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Office hours: Tuesday 10-12
and by appointment

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Race and Power in Modern South Africa

By the 1980s, South Africa was an anomaly: the last holdout of European colonialism on the African continent, and a state that overtly embraced white supremacy at a time when the political norms of other settler societies demanded a nominal commitment to racial equality. In this class, we will trace the roots of South Africa's racial politics to the colonial period. We will try to understand both why South Africa seemed so anomalous in the 1980s, but we will also examine the connections between South African history and the histories of race and colonialism elsewhere on the African continent, and in the world. In the process, we will consider how the politics of race shaped—and was shaped by—gender, religion, ethnicity, class, and other forms of social identity.

Class Meetings: This class meets three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Our Monday and Wednesday meetings will consist of a mix of lectures and workshops. Lectures will lay out the major events and transformations that we will be considering in this class, in roughly chronological order. During workshops, we will analyze—sometimes as an entire class, and sometimes in small groups—primary sources that will give us insight into the way that various segments of South African society understood these moments. On Fridays, the class will meet in two separate discussion sections, led by the Teaching Assistants.

Assignments: This class involves significant amounts of both reading and writing. Written analysis forces us to read critically, and helps to consolidate our knowledge of the material that we are reading and discussing.

For each workshop after the first, you will submit a short analysis of the readings that you have done. For each primary source, you should attempt to identify the author(s), the date of production, and the intended audience. For sources collected in *The South Africa Reader*, see pp. 591-598 for information on copyright and prior publication; other sources will have comparable information posted on Blackboard. Then, explain in a short paragraph (generally, 2-3 sentences) what strikes you as most interesting about this source from the perspective a historian. In other words, what could we learn about South African history from this source?

Although these do not take the format of standard papers, they are serious assignments and not response papers. I anticipate that, most weeks, these assignments will constitute the majority of the time you devote to this class. Successful analyses will draw on specific evidence from the source itself, often in the form of a quotation. Very good analyses will consider the source in light of the historical context, as discussed in lectures and in the recommended readings. The

best analyses will consider what we could learn from the source that we didn't already know before encountering it.

The first workshop has a separate assignment (see instructions on Blackboard). The workshop on February 26th is intended as preparation for your first essay. While you will write a standard reflection, there will be additional instructions on Blackboard. All of these reflection assignments are due at 7 pm on the night before class. Assignments submitted after 7 pm, but before class, will receive a penalty of 5 points (out of 25). Assignments are not accepted after class begins.

This course will have two longer essays. Both will be primary source analyses. For the first, due on March 15, you will choose from a preset selection of primary sources. For the second, due on May 12, you will identify your own primary source to analyze.

All assignments must be submitted via Blackboard. If for any reason you cannot use Blackboard, email your TA a copy of the assignment, and cc:thornberry@jhu.edu.

Grading: Grades will be calculated out of 1000 points, allocated as follows:

Reflections: 30 points each, 300 points total (lowest two will be dropped)

Class participation (including reading quizzes): 250 points total

First essay: 150 points

Second essay: 50 points for initial analysis, 250 points for final essay: 300 points total.

Workshop assignments will be graded on evidence of having read and thought about the assignment, as well as your ability to convey your thoughts in an understandable format. I will drop the lowest grade.

Your grade for class participation includes attendance (including at lectures!), evidence of having fully prepared for the day's class, reading quizzes, and willingness to contribute your ideas to the class discussion. Life happens, so everyone is credited with three free absences from class—no excuses necessary. After that, you can expect your class participation grade to drop by 5 points for each absence. Exceptions to this policy will be made only in the case of serious & documented extenuating circumstances (such as medical emergencies or religious observances). If you know that you will need to miss class for a religious holiday, please inform me as well as your TA in advance. If you find speaking up during discussions difficult, please come to my office hours as soon as possible so that we can discuss strategies to help you work on this important skill.

Reading Quizzes: Reading quizzes are available through the Blackboard site, and should be completed before the start of your Friday discussion section. Quizzes are open book. They are not incorporated your final grade on a percentage basis. Rather, they provide a gauge of your preparation for class, as well as a tool to guide your reading, and are used to inform your class participation grades. As a rule of thumb, getting 80% of the answers correct would be a very good result; however, lower percentages will not lower your class participation grade if there is other evidence of your preparation for class.

Map Quiz: Every student must pass a map quiz in order to pass the class. On the Blackboard site, you will find a blank map of South Africa and a list of places that you should be able to identify. The quiz will be given on Monday, February 3. Students who get less than 80% of the terms correct can retake the quiz during office hours until they pass.

Academic Integrity: The strength of the university depends on academic and personal integrity. In this course, you must be honest and truthful. Ethical violations include cheating on exams, plagiarism, reuse of assignments, improper use of the Internet and electronic devices, unauthorized collaboration, alteration of graded assignments, forgery and falsification, lying, facilitating academic dishonesty, and unfair competition. Students in this course are encouraged to read each other's written work and provide constructive criticism; however, students may not have someone else actively write or rewrite any portion of their work. For reading quizzes, you may discuss the texts and questions together; however, you may not directly discuss answers. In all cases, if you are in doubt about the standards required for academic integrity in this class, you should consult an instructor.

Report any violations you witness to the instructor. You may consult the associate dean of student conduct (or designee) by calling the Office of the Dean of Students at 410-516-8208 or via email at integrity@jhu.edu. For more information, see the Homewood Student Affairs site on academic ethics:

(<https://studentaffairs.jhu.edu/student-life/student-conduct/academic-ethics-undergraduates>)

or the e-catalog entry on the undergraduate academic ethics board:

(<http://e-catalog.jhu.edu/undergrad-students/student-life-policies/#UAEB>).

Disability Services: Any student with a disability who may need accommodations in this class must obtain an accommodation letter from Student Disability Services, 385 Garland, (410) 516-4720, studentdisabilityservices@jhu.edu

In addition, if you are struggling with anxiety, stress, depression or other mental health related concerns, please consider visiting the JHU Counseling Center. If you are concerned about a friend, please encourage that person to seek out their services. The Counseling Center is located at 3003 North Charles Street in Suite S-200 and can be reached at 410-516-8278 and online at <http://studentaffairs.jhu.edu/counselingcenter/>

Texts:

The following books are available at the bookstore. You are welcome to purchase them through other sources if that is more convenient.

Clifton Crais and Thomas McClendon, *The South Africa Reader* (required)

Robert Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa, 2nd edition*

Saul Dubow, *Apartheid: 1948-1994*

Other readings will be made available either through e-reserves or as files on the course's Blackboard site. Ross's *A Concise History of South Africa* and Dubow's *Apartheid* will serve as textbooks of sorts; we will not discuss them directly, but I have indicated passages as recommended reading for lectures. Excerpts from Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa*, will serve the same purpose for a few lectures; these will be posted on Blackboard. These readings will help provide context for the primary sources, since this course is structured to prioritize conceptual discussion and analysis during our meetings. They will prove particularly important for the two major writing assignments.

Schedule of Readings

1/27 (M)	Introduction	<i>Professor Thornberry out of town - information meeting only</i>
1/29 (W)	Lecture: Race as an Analytic	<i>No reading – study for Map Quiz!</i>
1/31 (F)	Discussion: Competing Mythologies	Magama Fuze, “The Black People and Whence They Came,” and C.P. Bezuidenhout, “The History of the Afrikaans People” (on Blackboard, and <i>The South Africa Reader</i> pp. 20-25 and 78-83).
2/3 (M)	Lecture: The South African Interior to 1830	<i>Map Quiz!</i> Recommended Reading: <i>A Concise History of South Africa</i> , pp. 5-37 (chapter 1 and first half of chapter 2)
2/5 (W)	Workshop: Writing Precolonial History	See assignment instructions on Blackboard
2/7 (F)	Discussion: New States in the Heartland	Norman Etherington, <i>The Great Treks</i> , chapters 1-2 (Blackboard), and Carolyn Hamilton and James Wright, “Moving Beyond Ethnic Framing: Political Differentiation in the Chiefdoms of the Kwazulu-Natal Region before 1830” (https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03057070.2017.1323539)
2/10 (M)	Lecture: Brits and Boers	Recommended: <i>A Concise History of South Africa</i> , pp. 37-58 (remainder of chapter 2).
2/12 (W)	Workshop: Slavery, Servitude, and Colonial Expansion	<i>The South Africa Reader</i> , pp. 46-54, and 69-77 ("The Necessity of Slavery," "A Rebel Slave," "The Treatment of Indentured Laborers," "Protesting the Vagrancy Ordinance," and "Manifesto")

- 2/14 (F) Discussion: Slavery and its Ideologies John Edwin Mason, "Hendrik Albertus and His Ex-Slave Mey: A Drama in Three Acts" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/182878>); Elizabeth Elbourne, "Vagrancy Legislation and the Meaning of Freedom in Britain and the Cape Colony, 1700-1842" (Blackboard).
- 2/17 (M) Lecture: Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization Nigel Worden, "The Making of Modern South Africa," pp. 74-80 (beginning of chapter 4; on Blackboard).
- 2/19 (W) Workshop: Missionaries and Prophets *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 14-19, 89-91, 111-112 ("The Sun is Thrown Into the Sky," "On God and Ancestors," "Among the Xhosa in 1800," "Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika," and "Statement of the Prophetess Nonkosi")
- 2/21 (F) Discussion: Changing African Cosmologies Helen Bradford, "Not a Nongqawuse Story" and Zine Magubane, *Bringing the Empire Home*, chapter 6 (both on Blackboard)
- 2/24 (M) Lecture: From the Mineral Revolution to the South African War Recommended: *A Concise History of South Africa*, chapter 3.
- 2/26 (W) Workshop: Writing a Primary Source Analysis See Assignment Details on Blackboard – this week's workshop is in preparation for your first essay. Reading is *The South Africa Reader* pp. 141-145 and 169-177 ("The Coming of the Anglo-Zulu War," and "A Century of Wrong")
- 2/28 (F) Discussion: Modes of Rule Keith Breckenridge, "Power Without Knowledge: Three Nineteenth Century Colonialisms in South Africa" (<http://kznhass-history.net/ojs/index.php/jnzh/article/view/323/153>)
- 3/2 (M) Lecture: Gender and Generation, Town and Country-side Recommended: *The Making of Modern South Africa*, pp. 38-56 (beginning of chapter 3; on Blackboard); *A Concise History of South Africa*, pp. 91-112
- 3/4 (W) Workshop: The Politics of Morality *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 146-151 ("Industrial Johannesburg") and excerpts from the *Commission on Native Laws and Custom* (Blackboard)

- 3/6 (F) Discussion: Unstable Identities Michael Mahoney, "Racial Formation and Ethnogenesis from Below: The Zulu Case, 1879-1906" (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3559434>); Elizabeth Thornberry, "The Problem of African Girlhood: Raising the Age of Consent in the Cape Colony, 1893-1905" (Blackboard).
- 3/9 (M) Lecture: The Rand Rebellion and the triumph of Segregationism Recommended: *A Concise History of South Africa*, 113-121; *The Making of Modern South Africa*, 81-88 (Blackboard) *First Essay Due!*
- 3/11 (W) Workshop: Resistance in White, Black, and Brown Documents on Blackboard ("Native Union," and "South African Races Congress") and *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 208-218 and 226-239 ("Bhambatha Rebellion," "The Bulhoek Massacre," "Workers of the World Unite and Fight for a White South Africa," and "The Persecution of Indians")
- 3/13 (F) Discussion: The Economics of Racial Grievance Sandra Swart, "The 'Five Shilling Rebellion': Rural White Male Anxiety and the 1914 Boer Rebellion," (<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/02582470609464966>) and John Higginson, "Privileging the Machines: American Engineers, Indentured Chinese and White Workers in South Africa's Deep-Level Gold Mines, 1902-1907," (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44583537>)
- 3/16-3/20 No Class *Spring Break!*
- 3/23 (M) Lecture: Making Apartheid Recommended: *Apartheid, 1948-1902*, chapters 1-2.
- 3/25 (W) Workshop: Living with Apartheid Excerpts from Bloke Modisane, *Blame Me on History* and Lauretta Ngcobo, *And They Didn't Die* (Blackboard—see additional instructions)
- 3/27 (F) Discussion: Boundaries of Race and Nation Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/525576>) and excerpt from Charles Van Onselen, *The Night Trains* (Blackboard).
- 3/30 (M) Lecture: Black Politics from the Youth League to Rivonia Recommended: *Apartheid, 1948-1902*, chapter 3.
- 4/1 (W) Workshop: Congress Politics *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 232-239, 298-324, 339-355 ("Repeal the Pass Laws!," "Programme of Action," "Women's Charter," "My Spirit Is Not Banned," "Freedom Charter," "The Pan Africanist Congress," "Statement

From the Dock”).

- 4/3 (F) Discussion: Race in the Struggle Era Jon Soske, “The Impossible Concept: Settler Liberalism, Pan-Africanism, and the language of Non-Racialism” (<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17532523.2015.1130188>), excerpt from Lynn Thomas, *Beneath the Surface* (Blackboard).
- 4/6 (M) Lecture: Bantustans and Black Consciousness Recommended: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, chapters 4-6 (focus on pp. 105-120 and chapter 6).
- 4/8 (W) Workshop: Black Consciousness & Homeland Struggles *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 325-334, 361-383 (“The Manifesto of Paramount Chief K.D. Matanzima,” “The Peasants’ Revolt,” “White Racism and Black Consciousness,” “Reporting from Soweto, June 16 1976,” and “Students and the Soweto Uprising.”)
- 4/10 (F) Discussion: Making Bantustans, Making Ethnicity Ashley Parcels, “The Empire that Shaka Zulu was Unable to Bring About: The Making of the Kwazulu Bantustan, 1967-1970” [unpublished paper; shared on Blackboard with permission of the author] and Thembisa Waetjen, “The ‘home’ in homeland: gender, national space, and Inkatha’s politics of ethnicity” (<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/014198799329332>)
- 4/13 (M) Lecture: States of Emergency *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, chapters 7-8.
- 4/15 (W) Workshop: Imagining Politics After Soweto *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 385-390, 396-454 (“The United Democratic Front,” “Crossing the Rubicon,” “Never Give In,” “The Future of South Africa,” “The Funeral of ANC Guerrilla Thanduxolo Mbete,” “Reforms and Revolution”)
- 4/17 (F) Discussion: Apartheid’s Endgame Jonathon Hyslop, “Why did Apartheid’s supporters capitulate? ‘Whiteness,’ class, and consumption in urban South Africa, 1985-1995” (<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21528586.2000.10419009>), and Belinda Bozzoli, “Why were the 1980s ‘millenarian’? Style, repertoire, space, and authority in South Africa’s black cities” (<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-6443.00106/epdf>).
- 4/20 (M) Lecture: The Democratic Transition *The Making of Modern South Africa*, pp. 148-166 (end of chapter 6; on Blackboard).
- 4/22 (W) Workshop: A New Politics of Race and *The South Africa Reader*, pp. 465-480, 505-508 (“White Referendum,” “Record of Understanding,” “I Am an African,” and “Repeal the Black Au-

	Culture?	thorities Act”); and excerpts from the Constitution of South Africa (Blackboard).
4/24 (F)	Discussion: What Price Reconciliation?	Nicoli Nattrass, “The Drowned and the Saved: Development Strategy Since the End of Apartheid,” and excerpts from Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, <i>A Human Being Died That Night</i> (both on Blackboard).
4/27 (M)	Lecture: The Rainbow Nation?	<i>Primary Source Selection & Initial Analysis Due!</i>
4/29 (W)	Workshop: AIDS, Sex, & Witchcraft	<i>The South Africa Reader</i> , pp. 515-523, 531-536, 552-564 (“AIDS and Poverty,” “Global Day of Action,” “Lessons Learned,” “Murder of Noxola Nogwaza,” “Witchcraft in Soweto,” and “Nationalize the Mines”)
5/1 (F)	Discussion: Xenophobia and the New South Africa	Achille Mbembe, “Blacks From Elsewhere and the Right of Abode” (2019 Ruth First Memorial Lecture: https://www.newframe.com/ruth-first-memorial-lecture-2019-achille-mbembe/)

Final Paper Due Tuesday, May 12!