

International Labour  
Research & Information Group



**Online Reading Course:**  
*The Political Economy of the  
South African Transition*



## 1. INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS THIS COURSE ABOUT?

This online course is offered by ILRIG as part of the ongoing task of political education that can give activists a basic and solid foundation to better understand and analyse both historic and contemporary political, economic and social realities in South Africa. The main purpose of this course is not only to expand knowledge horizons and to lay the basis for participants to sharpen their intellectual and analytical skills, but to directly link this to advancing our collective work and struggle for radical political, economic and social change. Readings are designed to provide ideologically diverse, practically informed and activist-intellectual ‘vehicles’ in the search for meaningful, grounded explanations, understandings, analysis and action. Crucial issues about the state, forms of political power, social relations and mass resistance and struggle for change will be surfaced.

## 2. COURSE STRUCTURE

This is a distance learning reading course, and as such it does not include lectures or class-room sessions. In order to complete this course you need to read a variety of different reading materials, which have been authored by a range of writers.

This course is predominantly a *reading* course. All of the readings included in this course have been selected to facilitate a broader overall understanding of various issues about power, the state and social struggles in South Africa from the late 1980s to the end of the Zuma period. The course will require some dedication and discipline to complete: the required reading will take a bit of time, so you need to read consistently over the duration of the course. Do not try to do all of the required reading shortly before submitting the assignments – this will not give you enough time to properly engage with the reading material.

You should not worry if you do not understand everything that is discussed in each of the selected readings the first time that you read it! Learning to engage with political debates, and analysing the broader social and political landscape and power relations of the country, takes time, a lot of practice, and is a skill which can only be learned over time with intellectual perseverance. Once you have completed this reading course you should be equipped to continue your learning on your own, by doing further reading of other materials which you select for yourself. Learning starts, but it should never stop!

## 3. COURSE OUTLINE AND MODULES

Presented according to a historical timeline from the late 1980s until the end of the Zuma period, the course is divided into eight (8) modules, with two modules per historical period. Each module will span a period of two (2) weeks to give enough time for participants to read and fully engage with the readings as well as key questions posed for each module.

You should start each module by carefully reading the material for that module which has been provided for you on the website. After you have completed the reading for each module, you must pay attention to the key questions that have been posed for the relevant module.

	Modules	Timeframe	Assignment due dates
<b>Late 1980s - mid 1990s</b>	<b>1</b> The political context: from liberation to accommodation?	Week 1 & 2	Assignment 1: end of week 4
	<b>2</b> The economic context: engaged realism or conscious retreat?	Week 3 & 4	
<b>Mid-1990s - early 2000s</b>	<b>3</b> Corporatizing state and society: theory, practice, consequence	Week 5 & 6	Assignment 2: end of week 8
	<b>4</b> The politics of class formation	Week 7 & 8	
<b>Early-late 2000s</b>	<b>5</b> The ANC-Alliance and the 'management' of South Africa's transitional contradictions: A crisis of democracy and development?	Week 9 & 10	Assignment 3: end of week 12
	<b>6</b> The state, social movements and resistance from below	Week 11 & 12	
<b>2007 - 2017</b>	<b>7</b> Capital, labour and socio-political relations in conditions of crisis	Week 13 & 14	Assignment 4: end of week 16
	<b>8</b> Zuma, the rule of the ANC and the possibilities of change	Week 15 & 16	

## 4. COURSE MATERIALS/WEBSITE

The website for this course contains all of the required readings which are available for download as PDF documents as per module. You will find the website for this course at the following URL online: <http://www.ilrigsa.org.za/2020/06/29/course-overview/>

## 5. ASSESSMENTS

This course will be assessed via a series of assignments which you need to submit at different times throughout the duration of the course. You will not be required to write an examination. All of the assignments can be completed by you at home.

You need to submit your assignments via email or whatsapp. If you submit your assignment via email, send your assignment to the following email address: [ilrigonlinecourse@gmail.com](mailto:ilrigonlinecourse@gmail.com) and if via whatsapp to the following cell number: 072-429-4086

You must submit your assignments on or before the due date for each assignment – late assignments will not be accepted unless you provide a satisfactory explanation. You need to submit all of the assignments in order to pass this course. See the section above, entitled *Course outline and modules*, for the due dates of each of the 4 assignments.

*When you submit each assignment, please include the following at the top of the first page:*

- The assignment number (example: "Assignment 1")
- Your full name and surname.

## 6. PLAGIARISM

When completing your assignments, you must be careful not to commit plagiarism. This section explains what plagiarism is, and how to avoid it.

If you copy an idea or actual words from another person, a writer, an article, a book, or any other source, without giving a full acknowledgment of the source together with quotation marks, you are in all likelihood committing plagiarism.

Plagiarism is the act of taking the words, ideas and thoughts of others and passing them off as your own. It is a form of theft because if you do not acknowledge that you are using someone else's ideas or words in your own writing, then you are effectively stealing their ideas/words.

Whether intended or not, plagiarism is a serious offence. Under any circumstances, it is deceitful to represent as one's own work, writing or ideas that belong to another person. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged use of someone else's published or unpublished words and ideas, whether this use consists of directly quoted material or paraphrased ideas (i.e. a summary of the ideas/arguments).

### When you are writing, always make sure that:

- Each quotation or paraphrase must be acknowledged with an in-text citation. That is, if you use someone else's words, ideas/arguments in your own written work, then you must indicate whose words and ideas you are referring to.
- Direct quotations must be enclosed in quotation marks (like this - "...") and be absolutely faithful to the wording of the source - in other words, exactly the same words.
- Paraphrased (summarised) ideas must be stated in language entirely different from the language of the source - use your own words, not the same/similar words of the original source or text.

### **You are guilty of plagiarism if you fail, intentionally or not, to follow any of these standard requirements.**

You do not need to cite your own ideas, or references to your own experiences, or information that falls in the category of uncontroversial common knowledge (what a person reasonably well informed about a subject might be expected to know). You should acknowledge anything else. That is, whenever you are referring to ideas or words that you have read, which have been written by someone else, you must refer to that person, acknowledge them and what they have written.

### To avoid plagiarism, you must give credit whenever you use:

- another person's idea, opinion or theory;
- any facts, statistics, graphs, drawings - any pieces of information - that are not common knowledge;
- quotations of another person's actual spoken or written words, or;
- the paraphrasing of another person's spoken or written words.

## PARAPHRASING

You may paraphrase the writing of an author by stating the ideas expressed in his or her writing in your own words. This requires the ability to first understand what the author is saying and then to write it down in your own individual style. It is not good enough merely to change a few words here and there. The paraphrase must truly be your own rendition of the original content.

How can you recognise unacceptable and acceptable paraphrasing?

Consider the following original text, from *Lizzie Borden: A Case Book of Family and Crime in the 1890s* by Joyce Williams, J Eric Smithburn and M Jeanne Peterson (1981:1):

The rise of industry, the growth of cities, and the expansion of the population were the three great developments of late nineteenth century American history. As new, larger, steam-powered factories became a feature of the American landscape in the East, they transformed farm hands into industrial labourers, and provided jobs for arising tide of immigrants. With industry came urbanization the growth of large cities (like Fall River, Massachusetts, where the Bordens lived) which became the centers of production as well as of commerce and trade.

Here is an unacceptable paraphrase that is plagiarism:



The increase of industry, the growth of cities, and the explosion of the population were three large factors of nineteenth-century America. As steam-driven companies became more visible in the eastern part of the country, they changed farm hands into factory workers and provided jobs for the large wave of immigrants. With industry came the growth of large cities like Fall River where the Bordens lived which turned into centres of commerce and trade as well as production.

What makes this passage plagiarism?

The preceding passage is considered plagiarism for two reasons:

- The writer only changed around a few words and phrases, or changed the order of the original's sentences.
- The writer failed to cite a source for any of the ideas or facts.

**If you do either or both of these things, you are plagiarising.**

**Here is an example of an acceptable paraphrase:**



Fall River, where the Borden family lived, was typical of north-eastern industrial cities of the nineteenth century. Steam-powered production had shifted labour from agriculture to manufacturing, and as immigrants arrived in the US, they found work in these new factories. As a result, populations grew, and large urban areas arose. Fall River was one of these manufacturing and commercial centres (Williams, Smithburn & Peterson 1981:1).

Why is this passage acceptable?

This is acceptable paraphrasing because the writer:

- accurately relays the information in the original

- uses his/her own words
- let's his/her reader know the source of his/her information

**Here is an example of quotation and paraphrase used together, which is also acceptable:**



Fall River, where the Borden family lived, was typical of north-eastern industrial cities of the nineteenth century. As steam-powered production shifted labour from agriculture to manufacturing, the demand for workers “transformed farm hands into factory workers,” and created jobs for immigrants. In turn, growing populations increased the size of urban areas. Fall River was one of these manufacturing hubs that were also “centres of commerce and trade” (Williams, Smithburn & Peterson 1981:1).

Why is this passage acceptable?

This is acceptable paraphrasing because the writer:

- records the information in the original passage accurately
- gives credit for the ideas in this passage
- indicates which part is taken directly from her source by putting the passage in quotation marks and citing the page number

**QUOTATIONS: COPYING SOMEONE ELSE’S WORDS**

You may quote directly from a source by giving the exact words of the author and by placing the quote in inverted commas. However, keep direct quotations short and use them sparingly. Use the exact words of an author (using quotation marks) only when the author has a style that is hard to paraphrase or where the author’s particular words, and not just his or her ideas, are important.

When you quote, or when you use the exact same words as the original source that you have read, place the passage you are using in “quotation marks” and document the source with the correct reference. The words you have quoted should be followed by the name, date of publication and the page number where you found the original words.

**Example of plagiarism – direct quotation without quotation marks:**



According to Fourie (2001:90), a brief overview of different mass communication cultures shows that a contemporary mass communication is nothing new and has a long history.

**This is incorrect and is plagiarism.**



## Correct way of referencing/quoting – direct quotation with quotation marks:



According to Fourie (2001:90), “a brief overview of different mass communication cultures shows that a contemporary mass communication is nothing new and has a long history”.

*Or, you can also use quotations like this:*

“A brief overview of different mass communication cultures shows that a contemporary mass communication is nothing new and has a long history” (Fourie 2001:90).

**This is correct and is not plagiarism.**

## COMMON KNOWLEDGE

Common knowledge consists of facts that can be found in numerous places and are likely to be known by a lot of people.

For example: Nelson Mandela was elected President of South Africa in 1994.

This is generally known information. You do not need to acknowledge a source for this fact. However, you must acknowledge the source(s) of information and facts that are not generally known and ideas that interpret those facts.

### For example:

According to the Treatment Action Campaign, the South African Government is hindering the roll-out of an HIV-Aids treatment plan (Kweza 2003:2).

The idea that “the South African Government is hindering the roll-out of an HIV-Aids treatment plan” is not a fact but an interpretation or a viewpoint – consequently, you need to cite your source.

## HOW TO AVOID PLAGIARISM

- Put everything that comes directly from the text in quotation marks.
- Paraphrase, but be sure you are not just rearranging or replacing a few words. Instead, read over what you want to paraphrase carefully; cover up the text with your hand, or close the text so you cannot see any of it (and so, are not tempted to use the text as a “guide”). Write out the idea in your own words without peeking.
- Check your paraphrase against the original text to be sure you have not accidentally used the same phrases or words, and that the information is accurate.

## PLAGIARISING FROM THE INTERNET

Do not cut-and-paste or copy pieces of text from online internet articles and use these in your own writing without acknowledging the (online internet) source. This is also plagiarism.

## **MODULE 1:**

### The political context: from liberation to accommodation?



**READINGS:** You must read the following 4 readings for module 1.

1. Barry Gills, Joel Rocamora and Richard Wilson (1993), 'Low Intensity Democracy', in *Low Intensity Democracy: Political Power in the New World Order*. London: Pluto Press
2. Dale T. McKinley (1997), 'Returning Home: The Strategy and Practice of Accommodation' and 'Conclusion', in *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle: A Critical Political Biography* (London: Pluto Press)
3. Lesley Catchpole & Christine Cooper (2003), 'Neoliberal Corporatism: Origins and Implications for South Africa', in *Rethinking the Labour Movement in the New South Africa*, edited by Tom Bramble and Franco Barchiesi (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishers)
4. Roger Etkind & Suzanna Harvey (1993), 'The workers cease fire', *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol.17, No.5 (September-October)



### **QUESTIONS for Module 1**

1. Was the kind of settlement that was negotiated in the early 1990s the only possible outcome? How did this settlement impact on the content and character of South Africa's early post-1994 democracy?
2. Is a corporatist 'social contract' between labour, state and capital beneficial or detrimental to working class interests? Explain your answer using concrete examples from the South African context.

## **MODULE 2:**

### The economic context: engaged realism or conscious retreat?



**READINGS:** You must read the following 4 readings for module 2.

1. Department of Finance, Republic of South Africa (1996), *Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy* [main text - 22 pages, not appendices]
2. Congress of South African Trade Unions (1996), 'Introduction' in *Social Equity and Job Creation: A key to a Stable Future, Proposals from the South African Labour Movement*
3. Ben Fine (1995), 'Privatisation and the RDP: A Critical Assessment', *Transformation*, No.27
4. Dale T. McKinley (1997), 'Sounding the retreat: the left and the macro-economic battle in South Africa', *LINKS*, No. 8 (July-October)



### **QUESTIONS for Module 2**

1. What are the key fundamentals (policy components) of GEAR and why are they problematic for the workers and poor? In the context of your answer, why do you think the ANC embraced privatisation from the mid-1990s onwards?
2. Why were left/progressive forces - for example, COSATU and the SACP - unable to stop the ANC/government from pursuing neoliberal (anti-worker, anti-poor) economic policies in the 1990s? What would it have taken for COSATU's *Social Equity & Job Creation* proposals to become ANC/government policy?





## ASSIGNMENT 1:



### MODULE 1 & MODULE 2

Consider the list of questions provided for both Module 1 and Module 2.

Select one question from Module 1, and one from Module 2 (two questions in total).

Write a short essay in which you explain your own perspectives, thoughts, opinions and ideas about the two questions that you have selected. In your essay you should refer to the reading material which you have read for these two modules, and discuss some of what you have learned from this reading material. You can also discuss whether you agree or disagree with the positions/ views of the authors of each reading, and why.

In your assignment you should clearly state WHICH questions you have selected to address in your essay. Your essay/assignment should be no shorter than 2 pages, and no longer than 4 pages.

Also, please include the following at the top of the first page:

- The assignment number (ie. "Assignment 1")
- Your full name and surname.

See the section above, entitled **Course outline and modules**, for the due date of this assignment.

## **MODULE 3:**

### Corporatizing state and society: theory, practice, consequence



**READINGS:** You must read the following 4 readings for module 3.

1. David A McDonald (2002), 'The Theory and Practice of Cost Recovery in South Africa' in *Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa*, edited by David A. McDonald and John Pape (Cape Town: HSRC Press)
2. Dale T. McKinley (2009), 'The "other" working class', Paper presented at 'Comprehending Class' Conference, Johannesburg, 23-26 June
3. Michelle Taal, Saliem Patel, Trenton Elsley (2012), 'A Mineworker's Wage: The only argument against the R12 500 is greed', Report by Labour Research Service (28 August)
4. Stephen Greenberg (2003), 'Redistribution and access in a market-driven economy', in *Land Reform in South Africa*, *Development Update*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (July)



### **QUESTIONS for Module 3**

1. Explain, in your own words and analysis, how the system of 'cost recovery' was implemented. What have been the main political and socio-economic consequences of this system on the workers and poor?
2. How has the composition of the 'working class' changed in South Africa over the last 20 years and how does this help us explain the struggles in Marikana involving both the mineworkers and the community?

## **MODULE 4:**

### The politics of class formation



**READINGS:** You must read the following 4 readings for module 4.

1. Heribert Adam, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Kogila Moodley (1997), 'Where is the struggle now?' in *Comrades in Business: Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg)
2. Thabo Mbeki (1999), 'Address by President Thabo Mbeki at the SA-USA Business and Finance Forum', Roosevelt Hotel, New York, 23 September
3. Dale T. McKinley (2001), 'A South African 'Third Way' for Labour? Illusions and Realities', *South African Labour Bulletin* (April)
4. Dale T. McKinley (2011), 'Capitalism with a Black Face: BEE and the ANC', Presentation to ILRIG Conference on: South Africa Today – How do we characterise the Social Formation? Cape Town (29 April)



### **QUESTIONS for Module 4**

1. Given the crisis of unemployment that has existed in South Africa since the mid-1990s, alongside the reduced power and influence of unions, how do you think jobs/work (and what kind of jobs/work) can be created and sustained?
2. Considering who the dominant beneficiaries of BEE have been and who makes up most of the poor, do you feel as though class is a more significant issue than race in present-day South Africa? Make an argument either way.

 **ASSIGNMENT 2:****MODULE 3 & MODULE 4**

**Consider the list of questions provided for both Module 3 and Module 4.**

Select one question from Module 3, and one question from Module 4 (two questions in total).

Write a short essay in which you explain your own perspectives, thoughts, opinions and ideas about the two questions that you have selected. In your essay you should refer to the reading material which you have read for these two modules, and discuss some of what you have learned from this reading material. You can also discuss whether you agree or disagree with the positions/ views of the authors of each reading, and why.

In your assignment you should clearly state WHICH questions you have selected to address in your essay. Your essay/assignment should be no shorter than 2 pages, and no longer than 4 pages.

Also, please include the following at the top of the first page:

- The assignment number (ie. "Assignment 2")
- Your full name and surname.

See the section above, entitled **Course outline and modules**, for the due date of this assignment.

## **MODULE 5:**

### The ANC-Alliance and the 'management' of South Africa's transitional contradictions: a crisis of democracy and development?



**READINGS:** You must read the following 5 readings for module 5.

1. Thabo Mbeki (2003), 'Letter from the President: Bold Steps to end the "two nations" divide', ANC Today, Vol. 3, No. 33 (22-28 August)
2. Zwelinzima Vavi (2006), 'The role of Government in Creating an Environment for Economic Growth and Private Sector Development', Address to the Annual General Meeting of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry South Africa (11 May)
3. Dale T. McKinley (2006), 'South Africa's Third Local Government Elections and the Institutionalisation of "Low-Intensity" Neo-Liberal Democracy', in Jeanette Minnie (ed.), *Outside the Ballot Box: Preconditions for Elections in Southern Africa 2005/6* (Johannesburg: Media Institute of Southern Africa)
4. Raymond Suttner (2006), 'African National Congress (ANC) as dominant organisation: impact of the attainment of power and phases of post liberation development and crisis', Draft Paper
5. Dale T. McKinley (2003), 'The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Tripartite Alliance since 1994' in Tom Bramble and Franco Barchiesi (eds.), *Rethinking the Labour Movement in the 'New' South Africa* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishers)



### **QUESTIONS for Module 5**

1. Taking into consideration both Mbeki's 'two-nations divide' and McKinley's 'low-intensity democracy' arguments, why do you think increasingly large number of citizens have chosen not to participate in elections? What does this say about the 'democratic mandate' of the ANC?
2. Using the relationship between COSATU and the ANC as a key reference point give your own analysis of why, over time, the political, organisational and socio-economic distance between the ANC leaders/elites and their own mass constituency widened?

## **MODULE 6:**

### The state, social movements and resistance from below



**READINGS:** You must read the following 4 readings for module 6.

1. Social Movements Indaba (2002), 'Historic United Social Movements Mass March to WSSD Sends Clear Message - The People Will Be heard', Press Release (1 September)
2. Salim Vally (2003), 'The Political Economy of State Repression', in *Right to Dissent: Freedom of Expression, Assembly and Demonstration in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Freedom of Expression Institute)
3. Dale T. McKinley (2012), 'A Brief History of the Anti-Privatisation Forum' in op cit., *Transition's Child: The Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF)* (Johannesburg: South African History Archives)
4. Ahmed Veriava and Dale T. McKinley (2005), 'Arresting Dissent', in *Arresting Dissent: State Repression and Post-Apartheid Social Movements* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation)



## QUESTIONS for Module 6

1. Why was there a rupture within progressive South African civil society in the early 2000s and then also increasingly between these forces and the ANC-run state? What consequences did this have for the broader working class and poor?
2. Against the backdrop of past and continued wide-scale repression, co-option and marginalisation of community organisations/struggles by the ANC-run state, what can present-day community organisations and social movements learn from the internal problems and challenges that led to the demise of the APF?



## ASSIGNMENT 3:



### MODULE 5 & MODULE 6

Consider the list of key questions provided for both Module 5 and Module 6.

Select one question from Module 5, and one question from Module 6 (two questions in total).

Write a short essay in which you explain your own perspectives, thoughts, opinions and ideas about the two questions that you have selected. In your essay you should refer to the reading material which you have read for these two modules, and discuss some of what you have learned from this reading material. You can also discuss whether you agree or disagree with the positions/ views of the authors of each reading, and why.

In your assignment you should clearly state WHICH questions you have selected to address in your essay. Your essay/assignment should be no shorter than 2 pages, and no longer than 4 pages.

Also, please include the following at the top of the first page:

- The assignment number (ie. "Assignment 3")
- Your full name and surname.

See the section above, entitled **Course outline and modules**, for the due date of this assignment.


**MODULE 7:**
**Capital, labour and socio-political relations in conditions of crisis**


**READINGS:** You must read the following 6 readings for module 7.

1. Eugene Cairncross (2011), 'Post-Apartheid South African Economy: The Triumph of Capital?' in *South Africa Today: How do we characterise the social formation? Papers from the 2011 ILRIG April Conference* (Cape Town: ILRIG)
2. Gentle, L. (2010), 'South Africa and the New World Order', *South African Civil Society Information Service* (February)
3. Dale T. McKinley (2008), 'Xenophobia and Nationalism: Exposing the South African State for what it is', *Khanya*, No. 19 (Special Edition, July)
4. Angela Conway (2011), 'The Changing Face of Rural Workers' in *South Africa Today: How do we characterise the social formation? Papers from the 2011 ILRIG April Conference* (Cape Town: ILRIG)
5. Dale T. McKinley (2010), 'South Africa's social conservatism: a real and present danger', *South African Civil Society Information Service* (March)
6. Dale T. McKinley (2016) - 'Monet Talks, Morality Walks'


**QUESTIONS for Module 7**

1. In light of more recent debates and arguments around the role of (white) corporate capital and racially defined ownership and power in the economy, in what specific ways can we say that the current economic system in South Africa is 'post-apartheid', or not?
2. Do you think that a majority of South Africans, while being politically progressive, are socially conservative and xenophobic, and are thus opposed to many of the socially progressive clauses in the constitution (for example, the right to equality based on sexual orientation)? Explain your answer using concrete examples.


**MODULE 8:**
**Zuma, the rule of the ANC and the possibilities of change**


**READINGS:** You must read the following 7 readings for module 8.

1. Pallo Jordan (2012), Speech at the 20th anniversary of the Bisho Massacre (7 September)
2. Ngoako Ramatlhodi (2011), 'ANC's fatal concessions', *The Times*, 1 September
3. Sibusiso Ngalwa (2011), 'God is on the ANC's side, Zuma tells crowd', *Sunday Times*, 5 February
4. Jane Duncan (2012), 'Voice, Political Mobilisation and Repression under Jacob Zuma' in Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell (eds.), *Contesting Transformation: Popular Resistance in Twenty-First-Century South Africa* (London: Pluto Press)
5. Dale T. McKinley (2014), 'Secrecy and Power in South Africa' in *New South African Review 4: A Fragile Democracy - Twenty Years On*, edited by Gilbert M Khadiagala, et al. (Johannesburg: Wits University Press)
6. Neville Alexander (2010), 'South Africa: An unfinished revolution?' *Pambazuka*, Issue No. 482 (20 May)
7. Dale T. McKinley (2016), 'A Better Life for Some'





## QUESTIONS for Module 8

1. Respond to the argument (regularly made by Zuma) that the general lack of transformation since 1994 cannot be blamed on the ANC but largely on apartheid and those outside of the ANC-Alliance? What do you think needs to happen for South Africa to ‘finish’ the revolution that was started by the workers and poor as part of the earlier liberation struggle?
2. To what extent is the militarisation of the police, the securitisation of the state and the rising violence within South African society linked to the ways in which the ANC-run state has responded to protest and more general dissent under the leadership of Zuma and his crew?



## ASSIGNMENT 4:



### MODULE 7 & MODULE 8

Consider the list of key questions provided for both Module 7 and Module 8.

Select one question from Module 7, and one question from Module 8 (two key questions in total).

Write a short essay in which you explain your own perspectives, thoughts, opinions and ideas about the two key questions that you have selected. In your essay you should refer to the reading material which you have read for these two modules, and discuss some of what you have learned from this reading material. You can also discuss whether you agree or disagree with the positions/views of the authors of each reading, and why.

In your assignment you should clearly state WHICH questions you have selected to address in your essay. Your essay/assignment should be no shorter than 2 pages, and no longer than 4 pages.

Also, please include the following at the top of the first page:

- The assignment number (ie. “Assignment 4”)
- Your full name and surname.

See the section above, entitled **Course outline and modules**, for the due date of this assignment.

## NOTES

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