

This course syllabus may be changed or modified by the instructor before and during the semester. Please use MyCourses to access the most recent document.

POLI422 Political Violence in Southern Africa
McGill University, Fall 2023 (3 credits)

Professor:

Daniel Douek, PhD

email: daniel.douek@mcgill.ca

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:30-3:30pm in Ferrier 460

Course Meetings:

Lectures: Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:05-2:25pm, ENGM 276

*Lectures will end at 1:55pm starting on the week of September 18

TA Conferences: Each student must register on Minerva for one weekly TA conference; conferences will begin on week of September 18

Course Description:

The Southern African subcontinent comprises South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. European colonialism was more tenacious in southern Africa than in any other part of the continent, and many countries in the region only won their independence through violent struggle, turning the region into a Cold War flashpoint. In their wake, these wars have left important legacies that continue to shape regional politics to this day. In more recent decades, southern Africa has also provided fascinating examples of countries emerging from conflict and seeking peace and development. This course will examine the politics of violence in southern Africa over the past century, with a special emphasis on the struggles for independence and their impacts on post-independence politics in the region. In southern Africa, we can observe several crucial processes unfolding simultaneously and across multiple cases, including civil wars; the Cold War's end; the end of colonialism; civil war resolution; and transitions to democracy. This makes the region particularly rich for theorizing about comparative politics, with implications that reach far beyond the African continent and the Global South.

Readings:

-There is one **required book** for this class, available for purchase at the McGill bookstore and at Paragraphe Books (2220 Ave. McGill College):

Douek, Daniel. 2020. *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in South Africa* (Oxford, UK: Hurst Publishers) – referred to below as “*Insurgency*”

-All other readings will be available in digital form, either posted on MyCourses or via the library portal.

-Note: Recommended readings on the syllabus are *not mandatory*; they are intended to show you the wider scholarship on a given topic, and to help you with your research essays.

Course Delivery:

Lectures: This course will be delivered as a **series of lectures, delivered live in-classroom**. The lectures will also be recorded. **All lecture recordings will be made available through MyCourses.**

Slides: Lectures will be accompanied by PowerPoint presentations; the **slides will be made available** to students via MyCourses.

Communication: I can be reached via email and during my office hours. You are welcome to stop by my office hours any time I will endeavour to respond to emails within 48 hours during weekdays (I'm often offline on weekends). If you have a lengthy question, please ask during my office hours instead of emailing. **Also, please be sure to consult this [handy guide to emailing your professor](#).**

Course Requirements:

1-Conference Participation (10%): This includes attendance and participation in Teaching Assistant (TA)-run conference sections and reflects both quality and quantity. TA Conferences begin the week of September 18; **Please note:** You will lose the entire 10% if you have more than 3 unjustified conference absences.

The following rubric explains the basic criteria for participation grades. Each factor will be taken into account in assigning grades. Please note that the quality of the contribution is as important as the frequency.

Grade	Discussion	Reading
9-10	Excellent –Student leads debates; offers original analysis and comments; uses assigned reading to back up arguments. Valuable comments in every conference.	Student clearly has done and understands virtually all the reading; intelligently uses this understanding in discussions.
7.5-8.5	Very Good –Student offers thoughtful comments for the most part; and is a willing, able and frequent contributor.	Student has done most readings; provides competent analysis of reading when prompted.
6.5-7	Good –student has basic grasp of key concepts; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported.	Student displays familiarity with most reading, but tends not to analyze it or explore connections between different sources.
5.5-6	Fair –student’s remarks in class are marred by misunderstandings of key concepts; only occasionally offers comments or opinions.	Student’s actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks.
0-5	Poor –student rarely speaks, and recycles others’ comments when put on the spot to offer an opinion.	Student has little to no apparent familiarity with assigned material.

2- Midterm Take-Home Exam (20%): (posted 13 Oct., due 16 Oct.)

- Will consist of several essay questions, with a word limit
- Will test your knowledge and understanding of BOTH lectures and readings

3- Research Essay (40%): (posted 29 Sept., due 12 Nov.)

- Suggested topics and writing guidelines will be posted on MyCourses
 - You can also choose your own topic - in that case, you must get it approved by your TA
 - 15-18 double-spaced pages, plus bibliography and citations (12-point font)
- 4- Final Exam (30%):** To be scheduled by the University during the final exam period. Format TBA.

Course and University Policies:

Academic Integrity: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures” (see [McGill’s guide to academic honesty](#) for more information).

Special Needs: As the instructor of this course, I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the [Student Accessibility and Achievement Office](#), 514-398-6009.

Language of Submission: In accord with McGill University’s Charter of Students’ Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l’étudiant de l’Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l’un des objets est la maîtrise d’une langue).

Course Evaluations: End-of-course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the student’s learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Copyright of Lectures: All slides, video recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor’s intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning (and research, with proper referencing/citation) ends. ***You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials;*** doing so may violate the instructor’s intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Keep up with the news: You’ll get more out of this class if you read the news about southern Africa regularly. Good news sources include [allafrica.com](#), Mail and Guardian online (South Africa), The Namibian, The Zimbabwe Herald, Jeune Afrique (in French), Africa Confidential, BBC World, Al-Jazeera, New York Times (sometimes), and the Economist, among others.

African Studies Program: This class counts towards an African Studies Program course credit.

*****Content warning:** This is a class on wars and violence, so by definition, much of the content **may be disturbing** for some students. Some of the readings discuss violence in the abstract, while others contain graphic descriptions of violence. **This content has been included in the course because it directly relates to the learning outcomes.** Please contact the instructor if you have specific concerns about this.

Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Statement:

Fostering an environment in which people feel welcome, safe, and included is an intrinsic value that is also essential for deep and positive learning. We should all commit to treating and addressing each other

with respect and dignity. Disagreements and debates are a valuable part of learning, and are welcome, so long as they are in good faith and expressed with grace and care. I will endeavor to create a classroom environment that supports these goals.

***Note:** In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change*

SCHEDULE OF COURSE READINGS

Week 0 (31 August): Introduction to the Course

Welcome!

Week 1 (September 5 & 7): Colonialism, Violence, and Knowledge

Lalu, Premesh. 2000. "The Grammar of Domination and the Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence" *History and Theory* Vol.39 No.4, pp.45-68

Minkley, G., & Legassick, M. (2000). "Not Telling": Secrecy, Lies, and History. *History and Theory*, 39(4), 1-10.

Gordon, Robert J. 2004. Excerpt from "The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass," pp.74-76 in Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois (eds.) *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing)

Insurgency, "Introduction," especially pp.20-8

Recommended:

Lalu, Premesh. 2009. *The Deaths of Hintsa*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.

Week 2 (September 12 & 14): Dynamics of Colonization

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2006. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton University Press. Ch.3 "Decentralized Despotism"

Katjavivi, Peter. 1988. "Namibia Up to the 1860s" and "German Conquest and Namibian Resistance," pp.1-12 in *A History of Resistance in Namibia* (Addis Ababa: UNESCO) (Plus maps and photos)

Martin, David, and Phyllis Johnson. 1981. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe* (London: Faber and Faber), "Deception, Invasion, and Repression," pp.35-50

Biko, Steve. 1978 (1996). "Some African Cultural Concepts," pp.40-47 in *I Write What I Like* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press)

Documentary Film: Bhambatha: War of the Heads (2009; directed by Rehad Desai) - Watch [here](#) via the McGill Library (login required)

Recommended:

Dubow, Saul. 1992. "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'," *Journal of African History* Vol.33 No.2 pp.209-237

O'Meara, Dan. 1977. "The Afrikaner Broederbond 1927-1948: Class Vanguard of Afrikaner Nationalism," *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.3 No.2 pp.156-186.

Du Toit, André. 2008. "'Afrikaander circa 1600': Reflections and Suggestions Regarding the Origins and Fate of Afrikaner Nationalism," *South African Historical Journal* Vol.60 No.4 (December) pp.562-578

Madley, Benjamin. 2005. "From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted by the Nazis in Eastern Europe" *European History Quarterly*, (35), pp.429-464

TA Conferences Begin

Week 3 (September 19 & 21): Seeds of Struggle

Mandela, Nelson Rolihlahla. 1994. "Birth of a Freedom Fighter," pp.83-122 in *Long Walk to Freedom* (Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co.)

Malaquias, Assis. 2007. *Rebels and Robbers: Violence in Post-Colonial Angola* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet), pp.23-38

Ranger, Terence. 1985. *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe* (London: James Currey), Ch.1 "The Zimbabwean Peasantry Under Early Colonialism and the Nature of Peasant Consciousness" pp.19-53

"Freedom Charter" (1955), R.M. Sobukwe, "Opening Address" (1959), and Nelson R. Mandela, "Statement during the Rivonia Trial," in *From Protest to Challenge* Vol. 3 (1977), 205-8, 510-17, and 771-796

Recommended:

Biko, Steve. 1978. "American Policy Towards Azania", "Our Strategy for Liberation", and "On Death", Ch.17,18, & 19 in *I Write What I Like: Selected Writings* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 138-142, 143-151, 152-153

Martin, David, and Phyllis Johnson. 1981. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe* (London: Faber and Faber), "The Great Illusion," pp.1-20

Week 4 (September 26 & 28): The Emergence of Armed Insurgency

Insurgency, Chapter 1, "Umkhonto we Sizwe's Armed Legitimacy"

Reno, Will. 2011. *Warfare in Independent Africa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press) Ch.3, "Majority Rule Rebels"

Ranger, Terence. 1985. *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe* (London: James Currey) Ch.5 "Mau Mau, FRELIMO, and the Zimbabwean Guerrilla War: Ideology" pp.177-222

Recommended:

Harris, Peter. 2011. *A Just Defiance: The Bombmakers, The Insurgents, and a Legendary Treason Trial* (London, UK: Portobello Books)

Simpson, Thula. "Main machinery: the ANC's armed underground in Johannesburg during the 1976 Soweto uprising". *African Studies*. 70 (3) (2011): 415-436.

Landau, Paul. 2012. "The ANC, MK, and 'The Turn to Violence' (1960-62)" *South African Historical Journal* Vol.64 No.3 538-563

*****29 September: Research Essay Assignment Posted*****

Week 5 (October 3 & 5): The Colonial Counterrevolution

Insurgency, Ch. 2 “The Colonial Origins of Counterinsurgency” and Ch. 7, “Killing Hani”
Horne, Gerald. 2001. *From the Barrel of a Gun: The United States and the War Against Zimbabwe, 1965-1980* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press), Ch.1 “Toward Zimbabwe,” pp.15-47
Stockwell, John. 1978. “The Angola Program” in *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story* (New York: Norton), pp.40-57

Recommended:

Murphy, Philip. 2010. “A Police State? The Nyasaland Emergency and Colonial Intelligence” *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.36 No.4 pp.765-780
Meneses, Maria Paula, Celso Braga Rosa, and Bruno Sena Martins. 2017. “Colonial Wars, Colonial Alliances: The Alcora Exercise in the Context of Southern Africa” *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.43 No.2, pp.397-410
Heywood, Anne-Marie. 1996. *The Cassinga Event* (Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia), pp.5-41
Ferguson, James. 2006. “Paradoxes of Sovereignty and Independence: ‘Real’ and ‘Pseudo-‘Nation-States and the Depoliticization of Poverty,” pp.50-68 in *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press)
Katjavivi, Peter. 1988. “South Africa’s Bantustan Policies and Nationalist Responses” and “Political Trials” pp.72-76 and 77-83 in *A History of Resistance in Namibia* (Addis Ababa: UNESCO)
Gewald, Jan-Bart. 2004. “Who Killed Clemens Kapuuo?” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (September), pp. 559-576
Roberts, George. 2017. “The assassination of Eduardo Mondlane: FRELIMO, Tanzania, and the politics of exile in Dar es Salaam” *Cold War History* (17:1) pp.1-19
Laurent, Frederic, and Nina Sutton. 1980. “The Assassination of Eduardo Mondlane” in Ray et al. eds., *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa* (London: Zed Press) pp.136-9
Douek, Daniel. 2017. “New Light on the Samora Machel Assassination: ‘I Realized That It Was No Accident’” *Third World Quarterly* Vol.9
Purkitt, Helen E., and Stephen F. Burgess. 2005. *South Africa’s Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp.7-25

*****October 6-11: Fall Reading Break*****

Week 6 (October 12): Gendered Perspectives on Struggle

O’Gorman, E. (2011). *The Front Line Runs through Every Woman: Women and Local Resistance in the Zimbabwean Liberation War*. Boydell & Brewer. Introduction and Chapters 1 & 2 (pp.1-54)
Documentary Film: *Guerrilla Grannies (How to Live in This World)*. 2012. Directed by Ike Bertels – Follows the lives of three female guerrilla fighters in Mozambique

Recommended:

Lyons, Tanya. 2004. *Guerrilla Girls: Women and the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press)

Suttner, Raymond. 2008. "Gendering the Underground," pp.104-132 in *The ANC Underground* (Auckland Park: Jacana Press)

*****Friday 13 October: Take-Home Midterm Exam posted online; exam is due online by Monday 16 October at 11:59pm*****

Week 7 (October 17 & 19): RENAMO and UNITA – Proxy War and Destabilization

Hultman, Lisa. 2009. "The Power to Hurt in Civil War: The Strategic Aim of RENAMO Violence" *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.35 No.4 pp.821-834

Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (excerpts about RENAMO)

Harrison, Graham. 1995. "Election in Mozambique." *Review of African Political Economy* 22, no. 63: 115-118.

Malaquias, Assis. 2007. "Angola: How to Lose a Guerrilla War," in Morten Boas (ed.) *African Guerrillas: Raging Against the Machine* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), pp.199-220

Recommended:

Vines, Alex. 1991. *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique* (London: James Currey)

Schafer, J. (2001). Guerrillas and Violence in the War in Mozambique: De-Socialization or Re-Socialization? *African Affairs*, 100(399), 215-237

Minter, William. 1994. *Apartheid's Contras* London: Zed Books

Cahen, Michel. 2018. "The War as Seen by RENAMO," in Eric Morier-Genoud, Michel Cahen and Domingos M. do Rosario, *The War Within: New Perspectives on the Civil War in Mozambique, 1976-1992* (London: James Currey), pp.100-146

Manning, Carrie. 1998. "Constructing Opposition in Mozambique: RENAMO as Political Party" *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.24 No.1 pp.161-189

Global Witness. 2002. "[All the President's Men: The Devastating Story of Oil and Banking in Angola's Privatized War](#)"

Le Billon, Philippe. 2001. "Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds, 1975-2000" *African Affairs*, 100(398): 55-80

Week 8 (October 24 & 26): Violence in South Africa's Democratic Transition

Insurgency, Ch.3 "Apartheid Counterinsurgency During the Negotiations, 1990-4," Ch.4 "MK's War in the Shadows, 1990-4", and Ch.5 "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Bantustan of Transkei, 1988-94"

Recommended:

Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22(2):5-53.

Berkeley, Bill. 2001. *The Graves are Not Yet Full* New York: Basic Books Ch.4 "The Collaborator," pp.143-193

Ellis, Stephen. 1998. The Historical Significance of South Africa's Third Force *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.24 No.2 pp.261-299

Klopp, Jacqueline, and Elke Zuern. 2007. "The Politics of Violence in Democratization: Lessons From Kenya and South Africa" *Comparative Politics* 39 (2), pp.1-32.

Week 9 (October 31 & November 2): Security Sector Reform

Insurgency, Ch.6 "Spy Recruitment and the Steyn Report," and Ch.8 "MK's Marginalization in South Africa's 'New' Security Forces"

Metsola, Lali, and Henning Melber. 2007. "Namibia's Pariah Heroes: SWAPO Ex-Combatants Between Liberation Gospel and Security Interests" in Lars Buur et al., eds., *The Security-Development Nexus: Expressions of Sovereignty and Securitization in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press) pp.85-105

Recommended:

Mashike, Lephophotho. 2008. Age of Despair: The Unintegrated Forces of South Africa. *African Affairs* 107 (June):433-453.

Katherine Glassmeyer and Nicholas Sambanis. 2008. Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination. *Journal of Peace Research*, 45/3: 365-384.

Metsola, L. (2010), The Struggle Continues? The Spectre of Liberation, Memory Politics and 'War Veterans' in Namibia. *Development and Change*, 41: 589-613

Schafer, Jessica. 2007. *Soldiers at Peace: Veterans and Society after the Civil War in Mozambique*. New York, NY and Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Monica Duffy Toft (2010) "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34: 4 (Spring), 7-36.

Week 10 (November 7 & 9): Post-Independence Violent Legacies

Alexander, Jocelyn, JoAnn McGregor, and Terence Ranger. 2000. "Independence and the Dissidents," pp.180-203 in *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland* (Oxford, UK: James Currey)

[Video footage of Zimbabwe Army's notorious Fifth Brigade](#) (1983)

Insurgency, Ch.9 "Post-Transition Violence as a Counterinsurgency Legacy" and Ch.10 "Skeletons and Ghosts: Spy Scandals in Post-Transition South Africa"

Short Documentary Film: [Deafening Echoes](#) 2012. (Director: Eugene Paramoer)

Recommended:

Saul, John S., and Colin Leys. 2005. "Lubango and After: 'Forgotten History' as Politics in Contemporary Namibia," in *The Next Liberation Struggle: Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy in Southern Africa* (Scottsville: University of Kwa-Zulu Press), pp.107-128

Williams, Christian. *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa: A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Bell, Terry, with Dumisa Buhle Ntsebeza. 2003. *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid, and Truth* (London: Verso), pp.223-307

Krog, Antjie. 1998. *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa* (New York), pp.341-65

Elster, Jon. 2004. *Closing the Books: Transitional Justice in Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kritz, Neil, ed. 1995. *Transitional Justice: How New Democracies Reckon with Their Authoritarian Past*. Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: US Institute for Peace).

******12 November: Research Essays Due******

Week 11 (November 14 & 16): Gender Dimensions of Post-Independence Violence

Pumla Dineo Gqola. *Rape: A South African Nightmare*. Auckland Park, South Africa: Melinda Ferguson Books. 2015. "Introduction," Ch.1 "A Recurring Nightmare," Ch.2 "What's Race Got to Do with Rape?," Ch.3 "Ruling Violence," and Ch.8 "Violent Masculinities and War Talk"

Recommended:

Helen Moffett (2006) 'These Women, They Force Us to Rape Them': Rape as Narrative of Social Control in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:1, 129-144

Week 12 (November 21 & 23): Post-Colonial Governance, Security, and Development

Insurgency, "Conclusion"

Bracking, S. 2005. "Development Denied: Autocratic Militarism in Post-Election Zimbabwe" *Review of African Political Economy* 32 (104) pp.341-57

Alexander, Peter, Thapelo Lekgowa, Botsang Mmope, Luke Sinwell, and Bongani Xezwi. 2012. *Marikana: A View from the Mountain and a Case to Answer* (Auckland Park: Jacana Press) Introduction and Chapter 1.

Documentary Film: "[Miners Shot Down](#)" (2015; Rehad Desai, director)

Recommended:

Henning Melber (2011) Namibia: a trust betrayed – again?, *Review of African Political Economy*, 38:127, 103-111

Sabelo J Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) Making Sense of Mugabeism in Local and Global Politics, 'So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe', *Third World Quarterly*, 30:6, 1139-1158

Bond, P. (2005). Zimbabwe's Hide & Seek with the IMF: Imperialism, Nationalism & the South African Proxy. *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(106), 609-619

Phimister, Ian and Brian Raftopoulos. 2004. "Mugabe, Mbeki, and the Politics of Anti-Imperialism" *Review of African Political Economy* 31 (101) pp.385-40

Alden, Christopher and Anseeuw, Ward. *Land, liberation and compromise in Southern Africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, Ch.2, "Sowing the Whirlwind: Zimbabwe and Southern Africa" (pp.38-74)

Neocosmos, Michael. 1998. "From People's Politics to State Politics: Aspects of National Liberation in South Africa" in A. O. Olukoshi (ed.) *The Politics of Opposition in Contemporary Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet)

Igreja, Victor. 2010. "FRELIMO's Political Ruling Through Violence and Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique" *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.36 No.4 pp.781-799

Mattes, Robert. 2002. "South Africa: Democracy Without the People," *Journal of Democracy* Vol.13, No.1 (January), pp.22-36

Seekings, Jeremy. 2008. "The Continuing Salience of Race: Discrimination and Diversity in South Africa" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* Vol.26, No.1, pp.1-25

Tangri, Roger, and Roger Southall. 2008. "The Politics of Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa" *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol.34 No.3 pp.699-716

Adams, Martin, Siphos Sibanda, and Stephen Turner. 1999. "Land Tenure Reform and Rural Livelihoods in Southern Africa" *Natural Resource Perspectives* No.39 (February) pp.1-14

Hall, Ruth. 2004. "A Political Economy of Land Reform in South Africa" *Review of African Political Economy* Vol.31 No.100 pp.213-227

Bates, Robert H. 1999. "The Economic Bases of Democratization," in *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*, edited by R. Joseph (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers)

Roger Southall. 2000. "The State of Democracy in South Africa" *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Studies* 38 (3) pp.147-170

Lodge, Tom. 1998. Political Corruption in South Africa. *African Affairs* 97 (387):157-187.

****Note: No lecture on 30 November, which follows a Monday schedule pattern****

Week 13 (November 28 & December 5): Whither Democracy?

Madlingozi, Tshepo. 2017. "Social Justice in a Time of Neo-Apartheid Constitutionalism: Critiquing the Anti-Black Economy of Recognition, Incorporation, and Distribution" *Stellenbosch Law Review* (1) pp.123-147

Saul, John S. 2005. *The Next Liberation Struggle: Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy in Southern Africa* Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Ch.3 "Liberal Democracy vs. Popular Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa" pp.54-84

["South Africa: The Groups Playing on the Fears of a 'White Genocide'"](#) *BBC News* (1 September 2018)

Forster, Peter K. 2020. ["Jihadism in Mozambique: The Enablers of Extremist Sustainability"](#) *Small Wars Journal* (October)

Recommended:

Levy, Ariel. "Who Owns South Africa?" *New Yorker* 13 May 2019

Nieftagodien, N. (2015). Reconstituting and re-imagining the left after Marikana. In N. Nieftagodien, M. Paret, S. Ashman, R. Harvey, C. Chinguno, A. Turton, et al. (Authors) & G. Khadiagala, P. Naidoo, D. Pillay, & R. Southall (Eds.), *New South African Review 5: Beyond Marikana* (pp. 18-33). Wits University Press.

Zoomers, Annelies. 2010. "Globalisation and the Foreignisation of Space: Seven Processes Driving the Current Global Land Grab" *Review of African Political Economy* Vol.37 No.2 pp.429-447

Bond, Patrick. 2004. *Talk Left Walk Right*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Musah, Abdel-Fatau. 2003. Privatization of Security, Arms Proliferation, and the Process of State Collapse in Africa. In *State Failure, Collapse, and Reconstruction*, edited by J. Milliken. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Hentz, J. (2000). The Two Faces of Privatisation: Political and Economic Logics in Transitional South Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38(2), 203-223.

*****Final Exam to be Scheduled by the University during the Final Exam Period*****

Scholarly journals and news sources with good coverage of southern Africa include:

Journal of Southern African Studies

Journal of Modern African Studies

African Affairs

African Security Review

Review of African Political Economy

Politikon

Canadian Journal of African Studies

Journal of South African History

Third World Quarterly

Comparative Politics

World Politics

Afrobarometer.org

Africa Today

African Journal of Political Science and International Relations

Resources for Students:

Your Wellness Matters a Lot

Equity Advisors in the Department of Political Science

In the context of ongoing efforts to promote **strong and sustainable departmental responses** to the issues of harassment and sexual misconduct, the Department of Political Science has appointed two professors to the position of **equity advisor**. The aim of this position is to work in cooperation with the chair and other members of the department to promote strengthened norms and practices in the department regarding **preventing and addressing harassment and sexual misconduct**. The equity advisors are available, individually or in tandem, to meet with colleagues and students to discuss questions relating to harassment, sexual misconduct, and related **equity concerns**, and will refer students and colleagues to the **relevant specialized services** and offices at McGill. They will promote awareness and application of policies and guidelines related to these issues in the department, including the Department of Political Science Guidelines on Relationships between Instructors and Students.

Our current equity officers are **Professor Kelly Gordon** (kelly.gordon2@mcgill.ca) and Professor **Will Roberts** (william.roberts3@mcgill.ca). Please feel free to reach out to either Professor Gordon or Professor Roberts with any concerns in relation to this issue.

Political Science Students' Association (PSSA):

The PSSA represents the students enrolled in major, minor, honours, and joint-honours undergraduate degrees in the department of political science at McGill University. They advocate for students' needs and concerns with the aim of **helping to promote students'**

experience and overall wellbeing. The team offers many **involvement opportunities**, coordinates **academic and social events and services**, provides advising and student support, and **enhances the relationship** between students, staff, and administration as student liaisons.

Office: Leacock 420 Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/McGill.PSSA/>

Website: <https://www.mcgillpssa.ca>

Assessment and Re-Read Policy Department of Political Science

Liaison Librarian for Political Science

Need help doing research for a paper? Our very own library liaison, Sandy Hervieux, is dedicated to helping you find the sources you need as well as providing you access to software and resources to help organize and simplify the process. sandy.hervieux@mcgill.ca 514-398-1087

McLennan Library Building Additional Support: AUS Essay Centre 2

Further Student Support Resources

-The **Student Wellness Hub** offers activities and sessions remotely, available [here](#).

-Resources for **mental health support** during the campus closure can be found [here](#) (many are by phone or online and can be accessed from wherever you are).

-McGill **Student Services** are available to support you now. You can reach them [here](#).

Sexual Assault Centre of the McGill Students' Society (SACOMSS)

Office for Sexual Violence Response, Support, and Education (OSVRSE)

Peer Support Centre SSMU Walksafe / Drivesafe

McGill Students' Nightline On-Campus Resources / Off-Campus Resources - emotional support and psychological services - medical services - safety and security services (shelters)

*****McGill University is situated on the traditional territory of the [Kanien'kehà:ka](#), a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. We recognize and respect the Kanien'kehà:ka as the traditional custodians of the lands and waters on which we meet today.**