Shadow State
The Politics of State Capture

Ivor Chipkin & Mark Swilling
with
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Foreword by Mcebisi Jonas
Afterword by Ferial Haffajee

The analysis is so brilliant. I can’t think of a better example of how academic research can shape the public debate.
— Patrick Heller, Professor of Sociology and International and Public Affairs, Brown University

This is a compelling example of how committed academics conducting rigorous research and analysis can help crystallize our understanding of fundamental problems in our society.
— Blade Nzimande, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party

The 2017 publication of Betrayal of the Promise, the report that detailed the systematic nature of state capture, marked a key moment in South Africa’s most recent struggle for democracy. In the face of growing evidence of corruption and of the weakening of state and democratic institutions, it provided, for the first time, a powerful analysis of events that helped galvanise resistance within the Tripartite Alliance and across civil society. Working often secretly, the authors consolidated, for the first time, large amounts of evidence from a variety of sources. They showed that the Jacob Zuma administration was not simply a criminal network but part of an audacious political project to break the hold of whites and white business on the economy and to create a new class of black industrialists. State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) such as Eskom and Transnet were central to these plans.

The report introduced a whole new language to discuss state capture, showing how SOEs were ‘repurposed’, how political power was shifting away from constitutional bodies to ‘kitchen cabinets’, and how a ‘shadow state’ at odds with the country’s constitutional framework was being built. Shadow State is an updated version of the original, explosive report that changed South Africa’s recent history.

About the Authors

Ivor Chipkin is the Founding Director of the Public Affairs Research Institute linked to the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town, which has been a pioneer in the field of institutional studies in South Africa, bringing social science methods to the study of government and how it works. He is also an Associate Professor at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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