

## Index

- Abahlali baseMjondolo (shack dwellers' movement), 28
- activism, political. *See also* human rights activism
- among Rwanda diaspora, animation through, 180
  - in Zimbabwe, during 2008 elections, 70–71
  - among Zimbabwe diaspora
    - briefcase activists, 74, 79–85, 91–92
    - after 2008 elections, 79–85
- ADR-Insangano. *See* Alliance Démocratique Rwandaise
- Africa. *See also* Rwanda diaspora; Zimbabwe diaspora
- transnational mobilisation outside of, 10
  - White Saviour Industrial Complex and, 27–28
- African National Congress (ANC), 53
- Agamben, Giorgio, 231–32
- Agiciro initiative, 173–78
- Aihwa Ong, 28
- Alexander, Karin, 56
- ALiR Party, 138–42
- Alliance Démocratique Rwandaise (ADR-Insangano), 129
- Alliance Rwandaise pour la Renaissance de la Nation (ARENA), 130–31
- American Jewish diaspora, 24
- Anti-Defamation League and, 32
- ANC. *See* African National Congress
- Angola, 222
- animateurs*, 28–29
- animation, of diasporas, 19–20, 26–33, 219–20. *See also* Rwanda diaspora; Zimbabwe diaspora
- defined, 26–27
  - external, 30, 33
    - in Cuba, 33
    - for Rwanda diaspora, 46
    - for Zimbabwe diaspora, 29, 46, 74–78
  - through framing, 26
  - humanitarian, 221–22
  - internal, 30
    - of Rwanda diaspora, 126
  - International Relations and, 230–31
  - through mobilising structures and practices, 26
  - through opportunity structures, 26
  - political elites and, 226–27
  - sources of, 8–9
  - typology for, 26
- animators, 8
- defined, 27
  - in diaspora life-cycles, 8, 33–37
    - afterlife stage, 35–36
    - birth/life stage, 35
    - death stage, 35
    - suspended animation, 34
  - external, 27–29
    - GZF as, 84
  - institutional character of, 30–32, 36
  - networked character of, 30–32, 36
  - theoretical approaches to, 28–29
- Anti-Defamation League, 32
- ARENA. *See* Alliance Rwandaise pour la Renaissance de la Nation
- Arms Shipment Campaign, 103–4
- Austin, Reginald, 79
- authoritarian regimes
- diasporas as result of, 222
  - geographical relocation as result of, 1–2
- Bakewell, Oliver, 23
- Barth, Aharon, 25
- Bisika, Asuman, 145

## Index

257

- Biti, Tendai, 76–77  
 Bizimungu, Augustin, 127  
 Bizimungu, Seraphin, 144  
 Black, Christopher, 204  
 BOCISCOZ. *See* Botswana Civil Society Solidarity Coalition for Zimbabwe  
 Botswana  
   DITSHWANELO in, 65–66  
   Zimbabwe diaspora in, 64–66  
 Botswana Civil Society Solidarity Coalition for Zimbabwe (BOCISCOZ), 65–66  
 Brickhill, Joan, 40, 53–55, 106, 221.  
   *See also* Southern African Liaison Office  
 briefcase activists, 74, 79–85, 91–92  
 Brown, Vincent, 161–62, 182  
 Brubaker, Rogers, 8, 18, 23–24  
 Bull, Hedley, 229  
 Burmese diaspora, 1–2  
  
 CDA. *See* Congr s D mocratique Africain  
 Central Methodist Church (CMC), 97–100  
   educational initiatives, 98–99  
   GZF and, 99–100  
   political mobilisation through, 100  
   ToL and, 99  
 Cessation Clause, 38–39, 44–45, 47, 117  
   breakaway campaign for, 198–213  
   Fahamu Refugee Programme and, 189–90, 198–99  
   ICVA and, 194, 210–11  
   IRRI and, 189, 194, 197–98  
   NGOs support for, 206–13  
   official campaign for, 190–98  
   refoulement and, 198  
   RLP and, 189, 194, 197–98  
   transnational advocacy campaign against, 188–90  
   UNHCR support for, 188–98, 206–13  
 Chikohwero, Solomon ‘Sox,’ 59–61, 74, 79–80, 92  
   MDC and, 80, 87  
   MDC-VAA and, 80  
   Verryn and, 99  
  
 Chikuwanda, Clever, 57, 62  
 Chikware, John, 99  
 Chisaswanda, Ezra, 79  
 Chundu, Moses, 79  
 CiZC. *See* Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition  
 Clancy, Dierdre, 187, 194, 197, 208–10  
 Cliche-Rivard, Guillaume, 205, 208–10  
 CMC. *See* Central Methodist Church  
 Cold War, diasporas during, 9  
 community associations. *See specific community associations*  
 Condo, Gervais, 155  
 Congr s D mocratique Africain (CDA), 129  
 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), 53  
 Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA), 102  
 constructivism, 19–20, 231  
 CoRMSA. *See* Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa  
 Cortez, Delores, 60  
 COSATU. *See* Congress of South African Trade Unions  
 Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CiZC), 57, 58, 59, 62, 75, 76, 90  
   funding for, 75–76  
 Cuba, external animation in, 33  
 Cuban Revolutionary Council, 33  
  
 Davenport, Christian, 204  
*Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Sheffer), 36  
 diasporas. *See also* animation, of diasporas; Rwanda diaspora; transnational political mobilisation; transnationalism; Zimbabwe diaspora  
   authoritarian regimes and, 222  
   during Cold War, 9  
   constructivist approach to, 19–20, 231  
   as contingent social construction, 24  
   ethnicity and, 22–23  
   exiles compared to, 5  
   features of, 3, 5  
   global governance and, 19  
   historical development of, 20–25, 224

- diasporas. (cont.)  
     international debate over, 24–25  
     host-state relationship with, 29–30  
     identification of, 23–24  
     incipient, 25  
     latent, 25  
     life-cycles of, 8, 33–37, 214  
         afterlife stage, 35–36  
         birth/life stage, 35  
         death stage, 35  
         institutionalised animators and, 36  
         internal animation and, 36  
         networked animators and, 36  
         suspended animation, 34  
     micro-politics of, 232–33  
     migrants compared to, 5  
     nationalism and, 22–23  
     new, 224–25  
     policy implications of, 234–37  
         for empowerment, 235–36  
         for humanitarian protection, 237  
         as mechanism of political  
             transition, 236–37  
     political contingency of, 24–25, 32  
     political mobilisation of, 26  
         contingency of, 32  
         geopolitical impact of, 220–21  
         stability of, 32  
     refugees compared to, 5  
     research on, 6–7  
     theoretical approaches to, 7–9,  
         222–33  
         in African contexts, 222–23  
         in comparative politics, 225–27  
         in International Relations, 227–31  
         in political theory, 231–33  
     DITSHWANELO Organization, 65–66  
     Double Genocide Theory, 201–2  
     Dube, Giyani, 79  
     Dube, Nqabuto, 79  
     Duke, David, 204
- Edwards, Alice, 197  
 encadrement, 126  
 Eritrea diaspora, 32–33, 222  
 Erlinder, Peter, 203–4, 213  
 Erlinder, Scott, 199, 203–5  
 Esom, Kene, 192  
 ethnicity, diasporas influenced by,  
     22–23
- Evriziitsi* organization, 33  
 exiles, 5  
     GNU and, 127  
     transnational political mobilisation  
         for, 188  
 external animation, 30, 33  
     in Cuba, 33  
     in Rwanda diaspora, 46  
     in Zimbabwe diaspora, 29, 46,  
         74–78  
 external animators, 27–29  
     in Zimbabwe diaspora, 29, 46  
     GZF as, 84  
     after 2008 election, 74–78
- Fahamu Refugee Programme, 189–90,  
     198–99  
 Faist, Thomas, 3, 67–68  
 faith-based organizations. *See also*  
     Central Methodist Church  
     Zimbabwe diaspora and, 97–100  
 Faurisson, Robert, 204  
 FDLR Party, 123–24, 138–42  
     Higiro faction of, 142–45  
     international fracturing of, 142–45  
     Murwanashyaka faction of,  
         142–45  
     Rwarakabije and, 139–41  
     Umubano Community Association  
         and, 160–61  
 FDU. *See* Forces Democratique Unifiées  
 Feller, Erika, 193  
 Fleming, Melissa, 192  
 Forces de Résistance pour la  
     Démocratie (FRD), 128–29  
 Forces Democratique Unifiées (FDU),  
     122–23  
 framing, 26  
 FRD. *See* Forces de Résistance pour la  
     Démocratie  
 free press. *See* journalism, repression of  
 funding  
     for CiZC, 75–76  
     for PASSOP, 106  
     for SALO, 75–76, 78  
     for ZEF, 106  
     for Zimbabwe diaspora, in South  
         Africa, 110  
     decline in, 75–76  
 Furuma, Alphonse, 129–30, 132–33

## Index

259

- Gahima, Gérald, 136, 212  
 Gamlen, Alan, 160  
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 230  
 Gasana, James, 129  
 Gasasira, Jean-Bosco, 147, 149  
 Gatsinzi, Marcel, 135–37, 141  
 genocide  
   *Interahamwe* death squads and, 172  
   RPF and, 159  
   Rwanda diaspora and, 42, 166  
 Genocide Ideology Law, 146, 201, 203–4  
 global governance. *See also*  
   transnationalism  
   diasporas and, 19  
 Global Peace Agreement (GPA), 40–41, 52, 91  
   MDC and, 74–75  
   rejection of, 74–75  
 Global Power-Sharing Agreement, 4  
 Global Zimbabwe Forum (GZF), 52–53, 59–60, 78, 83–84  
   CMC and, 99–100  
   as external animator, 84  
 GNU. *See* Government of National Unity  
 Goto, Rose, 59–60, 83  
 Govender, Venetia, 51, 54–55, 57–59  
 Government of National Unity (GNU), 4, 11, 38, 40–41, 52, 73, 91, 216  
   exiles and, 127  
 GPA. *See* Global Peace Agreement  
 Guterres, António, 191  
 GZF. *See* Global Zimbabwe Forum
- Habineza, Frank, 123  
 Habyarimana, Emmanuel, 155  
 Hakizabera, Christophe, 131, 144  
 Hakizimana, Apollos, 145  
 Hakizimana, Emmanuel, 144, 155  
 Hanekom, Braam, 101, 106–7  
 Hanekom, Bram, 57, 88, 110  
 Harare. *See* Zimbabwe  
 Harrell-Bond, Barbara, 45, 189–90, 192–93, 213, 219, 238. *See also*  
   Cessation Clause  
 Herman, Edward S., 204  
 Higirow, Jean Marie Vianney, 142–45  
 Holy Trinity Catholic Church, 107–9  
 human rights activism  
   in South Africa, 101  
   by ZEF, 105  
 humanitarian animation, 221–22  
 Hutus  
   ethno-nationalism for, 158–62  
   model, 169–70
- ICVA. *See* International Council of Voluntary Associations  
 IJR. *See* Institute for Justice and Reconciliation  
 incipient diasporas, 25  
 incumbent regimes, transnational political mobilisation by, 2–3  
 Ingabire, Charles, 43, 147, 149  
 Ingabire, Victoire, 44, 155, 212  
 Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), 56, 76  
 institutional animators, 30–32, 36  
   diaspora life-cycles and, 36  
*Interahamwe* death squads, 172  
 internal animation, 30  
   diasporic life-cycles and, 36  
   of Rwanda diaspora, 126  
 International Council of Voluntary Associations (ICVA), 194, 210–11  
 International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI), 189, 194, 197–98  
 International Relations  
   diasporas and, 227–31  
   animation of, 230–31  
   transnationalism and, 19, 227–28  
 Iranian diaspora, 1–2  
 IRRI. *See* International Refugee Rights Initiative  
 Irving, David, 204  
*The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Mearsheimer and Walt), 24  
*Itorero Ry'igihugo* programme, 171–72  
 Iyamuremye, Anicet, 154  
 Iyodu, Bernadette, 202
- journalism, repression of  
   in Kampala, Uganda, 145–50  
   from Rwanda diaspora, 145–50  
   under Genocide Ideology Law, 146  
   under Law Governing the Press, 146  
*Umuseo*, 136–38, 147–48

- Kabiligi, Gratien, 127  
 Kabonero, Charles, 147, 149  
 Kagame, Paul, 37, 135–36, 159, 169, 184–85, 212, 218  
 Kagoro, Brian, 77  
 Kajeguhakwa, Valens, 132  
 Kamongi, Augustin, 130–31  
 Kampala, Uganda, 145–50. *See also* Cessation Clause; journalism, repression of  
 Kanyandekwe. *See* Mutombo, Komeza  
 Karangwa, Gérard, 130  
 Karegeya, Patrick, 43–44, 137, 143  
 Karemera, Gaspard, 129  
 Kearney, Paddy, 103  
 Khordokovsky, Mikael, 230  
 Kimenyi, Alexandre, 130, 132  
 Kortze, Hansie, 61  
 Kubikwa, Oliver, 60–61, 79, 82–83  
 Kuchio, George, 192–93  
 Kurdish diaspora, 1–2  
 Kwinjeh, Grace, 79
- latent diasporas, 25  
 Law Governing the Press, 146  
 Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), 96, 102  
 Legal Resources Centre (LRC), 102  
 Lewanika, McDonald, 76  
 LHR. *See* Lawyers for Human Rights  
 LRC. *See* Legal Resources Centre  
 Lyons, Terrence, 36
- Magaisa, Alex, 77, 79  
 Mahabola, Kingsley, 56  
 Mahoro, Amani, 144  
 Makombe, Percy, 62, 78  
 Mandaville, Peter, 36  
 Maphosa, Isaac, 56  
 Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), 56  
 Masiyiwa, Strive, 64  
 Mavhinga, Dewa, 76  
 Mbeki, Thabo, 30, 54, 56  
 MDC. *See* Movement for Democratic Change  
 MDC Veteran Activists' Association (MDC-VAA), 52–53, 60, 68–69, 80–82  
 Chikohwero and, 80
- Mearshimer, John, 24  
 Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), 96  
 migrants, 5  
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 230  
 Mirari, Marcel Brakaddi, 200  
 MISTRA. *See* Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection  
 Mladorossi organization, 33  
 mobilisation. *See* political mobilisation; transnational political mobilisation  
*Modern Diasporas in International Politics* (Sheffer), 24  
 Molokele, Daniel, 1, 59–60, 64, 73, 78  
 GZF and, 83–84  
 Verryn and, 99  
 Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement (MRND), 120–21  
 Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)  
 Chikohwero and, 80, 87  
 formation as splinter party, 132  
 GPA and, 74–75  
 in South Africa, 38, 85–91  
 electoral weaknesses of, 88–89  
 internal divisions within, 89  
 in Zimbabwe, 39, 46, 51  
 Movement for Peace and Democracy (MPD), 129–30  
 Moyo, Austin, 87  
 Moyo, Kwanele, 80, 86–87, 89, 92  
 Moyo, Remember, 80, 87  
 Mpani, Glen, 67–68, 77  
 MPD. *See* Movement for Peace and Democracy  
 MRND. *See* Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement  
 MSF. *See* Médecins Sans Frontières; Médecins Sans Frontières  
 Muchena, Deprose, 58, 64, 67–68, 73–74, 77  
 diaspora policy suggestions by, 86  
 financial resources of, 83  
 on voting patterns of Zimbabwe diaspora, 87  
 Mudacumura, Sylvestre, 140  
 Mugabe, Jean-Pierre, 145

## Index

261

- Mugabe, Robert, 30, 37, 51  
 Mbeki and, 54  
 ZANU-PF and, 4–6, 11, 29, 51  
 Mugenzi, Rene, 2, 183, 212  
 Muiskami, Pecos Kulihoshi, 200  
 Mujawamariya, Monique, 129  
 Munyampeta, Jean, 115  
 Munyaneza, Charles, 161  
 Munyarubuga, Gratien, 145  
 Munyemanzi, Emmanuel, 145  
 Muranagingo, Didace, 145–46  
 Murangwa, Eric, 154  
 Murithi, Tim, 87–88  
 Murwanashyaka, Ignace, 141–45, 151  
 Musabyimana, Tatien, 129  
 Museveni, Yoweri, 144  
 Mushayidi, Déo, 44, 123, 130, 155  
 Musonera, Jonathan, 2, 43, 155, 183  
 Mutombo, Komeza, 141  
 Mutuyimana, Manzi, 45, 189–90,  
 199–204, 213, 221  
 as ‘President’ of Rwandan refugees,  
 200  
 Nahimana, Thomas, 155  
 nationalism, diasporas influenced by,  
 22–23  
 Nayigiziki, Jerome, 155  
 Ndahimana, Joseph, 130  
 Ndidiza, Gift, 89  
 Ndlovu, Amon, 57, 81, 87  
 Negative Forces, 117  
 contestation of homeland state by,  
 122  
 during 2003 elections, 127–35  
 ADR-Insangano and, 129  
 ARENA alliance and, 130–31  
 CDA and, 129  
 FRD and, 128–29  
 MPD and, 129–30  
 political alliances among, 127,  
 130–34  
 UFDR and, 127–28  
 Netshitenzhe, Joel, 56  
 networked animators, 30–32  
 diasporic life-cycles and, 36  
 new diasporas, 224–25  
*The New Transnational Activism*  
 (Tarrow), 36  
 Ngarambe, Joseph, 155  
 NGOs. *See* non-governmental  
 organizations  
 Nhidza, Gift, 89–90, 93  
 Niyinzima, Pierre-Celestin, 212  
 Nkuliza, Amiel, 145  
 non-governmental organizations  
 (NGOs). *See also* faith-based  
 organizations  
 Cessation Clause and, role in,  
 206–13  
 in South Africa, 96  
 Nsabimana, Alphonse, 147, 150  
 Nsengimana, Nikko, 129  
 Nsengiyaremye, Dismas, 129  
 Ntaganda, Bernard, 123  
 Ntaganira, Charles, 212  
 Ntashamaje, Gérard, 130  
 Ntezimana, Laurien, 145–46  
 Nteziryayo, Emmanuel, 161  
*nyakatsi* initiative, 168, 175–76  
 Nyamwasa, Faustin Kayumba, 123,  
 135–37  
 Ojlielund, Johannes, 75  
 Okoth-Obbo, George, 193  
 One Dollar Campaign, 175  
 Open Society Institute for Southern  
 Africa (OSISA), 58, 61–62  
 Operation Murambatsvina, 106  
 OSISA. *See* Open Society Institute for  
 Southern Africa  
 Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva, 24  
 Pahad, Aziz, 56  
 People Against Suffering Oppression  
 and Poverty (PASSOP), 57,  
 106–7  
 early funding for, 106  
 political advocacy by, 107  
 Peterson, David, 204  
 Phillip, Rubin, 54–55, 103  
 Philpot, Robin, 204  
 Phiri, Godfrey, 60, 82–83, 108, 110  
 Pigou, Piers, 85  
 political mobilisation. *See also*  
 animation, of diasporas;  
 transnational political  
 mobilisation  
 through CMC, 100  
 of diasporas, 26

- political mobilisation. (cont.)  
     contingency of, 32  
     geopolitical impact of, 220–21  
     stability of, 32  
 of Rwanda diaspora, 2–3, 11–12  
     methodological approach to, 12–14  
 of Zimbabwe diaspora, 11  
     methodological approach to, 12–14  
*Politics from Afar* (Lyons and Mandaville), 36  
 protests, by Rwanda diaspora, 179–80  
 Prunier, Gerard, 139
- Raftopoulos, Brian, 54–56, 88, 106, 238  
 RDGD. *See* Rwandan Diaspora General Directorate  
 Reeler, Tony, 54–55, 60–61, 85  
 refoulement, 198  
 Refugee Convention, 38–39, 44–45  
 Refugee Law Project (RLP), 189, 194, 197–98  
 refugee rights organizations, 101–7. *See also* People Against Suffering Oppression and Poverty; Zimbabwe Exiles' Forum  
 Refugee Status Determination, 95  
 Refugee Studies, 233  
 refugees. *See also* Cessation Clause; Rwanda diaspora; Zimbabwe diaspora  
     from authoritarian regimes, geographical relocation and, 1–2  
     diasporas compared to, 5  
     transnational political mobilisation of, 2–3  
 Reyntjens, Filip, 136  
 RLP. *See* Refugee Law Project  
 RNC. *See* Rwandan National Congress  
 RPF. *See* Rwandan Patriotic Front  
 Rudasingwa, Théogène, 136  
 Ruffer, Gayla, 199  
 Rukundo, Olivier, 212  
 Rusera, Joshua, 79  
 Russian diaspora, 1–2, 33  
 Rutatina, David, 43  
 Rwanda  
     exile politics, forms of, 116  
     FDLR Party in, 123–24, 138–42  
         Higiro faction of, 142–45  
         international fracturing of, 142–45  
         Murwanashyaka faction of, 142–45  
         Rwarakabije and, 139–41  
         Umubano Community Association and, 160–61  
     FDU, 122–23  
     MRND in, 120–21  
     opposition politics in, 203  
     political coups in, attempts at, 135–38  
     repression of free press in, 145–50  
         under Genocide Ideology Law, 146  
         under Law Governing the Press, 146  
         for *Umuseo*, 136–38, 147–48  
     RPF, 41–42, 121–22  
     2003 elections, 127–35  
         international assessment of, 134–35  
 Rwanda diaspora. *See also* Cessation Clause; Negative Forces; Rwandan Patriotic Front  
 ALiR and, 138–42  
 animation of, 46, 172–78, 213, 217–19  
     through *Agiciro* initiative, 173–78  
     through control of public narrative, 180–83  
     through ideological projection, 183–84  
     internal, 126  
     through legal activism, 180  
     through networked connections, 179  
     One Dollar Campaign, 175  
     political effects of, 178–85  
     through protests, 179–80  
     through Rwandan Community Association, 163–64, 175, 218  
     tapping strategies, 178–79  
 as anti-regime-diaspora, 120–21  
 assassination attempts against, 125  
 attacks against journalists, 145–50  
 causal mechanisms of, 215–16  
 coup attempts by, 135–38  
 defined, 117–21  
 dismantling of, governmental attempts at, 38–39, 42–43

- external animators in, 46  
 FDLR Party and, 123–24, 138–42  
   Higiro faction of, 142–45  
   international fracturing of, 142–45  
   Murwanashyaka faction of, 142–45  
   Rwarakabije and, 139–41  
   Umubano Community Association and, 160–61  
 genocidal threats to, 151–52  
 genocide and, 42, 166  
 government policy towards, 117–21  
 historical development of, 9–12, 41–45  
 Hutus among, 158–62  
 as inanimate, 152–53  
 internal animation of, 126  
*Itorero Ry'Igihugo* programme, 171  
*nyakatsi* initiative and, 168, 175–76  
 political mistakes of, 126  
 post-genocidal, 42  
 pro-government elements among, 157–72  
   activities of, 164–72  
 RDGD, 2–3  
 as regime-diaspora, 120–21  
 self-identification within, 118–19, 150  
 statist elements of, 154–57  
   through agricultural transformation, 168  
   through demographic database information collection, 168–70  
   financial institutions, 167–68  
   through housing reform, 168  
   among pro-government factions, 157–72  
 transnational political mobilisation of, 2–3, 11–12, 121, 124–26  
   forms of, 122–26  
   homeland state contestation, 122  
   methodological approach to, 12–14  
   through violence, 123–24  
 under Tripartite Agreement, 44–45  
 Tutsis among, 163–64  
 in Uganda, 42  
 in U.K., 10–11, 162–63, 215  
   Umubano Community Association, 158–62  
   *Umuseo*, 136–38  
   in U.S., 10–11, 215  
   Zimbabwe diaspora compared to, 185–86, 215  
 Rwandan Community Association, 163–64, 175, 218  
 Rwandan Diaspora General Directorate (RDGD), 2–3  
 Rwandan National Congress (RNC), 2  
   formation of, 138  
 Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), 41–42, 121  
   genocide under, 159  
   political opposition to, 122, 155–56  
   androcentrism of, 155  
 Rwarakabije, Paul, 139–41  
 Rwigema, Pierre Celestin, 141  
 SADC. *See* South African Development Community  
 Safran, William, 24  
 SALC. *See* South African Law Centre  
 SALO. *See* Southern African Liaison Office  
 SARC. *See* South African Red Cross  
 Schöch, Rudiger, 210  
 Sebarenzi, Joseph, 130  
 Sendashonga, Seth, 43, 127–29, 132  
 SERI. *See* Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa  
 Serufuli, Eugène, 143  
 Setenga, Peterson, 157  
 shack dwellers' movement. *See* Abahlali baseMjondolo  
 Shain, Jossi, 24–25  
 Sheffer, Gabriel, 24, 36  
 Shema, Patrice Gateja, 115  
 Shumba, Gabriel, 57, 60, 101–6, 110.  
   *See also* Zimbabwe Exiles' Forum  
 Sisulu, Elinor, 76  
*Smenovekhovtsi* organization, 33  
 Smith, Merrill, 195  
 Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI), 102  
 Sokefeld, Martin, 26  
 Solidarity Peace Trust, 88  
 Soros, George, 230  
 South Africa. *See also* Zimbabwe diaspora



- South Africa. (cont.)  
 Abahlali baseMjondolo in, 28  
 diasporas in, 28  
   from Zimbabwe, 10–11  
 human rights activism in, 101  
 mass emigration to, 51–52  
 MDC in, 38, 85–91  
   electoral weaknesses of, 88–89  
   internal divisions within, 89  
 SALO in, 38, 40, 53–61  
 zim-zims in, 28  
 South African Development  
   Community (SADC), 55  
 South African Law Centre (SALC), 53,  
   102  
 Southern African Liaison Office  
   (SALO), 38, 40, 53–61  
   funding for, 75–76, 78  
 South African Red Cross (SARC), 96  
 Stam, Allan, 204  
 Survivor's Fund (SURF), 158
- Tamil diaspora, 1–2  
 Tapiwa, Nora, 59, 83  
 tapping strategies, 178–79  
 Tarrow, Sidney, 36  
 Theys, Siphos, 57  
 Tibetan diaspora, 1–2, 28  
 ToL. *See* Tree of Life  
 toyi-toyi, 40–41  
 transnational political mobilisation. *See*  
   also animation, of diasporas;  
   Rwanda diaspora; Zimbabwe  
   diaspora  
   for exiles, 188  
   factors for, 18–19  
   by incumbent regimes, 2–3  
   methodological approaches to, 12–14  
   outside of Africa, 10  
   of refugees, 2–3  
 transnationalism  
   academic interest in, 3, 19  
   International Relations and, 19,  
     227–28  
 Tree of Life (ToL), 52–53, 60–61,  
   84–85  
   CMC and, 99  
   hosting organizations for, 61  
 Tripartite Agreement, 44–45  
 Tsvangirai, Morgan, 56, 70, 76–77, 79
- Turayishimiye, Jean Paul, 155  
 Türk, Volker, 192  
 Turner, Simone, 169–70  
 Tutsis, among Rwanda diaspora,  
   163–64  
 Twagiramungu, Faustin, 1, 42, 122, 124,  
   128–29, 132, 134, 155, 212, 218  
 Twagirimana, Boniface, 212  
 2008 elections, in Zimbabwe  
   political activism during, 70–71  
   Zimbabwe diaspora during, 69–72  
 2003 elections, in Rwanda  
   international assessment of,  
     134–35  
   Negative Forces during, 127–35  
     ADR-Insangano and, 129  
     ARENA alliance and, 130–31  
     CDA and, 129  
     FRD and, 128–29  
     MPD and, 129–30  
     political alliances among, 127,  
       130–34  
     UFDR and, 127–28
- UFDR. *See* Union des Forces  
   Démocratiques Rwandaises  
 Uganda. *See also* Cessation Clause;  
   Rwanda diaspora  
   repression of journalists in, 145–50  
   under Tripartite Agreement, 44–45  
 Ugrashebuja, Célestin, 161  
 U.K. *See* United Kingdom  
 Ulete, Juma, 89  
 Umubano Community Association,  
   158–62  
   FDLR and, 160–61  
 Umuhoza, Victoire Ingabire, 122–23  
 Umuseo, 136–38, 147–48  
 UNHCR. *See* United Nations Human  
   Rights Council  
 Union des Forces Démocratiques  
   Rwandaises (UFDR), 127–28  
 United Kingdom (U.K.)  
   Rwanda diaspora in, 10–11, 162–63,  
     215  
   Umubano Community  
     Association, 158–62  
   SALO funded by, 78  
   ZDF funded by, 77–78  
 Zimbabwe diaspora in, 67

## Index

265

- United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR)  
 Cessation Clause and, 188–98, 206–13  
 Tripartite Agreement and, 44–45  
 United States (U.S.)  
   Jewish diaspora in, 24  
   Rwanda diaspora in, 10–11, 215  
   in Zimbabwe diaspora, 66–67
- Van Hear, Nick, 238
- Verryn, Paul (Bishop), 97–101, 214, 217, 219–20. *See also* Central Methodist Church  
   Chikohwero and, 99  
   GZF and, 99–100  
   Molokele and, 99
- Vertovec, Stephen, 3
- Vltchek, Andre, 203–4
- Walt, Stephen, 24
- West Midlands Rwandan Community Association, 157–58
- White Saviour Industrial Complex, 27–28
- Wiener, Myron, 25
- Williams, Gavin, 185
- Young, Marion, 61
- Zamchiya, Phillan, 57, 76, 79
- ZANU-PF, 4–6, 11, 29, 51
- Zarnett, David, 28
- ZCSO. *See* Zimbabwe Civil Society Organization
- ZDF. *See* Zimbabwe Development Fund
- ZEF. *See* Zimbabwe Exiles' Forum
- Zigabe, Pacifique, 144
- Zim Mafia Campaign, 105–6
- Zimbabwe  
   collapse of living standards in, 94–96  
   land reforms in, 94–96  
   mass exodus from, 51–52  
   MDC in, 39, 46, 51  
   return of political activists to, 79–85  
   under rule of Mugabe, Robert, 30, 37, 51  
   in South Africa, funding for, 110  
   2008 elections in, 69–72  
   ZANU-PF in, 4–6, 11, 29, 51
- Zimbabwe Civil Society Organization (ZCSO), 59–61. *See also* Global Zimbabwe Forum
- Zimbabwe Development Fund (ZDF), 76–78
- Zimbabwe diaspora. *See also* Central Methodist Church; MDC Veteran Activists' Association; Movement for Democratic Change; Southern African Liaison Office  
   afterlife for, 91–92  
   animation in, 54–57  
     external, 29, 46, 74–78  
   in Botswana, 64–66  
   briefcase activists and, 74, 79–85, 91–92  
   causal mechanisms of, 215–16  
   collapse of living standards as factor for migration, 94–96  
   elites in, 57–61  
   external animators in, 29, 46  
     after 2008 elections, 74–78  
   faith-based organizations and, 97–100  
   foot soldiers in, 57–61  
   fragmentation of, 63–69  
   funding for, 61–63  
     decline in, 75–76  
   Global Power-Sharing Agreement and, 4  
   GNU and, 4, 11, 38, 40–41, 52, 73, 91, 216  
   exiles and, 127  
   GPA and, 40–41, 52  
     rejection of, 74–75  
   historical development of, 9–12, 39, 51–54, 216–17  
   life-cycle of, 33–34, 41  
   organizational response to, 57–61  
   political mobilisation of, 11  
     methodological approach to, 12–14  
     relocation back to Zimbabwe, 74–75  
   political patterns of, 4–6  
   Rwanda diaspora compared to, 185–86, 215  
   SALO and, 38, 40, 53–61  
   in South Africa, 10–11, 39–41, 215

- Zimbabwe diaspora. (cont.)  
   ‘arrest, detain, and deport policy’  
     for, 104–5  
   churches’ role in, 107–9  
   faith-based organizations for,  
     97–100  
   lack of economic assistance for, 96  
   lack of official status for, 95–96  
   life-cycle of, 109–10  
   NGOs and, 96  
   organizational support for, 39–40  
   refugee rights organizations, 101–7  
   toyi-toyi and, 40–41  
   after 2008 elections, 69–72  
     return of political activists to  
       Zimbabwe, 79–85  
   in U.K., 67  
   in U.S., 66–67  
   violence and, 47  
   voting patterns of, 87  
   ZANU-PF and, 4–6, 11, 29, 51  
   ZDF and, 76–78  
 Zimbabwe Exiles’ Forum (ZEF), 52–53,  
   57, 86  
   Arms Shipment Campaign and,  
     103–4  
   ‘arrest, detain, and deport policy’  
     influenced by, 104–5  
   in courts system, 103  
   funding for, 106  
   human rights abuse documentation  
     by, 105  
   partnerships with human rights  
     organizations, 102  
   political lobbying by, 105–6  
 Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project  
   (ZTVP), 79–80  
 Zimbabwe Victims Foundation, 90  
 Zimbabwean Political Victims’  
   Association (ZIPOVA), 52–53,  
   82–83  
 Zimbudzana, Diana, 86  
 zim-zims, 28  
 ZIPOVA. *See* Zimbabwean Political  
   Victims’ Association  
 Zireva, Oliver, 80  
 ZTVP. *See* Zimbabwe Torture Victims  
   Project  
 Zulu, Lindiwe, 56, 221  
 Zumza, Victor, 80, 92  
 Zundel, Ernest, 204  
 Zunga, Luke, 59