BARCLAYS SHADOW REPORT 1981

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BARCLAYS SHADOW BOARD

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN

This is the first time that a Shadow Board has been set up to monitor the activities of a British-owned company. The Barclays Shadow Board was set up by ELTSA (End Loans to South Africa) in order to focus public attention on the bank's role in South Africa. When it held its first meeting on 26 January 1981 a decision was made to commission a Shadow Report which would provide alternative information on Barclays' involvement in South Africa which is *not* contained in the bank's Annual Report. I was also elected Chairman of the Shadow Board at this meeting.

Professor Michael Dummett.

Unlike an actual board of directors, we are not primarily concerned with financial performance. Our focus is, rather, upon the social, political and economic effects of the company's operations. We hope, most sincerely, that Barclays' shareholders will take note of our findings. Nobody supposes that one can fence off any part of one's personal affairs so as to make them invulnerable to any consideration of their effects upon other people. We certainly cannot see any justification for regarding the conduct of a company or other institution as any more immune to moral considerations. But, though we hope to give information to Barclays' shareholders, we are not primarily addressing them: our audience is intended to be the wider public.

Why then, have we concerned ourselves solely with Barclays' operations in South Africa? Multinational companies operate across the world in many countries with poor, indeed appalling, records on human rights. But South Africa remains a special case. It does so in part because of Britain's quite special involvement, both historically and as a result of our country's present deep financial and economic links with the apartheid regime. Moreover, South Africa is the only country in which racism has been hardened into an institutional system for the exploitation of the majority by a privileged racial minority.

Certainly none of the major British banks are free from connections with South Africa. Barclays, however, is the only 'High Street' bank that has a locally incorporated subsidiary in South Africa. Barclays is indeed the largest bank in South Africa, and controls over one third of all the banking business in that country.

Barclays has been eager to persuade people that the bank plays a positive role in South Africa, helping to reform apartheid from within. We regard this claim as quite fallacious. There is no way in which the bank can possibly fight apartheid from within while continuing to act as a commercial enterprise: on the contrary, we believe that the operations of Barclays help substantially to strengthen the apartheid system, and must continue to do so as long as it retains its connections with the country and the regime continues to last.

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN

CONTINUED

We recognise that the establishment of the Shadow Board represents only one element in the campaign against Barclays' involvement in South Africa. The bank after all has been under attack for its support of the apartheid system since the late 1960s. Since then it has become a truly global campaign because the activities of multinational companies have to be monitored at an international level. Barclays operates in 75 countries across the world. I therefore particularly welcome the presence of the High Commissioners of Grenada and Zambia as directors of the Shadow Board.

We believe that the information contained in the Shadow Report should prove a useful weapon in the struggle to end Barclays' involvement in apartheid. The report attempts to indicate the extent of Barclays' support for apartheid and to chronicle the operations of the bank during the past year. We sincerely hope that everyone who has dealings of any kind with Barclays — whether as a shareholder, an employee, a holder of a personal account or a member of an institution holding an account — will study the Shadow Board's report, and will then take up the issues that it raises.

Professor Michael Dummett
Chairman

THE REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

South Africa

South Africa is Barclays' largest single area of operations after the United Kingdom. Indeed over 10 per cent of the bank's total deposits are in Southern Africa, compared with 69 per cent in Britain and 21 per cent in the rest of the world.

Barclays has a deep historical involvement in South Africa. The bank's origins go back to the formation of the National Bank of South Africa which was established in 1891 and later acquired by Barclays in 1919. Barclays National Bank Ltd, Barclays' locally registered subsidiary, is now the largest bank in South Africa, with 1,216 branches. On 31 December 1979 Barclays National held deposits of Rands 4,487 million (£2,513m), over one third of the total banking deposits in South Africa.

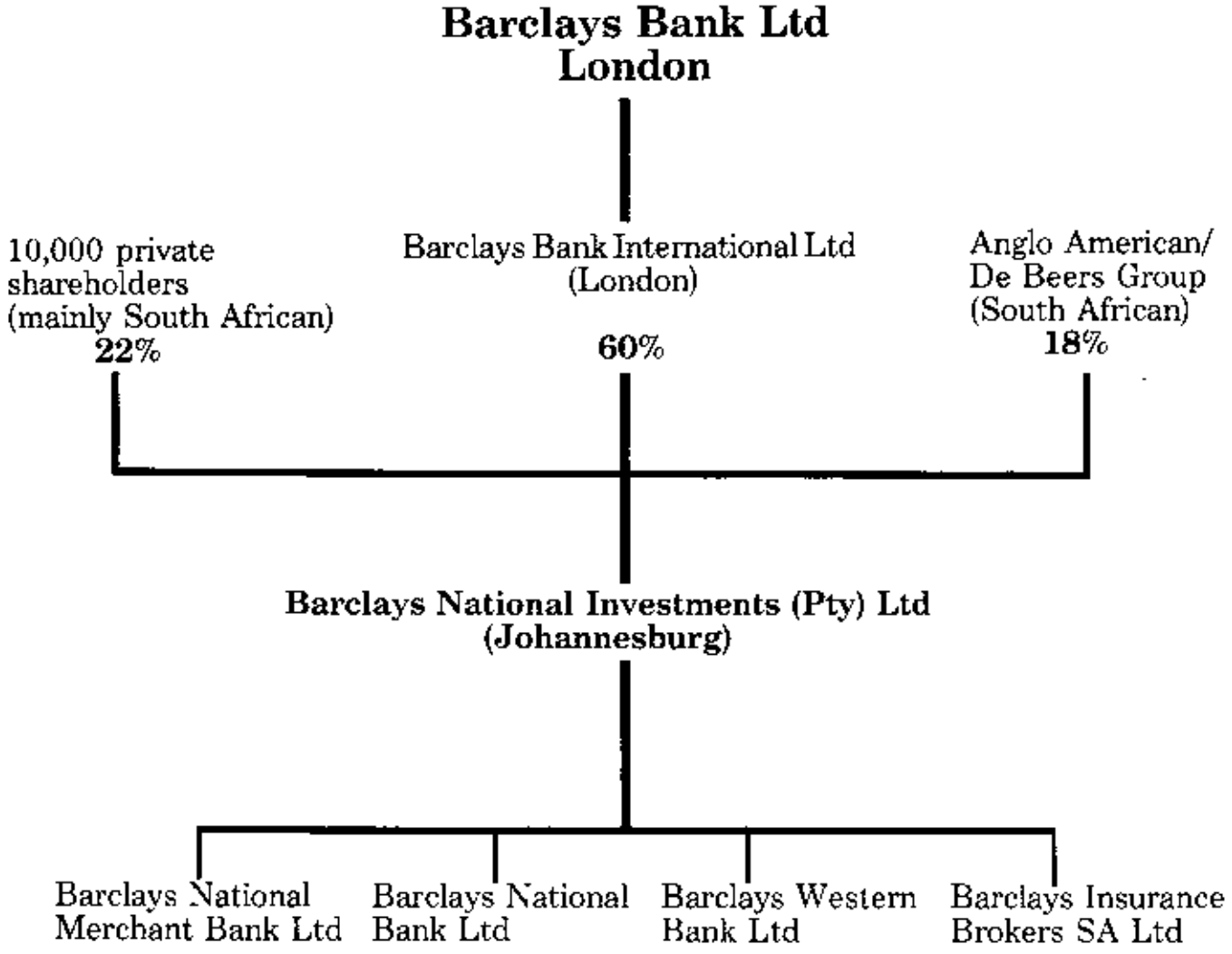
From a financial viewpoint 1980 was a very successful year for Barclays in South Africa. Barclays National increased its after tax profits by 53 per cent to a record Rands 76 million (£43m). The bank's managing director, Bob Aldworth, informed shareholders in February 1981 that business would be buoyed up during the coming year by several large projects — including a Rands 300 million (£168m) financial package for the new coal export terminal at Richards Bay. In addition Barclays National (together with Standard Bank) arranged a Rands 650 million (£364m) loan to ESCOM (the state electricity corporation) in January 1981.

Barclays National Investments (Pty) Ltd is the holding company for Barclays' interests in South Africa, and Barclays National Bank Ltd is the bank's main subsidiary operating company in that country. But Barclays National Investments also has three other principal subsidiaries which are all wholly-owned: Barclays Western Bank Ltd, Barclays National Merchant Bank Ltd, and Barclays Insurance Brokers South Africa Ltd.

Barclays Bank Limited in Britain now holds a 60.03 per cent share in its South African subsidiary, Barclays National Investments Ltd. The largest private shareholder in Barclays National Investments Ltd. is the Anglo American/De Beers Group with 18 per cent of the shares. The remaining shares are held by 10,000 private shareholders, mainly resident in South Africa.

Under South African law, Barclays Bank Ltd will have to reduce its stake in its South African subsidiary to below 50 per cent by 1986. At present, however, Barclays Bank in London retains a controlling shareholding in its South African subsidiary. Seven of the directors of Barclays National are British citizens. These are: Timothy Bevan, John Henderson, Henry Lambert, P.E. Leslie, Michael Menzies, Dion Nicholson and Sir Anthony Tuke.

BARCLAYS' SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTION

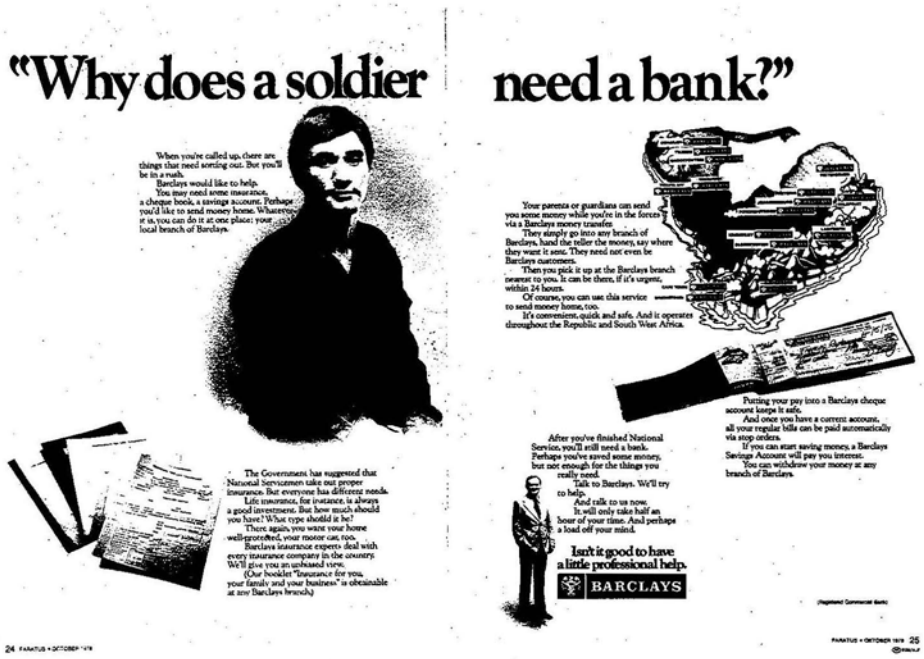


South African coat of arms.

Government

Barclays has close ties with the South African Government. The bank's South African subsidiary is a major provider of capital to the Government, and on 31 December 1979 the bank held Rands 846 million (£474m) in government and government-guaranteed securities. Barclays is an important source of Eurocurrency loans for the South African Government and its corporations. Details of three major loans extended in 1980 are given on p.14.

The bank is also an important tax payer to the South African Government. Taxes due in the 1979 financial year rose to Rands 22 million (£12m).


"Why does a soldier need a bank?"

When you're called up, there are things that need sorting out. But you'll be in a rush.
Barclays would like to help.
You may need some insurance, a cheque book, a savings account. Perhaps you'd like to send money home. Whatever it is, you can do it at one place: your local branch of Barclays.

The Government has suggested that National Servicemen take out proper insurance. But everyone has different needs.
Life insurance, for instance, is always a good investment. But how much should you have? What type should it be?
There again, you want your house well-protected, your motor car, too.
Barclays insurance experts deal with every insurance company in the country. We'll give you an unbiased view.
(Our booklet "Insurance for you, your family and your business" is obtainable at any Barclays branch.)

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Your parents or guardians can send you some money while you're in the forces via a Barclays money transfer.
They simply go into any branch of Barclays, hand the teller the money, say where they want it sent. They need not even be Barclays customers.
Then you pick it up at the Barclays branch nearest to you. It can be there, if it's urgent, within 24 hours.
Of course, you can use this service to send money home, too.
It's convenient, quick and safe. And it operates throughout the Republic and South West Africa.

Putting your pay into a Barclays cheque account keeps it safe.
And once you have a current account, all your regular bills can be paid automatically via stop orders.
If you can start saving money, a Barclays Savings Account will pay you interest.
You can withdraw your money at any branch of Barclays.

After you've finished National Service, you'll still need a bank.
Perhaps you've saved some money, but not enough for the things you really need.
Talk to Barclays. We'll try to help.
And talk to us now.
It will only take half an hour of your time. And perhaps a load off your mind.

Isn't it good to have a little professional help.
BARCLAYS

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Barclays' advertisement in military journal.

Military

Barclays has developed close links with the South African armed forces. The bank has recently run a major advertising campaign aimed at military personnel around the theme "Why does a National Serviceman need a bank?". These advertisements are published in *Paratus*, the official journal of the South African Armed Forces.

Several hundred of Barclays' white staff are conscripted into the South African Defence Force. Under the National Key Points Bill which was introduced in June 1980 private companies can be ordered to step up security measures by forming white militias and by purchasing arms and communications equipment. After the Silverton bank raid in January 1980 the Government became even more concerned at security measures at banks, and it is believed that some Barclays offices have been declared "key points" of strategic importance.

Barclays' holding of Rands 10 million (£6m) of South African Government Defence Bonds was sold in 1977 following international protests. These funds went directly towards the financing of the South African Armed Forces. As far as is known no further Defence Bonds have since been purchased by Barclays.

Attack on Sasol Plant.

Sasol

South Africa's most vulnerable point of dependence on the international community is oil, and the Government has therefore embarked on a massive programme to convert oil from coal. Two large Sasol plants which are now being completed will supply about a quarter of South Africa's oil requirements. This will therefore help the South African Government resist international attempts to strengthen the existing oil embargo at present supported by all OPEC members.

The attack by ANC (African National Congress) guerrillas on Sasol installations on 1 June 1980 was an acknowledgement that the oil-from-coal plant is one of the most strategic plants in South Africa. Indeed oil has a crucial military importance, and Mobil's lawyers have suggested that "as oil is absolutely vital to enable the army to move, the navy to sail, and the air force to fly, it is likely that a South African court would hold that it falls within . . . the definition of munitions of war". There has therefore been pressure at the United Nations to expand the existing arms embargo to cover oil.

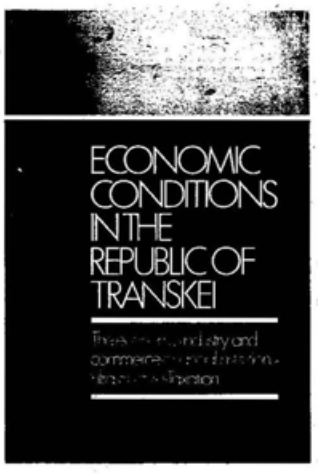
In September 1979 Sasol, the South African state oil corporation, issued 263 million two Rand shares in order to raise funds for the construction of the Sasol III plant. The share issue was handled and underwritten by five merchant banks — including Barclays National Merchant Bank. Since Barclays is the largest bank in South Africa, it is likely that it handled a substantial proportion of the total share issue.

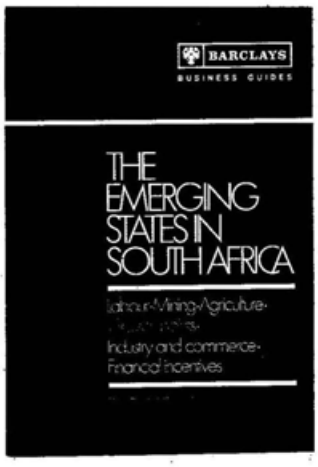
Barclays also purchased its own holding of 10 million Sasol shares worth Rands 20 million (£11m) at issue price. The bank therefore owns one of the largest single blocks of shares in Sasol.

Barclays has defended its involvement in the Sasol share issue by arguing that the project is essentially non-political. Sir Anthony Tuke, Barclays' Chairman, told shareholders in May 1980 that the purchase of Sasol shares was "similar to our own very much larger investment in North Sea oil". But this deliberately avoided the point — acknowledged by the South African Government — that the Sasol oil-from-coal plants are being built to enable the regime to resist international sanctions. Barclays has claimed that the purchase of Sasol shares "is entirely a commercial application of local South African funds".But by selling its Defence Bonds holding, Barclays in effect recognized that it is not a matter of indifference for what purpose money is used inside South Africa. The important question is whether the Sasol project has military significance or not.

Bantustans

The Bantustans (or Blacl Homelands) cover just 13 per cent of the area of South Africa — but they are the only places where the African 71 per cent of the South African population have political rights. The international community has therefore refused to recognise the 'independence' of the Bantustans on the grounds that they represent an integral element of the apartheid system.





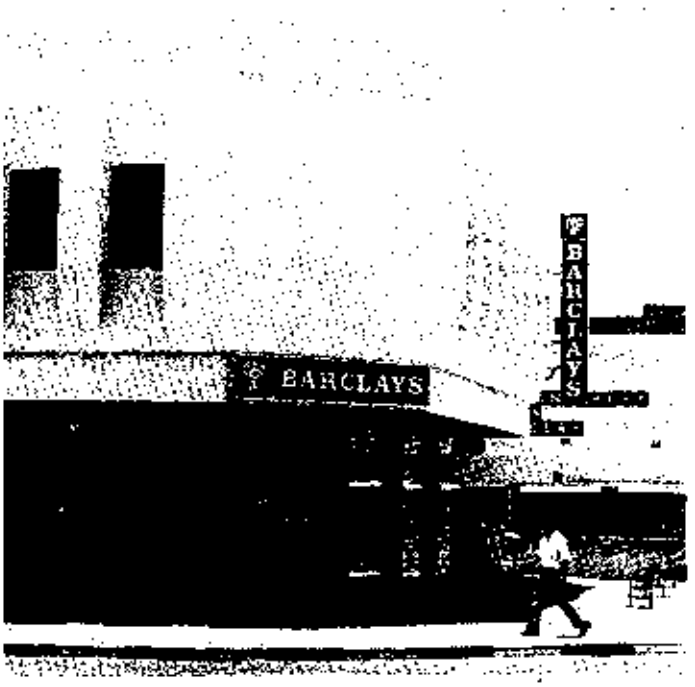
Barclays still operates in the 'independent' Bantustans despite the fact that these territories are not recognised by the British Government. Indeed Britain has voted in favour of a United Nations resolution which requests "all states to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other Bantustans". The bank has a network of branches in Transkei and Bophuthatswana. When Venda became 'independent' on 13 September 1979 Barclays also continued to operate in the territory.

Barclays National has published two reports on *Economic Conditions in the Republic of Transkei* and *The Emerging States in South Africa* which actively encourage businessmen to invest in the Bantustans. These publications give support to the South African Government's policy of establishing 'independent' Bantustans, and they even claim that these territories now enjoy what is described as "meaningful self-government". Balliol College Oxford has called for Barclays to withdraw the two booklets. After the college threatened to move its account from Barclays, the bank announced in September 1980 that distribution of these reports "has ceased".

Namibia

South Africa's mandate to administer the territory of Namibia was revoked by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966. Five years later the International Court of Justice advised that South Africa's continued presence in Namibia was illegal, and this decision was subsequently endorsed by the UN Security Council.

Barclays has throughout continued to operate in Namibia, and still does, thus displaying its acceptance of the South African occupation of the territory and rejection of the rulings by the International Court of Justice and the UN. It also continues to refer to the territory as "South West Africa", rather than Namibia. Indeed Barclays National has an expanding network of 22 branches and 90 agencies in the territory. Among offices set up by the bank are those in Ondangwa, Grootfontein, Tsumeb, and Oshakati, where the South African armed forces have major bases.



Barclays Head Office in Namibia.

Barclays National — by operating in Namibia — recognises the illegal South African occupation force. Indeed, because of the bank's central role in the Namibian economy, it plays a key part in channelling profits from the territory to companies in South Africa. In 1978 Barclays channelled 18% of its deposits from Namibia to South Africa, thus playing a role in impoverishing Namibia.

In November 1980 Barclays National participated in the formation of the Private Sector Foundation which was set up to help preserve 'free enterprise' in Namibia. Desmond Mathews, a director of the "South West Africa" local board of Barclays National Bank, was appointed as one of

the nine governors of the Foundation. The purpose of the Private Sector Foundation is to preserve the present economic system in the territory. In an apparent reference to the liberation struggle, the Foundation's chairman warned that there are "certain realities that are with us and which we cannot wish away." This threatens "to destabilise the business environment in South West Africa if adequate steps are not taken".

SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement recognised by the United Nations, has consistently called for the withdrawal of Barclays and other Western companies from Namibia. In a statement issued in March 1981 SWAPO has pointed out that "the operations of Barclays Bank in Namibia constitute a violation of international law, according recognition to 'authorities' installed by the illegal South African regime." The statement concludes that "SWAPO insists that the withdrawal of Barclays from our country and the cessation of its activities in South Africa would hasten the achievement of peace and justice in Namibia and Southern Africa as a whole."


IF YOU'RE
STARTING BUSINESS WITH
RHODESIA,
THE LAST THING YOU WANT
IS A BANK THAT'S JUST
STARTING THERE.

Sanctions on trade with Rhodesia have ended. One international bank is already established throughout the country for international business - Barclays Bank International. We have over 50 offices in this land of rich natural resources which now offers tremendous new business opportunities for international trade.
Barclays is better placed than any other bank to advise and help you fully on every aspect of your business with Rhodesia. No other bank combines established coverage of business centres throughout Rhodesia with an unmatched network of offices in over 75 countries spanning five continents.
To find out what opportunities await your company in Rhodesia - ask Barclays first. Speak to Leslie Robinson of our International Division at 168 Fenchurch Street, London EC3P 3HP (telephone: 01-283 8989 extension 3386).

ASK BARCLAYS FIRST
BARCLAYS International

Zimbabwe

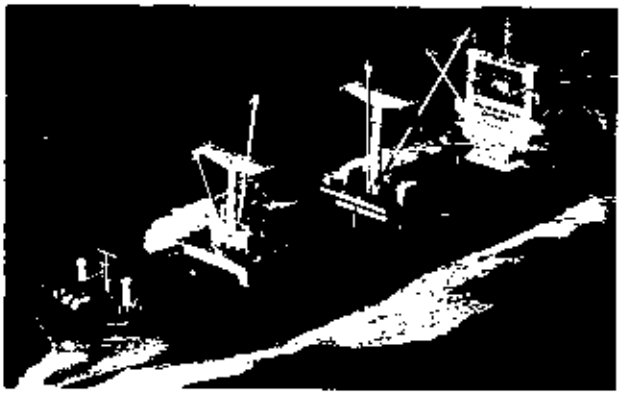
Just before sanctions were lifted against Zimbabwe, Barclays International ran an advertising campaign in the British press. The advertisements were headlined: "If you're starting business with Rhodesia, the last thing you want is a bank that's just starting there" — a reminder that Barclays continued to operate there throughout UDI.

During UDI, Barclays transferred funds freely between its Rhodesian and South African subsidiaries in contravention of UN sanctions. Yet the bank's head office in London consistently refused calls to prevent its South African subsidiary from participating in sanctions-busting on a massive scale. At Barclays' AGM in May 1980 the Chairman Sir Anthony Tuke also refused to accede to a shareholder's request that the bank should launch an investigation into the role played by its subsidiaries in Southern Africa in helping to keep the illegal Rhodesian regime afloat during UDI.

Doing Business

Barclays National regularly publishes a report on *Doing Business in South Africa* which encourages investment and trade with South Africa. The booklet provides a fundamentally pro-government account of the country. For example, the section on political unrest in the 1980 edition claims that "the situation is well under control and generally the labour force is content".

Balliol College Oxford has called for Barclays to withdraw the report on *Doing Business in South Africa* because it supported the existing apartheid economy, saying that the publication "seems to us to abandon all pretence of political neutrality and to have adopted a tone which is openly on the side of the present regime and its policies of apartheid". In September 1980 Barclays' Chairman, Sir Anthony Tuke, gave an on-the-record assurance that no more copies of the booklet would be distributed. However, it is not clear whether the report has actually been withdrawn from circulation.



Trade

British trade with South Africa is absolutely crucial to the apartheid economy. As former Prime Minister John Vorster once explained: "every time a South African product is bought it is another brick in the wall of our continued existence."

Barclays Bank in Britain is deeply involved in providing export credits for UK exports to South Africa. As the largest British bank, Barclays was almost certainly the major source of export credits for the £1,002 million of UK goods which were sold to South Africa during 1980. Barclays National was also probably the most important source of export credit for the £756 million of South African exports supplied to the UK.

Barclays International is still a member of the United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA), an organisation that actively fosters the development of British economic links with South Africa.

The bank claims that "over the years the British Government, whatever the party in power, has continued to seek and support civil trade with South Africa". In fact at least one British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, stated when in office: "At the moment we are in a position of depending on South Africa far more than is healthy if we are to pursue consistent and viable foreign and economic policies. We must reduce our overdependence on that country. Prudent businessmen and

prudent investors, no less than the British Government, should be taking a hard look at their South African connection". Yet Barclays has adopted the reverse policy, actively encouraging British companies to expand their trade with South Africa.

Lost Accounts

Outside South Africa Barclays has continued to lose considerable business as a result of accounts being moved as a protest against the bank's support for apartheid. Organisations which have recently withdrawn from Barclays Bank include the National Union of Public Employees, the High Commission of Grenada in London, the Brussels-based World Confederation of Labour, Wandsworth Council for Community Relations, Southwark Council for Voluntary Service, the Catholic Renewal Movement, and a number of local church groups in Britain. The Caribbean Conference of Churches has also withdrawn its $3 million account from Barclays.

The largest account which has been moved from Barclays because of its involvement in South Africa is that of the London Borough of Lambeth. Lambeth's account had an annual turnover of over £1,200 million, making it Barclays' tenth largest account in Britain. On 3 December 1980 Lambeth Council decided to withdraw its account on the grounds that it was offensive to the substantial black population in the borough for the council to bank with a company so deeply involved in South Africa.

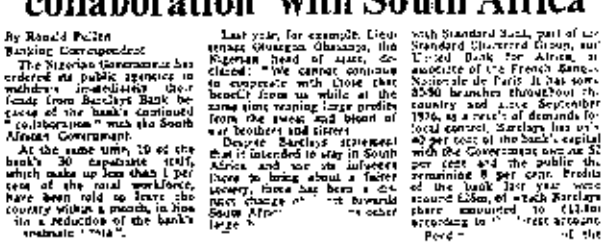
On 10 December 1980, one week after the Lambeth decision, the General Secretary of the Labour Party, Ron Hayward, wrote to all Labour-controlled local councils to point out that "Barclays Bank has close links with the South African Government, and a number of bodies have already withdrawn their accounts". It is therefore expected that other local councils will shortly follow Lambeth's lead.

In January 1981 the London Borough of Brent debated moving its account from Barclays. This move was narrowly defeated, and a compromise solution was adopted whereby Barclays was only awarded a two year contract with the council. In 1983 a further decision will therefore be made on whether Brent should continue to bank with Barclays.

During 1980 hundreds of individuals also closed their accounts with Barclays. In addition a considerable number of students and other young people who opened bank accounts for the first time avoided banking with Barclays because of its involvement in South Africa.

Nigeria

The Nigerian Government has continued to maintain its policy that no government bodies should bank with the local associate of Barclays (now known as the Union Bank of Nigeria Ltd). This followed a statement in 1978 by Barclays' Chairman, Sir Anthony Tuke, that the bank intended to remain in South Africa.



Nigeria to withdraw funds from Barclays because of bank's 'collaboration' with South Africa

By Ronald Pullen
Banking Correspondent

The Nigerian Government has ordered its public agencies to withdraw immediately their funds from Barclays Bank because of the bank's continued "collaboration" with the South African Government.

At the same time, 10 of the bank's 30 expatriate staff, which make up less than 1 per cent of the total workforce, have been told to leave the country within a month, in line with a reduction of the bank's expatriate staff.

Last year, for example, Lieutenant Olusegun Obasanjo, the Nigerian head of state, declared: "We cannot continue to cooperate with those that benefit from us while at the same time reaping large profits from the sweat and blood of our brothers and sisters."

Despite Barclays' statement that it intended to stay in South Africa and use its influence there to bring about a faster recovery, there has been a distinct change of [illegible] towards South Afr[illegible] other large b[illegible]

with Standard Bank, part of the Standard Chartered Group, and United Bank for Africa, an associate of the French Banque Nationale de Paris. It has some 3500 branches throughout the country and since September 1976, as a result of demands for local control, Barclays has sold 40 per cent of the bank's capital with the Government now owning 51 per cent and the public the remainder 8 per cent. Profits of the bank last year were around £18m, of which Barclays share amounted to £13.8m, according to [illegible] of the

Barclays also operates extensively in Africa (Botswana, Cameroun, Egypt, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) and in the Caribbean. A number of these governments are known to have questioned Barclays' involvement in South Africa with the bank. Barclays may therefore find that its South African connection will lead to the loss of much greater business in the Third World.

Liberation

Spokesmen for the South African people have consistently called for an end to Western financial links with the apartheid regime. Oliver Tambo, head of the African National Congress, said in March 1980 that the ANC demanded the "Total isolation of the racist regime — no investment and the withdrawal of existing investment." The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has adopted a similar position. The Black People's Convention has called upon foreign investors "to disengage themselves from this white-controlled exploitative system".

Burnt out Barclays branch in Soweto.

Finally the Christian Institute of South Africa has taken the same stand: "The argument that economic growth can produce fundamental change has proven false. Many black organisations have opposed foreign investment in South Africa, and this would be the opinion of the majority of South African blacks if their voices could be heard".

The Shadow Board of Barclays Bank supports the call of representatives of the black population of South Africa for the immediate withdrawal of Barclays from the apartheid regime.

BARCLAYS AT WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

An annual feature which will look at different aspects of Barclays' involvement in South Africa. This year's feature focuses on the role of loans to South Africa.

During the past year Barclays has become one of the major lenders of foreign capital to the South African Government and its corporations. These loans play a crucial role in providing financial backing to the apartheid regime.

Details have recently emerged of three major loans in which Barclays has participated:

***A R500 million (£280 m) Eurocurrency loan to ESCOM, the South African electricity corporation, in July 1980. This is believed to be the largest foreign loan that has ever been made to South Africa.**
***A $250 million (£100m) Eurocurrency loan to the South African Government in August 1980.**
***A DM100 million (£20m) publicly issued bond for ESCOM in November 1980.**

These loans only represent the most recent which Barclays has provided to South Africa. A United Nations study on *Bank Loans to South Africa 1972-1978* identified nine loans with a total value of $478 million (£200 m) in which Barclays played a leading role. The loans extended during this period are listed in the table below.

Barclays' Loans to South Africa 1972-78

Year	Amount	Type	Borrower
1972	$50m	bond	Anglo American Corp.
1973	DM100m	bond	ESCOM
1973	DM100m	bond	SA Railways and Harbours
1974	$35m	bond	ESCOM
1975	$45m	credit	Industrial Development Corp.
1975	$10m	credit	Industrial Development Corp.
1975	$60m	credit	African Explosives and Chemicals
1976	$7m	bond	City of Johannesburg
1976	$200m	credit	ESCOM

These loans have helped support the apartheid economy in a number of ways. First, they have given South Africa further recognition and respectability in the international financial world, at a time when there is growing pressure in the United Nations to isolate the apartheid regime. This point was admitted by the South African Minister of Finance, Senator Owen Horwood, during a visit to New York in September 1980. Referring to the $250 million loan which had been raised by Barclays and other Western banks, he acknowledged that "strictly speaking we didn't have to raise a loan of this kind". But he said, underlining the political importance of the loan, "any self-respecting country likes, from time to time, to have its name appear on the world capital markets" as a "test of its creditworthiness".

Secondly, financial assistance has helped to strengthen the Government's policy of separate development. Barclays

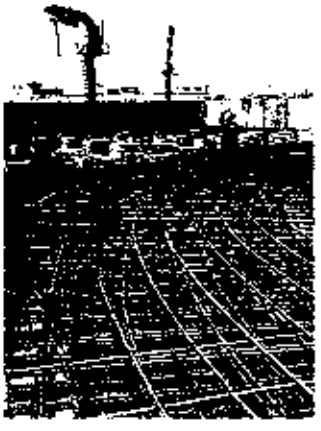
BARCLAYS AT WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

CONTINUED

Money for "education" frees funds for the military.

argues that it does not provide loans for "indeterminate purposes". But the bank's London office acknowledges that it does lend "for such purposes as the electrification of African townships or, more recently, to assist in a major programme for African housing and education in view of the vital need for improvement in such facilities". To speak of the "need for improvement" is to understate the case. However good Barclays' intentions may be, such projects, though effecting the immediate betterment of conditions, do so within the framework of segregated development, and help to strengthen that framework. As it is, possible short-term benefits are more than offset by the long-term effects of shoring up the structure of apartheid. Decent housing and education will be provided only when it is available to all South Africans, black and white, equally.

Finally, and most important, the provision of capital for what the bank regards as 'socially useful' projects merely frees other resources which can then be diverted to help finance the repressive state machinery. For example, Barclays' participation in the $250 million loan to the South African Government in August 1980 helped fill the regime's coffers at a critical time when the government was increasing its massive expenditure on the armed forces and the police. The various loans to ESCOM have helped the state electricity corporation finance the construction of Rands 1000 million (£560m) nuclear power station at Koeberg. This plant will help the South African regime to develop nuclear weapons.



Financing the electrification of Soweto or funding Koeberg nuclear project?

The provision of Eurocurrency loans to South Africa therefore represents direct financial support to the apartheid regime. The recent spate of Barclays loans to the South African Government and its corporations is yet another sign that the bank is deeply involved in propping up the apartheid economy. Barclays is using its cheque book to help sustain racist rule in South Africa.