

Political Science 4203/5203
SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

Course Director: Prof. Linda Freeman
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Course hours: Tuesday: 11:30 am - 2:30 pm
Office hours: Tuesday: 2:30 pm - 3:30 pm
Thursday: 2:30 pm - 3:30 pm

Course Description:

The end of apartheid has been central to change in Southern Africa in the contemporary period. The first half of the course is focused on South Africa - beginning with the origins of the present in the nature of the apartheid state, the forces bringing apartheid to an end, and the shaping of the transition into the post-apartheid period. The course will then examine the principal issues of the new South Africa, including the contested nature of the state, the difficulties of socio-economic transformation, and the intensification of popular struggles over current conditions.

The second half of the course will examine the post-apartheid era in the region, focusing on Botswana, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In each case, we will explore the difficulties of transformation and democracy where mineral riches co-exist with poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Textbook to purchase from campus bookstore:

Marais, Hein. *South Africa - Pushed to the Limit - The Political Economy of Change*. London: Zed Books, 2011 (**required**)

Course Assessment will be based on:

Due dates at a glance:

One short critical paper	30%	24 January to 28 February 2017
Take home examination or a research paper	40%	11 April 2017 4 April 2017
Class Participation	30%	
Total	100%	

Students must complete all elements of the course to receive a passing grade.

One short critical paper: Each student will be required to write one short paper of 7-10 typed double spaced pages (using just one side of the page and with a title page) **CRITICALLY ASSESSING** the issues raised in one of the seminars from weeks 1 to 5. This paper is due the week after the seminar chosen as your subject and will not necessarily be the same topic as the seminar you facilitate. Essays should be submitted either in class or during office hours and will be returned within two weeks of receiving them.

Note that this exercise is not intended as a review of the weekly articles or as a descriptive synthesis of them. Instead, you are asked to develop an argument about the theme of the seminar which demonstrates mastery of the assigned material. The articles will constitute your bibliography.

Criteria for assessment will include richness and imaginative treatment of substance, **clear development of an argument**, precision of expression and style. Spelling, grammar and syntax will constitute elements of style. Students may choose their own citation format.

Lateness in submission of assignments will be considered in arriving at a final grade but no fixed penalty will be assigned.

The Take-Home Examination: The take-home examination is an essay-type examination consisting of one question with choice between topics. The answer will be 10-15 pages in length typed and double spaced. **The take-home will be handed out in class on 4 April 2017 and will be due on 11 April 2017.** It will be the product of individual not group work.

A Longer Paper (as an alternative to the take home). This option consists of a 10 to 15 page research paper on a related topic ***chosen in consultation with the professor well in advance of the due date.*** It is due on 4 April 2017.

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 be no regular lectures from the instructor. The point of a seminar is to provide a forum for students to exchange their views. In order to make the class a success, students are expected to have done the assigned readings prior to class and to come prepared to discuss them critically.

Each student will also be responsible for facilitating 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 through a teleconference on Friday afternoon at 4:00 pm. A draft set of questions should be sent to the professor no later than 3:00 pm.** If there are two students leading the seminar, it is advised that you arrange to have a teleconferencing facility well in advance of the consultation with the professor.

Revised questions are then distributed by email to the class on Friday night and then hard copies 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.

The university requires that the following regulations are inserted in all course outlines:

Submission and Return of Term Work:

Papers must be handed directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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.*

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
Percentage					
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

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 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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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).

Official Course Outline:

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.

Carleton E-mail Accounts:

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society:

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <http://facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Academic Accommodations:

For Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and 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 me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

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

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

As preparation for this section of the course, please watch *Mandela: Son of Africa Father of a Nation*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_eYnCrh6gU The film provides what has been called the “heroic meta-narrative” which sets the stage for the current period. If you have time, also watch: *Mandela - Long Walk to Freedom*. Google the title.

January 10 ORGANIZATION AND INTRODUCTION

Week 1 THE HEYDAY OF THE APARTHEID STATE

January 17

Watch: “Luister” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF3rTBQTQk4> - a documentary on the persistence of apartheid in Stellenbosch university.

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 & online under the Ares system) This is an article providing the case for apartheid by one of the leaders of the National Party.

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 & online under the Ares system)

Marais, Hein. "The Making of a Polarised Society". *South Africa - Pushed to the Limit – The Political Economy of Change*. London: Zed Books, 2011, Chapter 1, 7-34, **text**

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 & online under the Ares system)

Week 2
January 24

APARTHEID IN CRISIS

Watch *Cry Freedom*. Google the title.

Marais, Hein. "Saving the System". *South Africa: Pushed to the Limit*, **text**, chapter 2, 39-66.

O'Meara, Dan. *Forty Lost Years*. chapters **9**, 170-189 and **17**, 320-338 (on reserve under book title & online under the Ares system)

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

Optional:

Suttner, Raymond. "The African National Congress Centenary: A Long and Difficult Journey". *International Affairs*, LXXXVIII, 4 (July 2012), 719-738. (Carleton library online)

Week 3
January 31

BROKERING A TRANSITION

Films: (i) *End Game* (2009). covers secret discussions which preceded the formal transition negotiations in South Africa. A head's up that there are other 2009 movies with the same title. <http://putlockers.ch/watch-end-game-online-free-putlocker.html>

(ii) *Bang Bang Club*, gives a portrayal of a group of photojournalists covering the war in South Africa during the transition period 1990-4. You need a strong stomach to watch it. So be prudent. Google the title

Murray, Martin. "The Brokered Eclipse of White Minority Rule". and "Postscript: Entering the Political Kingdom". *The Revolution Deferred*. London: Verso, 1994, 179-215. (on reserve under book title & online under the Ares system)

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)

Marais, Hein. "Sticking to the Rules - The Evolution of Post-Apartheid Economic Policy". *South Africa: Pushed to the Limit*, chapter 4, 97-120. **text**

Bond, Patrick. "The Mandela Years in Power". *Counterpunch*, 6-8 December 2013. <http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/12/06/the-mandela-years-in-power/>

Optional: Klein, Naomi. "Democracy Born in Chains - South Africa's Constricted Freedom". *The Shock Doctrine - the Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Toronto. Alfred A Knopf, 2007, 233-261. (on reserve under book title & online under the Ares system) a readable account

628-636. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Alexander, Peter. "Marikana Commission of Inquiry: From Narratives Towards History". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XLII, 5 (2016), 815-839. (Carleton library online)

February 21

READING WEEK

Week 6 THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE: DEVELOPMENTAL OR NEOLIBERAL

February 28

Marais, Hein. "A South African Developmental State". *South Africa: Pushed to the Limit*, chapter 11, 338-356. **text**

Von Holdt, Karl. "Nationalism, Bureaucracy and the Developmental State: The South African Case". *South African Review of Sociology*, XLI, 4 (April 2010), 4-24. (Carleton library online)

Karriem, Abdulrazak and Hoskins, Mark. "From the RDP to the NDP: A Critical Appraisal of the Developmental State, Land Reform, and Rural Development in South Africa". *Politikon*, XLIII, 3 (2016), 325-340. (Carleton library online)

Segatti, Aurelia and Pons-Vignon, Nicolas. "Stuck in Stabilization? South Africa's Post-Apartheid Macro-economic Policy Between Ideological Conversion and Technocratic Capture". *Review of African Political Economy*, XL, 138 (December 2013), 537-552. (Carleton library online)

Segatti, Aurelia and Pons-Vignon, Nicolas. "'The Art of Neoliberalism': Accumulation, Institutional Change and Social Order Since the End of Apartheid". *Review of African Political Economy*, XL, 138 (December 2013), 507-515. (Carleton library online)

PART II THE POLITICS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

Week 7 BOTSWANA, DEMOCRACY & RESOURCE DEPENDENCY

March 7

Good, Kenneth and Taylor, Ian. "Botswana: A Minimalist Democracy". *Democratization*, XV, 4 (August 2008), 750-763. (Carleton library online)

Good, Kenneth. "Autocracy, Insecurity and Pre-Modernity in Botswana". *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, LXVIII, 3 (July 2010), 348-367. (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), 27-45. (Carleton library online)

Debate: Hillbom, Ellen. "Botswana: A Development-Oriented Gate-Keeping State". *African Affairs*, CXI 442 (January 2012), 67-89. Taylor, Ian. "Botswana as a 'Development-Oriented Gate-Keeping State'". *African Affairs*, CXI, 444 (July 2012), 466-476. Hillbom, Ellen. "Botswana: A Development-Oriented Gate-Keeping State - A Reply to Ian Taylor". *African*

Affairs, CXI, 444 (July 2012), 477-482. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Ulriksen, Marianne S. "Mineral Wealth and Limited Redistribution - Social Transfers and Taxation in Botswana". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, (31 October 2016), 1-17. (in "latest articles") <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2016.1246> (Carleton library online)

Week 8 ANGOLA, OIL AND THE "RESOURCE CURSE"

March 14

Sogge, David. "Angola - 'Failed' but 'Successful'". FRIDE Working Paper 81, April 2009, 1-25. <http://www.fride.org/publication/599/angola> or Google the title.

Pearce, Justin. "Contesting the Past in Angolan Politics". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XL1,1 (January 2015), 103-119,

Soares De Oliveira, Ricardo. "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola". *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLIX, 2 (June 2011), 287-310. (Carleton library online)

Soares De Oliveira, Ricardo. "Business Success, Angola Style: Post-colonial Politics and the Rise and Rise of Sonangol". *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLV, 4 (December 2007), 595-615. (Carleton library online)

Optional: Cain, Allan. "African Urban fantasies: Past Lessons and Emerging Realities." *Environment & Urbanization*, XXVI, 1 (2014), 1-7 (to circulate).

Week 9 MOZAMBIQUE - CONTEST AND COLLUSION

March 21

Saul, John S. "Mozambique: Not then but Now." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXVIII, 127 (March 2011), 93-101. (Carleton library online)

De Renzio, Paulo and Hanlon, Joseph. "Contested Sovereignty in Mozambique - The Dilemmas of Aid Dependence." Managing Aid Dependency Project, GEG Working Paper 2007/25, January 2007, 21pp. http://geg-dev.nsms.ox.ac.uk/sites/geg/files/De%20Renzio%20Hanlon_GEG%20WP%202007_25.pdf

Hanlon, Joseph and Smart, Teresa. "Cashew: From Disaster to Export Model." *Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique?* Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2008, 36-50. (on reserve under book title and & online under the Ares system)

Joe Hanlon, "Declaring victory in the 20 year war with the World Bank over cashew", *Club of Mozambique*, 15 December 2016, 1p. <http://clubofmozambique.com/news/declaring-victory-20-year-war-world-bank-cashew-hanlon/>

Hanlon, Joseph. "Following the Donor-Designed Path to Mozambique's \$2.2. Billion Secret Debt Deal." *Third World Quarterly*, 19 October 2016, 1-15. ("latest articles") (Carleton library online) <http://www.tandfonline.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2016.1241140>

Mason, Douglas. "After Mozambique's spending, the reckoning". *The Africa Report*, 16 February 2016, 5 pp. <http://www.theafricareport.com/Southern-Africa/after-mozambiques-spending-the-reckoning.html>

"Secret security debts devastate economy". *Africa Confidential*, LVII, 10 (13th May 2016), 6pp. (Carleton library online)

"Frelimo's ostrich plan". *Africa Confidential*, LVII, 14 (8 July 2016), 3pp. (Carleton library online)

Guilengue, Fredson. "SADC and the conflict in Mozambique: Quiet or absent diplomacy?" *Pambazuka News*, #784 (21 July 2016), 5pp. <http://www.pambazuka.org/human-security/sadc-and-conflict-mozambique-quiet-or-absent-diplomacy>

Week 10 **ZIMBABWE - THE POLITICS OF MELTDOWN**
March 28

Please watch: Zimbabwe: State of Denial - a film by Rageh Omaar for *Al Jazeera*.
<http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/zimbabwe-state-denial>

Mugabe and the White African - a portrayal of land expropriation and of resistance by former white commercial farmers. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7psV-jald54>

Mlambo, Alois. "Becoming Zimbabwe or Becoming Zimbabwean: Identity, Nationalism and State-Building". *Africa Spectrum*, XLVIII, 1 (January 2013), 49-67. (Carleton library online)

Freeman, Linda. "A Parallel Universe - Competing Interpretations of Zimbabwe's Crisis". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXXII, 3 (September 2014), 349-366. (Carleton library online)

Saunders, Richard. "Geologies of Power: Blood Diamonds, Security Politics and Zimbabwe's Troubled Transition". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXXII, 3 (October 2014) 378-394. (Carleton library online)

Mandaza, Ibbo. "The Zanu PF Congress: The triumph of the securocrat state". *NewZimbabwe.com*, 13 December 2014. 7pp, <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/news-19421-Analysis+Zanu+PF+and+triumph+of+securocracy/news.aspx>

Boynton, Graham. "Inside Mugabe's Zimbabwe: as the tyrant totters towards decrepitude, his country slides into famine". *Newsweek magazine*, 16 July 2015, 7 pp. <http://europe.newsweek.com/inside-mugabes-zimbabwe-tyrant-totter-towards-decrepitude-his-country-slides-into-famine-330212>

Tinhu, Simukai. "Is collapse of Zanu PF inevitable?" *The Zimbabwe Independent*, 22 January 2016, 4pp <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/2016/01/22/is-collapse-of-zanu-pf-inevitable/>

Raftopolous, Brian. "The Persistent Crisis of the Zimbabwean State". *Solidarity Peace Trust*, 9 June 2016, 3pp. <http://solidaritypeacetrust.org/1738/the-persistent-crisis-of-the-zimbabwean-state/>

Raftopoulos, Brian. "The Threat of 'Normalising' Authoritarian Rule in Zimbabwe". *Solidarity*

Peace Trust, 13 November 2016, 4pp. <http://solidaritypeacetrust.org/1750/the-threat-of-normalising-authoritarian-rule-in-zimbabwe/>

Week 11 **ZIMBABWE - THE ECONOMY IN MELTDOWN**
April 4

Watch *Dispatches - Bankrolling Mugabe* - a film exploring financial support for the Mugabe government. Your best bet is: Part 1: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gtzk_8XA8E and the other three parts follow on.

Dawson, Martin and Kelsall, Tim. "Anti-developmental Patrimonialism in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXX, 1 (January 2012), 49-64. (Carleton library online)

Magure, Booker. "Foreign Investment, Black Economic Empowerment and Militarised Patronage Politics in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, XXX, 1 (January 2012), 67-81. (Carleton library online)

Moyo, Gordon. "The Curse of Military Commercialism in State Enterprises and Parastatals in Zimbabwe". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XLII, 2 (March 2016), 351-364.

Scoones, Ian. "Zimbabwe's Land Reform: New Political Dynamics in the Countryside." *Review of African Political Economy*, XLII, 144 (April 2015), 190-205.

Pilosof, Rory. "Fantasy and Reality: Fast-Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe and the New Beneficiaries." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, XIV, 1 (January 2014), 146-152. (Carleton library online).
