Supplementary coding and reference materials

for

Causal pathways of rebel defection from negotiated settlements: A theory of strategic alliances

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## **Rebel acronyms**

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AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia	11
ANC	African National Congress	16
APRD	Popular Army for the Restoration of Democracy	6
ARS/UIC	Supreme Islamic Council of Somalia/Islamic Courts	15
ATMNC	Touareg Alliance of Northern Mali	12
CMA	Coordination of the Azawad Movements	12
CMFPR	Coordination of the Movements and Patriotic Forces of	12
	Resistance	_
CNDD	National Council for the Defence of Democracy	5
CNDD-FDD	National Council for the Defence of Democracy – Forces for the Defence of Democracy	5
CNDP	National Congress for the Defence of the People	8
СРЈР	Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace	6
CPSK	Patriotic Convention for the Salvation of the Kodro	6
CRA	Coordination of the Armed Resistance	13
EDF	Equatorial Defence Force	16
ESF	Eastern Sudan Front	16
FARS	Revolutionary Forces of the Sahara	13
FIAA	Islamic Arab Front of Azawad	12
FLEC-R	Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda - Renewed	5
FN/FRCI	New Forces/Forces Nouvelles	10
FLAA	Liberation Front of Air and Azawad	13
FROLINA	National Liberation Front	5
FRUD	Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy	10
FRUD-AD	Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy – Ahmed	10
	Dini faction	
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement	16
JEM-Sudan	Justice and Equality Movement – Sudan	16
JVA	Juba Valley Alliance	15
LDF	Lofa Defence Force	11
LJM	Liberty and Justice Movement	16
LPC	Liberia Peace Council	11
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army	17
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy	11
M23	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> Movement	8
MAA	Arab Movement of Azawad	12
MDJT	Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad	7
MFUA	United Movements and Fronts of Azawad	12
MNLC	National Movement for the Liberation of Congo	9
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad	12
MNLCR	National Movement for the Liberation of Congo – Renewed	9
MLC	Movement for Congolese Liberation	8
		0

MLCJ	Movement of Central African Liberators for Justice	6
MFDC	Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance	14
MJP	Movement for Justice and Peace	10
MPA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Azawad	10
MPA/Anjouan	Anjouan People's Movement	8
MPCI	Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire	10
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia	10
MPIGO	Ivorian Movement for the Greater West	10
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia	10
NPFL-CRC	National Patriotic Front of Liberia – Central Revolutionary	11
	Council	
NRA	National Resistance Army	17
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front	11
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front	11
ORA	Organization of Armed Resistance	13
PALIPEHUTU	Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People	5
PALIPEHUTU-FNL	Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People – Front for	5
	National Liberation	-
RCD	Congolese Rally for Democracy	8
RCD-Goma	Congolese Rally for Democracy – Goma	8
RCD-K-ML	Congolese Rally for Democracy – Kisangani – Movement for	8
	Liberation	
RCD-N	Congolese Rally for Democracy – National	8
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance	13
RFC	Rally of Forces for Change	7
RJ	Revolution and Justice	6
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front	14
RSF	Rashaida Free Lions	16
RRA	Rahanweyn Resistance Army	15
RUF	Revolutionary United Front	14
SDM-Mahdi	Somali Democratic Movement – Mahdi faction	15
SDM-SNA	Somali Democratic Movement – Somali National Alliance	15
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army	16
SNF	Somali National Front	15
SPLA-BGG	Sudanese People's Liberation Army – Bahr-el-Ghazal faction	16
SPLA-United	Sudanese People's Liberation Army – United	16
SPLM/A	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army	16
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement	15
SPM/SNA	Somali Patriotic Movement/ Somali National Alliance	15
SRRC	Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council	15
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front	15
SSDF-Muse	Somali Salvation Democratic Front – Mohamed Abshir Muse faction	15
SSDF-Yusuf	Somali Salvation Democratic Front – Abudallahi Yusuf	15

	faction	
SSIM	South Sudan Independence Movement	16
UFDD	Union Forces for Democracy and Development	7
UFDD-F	Union Forces for Democracy and Development –	7
	Fundamental	
UFDD-R	Union Forces for Democracy and Development – Renewed	7
UFDR	Union of Democratic Forces for Unity	6
UFR	Union of Republic Forces	6
UFRA	Union of Forces of the Armed Resistance	
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia	11
ULIMO-J	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia –	11
	Roosevelt Johnson faction	
ULIMO-K	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia –	11
	Alhaji Kromah faction	
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	5
UNITA-R	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola –	5
	Renovada	
UPDA/M	Uganda People's Democratic Army/Movement	17
UNRFII	Uganda National Rescue Front II	18
USC-Mahdi	United Somali Congress-Mahdi faction	15
USC/SNA	United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance	15

## Table A2. Sources used to make qualitative coding decisions.

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
Angola	Bicesse Accords (1991) Lusaka Protocol (1994) Agreement with UNITA-Renovada Updating the Lusaka Protocol (1999) Memorandum of Understanding (2002) Memorandum of Understanding on Peace and National Reconciliation in Cabinda Province (2006)	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) UNITA – Rénovada <sup>1</sup> Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda—Rénovada (FLEC-R) <sup>2</sup>	<ul> <li>Guot, Caroline and Alex Vines. 2015. "United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)." <i>The Oxford</i> <i>Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations</i>. Eds Joachim A. Koops, Thierry, Tardy, Norrie MacQueen, and Paul D. Williams.</li> <li>Meijer (2004), <i>From military peace to social justice? The</i> <i>Angolan peace process</i>. London: Conciliation Resources.</li> <li>"What Leads the Guerrilla to Fight On, With No End in Sight?; 'You'll Get Used to a Lot of Things'." <i>Washington Post</i>, 9 August 1977.</li> <li>"FLEC Claims Responsibility for Attack in Cabinda, Eight Soldiers Killed." <i>Lisbon Lusa</i>, 28 April 2009.</li> <li>Meijer (2004), <i>From military peace to social justice? The</i> <i>Angolan peace process</i>. London: Conciliation Resources</li> </ul>
Burundi	<ul> <li>Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement (2000)</li> <li>Ceasefire Agreement between the Transitional Government and the CNDD-FDD (2002)<sup>3</sup></li> <li>Pretoria Protocol for Power-sharing + Global Ceasefire Agreement (2003)</li> <li>Accord de Partage de Pouvoir (2004)</li> </ul>	National Council for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD) CNDD – Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) <sup>4</sup> Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu (Palipehutu) Front pour la Libération Nationale (Frolina)	<ul> <li><i>«Burundi : la FIDH dénonce une « dynamique génocidaire »</i> <i>Le Monde</i>, 15 November 2016.</li> <li><i>«</i> Buyoya meets FRODEBU, FROLINA leaders. <i>» IRINNews</i>, 6 September 2001.</li> <li><i>"</i>Engaging armed groups in peace processes: Burundi primer." <i>ACCORD: Conciliation Resources</i>, July 2004.</li> <li><i>"Glossary of Burundian political parties and armed opposition groups relevant to the conflict in Burundi," (Amnesty International, International Documentation Network on the African Great Lakes Region, 22 March 2001,</i></li> </ul>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The UNITA-Renovada faction is not included the UCDP Armed Conflict dataset or actor list (Themnér & Wallensteen, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The FLEC-FAC offshoot is included in UCDP data, and its association with the original FLEC rebellion is coded accurately by NSA (Cunningham, Gleditsch, Salehyan, 2013). However, neither dataset recognized the FLEC-R splinter group, which is the only one to sign a peace deal with the Angolan government, in 2006. Although there is evidence of continued fighting, and elements of the FLEC-R and FLEC-FAC all publicly rejected the 2006 settlement, the precise trajectory of this group after 2006 is unclear. It has been excluded from the full analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The settlement is included separately from the power sharing agreements signed in 2000 and 2004. The CNDD-FDD had splintered in 2001, with Nkurunziza leading the largest faction and a small group of fighters following Ndayikengurkiye. This smaller faction agreed to a ceasefire and appears to have disbanded in 2002, when Nkurunziza signed this agreement to join the transitional government arranged under the terms of the 2000 Arusha Agreement (See Article I.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Also referred to by some sources as the Forces pour la défense de la démocratie-Conseil patriotique national (FPD-CPN).

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
	Dar es Salaam Agreement + Comprehensive Ceasefire (2006) Déclaration coinjointe du Palipehutu-FNL et du gouvernement de la République du Burundi relative à la cessation des hostilités + Déclaration du Directoire Politique du processus de paix au Burundi sur le processus de mise en oeuvre des décisions conjointes prises à Pretoria (2008/9)		<ul> <li>http://www.grandslacs.net/doc/2150.pdf</li> <li>Niyoyita, Aloys. 2005. "At Least 49 Killed after the Burundian Army, Former Rebels Attack Insurgents." Associated Press Worldstream, 2 January.</li> <li>"Renewed Fighting Displaces Thousands in Bujumbura Rural." UN Integrated Regional Information Networks, 4 January 2005.</li> <li>Rufyikiri, Gervais. 2017. "The Post-wartime Trajectory of CNDD-FDD Party in Burundi: A Façade Transformation of Rebel Movement into Political Party." Civil Wars, 19(2): 220-248.</li> <li>"Tanzania: Burundi government signs cease-fire accord with two minor rebel groups," Nipashe, 8 October 2002.</li> <li>"Massacres Continue in Burundi." The Herald, 22 August 1989.</li> <li>"Three said killed in two ambush incidents in southern, northwestern Burundi." ABP News Agency, 13 November 2007.</li> </ul>
Central African Republic	<ul> <li>Syrte Agreement (2007)</li> <li>Birao Peace Agreement (2007)</li> <li>Accord de Paix Global entre le <ul> <li>Gouvernement de la Republique</li> <li>Centrafricaine et les</li> <li>Mouvements politico-militaires</li> <li>centrafricains designes ci-apres:</li> <li>APRD, FDPC, UFDR (2008)</li> </ul> </li> <li>Ceasefire Agreement between the <ul> <li>UFDR and CPJP (2011)</li> </ul> </li> <li>Accord de cessez le feu entre d'une <ul> <li>part l'UFDR et d'autre part la</li> <li>CPJP sous l'égide du Conseil</li> <li>National de la Mediation (CNM) <ul> <li>(2011)</li> </ul> </li> <li>Libreville Political Accord (2013)</li> <li>Accord de cessation des hostilités en <ul> <li>République centrafricaine (2014)</li> </ul> </li> <li>Republican Pact for Peace, National <ul> <li>Reconciliation and</li> </ul> </li> </ul></li></ul>	<ul> <li>Front Démocratique du Peuple Centrafricain (FDPC)</li> <li>Union des Forces Démocratiques pour la Rassemblement (UFDR)</li> <li>Popular Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD)</li> <li>Movement of Central African Liberators for Justice (MLCJ)</li> <li>Revolution and Justice (RJ)</li> <li>Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP)</li> <li>Patriotic Convention for the Country's Salvation (CPSK)</li> <li>Union of Republican Forces (UFR)</li> <li>Anti-Balaka</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Allen, Karen. 2007. "Caught in the CAR's deadly crossfire." <i>BBC News</i>, 30 July.</li> <li>"Armed groups in CAR." IRINNews, 17 September 2014.</li> <li>"Centrafrique/rébellion: un gendarme et deux civils tués dans une attaque proche de Bangui (gendarmerie)". <i>Agence France-Presse</i>, 14 November 2012.</li> <li>Debos, Marielle. 2008. "Fluid loyalties in a regional crisis: Chadian 'ex-liberators' in the Central African Republic." <i>African Affairs</i> 107(427): 225-241.</li> <li>Dukhan, Nathalia. 2017. "Splintered Warfare: Alliance, affiliations, and agendas of armed factions and policomilitary groups in the Central African Republic." Enough! Project, August.</li> <li>Elion, Christian. 2014. "Cameroon frees Central African rebel chief in exchange for hostages." <i>Reuters</i>, 28 November.</li> <li>"Ex-rebels join CAR unity cabinet." <i>BBC News</i>, 20 January 2009.</li> <li>Gebrewold, Belachew. 2016. <i>Anatomy of Violence: Understanding the Systems of Conflict and Violence in Africa</i>. Routledge, p. 186.</li> </ul>

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
	Reconstruction (2015)		<ul> <li>Klenfield, P. 2017. "Central African Republic: What's gone wrong?" IRIN, 24 February.</li> <li>Knoope, Peter and Stephen Buchanan-Clarke. 2017. "Central African Republic: a Conflict Misunderstood."</li> <li>Kpatindé, Francis. 2012. "Centrafrique : pour qui roule la Seleka? » <i>RFI Afrique</i>, 29 December.</li> <li>"Le CPJP, dernier groupe rebelle actif en Centrafrique, devient un parti politique," <i>Radio France Internation</i>al, 26 August 2012.</li> </ul>
Chad	Tripoli 2 Agreement (2002) Peace Agreement between the Government of Chad and the MDJT (2003) Yebibou Agreement (2005) Syrte Accord (2007) Accord de paix entre le gouvernement de la République du Tchad et le Mouvement National (2009)	Mouvement pour la Démocratie et la Justice au Tchad (MDJT) Rassemblement des Forces pour le Changement (RFC) Union Force for Democracy and Development (UFDD)	<ul> <li>Balencie, Jean-Marc and Arnaud de La Grange. 2001. Mondes rebelles : <i>L'encyclopédie des acteurs, conflits &amp; violences politiques</i>. Paris, Éditions Michalon.</li> <li>"Chad: Rebel leader says to restore peace President Deby "should go"." 2000. Radio France Internationale, 27 January.</li> <li>"Chad: Rebels capture western town, claim responsibility." 2006. <i>Radio France Internationale, 22</i> October.</li> <li>"Chad ready to negotiate with rebels 'within framework of agreements signed.'" 2008. <i>Radio France Internationale, 22</i> June.</li> <li>"Chadian opposition form alliance." 2006. <i>BBC Monitoring Africa, 24</i> October.</li> <li>"Chadian armed group says Darfur rebels controlling eastern town." 2006. <i>Radio France Internationale, 14</i> April.</li> <li>Debos, Marielle. 2008. "Fluid loyalties in a regional crisis: Chadian 'ex-liberators' in the Central African Republic." <i>African Affairs</i> 107(427): 225-241.</li> <li>"Fifteen soldiers, seven rebels killed during fighting in eastern Chad." 2006. <i>Radio France Internationale, 4</i> June.</li> <li>"Government Denies Reports of Clashes with Rebels in the North." 1999. Africa No. 1 Radio, 3 February.</li> <li>"Hardline rebel faction in north rejects peace deal." 2003. <i>IRINNews, 16</i> December.</li> <li>Polgreen, Lydia. 2008. "Violence in Chad Intensifies, and Foreigners Evacuate." <i>The New York Times, 4</i> February.</li> <li>"Rebels reject Darfur-related pact; President of Chad must go, group says." 2008. <i>International Herald Tribune, 15 March.</i></li> </ul>

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
			<ul> <li>"Refugees Leave for Home."2001. UN Integrated Regional Information Network, 28 July.</li> <li>"Two Chadian rebel groups form joint military command." 2006. <i>Radio France Internationale</i>, 26 December.</li> </ul>
Comoros	Agreement on the transitional arrangements in the Comoros + Fomboni I and II Agreements (2000-3)	MPA/Republic of Anjouan	<ul> <li>"Comoro Island Troops Arrest Hundreds." The New York Times, 17 March 1997.</li> <li>"Several wounded in clashes on Comoros secession isle." Agence France Presse, 12 February 1998.</li> </ul>
Congo, Democratic Republic of	Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999) Sun City Agreement+ Global and All-Inclusive Agreement (2002) <sup>5</sup> Inter-Congolese Political Negotiations-The Final Act (2003) Acte d'engagement, Nord-Kivu (2008) <sup>6</sup> 23 March 2009 Agreement (2009) Final Communiqué on the Kampala Dialogue (2013)	Mouvement de Libération Congolais (MLC) Rassamblement Congolaises pour la Démocratie (RCD) Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple (CNDP) Mouvement du 23-Mars (M23)	<ul> <li>Boshoff, Henri, and Martin Rupiya. 2003. "Delegates, Dialogue and Desperadoes: The ICD and the DRC peace process." <i>African Security Studies</i> 12(3): 29-37.</li> <li>"Calm returns to southern CAR after MLC, army standoff." <i>Xinhua General News Service</i>, 7 March 2003.</li> <li>Caryannis, Tatiana. 2008. <i>Elections in the Congo: The Bemba</i> <i>Surprise</i>. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Special Report.</li> <li>"DRC rebels claim major victory against Chadians." <i>Agence</i> <i>France Presse</i>, 7 November 1998.</li> <li>"DR Congo rebels clash with pro-government militia: UN." <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 9 January 2009.</li> <li>"DR Congo's M23 rebel chief Sultani Makenga 'surrenders.'" <i>BBC News</i>, 7 November 2013.</li> <li>"DR Congo: Rebel Leader Gives Stance at News Conference." <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 1 March 2002.</li> <li>Koko, Sadiki. 2007. "The 'one-plus-four'formula and transition in the Democratic Republic of Congo." <i>African Security</i> <i>Studies</i> 16(1): 33-47.</li> <li>Rogier, Emeric. 2006. "Democratic Republic of Congo: problems of the peacekeeping process." In <i>Ending Africa 's</i> <i>wars. Progressing to peace. Aldershot</i>, Burlington: Ashgate</li> </ul>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The two settlements are signed approximately seven months apart as part of the same process, involving the same parties and referring to similar terms, so they are included as a single settlement. The subsequent Inter-Congolese Political Negotiations ("The Final Act") of April 2003 is coded separately, since this was an attempt to incorporate a different, previously excluded faction of the RCD into the bargain accepted by the MLC, the RCD-N, and the RCD-ML in the 2002 settlements. Mai-Mai militias also signed on to both settlements but are excluded from the sample, as these groups are relatively transitory and disorganized, making it difficult to obtain clear information and accurately conduct process tracing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> At least seven other rebel parties signed, but all were Mai Mai factions. A second settlement signed the same year, the Acte d'engagement Sud-Kivu, included only Mai Mai militias and is therefore excluded.

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
			<ul> <li>Publishers, pp. 99-113.</li> <li>Stearns, Jason. 2012. Dancing in the glory of monsters: The collapse of the Congo and the great war of Africa. Public affairs.</li> <li>"Two DR Congo rebel groups agree to end hostilities." Agence France Presse, 16 November 2002.</li> <li>Webb, Malcolm. 2012. "Thousands flee renewed violence in DRC." Al Jazeera English, 18 May.</li> </ul>
Congo, Republic of	Accords de cessation des hostilitiés en République du Congo (1999)	Ninjas Cobras Cocoyes National Movement for the Liberation of Congo/Renewed (MNLC/Renewed)	<ul> <li>Congo: De l'armée aux milices." <i>La Lettre du Continent</i>, 18 November 1993.</li> <li>"Congo-B: At least '10 people' said killed in attack by Ninja militia in Yamba." <i>Paris Agence-France Presse</i>, 10 February 2003.</li> <li>"Country Reports: Republic of Congo (Brazzaville)." <i>Economist Intelligence Unit</i>, July 2002.</li> <li>"Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Republic of Congo, 2002." US. Department of State, 2002. http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2002/18178.htm</li> <li>Demetriou, Spyros, Robert Muggah, and Ian Biddle. 2002. <i>Small arms availability, trade and impacts in the republic of Congo</i>. Graduate Institute of International Studies- Small Arms Survey.</li> <li>Englebert, Pierre, and James Ron. 2004. "Primary commodities and war: Congo-Brazzaville's ambivalent resource curse." <i>Comparative Politics</i>: 61-81.</li> <li>Massamba, Armand. 1993. "Crisis in Congo: another experiment backfires." <i>Associated Press</i>, 18 July.</li> <li>Mutond, Kamanga. 1997. "Capital calm, skirmishes reported in southwest." <i>Associated Press Worldstream</i>, 20 October.</li> <li>Ngodi, Stanislas. 2006. <i>Milicianisation et engagement</i> <i>politique au Congo-Brazzaville</i>. Editions L'Harmattan.</li> <li>"Prime minister's militia joins battle in Congo." <i>Agence</i> <i>France Presse</i>, 12 October 1997.</li> <li>Themnér, Anders. 2011. <i>Violence in Post-Conflict Societies:</i> <i>Remarginalization Remobilizers and Relationships</i>. Routledge, pp. 72-3.</li> <li>Zavis, Alexandra. 1997. "Brazzaville seemed - on the surface -</li> </ul>

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
			an African success story." Associated Press, 8 June.
Côte d'Ivoire	Linas-Marcoussis/Accra Accords (2003) <sup>7</sup> Pretoria Agreement (2005) Ougadougou Peace Agreement (2007)	Mouvement Patriotique de la Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI) Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix (MJP) Mouvement Populaire Ivorian du Grand Ouest (MPIGO) Forces Nouvelles (FRCI)	<ul> <li>Bah, Abu Bakarr. 2010. Democracy and Civil War: Citizenship and Peacemaking in Côte d'Ivoire. <i>African</i> <i>Affairs</i>, 109(437): 597–615.</li> <li>Boher, Anne. 2003. "Ivory Coast coalition government raises hopes." <i>Reuters</i>, 16 April.</li> <li>Charbonneau, Bruno. 2012. "War and Peace in Cote d'Ivoire: Violence, Agency, and the Local/International Line." <i>International Peacekeeping</i> (19).</li> <li>Côte d'Ivoire: Ensuring Credible Elections." In <i>Africa Report</i>, <i>no. 139</i>. International Crisis Group, Brussels, 2008.</li> <li>"Fierce fighting between Ivorian belligerents." <i>Panafrican</i> <i>News Agency (PANA) Daily Newswire</i>, 7 November 2004.</li> <li>"Fighting erupts again in Ivory Coast." <i>Deutsche Presse-</i> <i>Agentur</i>, 28 November 2002.</li> <li>"Final Report of the Group of Experts on Cote d'Ivoire pursuant to Paragraph 11 of Security Council Resolution 1842 (2008) concerning Cote d'Ivoire." United Nations S/2009/521, 9 October 2009.</li> <li>"Former rebel leader takes over as Ivory Coast's prime minister." Associated Press (<i>International Herald</i> <i>Tribune</i>), 4 April 2007.</li> <li>"Fresh fighting in Ivory Coast." <i>BBC News</i>, 20 May 2004.</li> <li>Mitchell, Matthew. 2012. "Power-sharing and peace in Côte d'Ivoire: past examples and future prospects." <i>Conflict,</i> <i>Security &amp; Development</i> 12(2).</li> <li>New rebel leader challenges Gbagbo's 'monopoly of violence'." <i>World News Connection</i>, 29 November 2002.</li> <li>Tostevin, Matthew. 2002. "Ivory Coast fighting intensifies;</li> </ul>
Djibouti	Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation (1994) General Agreement on Reform and Civil Concord (2000)	Front pour la Réstoration de l'Unité et de la Démocratie (FRUD)	<ul> <li>town taken." Washington Post, 29 November.</li> <li>"Afar rebels poised to take town." Agence France Presse, 15 November 1991.</li> <li>"Five soldiers, 15 rebels killed in Djibouti clash." Agence France Presse, 30 November 1999.</li> <li>"Four die in military helicopter crash in Tadjoura; FRUD</li> </ul>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The full peace process generated a series of agreements signed between January and May 2003, which are combined here and coded as a single settlement.

Country	Settlements (Years)	Rebel parties	Sources
			claims responsibility." <i>BBC Summary of World</i> <i>Broadcasts</i> , 21 March 1995. "Two soldiers killed in rebel ambush." <i>Agence France Presse</i> , 24 February 1994.
Ethiopia	Transitional Charter (1991)	Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)	<ul> <li>Abley, Mark. 1991. "Fighting for survival; in the Horn of Africa; Part 2 of a series." <i>The Gazette</i>, 15 December.</li> <li>"Eritrean Rebel Radio Interviews Oromo Liberation Front Official." 1987. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 22 May.</li> <li>"Ethiopia signs peace deal with rebel faction." 2010. <i>Reuters</i>, 12 October.</li> <li>"Ethiopia's Ogaden rebels claim seizing oilfield." 2010. <i>BBC</i> <i>Monitoring Africa</i>, 30 May</li> <li>"Ethiopia's Oromo rebels claim victory over government forces." 2010. <i>BBC Monitoring Africa</i>, 17 January.</li> <li>"Ethiopian Somali organizations unite; demand self- determination and shari'ah." 1994. <i>BBC Summary of World</i> <i>Broadcasts</i>, 26 January.</li> <li>"Out with Oromos and Marxists." 1980. <i>The Economist</i>, 1 March.</li> </ul>
Guinea-Bissau	Abuja Peace Agreement (1998)	Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace, and Justice	"Rebel soliders form military junta." RDP Antena 1 Radio, 9 June 1998.
Liberia	Yamoussoukro IV Accord (1991) Cotonou Agreement (1993) Akosombo Agreement (1994) Accra Acceptance and Accession Agreement (1994) Abuja Accord (1995) Abuja II Accord (1996) Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2003)	<ul> <li>National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)</li> <li>United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)</li> <li>Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)</li> <li>Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL)</li> <li>Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Adebajo, Adekeye. 2002. "Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG, and Regional Security in West Africa. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.</li> <li>Armon, Jeremy. 1996. "The Liberian peace process 1990-96." ACCORD: Conciliation Resources, October.</li> <li>Bekoe, Dorina A. 2005. "Mutual vulnerability and the implementation of peace agreements: Examples from Mozambique, Angola, and Liberia." <i>International Journal</i> of <i>Peace Studies</i>: 43-68.</li> <li>Harris, David. 2006. "Liberia 2005: an unusual African post- conflict election." <i>The Journal of Modern African Studies</i> 44(3): 375-395.</li> <li>"Historical document: NPLF statement from January 1990." 1990. <i>The Perspective</i>, 1 January.</li> <li>"Liberia rebels give 90 day deadline to Taylor." 2000. <i>The</i></li> </ul>

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
			<ul> <li>Progress (Freetown), 21 July.</li> <li>Lidow, Nicholai Hart. 2016. Violent Order: Understanding Rebel Governance Through Liberia's Civil War. Cambridge University Press.</li> <li>Lyons, Terrence. "Peace and elections in Liberia." 1998. In Postconflict Elections, Democratization, and International Assistance.</li> <li>"New Liberian rebel group advances towards coast." 2003. Agence France Presse, 8 April.</li> <li>"Rebels ready to talk - Taylor promises to leave." 2003. Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 5 August "Trapped Britons rescued by airlift." 1990. The Sunday Times, 29 April.</li> <li>"Tens of thousands flee Liberian fighting." 1995. The Associated Presse 22 June</li> </ul>
Mali	<ul> <li>Tamranasset Accord (1991)</li> <li>Pacte National/Bamako Peace Pact (1992)</li> <li>Accord d'Alger pour la Restauration de la Paix, de la Sécurité et du Développement dans la région de Kidal (2006)</li> <li>Accord préliminaire à l'élection présidentielle et aux pourparlers inclusifs de paix au Mali (2013)</li> <li>Accord Pour la Paix et la Reconciliation au Mali (2015)</li> </ul>	Mouvement Populaire de l'Azaouad (MPA/MPLA) Islamic Arab Front of Azawad (FIAA) United Movements and Fronts of Azawad (MFUA) <sup>8</sup> Coordination des Mouvements de l'Azawad (CMA) Arab Movement of Azawad (MAA) Touareg Alliance of Northern Mali (ATMNC) Coordination of the Movements and Patriotic Forces of Resistance (CMFPR) National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA)	<ul> <li>Associated Press, 23 June.</li> <li>"Azawad Front rejects venue in Mali for Tuareg conference." 1991. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 7 November.</li> <li>Bencherif, A. and Campana, A. 2017. "Alliances of convenience: assessing the dynamics of the Malian insurgency." Mediterranean Politics, 22(1), pp.115-134.</li> <li>Duteil, Mireille. 2008. "Touareg : les dangers d'une rébellion." Le Point, 17 April.</li> <li>"Explainer: Tuareg-led rebellion in north Mali." 2012. Al Jazeera Online.</li> <li>"Mali army takes major rebel stronghold." 1995. Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 19 January.</li> <li>"Mali Azawad official on movement's hopes for the National Conference." 1991. Radiodiffusion Television Malienne, 5 August.</li> <li>"Mali Tuareg rebels announce a truce." 1991. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 June.</li> <li>Subtil, Marie-Pierre. 1992. "National pact brings uneasy peace to Mali." Manchester Guardian Weekly, 5 April.</li> <li>Togo, Theodore. 2002. "The Rebellion In The North Of Mali." In Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual. Caritas</li> </ul>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The umbrella MFUA movement comprised six northern militias, which merged after the failure of the 1991 Tamranasset Accord. The primary factions were the MPA and FIAA, as well as the Revolutionary Army for the Liberation of Azawad (ARLA), Popular Liberation Front of Azawad (FPLA), National Liberation Front of Azawad (FNLA), and Patriotic Movement of Ghanda Koye (MPG).

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
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Mozambique	The Acordo Geral de Paz/Rome Peace Agreement (1992) Declaração de Cessação das Hostilidades Militares (2014)	Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO)	<ul> <li>Buchanan, Elsa. 2016. "Negotiations between Frelimo and Renamo suspended as Mozambique war escalates". <i>International Business Times</i>, 1 August.</li> <li>Manning, Carrie. 1998. "Constructing opposition in Mozambique: RENAMO as political party." <i>Journal of</i> <i>Southern African Studies</i> 24(1): 161-189.</li> <li>"Rebels hack five to death." 1992. <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 2 June.</li> <li>"Renamo reactivating political activity in Manica and Sofala". 2017. <i>The Zimbabwean</i>, Johannesburg, 9 February.</li> <li>"South African radio interview with Mozambique Resistance Movement spokesmen." 1979. <i>BBC Summary of World</i> <i>Broadcasts</i>, 9 November.</li> <li>Vines, Alex. 1998. "The business of peace: 'Tiny' Rowland, financial incentives and the Mozambican settlement." ACCORD: Conciliation Resources.</li> <li>Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2002. "Mozambique: a fading UN success story." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 13(1): 141-156.</li> </ul>
Niger	Paris Accord (1993) Ouagadougou Accords (1994) Definitive Peace Agreement (1995) Agreement Between Government of Niger and the Union of Armed Resistance Forces and the Saharan Revolutionary Armed Forces (1997)	Front de Libération de l'Air et l'Azaouad (FLAA) Forces Armées Révolutionnaires du Sahara (FARS) Coordination of the Armed Resistance (CRA) Organization of Armed Resistance (ORA)	<ul> <li>"Chronology for Tuareg in Niger." Minorities At Risk (MAR) Project, http://www.mar.umd.edu/chronology.asp?groupId=43603.</li> <li>"Five Killed Following Two Tuareg Attacks." <i>BBC Summary</i> of World Broadcasts, 13 January 1992</li> <li>Jean-Paul, Azam and Christian Morrisson. 1999. Development Centre Studies Conflict and Growth in Africa: The Sahel Volume 1. OECD Publishing, 13 September, pp. 92-93.</li> <li>"Kidnapped Montrealer to be let go." <i>The Gazette</i>, 27 March 1997.</li> <li>"Niger rebel groups join forces." <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 24 September 1997.</li> <li>"Niger rebels seek refuge in northeast Nigeria." <i>NTA TV</i>, 7 July 1997.</li> </ul>

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
			<ul> <li>"Niger officially acknowledges Tuareg rebellion." Agence France Presse, 7 January 1992.</li> <li>"Niger Tuareg rebel leader on negotiations with transitional government." BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 2 March 1992.</li> <li>"Niger rebel groups join forces." Agence France Internationale, 24 September 1997.</li> </ul>
Rwanda	Arusha Accord (1993)	Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)	<ul> <li>"Belgian government in firing line over mission." 1990. <i>IPS-Inter Press Service</i>, 25 October.</li> <li>"President must be ousted, opposition says." 1992. <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 2 June.</li> <li>Randal, Jonathan and Keith Richburg. 1994. "Rebels declare victory, cease-Fire in Rwanda; flood of Hutu refugees into Zaire continues." <i>The Washington Post</i>, 19 July.</li> </ul>
Senegal	Agreement Between Government of Senegal and the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (1991) Agreement Between Government of Senegal and the MFDC (2001) Zinguinchor Peace Agreement (2004)	Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC)	<ul> <li>"Chronology for Diolas in Casamance in Senegal." Minorities At Risk (MAR) Proect, http://www.mar.umd.edu/chronology.asp?groupId=43301.</li> <li>"Fighting reported between rival Senegalese separatist factions." 2006. <i>BBC Monitoring Africa</i>, 16 March.</li> <li>"Senegal army 'cleans out' rebels from part of Casamance." 2010. <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 3 April</li> <li>"Senegal Casamance separatists kill two soldiers in ambush." 1988. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 23 December.</li> <li>"Senegal: IRIN focus on Casamance peace agreement." 2001. IRIN, 26 March.</li> </ul>
Sierra Leone	Abidjan Agreement (1996) Lomé Peace Agreement (1999) Abuja Ceasefire (2000)	Revolutionary United Front (RUF)	<ul> <li>Lord, David, ed. 2000. "Paying the price: The Sierra Leone peace process." ACCORD: Conciliation Resources, http://www.c-r.org/accord/sierra-leone.</li> <li>"Sierra Leone army attacks rebels reportedly backed by Liberian NPFL." 1992. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 1 September.</li> <li>"UNAMSIL confirms heavy fighting in Kono District." 2001. <i>Concord Times</i>, 19 May.</li> <li>"Wife of self-proclaimed rebel leader arrested." 1991. <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 21 August.</li> </ul>

Somalia Addis Ababa Agreement (1993) <sup>9</sup> United Somali Congress (USC) <sup>11</sup> "Bar	
Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities, Structures and Principles of the Somali National Reconciliation Process (2002) Comminques on Talks between the Transitional Government and the Islamic Courts (2006) <sup>10</sup> Djibouti Agreement (2008) Djibouti Agreement (2008) Hub Valley Alliance (JVA) Djibouti Agreement (2008) Djibouti Agreeme	<ul> <li>arre's battles." 1982. <i>The Economist</i>, 24 July.</li> <li>bodies of several clerics found in, around Somali mosque after heavy fighting." 2008. <i>Voice of America News</i>, 21 April.</li> <li>bovernment troops battle militias in Somali capital, 72 dead." 2001. <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 16 July</li> <li>maar, Rakiya. 1991. "The tightening net on Mogadishu." <i>The Guardian</i>, 2 January.</li> <li>Kinley Jr., James. 1996. "Islamic movement's niche: bringing order to Somalia's clans." The New York Times, 23 August</li> <li>clez, Jane. 1991. "Fighting subsides in Somalia's capital." <i>The New York Times</i>, 29 January.</li> <li>b-Aydid radio reports SLA military success following attack by SSDF." 1992. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 12 December.</li> <li>omali congress in Asmara ends by electing its leaders." 2007. <i>BBC Monitoring Africa</i>, 14 September.</li> <li>omali dissidents' attack on prison in Berbera district." 1983. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 8 January.</li> <li>omali dissidents' unity moves: "radio Kulmis" renamed." 1982. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 11 October.</li> <li>omali factions meeting in Ethiopia form new alliance." 2001. <i>BBC Summary of World Broadcasts</i>, 22 March.</li> <li>omali leader assassinated."1996. <i>The Independent</i>, 6 October.</li> </ul>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The USC, SDM, and SPM all splintered into rival factions during the peace process, which were loyal to either Ali Mahdi or Mohamed Farah Aideed during the peace process, each of which signed the settlement separately. The SSDF splintered after the settlement was signed, into SSDF-Yusuf and SSDF-Muse factions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The agreements were published as "Communiqués," although the terms involved substantive concessions on both sides, including the recognition of shari'a law by the federal government and an understanding that the SICS would definitively cease violent activities. As it was understood by both parties as the definitive end to conflict at the time that the peace talks ended, when the full text was released to the public, the case meets my definition of a negotiated settlement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Following the overthrow of Siad Barre in 1991, the USC splintered into two factions. The first, led by Ali Mahdi, is known as the USC-Mahdi, or alternatively, the USC/SSA. The second, led by the original leader of the USC's military wing, Mohamed Farah Aideed, is referred to in various locations as the USC-Aideed, USC-Mustahil, or—most commonly—USC/SNA. These two groups would become the largest component factions within the two umbrella coalitions, the SNA and SSA, which dominated the Somali conflict throughout the 1990s.

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
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South Africa	National Peace Accord (1991)	African National Congress (ANC)	<ul> <li>Burns, John. 1976. No title. The New York Times, 24 August.</li> <li>"Military wing of African National Congress of South Africa expands." 1981. <i>Xinhua General News Service</i>, 17 December.</li> <li>Thurow, Roger. 1990. "ANC adopts new role with government in post-apartheid South Africa." <i>The Wall Street Journal</i>, 20 March.</li> </ul>
Sudan	Koka Dam Declaration (1986) November Accords (1988) Political Charter between the Sudan Government and the SPLA (1995) Political Charter (1996) Khartoum Peace Agreement (1997) Fashoda Peace Agreement (1997) Cairo Agreement (2005) Darfur Peace Agreement (2006) Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement (2006) Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (2013)	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) Rashiada Free Lions (RSF) Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM) Equatorial Defence Force (EDF)	<ul> <li>Blair, David. 2006. "Darfur rebels turn against each other." <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 16 June.</li> <li>Blair, David. 2006. "Unrest invades Sudanese camp: 90,000 refugees in Kalma camp are splitting along tribal lines, pitting Zaghawas against Furs." <i>The Gazette</i>, 26 June.</li> <li>"Darfur rebels adopt charter to topple regime, create "democratic Sudan'." 2003. <i>Agence France Presse</i>, 14 March.</li> <li>"Darfur rebels accuse Sudan's government of launching two attacks." 2009. <i>Sudan Tribune</i>, 19 February.</li> <li>"Darfur rebel alliance makes peace with Sudan." 2010. <i>BBC News</i>, 18 March.</li> <li>"Darfur new rebel group announces formation of its structure." 2013. <i>Sudan Tribune</i>, 9 August.</li> <li>El Deeb, Sarah. 2009. "Sudan: government forces repel attack." <i>The Associated Press</i>, 27 January.</li> <li>England, Andrew. 2004. "Sudan rebels dismiss claims of losses." <i>Associated Press Online</i>, 27 January.</li> <li>Johnson, Douglas H. 2003. <i>The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars</i>. African Issues: Indiana University Press.</li> </ul>

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
Country	Settlements (Years)	Rebel parties	<ul> <li>Xinhua General News Service, 15 June.</li> <li>Osman, Mohamed. 2006. "Sudan protests deadly attack by rebels." Associated Press Online, 5 July.</li> <li>Rosenberg, Matthew. 2002. "Sudanese rebels say they've captured two towns in eastern Sudan." Associated Press Worldstream, 9 October.</li> <li>Saleh, Abakar. 2006. "Sudanese troops, rebels spar inside Chad." Associated Press Online, 8 October.</li> <li>"Steamer sinks in Nile River, kills many." 1984. Japan Economic Newswire, 16 February.</li> <li>"Sudan People's Liberation Army claims responsibility." 1984. The Associated Press, 15 February.</li> <li>"Sudan rebels accuse Khartoum of launching attacking on three fronts." 2002. Agence France Presse, 25 September.</li> <li>"Sudan: Opposition commander says over 300 government troops killed in east." 2002. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 19 October</li> <li>"Sudanese dissident leader interviewed by Libyan radio." 1984. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 May.</li> <li>"Sudanese opposition sources describe attack on western provinces capital." 2003. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 26 April.</li> </ul>
			<ul> <li>"UNMIS condemns rebel attack on army base in Sudan." 2007. Xinhua General News Service, 30 August.</li> <li>Young, John. 2007. The Eastern Front and the Struggle against Marginalization. HSBA Publications: Sudan Working Papers No. 3, May.</li> </ul>
Uganda	Nairobi Peace Agreement (1985) Pece Agreement (1988) Yumbe Accord (2002) Juba Agreement (2007)	National Resistance Army (NRA) Uganda People's Democratic Army/Movement (UPDA/M) Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) Uganda National Rescue Front II (UNRFII) <sup>12</sup>	<ul> <li>"6,000 former rebels stranded." New Vision, 23 December 2003.</li> <li>Baregu, Mwesiga. 2011. Understanding Obstacles to Peace: Actors, Interests and Strategies in Africa's Great Lakes Region. Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers.</li> <li>Branch, Adam. 2005. "Neither Peace Nor Justice: Political</li> </ul>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> A 1986 settlement reached with the first iteration of the UNRF is not included in the sample. The peace process took place behind closed doors, culminating in a verbal agreement between UNRF Chairman Moses Ali and President Yoweri Museveni, such that there is no text with which to confirm the terms or participants.

Country	Settlements (Years)	<b>Rebel parties</b>	Sources
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			Uganda National Rescue Front I (1981-2008)."
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Country	Settlements (Years)	Rebel parties	Sources
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			"Peace Process in Jeopardy." IPS-Inter Press Service, 21
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			"The 1980 election: An accident in waiting." <i>The Daily</i> <i>Monitor</i> , 25 October 2012.
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			Rienner Publishers.
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