

Political Science 4203/5203

SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

Instructor: Prof. Linda Freeman
Office: C671 LA
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Office hours: Thursday: 2:30 pm - 3:30 pm
Course hours: Thursday: 11:30 am - 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 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 this study of the dynamics of southern African states and societies.

Course Requirements:**Due dates at a glance:**

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|--|------------|---------------------------------------|
| Short paper: | 30% | 22 January to 26 February 2009 |
| Take-home examination or Research Paper | 40% | 9 April 2009 |
| Class Participation: | 30% | 7 April 2009 |
| Total | <hr/> 100% | |

Short paper: Each student will be required to write one short paper of 7-10 typed double spaced pages **CRITICALLY ASSESSING** the issues raised in one of the first five seminars. 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. 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**, and precision of expression and style.

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 2 April 2009 and is due in on 9 April 2009.

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**. Be sure to include references and a bibliography. It is due 7 April 2009.

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 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.*** 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 the consultation with the professor.

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.

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

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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.

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COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS**January 8 ORGANIZATION AND INTRODUCTION****PART I : APARTHEID AND ITS AFTERMATH: THE POLITICS OF SOUTH AFRICA****Session 1 THE HEYDAY OF THE APARTHEID STATE****January 15**

Mulder, C.P. "The Rationale of Separate Development." *South African Dialogue*, ed. N.J. Rhoadie, 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 APARTHEID IN CRISIS**January 22**

O'Meara, Dan. *Forty Lost Years*. chapters **9**, 170-189; **17**, 320-338; **19**, 354-366. (on reserve under book title)

Marais, Hein. "Managing the Crisis." *South Africa: Limits to Change*, chapter 2, 37-77. (on reserve under book title)

Optional:

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

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)

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Session 3 **BROKERING A TRANSITION**
January 29

Murray, Martin. "The Brokered Eclipse of White Minority Rule." and "Postscript: Entering the Political Kingdom." *The Revolution Deferred*. London: Verso, 1994, 179-215. (copy)

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)

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

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. (copy)

Session 4 **POLITICS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**
February 5

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, 1-21. You can download this article from <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/freedownload.asp?id=2183>

Bassett, Carolyn and Clarke, Marlea. "The Zuma Affair, Labour and the Future of Democracy in South Africa." *Third World Quarterly*, XXIX, 4 (June 2008), 787-803. (Carleton library online)

Pillay, Devan. "Holding the Centre: Workers and 'Popular Democratic' Politics in South Africa." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XLIII, 3 (June 2008), 279-305. (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)

Patel, Raj. "A Short Course in Politics at the University of Abahlali baseMjondolo." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XLIII, 1 (February 2008), 95-112. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Pithouse, Richard. "A Politics of the Poor: Shack Dwellers' Struggles in Durban." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XLIII, 1 (February 2008), 63-94. (Carleton library online)

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**Session 5 THE POLITICS OF BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT
February 12 IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Southall, Roger and Tangri, Roger. "The Politics of Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXIV, 3 (September 2008), 699-716. (Carleton library online)

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.

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)

Du Toit, Andries, Kruger, Sandra & Ponte, Stefano. "Deracializing Exploitation? 'Black Economic Empowerment' in the South African Wine Industry." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, VIII, 1 (January 2008), 6-32. (Carleton library online)

Optional:

Ponte, Stefano and Van Sittert, Lance. "The Chimera of Redistribution in Post-Apartheid South Africa: 'Black Economic Empowerment' (BEE) in Industrial Fisheries." *African Affairs*, CVI, 424 (July 2007), 437-462. (Carleton library online)

February 19: Reading Week

**Session 6 KEY ISSUES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA
February 26**

Southall, Roger. "The ANC for Sale? Money, Morality and Business in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, XXXV, 2 (June 2008), 281-299. (Carleton library online)

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

Neocosmos, Michael. "The Politics of Fear and the Fear of Politics: Reflections on Xenophobic Violence in South Africa." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XLIII, (December 2008), 586-594. (Carleton library online)

Natras, Nicoli. "AIDS and the Scientific Governance of Medicine in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *African Affairs*, CVII, 427 (April 2008), 157-176. (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)

PART II THE POLITICS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

Session 7 LIBERATION AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA March 5

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)

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

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

De Oliveira, Ricardo Soares. "Business Success, Angola Style: Post-colonial Politics and the Rise and Rise of Sonangol." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLV, 4 (December 2007), 595-617. (Carleton library online)

Session 8 BOTSWANA, DEMOCRACY & RESOURCE DEPENDENCY March 12

Molutsi, Patrick. "Botswana: The Path to Democracy and Development." *Democratic Reform in Africa*, ed. Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004, Ch. 7, pp. 159-181. (copy)

Good, Kenneth and Taylor, Ian. "Botswana: A Minimalist Democracy." *Democratization*, XV, 4 (August 2008), 750-765. (Carleton library online)

Hillbom, Ellen. "Diamonds or Development? A Structural Assessment of Botswana's Forty Years of Success." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, XLVI, 2 (June 2008), 191-214. (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)

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Session 9
March 19

ZIMBABWE - THE POLITICS OF MELTDOWN

Raftopolous, Brian and Phimister Ian. "Zimbabwe Now: The Political Economy of Crisis and Coercion." *Historical Materialism*, XII, 4 (2004), 355-379. (copy)

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

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

Optional:

Alexander, Jocelyn and Tendi, Blessing-Miles. "A Tale of Two Elections: Zimbabwe at the Polls in 2008." *Concerned Africa Scholars Bulletin No 80, Special Issue on Zimbabwe II*, Winter 2008, 5-17. (copy)

Session 10
March 26

ZIMBABWE - THE ECONOMY IN MELTDOWN

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), 13pp.
<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v7/v7i2.htm>

Optional:

Saunders, Richard. "Painful Paradoxes: Mining, Crisis and Regional Capital in Zimbabwe." *Africa Files At Issue Ezine*, VIII (May-October 2008), 10pp.
<http://www.africafiles.org/atissueezine.asp?issue=issue8#art6>

Week 11
April 2

SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER APARTHEID

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

Saunders, Richard. "South African Investment in Africa: Restructuring and Resistance." *At Issue Ezine*, VIII (May-October 2008), 11pp. <http://www.africafiles.org/atissueezine.asp?issue=issue8#art6>

Schroeder, Richard A. "South African Capital in the Land of Ujamaa: Contested Terrain in Tanzania." *At Issue Ezine*, VIII (May-October 2008), 9pp. <http://www.africafiles.org/atissueezine.asp?issue=issue8#art6>
