

**PSCI 4203A/5203W**  
**Southern Africa after Apartheid**  
**Wednesdays 8:35-11:25 a.m.**  
**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

**Instructor:** C. Brown  
**Office:** D694 Loeb  
**Office Hours:** Wednesday 12:00-14:00, Thursday 12:00-14:00  
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This course examines the politics of southern Africa. We will devote slightly more than half the course to South Africa itself, while the balance of the course will consider the southern African region and selected states within it. As the title of the course suggests, the theme uniting the various topics on the course syllabus is the apartheid system and its legacy. What was the nature of apartheid system? What led to its demise? What has been the legacy of apartheid for the 'new' South Africa? How did apartheid shape the relationship between South Africa and its neighbours? What impact has the end of apartheid had upon the other states in the region? In short, how have struggles for democracy and development throughout southern Africa been shaped by apartheid and its legacy?

There is no assigned textbook for this course. The required readings for each week are listed below. On average, there are 100-150 pages of assigned reading per week. All assigned readings are on 2 hour reserve in MacOdrum Library. In addition, all the journal articles are available on-line via the Carleton University library system.

Students are expected to prepare the assigned readings beforehand, to attend class, and to participate in classroom discussions. The course grade will be assigned on the basis of class participation, a seminar presentation, a major essay, and a take-home exam. Each of these components of the grade is described in detail below.

The grade for the course will be calculated as follows:

<b>Component of grade</b>	<b>Weight</b>
Class participation (2 x 10% =)	20%
Seminar presentation	20%
Essay (Nov 18)	30%
Final exam (Dec 9 – 22)	30%

Class participation will be graded and will count for 20% of the final course grade. Participation grades will be based on the quality, not quantity, of oral contributions. A good contribution is one that advances the classroom discussion in some way. Possible ways of advancing the discussion include: providing (where appropriate) a brief précis of a reading, advancing a cogent critique of all or part of a reading, making a connection between the readings, advancing an argument pertaining to the week's readings, critiquing arguments advanced by other seminar participants, bringing forward relevant data, asking a pertinent question. The following are examples of interventions that do not advance the classroom discussion: long-winded comments of all types, inaccurate précis, arguments and/or data irrelevant to the readings, *ad hominem* attacks on other seminar participants. Students are strongly encouraged to prepare beforehand for class participation. That is, it is not enough to simply read the assigned readings. You should also think beforehand about the main arguments raised in the readings and how you would critique them. You may find it useful to jot down on a piece of paper before class the critical comments and questions you intend to raise during the class discussion. You cannot participate if you are not present, so your attendance record will factor into the calculation of your participation grade. Participation grades for the first unit of the course (10%) will be posted on WebCt after the class on October 28<sup>th</sup>; participation grades for the second unit of the course (10%) will be posted on WebCt after the last class on December 2<sup>nd</sup>.

Each student will make one seminar presentation, worth 20% of the final grade. Seminar sign-ups will take place the second week of class (September 23<sup>rd</sup>). Seminar presentations will start the third week of class (September 30<sup>th</sup>); normally there will be two presentations per week, though this may have to be adjusted according to the final course enrolment. Seminar presenters must prepare a one-page handout and email it to me no later than 24 hours before class; I will then post the handout to the course website on WebCt. Handouts longer than one page will not be accepted. The handout should provide a brief summary and critique of the reading(s) and a set of three or four major questions for discussion. The total time for each seminar presentation is approximately one hour. Students should spend no more than 15 or 20 minutes summarizing the reading(s) and presenting their critique. The bulk of the time will then be devoted to detailed class discussion of the discussion questions. Evaluation of the seminar presentation will be based on the quality of the handout, the quality of the oral presentation, and the quality of the discussion that is prompted by the discussion questions.

Students are expected to write a major research essay exploring in greater depth any of the topics in the course outline. This essay is worth 30% of the final grade. The essay must demonstrate significant reading beyond the course outline. The essay should be approximately 15-20 pages (undergraduates) or 20-25 pages (graduates) in length, though length is not a criterion of evaluation. Topics must be cleared with me no later than October 14<sup>th</sup>. Students may not write on the same topic as their seminar presentation. Essays are due November 18<sup>th</sup> (though students making their seminar presentation that day may have a one week extension); essays handed in on time will be returned at the last class on December 2<sup>nd</sup>. Any essay

received after class on the due date will be considered late. A late penalty of one third of one grade (e.g. from A+ to A) will be assigned for each 24 hour period or a part thereof that the essay is late. The maximum late penalty is two whole grades (e.g. from A+ to C+).

The take home examination will cover the entire course. It is worth 30% of the final course grade. It will be handed out and returned during the final examination period, December 9<sup>th</sup> – 22<sup>nd</sup>. Students will have one week to complete the examination. We will decide collectively as a class upon the exact dates for the take-home examination.

This is a combined undergraduate/graduate seminar. The course requirements are the same for both undergraduates and graduates. Graduate students are expected to write slightly longer essays and will be held to a higher standard in evaluation.

Students are encouraged to attend the scheduled office hours if they have any questions related to the course. As well, email is a good way to get specific answers to specific questions. I will monitor both my Carleton account and the WebCt mail facility. I will make my best efforts to respond to all email queries within 24 hours.

### **Week 1 – Course Introduction (16/9)**

I will introduce the course themes and we will go over the course requirements. In addition, we will watch and discuss a short movie from the apartheid era.

## **UNIT 1: SOUTH AFRICA**

### **Week 2 – Apartheid: Practice (23/9)**

What was apartheid? How was it justified and enforced? How did it shape the lives of ordinary South Africans?

C. Mulder, "The Rationale of Separate Development," in N.J. Rhodie, *South African Dialogue*, 1975, pp. 49-63

J. Dugard, "The Legal Framework of Apartheid," in N.J. Rhodie, *South African Dialogue*, 1975, pp. 80-99.

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, *Apartheid: The Facts*, 1991, 2nd ed., Ch. 2-4, pp. 17-52.

H. Marais, *South Africa Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition*, 2001, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ch. 1, pp. 7-36.

### **Week 3 – Apartheid: Theory (30/9)**

How do we comprehend apartheid theoretically? What was the relationship between racism and capitalism?

M. Lipton, *Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1986*, 1985, Ch. 1-3 & 10, pp. 2-83 & 365-376.

D.K. Stasiulis, "Pluralist and Marxist Perspectives on Racial Discrimination in South Africa," *British Journal of Sociology*, 34(4), December 1980, pp. 463-490.

H. Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa," in H. Wolpe (ed.), *The Articulation of Modes of Production: Essays from Economy and Society*, 1980, pp. 289-319.

#### **Supplementary:**

D. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 1996, Theoretical Appendix, pp. 419-489.

### **Week 4 – Resistance: Organizations, Ideologies, Tactics (7/10)**

What were the main organizations fighting apartheid? In what ways were they alike, and in what ways were they different, in terms of organization, ideology, strategy and tactics? How and why did these organizations change over the years?

S. M. Davis, *Apartheid's Rebels*, 1987, Ch. 1, pp. 1-35.

N. Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, 1965, Ch. 15, pp. 162-189.

G. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa*, 1978, Ch. 1 & 8, pp. 1-20 & 257-299.

S. Biko, *I Write What I Like*, 1978, Ch. 5, 6 & 14, pp. 19-32 & 87-98.

### **Week 5 – Transition to the "New" South Africa (14/10)**

In 1994 the apartheid system formally ended. Why did it end when it did, and why were most observers caught by surprise? How did the negotiated transition shape the future political and economic options for South Africa? How much was really "new"?

R. Lawrence, "From Soweto to CODESA" and D. Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle? The multiparty negotiating forum," in S. Friedman and D. Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7: The Small Miracle – South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, 1994, Introduction and Ch. 1, pp. 1-43.

S. Zunes, "The Role of Non-Violent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37(1), March 1999, pp. 137-169.

H. Marais, *South Africa Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition*, 2001, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ch. 2, pp. 37-82.

P. Williams and I. Taylor, "Neoliberalism and the Political Economy of the 'New' South Africa," *New Political Economy*, 5(1), March 2000, pp. 21-40.

T. Lodge, "The South African General Election, April 1994: Results, Analysis, Implications," *African Affairs*, Oct 1995, 94(377), pp. 471-500.

### **Week 6 – Economic Restructuring? (21/10)**

What economic policies has the ANC followed, and why? How successful have these policies been? What are the prospects for a genuine restructuring of the economy? What are the political implications of continued economic inequality?

S. van der Berg, R. Burger and M. Louw, "Post-Apartheid South Africa: Poverty and Distribution Trends in an Era of Globalization," World Institute for Development Economics Research, Research Paper no. 2007/57, 25 pp.

P. Carmody, "Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28(2), June 2002, pp. 255-275.

S. Andreason, "The African National Congress and its Critics: 'Predatory Liberalism', Black Empowerment and Intra-Alliance Tensions in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Democratization*, 13(2), April 2006, pp. 303-322.

R. Southall, "The Politics of Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(2), September 2008, pp. 699-716.

E. Lahiff, "'Willing Buyer, Willing Seller': South Africa's failed experiment in market-led agrarian reform," *Third World Quarterly*, 28(8), December 2007, pp. 1577-1597.

### **Week 7 – Democratic Struggles (28/10)**

Has democracy been consolidated in South Africa? What are the implications of the ANC's electoral hegemony? Has the telling of the truth about apartheid brought reconciliation?

J. Beal, S. Gelb, and S. Hassim, "Fragile Stability: State and Society in Democratic South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(4), December 2005, pp. 681-700.

R. Southall, "Introduction: The ANC State: More Dysfunctional than Developmental?" in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds.), *State of the Nation South Africa: 2007*, 2007, Introduction, pp. 1-21. Available on-line at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/freedownload.asp?id=2183>.

J.L. Gibson, "Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Nation?" *Politikon*, 31(2), November 2004, pp. 129-155.

A.R. Chapman, "Truth Commissions and Intergroup Forgiveness: The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 13(1), 2007, pp. 51-69.

T. Lodge, "The Future of South Africa's Party System," *Journal of Democracy*, July 2006, 17(3), pp. 152-166.

S. Hassim, "Democracy's Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma," *African Studies*, 68(1), April 2009, pp. 57-77.

## **UNIT 2: SOUTHERN AFRICA**

### **Week 8 – The Southern African Region in the Apartheid Era (4/11)**

In what sense does southern Africa constitute a region? What was South Africa's regional policy during the apartheid era? How did the regional states respond?

R. T. Libby, *The Politics of Economic Power in Southern Africa*, 1987, Ch. 1, pp. 19-61.

R. Price, "Pretoria's Southern African Strategy," *African Affairs*, 83(330), January 1984, pp. 11-32.

J. Hanlon, *Beggar Your Neighbour: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa*, 1986, Ch. 1-3, pp. 1-26.

D.G. Anglin, "Southern Africa Under Siege: Options for the Frontline States," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 26(4), December 1988, pp. 549-565.

### **Week 9 – Zimbabwe (11/11)**

The Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 was greeted with high hopes, yet in recent years Zimbabwe has become synonymous with political violence and economic collapse. What happened?

M. Bratton and E. Masunungure, "Zimbabwe's Long Agony," *Journal of Democracy*, 19(4), October 2008, pp. 41-55.

J. Makumbe, "Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe: Authoritarianism versus the People," *African Development*, 31(3), 2006, pp. 45-61.

M. E. Ndlovu, "Mass Violence in Zimbabwe 2005 – Murambatsvina," *Development Dialogue*, December 2008, No. 50, pp. 217-238.

N. Kriger, "Liberation from Constitutional Constraints: Land Reform in Zimbabwe," *SAIS Review*, 27(2), Summer-Fall 2007, pp. 63-76.

T. Ranger, "Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2), June 2004, pp. 215-234.

### **Week 10 – Mozambique (18/11)**

The post-Independence experiment in Afro-Marxism in Mozambique collapsed amid civil war and destabilisation by South Africa. Today, Mozambique is the poster child for aid-driven post-conflict reconstruction. Is the country finally on the right path?

J. Saul, "Eduardo Mondlane and the Rise and Fall of Mozambican Socialism," *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(104-105), June-September 2005, pp. 309-315.

F.P. Kulipossa, "Mozambique," *IDS Bulletin*, 37(2), March 2006, pp. 40-52.

J.M. Weinstein, "Mozambique: A Fading UN Success Story," *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), January 2002, pp. 141-156.

G.M. Carbone, "Continuidade na renovacao? Ten years of multiparty politics in Mozambique: roots, evolution and stabilisation of the Frelimo-Renamo party system," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(3), September 2005, pp. 417-442.

J. Hanlon, "Do donors promote corruption: the case of Mozambique," *Third World Quarterly*, 25(4), June 2004, pp. 747-763.

R. Batley, "Mozambique: The Costs of 'Owning' Aid," *Public Administration and Development*, 25(5), December 2005, pp. 415-424.

### **Week 11 – Botswana (25/11)**

Botswana is often pointed to as a successful story of capitalist development under liberal democracy. How successful is it?

P. Molutsi, "Botswana: The Path to Democracy and Development," in E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed.), *Democratic Reform in Africa*, 2004, Ch. 7, pp. 159-181.

K. Good and I. Taylor, "Botswana: A Minimalist Democracy," *Democratization*, 15(4), August 2008, pp. 750-765.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean, "Postcolonial Politics and Discourses of Democracy in Southern Africa: An Anthropological Reflection on African Political Modernities," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 53(2), Summer 1997, pp. 123-146.

Beaulier, Scott A. and J. Robert Subrick, "The political foundations of development: the case of Botswana," *Constitutional Political Economy*, 17(2), June 2006, pp. 103-115.

Hillbom, Elen, "Diamonds or development? A structural assessment of Botswana's forty years of success," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(2), 2008, pp. 191-214.

### **Week 12 –Southern Africa Today (2/12)**

How should we assess the state of democracy in southern Africa today? What are the prospects for regional economic integration and mutual security?

K. Good, "Democratization in Southern Africa: Barriers and potentialities," *The Round Table*, 95(383), January 2006, pp. 79-93.

R. Southall, "Democracy in Southern Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy," *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(96), June 2003, pp. 255-272.

C. Alden and M. Soko, "South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: Hegemony and its Discontents," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(3), September 2005, pp. 367-392.

M. Soko, "Building Regional Integration in Southern Africa: South African Customs Union as a Driving Force?" *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 15(1), June 2008, pp. 55-69.

L. Nathan, "SADC's Uncommon Approach to Common Security, 1992-2003," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(3), September 2006, pp. 605-622.

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### **Academic Accommodations**

**For students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for

accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.