic seminary before graduating from business school in Beira, Mozambique in 1969.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

It seems he got married in 1980.

### **Children**

He has five children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

It is assumed to be Catholic based on his time in a Catholic seminary.

### **Elite family background**

Yes, his father was a local chieftain for the Changane-Ndau tribe.<sup>89</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

His uncle, Samuel, helped recruit him to join Frelimo originally. His uncle eventually ended up working for Mozambique's ministry of health.<sup>10</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> "Dhlakama, Afonso". 2006. In *An African Biographical Dictionary*

<sup>6</sup> Fleming, John. 1996. "Mozambique rebel now works inside the system." *Christian Science Monitor*, March 19.

<sup>6</sup> *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 17, 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Fleming, John. 1996. "Mozambique rebel now works inside the system." *Christian Science Monitor*, March 19.

<sup>6</sup> *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 17, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Fleming, John. 1996. "Mozambique rebel now works inside the system."

<sup>9</sup> Jack Wheeler. December 1985. Accessed January 17, 2017. <https://reason.com/archives/1985/12/01/from-rovuma-to-maputo>.

<sup>10</sup> Jack Wheeler. December 1985. Accessed January 17, 2017. <https://reason.com/archives/1985/12/01/from-rovuma-to-maputo>.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

All evidence points to him being a politician, and he also served in the military.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he served in the Portuguese colonial army from 1971 to 1973.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he joined Frelimo in 1974 to fight Portuguese rule.<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position prior to leadership.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1977 he fled to Rhodesia.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence that he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence that he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>11</sup> 2014. "Presidential Candidates." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 51, no. 10: 20304A-20304B. *Academic Search Ultimate*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 17, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> Fleming, John. 1996. "Mozambique rebel now works inside the system."

<sup>13</sup> Stephen A. Emerson, *The Battle for Mozambique: The Frelimo Renamo Struggle, 1977 1992* (West Midlands: Helion & Company, 2014), 48-49.

No, there is no evidence that there was an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Portuguese, and also may have spoken Shona.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Borges Nhamire, Matthew Hill, and Brian Latham, “Afonso Dhlakama, Mozambique's Opposition Leader, Dies at 65,” Bloomberg, May 3, 2018, Accessed January 20, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-05-03/afonso-dhlakama-mozambique-s-opposition-leader-dies-at-65>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	305
<b>Leadercode</b>	40
<b>Name of leader</b>	Moe Thee Zun
<b>Organization</b>	The All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1962 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

In 1989, he became the leader of the ABSDF; he would have been 27 year old.<sup>2</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unknown

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He likely completed high school and had at least three years of university education (but it is unclear where he attended or if he graduated).<sup>3</sup>

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Moe Thee Zun," *World Library*. Accessed 7 July 2017. [http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/Moe\\_Thee\\_Zun](http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/Moe_Thee_Zun).

<sup>2</sup> Htwe, Nan. "Emotional return home for Moethee Zun," *Myanmar Times*, 3 September 2012.

<http://www.mmmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/yangon/1423-emotional-return-home-for-moethee-zun.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Fink, Christina. *Living Silence: Burma under Military Rule*, (London: Zed Book), 2001, 50, 185.

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background  
Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made  
Member of the BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party).<sup>4 5</sup>

Physical health  
Unknown

Mental health  
Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation  
University student. He led student protests that were crushed by the military in 1988.<sup>6</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties  
No.

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?  
Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization  
Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?  
Unknown

Lived in exile?  
Yes. In 1988, after the failed student protests, he fled Rangoon and went into exile in the United States.<sup>7</sup>

Studied abroad?  
Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

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<sup>4</sup> See note 3, 185.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, Robert H. *The State in Myanmar* (India: NUS Press), 2009, 422.

<sup>6</sup> "Burma's student leader Moe Thee Zun returns home," *BBC*, 1 September 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19450435>.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Still alive

Primary language(s)

Probably Burmese<sup>8</sup>

Other languages spoken as adult.

English

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<sup>8</sup> Connelly, Karen. *Burmese Lessons: A True Love Story*, ( New York: DoubleDay), 2010.

**Note: The only reference on Naing Aung from the reliable sources focuses on his story on becoming chairman of one faction of the ABSDF after its split into two factions as a result of the ABSDF second congress in 1991.**

**Rolecode** 306

**Leadercode** 327

**Name of leader** Naing Aung

**Organization** The All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF)

**Conflict country** Myanmar

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1962<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Unknown

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1991, he became chairman of one of the two factions of the ABSDF that split after the ABSDF second congress in that year.<sup>2</sup> If 1962 is his birth year, he would have been around 29 years old.

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://i.ytimg.com/vi/mGo6CO2zoTM/maxresdefault.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
"Burma-Students," *The Canadian Press*, May 29, 1990, Accessed July 17, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 63.



He was elected.<sup>3</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Yes, the ABSDF has committees.<sup>4</sup> The organization's central committee has the ability to decide the ABSDF's future plans.<sup>5</sup> The organization had two factions headed by Aung and Moe Thi Zun that operated independently of each other.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He was admitted to the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard. However, Harvard later cancelled his admission after receiving a letter from some former members of the ABSDF who accused him of being involved in a massacre in northern Myanmar.<sup>7</sup>

A source calls him a doctor but does not specify if Aung is a medical doctor or a scholar.<sup>8</sup>

Harvard's John F. Kennedy School is a graduate school. Therefore, it can be assumed he has a bachelor's degree.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>3</sup> "Burma: Student Group Forms New Central Committee," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, April 12, 1999, Accessed July 16, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>4</sup> "Senior ABSDF Member Acquitted in 'Unlawful Association' Trial," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, 2017, accessed July 16, 2018 via Newspaper Source Plus.

<sup>5</sup> "Burma: Reorganized Student Front Committed to Fight Until Democracy Restored," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, October 1, 2000, Accessed July 16, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>6</sup> Bertil Linter, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*, (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1994), 483.

<sup>7</sup> Daljit Singh and Liak Kiat, *Southeast Asian Affairs: 2005*, (Pasir Panjang: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), 246.

<sup>8</sup> "Burmese Junta Hails Student Surrender," *UPI NewsTrack*, September 9, 1996, Accessed July 16, 2018 via News Bank.

His political affiliations are unknown.

**Physical and mental health**

His health is unknown.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was the organization's deputy leader.<sup>9</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, a source calls the ABSDF an "exile group" based in Thailand. If accurate, this description would imply that Aung lived in exile.<sup>10</sup> One source does say he lived in exile.<sup>11</sup> According to another source, he did reside in Myanmar while leading the organization.<sup>12</sup> Another source said he was in Thailand.<sup>13</sup> He had lost his citizenship to Myanmar, and the country has denied him entry in the past.<sup>14</sup> He used to be on the Myanmar government's blacklist and was removed in 2016.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> "Burma-Students".

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Pruzin, "Buddhist Monks Wooed to Back Junta in Burma," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 2, 1996. Accessed July 16, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Popham, *The Lady and the Peacock: The Life of Aung San Suu Kyi*, (New York: The Experiment LLC, 2012), 430.

<sup>12</sup> "Myanmar Rebel Students Will Not Protest in Thailand," *Japan Economic Newswire*, July 12, 1994, Accessed July 17, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>13</sup> "Myanmar Media Accuse 'Terrorists' of Stealing Ambassador's Valuables," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, October 4, 1999, Accessed July 17, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>14</sup> "Myanmar (Burma): Former ABSDF Chairmen Denied Entry Visas," *Thai News Service*, May 31, 2016. Accessed July 17, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>15</sup> "Myanmar (Burma): Burma Removes Hundreds of Names from Blacklist," *Thai News Service*, August 1, 2016, Accessed July 17, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages he spoke is unknown.

<b>Rolecode</b>	307
<b>Leadercode</b>	338
<b>Name of leader</b>	Nurul Islam
<b>Organization</b> (ARIF)	The Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1948 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Maungdaw, Arakan State, Burma <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1987, he became the chairman of the ARIF. Therefore, he was 39 years old when he assumed the highest leadership role in the ARIF.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

[https://cdnuploads.aa.com.tr/uploads/Contents/2018/08/30/thumbs\\_b\\_c\\_60c4b3c518938cb04fda3a6510a892d9.jpg?v=135101](https://cdnuploads.aa.com.tr/uploads/Contents/2018/08/30/thumbs_b_c_60c4b3c518938cb04fda3a6510a892d9.jpg?v=135101)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He achieved a B.A (Law) and LL.B from Rangoon University in 1972 and 1973, respectively.

After he was leader, he completed Diplomacy Training Program Course from University of New South Wales, Australia. He achieved LL.M in Human Rights from the University of East London in 2007.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

He is Muslim.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

From 1969-1970, he was the President of Rohingya Students' Association in Rangoon. In late 1974, he went underground with the Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF).<sup>7</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a lawyer. From 1973-1974, he practiced law in Rangoon and Maungdaw.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> MD, "Mr. Nurul Islam President of ARNO with MD Noor Rohingya Roshan Ep 4," *RohingyaVision.com*, May, 24, 2013, accessed March 31, 2017, <http://www.rvisiontv.com/nurul-islam-president-of-arno-with-md-noor-rohingya-roshan-ep-4/>.

<sup>6</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he has been living in the United Kingdom.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

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<sup>9</sup> Maaz Hussain, "Rohingya Refugees Seek to Return Home to Myanmar," *VOANews*, November 30, 2016, accessed March 31, 2017, <http://www.voanews.com/a/rohingya-refugees-seek-to-return-home-to-myanmar/3617130.html>.

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

There is no specific reference on his language. Since he is an ethnic Rohingya, he likely speaks a Bengali dialect interspersed with words borrowed from Persian, Urdu and Arakanese language as his primary language.<sup>10</sup> In addition, he likely speaks English due to his experience in studying abroad in Australia and the United Kingdom.

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<sup>10</sup> “Bangladesh Extremist Islamist Consolidation Bertil Lintner,” *SATP.org*, accessed March 31, 2017, <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/publication/faultlines/volume14/Article1.htm>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	308
<b>Leadercode</b>	87
<b>Name of leader</b>	Aung Thaik Hym
<b>Organization</b>	Beik Mon Army (BMA)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)

On November 6, 1996, a group headed by Aung Thaik Hym broke away from the New Mon State Party (NMSP) because of interparty differences.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unclear.

Powersharing

No.

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Information Sheet NO-A-0051," *Burmalibrary.org*, 3 June 1997.  
<http://www.burmalibrary.org/reg.burma/archives/199706/msg00063.html>.



Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

**Rolecode** 309  
**Leadercode** 419  
**Name of leader** Thakin Ba Thein Tin  
**Organization** The Communist Party of Burma (CPB)  
**Conflict country** Myanmar  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1914<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Tavoy, Myanmar (Burma)<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1995<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1995 of unknown causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In March 1975, he was elected to become the chairman of the entire CPB.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he was around age 61.

### **Leader entry method**

He was elected.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://images-na.ssl-images-amazon.com/images/I/81dCXehIF2L.\\_AC\\_SL1500\\_.jpg](https://images-na.ssl-images-amazon.com/images/I/81dCXehIF2L._AC_SL1500_.jpg)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 57.

<sup>3</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Great Game East: India, China, and the Struggle for Asia's Most Volatile Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 291.

<sup>4</sup> "Burmese Communist Party [BCP]," *Global Security.org*, accessed January 28, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/bcp.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> "Burmese Communist Party [BCP]," *Global Security.org*, accessed January 28, 2017, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/bcp.htm>.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished primary and secondary school at Tavoy. Then, he passed his matriculation exam in 1931 and got admitted to Rangoon University. However, he was unable to finish his studies because his debt-ridden father could not afford university fees.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

**Elite family background**

He was the son of a Chinese petty trader and an ethnic Burman mother.<sup>7</sup> So, he was not from an elite or political family.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In 1938, he joined the Dohbama Asiayone, a Burmese nationalist group formed around the 1930s. In 1947, he participated in the British Empire Communist Parties Conference in London and in February 1948, he went to Calcutta together with then CPB chairman Thakin Than Tun to attend the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India.<sup>8</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Before he was elected to become the chairman of CPB in 1975, he joined the party in October 1939 and had risen through the party ranks over time.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 57.

<sup>7</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 57.

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 57.

<sup>9</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 57.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, as of March 27, 1945, he served as the political adviser to Tin Tun, who was the Burma National Army (BNA) No. 5 Region military commander.<sup>10</sup> The BNA was the armed forces of the puppet Burmese government during the Japanese occupation in WWII.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he fought against the Japanese in Tavoy in 1945.<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he lived in exile in China as the chairman of CPB.<sup>12</sup> He was taken into exile in April 1989.<sup>13</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>10</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 8.

<sup>11</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 57.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Taylor, *General Ne Win: A Political Biography* (Pasir Panjang: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015), 294.

<sup>13</sup> "Khun Sa, Drugs and the Chinese Conn," *Burma Library*, October 17, 1995, <http://www.burmalibrary.org/reg.burma/archives/199510/msg00098.html>

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

His cause of death is unknown.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke the Burman language as his primary language.

**Rolecode** 312  
**Leadercode** 399  
**Name of leader** Saw Lah Pwe (aka Na Kham Mway)  
**Organization** The Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA5)  
**Conflict country** Myanmar  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1962<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** 2016<sup>2</sup>



Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

In 2010, he led a splinter faction of the DKBA's three brigades, which is the fifth brigade.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he was 48 years old when began to lead DKBA5.

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unknown

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bo\\_Nat\\_Khann\\_Mway](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bo_Nat_Khann_Mway)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
Naing, Saw. "Charismatic DKBA Leader Dies at 54," *The Irrawaddy*, 14 March 2016.  
<http://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/charismatic-dkba-leader-dies-at-53.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Rohan Gunaratna and Stefanie Kam, *Handbook of Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016), 171.

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

He had throat cancer in 2016 and received treatment in Rangoon and Singapore for a year.<sup>4</sup> He also had medical treatment in Rangoon December 2013 for an unknown condition.<sup>5</sup>

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

He was a member of the DKBA before he left the organization.<sup>6</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

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<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Thailand’s Most Wanted – General Saw Lah Pwe Now in Hospital,” *Karen News*, 29 December 2013. <http://karennews.org/2013/12/thailands-most-wanted-general-saw-lah-pwe-now-in-hospital/>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Natural cause.<sup>7</sup> He died of throat cancer.<sup>8</sup>

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

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<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**Note: Scholars and journalists tend to mention these two individuals together, and there is no evidence of one brother having more power than the other in the organization. This is why the Htoo twins are being coded as one leader.**

<b>Rolecode</b>	313
<b>Leadercode</b>	382
<b>Name of leader</b>	Johnny and Luther Htoo
<b>Organization</b>	God's Army
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Between 1987-1988 (There was no official registration of their birth, so the exact year may be disputed.) <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Guh Su Doh, Myanmar <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence they have died.

### **Birth order**

Their birth order is unknown. They have a sister who is younger than them.<sup>3</sup> They also have another sister.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://static.bangkokpost.com/media/content/20130825/534757.jpg>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>Interview: Belgian Photojournalist Theirry Falise Discusses The Twin 12-Year-Old Boys That Allegedly Head a Burmese Guerilla Band Known as God's Army," *All Things Considered*, January 26, 2000, Accessed August 6, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>3</sup>Barbara Davies, "They are Messengers from God...Nothing Will Ever Harm the Twins- THE AMAZING 12-YEAR-OLDS WHO COMMAND A REBEL ARMY," *The Daily Mirror*, January 26, 2000, Accessed August 6, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>4</sup>Lucy Rock, "Reunited with Mum... The God's Army Twins; Lucy Rock Reports Exclusively From Suan Thung in Thailand," *The Daily Mirror*, March 16, 2001, Accessed August 8, 2018 via Lexus Nexis.

<sup>5</sup>"Twin Rebels Prefer Thailand to U.S.: Former Leaders of Ragtag God's Army Seek Return to Myanmar," *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 23, 2001, Accessed August 8, 2018 via Lexus Nexis.

In 1996-1997, the twin-brothers started to lead God's Army when they were nine years old.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Their leader entry method is unclear. Their followers believed that they had supernatural powers, which make them invulnerable to Tatmadaw bullets and having the ability to command "invisible armies" containing hundreds of thousands of "angel warriors."<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

The twins shared power with each other. The organization has another individual as the commander who claims he either gets orders from the Htoo twins or inspiration from them.<sup>7</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

The Htoos were illiterate.<sup>8</sup> It can be assumed they did not finish school prior to becoming rebel leaders. They had hoped to return to school after surrendering.<sup>9</sup> Another source says they are uneducated.<sup>10</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Luther has been married and divorced his wife.<sup>11</sup> However, this marriage occurred after his rebel leadership ended. Luther was younger than 19 years old.

### **Children**

Luther Htoo has one child.<sup>12</sup> However, this marriage occurred after his rebel leadership ended.

### **Religious identification**

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<sup>5</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 238.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "Interview: Belgian Photojournalist Thierry Falise Discusses The Twin 12-Year-Old Boys That Allegedly Head a Burmese Guerilla Band Known as God's Army".

<sup>8</sup> "Two Little Boys," *The Guardian*, July 27, 2000, Accessed August 4, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/g2/story/0,3604,347432,00.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Bertil Lintner, "Where Htoo Now?" *Far Eastern Economic Review* 164, no. 4, Feb 01, 2001, 70.

<sup>10</sup> Seth Mydans, "Burmese Boy Rebels Languish in Jungle," *The New York Times*, July 19, 2000, Accessed August 8, 2018 via Lexis Nexis.

<sup>11</sup> "Briefly, Myanmar's 'God's Army' Twins Reunite," *The New York Times*, November 2, 2013, Accessed August 5, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/03/world/asia/briefly-myanmars-gods-army-twins-reunite.html>.

<sup>12</sup> "Briefly, Myanmar's 'God's Army' Twins Reunite".

They are Christian.<sup>13</sup> Specifically, they claim to be Baptist.<sup>14</sup>

### **Elite family background**

Their parents are farmers.<sup>15</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

The twins have black tongues which may be a symptom of a tropical disease. The cause is unknown.<sup>16</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

They had no jobs.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

They led an attack against Burmese soldiers. This attack convinced people of their messianic powers and led to the creation of God's Army.<sup>17</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, did not hold a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

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<sup>13</sup> Seth Mydans, "Burmese Rebel Chief More Boy Than Warrior," *The New York Times*, April 10, 2000, Accessed May 4, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/04/10/world/burmese-rebel-chief-more-boy-than-warrior.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Horn, "The Twin Terrors," *TIME*, February 7, 2000, Accessed August 5, 2018. <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2054474,00.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Davies.

<sup>17</sup> Kevin Heppner, "My Gun Was as Tall as Me": *Child Soldiers in Burma*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002), 156.

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

They speak Karen.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “Twin Rebels Prefer Thailand to U.S.: Former Leaders of Ragtag God’s Army Seek Return to Myanmar”.

**Rolecode** 314

**Leadercode** 244

**Name of leader** Lanyaw Zawng Hra

**Organization (KIO)** The Kachin Independence Organization

**Conflict country** Myanmar

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1935,<sup>1</sup> 1939,<sup>2</sup> or 1946<sup>3</sup>

**Place of birth** Sumprabum, Kachin State, Myanmar<sup>4</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He became the leader in either 1975 or 1976.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear. Other KIO leaders have been appointed. Hra became the leader after the previous leader died.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://sites.google.com/site/jinghpawlaika/LanyawZawngHra12w-medium-init-.jpg>

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Bertil Linter, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*, (Bangkok: Silkworm Press, 1999), 525.

<sup>2</sup>“Kachin Militia Appoints New Leaders Amid Ongoing Hostilities With Myanmar Forces,” *Federal Government Documents and Publications*, January 3, 2018, Accessed July 21, 2018 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>3</sup>“Myanmar: Kachin Group Says No Change Despite Leadership Change”. *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, January 3, 2018. Accessed July 21, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>4</sup>Linter. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*. 525.

<sup>5</sup>Linter. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*. 525. Shelby Tucker, *Among Insurgents: Walking Through Burma*, (London: The Radcliffe Press, 2000), 91.

<sup>6</sup>“Kachin Militia Appoints New Leaders Amid Ongoing Hostilities With Myanmar Forces”. Tucker 2000, 91.

## **Powersharing**

No, as of 2015, he is still the chairman of the KIO.<sup>7</sup> The KIO does have a Central Committee that decides certain matters.<sup>8</sup> Multiple people make up the organization's leadership.<sup>9</sup>

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from Rangoon University. Previously, he attended Kachin Baptist School.<sup>10</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes<sup>11</sup>

## **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

## **Religious identification**

He is Christian. A Christian prayer service was held at the KIO ceremony that transferred leadership from Hra to a new leader.<sup>12</sup> He also led a Christian prayer at an Independence Day ceremony.<sup>13</sup>

## **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

His political affiliations are unknown.

## **Physical and mental health**

He retired from leading the organization due to poor health.<sup>14</sup> He wears glasses.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Great Game East: India, China, and the Struggle for Asia's Most Volatile Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 260.

<sup>8</sup> "Myanmar: Kachin Group Says No Change Despite Leadership Change".

<sup>9</sup> "Kachin Militia Appoints New Leaders Amid Ongoing Hostilities With Myanmar Forces".

<sup>10</sup> Linter. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*. 525.

<sup>11</sup> Bertil Linter, *Land of Jade: A Journey Through Insurgent Burma*, (Edinburgh: Kiscadale Publishers, 1990), 183.

<sup>12</sup> "Myanmar: Kachin Group Says No Change Despite Leadership Change".

<sup>13</sup> Tucker. 97.

<sup>14</sup> "Myanmar: Kachin Group Says No Change Despite Leadership Change".

<sup>15</sup> Tucker. 71.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

His experience in a state military is unknown.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was the KIO's vice-president.<sup>16</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes; he worked as a sub-divisional officer in Sumprabum.<sup>17</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

Whether he lived in exile is unknown.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Whether he received military training abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Whether he had extensive work experience abroad is unknown.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Whether there was an assassination attempt by the state is unknown.

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<sup>16</sup> "Burma: Kachin Independence Organization Denies Coup Led to Change of Leader," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, February 27, 2001, Accessed July 21, 2018 via News Bank.

<sup>17</sup> Linter. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*. 525.



**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Jinghpaw as his primary language.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Tucker. 97.

**Rolecode** 315  
**Leadercode** 268  
**Name of leader** Maran Brang Seng  
**Organization** The Kachin Independence  
Organization (KIO)  
**Conflict country** Myanmar  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1931<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Hpakan, Kachin State, British  
Burma<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1994<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died from a stroke in 1994.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1975, so at age 45.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://kachinlandnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Maran-Brangseng-1-284x300.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), no page number available.

<sup>3</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>4</sup> "Maran Brang Seng and KIO's Peace Efforts I," *Kachinland News*, September 9, 2015, Accessed August 5, 2021, <https://www.kachinlandnews.com/?p=26217>.

He was elected to become the chairman.<sup>5</sup> He assumed the leadership role after he rose quickly to positions of responsibility since he joined the KIO in 1963.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He graduated from Rangoon (Yangon) University in 1954.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married to Na Hpaw Kaw Mai.<sup>8</sup> However, there is no further information on his marriage due to lack of reputable sources.

### **Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian. Although there is no direct reference on Christianity as his religion, there is the fact that he used to work at a Baptist High School and his daughter is indeed a Christian.<sup>10 11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>5</sup> Thin Lei Win, "A Kachin leader's legacy lives on through his daughter," *Myanmar-Now.org*, January 25, 2016, accessed March 21, 2017, <http://www.myanmar-now.org/news/i/?id=6c70a689-846a-4af5-9a2d-1a0e8ef4455a>.

<sup>6</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>8</sup> Shirley Ardener, Fiona Armitage-Woodward, and Lidia Sciana, *War and Women Across Continents: Autobiographical and Biographical Experiences* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 101.

<sup>9</sup> Thin Lei Win, "A Kachin leader's legacy lives on through his daughter," *Myanmar-Now.org*, January 25, 2016, accessed March 21, 2017, <http://www.myanmar-now.org/news/i/?id=6c70a689-846a-4af5-9a2d-1a0e8ef4455a>.

<sup>10</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>11</sup> Thin Lei Win, "A Kachin leader's legacy lives on through his daughter," *Myanmar-Now.org*, January 25, 2016, accessed March 21, 2017, <http://www.myanmar-now.org/news/i/?id=6c70a689-846a-4af5-9a2d-1a0e8ef4455a>.

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a teacher. He used to work as a teacher and became a headmaster of the Kachin Baptist High School in Myitkyina in 1957.<sup>12 13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he served as the commander of the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) before he was elected to become the chairman of KIO.<sup>14</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>12</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>13</sup> Wen-Chin Chang and Eric Tagliacozzo, *Burmese Lives: Ordinary Life Stories Under the Burmese Regime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 38.

<sup>14</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died from disease/natural causes. He died from Stroke.<sup>15 16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

There is no specific reference on his language. He likely spoke Jingpho or Kachin language as his primary language because it is the main language of his ethnic group.

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<sup>15</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 118.

<sup>16</sup> Thin Lei Win, "A Kachin leader's legacy lives on through his daughter," *Myanmar-Now.org*, January 25, 2016, accessed March 21, 2017, <http://www.myanmar-now.org/news/i/?id=6c70a689-846a-4af5-9a2d-1a0e8ef4455a>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	317
<b>Leadercode</b>	152
<b>Name of leader</b>	Aung Than Lay
<b>Organization</b>	The Kareni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1929 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Yonetaw Village, Maubin Township, Irrawaddy Division, Myanmar <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2010 <sup>3</sup>

Birth order

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Age at start of leadership (age)

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

He was chairman by 1995.<sup>4</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unclear.

Powersharing

Possibly yes. He might have some sort of powersharing Khoo Hta Bu Phe.<sup>5</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

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<sup>1</sup> "Karenni resistance leader dies at 81", *mizzima*, June 1, 2010, Accessed June 19, 2017, <http://archive-1.mizzima.com/news/myanmar/3996-karenni-resistance-leader-dies-at-81>.

<sup>2</sup> "Karenni resistance leader dies at 81", *mizzima*, June 1, 2010, Accessed June 19, 2017, <http://archive-1.mizzima.com/news/myanmar/3996-karenni-resistance-leader-dies-at-81>.

<sup>3</sup> "Karenni resistance leader dies at 81", *mizzima*, June 1, 2010, Accessed June 19, 2017, <http://archive-1.mizzima.com/news/myanmar/3996-karenni-resistance-leader-dies-at-81>.

<sup>4</sup> "Internal Affairs; SLORC Issues Ultimatum to Karenni Party for Talks Within 10 Days". *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 8, 1995. Accessed July 22, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Yuk Chan, Heidi Fung, and Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz, *The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility Volume 2, Volume 2* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing University Press, 2015), 134.

Ever married?

Yes<sup>6</sup>

Age of first marriage

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

Children

Yes, he had four sons and four daughters.<sup>7</sup>

Religious identification

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Family background

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Physical health

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Mental health

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

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<sup>6</sup> Yuk Chan, Heidi Fung, and Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz, *The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility Volume 2, Volume 2*(Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing University Press, 2015), 134.

<sup>7</sup> Yuk Chan, Heidi Fung, and Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz, *The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility Volume 2, Volume 2*(Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing University Press, 2015), 134.

He was the KNPP's chief of staff.<sup>8</sup> He was also the organization's vice-chairman.<sup>9</sup> He was commander of the Karenni Army (KA) from 1974-1978.<sup>10</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

During World War II, he fought with the British against the Japanese.<sup>11</sup>

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Lived in exile?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Studied abroad?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

Imprisoned?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown, lack of reputable sources

Cause of death?

Disease/Natural Cause<sup>12</sup>

Primary language(s)

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

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<sup>8</sup> Martz, Ron. "INSIDE BURMA- Soviets, Vietnam Aiding Burma in Civil War- 40-Year Struggle Has Been No-Win, But That Could Be About to Change- First of Three Parts". *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, February 14, 1988. Accessed July 22, 2018.

<sup>9</sup> "Burmese Opposition Radio Reports Karen Cease-Fire Talks on Hold". *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, April 5, 2004. Accessed July 22, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Lintner, Bertil, *Burma in Revolt*, New York: Routledge, 2019, p. 429.

<sup>11</sup> Fenn, Mark. "Britain's Forgotten Allies Who Languish in Refugee Camps- Help is Finally at Hand for a Dwindling Band of Veterans Who Fought the Japanese in Burma". *The Times*, March 30, 2013. Accessed July 22, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> "Karenni resistance leader dies at 81", *mizzima*, June 1, 2010, Accessed June 19, 2017, <http://archive-1.mizzima.com/news/myanmar/3996-karenni-resistance-leader-dies-at-81>.



Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown, lack of reputable sources.

Coder initials

IS, SNA

<b>Rolecode</b>	318
<b>Leadercode</b>	238
<b>Name of leader</b>	Khu Hte Bupeh
<b>Organization</b>	The Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1937 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Kaylya village, Prusoe Township, Karenni State, Myanmar <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2011 <sup>3</sup>

Birth order

He was the fifth son.<sup>4</sup>

Age at start of leadership

Unknown

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Unknown

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Attended schools at Taunggyi, Kalaw, Mandalay, Moulemein and Taungoo and graduated from Rangoon University in 1960 with bachelor of art in history. He briefly studied law at Rangoon University.<sup>5</sup>

Ever married?

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Brief Biography of KNPP Chairman Khu Hte Bupeh," *Karenni Information Center*, Accessed 23 September 2018. <https://web.archive.org/web/20141023080007/http://homeknpc.org/index.php?limitstart=10>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Multiple articles and videos on Google show that he passed away in 2011. However, those sources are mostly unreliable personal blogs.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	320
<b>Leadercode</b>	356
<b>Name of leader</b>	Plya Reh
<b>Organization</b>	The Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of leadership (*age*)  
He assumed leadership in 1986; age at the time is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married?  
Unknown

Age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Linter, Bertil. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*. (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books), 1994. 429.

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	322
<b>Leadercode</b>	182
<b>Name of leader</b>	Htoo Htoo LAY
<b>Organization</b>	The Karen National Union (KNU)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1947 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

He was 61.<sup>2 3</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

The previous leader was killed. At the time, Lay was the deputy leader and assumed leadership of the KNU based on their constitution.<sup>4</sup>

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

He was a “Rangoon-educated” lawyer which indicates he attended at least undergraduate college.<sup>5</sup>

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

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<sup>1</sup> “Myanmar’s Ethnic Karen Rebel Group Vows to Continue Fighting Against Junta’s Troop, AS”. *The Associated Press News Service*, 16 February 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Keenan, Paul. *By Force of Arms: Armed Ethnic Groups in Burma* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd, 2013), n.p.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1.

<sup>5</sup> McConnachie, Kirsten. *Governing Refugees: Justice, Order and Legal Pluralism* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 78.



Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

He was the son of KNDO leader Sgaw Maw Lay, who was killed in the 1950s.<sup>6</sup>

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

There is an indication that he has an ill-health condition.<sup>7</sup> He resigned as General Secretary due to ill health in 2008.<sup>8</sup>

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Lawyer.<sup>9</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

He was the KNU's joint secretary.<sup>10</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

No

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<sup>6</sup> Thawngmung, Ardeth. *The "other" Karen in Myanmar: Ethnic Minorities and the Struggle Without Arms* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2012), 113.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Keenan, Paul. "Changing the Guard," *Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies: Peace and Reconciliation*, Edited by Lian H. Sakhong, Analysis Paper No. 6, January 2003: 4, <http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs14/BCES-AP-6-red.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> See note 5.

<sup>10</sup> "KNU Rebels Conclude Second Round of Peace Talks with Myanmar Junta". *Agence France Presse-English*, 26 February 2004.

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?  
Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?  
Unknown

Imprisoned?  
No

Assassination attempt by the state?  
No.

Cause of death?  
N/A

Primary language(s)  
Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.  
Unknown

**Rolecode** 324  
**Leadercode** 397  
**Name of leader** Saw Ba Thin Sein  
**Organization** The Karen National Union (KNU)  
**Conflict country** Myanmar  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1927<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Henzada in Irrawaddy Division,  
British Burma<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2008<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2008 from natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2000, he became chairman of the KNU. Therefore, he was 73 years old when he assumed the highest leadership role in KNU.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

<https://www.burmalibrary.org/sites/burmalibrary.org/files/obl/docskaren/Karen%20Heritage%20Web/images/Saw-Ba-Thincard.gif>

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Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>2</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>3</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>4</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

He was appointed as chairman in 2000.<sup>5</sup> Prior to being appointed as the chairman, he joined KNU in 1949 and became its general secretary in 1984.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied at the American Baptist Mission High School in Henzada.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married to Naw Ohn Myaing.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he is survived by three daughters and one son.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Christian. This is an assumption considering the fact that he studied at the American Baptist Mission High School.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>6</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>7</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>8</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>9</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was the Education Minister for the KNU.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he worked as a clerk at the war office in Rangoon until 1946.<sup>11</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>10</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>11</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of natural cause.<sup>12</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

There is no specific reference on his language. There is an assumption he spoke Karen language as his primary language because it is the main language of his ethnic group.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Saw Naing, "KNU Chairman Dies," *Irrawaddy.com*, May 22, 2008, accessed April 8, 2017, [http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art\\_id=12196](http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=12196).

<sup>13</sup>

<b>Rolecode</b>	325
<b>Leadercode</b>	398
<b>Name of leader</b>	Saw Bo Mya
<b>Organization (KNU)</b>	The Karen National Union
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1927 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Hti Mu Khi village, Papun Hills, British Burma <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2006 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2006 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1976, he assumed Chairmanship of the KNU.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he was 49 years old when he assumed a leadership role.

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear.

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/bo-mya-7194ed29-29b1-4cd6-bb49-dda0a091817-resize-750.jpeg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), no page number available.

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), no page number available.

<sup>3</sup> Tom Lansford, *Political Handbook of the World 2014* (Thousand Oaks: CQ Press, 2014), 996.

<sup>4</sup> Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 40.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He was educated up to 4<sup>th</sup> standard.<sup>5</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>6</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had a son or sons.<sup>7</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Christian.<sup>8</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a soldier.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>5</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), no page number available.

<sup>6</sup> Ashley South, *Mon Nationalism and Civil War in Burma: The Golden Sheldrake* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 126.

<sup>7</sup> Alexis Rieffel, *Myanmar/Burma: Inside Challenges, Outside Interests* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), 73.

<sup>8</sup> Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 39.

<sup>9</sup> Jack Fong, *Revolution as Development: The Karen Self-Determination Struggle Against Ethnocracy (1949 - 2004)* (Boca Raton: Universal-Publishers, 2008), 129.



Yes, during WWII, he served with the British military and joined Force 136, a British-organized undercover unit designed to penetrate behind Japanese lines.<sup>10</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, in 1949, he participated in the general Karen uprising.<sup>11</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.

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<sup>10</sup> Jack Fong, *Revolution as Development: The Karen Self-Determination Struggle Against Ethnocracy (1949 - 2004)* (Boca Raton: Universal-Publishers, 2008), 129.

<sup>11</sup> Chao Yawnghwe, *The Shan of Burma: Memoirs of a Shan Exile* (Pasir Panjang: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010), 196.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

There is the assumption he spoke Karen language (primary language) because he was an ethnic Karen. Other languages are unknown.

**Rolecode** 326  
**Leadercode** 416  
**Name of leader** Tamla Baw  
**Organization** The Karen National Union (KNU)  
**Conflict country** Myanmar  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1920<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Moulmein, British Burma<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2014<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2014 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In October 2008, the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of the KNU appointed him to become its president.<sup>4</sup> He was 88 years old when he assumed a leadership role.

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed (see above).

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Ta-Mla-Baw.jpg>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> "R.I.P General Tamla Baw Karen Leader," *UNHCR.org*, June 27, 2014, accessed February 24, 2017, [http://data.unhcr.org/thailand/flash\\_read.php?ID=670](http://data.unhcr.org/thailand/flash_read.php?ID=670).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Keenan, *By Force of Arms: Armed Ethnic Groups in Burma* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd, 2013).

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Yes, he had a daughter.<sup>5</sup>

**Religious identification**

Since he was a member of the KNU, which is an organization with predominantly Christian members, Christianity might be his religion as well.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a soldier or rebel.<sup>7</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, during WWII, he served as a Lance corporal in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Burma Rifles, in which he joined Major Hugh Seagram's guerilla force against the Japanese.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, after WWII ended, he served as a Lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Karen Rifles. In 1961, he served as

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<sup>5</sup> Tom Lansford, *Political Handbook of the World 2014* (Thousand Oaks: CQ Press, 2014), 996.

<sup>6</sup> Tom Lansford, *Political Handbook of the World 2014* (Thousand Oaks: CQ Press, 2014), 996.

<sup>7</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

commander of the Karens' 2<sup>nd</sup> brigade. Later in 1968, he joined Bo Mya's Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA), in which he eventually became the vice chief of staff.<sup>9</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, in January 1949, he joined the Karen uprising, in which he participated in the Upper Burma Campaign. In the 1950s, he was active in the Toungoo area.<sup>10</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, in 1944, the Japanese captured and imprisoned him for four months.<sup>11</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of natural causes.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Karen.

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<sup>9</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).



<b>Rolecode</b>	327
<b>Leadercode</b>	107
<b>Name of leader</b>	Char Ui
<b>Organization</b>	The Lahu National United Party (LNUP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1935 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Loi Kham Long area near Möng Tun, southern Shan State, British Burma <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A

### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He was born as the third son.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1980, he became the leader of the LNUP. Therefore, he was 45 years old when he assumed the highest leadership role in LNUP.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He succeeded his father to become the leader of LNUP after his father, its founder, died in 1980.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>2</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>3</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>4</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>5</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was ever married is unknown.

**Children**

Whether he has children is unknown.

**Religious identification**

It is assumed his religion is Animism or the worship of spirits and deities because it is the predominant religion among the Lahu people.<sup>6</sup>

**Elite family background**

He is the son of a *payah* (political-religious leader) of the Lahus.<sup>7</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a guerilla fighter on the Lahu rebellion under the leadership of his father, Pu Kyaung Long.<sup>8</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> Carol Ember and Melvin Ember, *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Cultures Topics and Cultures A-K - Volume 1; Cultures L-Z -, Volume 2* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 604.

<sup>7</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).



No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

His combat experience is unknown.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

There is no specific reference on his language. It is assumed he speaks Lahus language as his primary language because it is the main language of his ethnic group.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 263.

<b>Rolecode</b>	328
<b>Leadercode</b>	360
<b>Name of leader</b>	Pu Kyaung Long
<b>Organization</b>	The Lahu National United Party (LNUP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1860 <sup>1</sup> (He reportedly lived until 120 years old)
<b>Place of birth</b> British Burma <sup>2</sup>	Loi Kham Long in the Möng Hsat-Möng Ton area, southern Shan State,
<b>Year of death</b>	1980 <sup>3</sup>

### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1980 of likely natural causes due to old age.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1973, he founded and became the leader of the LNUP. Therefore, he was 113 years old when he assumed the highest leadership role in LNUP.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the LNUP.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>2</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>3</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>4</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>5</sup>Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Yes. His son, Char Ui, succeeded him to become the leader of LNUP after his death.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

It is assumed his religion is Animism or the worship of spirits and deities because it is the predominant religion among the Lahu people.<sup>7</sup>

**Elite family background**

He came from a family of *payah* (political-religious leader) of the Lahus.<sup>8</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Politico-religious leader of his ethnic group.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

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<sup>6</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Carol Ember and Melvin Ember, *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Cultures Topics and Cultures A-K - Volume 1; Cultures L-Z -, Volume 2* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 604.

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

Yes, he was the commander of *Ka Kwe Ye* (KKY) home guard force until he founded the LNUP in 1973.<sup>10</sup> As a commander of KKY, he received the unofficial permission to trade in opium in exchange for fighting Shan insurgents in southern Shan state. But their opium had been confiscated by government troops and was allegedly later sold by local commanders to buyers along the Thai-Burma border.<sup>11</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he declared war on Rangoon as a response towards the government intervention in his opium trade. Following the raid on Mōng Hsat and Mōng Ton, he and his rebel forces withdrew to a mountain on the Thai-Burma border called Loi Lang, where they set up base. It was soon to become a major center for drug trafficking in the region.<sup>12</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>10</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

He likely died of natural causes due to old age.

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

The languages There is no specific reference on his language. It is assumed he spoke Lahus language as his primary language because it is the main language of his ethnic group.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).

**Rolecode** 329

**Leadercode** 352

**Name of leader** Peng Jiasheng (also known as Phone Kyar Shin or Pheung Kya Shin)

**Organization** The Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA)

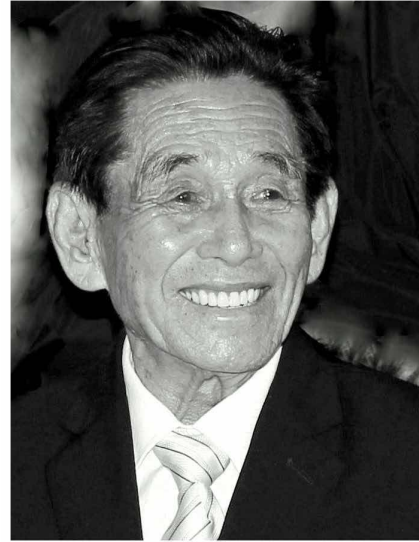
**Conflict country** Myanmar

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1931<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Hong Seu Htoo village, Kokang, British Burma<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

On 12 March 1989, he established the MNDAA.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he was 58 years old when he became a leader.

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://teacircleoxford.files.wordpress.com/2017/10/photo20of20peng20jiasheng.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 140.

<sup>4</sup> Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 140.

Yes, he led the MNDA with his brother, Peng Jiafu. MNDA is a group that was led by two brothers, Peng Jiasheng and Peng Jiafu.<sup>5</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

**Children**

Yes, he has a daughter, Peng Xin Chun.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

**Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was an officer in Jimmy Yang's Kokang Revolutionary Army in the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> This rebel group was established by the ruling Yang family in the 1960s.<sup>8</sup> In addition, he was also a cadre of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) until the collapse of the CPB in 1989.<sup>9</sup> In July 1967, he and his brother went to Beijing after the cadres of the CPB in China contacted and promised arms and ammunition to them.<sup>10</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

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<sup>5</sup> Robert Rotberg, *Burma: Prospects for a Democratic Future* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1998), 169.

<sup>6</sup> Yuk Wah Chan, Heidi Fung, and Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz, *The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility Volume 2, Volume 2* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 147.

<sup>7</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 63.

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Rohan Gunaratna and Stefanie Kam, *Handbook of Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific* (London: Imperial College Press), 173.

<sup>10</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a drug smuggler. He was active in the opium trade since at least the early 1970s.<sup>11</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, during the 1960s, he fought with Jimmy Yang's Kokang Revolutionary Forces. In 1968, he returned from China as commander of the Kokang People's Liberation Army, which merged with the armed forces of the CPB.<sup>12</sup>

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he fought in Jimmy Yang's Kokang Revolutionary Forces against the Ne Win regime in the 1960s.<sup>13</sup> On March 12, 1989, he led Kokang Chinese units in challenging the CPB's central leadership, in which two days later his forces captured Mōng Ko. Eventually, this mutiny quickly spread to all other CPB base areas in the northeast, which forced the old leadership of the CPB into exile in China and led to the creation of the MNDAA.<sup>14</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he served as Kokang's civil administrator.<sup>15</sup>

**Lived in exile?**

He was given sanctuary in China.<sup>16</sup> It is unclear whether he lived in exile or not.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>11</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 360.

<sup>12</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 360.

<sup>13</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 360.

<sup>14</sup> Bertil Lintner, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: SEAP Publications, 1990), 46.

<sup>15</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 360.

<sup>16</sup> "Fighting in northern Myanmar Phone home," *The Economist*, February 19, 2015, accessed February 11, 2017, <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21644227-chinas-changing-attitudes-towards-myanmars-border-groups-phone-home>.



Whether he received military training abroad is unknown. However, he might have received military training in China while he was visiting the cadres of the CPB in China.<sup>17</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Chinese was his primary language because he is an ethnic Kokang Chinese; the majority of Kokang Chinese speak Chinese.<sup>18</sup> Other languages spoken are unknown due to lack of reputable sources.

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<sup>17</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> Leo Suryadinata, *The Rise of China and the Chinese Overseas: A Study of Beijing's Changing Policy in Southeast Asia and Beyond* (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publishing, 2017), 132.

<b>Rolecode</b>	332
<b>Leadercode</b>	301
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mohammed Yunus
<b>Organization</b>	The Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1952-1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A (Still Alive)

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership

In 1982, he established the RSO and became its leader.<sup>2</sup> Would have been 29 or 30 at the time.<sup>3</sup>

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

He founded the organization.<sup>4</sup>

Powersharing

Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

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<sup>1</sup> E. Mirante, "Interview with Rohingya Leaders Nurul Islam and Dr. Mohammed Yunus," *Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO) Arakan, Burma*, 6 October 2006.

<http://www.rohingya.org/portal/index.php/component/content/article/15-arno-programs/32-interview-with-rohingya-leaders-nurul-islam-and-dr-mohammed-yunus.html>

<sup>2</sup> Ghosh, Partha. *Migrants, Refugees and the Stateless in South Asia* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications), 2016, 161.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2.

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Islam. Since he established an organization that promotes solidarity for the Rohingya Muslim population.

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

He used to be a member of the Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF) before he founded the RSO.<sup>5</sup>

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Doctor.<sup>6</sup>

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> Parashar, Swati. *Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Implications for South Asia* (New Delhi: Pearson Education), 2005, 92.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?  
Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?  
Unknown

Imprisoned?  
Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?  
Unknown

Cause of death?  
Still alive

Primary language(s)  
Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.  
Unknown

**Rolecode** 333  
**Leadercode** 446  
**Name of leader** Yord (Yawd) Serk  
**Organization** The Shan State Army-South (SSA-S)  
**Conflict country** Myanmar  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1959; Source indicates he was 55 in 2014, placing his birth year as 1958 or 1959.<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** N/A (Still Alive)



#### Birth order

Unknown

#### Age at start of leadership (age)

In 1996, he established the SSA-S and became its leader until 2014.<sup>2</sup> He led the group for 18 years since SSA-S was founded (1996-2014). The source does reference 1994, but explicitly states 18 years. As notated below, 1996, is when the SSA-S was split off and likely accounts for this discrepancy. Because he was 55 in 2014, when he announced his intent to step down from leadership, he was 37 years old when he became leader.<sup>3</sup>

#### Leader entry method

He founded the organization. In 1996, after Khun Sa surrender his Mōng Tai army to the SPDC, Colonel Yawd Serk led one faction to split and lead the Shan insurgency under the SSA-S.<sup>4</sup>

#### Powersharing

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yawd\\_Serk.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yawd_Serk.jpg)

Nan Tin Htwe, "Shan Shocked as Yawd Serk Quits SSA-S," *The New York Times*, 3 February 2014.

<https://www.mmtimes.com/national-news/9417-shan-shocked-as-yawd-serk-quits-ssa-s.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Renaud Egretau and François Robinne, *Metamorphosis: Studies in Social and Political Change in Myanmar* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016), 136.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

No. Serk is listed as the Chairmen, Commander and Chief, and Lt. General. There are positions below him, but none appearing to share his power.<sup>5</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
He graduated with a master's degree in government from Thailand's Pathumthani University after two years of study. He travelled back and forth between Shan State and the university in Pathum Thani province, where he attended weekend classes.<sup>6</sup>

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

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<sup>5</sup> "RCSS," *Middle East Peace Monitor*, 6 June 2013. <http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org/home/57-stakeholders/168-rcss>.

<sup>6</sup> Suksamran, Nauvarat. "College Key to Shan Regeneration," *Myanmar Times*, 21 February 2018. <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/college-key-shan-regeneration.html>.

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Yawd Serk split his organization from the Mong Tai Army (MTA) when he disagreed with the ceasefire that the MTA was observing.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, he has been an insurgent since the age of 17.<sup>8</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Still alive

Primary language(s)

Unknown

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<sup>7</sup> Jirattikorn, Amporn. "Shan Virtual Insurgency and the Spectatorship of the Nation," *Journal of the Southeast Asian Studies*. Vol. 42, No. 1 (Feb 2011), 24-25. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23020301>.

<sup>8</sup> Seekins, Donald M., *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)*, (Rowman and Littlefield, London, 2 ed. 2017), 486.

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown



<b>Rolecode</b>	334
<b>Leadercode</b>	345
<b>Name of leader</b>	Pang Fa
<b>Organization</b>	The Shan State Progress Party (SSPP)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A (Still Alive)

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership

In 2011, he restarted the SSPP and became its chairman.<sup>1</sup> His age at the time is unknown.

Leader entry method

Unknown

Powersharing

No.<sup>2</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> "Shan State Progress Party/ Shan State Army," *Myanmar Peace Monitor*, n.d., accessed 28 April 2017, <http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org/stakeholders/stakeholders-overview/167-ssa-n>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Religious identification

Unknown

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

No.

Cause of death?

Still alive.

Primary language(s)

Unknown

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	335
<b>Leadercode</b>	290
<b>Name of leader</b>	Moh HENG
<b>Organization</b>	The Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	1991 <sup>1</sup>

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

On January 20, 1969, he established SURA and became its leader.<sup>2</sup> Age at the time is unknown.

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

Founder.<sup>3</sup>

Powersharing

No.<sup>4</sup>

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Lintner, Bertil. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books), 1999, np.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Jongman, Albert. *Political Terrorism: A New Guide To Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, And Literature* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers), 1988, 517.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Religious identification

Buddhism.<sup>5</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

He was the leader of the Shan State Communist Party (SSCP).<sup>6</sup> He was also a leader of the Shan National United Front.<sup>7</sup>

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

He was one of the leaders of the Mōng Tai Army (MTA).<sup>8</sup> He was a leader of the Shan National United Front.<sup>9</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> “Shan Rebels’ Vision of Liberated Buddhist State May be a Pipe Dream,” *UCANews*, 18 November 1987. [http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post\\_name=/1987/11/18/shan-rebels-vision-of-liberated-buddhist-state-may-be-a-pipe-dream&post\\_id=35925](http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1987/11/18/shan-rebels-vision-of-liberated-buddhist-state-may-be-a-pipe-dream&post_id=35925).

<sup>6</sup> Fong, Jack. *Revolution as Development: The Karen Self-Determination Struggle Against Ethnocracy (1949 - 2004)* (Boca Raton: Universal Publishers), 2008, 114.

<sup>7</sup> Boonyawongwiwat, Thitiwut. *The Ethno-Narcotic Politics of the Shan People* (Lanham: Lexington Books), 2018, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Tucker, Shelby. *Burma: Curse of Independence* (Sterling: Pluto Press), 2001, 6.

<sup>9</sup> See note 7.

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Cancer.<sup>10</sup>

Primary language(s)

Probably spoke Burmese, but unclear what his primary language was.

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

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<sup>10</sup> See note 7.

<b>Rolecode</b>	336
<b>Leadercode</b>	290
<b>Name of leader</b>	Moh HENG (Gon Jerng)
<b>Organization</b>	Thailand (Tai) Revolutionary Council (TRC)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	1991 <sup>1</sup>

Birth order

Unknown

Age at start of leadership (age)

On March 3, 1985, he became the president of TRC.<sup>2</sup> His age at the time is unknown.

Leader entry method: How did this individual come to lead this organization?

He founded the organization.<sup>3</sup>

Powersharing

No.<sup>4</sup> He was the president of TRC, while Khun Sa controlled the armed portion and finances.

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student

Unknown

Ever married?

Unknown

Age of first marriage

Unknown

Children

Unknown

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<sup>1</sup> Lintner, Bertil. *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books), 1999, np.

<sup>2</sup> Jongman, Albert. *Political Terrorism: A New Guide To Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, And Literature* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers), 1988, 517.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Religious identification

Buddhism.<sup>5</sup>

Elite family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

He was the leader of the Shan State Communist Party (SSCP) at some point.<sup>6</sup>

Physical health

Unknown

Mental health

Unknown

Pre-resistance organization leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate armed group prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization?

He was one of the leaders of the Mōng Tai Army (MTA).<sup>7</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming leadership in the resistance organization

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership of the resistance organization?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Studied abroad?

Unknown

Receive military training abroad from a foreign military or foreign rebel group?

Unknown

Extensive professional work abroad?

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<sup>5</sup> “Shan Rebels’ Vision of Liberated Buddhist State May be a Pipe Dream,” *UCANews*, 18 November 1987. [http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post\\_name=/1987/11/18/shan-rebels-vision-of-liberated-buddhist-state-may-be-a-pipe-dream&post\\_id=35925](http://www.ucanews.com/story-archive/?post_name=/1987/11/18/shan-rebels-vision-of-liberated-buddhist-state-may-be-a-pipe-dream&post_id=35925).

<sup>6</sup> Fong, Jack. *Revolution as Development: The Karen Self-Determination Struggle Against Ethnocracy (1949 - 2004)* (Boca Raton: Universal Publishers), 2008, 114.

<sup>7</sup> Tucker, Shelby. *Burma: Curse of Independence* (Sterling: Pluto Press), 2001, 6.



Unknown

Imprisoned?

Unknown

Assassination attempt by the state?

Unknown

Cause of death?

Unknown

Primary language(s)

Probably spoke Burmese, but unclear what his primary language was.

Other languages spoken as adult.

Unknown

<b>Rolecode</b>	337
<b>Leadercode</b>	91
<b>Name of leader</b>	Bao Youxiang (alt spelling: Pao Yuchang)
<b>Organization</b> (UWSA)	The United Wa State Army
<b>Conflict country</b>	Myanmar
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1949 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Kunma, a northern Wa village near Gawng Lang, Burma <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he had died.

### **Birth order**

Bao was born as the sixth of eight brothers in the family.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1995, he became commander-in-chief of the UWSA and chairman of the United Wa State Party (UWSP) after its first chairman, Chao Ngi Lai, died of a stroke.<sup>4 5</sup> Therefore, he was 46 years old when he assumed a leadership role.

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Image Credit:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/86/Bao\\_Youxiang\\_UWSA\\_chief.jpg/440px-Bao\\_Youxiang\\_UWSA\\_chief.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/86/Bao_Youxiang_UWSA_chief.jpg/440px-Bao_Youxiang_UWSA_chief.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), no page number.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Marshall and Anthony Davis, "Soldiers of Fortune," *Time.com*, December 16, 2002, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2056076,00.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Marshall and Anthony Davis, "Soldiers of Fortune," *Time.com*, December 16, 2002, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2056076,00.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), no page number.

<sup>5</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 558.

### **Leader entry method**

He was possibly appointed/designated. As one of the two founding members of the UWSA, he assumed control of the highest leadership after Chairman Lai died of a stroke in 1995.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His education is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Whether he was married is unknown.

### **Children**

Whether he had children is unknown.

### **Religious identification**

His religious identification is unknown.

### **Elite family background**

He is the son of a chieftain.<sup>7</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, he used to be a member of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB). In 1985, he became an alternate member of the CPB's central committee at the third congress.<sup>8</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

He suffers from an acute and chronic case of incurable trichinosis, which he got from eating uncooked pork when he was with the CPB. He also suffers from paranoia.<sup>9</sup> Since 2005, his

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<sup>6</sup> Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 143.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Marshall and Anthony Davis, "Soldiers of Fortune," *Time.com*, December 16, 2002, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2056076,00.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), no page number.

<sup>9</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), no page number.

health has been in decline and many of his leadership responsibilities have been assumed by his three brothers and deputy.<sup>10</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a guerilla leader since the late 1960s.<sup>11</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he fought in the ranks of the People's Army of the CPB until the CPB broke up in 1989.<sup>12</sup> He rose steadily through the CPB ranks, from battalion commander in Kunma to leader of a crack brigade operating near the Thai border. For Bao and thousands of fellow Wa tribesmen, the CPB provided modern weaponry, combat experience and a first for the people that are historically made up of squabbling clans of a loose political unity.<sup>13</sup> In the CPB, Bao used to be the commander of CPB's 683 Brigade, which was active in Shan State until the 1989 mutiny.<sup>14</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he had combat experience is unknown.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence that he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>10</sup> Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 143.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Marshall and Anthony Davis, "Soldiers of Fortune," *Time.com*, December 16, 2002, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2056076,00.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Donald Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 105.

<sup>13</sup> Andrew Marshall and Anthony Davis, "Soldiers of Fortune," *Time.com*, December 16, 2002, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2056076,00.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), no page number.

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

It is an assumption that he speaks the Wa language as his primary language because it is the native language of his ethnic group.

**Rolecode** 338

**Leadercode** 361

**Name of leader** Puspa Kamal Dahal (nom de guerre: Prachanda)

**Organization** CPN-M (Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist)

**Conflict country** Nepal

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1954<sup>1</sup>

**Place of birth** Lewadi, Nepal<sup>2</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

N/A

### **Birth order**

He is the eldest son.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, he became the general secretary of the CPN. Therefore, he was 35 years old.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: CROPPED: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2\\_NCP%27s\\_Chairman-KP\\_Sharma\\_Oli\\_and\\_Puspa\\_Kamal\\_Dahal%27Prachanda%27.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2_NCP%27s_Chairman-KP_Sharma_Oli_and_Puspa_Kamal_Dahal%27Prachanda%27.jpg)

The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, "Prachanda Prime Minister of Nepal," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 22, 2016, accessed December 9, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Prachanda>.

<sup>2</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, "Prachanda Prime Minister of Nepal," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 22, 2016, accessed December 9, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Prachanda>.

<sup>3</sup> Pratyoush Onta and Seira Tamang, "xxxx," in *Pathways to Power: The Domestic Politics of South Asia*, edited by Arjun Guneratne and Anita M. Weiss, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 306.

<sup>4</sup> Pratyoush Onta and Seira Tamang, "xxxx," in *Pathways to Power: The Domestic Politics of South Asia*, edited by Arjun Guneratne and Anita M. Weiss, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 306.

He was appointed to be the top leader of the communist group Mashal by Mohan Baidya, the previous leader, when the latter stepped down in October 1989.<sup>5</sup> He remained in leadership position thereafter, even as Mashal eventually became the CPN-M and led a violent rebellion starting in 1996.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>6</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He finished his bachelor's degree. In 1975, he graduated from the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Science in Rampur, Chitwan district.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>8</sup> he married Sita Poudel at age 15.<sup>9</sup>

### **Children**

He has four children: three daughters and a son.<sup>10</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is Hindu.<sup>11</sup>

### **Elite family background**

He is from a poor farming family.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Aditya Adhikari, *The Bullet and the Ballot Box: The Story of Nepal's Maoist Revolution*, (London: Verso, 2014), 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Aditya Adhikari, *The Bullet and the Ballot Box: The Story of Nepal's Maoist Revolution*, (London: Verso, 2014), 7-8.

<sup>7</sup> Aditya Adhikari, *The Bullet and the Ballot Box: The Story of Nepal's Maoist Revolution*, (London: Verso, 2014), 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> "Profile: Nepal Maoist leader Prachanda," *BBC*, November 21, 2013, accessed December 9, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25032962>.

<sup>9</sup> Pratyoush Onta and Seira Tamang, "xxxx," in *Pathways to Power: The Domestic Politics of South Asia*, edited by Arjun Guneratne and Anita M. Weiss, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 306.

<sup>10</sup> "Profile: Prachanda, from commander to prime minister," *xinhuanet*, August 15, 2008, Accessed December 21, 2017, [https://web.archive.org/web/20160306182645/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-08/15/content\\_9366494.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20160306182645/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-08/15/content_9366494.htm); Pratyoush Onta and Seira Tamang, "xxxx," in *Pathways to Power: The Domestic Politics of South Asia*, edited by Arjun Guneratne and Anita M. Weiss, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 306.

<sup>11</sup> "RELIGIONS," *CIA*, Accessed January 2, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Adhikari 2014, 5-8.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, in 1980, Prachanda (a nom de guerre meaning “fierce”) was tasked with leading the All Nepal National Free Students’ Union (Revolutionary), which was affiliated with the radical Communist Party of Nepal (Masal), or CPN (Masal) (Masal means “flame” in Nepalese).<sup>13</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a school teacher.<sup>14</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> Adhikari 2014, 5-8.

<sup>14</sup> Adhikari 2014, 5.



No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is Nepali, and he also speaks English.

**Rolecode** 339  
**Leadercode** 37  
**Name of leader** Adolfo Calero  
**Organization** Contras  
**Conflict country** Nicaragua  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1931<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Nicaragua<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2012<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2012 of natural causes.

### **Birth order**

He was the first of four children.<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He began his leadership at the age of 52.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was installed by the CIA as guerrilla leader.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://static01.nyt.com/images/2012/06/04/world/calero-obit/calero-obit-superJumbo.jpg?quality=90&auto=webp>

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Davison, Phil, "Adolfo Calero: Commander of the US-backed Nicaraguan guerrilla group the Contras," *Independent*, June 2012, Accessed on February 9, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/adolfo-calero-commander-of-the-us-backed-nicaraguan-guerrilla-group-the-contras-7815077.html>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.<sup>7</sup>

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended Law School at Notre Dame and Syracuse.<sup>8</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married at the age of 26 to María Ernestina Lacayo.<sup>9</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had 2 children.<sup>10</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was likely Christian.

**Elite family background**

His father was Adolfo Calero Orozco, a well-known writer.<sup>11</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was affiliated with the Nicaraguan Conservative Party.<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a lawyer and a Coca Cola manager.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Ibid; Malkin, Elisabeth, "Adolfo Calero, Contra Leader in Nicaragua, is dead at 80," *New York Times*, June 3, 2012, Accessed on February 9, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/04/world/americas/adolfo-calero-contra-leader-in-nicaragua-is-dead-at-80.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Davison, Phil, "Adolfo Calero: Commander of the US-backed Nicaraguan guerrilla group the Contras," *Independent*, June 2012, Accessed on February 9, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/adolfo-calero-commander-of-the-us-backed-nicaraguan-guerrilla-group-the-contras-7815077.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he went into self-imposed exile in Florida in 1982, when the Sandinistas took over.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied in the United States.<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes. He was trained as a guerrilla by the United States.<sup>16</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence of him serving time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

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<sup>14</sup> Malkin, Elisabeth, "Adolfo Calero, Contra Leader in Nicaragua, is dead at 80," *New York Times*, June 3, 2012, Accessed on February 9, 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/04/world/americas/adolfo-calero-contra-leader-in-nicaragua-is-dead-at-80.html>

<sup>15</sup> Davison, Phil, "Adolfo Calero: Commander of the US-backed Nicaraguan guerrilla group the Contras," *Independent*, June 2012, Accessed on February 9, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/adolfo-calero-commander-of-the-us-backed-nicaraguan-guerrilla-group-the-contras-7815077.html>

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

### **Cause of Death?**

He died of lung disease.<sup>17</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language was likely Spanish, and he likely spoke English because of his time in the United States.

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-xpm-2012-jun-04-la-me-adolfo-calero-20120604-story.html>.

**Rolecode** 340  
**Leadercode** 130  
**Name of leader** Enrique Bermudez de la Serna  
**Organization** FDN/Contras  
**Conflict country** Nicaragua  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1932<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Nicaragua<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1991<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated in 1991.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

“In the spring of 1981, Bermudez was identified as the Chief of the Military arm of the Nicaraguan Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ADREN), the 15th of September Legion. In September 1981, the ADREN merged with the Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN) and formed the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN),” so at age 49.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He organized the 15<sup>th</sup> of September Legion, so he was the founder. <sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/c/c4/EBermudez.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

<sup>4</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“During his military career, he was a student at the U.S. Army School of the Americas, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the Inter-American Defense College.”<sup>6</sup> He also graduated from Nicarauaga’s military academy in 1952.<sup>7</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>8</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>9</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was likely Christian.<sup>10</sup>

**Elite family background**

His father was a mechanical engineer.<sup>11</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

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<sup>6</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

<sup>8</sup> “Contra Figure’s Slaying Was Seemingly Foretold : Nicaragua: Enrique Bermudez was the enemy both to the Sandinistas and rebel leaders. His political activity served to reopen war wounds,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1991, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-02-23-mn-1536-story.html>.

<sup>9</sup> “Resolution Urging the City of SweetWater to Co-Designate West Flagler Street as Colon Enrique Bermudez Verela Street,” November 3, 2009, Accessed August 19, 2017, <http://www.miamidade.gov/govaction/legistarfiles/Matters/Y2009/092615.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

He had a military career.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Enrique Bermudez Varela served as an officer in the Nicaraguan National Guard Corps of Engineers from 1952-1979.”<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he had combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, “With comrade Ricardo Lau, Bermudez first organized the 15<sup>th</sup> of September Legion to wage guerrilla warfare in Nicaragua, then returned from exile to personally lead the so called Nicaraguan Democratic Force as “Comandante 380.”<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Yes, see education, above.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he studied at U.S. military schools.<sup>15</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Yes, he received military training in the U.S.<sup>16</sup>

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

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<sup>12</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.

<sup>13</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Newton, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Crimes* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 38.

<sup>15</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.

<sup>16</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.



No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“On February 16, 1991, Bermudez was assassinated in Managua, Nicaragua. Speculation was widespread that he was killed by Sandinista supporters.”<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Spanish as his primary language.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> “Northern Front Contras: The Contra Story,” *CIA*, Accessed August 19, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/cocaine/contra-story/north.html>.

<sup>18</sup> “Languages,” Central Intelligence Agency, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

NOTE: there was a gap in his leadership in 1995, and he maintained loose leadership of his other organizations. If there is any variable that would change due to something that occurred in the middle of 1995, or that references his leadership of his other organizations during this time, it should be handled on a case by case basis.

<b>Rolecode</b>	341
<b>Leadercode</b>	264
<b>Name of leader</b>	Mano Dayak
<b>Organization</b> (CRA)	Coordination de la Resistance
<b>Conflict country</b>	Niger
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1949 <sup>1</sup> or 1950 <sup>2</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	the Nigerian Air mountains <sup>3</sup> in the Tidene Valley north of Agadez, Niger <sup>4</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	1995 <sup>567</sup> or 1996 <sup>8</sup>



### Deceased

Yes, he died in in a plane crash in 1995 or 1996.

### Birth order

His birth order is unknown.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://live.staticflickr.com/3427/3374406106\\_d3def6e769\\_n.jpg](https://live.staticflickr.com/3427/3374406106_d3def6e769_n.jpg)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
Abdourahmane. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Baz Lecoq, "Revolutions in Tuareg Society," *Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, Edited by Michiel Baud and Rosanne Rutten, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 101.

<sup>3</sup>Lecoq. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Abdourahmane. 170.

<sup>5</sup> Alistair Carr, *The Nomad's Path: Travels in the Sahel*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 90.

<sup>6</sup> Abdourahmane. 170.

<sup>7</sup> "Niger Rebels Demand More Jobs for Tuareg in Army, Mines", *Agence France-Presse*, June 29, 2007, Accessed April 5, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>8</sup> "Tuareg Diaspora" in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, Edited by Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard, (New York: Springer, 2005), 176.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

It formed in 1994 by the FLAA, FPLS, ARLN, and FLT. In 1995, the organization split (including his FLT), but in July 1995, he revived the CRA. It does not seem he led the group fully until after it was revived.<sup>9</sup>

He was described as the leader of the FLT in October 1995.<sup>10</sup>

The CRA was formed in 1994, bringing together 6 rebel groups that split in 1995.<sup>11</sup> He became the VP of the CRA, which was formed in 1993.<sup>12</sup> (VP does not count as head).

In September 1995, he was referenced as the head of the CRA.<sup>13</sup>

Coding as 1994, age as 44, since it is unclear whether he was the definite head in 1994; he was potentially the VP.

### **Leader entry method**

He appears that he founded the organization.<sup>14</sup>

### **Powersharing**

Rhissa Ag Boula was called the VP and the leader of the of the Coordination de la Resistance Armee (CRA) in 1993. CRA is a coordinating organ for four rebel groups: the Front de Liberation de l'Air et de l'Azawad (FLAA), the Front de Liberation de Temust (FLT), the Front Patriotique de Liberation du Sahara (FPLS), and ARLN.<sup>15</sup>

He became the VP of the CRA, which was formed in 1993.<sup>16</sup> – Only counted when he was the leader.

In September 1995, he was referenced as the head of the CRA.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> "Niger," in *Political Handbook of the World 2014*, edited by Tom Lansford, (New York, Sage CQ Press: 2014).

<sup>10</sup> "Niger; Rebel Leader Says He is ready for Talks with Government," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, October 20, 1995, Accessed November 19, 2018 through Lexis Nexus.

<sup>11</sup> "Tuareg Rebel Movement Splits," *Agence France Presse*, March 28, 1995, Accessed November 19, 2018 from Lexis Nexus.

<sup>12</sup> Abdourahmane. 170-171.

<sup>13</sup> Boureima Hama, "Tuaregs Threaten to Resume Rebellion," *Agence France Presse*, September 9, 1995, Accessed November 19, 2018 through Lexis Nexus.

<sup>14</sup> "Tuareg Rebel Movement Splits," *Agence France Presse*, March 28, 1995, Accessed November 19, 2018 from Lexis Nexus.

<sup>15</sup> Samuel Delcao, "Ag Boula, Ghissa" in *Historical Dictionary of Niger, Third Edition*. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997), 23. Samuel Delcao, "Dayak, Mano" in *Historical Dictionary of Niger, Third Edition*, (Lanham; The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997) 114. Rasmussen. 171-172.

<sup>16</sup> Abdourahmane. 170-171.

<sup>17</sup> Boureima Hama, "Tuaregs Threaten to Resume Rebellion," *Agence France Presse*, September 9, 1995, Accessed November 19, 2018 through Lexis Nexus.

It appears, that there was more power sharing, before the group was revived. After 1995, Dayak is referenced as the leader. Rhissa Ag Boula shared power early, but became Dayak's VP.<sup>18</sup>

Since there is some indication that he power shared before 1995, while he was leader, coding as yes. There are some discrepancies in the research however, noted above.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He was forced to go to a French school when he was eight years old. He studied folklore, anthropology, and political science in Paris, France and Bloomington, Indiana, United States.<sup>19</sup> He graduated from a university when he studied in France.<sup>20</sup>

He studied folklore at Indiana University for his undergraduate degree. It is unclear if he graduated. He pursued his degree in Political Science at Sorbonne (France).<sup>21</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he is married to a Frenchwoman.<sup>22</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had 2 sons with his wife, Odile.<sup>23</sup>

### **Religious identification**

Generally, the Tuaregs are Muslim, so this may be Dayak's religion.<sup>24</sup> The exact religious identification of Dayak is currently unknown.

### **Elite family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>18</sup> Samuel Delcao, "Ag Boula, Ghissa" in *Historical Dictionary of Niger, Third Edition*. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997), 23. Samuel Delcao, "Dayak, Mano" in *Historical Dictionary of Niger, Third Edition*, (Lanham; The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997) 114. Rasmussen. 171-172.

<sup>19</sup> Lecoq. 101.

<sup>20</sup> H.A. Friedl, "Western Money for Southern Sympathy; How the Tuareg from Timia are Instrumentalizing Tourists to Support their 'Exotic' Village," *Tourism Development; Growth, Myths and Inequalities*, Edited by Peter M. Burns and Marina Novelli, (Oxfordshire: CAB International, 2008), 42.

<sup>21</sup> Barbara Worley, "Mano Dayak, 1949-1995," *ECE UMD*, <https://ece.umd.edu/~sellami/JUNE96/tuareg.html>

<sup>22</sup> Lecoq. 101.

<sup>23</sup> Barbara Worley, "Mano Dayak, 1949-1995," *ECE UMD*, <https://ece.umd.edu/~sellami/JUNE96/tuareg.html>

<sup>24</sup> Kalifa Keita, "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Sahel: The Tuareg Insurgency in Mali," *Strategic Studies Institute*, (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, 1998), 7.

He is said to have had close relationships with politicians, journalists, and tour operators when he ran his tourism agency.<sup>25</sup> One source describes him as having close relationships with the French elite.<sup>26</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He founded and ran a tourist agency.<sup>27</sup> The name of the tourist agency was Temet Voyages.<sup>28</sup> He was also a key organizer of the Paris-Dakar car rally and participated in the making of the film *The Sheltering Sky*.<sup>29</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

It is unknown whether he had experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was previously leader of FLAA and FLT.<sup>30</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

It is unknown whether he had combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

It is unknown whether he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

It is unknown whether he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

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<sup>25</sup> Marko Scholze, "Between the Worlds: Tuareg as Entrepreneurs in Tourism," *Tuareg Society Within a Globalized World: Saharan Life in Transition*, Edited by Anja Fischer and Ines Kohl, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010),175.

<sup>26</sup> Friedl. 42.

<sup>27</sup> Lecoq. 101.

<sup>28</sup> Friedl. 42

<sup>29</sup> Lecoq. 101.

<sup>30</sup> Lecoq, 101. Emizet F. Kisangani, "THE TUAREGS' REBELLIONS IN MALI AND NIGER AND THE U.S. GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR." *International Journal on World Peace* 29, no. 1 (2012): 59-97, Accessed April 6, 2017. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/23266590?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/23266590?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents), 75.

Yes, he studied in the United States and France.<sup>31</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

It is unknown whether he had military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

Maybe, he is described as having connections in France but these connections could have been from the French coming to his tourism agency, not him going to France.<sup>32</sup>

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

It is unknown whether he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

It is unknown whether there was an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

He died in a “suspicious plane crash”<sup>33</sup> Another source does not describe the plane crash as suspicious.<sup>34</sup> Tuaregs call his death a murder.<sup>35</sup> Officials determined that the crash was an accident.<sup>36</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

According to source, he spoke various European languages.<sup>37</sup> Generally, the Tuaregs speak Tamashaq, so it is possible Dayak spoke this language as well.<sup>38</sup> He wrote an autobiography that was in French, so it can be assumed that he was fluent in this language. There is a good chance that French was his main language as an adult.<sup>39</sup> He learned to speak near-perfect level English.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Lecoq. 101.

<sup>32</sup> Lecoq. 101.

<sup>33</sup> Carr. 90.

<sup>34</sup> Marko Scholze, “Between the Worlds: Tuareg as Entrepreneurs in Tourism,” *Tuareg Society Within a Globalized World: Saharan Life in Transition*, Edited by Anja Fischer and Ines Kohl, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 176.

<sup>35</sup> “Niger Rebels Demand More Jobs for Tuareg in Army, Mine”.

<sup>36</sup> Dispatches and Staff Reports, From Wire. “A World Briefing/Africa Regional Briefing”, *The Washington Times*, January 18, 1996: A14, Accessed April 5, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>37</sup> Scholze.175.

<sup>38</sup> Keita. 6.

<sup>39</sup> “Je Suis Ne Avec Du Sable Dans Les Yeux (French Edition),” Accessed April 12, 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Barbara Worley, “Mano Dayak, 1949-1995,” *ECE UMD*, <https://ece.umd.edu/~sellami/JUNE96/tuareg.html>

**Rolecode** 342  
**Leadercode** 198  
**Name of leader** Issa Lamine  
**Organization** Democratic Front for Renewal (FDR)  
**Conflict country** Niger  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown

Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Issa was a party spokesperson and was named to the cabinet in January 2000.<sup>1</sup>

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Unknown

Elite family background

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<sup>1</sup> "Niger" in *Political Handbook of the World 2011*, edited by Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, Judith F. Isacoff, and Tom Lansford, (CQ Press CQ Press Washington, DC 2011), 1055.

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Unknown





**Rolecode 343**

**Leadercode 373**

**Name:** Rhissa ag Boula

**Organization:** Front for the Liberation of Air and Azawad (FLAA)<sup>1</sup>

**Conflict Country:** Niger

**Gender:** Male

**Year of Birth:** Unknown

**Place of Birth:** Unknown

**Year of Death:** Unknown



Birth Order

Unknown

Age at Start of Rebel Leadership

The organization was formed on October 19, 1991.<sup>2</sup> His age at the time is unknown.

Leader Entry Method

He was the leader of the FLAA but the source describes the organization as “created by young Tuaregs in 1991.”<sup>3</sup>

Powersharing

He shared leadership of FLAA with Mano Dayak.<sup>4</sup> He was also vice-president of the Coordination de la Resistance Armee (CRA) with Mano Dayak while with the FLAA. The CRA was a coordinating organ for four rebel groups in the Tuareg Rebellion: the FLAA, the Front de

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.aberfoylesecurity.com/?p=1956>

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Kisangani, Emizet F. "THE TUAREGS' REBELLIONS IN MALI AND NIGER AND THE U.S. GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR." *International Journal on World Peace* 29, no. 1 (2012): 59-97, p. 75. Accessed 6 April 2017.

<sup>2</sup> “New Touareg Rebel Group Speaks Out”, *IRIN*, May 17, 2007, Accessed 14 April 2017.

<http://www.irinnews.org/report/72223/niger-new-touareg-rebel-group-speaks-out>

<sup>3</sup> Ilahiane, Hsain. “Front de Liberation de l’Air Et De L’Azawad (FLAA)”. *Historical Dictionary of Berbers (Imazighen), Second Edition*. (Lanham; Rowman& Littlefield), 2017. 83.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1, p.75.

Liberation de Temust (FLT), the Armee Revolutionnaire de Liberation du Nord Niger (ARLN), and Front Patriotique de Liberation du Sahara (FPLS). It lasted from 1993 to 1995.<sup>5</sup>

#### Education

Unknown

#### Ever Married? If yes, age of first marriage

Unknown

#### Children

Unknown

#### Religious Identification

Generally, the Tuaregs are Muslim, so this may be Dayak's religion.<sup>6</sup> The exact religious identification of Ag Boula is currently unknown.

#### Elite family Background

Unknown

#### Political Affiliations and Intellectual Circles

Unknown

#### Pre-Resistance Organization Leader Occupation

He was the accountant for *Temet Voyages*, a tourism agency headed by Mano Dayak.<sup>7</sup> He worked in the tourist agency for many years.<sup>8</sup>

#### Physical and Mental Health

Unknown

#### Experience in a State Military, and Role

Unknown

#### Experience in a Nonstate Military Prior to Assuming Resistance or Organization Leadership and Role

Unknown

#### Combat Experience Prior to Assuming Resistance Organization Leadership

Unknown

#### Held Government Position Prior to Assuming Leadership?

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<sup>5</sup> Rasmussen, Susan. *Healing in Community; Medicine, Contested Terrains, and Cultural Encounters Among the Tuareg*. (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey), 2001. 171-172. Decalo, Samuel. "Ag Boula, Ghissa". *Historical Dictionary of Niger, Third Edition*. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.), 1997. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Keita, Kalifa. "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Sahel: The Tuareg Insurgency in Mali". *Strategic Studies Institute*. (Carlise, PA: U.S. Army War College), 1998. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Scholze. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Klute. 66.

Unknown

Lived in Exile

Unknown

Study Abroad?

Unknown

Did the Leader Receive Military Training Abroad?

Unknown

Did the Leader have Extensive Work Experience Abroad?

Unknown

Serve Time in Prison? Social Connections During that Time?

In 2004, after the 1990s Tuareg Rebellion, ag Boua was put in jail for 13 months. It was alleged that he had murdered a political party worker, but no charges were brought against him. He was the Minister of Tourism at the time. The source claims that he was imprisoned in order to provoke the Tuareg into another revolt, so the Niger government could get U.S. military aid.<sup>9</sup> At this time, the FLAA was reformed temporarily to get his release.<sup>10</sup> Ag Boula's brother, Mohamed Ag Boula, claimed responsibility for the attacks, so it can be assumed that Rhissa Ag Boula was not the leader at this time.<sup>11</sup> He was freed and granted amnesty after his brother captured four soldiers and held them hostage.<sup>12</sup>

Was there an Assassination Attempt on the Leader by the State?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary Language, and Other Language Spoken as Adult

It is very likely that he spoke French. Tuareg of his generation are defined by their fluency in French.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Keenan, Jeremy H.. "Famine in Niger Is Not All That It Appears." *Review of African Political Economy* 32, no. 104/105 (2005): 405-07.

<sup>10</sup> Pezard, Stephanie and Michael Shurkin. *Achieving Peace in Northern Mali: Past Agreements, Local Conflicts, and the Prospects for a Durable Settlement*. (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation), 2015. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Keenan, Jeremy. "Uranium Goes Critical in Niger: Tuareg Rebellions Threaten Sahelian Conflagration". *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no. 117 (2008): 449-466. 454.

<sup>12</sup> Guichaoua. 76.

<sup>13</sup>Guichaoua. *Conflict, Inequality and Ethnicity: Understanding Collective Political Violence*. 52.

**Rolecode** 344  
**Leadercode** 42  
**Name of leader** Agahil Alambo (Aghaly ag Alambo, Agahali Alambo)  
**Organization** Niger Movement for Justice (MNJ)  
**Conflict country** Niger  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1963 or 1964 – was 47 in 2011<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Iferouane, Niger<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** Unknown



Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership

He led a rebellion from 2007 to 2009.<sup>3</sup> Described as a rebel leader in 2011.<sup>4</sup> Would have been 43 at the start of rebellion.

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://jamestown.org/program/what-the-tuareg-do-after-the-fall-of-qaddafi-will-determine-the-security-future-of-the-sahel/tuareg-rebel-chief-agali-alambo/>

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<sup>2</sup>“Top Gadhafi Aide Describes Flight to Niger; Given Asylum; As Inner Circle Began to Fragment, Senior Officials Crossed Desert to Border,” *The Gazette*, 12 September 2011. Lexis Nexis.

<sup>3</sup> Ilahiane, Hsain. *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 148.

<sup>4</sup> Mamane, Dalatou. “Niger Arrests Tuareg rebel who fought for Gadhafi,” *Associated Press*, 21 March 2012. Lexis Nexis.

<sup>5</sup> “Gaddafi’s Son seeks Asylum in Niger,” *Breaking News IE*, 14 September 2011.

Unknown

Religious identification

Unknown

Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made  
Former FLAA (Front for the Liberation of Air and Azawad) member.<sup>5</sup> He had close ties with Muammar Ghaddafi.<sup>6</sup>

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Yes, former FLAA member.<sup>7</sup>

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

He “exiled himself to Tripoli, where he became one of Ghaddafi’s trusted aides.”<sup>8</sup> He seems to have conducted negotiations from exile in 2008.<sup>9</sup>

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

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<sup>5</sup> “Gaddafi’s Son seeks Asylum in Niger,” *Breaking News IE*, 14 September 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Mamane, “Niger Arrests Tuareg rebel who fought for Gadhafi.”

<sup>7</sup> “Top Gadhafi Aide Describes Flight to Niger; Given Asylum; As Inner Circle Began to Fragment, Senior Officials Crossed Desert to Border,” *The Gazette*, 12 September 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Mamane, “Niger Arrests Tuareg rebel who fought for Gadhafi.”

<sup>9</sup> “Niger Tuareg Rebels Reject Laying Down Arms,” *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, 20 August 2008. Lexis Nexis.

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

He was arrested in Niger's capital in 2012.<sup>10</sup> (Note: he was no longer leader in 2012, so this is coded 0).<sup>11</sup>

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult

Tamajaq is the Tuareg language<sup>12</sup> His statements were translated from the Tuareg Tamasheq dialect.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Mamane, "Niger Arrests Tuareg rebel who fought for Gadhafi."

<sup>11</sup> "Ex-Tuareg Leader Aghali Alambo in Niger Arrest," *BBC News*, 21 March 2012.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-17462107>.

<sup>12</sup> *Cultural Entrepreneurship in Africa*, edited by Ute Roeschenthaler and Dorothea Schulz, Routledge African Studies (2015): n.p.

<sup>13</sup> "The Tuareg Rebellion of Niger Does Not Lay Down Arms," *France 24*, 21 August 2008.

<https://www.france24.com/fr/20080819-rebellion-touaregue-niger-depose-pas-armes-niger-touaregs>.

**Rolecode** 345  
**Leadercode** 291  
**Name of leader** Mohamed Anako  
**Organization** Union Forces of the Armed Resistance (UFRA)  
**Conflict country** Niger  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** Unknown  
**Place of birth** Unknown  
**Year of death** Unknown



Birth order  
Unknown

Age at start of rebel leadership  
Unknown

Leader entry method:  
Unknown

Powersharing  
Unknown

Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student  
Unknown

Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage  
Unknown

Children  
Unknown

Religious identification  
Probably Muslim.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://lesjours.fr/personnages/mohamed-anako/>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
“AFRICA :: NIGER,” *The World Factbook*. Accessed 19 March 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ng.html>.



Family background

Unknown

Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made

Unknown

Physical and mental health

Unknown

Pre-militant leader occupation

Unknown

Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties

Unknown

Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?

Unknown

Held government position prior to assuming leadership?

Unknown

Lived in exile?

Unknown

Study abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader receive military training abroad?

Unknown

Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?

Unknown

Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?

Unknown

Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?

Unknown

Cause of Death?

Unknown

Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult  
Unknown

**Rolecode** 349  
**Leadercode** 310  
**Name of leader** Mohamed Yusuf  
**Organization** The Nigerian Taliban/Boko Haram/Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa  
**Conflict country** Nigeria  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1970<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Girgir<sup>2</sup> in the Yorbe state of Nigeria<sup>3</sup>  
**Year of death** 2009<sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 2009 likely of execution.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2002, so at age 32.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/c/cd/Mohammed-Yusuf.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> Daneil Egieba Agbiboa, "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective," *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 3, no. 1 (2013): 144-57.

<sup>2</sup> Daneil Egieba Agbiboa, "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective," *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 3, no. 1 (2013): 144-57.

<sup>3</sup> "Boko Haram Leader, Yusuf Killed," *allAfrica.com*, July 30, 2009, accessed April 26, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Gargon and Sharon Bean, "The Founding of Boko Haram and Its Spread to 32 Nigerian States" In *Boko Haram: A Militant Leadership Monitor Special Report*, (Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2012), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Zenn, "The Islamic Movement and Iranian Intelligence Activities in Nigeria," *CTC Sentinel* 6, no. 10 (2013), <https://ctc.usma.edu/the-islamic-movement-and-iranian-intelligence-activities-in-nigeria/>.

He was voted to lead the group by a committee of sheikhs after its previous leader left to further his studies in 2002.<sup>6</sup> Other sources state that Yusuf created Boko Haram in 2002.<sup>7</sup> Abegunrin states that Yusuf founded Boko Haram as a splinter group of the Nigerian Taliban.<sup>8</sup> Loimeier says that Yusuf founded the group in the early 1990s. It was first the Yusufiyya, then the Talliban, and finally Boko Haram.<sup>9</sup>

It appears that there is debate over the exact leadership entry method. Either he broke off from the Nigerian Taliban to form a new group, set up a sect within the Nigerian Taliban, or took over the leadership of the Nigerian Taliban after Abubakar Lawal left.<sup>10</sup> Comolli cites four different accounts of how Yusuf became the leader.<sup>11</sup>

“In 2002, Yusuf founded Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama`a (Companions of the Prophet), which was known locally as the “Nigerian Taliban” or “Yusufiyya” (Followers of Yusuf), and became the Borno representative on the Supreme Council for Shari`a in Nigeria.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He dropped out of secondary school but did religious training abroad.<sup>13</sup> Specifically, he dropped out of the Western education system in Nigeria and got his education from the Nigerian madrasas school system.<sup>14</sup> His education was based in Salafism.<sup>15</sup> He was a gardi which means that he was a student over the age of 20 who graduated from his studies in Qur`anic school and memorized the first 60 chapters of the Quran.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Gargon, 4. Andrew McGregor, “Boko Haram Chief Abu Shekau Says to US: ‘Do Not Think Jihad is Over. Rather, Jihad Has Just Begun...’” In *Boko Haram: A Militant Leadership Monitor Special Report*, (Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2012), 9.

<sup>7</sup> Mohammed Aly Sergie and Toni Johnson, “CFR Backgrounders: Boko Haram,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, March 5, 2015, accessed April 20, 2017, <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/boko-haram/p25739>. Olayiwola Abegunrin, *Nigeria, Africa, and the United States: Challenges of Governance, Development, and Security*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 40. Benjamin Maiangwa, Ufo Okeke Uzodike, Ayo Whetho, and Hakeem Onapajo, ““Baptism by Fire”: Boko Haram and the Reign of Terror in Nigeria,” *Africa Today* 59, no. 2 (2012): 41-57.

<sup>8</sup> Abegunrin, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Roman Loimeier, “Boko Haram: The Development of a Militant Religious Movement in Nigeria,” *Africa Spectrum* 47, no. 2/3 (2012): 137-55.

<sup>10</sup> Adesoji, “The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria / Die Boko-Haram-Unruhen Und Die Wiederbelebung Des Islam in Nigeria,” 99.

<sup>11</sup> Virginia Comolli, *Boko Haram: Nigeria’s Islamist Insurgency*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2015), 46-49.

<sup>12</sup> Jacob Zenn, “The Islamic Movement and Iranian Intelligence Activities in Nigeria,” *CTC Sentinel* 6, no. 10 (2013), <https://ctc.usma.edu/the-islamic-movement-and-iranian-intelligence-activities-in-nigeria/>.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen A. Harmon, *Terror and Insurgency in the Sahara-Sahel Region: Corruption, Contraband, Jihad, and the Mali War of 2012-2013*, (Surrey, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 122.

<sup>14</sup> Abimbola O. Adesoji, “Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State.” *Africa Today* 57, no. 4 (2011): 99-119.

<sup>15</sup> Agbiboa, 146.

<sup>16</sup> Adesoji, “Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State”.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he had four wives.<sup>17</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had 12 children.<sup>18</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>19</sup>

### **Family background**

His family background is unknown.

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He had connections to prominent Nigerian politicians.<sup>20</sup> He helped with the 2003 election victory of Borno State governor Ali Modu Sheriff but later distanced himself from the Sheriff administration. His followers were used as “thugs” during the campaign.<sup>21</sup> He was a student of prominent Salafist cleric Sheikh Ja’afar Adam.<sup>22</sup> He was a member of several fundamentalist groups.<sup>23</sup> In Saudi Arabia, he met the deputy governor of Nigeria’s Borno State, Adamu Dibal. Dibal and Secretary of State Baba Njidda were able to help Yusuf return to Nigeria after a military crackdown.<sup>24</sup> Some prominent Northern Nigerian politicians funded Boko Haram when Yusuf was in power. Both the governors of Borno and Yobe asked Yusuf to be a political ally.<sup>25</sup> An important funder for the organization was the former Borno State commissioner Alahji Buji Foi. He died at the same time as Yusuf.<sup>26</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>17</sup> “Nigeria Sect Head Dies in Custody,” *BBC News*, July 31, 2009, accessed April 20, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8177451.stm>. Comolli. 73.

<sup>18</sup> “Nigeria Sect Head Dies in Custody”.

<sup>19</sup> Jacob Zenn, *Northern Nigeria’s Boko Haram: The Prize in al-Qaeda’s Africa Strategy*, (Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2012), 6.

<sup>20</sup> Abegunrin. 42.

<sup>21</sup> Kendhammer, 11, 227.

<sup>22</sup> Kendhammer, 21.

<sup>23</sup> Adesoji, “The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria / Die Boko-Haram-Unruhen Und Die Wiederbelebung Des Islam in Nigeria,” 99.

<sup>24</sup> Loimeier, 150. “How Boko Haram Began, By Borno PDP,” *allAfrica.com*, November 23, 2011, accessed April 25, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>25</sup> Comolli, 52, 77.

<sup>26</sup> Hussein Solomon, *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa: Fighting Insurgency from Al Shaabab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2015), 89.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an iman.<sup>27</sup> He was also a teacher.<sup>28</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

He was a member of the Jama'atul Tajdidi Islam (JTI) and an amir of JTI for Borno State.<sup>29</sup> Loimeier rejects these claims and states they are based on faulty sources.<sup>30</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 2004, Yusuf had to flee from Nigeria following attacks from the Nigerian army. He fled first to Sudan and then to Saudi Arabia.<sup>31</sup> Comolli calls this period "self-exile".<sup>32</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied the Quran in Niger and Chad.<sup>33</sup>

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>27</sup> Jacob Zenn, "Boko Haram's Radical Ideologue: An In-Depth Look at Northern Nigeria's Abu Shekau" In *Boko Haram: A Militant Leadership Monitor Special Report*, (Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2012), 14. Kendhammer. 11.

<sup>28</sup> John Campbell, "U.S. Policy to Counter Nigeria's Boko Haram," (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2014), 9.

<sup>29</sup> Abdeseji, "The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria / Die Boko-Haram-Unruhen Und Die Wiederbelebung Des Islam in Nigeria," 99.

<sup>30</sup> Loimeier, 148.

<sup>31</sup> Loimeier, 150.

<sup>32</sup> Comolli, 52.

<sup>33</sup> Harmon, 122.

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, according to one source he was arrested in 2005 by Nigerian security forces and was in prison until 2007.<sup>34</sup> His time in prison is currently unknown.

According to another source, he was arrested many times but Yusuf was always soon released due to his political connections.<sup>35</sup> He was never taken to trial when he was arrested.<sup>36</sup> Yusuf was frequently questioned by the State Security Service (SSS) in 2007 about the spate of violence at that time but was never put into prison.<sup>37</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

Yusuf was apprehended by the military and taken to the police in Maidiguri, where he died. Evidence shows Yusuf's corpse still wearing his handcuffs, which indicates an execution.<sup>38</sup> The official statement is that he was killed as he was trying to escape custody.<sup>39</sup> Human Rights Watch has claimed that Yusuf was executed.<sup>40</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Yusuf participated in a police interview in Hausa.<sup>41</sup> As Boko Haram uses the Hausa language, it can be assumed that Hausa is his primary language.<sup>42</sup> He also spoke English.<sup>43</sup> According to one report on how Yusuf became the leader of Boko Haram, he may have known Arabic. The account speaks of how residents of the organization's base in Afghanistan spoke only in Arabic.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Jacob Zenn, *Northern Nigeria's Boko Haram: The Prize in al-Qaeda's Africa Strategy*, (Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2012), 13.

<sup>35</sup> Abegunrin, 42.

<sup>36</sup> Kendhammer, 228.

<sup>37</sup> Comolli, 51.

<sup>38</sup> Gargon, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Boyle.

<sup>40</sup> "Nigeria: Boko Haram Attacks Indefensible," *Human Rights Watch*, November 8, 2011, accessed April 20, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/11/08/nigeria-boko-haram-attacks-indefensible>.

<sup>41</sup> Comolli, 56.

<sup>42</sup> Gargon, 4. Andrew McGregor, "Escalation of Tactics: Boko Haram Graduates to Car Bombs in Abuja" In *Boko Haram: A Militant Leadership Monitor Special Report*, (Washington D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2012), 6.

<sup>43</sup> Boyle.

<sup>44</sup> Comolli, 48.

**Rolecode** 350

**Leadercode** 313

**Name of leader** Mujahid Dokubo-Asari  
(Dokubo Melford Goodhead Junior)<sup>1</sup>

**Organization** The Niger Delta People  
Volunteer Force (NDPVF)

**Conflict country** Nigeria

**Gender** Male

**Year of birth** 1964<sup>2</sup>

**Place of birth** Buguma, Nigeria<sup>3</sup> in Rivers  
State<sup>4</sup>

**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He is the oldest of six children.<sup>5</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

The group is believed to been formed in late 2003 or 2004. Therefore, his age was approximately 39 or 40.<sup>6</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://buzznigeria.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Asari-Dokubo-1-640x425.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>“Profile: Nigeria’s Oil Militant,” *BBC News*, October 4, 2004, accessed May 9, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3713664.stm>

<sup>3</sup> Erich Marquardt, “Mujahid Dokubo-Asari: The Niger Delta’s Ijaw Leader,” *The Jamestown Foundation*, August 2, 2007, accessed May 8, 2017, <https://jamestown.org/program/mujahid-dokubo-asari-the-niger-deltas-ijaw-leader-2/>

<sup>4</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Shaxson, *Poisoned Wells: The Dirty Politics of African Oil*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 190.

<sup>6</sup> “Profile: Nigeria’s Oil Militant”.

<sup>6</sup> Marquardt. “Profile: Nigeria’s Oil Militant.”



He created the organization.<sup>7</sup> The creation of the organization is described as splintering from the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC).<sup>8</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing. However, the NDPVF does have a political wing called the Niger Delta People's Salvation Front, and Dokubo-Asari says that he is the leader of that part of the organization as well.<sup>9</sup>

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He completed primary and secondary school, specifically Baptist Primary School, Township, and Baptist High School.<sup>10</sup> He studied law at the University of Calabar but dropped out in his third year. He then studied law at the Rivers State University of Science and Technology and dropped out again.<sup>11</sup> He studied the Quran at Gamboru Gala.<sup>12</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married to two women.<sup>13</sup> His first marriage was in 1990, so he was 26. His second marriage was in 1996.<sup>14</sup>

### **Children**

He has 20 children,<sup>15</sup> at least one is a son named Osama and one is a daughter.<sup>16</sup> He also has a son named Mujahid Dokubo and a son named Nurul-Islam.<sup>17</sup>

### **Religious identification**

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<sup>7</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>8</sup> Jennifer M. Hazen, "Armed Groups and Contemporary Conflicts: A Case Study of Nigeria" In *Contemporary Conflicts: Challenging the Weberian State*, Edited by Keith Krause, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 90.

<sup>9</sup> "Nigerian Militant Group Issues Ultimatum to Foreigners to Quit Oil-Rich Region," *BBC Monitoring Africa-Political*, May 1, 2006, accessed May 20, 2017 via Lexis Nexus. Why Al-Mustapha and I Are Plotting a Tsunami-Dokubo-Asari [Interview]," *allAfrica.com*, January 1, 2014, accessed May 19, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>10</sup> Sabella Ogbobode Abidde, *Nigeria's Niger Delta: Militancy, Amnesty, and the Postamnesty Environment*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 86.

<sup>11</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>12</sup> "Why Al-Mustapha and I Are Plotting a Tsunami-Dokubo-Asari [Interview]".

<sup>13</sup> "Profile: Nigeria's Oil Merchant".

<sup>14</sup> Shaxson, 192.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Agba Kalu, "Why Jonathan'll Win Second Term," *The Sun (Nigeria)*, September 21, 2014, accessed May 20, 2017 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>16</sup> Shaxson. 192-193.

<sup>17</sup> "Why Al-Mustapha and I Are Plotting a Tsunami-Dokubo-Asari [Interview]".

His family is Christian but he converted to Islam at some time between 1988 and 1990.<sup>18</sup> Previously, he was a born-again Christian and was a member of the Deeper Life church.<sup>19</sup> His organization is not Islamic, though. It consists of animists who worship the god of war in the Ijaw tribe, Egbesu.<sup>20</sup> He has appeared ambivalent about these tribal beliefs and has voiced some belief in them.<sup>21</sup>

### **Elite family background**

His family was a middle class Christian family. His father was a high court judge.<sup>22</sup> He is described as being from a “privileged Delta family.”<sup>23</sup> His mother died in 1971. His grandmother was Princess Okukuba W.D. Goodhead nee Tom Princewill and is described as an aristocrat. He lived with her for eight years and received his belief in justice and nationalism from her.<sup>24</sup> His other grandmother was Princess Preba Ekineh.<sup>25</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He allegedly helped the reelection campaign of the Rivers State governor Peter Odili. Neither Odili or Asari have confirmed this rumor.<sup>26</sup> However, it is common for politicians in the Niger Delta to use armed groups against political opponents and the opponents’ supporters and own armed groups. Another source speaks of Dokubo-Asari’s help in Odili’s 2003 election as being true.<sup>27</sup> He is described as having a relationship with the state governor.<sup>28</sup> The state government did pay for Dokubo-Asari’s father’s overseas medical treatment, but the government claims that they do this for all senior members of the state government.<sup>29</sup> When Odili distanced himself from Dokubo-Asari and his group, Dokubo-Asari became violent against the state.<sup>30</sup>

He attempted to get elected into the Rivers State House of Assembly and the Asari-Toru local government. In both cases, he failed.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>19</sup> Shaxson, 191.

<sup>20</sup> Glenn McKenzie, “Nigerian Warlord Wages War Against Oil Giants-Robin Hood or Outlaw?: Niger Delta Attacks Are Well Organized,” *The Seattle Times (WA)*, July 1, 2004, accessed May 17, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>21</sup> Michael Peel, *A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria’s Oil Frontier*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>23</sup> Peel, *A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria’s Oil Frontier*, 9.

<sup>24</sup> Abidde, 86. Shaxson, 191.

<sup>25</sup> “2015: Jonathan Has Already Won-Asari Dokubo,” *The Sun (Nigeria)*, December 28, 2014, accessed May 20, 2017 via Lexis Nexus.

<sup>26</sup> Marquardt. Peel, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Morten Bøas, “Mend Me: The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta and the Empowerment of Violence” In *Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the Complex Politics of Petro-Violence*, Edited by Cyril Obi and Siri Aas Rustad, (London: Zed Books, 2011), 119.

<sup>28</sup> Hazen, 90.

<sup>29</sup> Michael Peel, “Warlord Plays on Murky World of Delta Politics,” *Financial Times (London, England)*, September 30, 2004, accessed May 17, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>30</sup> Bøas, 120.

<sup>31</sup> “Profile: Nigeria’s Oil Militant”.

He was a member of, lead, and helped created the Ijaw Youth Council. In 2001, he became the president of the Ijaw Youth Council.<sup>32</sup>

He allegedly has influence within the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), a militia that formed after Dokubo-Asari's arrest when he was already a rebel leader.<sup>33</sup>

He claims to have been the emir of the Rivers State Muslim Students' Society and the imam of the Port Harcourt Central Prison.<sup>34</sup>

He was a member of the Kaiama Conference of 1998 where the Ijaw made the Kaiama Declaration, which demanded self-determination for the Ijaw and Ijaw control of the land and its resources.<sup>35</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, he was longer leader when he had health problems. When he was released from prison, it was under the auspices of his health. He had hypertension and diabetes.<sup>36</sup> In 2009, he received medical treatment in Germany. It was described as a medical checkup.<sup>37</sup> These trips to Germany have occurred in 2010 as well.<sup>38</sup> He is allergic to the sulfur in malaria prevention drugs.<sup>39</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was the president of the Ijaw Youth Council.<sup>40</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Whether he has experience in a nonstate military is unknown.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Whether he has combat experience is unknown.

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<sup>32</sup> Abidde, 86-87.

<sup>33</sup> "Militia Leader to Give Nigerian Government Chance to Deal with Oil Region Crisis, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ld-Writethru, AF," *The Associated Press News Service*, June 19, 2007, accessed May 17, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>34</sup> Shaxson, 192.

<sup>35</sup> Abidde, 69.

<sup>36</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>37</sup> "Niger Delta Armed Group Leader Rejects Plan to 'Secede' from Nigeria," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, August 8, 2009, accessed May 17, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>38</sup> "Nigerian Militant Leader Asari Dokubo Arrested," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, April 29, 2010, accessed May 19, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>39</sup> Peel, *A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier*, 8.

<sup>40</sup> Marquardt.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, but he ran for a seat in the Rivers State House of Assembly and tried to get elected as the chairman of the Asari-Toru Local Government Area of River State.<sup>41</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, articles from 2010 describes him as living in exile.<sup>42</sup> The duration and the whereabouts of this exile are currently unknown. However, during this time he was no longer leader.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

He claims to have had training in Libya with Charles Taylor, but there is currently no substantial evidence to support this claim.<sup>43</sup>

Supposedly, he received guerilla training in Libya and Afghanistan, but there is not enough evidence to verify it.<sup>44</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, all this came after he was leader. He has partially lived in Benin where he owns a football club, automobile academics, real estate, and a private university called King Amachree African University. He has called Benin his adopted homeland and got Benin citizenship in 2013.<sup>45</sup> He has also owned houses in South Africa and Cyprus and sold his house in South Africa.<sup>46</sup>

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, after being arrested in 2005, he was no longer leader. He claims to have been arrested 76 times.<sup>47</sup> He was arrested in 2005 for treason after saying in a newspaper interview that Nigeria should be broken up. The source speaks of him being remanded, so it can be assumed that he was

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<sup>41</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>42</sup> "Nigeria: Militant Leader Accuses Oil Firms of Fueling Crises in Niger Delta," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, February 26, 2010, accessed May 19, 2017 via News Bank. Emma Amaize, "Nigeria Ambassador, Dokubo-Asari Disagree," *Vanguard (Lagos)*, February 25, 2010, accessed May 20, 2017 via Lexis Nexis.

<sup>43</sup> Peel, "Warlord Plays on Murky World of Delta Politics".

<sup>44</sup> Shaxson, 191-2.

<sup>45</sup> "Asari Dokubo Arrested in Benin Republic," *allAfrica.com*, November 26, 2013, accessed May 17, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>46</sup> Kalu.

<sup>47</sup> Kalu.

in prison.<sup>48</sup> He was released in 2007.<sup>49</sup> He was arrested in 2010 temporarily and released.<sup>50</sup> In 2014, he was called in by the police and integrated for making threats to the state. He said he “make Nigeria ungovernable” if President Goodluck Jonathan did not win in the 2015 elections. He was later released.<sup>51</sup> In 2013, he was arrested in Benin.<sup>52</sup> He describes his arrest in Benin as giving him access to important people.<sup>53</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Dokubo-Asari claims that the government has hired a militia led by Ateke Tom to kill him.<sup>54</sup> Rivers state governor Peter Odili did use Ateke’s militia in his 2003 election.<sup>55</sup>

### **Cause of Death?**

N/A

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He can speak in pidgin English. He spoke to other rebel leaders in this language.<sup>56</sup> He speaks regular English as well.<sup>57</sup> He claims to listen to Arabic recitations, which if true, implies that he can comprehend and possibly speak in this language.<sup>58</sup>

In a message, he says that he is speaking in his “own street language.” He also says that his English language skills are not good.<sup>59</sup>

He does not speak Hausa or Fulfude. He speaks about how his sons can’t speak his language, so it is assumed he speaks a specific tribal or local language.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> “Dokubo-Asari Arrested,” *Africa Research Bulletin*, 42, no. 9 (September 2005).

<sup>49</sup> Marquardt.

<sup>50</sup> “Nigerian Militant Leader Asari Dokubo Arrested”.

<sup>51</sup> “SSS Releases Asari Dokubo”.

<sup>52</sup> “Asari Dokubo Arrested in Benin Republic”.

<sup>53</sup> Kalu.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Peel, “Militiamen ‘Reclaim’ Oil for Nigerians in Struggle for Rights,” *Financial Times (London, England)*, July 13, 2004, accessed May 17, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>55</sup> Bøas, 119.

<sup>56</sup> Peel, *A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria’s Oil Frontier*, 12.

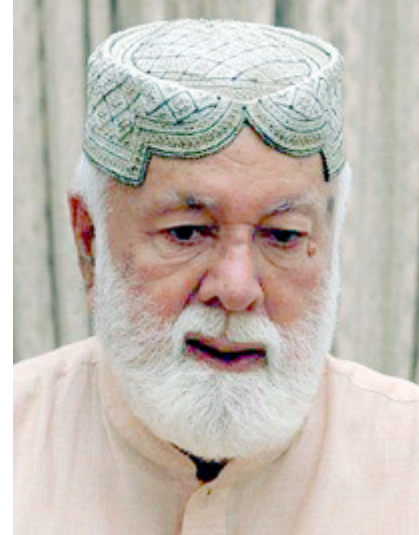
<sup>57</sup> “Why Do They Take Dokubo-Asari Seriously?” *allAfrica.com*, May 13, 2013, accessed May 19, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>58</sup> Shaxson, 193.

<sup>59</sup> “Katsina Stoning-Niger Delta ‘LI Retaliate,’ Says Dokubo-Asari,” *allAfrica.com*, January 21, 2015, accessed May 19, 2017 via News Bank.

<sup>60</sup> “Why Al-Mustapha and I Are Plotting a Tsunami-Dokubo-Asari [Interview].”

**Rolecode** 351  
**Leadercode** 237  
**Name of leader** Khari Baksh Marri  
**Organization** Baluch Ittehad  
**Conflict country** Pakistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1928<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Balochistan's Kohlu region, Pakistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2014<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2014.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2006, so at age 74.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the designated successor.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/04/Baba-marri-portrait-6.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> M Ilyas Khan, "Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>2</sup> M Ilyas Khan, "Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>3</sup> M Ilyas Khan, "Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>4</sup> "Government of Pakistan – Baloch Ittehad," *UCDP*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/710>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to Aitchison College, a prestigious school<sup>6</sup> (grades 1-13).

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He was most likely married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had six sons.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, he was born in to “one of the most influential families of the province.”<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was head of the National Awami Party for the Balochistan province, won a parliamentary seat in 1970, and reportedly inspired the Baloch insurgency going on during 2014 in 2000.<sup>11</sup> He was also “the linchpin of the Baloch insurgency which shook the country in 1973, but ebbed away four years later.”<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>7</sup> “Baloch nationalist leader Khair Bakhsh Marri passes away,” *The News International*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/638441-baloch-nationalist-leader-khair-bakhsh-marri-passes-away>.

<sup>8</sup> “Baloch nationalist leader Khair Bakhsh Marri passes away,” *The News International*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/638441-baloch-nationalist-leader-khair-bakhsh-marri-passes-away>.

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed September 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” *DAWN*, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>11</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>12</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” *DAWN*, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

It is quite possible that he was physically ill considering how old he was and he would die of bad health in 2014.<sup>13</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>14</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Marri was the linchpin of the Baloch insurgency which shook the country in 1973, but ebbed away four years later. Thousands of Baloch fought against the Pakistan Army in an uprising in which the Marri clan showed the way.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “Marri was the linchpin of the Baloch insurgency which shook the country in 1973, but ebbed away four years later. Thousands of Baloch fought against the Pakistan Army in an uprising in which the Marri clan showed the way.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he won a seat in the parliament in 1970.<sup>17</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1977 after being released from jail he made a quick visit to Europe and then fled to Afghanistan where most other Baloch insurgents were located.<sup>18</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>14</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>15</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>16</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>17</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>18</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.



Yes, “Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri got his education in his native land, in Karachi and from abroad.”<sup>19</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received arms and training while in Afghanistan.<sup>20</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, in 1975 he was arrested “in what came to be known as the Hyderabad conspiracy”<sup>21</sup> and he was unfairly arrested in 2000.<sup>22</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease or natural causes.<sup>23</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Balochi, as well as Urdu and English.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>20</sup>Matthew J. Webb and Albret Wijeweera, *The Political Economy of Conflict in South Asia* (n.p.), 59.

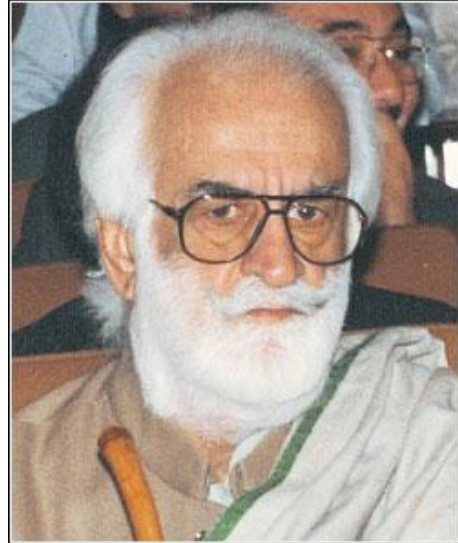
<sup>21</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>22</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> “Languages,” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Rolecode** 352  
**Leadercode** 329  
**Name of leader** Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti  
**Organization** Baluch Ittehad  
**Conflict country** Pakistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1927<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Dera Bugti in Balochistan province of Pakistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2006<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated by the state in 2006.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In roughly 2005, so at age 78.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His leader entry method is unclear, but he may have been designated.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://i.dawn.com/2006/08/27/images/top02.jpg>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti," *Al Jazeera English*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/08/2008410151510667301.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Tahir, "Tribes and Rebels: The Players in the Balochistan Insurgency," *The Jamestown Foundation*, April 3, 2008, Accessed March 06, 2017, <https://jamestown.org/program/tribes-and-rebels-the-players-in-the-balochistan-insurgency/>.

<sup>4</sup> Carlotta Gall, "Tribal Leader's Killing Incites Riots in Pakistan," *The New York Times*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/28/world/asia/28pakistan.html>.

<sup>5</sup> "Government of Pakistan – Baloch Ittehad," *UCDP*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/710>.

<sup>6</sup> "Government of Pakistan – Baloch Ittehad," *UCDP*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/710>.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“Bugti attended the elite Aitchison College in Lahore and Oxford University in England before going into politics.”<sup>6</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was probably married since he had children.<sup>7</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he had at least one son.<sup>8</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

## **Elite family background**

Yes, his father and grandfather were tribal chiefs.<sup>10</sup>

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

In 1939 he was appointed chief of his tribe after his father died.<sup>11</sup> In 1958 he gained a spot in the national assembly of Pakistan, briefly serving as interior minister before the cabinet was dismissed. In the early 1970s he campaigned for his brother, a National Awami Party candidate and in 1974 he was appointed governor of Baluchistan to keep control over the NAP. “After a long gap, he reoccupied the political centre-stage in 1988 when he joined the Baluchistan National Alliance and, in February 1989, he was elected chief minister of Baluchistan.” In 1990

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<sup>6</sup> "Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti," *Al Jazeera English*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/08/2008410151510667301.html>.

<sup>7</sup> “Remembering Akbar Bugti,” *Dawn*, Accessed January 18, 2016, <https://www.dawn.com/news/841260>.

<sup>8</sup> “Remembering Akbar Bugti,” *Dawn*, Accessed January 18, 2016, <https://www.dawn.com/news/841260>.

<sup>9</sup> "Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti," *Al Jazeera English*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/08/2008410151510667301.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Tahir, “Tribes and Rebels: The Players in the Balochistan Insurgency,” *The JamesTown Foundation*, April 3, 2008, Accessed March 06, 2017, <https://jamestown.org/program/tribes-and-rebels-the-players-in-the-balochistan-insurgency/>.

<sup>11</sup> Meer Rashid Baloch, “Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti: The Brave Man in Baloch History,” *The Balochistan Point*, March 9, 2014, accessed March 19, 2017, <http://thebalochistanpoint.com/nawab-akbar-khan-bugti-the-brave-man-in-baloch-history/>.

he was elected to the provincial assembly after creating the Jamhoori Watan Party and in 1993 “he was elected to the national assembly representing the JWP in parliament”<sup>12</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a career politician.<sup>13</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Possibly, but there is no clear evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

In 1958 he gained a spot in the national assembly of Pakistan, briefly serving as interior minister before the cabinet was dismissed. Then in 1974 he was appointed governor of Baluchistan to keep control over the NAP. “After a long gap, he reoccupied the political centre-stage in 1988 when he joined the Baluchistan National Alliance and, in February 1989, he was elected chief minister of Baluchistan.” In 1990 he was elected to the provincial assembly after creating the Jamhoori Watan Party and in 1993 “he was elected to the national assembly representing the JWP in parliament”<sup>14</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

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<sup>12</sup> "Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti," *Al Jazeera English*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/08/2008410151510667301.html>.

<sup>13</sup> "Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti," *Al Jazeera English*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/08/2008410151510667301.html>.

<sup>14</sup> "Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti," *Al Jazeera English*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/08/2008410151510667301.html>.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“In the early 1960’s Akbar Khan Bugti supported the National Awami Party candidate for the National Assembly from Quetta division and he was elected with great number of votes. The defeated Field Marshal Ayub Khan was offended by the young Khan’s public endorsement of his political opponents and ordered to jail Akbar. Akbar Khan Bugti remained imprisoned until his release in the mid 1960’s after a lengthy hunger strike.”<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, there was an assassination by the Pakistan security forces.<sup>16</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by the state.<sup>17</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He spoke Balochi as his primary language, and he may have also spoken Urdu and English.

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<sup>15</sup> Meer Rashid Baloch, “Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti: The Brave Man in Baloch History,” *The Balochistan Point*, March 9, 2014, accessed March 19, 2017, <http://thebalochistanpoint.com/nawab-akbar-khan-bugti-the-brave-man-in-baloch-history/>.

<sup>16</sup> "Baloch rebel leader killed," *rediff NEWS*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.rediff.com/news/report/baloch/20060827.htmwww.reduff>.

<sup>17</sup> "Baloch rebel leader killed," *rediff NEWS*, August 27, 2006, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://www.rediff.com/news/report/baloch/20060827.htmwww.reduff>.

**Rolecode** 353  
**Leadercode** 102  
**Name of leader** Brahamdagh Bugti  
**Organization** Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)  
**Conflict country** Pakistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1982<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Dera Bugti district in Balochistan province of Pakistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

Estimating he entered his position around 2007, he would have been age 25.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

His entry method is unclear.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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Image Credit: <https://img.etimg.com/thumb/msid-54485800,width-300,imgsize-214270,resizemode-4/pakistan-defence-minister-warns-india-against-giving-asylum-to-brahamdagh-bugti.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> SALİM ÇEVİK, *Pakistan Siyasetini Anlama Kılavuzu* (n.p., 2013), 73.

<sup>2</sup> "Balochistan CM lashes out at Brahamdagh Bugti," *The News International*, September 25, 2016, Accessed March 06, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/152546-Balochistan-CM-lashes-out-at-Brahamdagh-Bugti>.

<sup>3</sup> "Balochistan Liberation Army," *Stanford University*, Accessed June 20, 2018, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/297>.

<sup>4</sup> "Balochistan Liberation Army," *Stanford University*, Accessed June 20, 2018, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/297>.

There is no clear evidence.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age at which he married is unknown.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is likely Muslim.

**Elite family background**

Yes, he was from a royal family<sup>7</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

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<sup>5</sup>Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

<sup>6</sup>Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

<sup>7</sup>Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled to Afghanistan at 26 and in 2010 left with his children to claim asylum in Switzerland. He is currently trying to gain asylum in India.<sup>8</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

It is possible that there was an attempt, but there is no evidence to support this.<sup>9</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>8</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

<sup>9</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

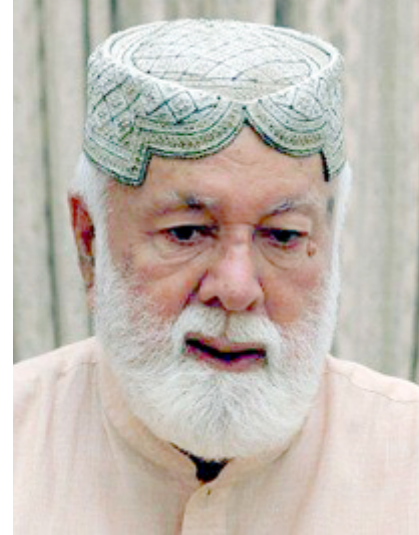


N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Balochi as a primary language, as well as possibly Urdu and English.

**Rolecode** 354  
**Leadercode** 288  
**Name of leader** Khari Baksh Marri  
**Organization** Baluch Ittehad  
**Conflict country** Pakistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1928<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Balochistan's Kohlu region, Pakistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 2014<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of natural causes in 2014.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2006, so at age 74.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the designated successor.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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Image Credit: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/04/Baba-marri-portrait-6.jpg>

<sup>1</sup> M Ilyas Khan, "Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>2</sup> M Ilyas Khan, "Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>3</sup> M Ilyas Khan, "Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies," *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>4</sup> "Government of Pakistan – Baloch Ittehad," *UCDP*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/710>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to Aitchison College, a prestigious school<sup>6</sup> (grades 1-13).

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

He was most likely married.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had six sons.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, he was born in to “one of the most influential families of the province.”<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was head of the National Awami Party for the Balochistan province, won a parliamentary seat in 1970, and reportedly inspired the Baloch insurgency going on during 2014 in 2000.<sup>11</sup> He was also “the linchpin of the Baloch insurgency which shook the country in 1973, but ebbed away four years later.”<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>7</sup> “Baloch nationalist leader Khair Bakhsh Marri passes away,” *The News International*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/638441-baloch-nationalist-leader-khair-bakhsh-marri-passes-away>.

<sup>8</sup> “Baloch nationalist leader Khair Bakhsh Marri passes away,” *The News International*, Accessed March 05, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/638441-baloch-nationalist-leader-khair-bakhsh-marri-passes-away>.

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed September 11, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” *DAWN*, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>11</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>12</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” *DAWN*, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

It is quite possible that he was physically ill considering how old he was and he would die of bad health in 2014.<sup>13</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>14</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Marri was the linchpin of the Baloch insurgency which shook the country in 1973, but ebbed away four years later. Thousands of Baloch fought against the Pakistan Army in an uprising in which the Marri clan showed the way.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, “Marri was the linchpin of the Baloch insurgency which shook the country in 1973, but ebbed away four years later. Thousands of Baloch fought against the Pakistan Army in an uprising in which the Marri clan showed the way.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

Yes, he won a seat in the parliament in 1970.<sup>17</sup>

### **Lived in exile?**

Yes, in 1977 after being released from jail he made a quick visit to Europe and then fled to Afghanistan where most other Baloch insurgents were located.<sup>18</sup>

### **Study abroad?**

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<sup>13</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>14</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>15</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>16</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>17</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>18</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

Yes, “Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri got his education in his native land, in Karachi and from abroad.”<sup>19</sup>

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he received arms and training while in Afghanistan.<sup>20</sup>

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, in 1975 he was arrested “in what came to be known as the Hyderabad conspiracy”<sup>21</sup> and he was unfairly arrested in 2000.<sup>22</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of disease or natural causes.<sup>23</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Balochi, as well as Urdu and English

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<sup>19</sup> Hasan Mansoor, “Khair Bakhsh Marri: a fighter all the way,” DAWN, June 11, 2014, Accessed March, 19 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1111939>.

<sup>20</sup>Matthew J. Webb and Albret Wijeweera, *The Political Economy of Conflict in South Asia* (n.p.), 59.

<sup>21</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>22</sup> M Ilyas Khan, “Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri dies,” *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27801253>.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

**Rolecode** 355  
**Leadercode** 102  
**Name of leader** Brahamdagh Bugti  
**Organization** Baloch Republican Party (BRA)  
**Conflict country** Pakistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1982<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Dera Bugti district in Balochistan province of Pakistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2006, so age 24.<sup>3</sup> “The group was founded in 2006, in response to a growing resentment in Balochistan over what they felt was increasing Pakistani central government control and monopolization of Balochi resources.... The BRA does not identify its leaders; however, the Pakistani government has alleged that Brahamdagh Bugti has led the group since it was founded. Bugti is also the leader of the Balochistan Republican Party, which is a nationalist political party with strong ties to the BRA and other Balochi militant groups.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://img.etimg.com/thumb/msid-54485800,width-300,imgsize-214270,resizemode-4/pakistan-defence-minister-warns-india-against-giving-asylum-to-brahamdagh-bugti.jpg>

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SALİM ÇEVİK, *Pakistan Siyasetini Anlama Kılavuzu* (n.p., 2013), 73.

<sup>2</sup> "Balochistan CM lashes out at Brahamdagh Bugti," *The News International*, September 25, 2016, Accessed March 06, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/152546-Balochistan-CM-lashes-out-at-Brahamdagh-Bugti>.

<sup>3</sup> "Balochistan Republican Army," *Stanford University*, Accessed May 30, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/571>.

<sup>4</sup> "Balochistan Republican Army," *Stanford University*, Accessed May 30, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/571>.

### **Leader entry method**

He was designated the leader of the BRA after the death of his grandfather.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but the age at which he married is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he has children.<sup>7</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He is likely Muslim.

### **Elite family background**

Yes, he was from a royal family<sup>8</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>5</sup> "Balochistan Republican Army," *Stanford University*, Accessed May 30, 2017, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/571>.

<sup>6</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

<sup>7</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

<sup>8</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

His occupation is unknown.

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, there is experience in a nonstate military since this is the second campaign in the dataset led by Bugti.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

Yes, he fled to Afghanistan at 26 and in 2010 left with his children to claim asylum in Switzerland. He is currently trying to gain asylum in India.<sup>9</sup>

**Study abroad?**

Whether he studied abroad is unknown.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

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<sup>9</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.



**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

It is possible that there was an attempt, but there is no evidence to support this. <sup>10</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He speaks Balochi as a primary language, as well as possibly Urdu and English.

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<sup>10</sup> Ludovica Iaccino, "Brahamdagh Khan Bugti: Meet hero of Balochistan in exile since grandfather's assassination," Accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/brahamdagh-khan-bugti-meet-hero-balochistan-exile-since-grandfathers-assassination-1508624>.

**Rolecode** 356  
**Leadercode** 67  
**Name of leader** Altaf Hussain  
**Organization** MQM  
**Conflict country** Pakistan  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1953<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Karachi, Pakistan<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

He has five brothers older than him and one younger.<sup>3</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1984, so age 31.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the MQM.<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit:

[https://www.thehindu.com/migration\\_catalog/article14538656.ece/ALTERNATES/FREE\\_960/ALTAFAF%5B1%5D](https://www.thehindu.com/migration_catalog/article14538656.ece/ALTERNATES/FREE_960/ALTAFAF%5B1%5D)  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv.

<sup>3</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv.

<sup>5</sup> "Altaf Hussain," *Muttahida Quami Movement*, Accessed February 11, 2017, <http://www.mqm.org/altafhussain>.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He studied at the Government Boys Secondary School, then City College, then in 1974 earned his B.Sc. from Islamia Science College and B. Pharmacy from University of Karachi. In 1977, while at University of Karachi, he was active in the Nizam-e-Mustafa Movement of the Pakistan National Alliance and was President and General Secretary of the Students Action Committee of the PNA. Still at the University he founded the All Pakistan Mohajir Students' Organization in 1978.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he had a wife whom he later divorced.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had at least one son.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

**Elite family background**

Yes, his grandfather "was Mufti of Agra", although his father was only a station master.<sup>10</sup>

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Yes, while at University of Karachi, he was active in the Nizam-e-Mustafa Movement of the Pakistan National Alliance and was President and General Secretary of the Students Action Committee of the PNA.<sup>11</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>6</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv-xxvi.

<sup>7</sup> "Altaf Hussein," *internetpk.com*, Accessed March 19, 2016, <http://www.internetpk.com/biography/altaf-hussain.php>.

<sup>8</sup> "Altaf Hussein," *internetpk.com*, Accessed March 19, 2016, <http://www.internetpk.com/biography/altaf-hussain.php>.

<sup>9</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv-xxvi.

<sup>10</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv.

<sup>11</sup> Naveed Riaz, "Lunch with Altaf Hussain (1979)," *The Friday Times*, February 05, 2016, Accessed February 11, 2017, <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/lunch-with-altaf-hussain-1979/>.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He worked as a trainee in a hospital, then at a Pakistani and then multinational pharmaceutical company.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he was in the Pakistan Army as a member of the 57 Baloch Regiment.<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, he did not fight when he was in the military.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

In 1992, he had to flee to Britain.<sup>14</sup>

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested in 1979 for nine months for leading a demonstration at the mausoleum of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Then, in 1986 he was arrested “at Ghaggar Phatak when, after a historic meeting of the MQM in Hyderabad, [he] was on [his] way back to Karachi via

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<sup>12</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxvi.

<sup>13</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv.

<sup>14</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Thatta.” Then he was arrested in 1987, with multiple cases against him; however, in 1988 all charges against him were dropped.<sup>15</sup> He spent more than a month in prison while leader<sup>16</sup>

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, probably.<sup>17</sup> Another assassination attempt while leader, “Itaf Hussain is not safe in Karachi. This was understood when after his return from England in 1991, Altaf Hussain was intervened by two unknown attackers, on the way back from the airport, when he was on his way to Azzizabad, 90. The hand grenade launched at Altaf Hussain exploded prematurely, killing the attackers instead.”<sup>18</sup>.

### **Cause of Death?**

N/A

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Urdu primary, and he possibly also speaks English.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxv-xxvi.

<sup>16</sup> “Altaf Hussain arrested for fourth time,” *International The News*, Accessed August 24, 2019, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/506530-altaf-hussain-arrested-for-fourth-time>.

<sup>17</sup> Altaf Hussein, *MY LIFE'S JOURNEY: The Early Years 1966-1988* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxvi.

<sup>18</sup> “Altaf Hussain – From A Pharmacist to A Politician,” *PARHLO*, Accessed October, 9 2018, <https://www.parhlo.com/altaf-hussain-pharmacist-politician/>.

<sup>19</sup> Shahid JaveBurki and Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, June 03, 2016, Accessed February 11, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/Plant-and-animal-life#ref989666>.

<b>Rolecode</b>	358
<b>Leadercode</b>	90
<b>Name of leader</b>	Baitullah Mehsud
<b>Organization</b>	TTP
<b>Conflict country</b>	Pakistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	Early 1970s <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Near the town of Bannu, Pakistan <sup>2</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2009 <sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in 2009 by a US drone strike.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 2007, so about age 33.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He founded the TTP by combining different militant groups.<sup>5</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/7/79/Baitullah\\_Mehsud-AFP.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/7/79/Baitullah_Mehsud-AFP.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>

<sup>2</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>

<sup>3</sup> Declan Walsh, "Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud killed in air strike," *The Guardian*, August 07, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/aug/07/baitullah-mehsud-dead-taliban-pakistan>.

<sup>4</sup> Hassan Abbas, "A Profile of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan," *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*, January 2008, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.belfercenter.org/publication/profile-tehrik-i-taliban-pakistan>.

<sup>5</sup> Hassan Abbas, "A Profile of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan," *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*, January 2008, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.belfercenter.org/publication/profile-tehrik-i-taliban-pakistan>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He went to a religious school in the Hangu district, but dropped out later.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but age of marriage is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had at least four daughters.<sup>8</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>9</sup>

### **Elite family background**

No, he came from a modest clan.<sup>10</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> "Obituary: Hakimullah Mehsud," BBC News. November 01, 2013, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24464506>.

<sup>7</sup> "Desire for son led to Baitullah Mehsud's death: Report.", The Times Of India, August 9, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http%3A%2F%2Ftimesofindia.indiatimes.com%2FDesire-for-son-led-to-Baitullah-Mehsuds-death-Report%2Farticleshow%2F4874073.cms&date=2009-08-09>.

<sup>8</sup> "Desire for son led to Baitullah Mehsud's death: Report.", The Times Of India, August 9, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http%3A%2F%2Ftimesofindia.indiatimes.com%2FDesire-for-son-led-to-Baitullah-Mehsuds-death-Report%2Farticleshow%2F4874073.cms&date=2009-08-09>.

<sup>9</sup> "Desire for son led to Baitullah Mehsud's death: Report.", The Times Of India, August 9, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http%3A%2F%2Ftimesofindia.indiatimes.com%2FDesire-for-son-led-to-Baitullah-Mehsuds-death-Report%2Farticleshow%2F4874073.cms&date=2009-08-09>.

<sup>10</sup> Alex Altman, "Taliban Commander Baitullah Mehsud," *Time*, April 03, 2009, Accessed February 21, 2017, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1889286,00.html>.

Yes, he had diabetes.<sup>11</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist. It seems most likely that he joined the Taliban immediately after completing education as he joined in the 90s and was born in the early 70s.<sup>12</sup> Although it is possible he had a prior occupation, it is unknown.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, "Mehsud rose to lead the Pakistani Taliban after fighting for its Afghan namesake in the 1990s."<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, "Mehsud rose to lead the Pakistani Taliban after fighting for its Afghan namesake in the 1990s."<sup>14</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

Unknown

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

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<sup>11</sup> Isambard Wilkinson, "Taliban leader in Pakistan, Baitullah Mehsud, 'dies from kidney failure'," *The Telegraph*, October 1, 2008, Accessed October 2, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/3116485/Taliban-leader-in-Pakistan-Baitullah-Mehsud-dies-from-kidney-failure.html>.

<sup>12</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>

<sup>13</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>

<sup>14</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>



No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, the drone strike was by the United States.<sup>15</sup>

**Cause of Death?**

He was killed by a US drone attack.<sup>16</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He like spoke Pashto primary, and possibly Urdu or English<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>

<sup>16</sup> "Obituary: Baitullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, January 09, 2010, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/03/2009331171735191991>

<sup>17</sup> Ken Dilanian, *USA Today*, May 26, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, [http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-25-pashto\\_N.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-25-pashto_N.htm).

<b>Role Code</b>	<b>359</b>
<b>Leader Code</b>	<b>169</b>
<b>Name of leader</b>	Hakimullah Mehsud
<b>Organization</b>	Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan
<b>Conflict country</b>	Pakistan
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	About 1979 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Village of Kotkai (near town of Jandola), Pakistan <sup>23</sup>
<b>Year of death</b>	2013 <sup>4</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was assassinated by the United States in 2013.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

He was roughly 30 years old.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was appointed leader after the death of Baitullah Mehsud in a US drone strike.<sup>6</sup>

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Image Credit: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/4f/Hakimullah\\_Mehsud.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/4f/Hakimullah_Mehsud.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Declan Walsh, "Hakimullah Mehsud obituary," *The Guardian*, November 03, 2013, Accessed February 07, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/03/hakimullah-mehsud>.

<sup>2</sup> "Profile: Hakimullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, February 2, 2013, Accessed February 07, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2010/01/2010131141229794395.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Declan Walsh, "Hakimullah Mehsud obituary," *The Guardian*, November 03, 2013, Accessed February 07, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/03/hakimullah-mehsud>.

<sup>4</sup> Declan Walsh, "Hakimullah Mehsud obituary," *The Guardian*, November 03, 2013, Accessed February 07, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/03/hakimullah-mehsud>.

<sup>5</sup> "Obituary: Hakimullah Mehsud," *BBC News*. November 01, 2013, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24464506>.

<sup>6</sup> "Obituary: Hakimullah Mehsud," *BBC News*. November 01, 2013, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24464506>.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powerharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“His only schooling was at a small village madrassa (religious school) in Hangu district.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

It is unclear if he had children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was Muslim.<sup>10</sup>

### **Family background**

No, his father was just a grocer.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

No, there is no evidence of outside political affiliations.

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

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<sup>7</sup> "Obituary: Hakimullah Mehsud," *BBC News*, November 01, 2013, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24464506>.

<sup>8</sup> "Hakimullah Mehsud, dreaded leader of Pakistani Taliban," *Al Arabyia English*, November 02, 2013, Accessed March 08, 2017, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/profiles/2013/11/02/Hakimullah-Mehsud-dreaded-leader-of-Pakistani-Taliban.html>.

<sup>9</sup> "Hakimullah Mehsud, dreaded leader of Pakistani Taliban," *Al Arabyia English*, November 02, 2013, Accessed March 08, 2017, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/profiles/2013/11/02/Hakimullah-Mehsud-dreaded-leader-of-Pakistani-Taliban.html>.

<sup>10</sup> "Who are the Taliban?," *BBC News*, May 26, 2016, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-11451718>.

<sup>11</sup> "Hakimullah Mehsud, dreaded leader of Pakistani Taliban," *Al Arabyia English*, November 02, 2013, Accessed March 08, 2017, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/profiles/2013/11/02/Hakimullah-Mehsud-dreaded-leader-of-Pakistani-Taliban.html>.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist. He joined the Taliban immediately after completing education based on information known, but he may have done other jobs for a few years in his early 20s.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence he had experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “responsibility for the attacks in Chakwal and Islamabad was claimed by the Fedayeen al-Islam, a group led by Hakimullah Mehsud, a powerful deputy to Baitullah Mehsud, the leader of the Pakistani Taliban.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he “joined his fellow clansman in jihad (holy war), initially acting as bodyguard and aide to the older militant.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

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<sup>12</sup> "Obituary: Hakimullah Mehsud," *BBC News*. November 01, 2013, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24464506>.

<sup>13</sup> "The slide downhill," *The Economist*, April 11, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.economist.com/node/13446862>.

<sup>14</sup> "Obituary: Hakimullah Mehsud," *BBC News*. November 01, 2013, Accessed February 08, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24464506>.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Yes, the US attempted the assassination while he was leader.

**Cause of Death?**

He was assassinated by the United States.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely speaks Pashto as his primary language<sup>16</sup>, and he possibly also speaks Urdu and English.

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<sup>15</sup> "Profile: Hakimullah Mehsud." *Al Jazeera*, February 2, 2013, Accessed February 07, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2010/01/2010131141229794395.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Ken Dilanian, *USA Today*, May 26, 2009, Accessed February 08, 2017, [http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-25-pashto\\_N.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-25-pashto_N.htm).

**Role Code** 360  
**Leader Code** 304  
**Name of leader** Moises Giroldi  
**Organization** Forces of Moises Giroldi  
**Conflict country** Panama  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** May 9, 1950  
**Place of birth** Panama City, Panama  
**Year of death** October 4, 1989<sup>1</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1989 of execution.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, at the age 39.

### **Leader entry method**

After Noriega had given him the order to shoot down US aircraft that flew over Panamanian airspace he became disillusioned with his rule and soon convinced other likeminded Panamanian Defense Force officers to join him in a coup against Noriega.<sup>2</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/moiss-giroldi-38493fe4-dd85-41e2-b265-0817f836ce0-resize-750.jpg>

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“Leader of Failed Panama Coup Is Buried,” *Los Angeles Times*, Accessed August 26, 2017, [http://articles.latimes.com/1989-10-10/news/mn-258\\_1\\_coup-attempt](http://articles.latimes.com/1989-10-10/news/mn-258_1_coup-attempt).

<sup>2</sup> Kevin Buckley, *Panama*, (New York: Touchstone, 1991), 196.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He attended the military academy of Nicaragua (class of 1970-1974).<sup>3</sup> What is notable here is that a significant portion of the 1989 coup members had also studied at that academy.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes,<sup>4</sup> he was married in 1975 and was 25 years old.<sup>5</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had children.<sup>6</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was Catholic.<sup>7</sup>

**Family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

As he rose through the ranks of the PDF he became personally close with the dictator of Panama Manuel Noriega as many PDF officers did. An example of this was that Noriega was godfather to all of the higher PDF officer's children as was customary. However what made Giroldi special was the unique relationship he had with Noriega. Giroldi played a crucial role in saving Noriega from an attempted coup in March 1988. After that Noriega was very close with him and cared for his welfare as he personally promoted him

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<sup>3</sup> “¡Yo no ordené matar a Giroldi!” *Critica*, January, 28, 2017, <https://www.critica.com.pa/nacional/yo-no-ordene-matar-giroldi-462683>

<sup>4</sup> David E. Pitt, “Widow of Panama Coup Leader Says Fellow Plotter Betrayed Him,” *The New York Times*, October 12, 1989, <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/12/world/widow-of-panama-coup-leader-says-fellow-plotter-betrayed-him.html?mcubz=0>.

<sup>5</sup> Bill Hewit and Meg Grant, “The Widow of a Slain Rebel Leader Looks Back in Anguish After the Failed Coup in Panama,” *People*, October, 30, 1989, <https://people.com/archive/the-widow-of-a-slain-rebel-leader-looks-back-in-anguish-after-the-failed-coup-in-panama-vol-32-no-18/>

<sup>6</sup> Kevin Buckley, *Panama The Whole Story* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 194.

<sup>7</sup> Frederick Kempe, *Divorcing The Dictator: America's Bungled Affair With Noriega* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), 371.

to the rank of major in the PDF and made him head of the security unit at his personal headquarters the Comendancia.<sup>8</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a Major in the Panama Defense Force, and head of security unit for Manuel Noriega.

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, he saved Noriega's life in 1988 coup attempt of him.<sup>9</sup> After the coup he was made Major of the Fourth Infantry Brigade of Panamanian Defense Force and served as the head of the Security Unit at the Comendancia, Noreiga's personal headquarters in Panama City.<sup>10</sup>

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, he saved Noriega's life in 1988 coup attempt of him<sup>11</sup>

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

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<sup>8</sup> Lawrence Yates, *The U.S. Military Intervention in Panama*, (Washington D.C: Center of Military History United States Army, 2008), 250.

<sup>9</sup> "¡Yo no ordené matar a Giroldi!" *Critica*, January, 28, 2017, <https://www.critica.com.pa/nacional/yo-no-ordene-matar-giroldi-462683>

<sup>10</sup> Bill Hewit and Meg Grant, "The Widow of a Slain Rebel Leader Looks Back in Anguish After the Failed Coup in Panama," *People*, October, 30, 1989, <https://people.com/archive/the-widow-of-a-slain-rebel-leader-looks-back-in-anguish-after-the-failed-coup-in-panama-vol-32-no-18/>

<sup>11</sup> Bill Hewit and Meg Grant, "The Widow of a Slain Rebel Leader Looks Back in Anguish After the Failed Coup in Panama," *People*, October, 30, 1989, <https://people.com/archive/the-widow-of-a-slain-rebel-leader-looks-back-in-anguish-after-the-failed-coup-in-panama-vol-32-no-18/>



### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied at the School of the Americas on multiple occasions and was taught at the Nicaraguan military academy.

### **Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

Yes, he was trained in a military academy in Nicaragua<sup>12</sup> Additionally, he received military training at the School of the Americas on multiple occasions: 1975 Counterinsurgency Operations, 1980 Small Unit Administration Course, and 1982 Military Intelligence Course (Distinguished graduate)<sup>13</sup>

### **Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

### **Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

### **Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

### **Cause of Death?**

“The army major who led the unsuccessful coup a week ago against Panama's Gen. Manuel A. Noriega was buried Monday. Several reports have said that an enraged Noriega shot Maj. Moises Giroldi Vega to death minutes after the coup attempt against the Panamanian leader.”<sup>14</sup> His wife and the international community maintain that after surrendering to Noriega’s forces he was tortured and then executed with some, Giroldi’s wife, personally claiming that Noriega pulled the trigger.<sup>15</sup>

### **Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

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<sup>12</sup> David E. Pitt, “Widow of Panama Coup Leader Says Fellow Plotter Betrayed Him,” *The New York Times*, October 12, 1989, <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/12/world/widow-of-panama-coup-leader-says-fellow-plotter-betrayed-him.html?mcubz=0>.

<sup>13</sup> Vickey Imerman, “Notorious Panamanian School of the Americas Graduates,” SOMA, accessed November 9, 2018 <http://www.derechos.org/soa/panam-not.html>

<sup>14</sup> “Leader of Failed Panama Coup Is Buried,” *Los Angeles Times*, Accessed August 26, 2017, [http://articles.latimes.com/1989-10-10/news/mn-258\\_1\\_coup-attempt](http://articles.latimes.com/1989-10-10/news/mn-258_1_coup-attempt).

<sup>15</sup> Joseph B. Treastar. “Panamanian Captain Buried Amid Reports of Executions,” *New York Times*, October 11, 1989, <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/11/world/panamanian-captain-buried-amid-reports-of-executions.html>

He spoke Spanish as his primary language.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

<b>Role Code</b>	<b>361</b>
<b>Leader Code</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>Name of leader</b>	Francis Ona
<b>Organization</b>	The Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA)
<b>Conflict country</b>	Papua New Guinea
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Year of birth</b>	1953 <sup>1</sup>
<b>Place of birth</b>	Unknown
<b>Year of death</b>	2005 <sup>2</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died of disease in 2005.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1988, Ona founded the BRA. He was 35 years old when he founded it.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

Ona founded the organization.

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/totalwar-ar/images/f/f7/Francis\\_Ona.jpg/revision/latest/scale-to-width-down/180?cb=20160406002452](https://vignette.wikia.nocookie.net/totalwar-ar/images/f/f7/Francis_Ona.jpg/revision/latest/scale-to-width-down/180?cb=20160406002452)  
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“Francis Ona,” *The Telegraph*, July 28, 2005, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1494927/Francis-Ona.html>.

<sup>2</sup>“Francis Ona,” *The Telegraph*, July 28, 2005, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1494927/Francis-Ona.html>.

<sup>3</sup> James Ciment, *Encyclopedia of Conflicts Since World War II* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1094.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

His educational background is unknown.

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married.<sup>4</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he had two daughters and two sons.<sup>5</sup>

**Religious identification**

He was a Christian.<sup>6</sup>

**Family background**

Ona was the son of Leo Dateransi from Orami Village along the Bana/Ioro border.<sup>7</sup> Possibly, he was not coming from an elite or political family.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

Ona used to serve as secretary to the New Panguna Landowner's Association.<sup>8</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

Ona used to work at a mining company as a mine-pit surveyor and haul-truck operator

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<sup>4</sup> "Bougainville Secessionist leader Francis Ona dies," *Mines and Communities*, July 25, 2005, Accessed March 13, 2018, <http://www.minesandcommunities.org/article.php?a=649>.

<sup>5</sup> "Bougainville Secessionist leader Francis Ona dies," *Mines and Communities*, July 25, 2005, Accessed March 13, 2018, <http://www.minesandcommunities.org/article.php?a=649>.

<sup>6</sup> Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith, and Matt Tomlinson, *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific* (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Regan and Helga-Maria Griffin, *Bougainville Before the Conflict* (Canberra: Stranger Journalism, 2005), 453.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Regan and Helga-Maria Griffin, *Bougainville Before the Conflict* (Canberra: Stranger Journalism, 2005), 453.

from 1973 until he resigned in 1988 and eventually founded the BRA.<sup>9</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

Whether there was an assassination attempt by the state is unknown.

**Cause of Death?**

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<sup>9</sup> Roger Thompson, *The Pacific Basin Since 1945: An International History* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 236.

He died of disease.<sup>10</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

Nasioi is his native language.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> James Minahan, *Ethnic Groups of South Asia and the Pacific: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 46.

<sup>11</sup> Arlene Griffen, *Lalanga Pasifika: Weaving the Pacific: Stories of Empowerment from the South Pacific* (Suva: IPS Publications, 2006), 180.

**Role Code** 362  
**Leader Code** 73  
**Name of leader** General Andres Rodriguez  
**Organization** Forces of G. Rodriguez  
**Conflict country** Paraguay  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1923<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Borja, Paraguay<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1997<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he died in 1997 of cancer.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1989, so at age 66.<sup>4</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was likely a founder.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.abc.com.py/resizer/6V04icKJTq7spTPc6mCW828z5Rk=/fit-in/770x495/sm-art/arc-anglerfish-arc2-prod-abccolor.s3.amazonaws.com/public/SVQDBVSQ7RAAZEJZPI5EERVGQQ.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)

<sup>2</sup>“Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, March 16, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andres-Rodriguez-Pedotti>.

<sup>3</sup>“Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, March 16, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andres-Rodriguez-Pedotti>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

## **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

## **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He did the military career at the Mariscal Francisco Solano López Military College.”<sup>6</sup>

## **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, but at what age he married is unknown.<sup>7</sup>

## **Children**

Yes, he had three daughters.<sup>8</sup>

## **Religious identification**

He is likely Christian.<sup>9</sup>

## **Family background**

No, he “was born into a farm family.”<sup>10</sup>

## **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

He was a “member of the traditionalist sector of the Colorado Party, he was part of the circle of President Alfredo Stroessner ( 1954 - 1989 )”<sup>11</sup>

## **Physical and mental health**

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<sup>6</sup> “Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti,” *EcuRed*, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.ecured.cu/Andr%C3%A9s\\_Rodr%C3%ADguez\\_Pedotti](https://www.ecured.cu/Andr%C3%A9s_Rodr%C3%ADguez_Pedotti).

<sup>7</sup> “ANDRES RODRIGUEZ DIES,” *The Washington Post*, April 22, 1997, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm\\_term=.113c6b6fca51](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm_term=.113c6b6fca51).

<sup>8</sup> “ANDRES RODRIGUEZ DIES,” *The Washington Post*, April 22, 1997, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm\\_term=.113c6b6fca51](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm_term=.113c6b6fca51).

<sup>9</sup> “Religions,” *CIA*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>10</sup> “ANDRES RODRIGUEZ DIES,” *The Washington Post*, April 22, 1997, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm\\_term=.113c6b6fca51](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm_term=.113c6b6fca51).

<sup>11</sup> “Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti,” *EcuRed*, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.ecured.cu/Andr%C3%A9s\\_Rodr%C3%ADguez\\_Pedotti](https://www.ecured.cu/Andr%C3%A9s_Rodr%C3%ADguez_Pedotti).



No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

He had a military career.<sup>12</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

Yes, “Gen. Rodriguez, who was born into a farm family, entered the army as a cadet at age 18. He graduated from military college in 1946. He was appointed provisional commander of the First Cavalry Division in 1961, promoted to major-general in 1970 and named commander of the First Army Corps in 1982.”<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

Yes, in 1947 “he took part in the Paraguayan revolution supporting the legal government of the Colorado Party that defeated the insurgents.”<sup>14</sup>

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he received military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> “Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, March 16, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Andres-Rodriguez-Pedotti>.

<sup>13</sup> “ANDRES RODRIGUEZ DIES,” *The Washington Post*, April 22, 1997, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm\\_term=.113c6b6fca51](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm_term=.113c6b6fca51).

<sup>14</sup> “Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti,” *EcuRed*, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.ecured.cu/Andr%C3%A9s\\_Rodr%C3%ADguez\\_Pedotti](https://www.ecured.cu/Andr%C3%A9s_Rodr%C3%ADguez_Pedotti).

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

No, there is no evidence he served time in prison.

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

He died of cancer.<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

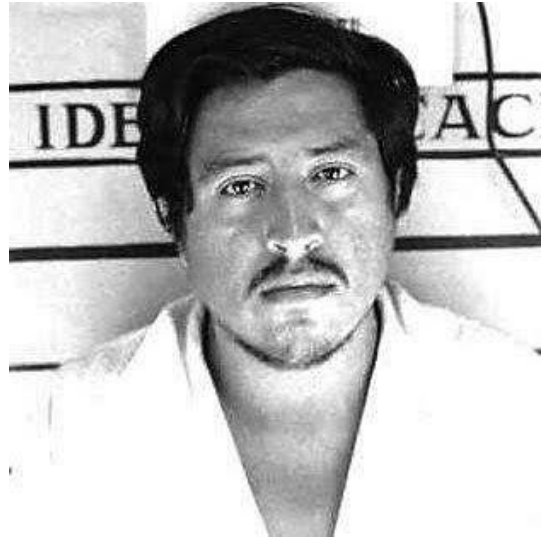
His primary language was likely Spanish.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "ANDRES RODRIGUEZ DIES," *The Washington Post*, April 22, 1997, Accessed August 23, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm\\_term=.8905ad0045da](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/22/andres-rodriguez-dies/f6f38bb3-f213-4a5f-b268-7a7e7a949884/?utm_term=.8905ad0045da).

<sup>16</sup> "Languages," *Central Intelligence Agency*, Accessed July 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/402.html>

**Role Code** 363  
**Leader Code** 333  
**Name of leader** Nestor Cerpa Cartolini  
**Organization** MRTA  
**Conflict country** Peru  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1953<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Lima, Peru<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** 1997<sup>3</sup>



### **Deceased**

Yes, he was killed in action in 1997.

### **Birth order**

He is likely the oldest, “The early death of his father caused him to leave school at 17 to find work to support his mother and three siblings.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1992, so at age 39.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/cerpa/nestor-cerpa.jpg>  
(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
“Cerpa Cartolini, Néstor Fortunato (1953-1997),” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=cerpa-cartolini-nestor-fortunato>.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 65

<sup>3</sup> “Cerpa Cartolini, Néstor Fortunato (1953-1997),” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=cerpa-cartolini-nestor-fortunato>.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 65

<sup>5</sup> “Cerpa Cartolini, Néstor Fortunato (1953-1997),” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=cerpa-cartolini-nestor-fortunato>.

He was likely appointed/designated.<sup>6</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

He only finished primary school.<sup>7</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he was married, but the age he married is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

### **Children**

Yes, he had two children.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious identification**

He was likely Christian.<sup>10</sup>

### **Family background**

No, he came from a working class family.<sup>11</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

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<sup>6</sup> Paul Brewer, *The Lima Embassy Siege and Latin American Terrorism* (Milwaukee: World Almanac Library, 2006), 10.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 65

<sup>8</sup> Thomson Gale, "Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)," *Encyclopedia.com*, 2006, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/legal-and-political-magazines/tupac-amaru-revolutionary-movement-mrta>.

<sup>9</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 66.

<sup>10</sup> "Religions," *CIA*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Thomson Gale, "Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)," *Encyclopedia.com*, 2006, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/legal-and-political-magazines/tupac-amaru-revolutionary-movement-mrta>.

Yes, he was “active in the labor movement of the 1970s, he worked as a union organizer and served time in prison for taking over a bankrupt textile factory illegally.”<sup>12</sup>

**Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

**Pre-militant leader occupation**

“He was a worker in the Textiles Nacionales e Industrial Cromotex SA factory, located in the industrial zone of the central highway in Lima.”<sup>13</sup>

**Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

**Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he studied abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

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<sup>12</sup> Thomson Gale, “Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA),” *Encyclopedia.com*, 2006, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/legal-and-political-magazines/tupac-amaru-revolutionary-movement-mrta>.

<sup>13</sup> “Cerpa Cartolini, Néstor Fortunato (1953-1997),” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=cerpa-cartolini-nessor-fortunato>.

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was “active in the labor movement of the 1970s, he worked as a union organizer and served time in prison for taking over a bankrupt textile factory illegally.”<sup>14</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

“On April 22, 1997, Peruvian special forces stormed the building, rescuing the hostages and killing all of the guerrillas. With the death of Cerpa Cartolini and his guerrillas, the MRTA ceased to function as an effective guerrilla force in Peru.”<sup>15</sup>

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

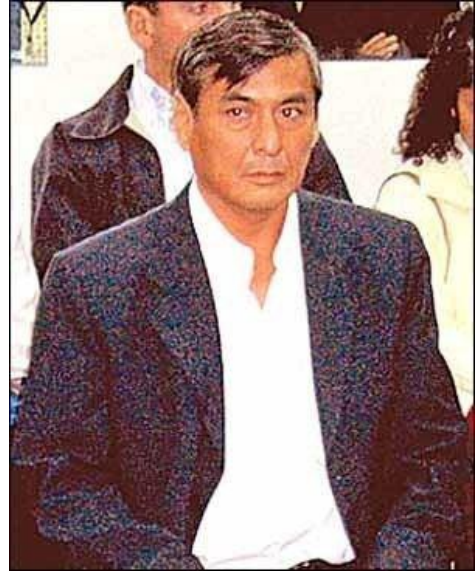
He likely spoke Spanish as his primary language.

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<sup>14</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 65

<sup>15</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 66.

**Role Code** 364  
**Leader Code** 433  
**Name of leader** Victor Polay Campos  
**Organization** MRTA  
**Conflict country** Peru  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1952<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Callao, Peru<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No, there is no evidence he has died.

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In 1984, at age 32.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup>

### **Powersharing**

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: <https://alchetron.com/cdn/vctor-polay-c0582fe9-daff-46b3-9ffc-8c61fca3956-resize-750.jpeg>

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

<sup>2</sup>“BIOGRAFIA DE VICTOR POLAY CAMPOS,” *latinamericanstudies*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/polay.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

<sup>4</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

**Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

“He studied the primary in the Religious School San Antonio of the Callao and the secondary one in the National School Two of May... At age 15, he entered the Technical University of Callao to study Mechanical Engineering. He was Secretary of Foreign Relations of the Aprista University Command (CUA).”<sup>5</sup> He went on to study law abroad in Madrid, Spain, and in Paris, France.<sup>6</sup>

**Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, he married before being leader.<sup>7</sup>

**Children**

Yes, he has a son.<sup>8</sup>

**Religious identification**

He is Christian.<sup>9</sup>

**Family background**

No, he is not from an elite family background.

**Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“In 1958 he enrolled in the APRA, belonging to CHAP 23 de Mayo. In 1970 he integrates the bureau of conjunctions of the PAP. In 1972 he was elected General Secretary of the PAP-Callao Executive Committee. In the aprista parades it was presented equipped with axes and ropes borrowed by the hardware of his father. On May 18, 72, he was arrested by the police for the first time, along with other members of the PAP (Salvador Leoncio Gamero Requena, Band Chief , Agustín Emilio Rodríguez

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<sup>5</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

<sup>6</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

<sup>7</sup> “BIOGRAFIA DE VICTOR POLAY CAMPOS,” *latinamericanstudies*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/polay.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> “BIOGRAFIA DE VICTOR POLAY CAMPOS,” *latinamericanstudies*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/polay.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246



Chilcho, Augusto Luna Chavez, Oscar David Consueto Chuquital, Lucas Domingo Rodríguez Wertles, César Eduardo Correa Quinteros and Juan Homero Lengua Hernández), accused of having carried out dynamite actions in Ica and Lima, between February 17, 1970 and May 2, 72. The APRA party sent him to several training congresses - Costa Rica - with other comrades who were later senators and deputies in Peru.”<sup>10</sup> “In 1982, Polay Campos returned to Peru and promptly became engaged in left-wing politics.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

No, there is no evidence of poor physical or mental health.

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was an activist.<sup>12</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

### **Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

### **Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence he held a government position.

### **Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence he lived in exile.

### **Study abroad?**

Yes, he studied abroad in Paris and France.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> “BIOGRAFIA DE VICTOR POLAY CAMPOS,” *latinamericanstudies*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/polay.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

<sup>12</sup> “BIOGRAFIA DE VICTOR POLAY CAMPOS,” *latinamericanstudies*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/polay.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence he had extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

Yes, he was arrested in 1972 for throwing explosives and several other times for minor incidents.<sup>14</sup> “In February 1989 he was captured by the Peruvian police but escaped from prison in July 1990 with dozens of other MRTA leaders.”<sup>15</sup> The time he spent in prison later was after he was leader.<sup>16</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

No, there is no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

His primary language is likely Spanish.

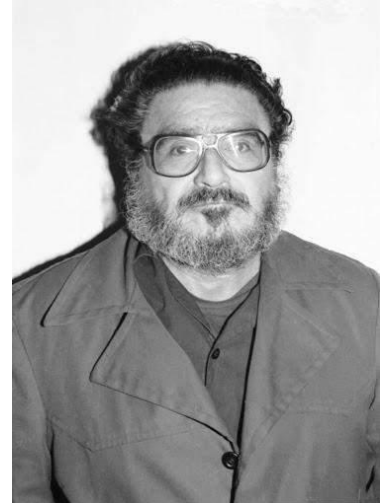
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<sup>14</sup> “BIOGRAFIA DE VICTOR POLAY CAMPOS,” *latinamericanstudies*, Accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/polay.htm>.

<sup>15</sup> “Polay Campos, Víctor (1951–),” *Encyclopedia.com*, Accessed November 11, 2018, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/polay-campos-victor-1951>.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246

**Role Code** 365  
**Leader Code** 24  
**Name of leader** Abimael Guzman  
**Organization** Sendero Luminoso (SL)  
**Conflict country** Peru  
**Gender** Male  
**Year of birth** 1934<sup>1</sup>  
**Place of birth** Arequipa, Peru<sup>2</sup>  
**Year of death** N/A



### **Deceased**

No

### **Birth order**

His birth order is unknown.

### **Age at start of rebel leadership**

In the mid-1970s, so at about age 41.<sup>3</sup>

### **Leader entry method:**

He was the founder.<sup>4</sup> In 1962, he became an assistant professor at the National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga in Ayacucho. Although he was a philosophy professor, his classes discussed only politics. He described his dream of remaking Peru in the image of China--a society in which there were no rich and poor fighting for money and jobs, and

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<sup>1</sup>Image Credit: [https://www.ecured.cu/images/6/6c/ABIMAEL\\_GUZMAN3.jpg](https://www.ecured.cu/images/6/6c/ABIMAEL_GUZMAN3.jpg)

(For non-commercial use, all credits belong to the original owners, please contact for removal)  
<sup>2</sup>“Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

<sup>3</sup>“Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

<sup>4</sup>“Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

where the communists were said to have ended poverty and crime. Guzman saved his highest praise for Mao Tse-tung, the ruler of Communist China. During the next few years, Guzman gained a large and loyal following of students and fellow professors. As a reward, he was promoted to director of personnel. In this job, he managed gradually to take over the university. He hired only those professors who agreed with his political beliefs and used his position to recruit new members to his group. He fired all those who disagreed with him or who became his rivals for power within the Communist party or the university. At the same time, China and the Soviet Union were becoming rival powers. The Soviet leaders had made changes in their society--changes that Mao harshly criticized. In 1964, Guzman left the Communist party to join Bandera Rosa (Red Flag), a group loyal to Mao's ideas. In the 1960s, this "Maoist" party sent Guzman to China, where he learned how to make a communist revolution in the countryside. After returning to Peru, Guzman began criticizing Bandera Rosa's leaders, who favored a revolution in the cities among factory workers and the urban poor. Instead, Guzman saw Peru's future revolution taking place in the countryside, where most of Peru's peasants and Indians lived. In 1970, the leaders of Bandera Rosa expelled Guzman from the group. Guzman struck out on his own, calling his new organization the "Communist Party of Peru for the Shining Path of Jose Carlos Mariategui." Guzman and his followers--Sendero Luminoso--claimed to be following the "path" intended by the founder of Peru's Communist party."<sup>5</sup>

### **Powersharing**

No, there is no evidence of powersharing.

### **Education (also name universities attended, if any); note any relevant experiences while a student**

"He attended a Roman Catholic high school and San Augustin University in the city of Arequipa. There he studied law and philosophy and earned degrees in both subjects. In the 1950s, Guzman and many other university students in Latin America found inspiration in the communist revolutions of the Soviet Union and China."<sup>6</sup>

### **Ever married? If yes, age of first marriage**

Yes, "in 1963 he met Augusta La Torre, daughter of a prominent landowner of the region, with whom he would marry."<sup>7</sup>

### **Children**

No, there is no evidence of him having children.

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas Streissguth, "Abimael Guzman and the Shining Path", 1993, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.georgiastandards.org/resources/Lexile\\_in\\_Action/SSWH20\\_1040.pdf](https://www.georgiastandards.org/resources/Lexile_in_Action/SSWH20_1040.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Streissguth, "Abimael Guzman and the Shining Path", 1993, Accessed August 20, 2017, [https://www.georgiastandards.org/resources/Lexile\\_in\\_Action/SSWH20\\_1040.pdf](https://www.georgiastandards.org/resources/Lexile_in_Action/SSWH20_1040.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> "Guzmán Reynoso, Abimael," *mcnbiografias*, Accessed September 3, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=guzman-reynoso-abimael>.

### **Religious identification**

He is Christian<sup>8</sup>

### **Family background**

“Guzmán was the illegitimate son of a wealthy Peruvian businessman, and his mother abandoned him when he was a young boy.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Political affiliations and intellectual circles; note any relevant social connections made**

“He excelled as a student but showed little interest in politics until his late teens, when he began associating with leftist intellectuals. He became the protégé of the painter Carlos de la Riva, who was an ardent admirer of Joseph Stalin, and he joined the Peruvian Communist Party in the late 1950s”<sup>10</sup> After the Peruvian party broke apart, he joined the “Communist Party of Peru-Red Flag” and after travelling to China in 1965, he was put in the National Political Committee.<sup>11</sup>

### **Physical and mental health**

He suffered from psoriasis and polychthemia<sup>12</sup>

### **Pre-militant leader occupation**

He was a professor.<sup>13</sup>

### **Experience in a state military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a state military.

### **Experience in a nonstate military, and role; any relevant social ties**

No, there is no evidence of experience in a nonstate military.

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<sup>8</sup> “Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

<sup>9</sup> “Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

<sup>10</sup> “Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

<sup>11</sup> “Guzmán Reynoso, Abimael,” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed September 3, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=guzman-reynoso-abimael>.

<sup>12</sup> “Guzmán Reynoso, Abimael,” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed September 3, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=guzman-reynoso-abimael>.

<sup>13</sup> “Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

**Combat experience prior to assuming resistance organization leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of combat experience.

**Held government position prior to assuming leadership?**

No, there is no evidence of him holding a government position.

**Lived in exile?**

No, there is no evidence of him living in exile.

**Study abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of study abroad.

**Did the leader receive military training abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of him receiving military training abroad.

**Did the leader have extensive work experience abroad?**

No, there is no evidence of him having extensive work experience abroad.

**Serve time in prison? Social connections during that time?**

“1969, when the student protest broke out in the cities of Huamanga and Huanta against the restrictive measures in the free education, dictated by the government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado Guzmán mobilized his "generated organisms" that operated inside the Ayacucho People's Defense Front, founded in 1966, for which he was arrested and transferred to the capital along with dozens of popular leaders. The political consequences of these protests led to an internal crisis in Red Flag. After leaving prison, Guzmán traveled to China for the second time.”<sup>14</sup>

Does NOT count as prison because happened after being leader: “Though Guzmán’s conviction was overturned by a constitutional court in 2003, he was retried by a civilian court that likewise sentenced him to life in prison in 2006. In 2010 Guzmán was allowed to marry his longtime lover and former high-ranking member of Shining Path, Elena Iparraguirre. Guzmán is serving his term in solitary confinement in a specially built naval prison in El Callao, west of Lima.”<sup>15</sup>

**Was there an assassination attempt on the leader by the state?**

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<sup>14</sup> “Guzmán Reynoso, Abimael,” *mcnbiografias*, Accessed September 3, 2017, <http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=guzman-reynoso-abimael>.

<sup>15</sup> “Abimael Guzmán,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, August 19, 2016, Accessed August 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman>.

No, there was no evidence of an assassination attempt by the state.

**Cause of Death?**

N/A

**Primary language, and other languages spoken as adult**

He likely spoke Spanish as his primary language.

