

**PSCI 4203B/5203W**  
**Southern Africa after Apartheid**  
**Wednesdays 14:30-17:30 EST**  
**This course will be held remotely online.**

I General information

Instructor: C. Brown

On-line Office Hours: Tuesday 9:30-11:30 EST

Email: [chris.brown@carleton.ca](mailto:chris.brown@carleton.ca)

N.B.: Students are encouraged to use the “Ask the Prof” forum on the course webpage in CuLearn for all questions related to course content and administration, rather than my Carleton email address. This allows everyone in the class to see the answer to your question.

II Course description

This course examines the politics of southern Africa. We will devote half the course to South Africa itself, while the balance of the course will consider the southern African region, focusing on two states within it, Zimbabwe and Botswana. 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 the 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?

III Course Format

This course is offered online, in a **hybrid** format. This means that there are some components of the course that students are expected to complete on their own time (asynchronous) and other components that will take place during the formally scheduled class time (synchronous).

The following course components are offered **asynchronously**:

- Readings
- Videos and other media
- Evaluations

All course **readings** are available electronically via Ares, the library reserve reading system. Ares can be accessed through the course webpage in CuLearn. For some weeks, there are also **videos or other media**; these will also be posted on the CuLearn webpage at least one week in advance. **Evaluations** are discussed below.

The following course components are offered **synchronously**:

- Class discussion
- Office hours

The weekly **class discussion** will be held during the scheduled class time, Wednesday, 14:30-17:30 EST, via zoom. Students should complete the asynchronous components for the week (readings, media) before the regularly scheduled class time. I will begin each class with a short (10-15 minutes) overview of the themes and issues for the week, followed by class discussion. Students are expected to attend the class discussion. There are three full hours available for class discussion, though I expect that most weeks the discussion will not last that long. I will hold **office hours** Tuesday 9:30-11:30 EST, during which time I will be available to answer whatever questions students may have regarding course content or course administration. Students are not required to attend the office hours if they do not wish to do so.

#### IV Technology Requirements

This course will be held remotely online. Students should have access to a desktop, laptop or tablet computer to participate in the course. A phone is not sufficient. If you do not have the required technology, Carleton has put in place a process to provide students with up to \$500 in funds for technology needs (computer, internet hotspot, accessories). Students who are requesting technology are to email the [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca) email. A needs-based assessment will be done and, if qualified, funds will be provided.

All course materials can be accessed, and all assignments submitted, via the course webpage in CuLearn. Weekly class discussion will be held Wednesday, 14:30-17:30 EST; students should be prepared to attend these discussions, whatever time zone they are in. These class discussions will be held via Zoom; students should download this app to their computer and be comfortable using it.

#### V Learning outcomes

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- *Describe* the nature of the apartheid system in South Africa and its impact on the lives of ordinary citizens throughout the southern African region;
- *Analyze* the relationship between capitalism and racism in southern Africa;
- *Explain* the continued legacy of apartheid in South Africa and the region;
- *Analyze* contemporary struggles over democracy and economic justice in South Africa and the region; and
- *Apply* what they have learned in a major research paper addressing some aspect of politics in contemporary southern Africa.

#### VI Evaluation at a glance

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Due Date</u>	<u>Weight</u>
Class Participation	Weeks 2-12	20%
Reading Reviews	2 by March 3; 2 by April 7	4 x 5% = 20%
Research Paper	April 7	30%
Take-home Final Exam	Scheduled during the formal exam period	30%
<b>Total</b>		<b>100%</b>

## VII Evaluation in detail

This is a seminar course and **class participation** is a key component of your grade. Students are expected to attend the on-line discussions each week via zoom. Students should prepare ahead of time for the discussions by considering what themes and issues are raised by the readings and what questions they want to ask. Students are expected to participate in the class discussions and will be graded on their contributions, though the **quality** of your interventions, not their **quantity**, is what counts. A good intervention could advance the discussion in a number of ways: for instance, by bringing to bear relevant theoretical points from the readings, by bringing to bear relevant data or real-world examples, by asking probing questions, or by advancing new arguments or viewpoints. Unsupported opinions do not constitute a good intervention. Students should endeavour to respond to, and engage with, each other; this is a class discussion. Class participation is worth 20% of your grade. Of this, half (10%) will be for attendance, while the other half (10%) will be for the quality of your interventions, as assessed by me.

The **reading reviews** are brief critical reviews of the assigned readings. They should include a succinct summary of the main argument(s) made by the author(s). They should also include your critical analysis of the readings. In your critical analysis, questions you may wish to consider include, but are not limited to, the following: What is the main theoretical contribution of this article? How does it fit into the overall themes of the course and/or the specific theme of the week? How well does the article integrate theory and empirical data? What do you consider to be the main strengths and weaknesses of the article? The reviews must be no more than one page in length; longer reviews will not be accepted. Students may choose any four readings on the syllabus, though two must come from the first unit and two must come from the second unit, i.e. students must complete two reviews by March 3 and the other two reviews by April 7. Reviews must be submitted electronically via the course webpage in CuLearn and are due at the beginning of the class in which the readings are to be discussed; reviews of readings that have already been discussed in class will not be accepted. Each reading review is worth 5%, for a total of 20% on the reading reviews.

The **research paper** is due before class on Wednesday, April 7. Students may write on any topic related to the politics of southern Africa in the post-apartheid period. The paper must display a sound grasp of relevant themes and debates discussed in the course and must be based on significant library research. You must clear your choice of topic with me by Wednesday, March 10. As a guideline, the research paper should be approximately 15 pages double-spaced, though quality, not length, will be the criterion for evaluation. The research paper must be submitted electronically via the course webpage in CuLearn. Any essay received after class on the due date will be considered late. A late penalty of one third of one grade point (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 grade points (e.g. from A+ to C+).

The **final exam** will be a take-home exam and will be scheduled during the formal examination period, April 16-27. It will cover the entire course. More details on the format of the exam will be given in class closer to the date.

This is a cross-listed undergraduate/graduate course. The course requirements for undergraduate and graduate students are the same, though graduate students will be graded to a higher standard.

## VIII Course schedule

### **Week 1 – Course Introduction (13/1)**

This week will be for introductions: of the course instructor, of the students in the class, and of the course.

There is no assigned reading.

### **UNIT 1 – SOUTH AFRICA**

### **Week 2 – Apartheid: Practice (20/1)**

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

International Defence and Aid Fund, *Apartheid: The Facts*, 1983, Preface and Ch. 1-10, pp. 7-103.

Students are also asked to watch the 1974 BBC documentary, *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, which was shot clandestinely in South Africa. The link is available on the CuLearn webpage.

### **Week 3 – Apartheid: Theory (27/1)**

How do we comprehend apartheid theoretically? What was the relationship between racism and capitalism? We will look at liberal and Marxist responses to these questions, written at the height of apartheid.

M. Lipton, *Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1984*, 1985, Ch. 1-3, pp. 2-83.

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 W. Beinart and S. Dubow, *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa*, 1995, Ch. 3, pp.72-102

### **Week 4 – Resistance: Organizations, Ideologies, Tactics (3/2)**

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?

R. Suttner, "The African National Congress Centenary: a long and difficult journey," *International Affairs*, July 2012, 88(4), pp. 719-738.

D. Hirschmann, "The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, March 1990, 28(1), pp. 1-22.

N. Mandela, "Rivonia Trial Speech," available at: <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/mandela.htm>

S. Biko, "Black Souls in White Skins?" available at [https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf\\_files/FtSep84.1683.7118.001.004.Sep1984.14.pdf](https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/FtSep84.1683.7118.001.004.Sep1984.14.pdf)

### **Week 5 – Transition to the “New” South Africa (10/2)**

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? And did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission establish either?

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.

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

E. Rose, "Twenty Years Since Democracy in South Africa: Reconsidering the Contributions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Melbourne Journal of Politics*, 2015, 37, pp. 61-77.

M. Mamdani, "Amnesty or Impunity? A Preliminary Critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC)," *Diacritics*, Autumn - Winter, 2002, 32(3/4), pp. 32-59

### **Week 6 – Economic Restructuring? (24/2)**

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?

N. Nattrass, "Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy," *African Affairs*, July 1994, 93(372), pp. 343-359.

Freund, William. 2013. "Swimming against the tide: the Macro-Economic Research Group in the South African transition 1991–94." *Review of African Political Economy*, 40 (138), pp. 519-536.

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.

B. Fine, "Assessing South Africa's New Growth Path: Framework for Change?" *Review of African Political Economy*, 2012, 39(134), pp. 551-568.

### **Week 7 – Democratic Struggles (3/3)**

Has democracy been consolidated in South Africa? What are the implications of the ANC's electoral hegemony? Is the ANC indeed hegemonic?

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.

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.

H. Kotzè and C. García-Rivero, "The Evolution of the Middle Class During Nearly Two Decades of Democracy in South Africa," *Politikon*, 2018, 45(3), pp. 387-407.

S. Ashman, T. Ngwane and Z. Levinson, "South Africa's ANC: The Beginning of the End," *Catalyst*, 2017, 1(2). Available at <https://catalyst-journal.com/vol1/no2/anc-ashman-levenson-ngwane>

S. Booyesen, "Hegemonic Struggles of the African National Congress: From Cacophony of Morbid Symptoms to Strained Renewal," 2018, *Africa Spectrum*, 53(2), pp. 5-35.

### **UNIT 2 – SOUTHERN AFRICA**

### **Week 8 – The Southern African Region During the Apartheid Era (10/3)**

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? What was the appropriate role of outside actors?

L. Bowman, "The Subordinate State System of Southern Africa," *International Studies Quarterly*, Sept. 1968, 12(3), pp. 231-261.

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

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

C. Brown, "Regional Conflict in Southern Africa and the Role of Third Party Mediation," *International Journal*, 45(2), Spring 1990, 334-359.

J. Hanlon, "Post-Apartheid South Africa and Its Neighbours," *Third World Quarterly*, April 1987, 9(2), pp. 437-449.

### **Week 9 – Zimbabwe: Post-Independence Politics (17/3)**

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?

N. Kriger, "ZANU (PF) Strategies in General Elections, 1980–2000: Discourse and Coercion," *African Affairs*, 2005, 104(414), pp. 1-34.

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

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

D. Potts, "'Restoring Order'? Operation Murambatsvina and the Urban Crisis in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, June 2006, 32(2), pp. 273-291.

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 – Zimbabwe: The Land Question (24/3)**

Perhaps the defining issue of post-Independence politics in Zimbabwe is the land question. What was the Fast-Track Land Reform, how was it justified and implemented, and what were its consequences?

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

D. Moore, "Is the Land the Economy and the Economy the Land? Primitive Accumulation in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2001, 19 (2), pp. 253-266.

S. Moyo, "The Land Occupation Movement and Democratisation in Zimbabwe: Contradictions of Neoliberalism," *Millennium*, 2001, 30 (2), pp. 311-330.

J. Muzondidya, "Jambanja: Ideological Ambiguities in the Politics of Land and Resource Ownership in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2007, 33 (2), pp. 325-341.

B. Rutherford, "Shifting the Debate on Land Reform, Poverty and Inequality in Zimbabwe: An Engagement with Zimbabwe's Land Reform: Myths & Realities," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2012, 30 (1), p. 147–157.

### **Week 11 – Zimbabwe Today (31/3)**

We will look at the 2017 coup that overthrew Robert Mugabe and politics in Zimbabwe today.

B. Rutherford, "Mugabe's Shadow: Limning the penumbrae of post-coup Zimbabwe," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 2018, 52(1), pp. 53-68.

D. Moore, "A Very Zimbabwean Coup: November 13-24 2017 – Context, Event, Prospects," *Transformation*, 2018, 97, pp. 1-29.

## Week 12 -- Botswana (7/4)

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

J.L and J. Comaroff, "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.

P. Molutsi and J. D. Holm, "Developing Democracy When Civil Society Is Weak: The Case of Botswana," *African Affairs*, 89(356), July 1990, pp. 323-340.

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

C. Brown, "Botswana Votes 2019: Two-Party Competition and the Khama Factor," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46(4), pp. 703-722.

E. Botlhale, "Sustaining the developmental state and moving towards a developed state in Botswana," *Development Southern Africa*, 34(1), January 2017, pp. 90-104.

### IX Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: [https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19\\_Self-declaration.pdf](https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf)

### X Academic Accommodations

#### Pregnancy

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks

before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

### Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](http://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

### Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](http://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)

### Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>

### Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).