

Index

- Abadi Zemo: 81
 Abay Tsehaye: 86, 254
 Abiy Ahmed: 256, 276–77, 286–87
 Adissu Legesse: 255
 African National Congress (ANC): 40, 100
 African Union (AU): 18, 253 (*See also Organisation of African Unity (OAU)*)
 African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM): 222, 224, 227, 284
 African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM): *See African Union (AU)*
 Albright, Madeleine: 153, 173
 Alemseged Gebreamlak: 253–54
 Ali, Moses: 146
 Al-Ittihad-Al-Islamiya (AIAI): 137
 Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL): 38
 collapse of relations with Uganda/Rwanda (1997–1998): 179–81
 and ‘First Congo War’ (1996–1997): 158–59, 178–79
 formation of: 178
 support from regional liberation governments: 38, 156, 158–59
 Allied Democratic Forces (ADF): 163
 Al Qaeda: 218–20
 Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM):
 2001 TPLF split: 255–56
 2018 EPRDF leadership election: 286–87
 formation of: 62–63, 92
 (Idi) Amin regime: 44, 103
 abuses of: 55
 Andebrhan Welde Giorgis: 67, 249–50
 Angola: 178–80, 182, 211, 285
 Aregawi Berhe: 64, 68, 85, 93
 Banda, Hastings Kamuzu: 158
 Bashir, Omar al-: 126, 150–55
 Benin: 158
 Berhane Gebre-Christos: 59
 Besigye, Kizza: 71, 112, 227, 237, 259–60
 challenges Museveni: 236, 238–41, 265–67
 Binaisa, Godfrey: 58
 bin Laden, Osama: 151, 219
 Bizimungu, Pasteur: 59, 236, 252
 criticism and removal of: 244–46
 Burundi: 127, 169, 209
 Chalker, Lynda: 226
 China (People’s Republic of): 20, 281
 Clay, Sir Edward: 155
 Clinton, Bill: 153
 Clinton, Hillary: 153
 Cohen, Herman: 117, 121
 Debretsion Gebremichael: 256
 Democratic Party (Uganda): 103
 Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC):
 11, 15, 171 (*See Zaire for pre-1996 period*)
 ‘Second Congo War’ (1998–2003): 171, 181–82, 187, 211
 Derg regime (1974–1987): 47
 counter-insurgency tactics of: 51–52, 78–79, 81, 87
 fall of: 99, 198
 Djibouti: 2, 185, 225
 Dusaidi, Claude: 60

- East African Community (EAC): 209, 222
- Egal, Mohamed Ibrahim: 136
- Eritrea:
- 1993 soldiers' protests in: 249
 - conducting research in: 24–29
 - and 'First Congo War' (1996–1997): 158–59
 - and 'Global War on Terror': 218–20, 228–31
 - governance/statebuilding under EPLF/PFDJ: 230–31, 270, 281, 287
 - history of statehood and politics in (pre-1991): 14, 66
 - ideological agenda of: 40–57
 - independence of (1993): 2, 120–23 (use of) lobbyists: 228–29
 - relations with (Western) aid donors: 217–20, 225–26, 228–31
 - relations with Ethiopia (post-1998): 214–18, 267–69, 276–78
 - relations with post-1994 Rwanda: 150, 218, 220–22
 - relations with Somalia: 277–78
 - relations with Sudan: 150–55, 161–70
 - relations with Uganda: 218, 220–22
 - support to AFDL: 38, 156, 158–59
 - support for (US-led) Iraq War (2003): 229
 - support to SPLM/A: 38, 150–56, 161–70
 - trade negotiations with Ethiopia: 123, 202–5
 - war with Ethiopia (1998–2000): 187, 193, 195–96, 198–206
 - border discussions with Ethiopia: 199–202
 - Rwandan/US mediation of: 196, 218
- Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF): 49
 and EPLF: 93–95
 wartime relationship with TPLF: 85–86, 199
- Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF): 2 (*See also People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) for period since 1994*)
 1993 soldiers' protests: 249
 and China/Maoism: 49
 civilian departments of: 70
 consolidation of EPRDF position in Addis Ababa (1991): 114
 diaspora membership: 60–61
 and Djibouti: 185
 educational background of: 5, 41–42, 59–60
 and ELF: 93–95
 and Eritrean independence: 52, 86, 120–23
 Eritrean People's Revolutionary Party: 68
 and fall of the Derg: 99
 formation of: 93–95
 internal discipline: 65–68
 manqa crisis (1973–1974): 94–95, 249
 militarised culture of: 68–71, 184–85
 military tactics of: 97
 and OLF: 116–18
 and pan-Africanism: 50, 129–30, 150–56
 TPLF perspectives on military tactics: 96
 post-victory statebuilding: 102–3, 120, 184–85, 230–31
 wartime experience: 89–90
 wartime governance mechanisms: 83–84
 wartime mobilisation strategies: 83–84
 wartime political education: 56
 wartime relationship with TPLF: 2, 5, 85–88, 198
 1985–1988 split: 87–88, 267
 wartime support from diaspora: 81–82
 wartime support from humanitarian agencies: 81
 wartime support from non-African states: 79–80
 wartime support from Somalia: 79
 wartime support from Sudan: 78–79, 151
 and USSR: 48–49
 and Yemen: 164, 268
 Eritrean Relief Agency (ERA): 81

- Ethiopia:
- 2002 Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy: 224
 - conducting research in: 24–29
 - and the ‘developmental state’: 220–21, 281–82
 - ethnic federalism in: 118–19
 - and ‘First Congo War’ (1996–1997): 158–59
 - and ‘Global War on Terror’: 218–22, 228–31
 - governance/statebuilding under EPRDF: 230–31, 270, 287
 - history of statehood and politics in (pre-1991): 14, 46–47, 66
 - intervention in Somalia (2006–): 222, 225, 282
 - (use of) lobbyists: 228–29
 - relations with (Western) aid donors: 217–20, 225–26, 228–31, 257
 - relations with Eritrea (post-1998): 214–18, 267–69, 277–78
 - relations with Rwanda: 218, 220–22
 - relations with Somalia (pre-1991): 131
 - relations with Somalia (post-1991): 131–33, 136–38, 184, 277–78, 280
 - relations with Somaliland: 133–36
 - relations with Sudan: 150–55, 161–70, 222
 - relations with Uganda: 218, 220–22, 282
 - support to AFDL: 38, 156, 158–59
 - support for US-led Iraq War (2003): 229
 - support to SPLM/A: 38, 129, 150–56, 166–67
 - trade negotiations with Eritrea: 123, 202–5
 - war with Eritrea (1998–2000): 187, 193, 195–96, 198–206
 - border discussions with Eritrea: 199–202
 - Rwandan/US mediation of: 196, 218, 257
- Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement (EPDM) (*See Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM)*)
- Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF): 2 (*See also* Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), Oromo People’s Democratic Organisation (OPDO), Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement (SEPDm))
- 2001 TPLF split: 255–57 (*See* Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) for internal TPLF dynamics)
- 2018 leadership election: 256, 286–87
- coalition, and breakdown of relations, with OLF: 103, 115–18
- consolidation of power (1991–1992): 114–19
- and Eritrean independence: 120–23
- and fall of the Derg: 99
- formation of: 62–63, 92
- nomenclature: 13
- and pan-Africanism: 129–30, 150–56, 160
- and peace with Eritrea (2018): 277
- perspectives on Somalia: 131–33
- post-victory statebuilding: 101, 104–5, 230–31
- and Somalia: 136–38
- and Somaliland/SNM: 133–36
- and SPLM/A: 129, 282
- war with Eritrea (1998–2000): 198–206
- Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP): 53, 92
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO): 29
- Forum for Democratic Change (FDC): 240, 265
- France: 144, 175
- Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO): 38, 40, 88
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 30
- Front for National Salvation (FRONASA): 40, 85
- Gadafi, Moammar: 78
- Gahima, Gerald: 245–46

- Garang, John: 24, 152–53, 163
 relationship with Yoweri Museveni:
 124–25, 170
- Gebru Asrat: 52, 254, 262
- Ghana: 158
- Ghidey Zeratsion: 64, 68
- Habré, Hissène: 111
- Habyarimana, Juvenal: 45–46, 148,
 244, 279
 relationship with Yoweri Museveni:
 112, 141–44
- Hailemariam Desalegn: 286
- Haile Menkerios: 159, 178, 180,
 247
- Haile Selassie I (Emperor of Ethiopia):
 46–47
- Haile Woldense: 49, 60, 247, 250,
 269
- Houdek, Robert: 120–21
- Hussein, Abdel Majid: 137
- Ilunga, Emile: 212
- Intergovernmental Authority on
 Development (IGAD): 18, 209,
 283–84
 archives of: 29
- Iran: 20
- Iraq War (2003): 229
- Isaias Afwerki: 122, 162, 168,
 220, 228, 231, 235,
 237
 2001 PFDJ crisis: 234, 242–44,
 246–51, 269
 ancestry: 59
 and China: 49
 education: 60
 and EPLF manqa crisis (1973–1974):
 95
 and Eritrea-Ethiopia war (1998–
 2000): 206
 and ‘First Congo War’: 177
 relationship with Paul Kagame:
 150
 relationship with Meles Zenawi: 115,
 199, 201–5, 268
 relationship with post-Meles TPLF:
 276–77
 personality/reputation of: 67, 199,
 206
 and ‘Second Congo War’: 187
 wartime residence in Mogadishu: 79,
 131, 268
- Kabarebe, James: 85, 159, 178–79,
 181, 215, 252, 283
 Kisangani clashes with Uganda:
 212–13
- Kabila, Laurent-Désiré: 159, 178,
 180–82, 196, 210
- Kagame, Jeanette: 274
- Kagame, Paul: 41, 168, 207, 235
 2003 Rwandan election: 236–37
 and breakdown of relations with
 Uganda: 215–16, 266, 273–76
 lobbying of UK: 226–28
 and the ‘developmental state’:
 220–21, 281–82
 education: 60
 intelligence role within NRM/post-
 1986 Uganda: 67, 69, 84–85,
 142, 144, 147, 207
 internal leadership challenge within
 RPF (1998–2000): 234, 242–46,
 251–53, 259, 264
 relationship with Pasteur Bizimungu:
 59
 relationship with Isaias Afwerki:
 150
 relationship with Laurent-Désiré
 Kabila: 210
 relationship with Yoweri Museveni:
 208, 273–76
 reputation for ruthlessness: 67–68
 as wartime leader of RPF: 97
 as wartime political education
 instructor: 56
- Kainerugaba, Muhoozi: 259, 274
- Kaka, Sam: 85
- Kanyarengwe, Alexis: 59, 61
- Karake, Karenzi: 85, 207
- Karegeya, Patrick: 85, 207, 245–46,
 252–53
- Kategaya, Eriya: 208, 258
 education: 41, 60
 and Museveni’s third term bid: 239–41
- Kayibanda, Grégoire: 45–46
- Kayihura, Kale: 275
- Kayiira, Andrew: 91
- Kayizali, Cesar: 60, 178–79

- Kayumba, Immacule: 244
 Kazini, James: 197, 260, 265
 Kisangani clashes with Rwanda:
 212–13
 Kazooru, John: 139, 240
 Kenya: 2, 80, 158, 219, 225, 285
 relations with NRM Uganda:
 138–41, 222–23
 relations with Somalia: 283–84
 Kenyatta, Uhuru: 284
 Kibaki, Mwai: 223, 283
 Kimonyo, Jean-Paul: 243, 245
 Kony, Joseph: 163, 284
 Kutesa, Pecos: 55, 64, 91
- Lakwena, Alice (Holy Spirit
 Movement): 124
 Liberal Party (Rwanda): 103–4
 Liberia: 128
 Libya: 78
 Lord's Resistance Army (LRA): 163,
 284
 Lule, Yusuf: 58, 61, 91
 Lwanga, Sserwanga: 237
- Magara, Sam: 67
 Mahdi, Sadiq al-: 124
 Malawi: 158
 Mallet du Pan, Jacques: 236
 Mandela, Nelson: 37, 209
 Matembe, Miria: 240
 Mayanja Nkangi, Joash: 105
 Mayombo, Noble: 60
 Mazimphaka, Patrick: 61, 196, 208,
 252–53
 Mbabazi, Amama: 60, 71, 78, 80, 169,
 208, 238
 Mehari Tekle ('Mussie'): 86
 Meles Zenawi: 86, 164, 168, 232
 and 2001 TPLF split: 220, 233–34,
 237, 253–58, 260–63
 and 'Bonapartism' thesis: 254–56,
 260–63
 and war with Eritrea: 205, 216,
 233–34, 267–69
 2002 Foreign Affairs and National
 Security Policy and Strategy: 224
 ancestry: 59
 and the 'developmental state':
 220–21
 education: 59
 and 'First Congo War': 177
 and MLLT: 68
 name: 90
 relations with (Western) aid donors:
 257
 relations with Eritrea/EPLF/PFDJ:
 164, 196, 205
 relations with Somalia: 137
 relationship with Isaias Afwerki: 115,
 201–5, 268
 as a theoretician: 49
 as wartime political education
 instructor: 56
 wartime residence in Mogadishu: 79,
 131, 138, 268
- Menelik II (Emperor of Ethiopia): 52
 Mengistu Haile Mariam: 2, 99, 198
 (See also *Derg*)
 Mesfin Hagos: 247, 249–50
 Mkapa, Benjamin: 273
 Mobutu Sese Seko: 168, 174–75
 extravagance of: 112
 relationship with Yoweri Museveni:
 112, 139
 removal and flight: 156, 158–59,
 178–79
- Moi, Daniel arap: 77, 168, 209
 Nairobi Peace Talks (1985): 99,
 138–39
 relationship with Yoweri Museveni:
 111, 138–39, 222–23
- Mouvement de Liberation du Congo
 (MLC): 182
 Mouvement Républicain National pour
 la Démocratie et la
 Développement (MRNDD):
 143
- Movimento Popular de Libertação
 de Angola (MPLA): 40, 88
- Mozambique: 20
 Mubarak, Hosni: 165, 222
 Muhwezi, Jim: 64, 139
 Mukasa, Muruli: 217
 Muntu, Mugisha: 260
 Museveni, Janet: 260, 274
 Museveni, Natasha: 274
 Museveni, Yoweri Kaguta: 1, 37, 89,
 91, 96, 220, 235, 272–73, 287
 2006 Ugandan election: 236, 239

- and breakdown of relations with Rwanda: 216, 273–75
 - and Kizza Besigye: 265–67
 - lobbying of UK: 226–28
- criticism from within NRM (post-1994): 237–42
- education: 41–42, 60
- and FRONASA: 40
- inauguration (1986): 111
- as mediator of Burundian civil war: 127, 209
- as mediator of Somali civil war: 127–28
- as a minister under Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa: 58–59
- as regional statesman: 209, 283–84
- relationship with Omar al-Bashir: 163–64
- relationship with John Garang: 124–25, 170
- relationship with Juvenal Habyarimana: 112, 141–44
- relationship with Paul Kagame: 208, 273–76
- relationship with Daniel arap Moi: 111, 138–39
- relationship with Mobutu Sese Seko: 112, 139, 222–23
- relationship with RPF: 186–88
- as a researcher in Milton Obote's Office: 58–59, 69
- views on Somalia: 283–84
- views on Sudan/South Sudan: 126, 163–64
- third term bid by: 234, 239–41
- training with FRELIMO (1970s): 40–41
- as wartime political education instructor: 56
- Mushega, Amana: 60, 156, 172, 240–41
- Mushikiwabo, Louise: 275
- Musoni, Protais: 102
- Mutesa II (King (Kabaka) of Buganda): 44
- Mwenda, Andrew: 71, 274
- Myanmar: 17
- Namibia: 182, 211, 286
- National Resistance Movement (NRM): 1
- breakdown of relations with RPF (1998–2000): 186–88, 196–98, 207–14
 - Kisangani clashes: 212–14
- consolidation of power by (1986–1987): 123–24
- view of Derg regime (pre-1990s): 129–30
- educational background: 5, 41–42, 59–60
- formation of: 91
- ideological agenda of: 40–57
- internal discipline: 65–68
- internal critique (post-1994): 237–42, 259–60
 - and conflict with Rwanda: 265–67
- links with ANC/uMkhonto we Sizwe: 38
- links with FRELIMO: 38
- links with SPLM/A/John Garang: 37–38
- Magara plot (1981): 67
- militarised culture of: 68–71, 184–85
- relations with RPF cadres: 147–49, 207–8, 214–18, 265–67
- and pan-Africanism: 129–30, 150–56, 160
- post-victory statebuilding: 101, 103–4
- resentment among Rwandan fighters: 64, 207
- Rwandan members of: 84–85, 147–49
- Ten-Point Programme of: 44–45, 54
- third term bid by Museveni: 234, 239–41
- view of TPLF (pre-1990s): 129–30
- victory (1985–1986): 99–100
- wartime governance mechanisms: 48, 84
- wartime internal divisions: 64–65
- wartime military tactics: 89
- wartime political education: 56
- wartime support from African states: 77–78
- Negasso Gidada: 105, 255–56
- Nkubito, Alphonse-Marie: 244–45
- Nkuriyigoma, Jean-Baptiste: 244

- North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): 20
- Nur, Romedan: 49
- Nyakairimara, Aronda: 207
- Nyamwasa, Kayumba: 85, 207–8, 210–11, 213, 215–16, 243, 245–46, 252–53, 266
- Nyerere, Julius: 159, 177, 209
- Nziza, Jack: 85, 207, 215, 252
- Obote (Milton) regime (s): 44, 57–58, 78, 103, 279
 abuses of: 55
- Odinga, Raila: 223
- Odongo, Jeje: 215–16, 260
- Ogbe Abraha: 246–47
- Okello, Bazileo: 124–26
- Okello (Tito) regime: 99–100
- Organisation of African Unity (OAU): 42, 50, 77–78, 80, 89, 127, 165, 196, 198 (*See also African Union (AU)*)
 and non-interference: 1, 77
 and colonial borders: 50, 77, 130
- OAU Liberation Committee: 76
 and Somalia: 136
 and Eritrea-Ethiopia Ceasefire Proposal (1999): 206, 254, 257
- Oromo Democratic People's Organisation (OPDO): 116, 276–77
 2001 TPLF split: 255–56
 2018 EPRDF leadership election: 256, 286–87
 formation of: 62–63
- Oromo Liberation Front (OLF): 62
 coalition, and breakdown of relations, with EPRDF: 103, 115–18
- Otafire, Kahinda: 37
- People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) (*See also Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) for period pre-1994*):
 2001 crisis and purges: 30, 216, 234, 237, 242–44, 246–51
 and Eritrea-Ethiopia war (1998–2000): 243, 246, 248, 250, 269
 contemporary relationship with TPLF: 7–8
 'encadrement' of AFDL: 177–78, 185–86
 militarised culture of: 184–85
 and pan-Africanism: 160
 perspectives on NRM Uganda: 149
 perspectives on SPLM/A: 169–70
 post-victory statebuilding in Eritrea: 230–31
 relations with RPF: 150, 185–86
 relations with TPLF cadres: 214–18
 war with Ethiopia (1998–2000): 187, 198–206
- People's Redemption Army (PRA): 265–66
- Petros Solomon: 162, 247, 250
- Pulkol, David: 188
- Ras Mengesha Seyoum: 92
- Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RDC): 181–82, 211–12
- Relief Society of Tigray (REST): 81, 88
- Rice, Susan: 49, 196
- Rudasingwa, Theogeone: 67, 216, 245–46
 education: 41, 60
- Rugunda, Ruhakana: 58, 78, 80, 208
- Rusagara, Frank: 207
- Rutaremarra, Tito: 61, 83
- Rwanda:
 1959 revolution/genocide: 45–46
 1994 genocide: 100–1, 148, 173–77, 183
 2003 Rwandan election: 236–37
 breakdown of relations with NRM Uganda: 186–88, 193–94, 196–98, 207–14
 Kisangani clashes: 212–14, 264
 lobbying of UK by: 226–28
 'broad-based government' in (1994): 103
 conducting research in: 24–29
 and the 'developmental state': 220–21
 and Eritrea-Ethiopia war (1998–2000): 218

- and 'First Congo War' (1996-1997): 158–59, 173–77
- and 'Global War on Terror': 218–20
- governance under RPF: 270, 279, 281–82, 287
- history of statehood and politics in (pre-1994): 14, 45–46, 66
- relations with (Western) aid donors: 217–20, 225–26
- relations with Eritrea: 150, 218, 220–22
- relations with Ethiopia: 218, 220–22
- relations with NRM Uganda: 141–49, 214–18, 265–67, 273–76
- relations with Sudan (post-1994): 150–55
- relations with Zaïre: 173–77
- and 'Second Congo War' (1998–2003): 171, 181–82, 211
- support to AFDL: 38, 156, 158–59
- support to SPLM/A: 38, 150–56, 167–70
- Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF): 2, 83
 - 1990 invasion of Uganda: 142–44
 - breakdown of relations with NRM (1998–1999): 186–88, 196–98, 207–14
 - Kisangani clashes: 212–14, 264
 - culture of secrecy within: 70
 - diaspora membership: 60–61
 - educational background: 5, 41–42, 59–60
 - Eight Point Plan: 54
 - ideological agenda of: 40–57
 - internal discipline: 65–68
 - leadership challenge to Kagame (1998–2000): 234, 242–46, 251–53, 264–65
 - divisions within RPF: 259, 264–65
 - links with FRELIMO: 38
 - militarised culture of: 68–71, 184
 - military tactics of: 97–98
 - origins within NRM: 2, 5, 84–85, 147–49
 - and pan-Africanism: 150–56, 160
 - perspectives on SPLM/A: 169–70
 - post-victory statebuilding: 101–3
 - relations with AFDL: 179–81
 - relations with NRM cadres: 147–49, 207–8, 214–18, 265–67
 - relations with PFDJ: 150
 - Rwandan Refugees Welfare Association: 82
 - Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU): 46, 82
 - social origins: 59
 - victory (1994): 142–44
 - wartime experience: 89
 - wartime mobilisation strategies: 54
 - wartime support from diaspora: 81–83
 - wartime support from NRM Uganda: 141–49
 - wartime political education: 56
 - wartime strategy (post-April 1994): 100
- Rwandan Refugees Welfare Association: *See Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)*
- Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU): *See Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)*
- Rwigema, Pierre Celestin: 105
- Rwigyema, Fred: 40–41, 84, 97, 142–44, 147–48, 207
- Said, Alamin: 248, 251
- Saleh, Hussein Suleiman Abu: 162, 275
- Saleh, Salim: 239, 259–60
- Samora Muhammad Yunis: 165
- Sebarenzi, Joseph: 68, 104
- Sebhat Ephrem: 87, 228
- Sebhat Nega: 59, 64, 68, 86, 136–38, 164
 - and 1977–1978 TPLF split ('second hinfishfish'): 93, 257
 - and 2001 TPLF split: 254–55, 263, 267–69
- Sejusa, David: (*See Tinyefuza, David*)
- Sendashonga, Seth: 244–45
- Sherifo, Mahmoud: 247
- Shiferaw Jarso: 255
- Shiferaw Shigute: 256
- Short, Clare: 193, 226–28
- Siye Abraha: 64, 68, 86, 164, 205
 - and 2001 TPLF split: 254, 260–63
- Social Democratic Party (Rwanda): 103

- Somalia: 2, 15
 collapse of Siad Barre government (1991): 114
 relations with Eritrea: 277–78
 relations with Ethiopia (pre-1991): 131, 136–38
 relations with Ethiopia (post-1991): 184, 277–78, 280
 relations with Kenya: 284
 support for EPLF and TPLF: 79
 Ugandan mediation of Somali civil war (1990s): 127–28
 UN/US intervention in: 136
 Somali National Movement (SNM): 22, 38
 relations with EPRDF: 133–36
 Somali Salvation Democratic Front: 38
 Somaliland: 15
 relations with Ethiopia: 133–36
 Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDMD):
 2001 TPLF split: 255–56
 2018 EPRDF leadership election: 256
 formation of: 63
 Southern Sudan: 16, 75, 151–55
 (*See also Sudan and South Sudan*)
 South Africa: 286–87
 South Sudan: 285
 Ssali, Bidandi: 240–41
 Sudan: 2, 23, 81, 88, 217 (*See also Southern Sudan*)
 relations with Eritrea (post-1991): 150–55
 relations with Ethiopia (post-1991): 150–55, 164–65, 222
 relations with Rwanda (post-1994): 150–55
 relations with Uganda (post-1986): 124–26, 150–55, 223–24
 relations with US (post-1989): 153, 223–24
 support to EPLF and TPLF: 78–79, 151
 Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A): 22–23, 100, 152–53
 links with Museveni/NRM: 37–38
 support from regional liberation governments: 38, 129, 150–56, 161–70, 282
 SPLM In Opposition (SPLM IO): 282
 Southern African Development Community (SADC): 182
 South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO): 40, 100
 Swar al-Dahab, Abdel Rahman: 124
 Tanzania: 2, 112, 169, 219, 285
 Tesfaye Dinka: 99
 Tewolde Woldemariam: 164, 201, 205
 And 2001 TPLF split: 253–57, 260–63, 267–69
 Tigray: 51, 61
 Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF): 2 (*See also Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)*)
 1977–1978 split ('second hinfishfish'): 93, 257
 2001 split: 220, 233–34, 237, 253–58, 260–63
 and 'Bonapartism' debate: 254–56, 260–63
 and Eritrea-Ethiopia war (1998–2000): 205, 216, 233–34, 267–69
 2018 EPRDF leadership election: 256, 286–87
 civilian departments of: 70
 contemporary relationship with PFDJ: 7–8
 culture of secrecy within: 70
 educational background: 41–42, 59–60
 'encadrement' of AFDL: 177–78, 185–86
 and Eritrean independence: 52–53, 86, 260–63
 and Eritrean war with Yemen: 164, 268
 and Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP): 91–92
 and formation of EPRDF: 61–63
 and gim gima: 68
 ideological agenda of: 40–57

- internal discipline: 65–68
 internal divisions: 64
 Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray (MLLT): 68
 militarised culture of: 68–71
 nomenclature: 13
 and pan-Africanism: 129–30
 perspectives on EPLF military tactics: 96
 perspectives on Somalia: 131–33
 relations with RPF: 185–86
 relations with PFDJ cadres (post-1998): 214–18
 and Teranafit/Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU): 92
 Tigrayan National Organisation (TNO): 46
 and Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM): 91
 and USSR: 48–49
 war with Eritrea (1998–2000): 198–206
 wartime experience: 89–90
 wartime governance mechanisms: 48, 83–84
 wartime mobilisation strategies: 53, 83–84
 wartime political education: 56–57
 wartime relationship with ELF: 85–86, 199
 wartime relationship with EPLF: 5, 85–88, 198
 1985–1988 split: 87–88, 267
 wartime support from diaspora: 81–82
 wartime support from humanitarian agencies: 81
 wartime support from non-African states: 79
 wartime support from Somalia: 79
 wartime support from Sudan: 78–79, 151
 Tinyefuza, David: 237–38, 240, 260, 267
 Too, Mark: 223
 Tumukunde, Henry: 64, 197, 240–41
 Tumwine, Elly: 60
 Turabi, Hassan al-: 126, 151
 and Hosni Mubarak assassination attempt (1995): 165–66
 Twagiramungu, Faustin: 236, 244
- Uganda:
 breakdown of relations with Rwanda (post-1998): 186–88, 193–94, 196–98, 207–14
 Kisangani clashes: 212–14
 Lobbying of UK: 226–28
 ‘broad-based government’ in (1986–c.1989): 103, 145–47
 and ‘First Congo War’ (1996–1997): 156, 158–59
 and ‘Global War on Terror’: 218–22, 227
 governance under NRM: 145–47, 221, 237–42, 270, 279, 281–82, 287
 history of statehood and politics in (pre-1986): 14, 43–45, 57–58, 66
 mediation of Somali civil war (1990s): 127–28
 and peace with Eritrea (2018): 277
 peacekeeping in Liberia: 128
 peacekeeping in Somalia via AMISOM (2007–): 222, 225, 227, 282
 personalisation of power under NRM: 259–60
 regional role (post-1986): 209
 relations with AFDL: 179–81
 relations with (Western) aid donors: 128, 145, 217–20, 225–26, 240
 relations with Eritrea: 218, 220–22
 relations with Ethiopia (post-1986): 129–30, 218, 220–22, 282
 relations with Kenya (post-1986): 138–41, 222–23
 relations with Libya (post-1986): 145
 relations with Rwanda (post-1986): 141–49, 214–18, 265–67, 273–76
 relations with Sudan (post-1986): 124–26, 161–70, 209, 223–24
 relations with Zaire (post-1986): 177
 and ‘Second Congo War’ (1998–2003): 171, 181–82, 211
 support to AFDL: 38, 156, 158–59
 support to RPF: 141–49
 support to SPLM/A (post-1986): 38, 124–25, 156, 161–70, 209
 third term bid by Museveni: 234

- Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM): 91
 Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA): 124–26, 143
 uMkhonto we Sizwe: 38
 Umutoni, Christine: 216
 União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA): 178, 182
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): 20, 79
 United Kingdom (UK): 145, 166–67, 217, 223–24, 226–31
 and ‘Global War on Terror’: 218–20
 and Rwanda-Uganda crisis: 193, 226–28
 United Nations (UN): 136
 United Somali Congress (USC): 135–36
 United States (US): 116–17, 121, 136, 145, 166–67, 196, 217, 230–31
 and ‘Global War on Terror’: 218–20, 228–29

 Wamba dia Wamba, Ernest: 212
 Waphakabulo, James: 41–42
 World Bank: 145, 281

 Yemane Gebreab: 178, 201
 Yemane Ghebremeskel: 61
 Yemane Kidane: 81, 86, 178, 268
 Yemen: 164, 185, 268

 Zaïre: 2, 15, 144 (*See also Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) for post-1996 period*)
 ‘First Congo War’ in (1996–1997): 156, 158–59, 173–79
 governance under Mobutu: 174–75
 hosting of Rwandan refugees: 148, 173–77
 hosting of/support for former Rwandan government/army and *genocidaires*: 174–75
 relations with Rwanda: 173–77
 relations with Uganda (post-1986): 177
 Zambia: 158
 Zimbabwe: 20, 99, 182, 211, 285
 Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU): 40, 88
 ZANU-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF): 100
 Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU): 40