

# Contents

---

Abbreviations and Acronyms v

Introduction *Martin Plaut and Paul Holden* vii

## Section 1: Best Friends, Worst Enemies

- 1 The Uneasy Alliance *Martin Plaut* 3
- 2 From De Klerk to Zuma: The Long, Hard Road of Post-Apartheid Politics *Martin Plaut* 30
- 3 Political Hyenas and the Predatory State *Martin Plaut* 62

## Section 2: Oversight, Corruption and the Consolidation of Executive Power

- 4 The Arms Deal and the Erosion of Parliamentary Power *Paul Holden* 95
- 5 Smoke, Mirrors, Emails and Tapes: The Uses and Abuses of Intelligence *Paul Holden* 127
- 6 The Last Bastions: Judiciary, Media and Civil Society *Paul Holden* 158

## Section 3: The Way In – Money, Money, Money

- 7 Ensuring Reproduction: The ANC and its Models of Party Funding, 1994 to 2011 *Paul Holden* 193

- 8 Precarious Power: BEE and the Growth of South Africa's Black Middle Class *Paul Holden* 213

#### Section 4: New Centres of Power, New Contests

- 9 The One That Got Away: How Helen Zille Built a Political Fortress in Cape Town *Martin Plaut* 241
- 10 Crime, Corruption and Connections *Martin Plaut* 266
- 11 Sharing the Beloved Country: Land Reform Since 1994 *Martin Plaut* 305
- 12 Rumbles and Rifts: Service Delivery Protests *Paul Holden* 332

#### Conclusion

- So Who Does Rule South Africa? *Martin Plaut and Paul Holden* 347

Notes 359

Acknowledgements 409

Index 411