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# A New Eskom

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Electric Capitalism

Political Economies of Energy Transition

The Republic of Gupta

Wrecking Ball

Earth, Wind and Fire

The Report: South Africa 2014

Linking Emissions Trading Schemes

The Report: South Africa 2012

Better Choices

African Economic Outlook 2009 Country Notes: Volumes 1 and 2

The Global Corporation

Ending Africa's Energy Deficit and the Law

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The Report: South Africa 2008

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Behold the Turtle  
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Putting a Price on Carbon in South Africa and Other Developing Countries  
State-Owned Enterprises in the Development Process  
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Shadow State  
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Brands and Branding in South Africa: A time of change  
The Oxford Companion to the Economics of South Africa  
Africa's Power Infrastructure  
Alternative Development Paths  
Building a Capable State  
The Evolving Structure of South Africa's Economy  
After Dawn  
Enemy of the People  
The Oxford Handbook of Energy Politics  
Climate Change Cooperation in Southern Africa  
The Global Coal Market

Duality by Design  
The Dance of Change  
The Political Economy of Power Sector Reform

*A New Eskom*

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## **LEBLANC BURGESS**

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Electric Capitalism Oxford Business  
Group

Consists of reproductions of articles from  
South African newspapers.

*Political Economies of Energy Transition*

Penguin Random House South Africa

This text brings together case studies  
focusing on specific instances of  
corporate best practices. All too often,  
we showcase cases based on  
questionable or unethical corporate  
behavior. Instead, the editors bring

together in this book examples of how  
some firms got it right. Certainly, there is  
no claim that the companies in these  
case are perfect; some of them may  
have histories that include questionable  
practices. But, these are companies that  
work to foster trust, both internally and  
in their relationships with customers,  
suppliers, shareholders, and the  
communities in which they operate. The  
book is not, however, merely a  
descriptive iteration of effective  
corporate conduct. The editors conclude  
with an analysis of frameworks for  
corporate and managerial ethical  
decision-making - frameworks that help

to establish models for best practices. These frameworks then can be generalized and applied to other corporate situations, and replicated by other companies in their search for excellence and the resulting avoidance of misconduct.

The Republic of Gupta Oxford Business Group

This publication is a first response of the OECD to the issue of what role is, or can be, assigned to SOEs as part of national development strategies.

Wrecking Ball Jonathan Ball Publishers

**\*\*A TIMES AND NEW YORK TIMES BOOK OF THE YEAR 2022\*\*** An explosive exposé of a firm whose work has made your world more unequal, more corrupt and more dangerous. McKinsey & Company have earned billions consulting

for almost every major corporation in the world - and countless governments, including yours. Shielded by NDAs, their practices have remained hidden - until now. In this propulsive investigation, prize-winning journalists Walt Bogdanich and Michael Forsythe reveal the disturbing reality. McKinsey's work includes ruthless cuts to the NHS, troubleshooting for Big Oil, incentivising the prescription of opioids, executing Trump's immigration policies (the ones that put children in cages) as well as advising some of the world's most unsavoury despots. 'A story of secrecy, delusion and untold harm' OBSERVER 'Makes you so angry...the evidence the authors winkle out is astonishing' SUNDAY TIMES 'Panoramic, meticulously reported and ultimately devastating'

PATRICK RADDEN KEEFE 'A harrowing account of decades of dishonourable exploits' **ECONOMIST**

**Earth, Wind and Fire** Cambridge University Press

A powerful analysis of events that helped galvanise resistance across civil society 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.  
The Report: South Africa 2014 Oxford University Press, USA  
 How should we be putting a price on carbon, particularly in developing countries? This volume takes up this contested issue and examines how different economic instruments might apply in developing countries, with a special focus on South Africa. The papers included address a variety of themes in this area: Emissions trading, carbon taxes, fiscal and non-fiscal instruments, policy and institutional dimensions, and lessons from the Clean Development Mechanism. Presenting the very latest research, the volume will be of interest to academics and policymakers in economics, policy and development.  
**Linking Emissions Trading Schemes**

Juta and Company (Pty) Ltd  
 This book examines issues ranging from global and domestic climate change and sustainable energy issues to the mineral-energy complex issues that have given rise to local and sector-specific problems.  
*The Report: South Africa 2012*  
 International Monetary Fund  
 'A must-read, accessible and skilful account of South Africa's socio-economic challenges, policy and governance choices.' – THEMBA MASEKO  
 All the numbers on South Africa's crisis dashboard are blinking red. The economy is failing to grow and more and more young people find themselves on the outside looking in as education falters and jobs disappear. Energy and transport are in crisis. Governance is

floundering as debt mounts and government runs out of money. *Better Choices* is a collection by South Africa's top thinkers on the political economy, providing an unflinching account of the myriad challenges the country faces. The picture that emerges is of a nation on the brink of a catastrophic slide into failure unless better, if tough, policy choices are made. As stark as these problems are, their solutions are tantalisingly close at hand. The chapters in this book outline exactly the solutions – those 'better choices' – that need to be made by leadership to alter the country's bleak trajectory. South Africa cannot talk its way out of trouble. Key to success is removing the sources of friction – the red tape, over-regulation and rents – that slow down investment.

This is only possible if a more effective, focused government acts decisively. Compiled by The Brenthurst Foundation, Africa's leading think tank on economic development, *Better Choices* is for those who want to build a positive, inclusive future for South Africa.

*Better Choices* The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI)

The sustainable development goals signed in 2016 marked a new phase in global development thinking, one which is focused on ecologically and fiscally sustainable human settlements. Few countries offer a better testing ground for their attainment than post-apartheid South Africa. Since the coming to power of the African National Congress, the country has undergone a policy making revolution, driven by an urgent need to

improve access to services for the country's black majority. A quarter century on from the fall of apartheid, *Building a Capable State* asks what lessons can be learned from the South African experience. The book assesses whether the South African government has succeeded in improving service delivery, focusing on the vital sectors of water and sanitation, energy, roads, public transport and housing. Emphasizing the often-overlooked role of local government institutions and finance, the book demonstrates that effective service delivery can have a profound impact on the social structure of emerging economies, and must form an integral part of any future development strategy. A comprehensive examination of urban service delivery in

the global South, *Building a Capable State* is essential reading for students and practitioners across the social sciences, public finance and engineering sectors.

*African Economic Outlook 2009 Country Notes: Volumes 1 and 2* Cambridge University Press

Shows that economic concerns about jobs, costs, and consumption, rather than climate change, are likely to drive energy transition in developing countries.

*The Global Corporation* Random House  
With the inclusion of access to energy in the sustainable development goals, the role of energy to human existence was finally recognized. Yet, in Africa, this achievement is far from realized. Omorogbe and Ordor bring together



experts in their fields to ask what is stalling progress, examining problems from institutions catering to vested interests at the continent's expense, to a need to develop vigorous financial and fiscal frameworks. The ramifications and complications of energy law are labyrinthine: this volume discusses how energy deficits can burden disabled people, women, and children in excess of their more fortunate counterparts, as well as considering environmental issues, including the delicate balance between the necessity of water for drinking and cleaning and the use of water in industrial processes. A pivotal work of scholarship, the book poses pressing questions for energy law and international human rights.

Ending Africa's Energy Deficit and the

Law Routledge

In October 2015, the Gupta brothers offered Mcebisi Jonas the position of minister of finance in exchange for R600 million. Then deputy minister of finance, Jonas turned down the bribe and a period of deep introspection followed for him. How did we reach this point, and what did the future hold for South Africa's democracy and the economy? In *After Dawn*, Mcebisi Jonas analyses the crisis at the heart of our current system, which places politics at the centre of policymaking and implementation at the expense of growth. In this important and authoritative book, Jonas first unpacks and analyses the current badlands of the South African economic and political landscape. In the second half, Jonas proposes a series of workable and

practical solutions for transitioning South Africa into a growing, job-creating country including: Putting inclusive growth at the centre of economic policy; rapidly expanding new technological capacities and knowledge to transition to a twenty-first-century economy; expanding human capabilities at scale; path-changing trade-offs to catalyse the next phase of South Africa's development; nurturing a corruption-free, high-performance state built on meritocracy and innovation; and changing the nature of politics. Time is of the essence and the window of opportunity is narrowing for all South Africans to work together towards the South Africa we all imagined was possible in 1994.

### **When McKinsey Comes to Town**

Berrett-Koehler Publishers

Indeed, since the end of apartheid in 1994 South Africa has become a major diplomatic player both on the African continent as well as further afield. Despite the size of South Africa's economy, the country currently faces a number of major economic challenges. As of the end of July 2014 the unemployment rate was at 25.5%, according to data from Statistics South Africa, which was among the highest in the world. While the government's long-term development plans are generally highly regarded, delivery and execution has occasionally been problematic. While there are major hurdles that must be cleared, given the country's strong institutions and the rapid pace of economic expansion over the past two

decades, South Africa should be able to look forward to 20 more years of peace and steady, sustained economic growth. *The Report: South Africa 2008* Pan Macmillan South africa

On a stormy evening in November 2021, unknown saboteurs neatly cut eight steel supports and toppled a small pylon near Lethabo Power Station in the Free State. It was felled in such a way as to take out a back-up power line, leaving coal conveyors at the power station without electricity. 'This was clearly now an act of sabotage,' declared Eskom's chief executive officer André de Ruyter, 'and I think we can call it as such.' Who was behind this, and what is their ultimate goal? Since his appointment in January 2020, De Ruyter has faced intense opposition from within the power utility

as he attempts to clean up corruption and return the electricity company to a semblance of its former glory. He is not alone. Chief operations officer Jan Oberholzer and other trusted allies in Eskom have also come under intense fire. From forensic investigations, botched probes and accusations of racism, De Ruyter and Oberholzer have spent significant amounts of time fending off allegation after allegation. Amid this onslaught, it has become clear that their enemies will take any measures necessary to have them removed from office. Based on exclusive interviews with De Ruyter, Oberholzer and other key figures, Sabotage is a story of conspiracy and subterfuge at South Africa's ailing power utility, giving new insights into a battle that threatens

the country's economy.

**Sabotage** Pan Macmillan South Africa  
This volume provides an overview of the political economy of coal in diverse country contexts. Coal is the largest source of greenhouse gas emissions globally, accounting for about 40 percent of energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Continued construction of coal-fired power plants could make the climate targets of the Paris Agreement infeasible to achieve. In spite of sharply declining costs for renewable energy sources, many countries still heavily rely on coal to meet their energy demand. The predominance of coal can only be adequately understood in light of the political factors that determine energy policy formulation. To this end, this edited volume assembles a wide variety

of case studies exploring the political economy of coal for across the globe. These includes industrial and developing nations, coal importers and exporters as well as countries that are either substantial coal users, are just beginning to ramp up their capacities, or have already initiated a coal phase-out. Importantly, all case studies are structured along a unifying framework that focuses on the central actors driving energy policy formulation, their main objectives as well as the context that determines to what extent they can influence policy making. This large set of comparable studies will permit drawing conclusions regarding key similarities as well as differences driving coal use in different countries. This book will be of great interest to students and scholars of

energy, climate change, resource management, and sustainable development. It will also appeal to practitioners and policymakers involved in sustainable development. The Open Access version of this book, available at [www.taylorfrancis.com](http://www.taylorfrancis.com), has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution- Non Commercial- No Derivatives 4.0 license.

*South Africa* Routledge

The global, regional, and local energy landscape has changed dramatically in the twenty-first century. Many factors have affected what we know about energy: a consensus among scientists on climate change and related support for renewable energy, evolving energy and resource extraction technologies, growing resource demand in the

developing world, new regional and global energy governance actors, new major fossil fuel discoveries on land and underwater in states that have previously been under-resourced, rising interest in corporate social responsibility in energy companies, and the need for energy justice. The *Oxford Handbook of Energy Politics* synthesizes the diverse literature on these topics to provide a foundational resource for teaching and research on critical energy issues in international relations and comparative politics. Through chapters authored by both scholars and practitioners, the Handbook further develops the energy politics scholarship and community, and generates sophisticated new work that will benefit all who work on energy issues.

**The Report: South Africa 2013** OECD Publishing

Africa's leading producer of electricity, Eskom Holdings SOC Ltd, is also a vertically integrated monopoly, owned by the South African state. This national champion was shaken in 2008, when it was obliged to introduce 'load shedding', or rolling blackouts, and again in late 2014. Trying to understand how and why one of the iconic pillars of South African state capitalism is now in distress, the authors of this book argue that the so-called electricity crisis is in fact a public monopoly crisis. Moving beyond technical aspects, they explore the relationship between state power and Eskom before, during and after apartheid. From this perspective, they suggest that the current technical and

financial troubles of this public utility are illustrative of the weakening of its technopolitical regime, of how national institutions have governed Eskom's technological development, and of the pursuit of political goals in the production of electrical power. Without a clear industrial strategy during the 2000s, Eskom became a powerful tool of Broad-Black Economic Empowerment as well as a neopatrimonial system which generates profits captured by the ruling party. As a result, crisis in Eskom shakes the whole political edifice. Inefficient and its finances increasingly under scrutiny, this state-owned enterprise's existence as a monopolistic public utility is regularly a subject of debate. The authors discuss the ambivalent role of Eskom in the national energy transition

policy and whether solutions point in the direction of de-integrating this public monopoly and allowing its current technopolitical regime to enter a planned or natural decline.

#### Behold the Turtle Routledge

Reflecting slow progress on reforms, weakened governance, and elevated policy uncertainty, growth remains subdued. With the economy unable to create enough jobs, the quest for inclusive growth has been elusive, making South Africa one of the most unequal societies. Growing government spending has led to a doubling of public debt in the last decade. Credible monetary policy has kept inflation expectations anchored, albeit at near the top of the target band. The current account deficit remains financed by

potentially volatile portfolio inflows. The new administration's immediate priority has focused on improving governance and restoring confidence.

#### **South Africa News Update** Cambridge University Press

What was Ajay Gupta doing on Thabo Mbeki's 'secret' advisory council? Did the Guptas play a role in Jacob Zuma's rise to power? How did the Guptas capture South African cricket? What is their interest in the controversial nuclear procurement deal? What influence have they had in the hiring and firing of cabinet ministers? The Guptas rose to national infamy when a commercial airliner packed with guests for a family wedding was allowed to land at Air Force Base Waterkloof in 2013, sparking an onslaught of public outrage. Since then,

they have become embroiled in allegations of state capture, of dishing out cabinet posts to officials who would do their bidding, and of benefiting from lucrative state contracts and dubious loans. *The Republic of Gupta* investigates what the Gupta brothers were up to during Thabo Mbeki's presidency and how they got into the inner circle of President Jacob Zuma. It shines new light on their controversial ventures in computers, cricket, newspapers and TV news, and coal and uranium mining. And it explores their exposure by public protector Thuli

Madonsela, their conflict with finance minister Pravin Gordhan, and the real reasons behind the cabinet reshuffle of March 2017. Pieter-Louis Myburgh delves deeper than ever before into the Guptas' business dealings and their links to prominent South African politicians, and explains how one family managed to transform an entire country into the Republic of Gupta.

**Walking the Talk** Jonathan Ball  
Publishers

A major study of the modern global coal market and its impacts both on energy markets and on climate policy.