

**PSCI 4203A / PSCI 5203W**  
**SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID**  
Seminar: Thursdays 2:35 pm – 5:25 pm, C665 Loeb

**Instructor:** Dr. David Gillies  
**Office:** B643  
**Phone:** 816 2955  
**e-mail:** DavidGillies@rogers.com

**Office hours: Thursday: 1:30 to 2:30 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 survey the impact of globalization on selected countries in southern Africa through debates on managing the economy and the significance of the multi-party system and differing conceptions of democracy. We will also examine state capacity and performance in meeting key development challenges. These include achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in health and education, natural resource management and land tenure, HIV/AIDS, and promoting good governance, human rights, and democratic institutions and practices.

Political economy will be the primary analytical framework. Other research traditions and the contemporary focus on governance, human rights and democracy will provide a counterpoint to the political economy approach.

**Books ordered for the course:**

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, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2001.

Daniel, John; Habib, Adam; and Southall, Roger, eds. *State of the Nation - South Africa 2003-2004*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2003.

**Course Requirements:**

Term essay	60%
Class Participation:	
Seminar Animation/Participation	20%
Group assignment	20%
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Total	100%

**Term essay:** The term essay is an assignment exploring in greater depth any of the topics in the course outline chosen in consultation with the instructor. **It is due on March 16, 2006.** It should be 10 – 15 pages typed and double spaced for undergraduate students and 15 – 20 pages typed and double spaced for graduate students. Please note that for the term paper, graduate students will be expected to demonstrate a higher level of analysis and a more detailed paper. 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. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of a letter grade per week (seven days) late. (ie. A “B” paper would become a “B-“ paper if it was seven days.)

**Class Participation** will be assessed by three elements: general participation (attendance and quality of contributions to discussion), performance in leading part of one of the seminars, and preparation and presentations in a group assignment. As this is an honours/graduate seminar, there will be minimal lectures from the instructor. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings critically. Each student will also be responsible for introducing assigned readings and topics in at least one session.

**Responsibilities in Leading Part of 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 s/he is assigned as the basis for group discussion. **You must check these first with the instructor. Have these ready for distribution either as hard copy in class or email copy a week before 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. Depending on class size and preference, the second half of the seminar may break down into smaller groups before reassembling for a final plenary discussion.

**Group Assignment:** Students will be asked to join one of several groups to develop a group research and presentation assignment on a selected national or sub-regional development challenge. Topics will be selected in consultation with the instructor. Research and presentations will require input from all group members. Grading will be on a group rather than individual basis. **The group assignments will be presented on February 16, 2006.**

**Course requirements** are the same for undergraduate and graduate students, though a higher standard will be used for assessing graduate students. To obtain credit, students must meet the course requirements for attendance, group assignments, and written work. A grade of "F" will be assigned where work is incomplete.

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

## **COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS**

**Session 1**  
**January 5**

### **ORGANIZATION AND INTRODUCTION**

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

**Session 2**  
**January 12**

**THE APARTHEID STATE AND POPULAR RESISTANCE**

- 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2001, chapter 1, 7-36. (text)
- Mulder, C.P. "The Rationale of Separate Development." *South African Dialogue*, ed. N.J. Rhoodie, Johannesburg: McGraw, 1972, 49-63. (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)
- 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, Parts I and II (skip through and read as much as time affords - but try not to miss chapters 1, 3 and 9-12). (text)
- Davis, Stephen M. "Journey to Soweto." *Apartheid's Rebels*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, chapter 1, 1-35. (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)
- Murray, Martin. "Civic Associations and Popular Democracy." *The Revolution Deferred - The Painful Birth of Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso, 1994, chapter 8, 167-178. (on reserve under book title)

**Session 3**  
**January 19**

**APARTHEID IN CRISIS**

- O'Meara, Dan. *Forty Lost Years*. Parts III and IV (again, skip through and read as much as time affords - but try not to miss chapters 13, 14, 17, 19, 21, and 22). (text)
- 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. (on reserve under book title)
- Marais, Hein. "Managing the Crisis." *South Africa: Limits to Change*, chapter 2, 37-82. (text)
- Gelb, Stephen. "South Africa' Economic Crisis: An Overview." *South Africa's Economic Crisis*, chapter 1, 1-32. (on reserve under book title)

**Session 4**  
**January 26**

**BROKERING A TRANSITION**

Ginsburg, David. "The Democratisation of South Africa: Transition Theory Tested." *Transformation*, 29 (1996), 74-102. (copy)

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

Marais, Hein. *South Africa: Limits to Change*, chapters 3, 5 and 6, 83-99, 122-206. (text)

Ellis, Stephen. "The Africanisation of South Africa, 1994-1999." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLII, 2 (June 2004), 189-219. (online Carleton Library)

**Session 5**  
**February 2**

**SOUTH AFRICA - TEN YEARS AFTER APARTHEID - I**

Maré, Gerhard. "The State of the State: Contestation and Race Re-assertion in a Neoliberal Terrain." *State of the Nation - South Africa 2003-2004*. John Daniel, Adam Habib and Roger Southall, eds. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2003, chapter 1, 25-52. (text)

Southall, Roger. "The State of Party Politics: Struggles within the Tripartite Alliance and the decline of opposition." *State of the Nation - South Africa 2003-2004*. chapter 2, 53-77. (text)

Lodge, Tom. "The ANC and the State of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLII, 2 (June 2004), 189-219. (online Carleton Library)

Mangcu, Xolela. "The State of Race Relations in Post-apartheid South Africa." *State of the Nation - South Africa 2003-2004*. chapter 4, 105-117. (text)

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

**Session 6**  
**February 9**

**SOUTH AFRICA - TEN YEARS AFTER APARTHEID - II**

Marais, Hein. "The Logic of Expediency - Post-apartheid Shifts in Macroeconomic Policy." *Thabo Mbeki's World - the Politics and Ideology of the South African President*, Sean Jacobs and Richard Calland eds. London & Pietermaritzburg: Zed & University of Natal Press, 2002, 83-103. (on reserve under book title)

Makgetla, Neva Seidman. "The Post-apartheid Economy." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXI, 100 (June 2004), 263-281. (online Carleton Library)

Nattrass, Nicoli and Seekings, Jeremy. "Democracy and Distribution in Highly Unequal Societies: The Case of South Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XXXIX, 3 (2001), 471-498. (online Carleton Library)

Southall, Roger. "The ANC & Black Capitalism in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXI, 100 (June 2004), 313-328. (online Carleton Library)

Hall, Ruth. "A Political Economy of Land Reform in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXI, 100 (June 2004), 213-227. (online Carleton Library)

**Session 7**

**February 16**

**PRESENTATIONS ON SECTORAL THEMES**

Students will form five groups at the beginning of the course and, in consultation with the instructor, prepare presentations on key national or transborder development challenges. These may include, for example, health and education, HIV/AIDS, crime, gender, human rights, and land tenure and natural resource management. Teams will be required to provide a short statement of the development problem, and briefly assess state capacity to set policy and implement programmes to address the challenge.

Web-based resources such as regional think tanks, United Nations, World Bank, and the 2005, and 2006 editions of the State of the Nation – South Africa provide up-to-date background materials to prepare the group presentations.

**February 23: Reading Week**

**PART II**

**AFTER APARTHEID: THE POLITICS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA**

**Session 8**

**March 2**

**LIBERATION AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

Saul, John S. "For Fear of Being Condemned as Old Fashioned: Liberal Democracy vs Popular Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXIV, 73 (September 1997), 339-353. (on reserve)

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

Taylor, Ian. "As Good as it Gets? Botswana's Democratic Development". *Limits to Liberation in Southern Africa*, Henning Melber, ed., Cape Town: Human Science Research Council, 2003, 72-92. (copy)

Bauer, Gretchen. "Namibia in the First Decade of Independence - How Democratic?" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXVII, 1 (March 2001), 33-55. (online Carleton Library)

Southall, Roger. "Between Competing Paradigms: Post-colonial Legitimacy in Lesotho." *Limits to Liberation in Southern Africa*, Henning Melber, ed., Cape Town: Human Science Research Council, 2003, 115-133. (copy)

**Session 9**  
**March 9**

**ZIMBABWE IN MELTDOWN - I**

- Raftopolous, Brian. "Beyond the House of Hunger: Democratic Struggle in Zimbabwe - Parts One and Two." *Review of African Political Economy*, 54 (July 1992), 59-74 and 55 (November 1992), 57-66. (copy)
- Kruger, Norma. "Electoral Patterns in Zanu (PF)' s Incendiary Discourse and Organized Violence," *African Affairs* (forthcoming) January 2005 (copy)
- Alexander, Peter. Zimbabwean Workers, the MDC and the 2000 Election, *Review of African Political Economy*, XXVII, 85 (September 2000), 385-406. (copy)
- Chattopadhyay, Rupak. "Zimbabwe: Structural Adjustment, Destitution & Food Insecurity." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXVII, 84 (June 2000), 307-316. (copy)
- Moyo, Sam. "The Political Economy of Land Acquisition and Redistribution in Zimbabwe - 1990-1999," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXVI, 1 (March 2000), 5-28. (online Carleton Library)

**Session 10**  
**March 16**

**ZIMBABWE IN MELTDOWN - II**

- Raftopolous, Brian and Phimister Ian. "Zimbabwe Now: The Political Economy of Crisis and Coercion," *Historical Materialism*, 2004 (forthcoming) 26pp (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. (online Carleton Library)
- Carmody, Pádraig and Taylor, Scott. "Industry and the Urban Sector in Zimbabwe's Political Economy," *African Studies Quarterly*, VII, 2 & 3, (November 2003), 38pp (online Carleton Library)
- 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. (online Carleton Library)

**Session 11**  
**March 23**

**DEMOCRACY AND ADJUSTMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE**

- Hanlon, Joseph. *Peace Without Profit - How the IMF Blocks Rebuilding in Mozambique*. Oxford and Portsmouth, N.H.: James Currey and Heinemann, 1996, chapters 1-3, 1-37; chapters 10-17, 89-149. (on reserve)
- Harrison, Graham. "Corruption as Boundary Politics: The State, Democratization and

Mozambique's Unstable Liberalization." *Third World Quarterly*, XX, 3 (June 1999), 537-550. (online Carleton Library)

Hanlon, Joseph. "How Northern Donors Promote Corruption - Tales from the New Mozambique." *The Corner House Briefing*, 33 (October 2004), 12 pp. (copy)

Hanlon, Joseph. "Bank Corruption Becomes Site of Struggle in Mozambique." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXIX, 91 (March 2002), 53-72. (copy)

Hanlon, Joseph. "Power Without Responsibility: the World Bank & Mozambican Cashew Nuts." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXVII, 83 (March 2000), 29-45. (copy)

## **Session 12                      SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID** **March 30**

Daniel, John; Naidoo Varusha; and Naidu, Sanusha. "The South Africans have arrived: Post-Apartheid Corporate Expansion into Africa." *State of the Nation - South Africa 2003-2004*. chapter 17, 368-390. (text)

Carmody Patrick. "Between Globalisation and Post-Apartheid - the Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXVIII, 2 (June 2002), 255-275. (online Carleton Library)

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

McCarthy, Colin. The Southern African Customs Union in Transition. *African Affairs*, CII, 409 (October 2003), 605-630. (online Carleton Library)

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### **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. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

**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: [www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf](http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf)

**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*.

**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.