

COAL, REROUTING, AND
THE EMBARGO FRONT

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COAL, REROUTING, AND THE EMBARGO FRONT



POWERING APARTHEID AND GENOCIDE

EN SP

Electricity is the backbone of the settler-colonial entity's killing machine. Today, it manifests as the forced infrastructural linkages of a fragmented Palestinian geography, to a genocidal entity with the ability to instantaneously cut power to 2.2 million people as collective punishment.⁰² Not only does the grid extend to the ever-expanding settler-colonial outposts or "settlements" in occupied Palestinian lands;⁰³ it sustains the brutal and deadly violence of settler gangs ravaging Palestinian villages, farms, and homes daily—not as sporadic acts, but as violence systematic to an infrastructure of apartheid.⁰⁴ The central grid renders the line between 'civilian' and military infrastructures null and void.

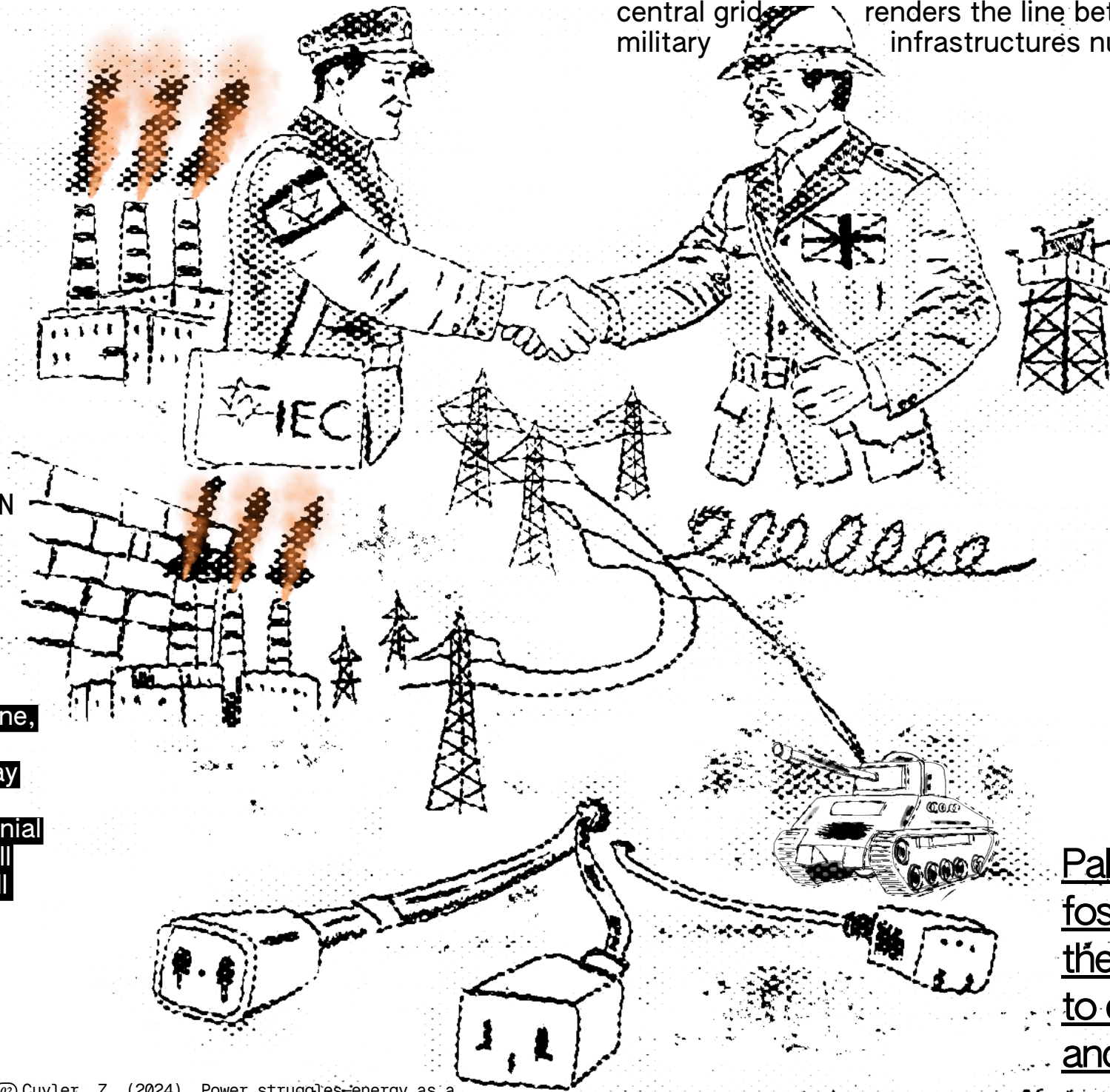
⁰³ World Bank Group. (2017). Securing energy for development in West Bank and Gaza: Brief

⁰⁴ Amnesty International UK. (2026, January 13). Israel/OPT: Spike in state-backed settler violence shows need to dismantle apartheid system. Amnesty International UK.

HOW THE UNIFIED ELECTRICITY GRID POWERS APARTHEID AND GENOCIDE.

...It is necessary to underline that the history of electrification in Palestine is integral to the larger Zionist settler colonial project...power grids, like water and telecommunication networks, have long been "the elixir of life for the [Zionist] settlements, the secret of their power" (Zertal and Eldar, 2009:XV).

-OMAR JABARY SALAMANCA, (2014) "HOOKED ON ELECTRICITY: THE CHARGED POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ELECTRIFICATION IN THE PALESTINIAN WEST BANK".



Electricity, sustained by a fossil-fueled grid in which coal remains materially significant, underpins military installations, surveillance systems, weapons production, and the wider infrastructure of occupation and genocide.

Palestinian dependency on a centralized, fossil-fueled electric grid controlled by the Zionist state is essential to its ability to exert domination over Palestinian life and death.

Palestinian dependency on a centralized, fossil-fueled electric grid controlled by the Zionist state is essential to its ability to exert domination over Palestinian life and death.

The colonial legacy of electrification in Palestine, is the marriage of British colonialism and the Zionist settler colonial project. Both would play an active role in shutting down independent utility plants, and the making of a central colonial grid that would connect Palestinians to the will of an apartheid state sending their monthly bill payments into the pockets of the Israeli Electricity Corporation (IEC).⁰¹

⁰¹ Salamanca, O. J. (2014, March). Hooked on electricity: The charged political economy of electrification in Palestine. In New Direction in Palestine Studies Workshop, Brown University.

⁰² Cuyler, Z. (2024). Power struggles—energy as a weapon of war, domination and resistance in Palestine. Middle East Report, (313).

FEEDING THE GRID— POWERING APARTHEID WITH COAL

EN SP

Coal supplies a significant share of Israel's electricity, with the Israeli Electric Corporation (IEC) operating two coal-fired power stations: Orot Rabin in Hadera (2,590 MW)^⑤ and Rutenberg in Ashkelon (2,250 MW),^⑥ together representing nearly 4,800 MW of installed capacity. Coal is imported through dedicated port infrastructure at both sites, with shipments entering at Hadera to supply Orot Rabin, and through a dedicated coal port serving the Rutenberg station in Ashkelon. The imported coal used by IEC's coal-fired power stations is procured through the National Coal Supply Corporation (NCSC), a government-held company wholly owned by IEC.^⑦

In the first nine months of 2024, the Israeli Electric Corporation (IEC), the primary state-owned utility company responsible for generating, transmitting, and distributing electricity—reported that 33.5% of its electricity generation came from coal. While in 2025, coal accounted for 26.2% of IEC's electricity generation. Coal-fired generation therefore remained a major part of the IEC generation mix, even as its share declined year-on-year.^⑧

Despite stated plans to phase out coal, the IEC's coal-to-gas conversion has repeatedly been delayed: reporting in late 2022 already noted that the conversion timetable had slipped, with completion no longer expected before 2026. By December 2025, energy reporting indicated that security concerns following the June 2025 war with Iran had pushed the effective end of coal use back by a further twelve months.^⑨

⑤ Global Energy Monitor. (2026, April 7). Orot Rabin power station. Retrieved April 16, 2026, from https://www.gem.wiki/Orot_Rabin_power_station

⑥ Global Energy Monitor. (2026, April 8). Rutenberg power station. Retrieved April 16, 2026, from https://www.gem.wiki/Rutenberg_power_station

⑦ ⑧ Israel Electric Corporation. (2025). Financial reports for the nine and three months ended September 30, 2025. Global Energy Monitor. (2026, April 8). Rutenberg power station. Retrieved April 16, 2026, from https://www.gem.wiki/Rutenberg_power_station

While the IEC repeatedly claims that coal is being phased out, the apartheid state remains dependent on imported coal to sustain a unified electricity grid. "Israel" has no domestic coal mines, and while most of its electricity is now generated from domestic natural gas, including offshore fields such as Tamar and Leviathan,^⑩ coal continues to power a significant part of the IEC generation mix and remains strategically important to the functioning of the grid.

Even pro-state energy security analysis has acknowledged this vulnerability. As Israeli analysts Elai Rettig and Michael Harari argued, emergency coal reserves would likely not last long in an expanded war scenario, requiring additional imports.

“Even if there are enough stations that can quickly switch to coal when needed, Israel's emergency coal reserves are probably not large enough to last very long, so there would be a need to import more during the war. To deal with such a scenario, Israel needs to increase its coal and fuel stocks temporarily in preparation for the expansion of the war.”

– ELAI RETTIG AND MICHAEL HARARI, “THE SECURITY OF THE ISRAELI ELECTRICITY SECTOR DURING THE ISRAEL-HAMAS WAR,” BEGIN-SADAT CENTER^⑪

This dependence makes coal exports a material pressure point. Vessels arriving at Israeli ports do not simply supply abstract energy demand: they help sustain the electricity infrastructure that underpins occupation, settlement, industry, and war.



⑨ Globes. (2022, December 5). Israelis pay for delay in replacing coal-fueled power stations. <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-israelis-pay-for-delay-in-replacing-coal-fueled-power-stations-1001431911>

⑪ Rettig, E., & Harari, M. (2024, May 30). The security of the Israeli electricity sector during the Israel-Hamas war. Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies.

⑩ International Trade Administration. (2019, December 20). Country commercial guide: Israel - Energy. International Trade Administration. Caroline Kehoe, Mark Hatfull, and Joseph Bentley. "Finding Neverland: exploring the risks in exporting Kurdistan's oil," Menas Associates, 5 October, 2017.

THE DATA: WHO SUPPLIES COAL TO "ISRAEL"

PHASE ① : COLOMBIA DOMINATES - PRE-DECREE (OCTOBER 2023 - AUGUST 2024)

Colombia supplied 51% of Israel's thermal coal, Russia 38%, South Africa just 11%. Colombia was the dominant supplier; South Africa was marginal.

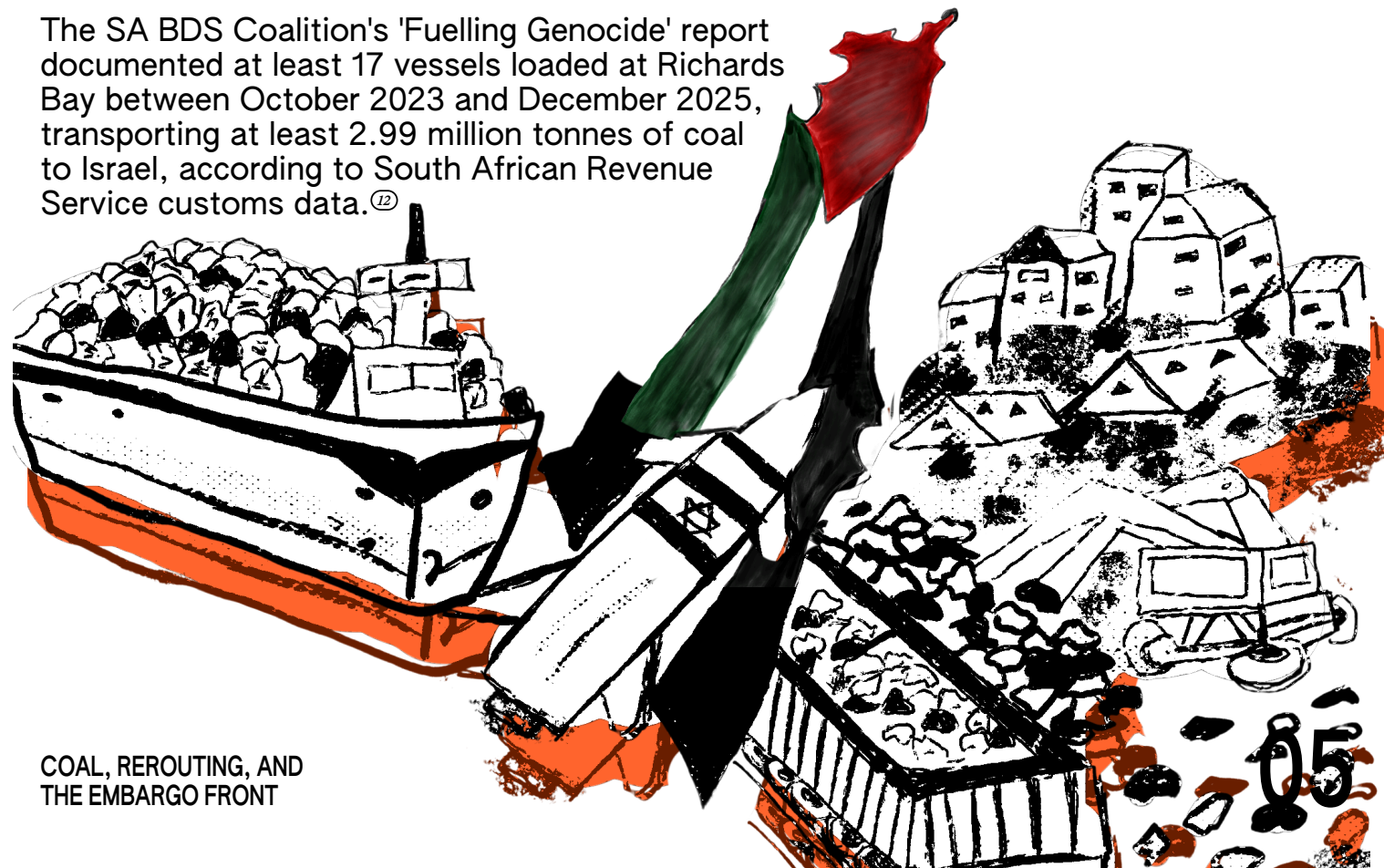
PHASE ② : SHIFT BEGINS - DECREE TO NAVAL ENFORCEMENT (AUGUST 2024 - JULY 2025)

South Africa surged to 45% of Israel's coal supply, overtaking Colombia which fell to 34%. Russia collapsed to 6%. Drummond Corporation exploited the pre-existing contract loophole in Decree 1047. Glencore ceased all Colombian exports to Israel — but coal from South Africa, where Glencore operates through the RBCT consortium, accelerated.

PHASE ③ : REROUTING AFTER COLOMBIA'S EMBARGO - POST-NAVAL ENFORCEMENT (JULY 2025 - MARCH 2026)

South Africa now supplies 88% of Israel's seaborne thermal coal. Colombia's share fell to 6% (one final Drummond vessel). Russia collapsed to under 2%. The rerouting is complete. South Africa is the new embargo front.

The SA BDS Coalition's 'Fuelling Genocide' report documented at least 17 vessels loaded at Richards Bay between October 2023 and December 2025, transporting at least 2.99 million tonnes of coal to Israel, according to South African Revenue Service customs data.¹²



Shipment records between October 2023 and February 2026 show a concentrated fossil supply chain of approximately 6.6 million tonnes of thermal coal, linking extraction terminals in Colombia (45.3%), South Africa (32.8%), and the Russian Federation (18.4%) to Israeli energy infrastructure. While Australia and China have only made singular shipments, it is worth noting that the Netherlands has no domestic sources of coal and is therefore likely to be re-exporting coal mined elsewhere to "Israel."¹³

Colombia and South Africa are the largest identified sources by delivered volume, with cargoes arriving directly at the Orot Rabin Coal Power Plant, the IEC Rutenberg Power Station, and Ashdod port infrastructure.

The pattern is clear: coal and related solid fuel shipments do not enter an abstract national market.

They move through identifiable terminals, ports, and power infrastructure. This makes the supply chain visible — and contestable.

¹² Frykberg, M. (2026, April 12). Hypocrisy: Critics slam SA for boosting coal exports to Israel despite Gaza genocide case. Daily Maverick.

¹³ See more on the methodology on pg. XX.

¹⁴ London Stock Exchange Group. (n.d.). Commodities data: Coal (globalCOAL and related datasets). LSEG Data & Analytics. Retrieved March, 2026, from <https://www.lseg.com/en/data-analytics/financial-data/commodities-data/coal-data>

LSEG data includes data for all shipments with origin data from 7th October 2023 and excludes shipments in transit at the time the data was accessed in March 2026.

SHIPMENTS IDENTIFIED IN THE DATASET

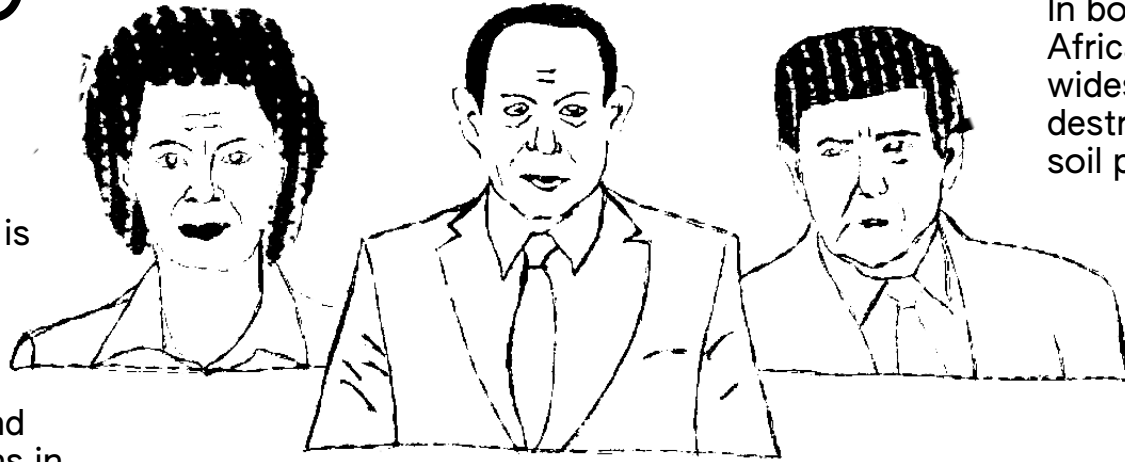
Country	Deliveries	Volume in Tonnage	Share (%)
Colombia	54	3,001,142	45.3%
South Africa	31	2,173,141	32.8%
Russian Federation	31	1,219,387	18.4%
Australia	1	130,243	2.0%
Netherlands	4	51,992	0.8%
China	1	43,415	0.7%
Total	122	6,619,320	100%

LSEG DATA SHOWS A CLEAR REROUTING OF SUPPLY: COLOMBIA DOMINATED IN 2023, THE SHIFT BECAME VISIBLE IN 2024, AND AFTER COLOMBIA FULLY ENFORCED ITS EMBARGO IN 2025, SOUTH AFRICA EMERGED AS THE PRINCIPAL REPLACEMENT SUPPLIER. THE DATA REVEALS THREE DISTINCT PHASES IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF ISRAEL'S COAL SUPPLY. THIS IS THE CENTRAL FINDING OF THIS PUBLICATION: THE EMBARGO WORKED WHERE IT WAS ENFORCED — AND CAPITAL ADAPTED BY REROUTING THROUGH SOUTH AFRICA.¹⁴

BLOOD COAL: FROM EXTRACTION TO MILITARISM

EN SP

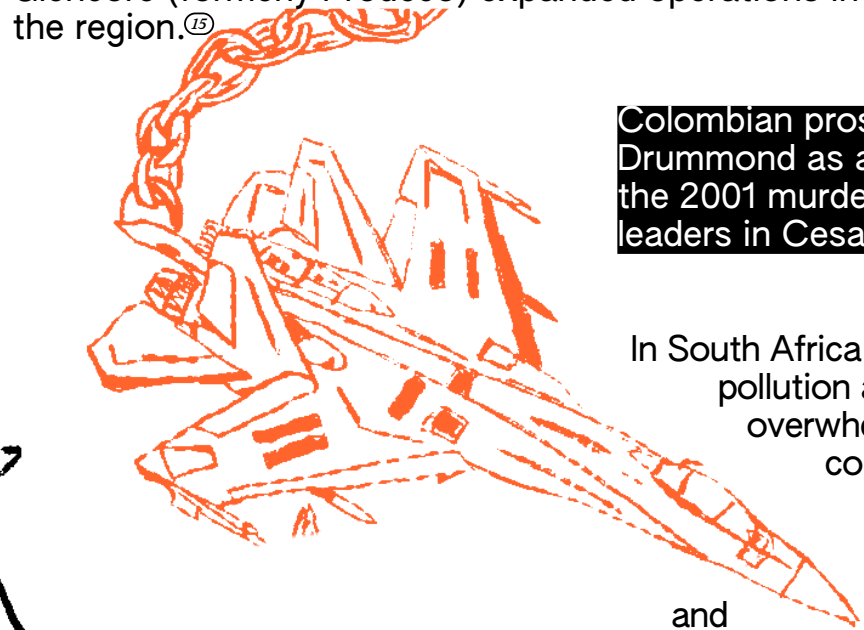
Coal bound for Israel is not only a fuel supply. It is rooted in extractive regimes of violence. In Cesar, Colombia, coal mining has been tied to severe human rights abuses, including forced displacement by paramilitary groups as multinational companies including Drummond and Glencore (formerly Prodeco) expanded operations in the region.¹⁵



In both Colombia and South Africa, coal mining has caused widespread ecological destruction, including water and soil pollution,

¹⁷ Cock, J. (2019). Resistance to coal inequalities and the possibilities of a just transition in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 36(6), 860-873.

while the social and environmental costs are disproportionately borne by workers and nearby communities.^{17 18}



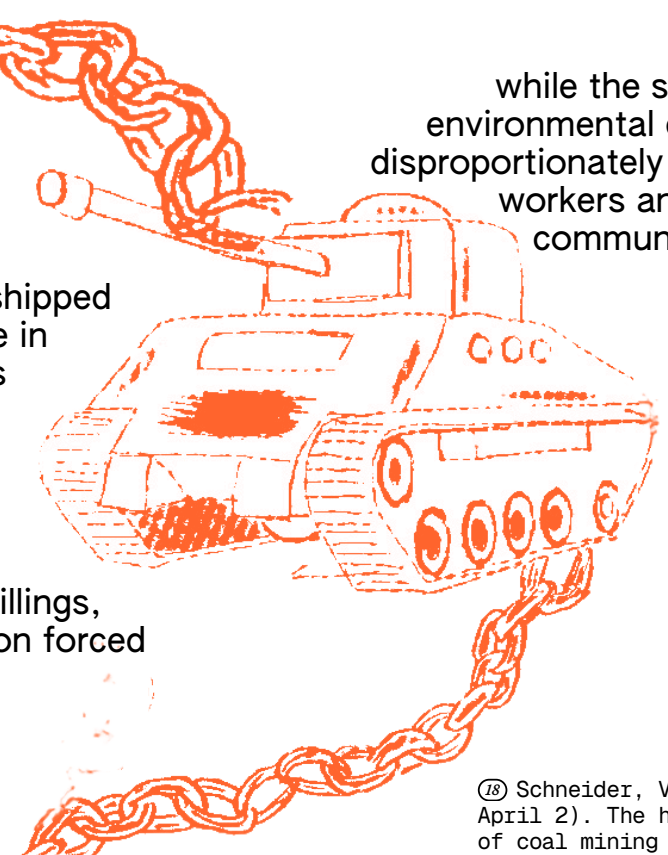
Colombian prosecutors have also linked Drummond as a civilly liable third party in the 2001 murders of two trade union leaders in Cesar.

“The coal, metals, minerals, and fuels shipped to Israel are linked to that country’s role in training military and paramilitary groups and mercenaries who exterminated the Patriotic Union and the Colombian Labor Movement, resulting in over

In South Africa, coal extraction and coal-fired pollution are concentrated in overwhelmingly Black working-class communities, especially in Mpumalanga’s Highveld, where communities face some of the country’s worst air pollution, elevated respiratory illness,

465,000 murders, 6,402 extrajudicial killings, 120,000 forced disappearances, 8 million forced displacements, and countless other grave human rights violations.”¹⁹

-SINTRACARBÓN, 2024



¹⁸ Schneider, V. (2015, April 2). The heavy toll of coal mining in South Africa. *Al Jazeera*.

and long-term environmental health harms.¹⁶

Coal bound for Israel is not only a fuel supply. It is rooted in extractive regimes of violence.

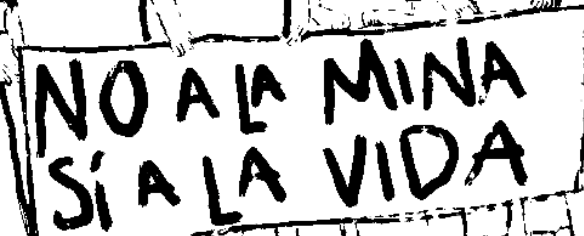
¹⁹ SINTRACARBÓN. (2023, November 1). Nuestra posición sobre la agresión de Israel a Gaza.

These coal zones reflect and reproduce the racialized geography of apartheid: profit and electricity are extracted from places where workers and nearby communities bear the burden of disease, dispossession, and environmental damage.

State actions alone are not enough. Corporate actors continue to find loopholes – from re-exporting coal through third countries to exploiting delays in ending pre-existing shipments.

¹⁵ Moor, M., & Van de Sandt, J. J. (2014). The dark side of coal: Paramilitary violence in the mining region of Cesar, Colombia. *PAX*.

¹⁶ Hearle, C. (2017, November 9). South Africa’s energy landscape: A present-day apartheid



POLITICAL SOLIDARITY, MATERIAL COMPLICITY

EN SP



>>> PROTESTORS GATHERED OUTSIDE THE OFFICE OF GLENCORE, ON AUGUST 22, 2024, IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

Countries such as Colombia and South Africa, which have expressed political solidarity with Palestine, could be first movers in enacting an energy embargo on Israel. South Africa has positioned itself as a leading critic of Israeli impunity, including by instituting proceedings against Israel at the International Court of Justice on 29 December 2023.⁽²⁰⁾

That contradiction is central to this spread: while South Africa has taken major legal and political steps against Israeli impunity, coal has continued to move to Israel through South African export infrastructure. Reuters reported that after Colombia's ban, South African coal exports to Israel rose sharply, with South Africa accounting for 55% of Israel's coal import market in 2025.⁽²¹⁾

Yet Colombia's embargo did not end the trade. Capital adapted and coal remains part of Israel's electricity supply. After Colombia tightened enforcement in 2025, coal supply was rerouted and South Africa emerged as the principal replacement front.



Today, South African coal is a critical chokepoint in the supply chains sustaining Israel's electricity system. Disrupting those flows is not symbolic.

It is a material route toward ending genocidal energy supply.

⁽²⁰⁾ International Court of Justice. (2023, December 29). The Republic of South Africa institutes proceedings against the State of Israel and requests the Court to indicate provisional measures (Press release No. 2023/77).

⁽²¹⁾ Varadhan, S., Roelf, W., & Scheer, S. (2025, December 16). South Africa boosts coal exports to Israel after Colombia ban. Reuters.

THE PEOPLE'S EMBARGO AND ITS LIMITS

EN SP

- 1 November, 2023 Sintracarbón, the largest trade union of coal workers in Colombia, demands that the government stop exporting coal to Israel, linking the trade to Israeli training of Colombian paramilitaries.⁽²²⁾ Coal exports were shared between Glencore (via Cerrejón) and Drummond (via Puerto Drummond).
- 14 August, 2024 Decree 1047 prohibits coal exports to Israel. Article 3 exempts pre-existing contracts – a loophole Drummond immediately exploits.⁽²³⁾
- August 2024 - July 2025 Drummond ships approximately 906,000 tonnes of coal to Israel using the pre-existing contract exemption. Glencore ceases Colombian exports but coal from South Africa, where Glencore operates through the RBCT consortium, accelerates.⁽²⁴⁾
- 24 July, 2025 The vessel FORTUNE departs Puerto Drummond, flagged at Malta, carrying 93,297 tonnes of coal bound for Hadera – the last Colombian coal shipment to Israel.⁽²⁵⁾
- 25 July, 2025 President Petro orders the naval interception of coal shipments to Israel effectively, implementing a total coal embargo.⁽²⁶⁾
- 28 August 2025 Decree 0949 cancels the pre-existing contract exemption. The embargo becomes absolute.
- Since August 2025 Zero Colombian coal has reached Israel. The FORTUNE was the last vessel...

⁽²²⁾ IINTRACARBÓN. (2023, November 1). Nuestra posición sobre la agresión de Israel a Gaza



HOW THE UNIFIED ELECTRICITY GRID POWERS APARTHEID AND GENOCIDE.

⁽²³⁾ Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo (Colombia). (2024, August 14). Decreto 1047 del 14 de agosto de 2024: Por el cual se establece una prohibición a las exportaciones de carbón a Israel.

⁽²⁴⁾ Platform for Peace and Justice in Palestine. (2025, September). No more coal for genocide

⁽²⁵⁾ Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement. (2025, August 14). US coal giant exploits Colombia loophole

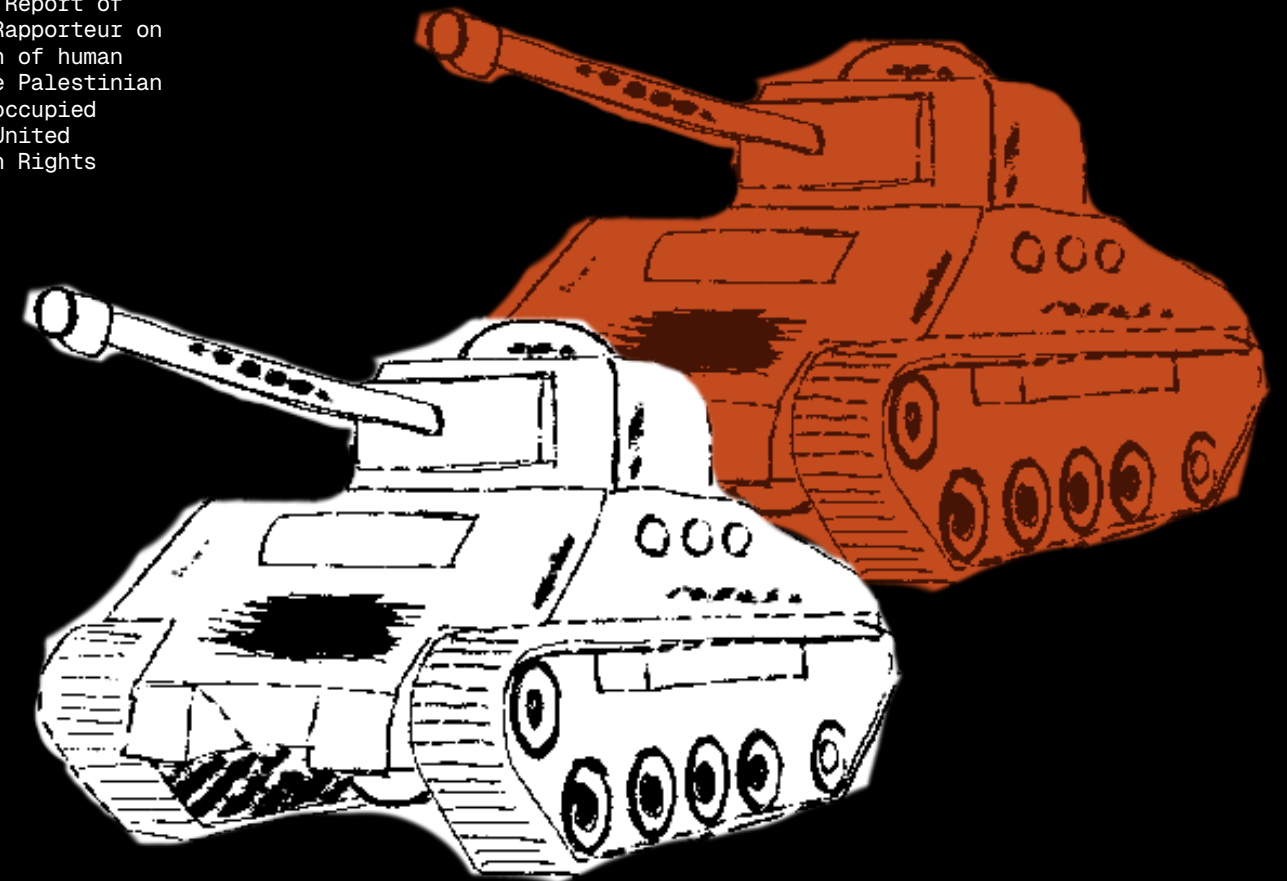
⁽²⁶⁾ Kret, A., & Levine-Drizin, G. (2025, December 5). Colombia is showing the world how to end Israeli impunity. Jacobin.

⁽²⁷⁾ Albanese, F. (2025). A/HRC/59/23: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967. United Nations Human Rights Council.

Colombian labour movements understood that the militarism of extractive economies was inseparable from the war machine in Palestine. It was sustained pressure from unions, indigenous communities, and solidarity movements that pushed the Colombian government to act, and then to enforce.

Drummond exploited the pre-existing contract loophole for over a year, shipping approximately 906,000 tonnes to Israel after the decree. It was only after vigilance from movements below, and the UN Special Rapporteur's report citing Drummond and Glencore by name, that the government took naval enforcement action and passed Decree 0949 to close the loophole entirely.⁽²⁷⁾

Colombia's embargo proves three things: state action is possible; without enforcement, corporations will exploit every loophole; and enforcement works. Post Decree 1047, Glencore and Drummond launched multiple legal challenges. As of March 2026, Colombia has announced it will exit the international investment arbitration system entirely.



SOUTH AFRICA: THE REPLACEMENT FRONT

EN SP

“As a country, which took Israel to the ICJ we cannot again supply coal to Israel, which keeps its electricity grid on, supporting the industrial military complex it uses in carrying out the genocide.”

–MAMETLWE SEBEI, PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL INDUSTRIES WORKERS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (GIWUSA)

In the aftermath of Colombia's embargo, South Africa became Israel's primary coal supplier. South Africa increased its exports by 87% to 474,000 metric tonnes between September and November 2025. Since September 2025, all electricity-grade coal shipped to Israel has originated from South Africa.

Greek shipping capital has also been implicated in the rerouted supply chain. A recent report found that between October 2023 and February 2026, at least eight covert shipments of South African thermal coal, totaling roughly 751 kilotonnes, were delivered to Israel on Greek-managed vessels, mainly by Thenamaris ConBulk, using false destinations and AIS shutdowns to obscure delivery to Israeli ports.⁽²⁸⁾

THE SINGLE CHOKEPOINT: RICHARDS BAY COAL TERMINAL

All tracked South African coal to Israel loads at a single facility: the Richards Bay Coal Terminal (RBCT) in KwaZulu-Natal. Coal moves from Mpumalanga coalfields via Transnet Freight Rail, through port infrastructure managed by Transnet National Ports Authority, and is discharged at Hadera and Ashkelon. One terminal. One rail corridor. One state logistics provider. The RBCT is operated by a consortium of companies including Glencore, ARM Coal, Anglo American, Exxaro, Sasol, Seriti, Thungela, Kangra, and others.⁽²⁹⁾

Coal exports to Israel represent approximately 1-3% of South Africa's total coal exports. An embargo would cause negligible economic impact to the sector.⁽³⁰⁾

⁽²⁸⁾ No Harbour for Genocide, People's Embargo for Palestine, Energy Embargo for Palestine, Progressive International, and Palestinian Youth Movement. (2026, April 2). The role of Greek shipping companies in energy and military cargo transfers to Israel.

PRESSURE FROM BELOW: TRADE UNIONS AND SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS

EN SP

“It is not enough to lead in court but continue trade in coal, minerals, technology and goods that sustain genocide. Justice cannot be spoken with one mouth and undermined with the other hand.”



–STATEMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICAN FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, SEPTEMBER 2025



⁽³⁰⁾ People's Embargo for Palestine. (2026, April 2). The role of Greek shipping companies in energy and military cargo transfers to Israel.

⁽³¹⁾ Creamer, M. (2025, January 24). Richards Bay Coal Terminal 2024 exports extend beyond 52 million tons. Mining Weekly.

37 Khan, S. C., South African Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Coalition, & Palestinian BDS National Committee. (2026). *Fuelling genocide: An analysis of South Africa's coal exports to Israel.*

South African unions and solidarity formations have treated coal exports as an embargo front. Between July 2024 and August 2025, the SA BDS Coalition issued formal letters to the Presidency, DTIC, Department of Transport, and DIRCO, detailing coal shipments and corporate actors. The government is aware of its complicity and has failed to act.

COSATU, NUMSA, SAFTU, SATAWU, GIWUSA, and NUM have all called for the government to end trade with Israel and implement an energy embargo. SAFTU has called on workers to refuse to handle Israel-linked shipments. Protests have been held at Glencore's Johannesburg headquarters, ARM offices in Sandton, DTIC offices in Cape Town, Durban, and Pretoria, and at Richards Bay Coal Terminal.

At Glencore's 2024 AGM, Chairman Kalidas Madhavpeddi was asked about human rights assessments on coal exported to Israel. His reply: 'Coal is used in power generation, that's simple.' South Africa's DIRCO has acknowledged that the Foreign Military Assistance Act may apply if coal aids genocide.³⁷

MOBILIZING AN ENERGY EMBARGO

FROM LOCAL TARGETS TO GLOBAL PROTECTION

Colombia's embargo proves that state action works, but also that corporations will exploit every loophole and use ISDS litigation to punish states that act. An effective energy embargo requires enforcement, multilateral protection, and coordinated political will.

including the Santa Marta Conference, must work toward dismantling ISDS protections that shield fossil fuel companies complicit in genocide.

For the Fossil Fuel Treaty

A treaty that phases out fossil fuels without addressing who controls supply chains, who profits from them, and whether they sustain genocide will reproduce the colonial dynamics that created the climate crisis. Energy sovereignty for colonized peoples, including Palestinians denied control of their own resources, must be a structural principle, not a footnote.

For Organizers

The targets are clear: Glencore (the corporate thread linking Colombia and South Africa), RBCT (the single chokepoint), Transnet (the state infrastructure), and the DTIC (the ministry with regulatory authority).

For Governments

Embargoes must be enforced and protected against corporate retaliation. Coal exports to Israel represent a negligible share of South African trade. The economic cost of action is minimal. The legal and moral cost of inaction is not. Multilateral governance spaces,

Sustained pressure from below, reinforced by internationalist solidarity, has the real power to compel states to act.

The Colombian embargo was not a gift from the state. It was won by workers and movements who understood that the coal leaving their land was powering a genocide.



COAL, REROUTING, AND THE EMBARGO FRONT



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Data and Sources

Primary trade volume data in this publication is drawn from the LSEG Data and Analytics globalCOAL and shipping analytics datasets, covering all seaborne thermal coal shipments to Israel with origin dates from 7 October 2023, accessed in March 2026. Shipments in transit at the time of access are excluded. The dataset identifies vessel movements, origin ports, destination ports, cargo volumes, and country of origin, and is used as the primary source for supply chain mapping, phase analysis, and country-level volume figures throughout this publication.

Vessel-level tracking of South African coal shipments to Israel is independently corroborated by the SA BDS Coalition's "Fuelling Genocide: An Analysis of South Africa's Coal Exports to Israel" (March 2026),

a 264-page legal report by Sirhaan Ché Khan submitted to South Africa's Department of Trade, Industry and Competition. That report draws on South African Revenue Service (SARS) customs data and open-source maritime intelligence tools, and documented at least 17 vessels transporting at least 2.99 million tonnes of coal from Richards Bay to Israeli ports between October 2023 and December 2025.

Supply chain rerouting figures are corroborated by Reuters reporting (December 2025) citing commodity tracking and South African customs data, and by the People's Embargo report (April 2026), which independently verified Greek-managed vessel movements and AIS disruption patterns.

Colombian export data is sourced from the National Tax and Customs Directorate (DIAN), as analysed in PIPD's "No More Coal for Genocide" (September 2025)

The Colombia embargo timeline is sourced from official government decrees — Decreto 1047 (14 August 2024) and Decreto 0949 (28 August 2025) — and contemporaneous press reporting. IEC generation figures are from IEC periodic reports for the first nine months of 2024 and 2025 respectively. Corporate structure, ownership, and AGM data is from publicly available filings, press reporting, and the SA BDS Coalition report.

BLACK GOLD, RED HANDS/BLOOD COAL: COAL, REROUTING, AND THE EMBARGO FRONT

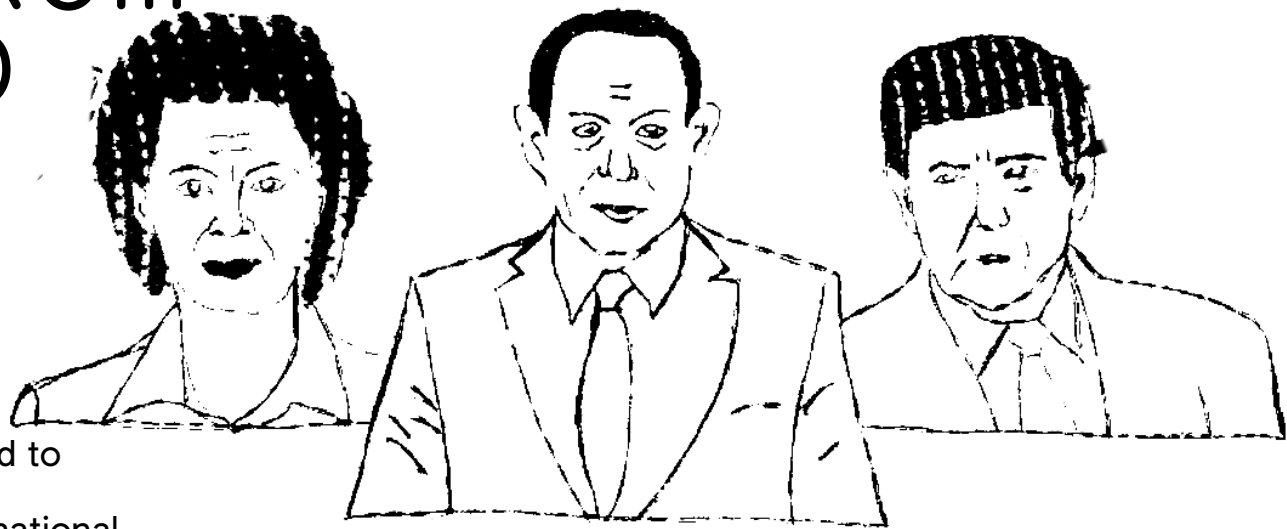


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HOW COAL FUELING APARTHEID MOVED FROM COLOMBIA TO SOUTH AFRICA
- AND HOW TO TURN REROUTED TRADE INTO AN EMBARGO FRONT

BLOOD COAL: FROM EXTRACTION TO MILITARISM

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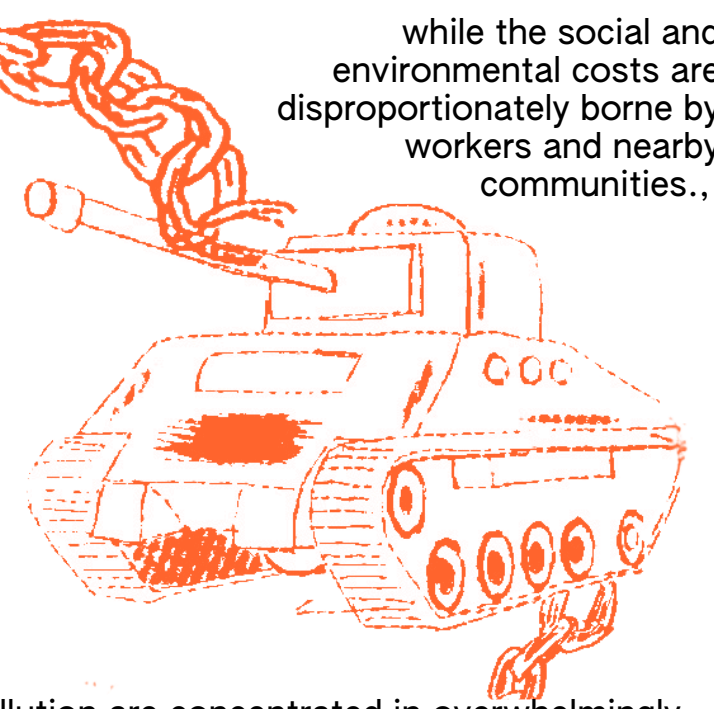
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while the social and environmental costs are disproportionately borne by workers and nearby communities.,

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