

Political Science 4203/5203

SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

Instructor: Prof. Linda Freeman
Office: C671 LA
Phone: 520 2600 x 2781
Office hours: Thursday: 1:00 to 2:00 pm
Course hours: Thursday: 2:30 pm - 5:30 pm

Course Description:

The end of apartheid has been central to change in southern Africa in the contemporary period. This course will begin with an exploration of the origins and nature of the apartheid state, the forces propelling its end, and the principal issues facing the new South Africa.

Pressures to democratize and to liberalize economic systems constitute additional powerful factors shaping the politics of the region. The course will go on to examine the impact of globalization on selected countries in southern Africa through debates on structural adjustment, the significance of the multi-party system and differing conceptions of democracy.

A political economy approach will be adopted in an attempt to study the interpenetration of class, race, ethnicity, gender and discourse in the dynamics of southern African states and societies.

Books ordered for the course:

At the last moment, the bookstore announced that it could not get either of the two books ordered for the course on time. Hence, a copy of each has been put on reserve. The original texts were:

O'Meara, Dan. *Forty Lost Years - The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1996.

Marais, Hein. *South Africa Limits to Change - The Political Economy of Transition*. London and Cape Town: Zed Books and University of Cape Town Press, 1998 and 2001

Course Requirements:

Short paper:	30%
Take-home examination or longer research paper	40%
Class Participation:	30%
Total	<hr/> 100%

Due dates at a glance:

24 January to 6 March 2008
10 April 2008

Short paper: The short essay is an assignment exploring in greater depth any of the topics in the first six weeks of the course. It will not necessarily be the same topic of the seminar you facilitate. It should be 10-15 pages typed and double spaced. Be sure to include references and a bibliography. Criteria for assessment will include richness and imaginative treatment of substance, ***clear development of an argument***, precision of expression and style. **The paper will be due a week after the seminar in which your topic is discussed.**

The Take-Home Examination: The take-home paper is an essay-type examination consisting of two questions, each requiring answers of 7-10 pages ***each*** for a total of 14-20 pages, typed and double-spaced. It will be handed out in class on 3 April 2008 and is due in on 10 April 2008.

A Longer Paper (as an alternative to the take home). This option consists of a 15 to 20 page research paper on a related topic chosen in consultation with the professor well in advance of the due date. It is due 9 April 2008.

The Department's Style Guide: see www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf
Lateness in submission of assignments will be considered in arriving at a final grade.

Class Participation will be assessed 50% on general participation - attendance, preparation and quality of contributions to discussion - and 50% on performance in facilitating one of the seminars.

As this is an honours/graduate seminar, there will not be regular lectures from the instructor. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings critically.

Each student will also be responsible for introducing at least one session. Note carefully the instructions regarding this part of the course.

Responsibilities in Leading a Seminar: Instead of opening a seminar with a prepared statement, select about three or four important questions coming out of the central themes of the readings for each half of the group discussion. That's a total of eight questions. ***You must check these first with the instructor.*** If there are two students leading the seminar, it is advised (on grounds of cost) that you arrange to have a teleconferencing facility well in advance of this consultation. Revised questions are then distributed by email to the class well before the seminar and then as hard copy on the day of the seminar. The questions are meant to guide both reading and discussion.

Try to balance a very brief outline of your responses to these questions with your responsibilities as a group leader stimulating discussion. Your role is as a facilitator and NOT a presenter.

Course requirements in terms of written work and class participation are the same for undergraduate and graduate students, though a higher standard will be used for assessing graduate students. Graduate students will be required to do the optional readings.

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.

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.

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.

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

Duplicate Assignments: It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses.

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.

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.

Academic Accommodations:

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. 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 in-class test or CUTV midterm exam. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request.

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).

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.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

January 10 ORGANIZATION AND INTRODUCTION

PART I : APARTHEID AND ITS AFTERMATH: THE POLITICS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Session 1 THE HEYDAY OF THE APARTHEID STATE
January 17

Mulder, C.P. "The Rationale of Separate Development." *South African Dialogue*, ed. N.J. Rhodie, Johannesburg: McGraw, 1972, 49-63. (on reserve under book title)

O'Meara, Dan. *Forty Lost Years - The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*. Randburg and Athens: Ravan and Ohio University Press, 1996, chapters 1 and 3, 19-37, 60-82). (on reserve under book title)

Wolpe, Harold. "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa." *The Articulation of Modes of Production: Essays from Economy and Society*, ed. Harold Wolpe, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, 289-319. (on reserve under book title)

Optional:

Marais, Hein. "Origins of a Divided Society." *South Africa Limits to Change - The Political Economy of Transition*, London and Cape Town: Zed Books and University of Cape Town Press, 1998 and 2001, chapter 1, 7-36. (on reserve under book title)

Session 2 POPULAR RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID
January 24

Davis, Stephen M. "Journey to Soweto." *Apartheid's Rebels*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, chapter 1, 1-35 (and chapters 2-4 if possible). (on reserve under book title)

Marx, Anthony W. "National Revolt, Repression and Discord, 1984-1988." *Lessons of Struggle - South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, chapter 5, 147-188. (on reserve under book title)

Optional:

Marx, Anthony W. "Toward a Black Working-Class Movement and the Watershed of 1989-1990." *Lessons of Struggle*, chapter 6, 189-234. (Also chapters 2 and 3 on Black Consciousness if you have time). (on reserve under book title)

Session 3 APARTHEID IN CRISIS
January 31

O'Meara, Dan. *Forty Lost Years*. Parts II to IV (again, skip through and read as much as time affords - but try not to miss chapters **9**, 170-189; **14**, 272-287, **17**, 320-338; **19**, 354-366; and **21**, 384-393). (on reserve under book title)

Marais, Hein. "Managing the Crisis." *South Africa: Limits to Change*, chapter 2, 37-82. (copy)

Optional:

O'Meara, Dan. "The Politics of the Apartheid State." unpub. paper, June 2000, 23 pp. a useful summary (copy)

Morris, Mike. "State, Capital and Growth: The Political Economy of the National Question." *South Africa's Economic Crisis*, ed. Stephen Gelb, Cape Town: David Philip, 1991, chapter 2, 33-58. (copy)

Session 4 BROKERING A TRANSITION
February 7

Murray, Martin. "The Brokered Eclipse of White Minority Rule." and "Postscript: Entering the Political Kingdom." *The Revolution Deferred*, 179-215. (copy)

Marais, Hein. "The Shape of the Transition." and "The Evolution of ANC Economic Policy: A Short Walk to Orthodoxy." *South Africa: Limits to Change*, chapter 3, 83-99 and part of chapter 5, 1998 edition - 146-160 or 2001 edition - 122-139 (copy)

Williams, Paul and Taylor, Ian. "Neoliberalism and the Political Economy of the 'New' South Africa." *New Political Economy*, V, 1 (2000), 21-40. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Ellis, Stephen. "The Historical Significance of South Africa's Third Force." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXIV, 2 (June 1998), 261-299. (Carleton library online) highly recommended

Gumede, William Mervin. "Was the ANC Trumped on the Economy?" *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005, chapter 4, 67-95. (copy)

Session 5 SOUTH AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID - I
February 14

Southall, Roger. "Introduction: The ANC State, More Dysfunctional than Developmental?" *State of the Nation South Africa - 2007*, eds. Sakhela Buhlungu, John Daniel, Roger Southall & Jessica Lutchman, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007, 1-24. You can download this article from <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/freedownload.asp?id=2183>

Freund, Bill. "South Africa: The End of Apartheid and the Emergence of the 'BEE Elite'." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIV, 114 (December 2007), 661-678. (Carleton library online)

Southall, Roger. "The ANC for Sale? Money, Morality and Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa." paper for "African Transitions in a Global Age," conference in honour of Professor Douglas Anglin, 24 October 2007, 22 pp. (copy)

Crawford-Browne, Terry. "The Arms Deal Scandal." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXI, 100 (June 2004), 329-342. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Hart, Gillian. "Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIV, 111 (March 2007), 85-101. (Carleton library online)

February 21: Reading Week
Session 6 SOUTH AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID - II
February 28

Makgetla, Neva Seidman. "The Post-apartheid Economy." *Review of African Political Economy*,

XXXI, 100 (June 2004), 263-281. (Carleton library online) a bit dated so will be supplemented

Koelble, Thomas A. "Economic Policy in the Post Colony: South Africa Between Keynesian Remedies and Neoliberal Pain." *New Political Economy*, IX, 1 (March 2004), 57-78. (Carleton library online)

Naidoo, Prishani. "Struggles around the Commodification of Daily Life in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIV,111 (March 2007), 57-66. (Carleton library online)

Lahiff, Edward. "'Willing Buyer, Willing Seller': South Africa's Failed Experiment in Market-led Agrarian Reform." *Third World Quarterly*, XVIII, 8 (December 2007), 1577-1597. (Carleton library online)

Butler, Anthony. "South Africa's HIV/AIDS Policy, 1994-2004: How Can it Be Explained?" *African Affairs*, CIV, 417 (October 2005), 591-614. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Roberts, Benjamin. "'Empty Stomachs, Empty Pockets': Poverty and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *State of the Nation South Africa - 2004-2005*, eds, John Daniel, Roger Southall & Jessica Lutchman, Cape Town: HSRC, 2005, 479-509. web address: <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/freedownload.asp?id=2042>

PART II THE POLITICS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

Session 7 LIBERATION AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA March 6

Southall, Roger. "Democracy in Southern Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXX, 96 (June 2003), 255-272. (Carleton library online)

Good, Kenneth . "Democratization in Southern Africa: Barriers and Potentialities." *The Round Table*, XCVIII, 383 (January 2006), 79-93. (Carleton library online)

Melber, Henning. "From Controlled Change to Changed Control: The Case of Namibia." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXI, 2 (May 2003), 267-284. (Carleton library online)

Kibble, Steve. "Angola. Can the Politics of Disorder become the Politics of Democratization and Development?" *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXIII,109 (September 2006), 525-542. (Carleton library online)

Optional: Sogge, David. "Angola: Global "Good Governance" also Needed" FRIDE Working Paper 23, June 2006, 1-17. <http://www.tni.org/archives/sogge/angola.pdf>? 1-17

Session 8 BOTSWANA, DEMOCRACY & RESOURCE DEPENDENCY March 13

Acemoglu, Daron; Johnson, Simon and Robinson, James A. "An African Success Story: Botswana". Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Economics, Working Paper 01-37, July 2001, 33 pp. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=290791

Good, Kenneth and Taylor, Ian. "Presidential Succession in Botswana: No Model for Africa." seminar paper, 23 February 2005. 28 pp. (copy)

Good, Kenneth and Taylor, Ian. "Mounting Repression in Botswana." *The Round Table*, XCVI, 390 (June 2007), 275-278. (Carleton library online)

Good, Kenneth. "Resource Dependency and its Consequences: The Costs of Botswana's Shining Gems." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXIII, 1 (January 2005), 27-50. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Taylor, Ian and Mokhawa, Gladys. "Not Forever: Botswana, Conflict Diamonds and the Bushmen." *African Affairs*, CII, 407 (April 2003), 261-283. (Carleton library online)

Session 9 ZIMBABWE IN MELTDOWN - I

March 20

Raftopolous, Brian and Phimister Ian. "Zimbabwe Now: The Political Economy of Crisis and Coercion." *Historical Materialism*, XII, 4 (2004), 355-382. (copy)

Freeman, Linda. "The Battle over Meaning in the Zimbabwe Crisis." Marlea Clarke and Carolyn Bassett, eds., *'After National Liberation': Southern African Struggles Today*, (forthcoming, 2008), 27pp. (copy)

Ranger, Terence. "Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXX, 2 (June 2004), 215-234. (Carleton library online)

Kruger, Norma. "ZANU (PF) Strategies in General Elections, 1980-2000: Discourse and Coercion." *African Affairs*, CIV, 414 (January 2005), 1-34. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Scarnecchia, Timothy. The 'Fascist Cycle' in Zimbabwe 2000-2005. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXXII, 2 (June 2006), 221-237. (Carleton library online)

Session 10 ZIMBABWE IN MELTDOWN - II

March 27

Bond, Patrick. "Zimbabwe's Economic Crisis: Outwards vs. Inwards Development Strategy for Post-Nationalist Zimbabwe." *Labour, Capital and Society*, XXXIII, 2 (November 2000), 162-191.

(Carleton library online)

Brett, Edward A. "From Corporatism to Liberalization in Zimbabwe: Economic Policy Regimes and Political Crisis, 1980-1997." *International Political Science Review*, XXVI, 2 (January 2005), 91-106. (Carleton library online)

Sachikonye, Lloyd M. "From 'Growth with Equity' to 'Fast Track' Reform: Zimbabwe's Land Question." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXX, 96 (June 2003), 227-240. (Carleton library online)

Carmody, Pádraig and Taylor, Scott. "Industry and the Urban Sector in Zimbabwe's Political Economy." *African Studies Quarterly*, VII, 2 & 3, (2003), 28pp (Carleton library online)
<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v7/v7i2.htm>

Optional: Bratton, Michael and Masunungure, Eldred. "Popular Reactions to State Repression: Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe." *African Affairs*, CVI, 422 (January 2007), 21-45. (Carleton library online)

Week 11 **SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID**
April 3

Gibb, Richard. "Southern Africa in Transition - Prospects and Problems Facing Regional Integration." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XXXVI, 2 (June 1998), 287-306. (Carleton library online)

Nathan, Laurie. "SADC's Uncommon Approach to Common Security, 1992-2003." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXXII, 3 (September 2006), 605-622. (Carleton library online)

Alden, Chris and Mills, Soko. "South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: Hegemony and its Discontents." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLIII, 3 (September 2005), 367-392. (Carleton library online)

Daniel, John, Lutchman, Jessica and Comninos, Alec. "South Africa in Africa: Trends and Forecasts in a Changing African Political Economy." *State of the Nation South Africa - 2007* 508-532. <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/freedownload.asp?id=2183>

Optional:

Daniel, John & Lutchman, Jessica. "South Africa in Africa: Scrambling for Energy." *State of the Nation South Africa - 2005-2006*, Cape Town: HSRP, 2006, 484-509.
<http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/freedownload.asp?id=2109>