Contents

Foreword page xiii
Acknowledgments xv

Introduction 1
Imperialism by Adjacency and Colonialism 4
Grand Strategy and the Global South 9
State Terrorism and the Restraint of Nonstate Opponents 12
Colonial Nationalism Reified 16
Imperial Roots and Colonial Origins of the Recolonizers and the Recolonized 18
Conclusion 35

1 Swaggering Empires and Defiant “New Provinces” 38
The Cold War Curse 39
Domestic Conditions Surrounding the Outbreak of Open Resistance 56
Early Phases of Eritrean and East Timorese Resistance 68
Conclusion 75

2 Bittersweet Replicas of Foreign Experiences and Reform 78
Root Causes for Eritrean Reform and East Timorese Reorientation 79
From Haphazard to Strategic: Faulty Eritrean Initiative 79
Elusive Reform of ELF Zonal Command and Bifurcation of the Eritrean Movement 85
Ineffuctual Experiment of the East Timorese Resistance 93
Inception and End of Guerrilla Support Bases 97
Conclusion 110

3 Toward Reorganization and Reorientation: Eritrean Fragmentation and East Timorese Near Defeat 112
Decisive Structural Factors 114
Ethiopian and Indonesian Counterinsurgencies 116
## Table of Contents

1. **Contents**

2. **We Need Eritrea for Its Land, Not Its People** 117
   - Indonesian Elite Consensus Falls Short of Victory 125
   - The Backlash of Genocidal Invasion and Occupation 126
   - Surviving and Moving Beyond the Challenges: Eritrean Splinter Groups Coalesce into a Maoist Movement 136
   - Surviving and Moving Beyond the Challenges: East Timorese Resistance from the Jaws of Defeat 144
   - Conclusion 149

3. **Victims of Their Own Success: The Revitalized Nationalist Movements and Their Challenges** 151
   - Rivalry and Balance of Power among Eritrean Nationalists 152
   - The ELF’s Strategic Oblivion and Lethal Internecine Squabbles 152
   - The Onset of Internal Cohesion and Self-Reliance 155
   - Ethiopian Realignment that Shifted the Balance of Power 161
   - Developments in East Timor and Within the Resistance Movement 166
   - The Catholic Church in East Timor Protests 166
   - The Indonesians Hone Their Intelligence About the Insurgency 173
   - Seeking International Recognition 175
   - Conclusion 181

4. **Eritrean and East Timorese Diplomacy of Liberation** 183
   - Liberation Diplomacy in Eritrea and East Timor 185
   - Eritreans’ Search for an African India 187
   - East Timor’s Three-Pronged Resistance 195
   - Conclusion 216

5. **To Asmara Through Addis Ababa and Dili Via Jakarta** 218
   - The Democratic Alternative in Addis Ababa 220
   - The Empire’s Domestic Abuses and Its Dissenters 221
   - Indonesianizing the East Timor Conflict 230
   - Keeping East Timor in the Spotlight 241
   - Doomed Counterinsurgencies 246
   - Ethiopia and Indonesia Consume Their Own Propaganda 248

6. **Winning Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies in a Changing Global Order** 252
   - The Debilitation of Ethiopia’s Capacities 254
   - Faltering Indonesian Resolve 257
   - Dynamic Insurgencies and Their Victories: The Eritrean Endgame 261
   - Dynamic Insurgencies and Their Victories: East Timorese Irreversible Gains amid Adversity 267
   - Waves of Arrests and Succession of New Leaders 268
   - Referendum at Long Last 277
   - “Liberation Came to East Timor Like a Whirlwind” 280
   - Conclusion 284
## Contents

8 The Promise and Quandary of “Infusing Fresh Blood” and “Inaugurating New Politics” 287
   EPLF’s Ominous Monopoly of Organized Politics in Eritrea 288
   Toxic Infighting Within the 1960s Generation 291
   The Onset of Fractured Democracy in East Timor 296
   Resurrecting the Politics of 1975 under UNTAET 297
   Conclusion 310

Conclusion 313

Bibliography 317

Index 337