

Foreign Fighter Typology (V. 3, 2016) – David Malet, The Foreign Fighter Project, 2007

	Ethnic Conflict	Non-ethnic Conflict
Co-ethnics	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 1 <i>Diasporans</i></p> <p>(Join with nationalist rebels to preserve shared nationalist goals)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1936-1948 Palestine, Diaspora Jews vs. British Mandate 2) 1948 Israeli War of Independence, MACHAL on Jewish side, Arab Liberation Army on Arab side 3) 1960-65 Congo, Angolan Katanga tribesmen 4) 1961-1974 Angola, Zaire refugees in FNLC 5) 1961-1996 Iraq, KDP, PUK 6) 1963-1973 Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde residents in PAIGC vs. Portugal 7) 1972-79, ANC in Rhodesia 8) 1974 Cyprus, rogue Greek National Guardsmen arrive, fight 9) 1990, RPF in Rwandan Tutsi uprising 10) Diaspora Rwandans in 1990-94 Civil War 11) 1991-92 Croatia, diaspora Croats 12) 1991-94 Nagorno-Karabakh, diaspora Armenians 13) 1997, Rwanda vs. PALIR, Congo Hutus 14) 1998 Kosovo, Homeland Calling recruits Albanian diaspora into KLA 15) 2004-ongoing Sudan, Chadian Furs 16) 2007-2014 Mali vs MNLA Touaregs 17) 2012-ongoing Mali vs AQIM, MIA, Anser al Dine 18) 2013-15 South Sudan, Australian diasporans 	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 3 <i>Encroachers</i></p> <p>(Join with secessionist rebels in adjacent state to expand political control to neighboring territory)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1835 Texas Revolution, Texas Army 2) 1948 Malaya – Chinese Communist Organization, Indonesian volunteers 3) 1962-70 Yemen, Yemeni-Saudis, Egyptians 4) 1963 Brunei rebels vs. British-backed sultan, Indonesian volunteers 5) 1980-1988 Uganda, Rwandan Tutsi refugees join Tutsis in National Resistance Army 6) 2007-ongoing Congo conflict, various militias from neighboring states

	Ethnic Conflict	Non-ethnic Conflict
Non-Co-ethnics	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 2 <i>Liberationists</i></p> <p>(Defend anti-colonial rebels to preserve perceived shared ideological goals)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1821 Greece, Philiki Etaireia 2) 1860 Sicily, Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand 3) 1863 Polish January Uprising vs Russia, Italian Mille 4) 1881 Sudan Mahdi Army 5) 1903 Macedonia, Bulgarians in Macedonian VMRO 6) 1946-53 Cambodia, Vietminh 7) 1946-53 Laos, Vietminh 8) 1954 Algeria, Tunisians in FLN 9) 1964-74 Mozambique – ZAPU, Tanzanians, Malawis join Frelimo 10) 1967-70 Nigeria, Biafra Babies 11) 1978-91 Ethiopia, pro-Tigrean Muslims 12) 1978-92 Afghanistan, Islamic Society 13) 1991-94 Georgia vs. Abkhazia, Russians and Chechens 14) 1992-95 Bosnia, Islamists 15) 1992-1997 Niger FLAA 16) 1992-95 Liberia, Burkinabe and Libyans 17) 1994-ongoing Chechnya, Islamists 18) 1999-ongoing Dagestan, Islamists 19) 2000-ongoing Israel, 2 Britons 20) 2002 Cote D'Ivoire, Liberians 21) 2005-2010 Chadian Civil War 22) 2014-ongoing Ukraine, Russians 	<p style="text-align: center;">Type 4 <i>True Believers</i></p> <p>(Join ideological rebels to preserve institutions of shared identity)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1828 Belgian Corps in Portugal 2) 1835-45 Brazil, Garibaldis 3) 1861-65 US, "Wild Geese" 4) 1863-77 China, Muslim Uzbeks 5) 1895 Cuban War of Independence, Americans and Europeans 6) 1910-14 Mexico, Villa's Yankees 7) 1917-21 Russia, International Brigades 8) 1918 Finland, Anti-Communists 9) 1934 China, Comintern, Koreans 10) 1936 Spain, International Brigades & Catholic anti-communists 11) 1946-48 Greece, Communists 12) Cuba 1958-60, Communists 13) 1960-62 Laos, Vietcong 14) Cuba 1961, Brigade 2506 15) 1963 Laos, Vietcong 16) 1966-ongoing, Colombia, IRA joins FARC 17) 1969-ongoing Philippines Moros 18) 1975-1990 Lebanon, Islamists 19) 1975-1991 Angola, Anti-communists 20) 1978 Nicaragua, Argentinean Revolutionary Coordinating Junta 21) 1980 Chad, Libyan Pan-African Legion 22) 1981-82 Iran, Arab Mujahidin 23) 1982 Iraq, Iranians in SCIRI 24) 1989 Chad, Libyan-backed Arabs 25) 1989-ongoing Kashmir, Islamists 26) 1990 Liberia, rebels from Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire 27) 1991-ongoing Somalia, Islamists 28) 1991 Sierra Leone, Liberian NPFL, Libyan-trained Burkinabe 29) 1990-ongoing Algeria, GIA, AQIM 30) 1992 Tajikistan, Islamists 31) 1992-2001 Afghanistan, mujahidin 32) 1996 Zaire, Ugandan, Rwandan rebels 33) 1996 Ethiopia, Somali-led insurgents, Afghan, Yemeni Islamists 34) 1998 Tajikistan, Islamists 35) 1999-ongoing Dagestan, Islamists 36) 2000 Guinea, Sierra Leonean RUF

	37) 2000-ongoing Uzbekistan, Islamists 38) 2001-ongoing Afghanistan, Taliban 39) 2003-ongoing Iraq, Islamists 40) 2004-ongoing Pakistan vs LET, ETIM 41) 2009-ongoing Yemen vs AQAP 42) 2009-ongoing Nigeria vs Boko Haram 43) 2009-2011 CAR vs CPJP 44) 2011-ongoing Syrian Civil War 45) 2011 Libyan uprising, 3 Westerners 46) 2012-ongoing CAR vs Seleka 47) 2014-ongoing Libya vs Islamists
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Conflict Outcomes

Civil Conflicts 1815-2015	All Conflicts (353)	Foreign Fighters (93)
Incumbent Victory	208 (59%)	39 (42%)
Insurgent Victory	95 (27%)	31 (33%)
Stalemate	20 (5%)	4 (4%)
Ongoing	30 (9%)	19 (21%)