

REPORT OF THE MISSION OF OAU COMMITTEE OF
SEVEN TO MAJOR OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES

Introduction:

Resolution CM/Res 553(XXIX) on Sanctions adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at its Twenty-ninth Ordinary Session in Libreville, Gabon from 23 June - 3 July 1977 in its operative paragraph 5

"Decides to appoint a delegation of Seven members of the Council of Ministers (Sierra Leone, Ghana, Zambia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Gabon, Nigeria and Algeria) to undertake a mission to all major oil exporting countries to consult with them on the implementation of an effective embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU."

2. In the implementation of the above resolution, Ambassadors of the Seven member states, with the exception of that of Algeria who was absent, held a preparatory meeting on 13 September, 1977 at Addis Ababa.
3. The meeting was chaired by H.E. Mr. C. O. C. Amate, Ambassador of Ghana to Ethiopia. After a brief discussion the Committee of Ambassadors took the following decisions:-
 - (a) To designate the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia, Dr. Siteke G. Mwale as leader of the Ministerial delegation to the oil producing and exporting countries.

(b) To visit all the oil producing and exporting countries with the exception of those from Africa, namely, Algeria, Gabon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Nigeria which were represented on the Committee of Seven. In this respect, it was decided that two groups of oil producing and exporting countries should be visited. The first group would comprise countries in Latin America, namely, Ecuador and Venezuela and the second group countries in the Far East and the Middle East namely, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia.

It was also decided that the visit to the first group of countries could be envisaged during the first two weeks of October 1977 and that the mission could start from New York since all the members of the Committee would be attending the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations at that time. As regards the visit to the second group of countries, it was decided that this should take place in November 1977.

(c) The delegation should comprise at most three members from each member state of the Committee and should be accompanied by the staff of the OAU Secretariat.

4. Accordingly, the Committee of Seven visited Venezuela and Ecuador from 16 - 18 October, 1977 and Indonesia, Iraq,

Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi) and Saudi Arabia from 24 November - 8 December 1977.

5. The report of the Committee which follows is in two parts. Part I deals with the Latin American countries visited and Part II with the visit to the Far East and the Middle East.

6. The Committee was assisted in its work by the very useful documents which were made available to the General Secretariat by the Haslemere Group of Consultants which specialises in the study of how oil companies break the oil embargo. Some of the documents were:-

- Testimony by Bernard Rivers before the U.N. Sanctions Committee - 20 October 1977
- Oil Sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa - Recent development - 4 November 1977
- The Oil Conspiracy

The Committee was gratified to receive from the Chairman copies of "Background to Zambia's case against the Oil Companies." This document was also found useful.

7. Finally, the Committee wishes to draw the attention of the Council to its recommendations and hopes they will be approved.

VISIT TO VENEZUELA

8. The mission which arrived in Caracas on 16 October 1977 met the President of the Republic of Venezuela H.E. Mr. Carlos Andres PERES, together with his Foreign Minister, H.E. Mr. Simon Alberto CONSALVI at the Presidential Palace.
9. The President welcomed the delegation to Caracas and expressed his willingness to support whatever the mission had to say.
10. The leader of the delegation, Hon. Dr. Siteke G. Mwale, Foreign Minister of Zambia thanked the President for the warm welcome accorded to his delegation and for the decision of the President to receive the delegation personally despite his busy schedule. Dr. Siteke G. Mwale then informed the President that the delegation had come to consult with the Government of Venezuela on how best to effect the implementation of an effective embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the resolutions of the UN and more particularly that of the 14th OAU Assembly of Heads of State recently adopted in Libreville, Gabon. He told the President that the mission expects to visit all the Arab Oil-exporting countries as well as Iran and Indonesia; Venezuela was the first leg of the mission.
11. The Minister went on to say that an oil embargo at this crucial time in the struggle for human justice and social dignity in Southern Africa would be most effective against the minority regimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the Minister said that the minority regime would have collapsed as far back as 1966 but for the assistance and support of South Africa which had violated UN Economic Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, particularly, the oil sanctions. Southern Rhodesia does not produce oil, yet she gets her supply of oil through

the subsidiary companies of Mobil, Caltex, Shell (BP) and NATREF (Total) which are based in South Africa. These subsidiary companies sell oil to a Southern Rhodesian agency (GENTA) in South Africa which in turn transports the oil by dubious means to Southern Rhodesia where it is sold to Southern Rhodesian branches of the five oil companies. The Minister concluded that if effective measures are taken against the oil companies, oil will stop flowing into Southern Rhodesia and this coupled with the armed struggle to which the OAU is committed will bring down the Smith regime thus ensuring the success of the Anglo-American proposals even though some of their provisions are objectionable. Finally, the Minister praised Venezuela for recently donating the sum of \$1 million to the UN for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and hoped that Venezuela would use her influence in Latin America and OPEC to ensure the success of oil sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

12. The President in his reply said that Venezuela's position was well known. Venezuela is opposed to any form of minority rule in Southern Africa and she is against apartheid. Venezuela does not sell oil to South Africa and would even consider enacting legislation to ensure that oil from Venezuela does not reach South Africa through transnational companies. Venezuela will, by private gestures, contact her friends in OPEC to do the same. He ruled out the question of raising the matter openly in OPEC as political issues are not discussed in OPEC. He finally ended by saying that Venezuela will give maximum support to any UN action against the racist regime in South Africa for the situation prevailing there constitutes a threat to international peace and security in that region.

13. At the luncheon party which the President hosted for the delegation, he reiterated the points which he had made earlier at the meeting and to demonstrate his support for the work of the OAU he promised that he would appoint his Ambassador in Ethiopia as Venezuela's observer to the OAU.

14. Later in the day, the delegation met with the Minister of Mines and Energy, Mr. Valentin Hernandez-ACOSTA who made more or less the same points which the President had made earlier to the delegation. He said that Exxon is the main oil company which sells Venezuelan oil and this oil goes mainly to the US, South America and the Caribbean countries. Mobil and Shell operate also in Venezuela but they do not carry much oil. In fact, Mobil's contract was about to expire. He thought it was not difficult to deal with Shell. He promised to investigate the marketing policy of Shell and Mobil. Like the President, he assured the delegation that he would contact individually all OPEC countries in order to get them to join Venezuela to bring pressure on the oil companies.
15. At the end of the meeting, the Venezuelan Foreign Minister gave a press conference in which he declared that Venezuela backs the blockade of Southern Rhodesia. (Press report is attached as annex I).

VISIT TO ECUADOR

16. The Mission left Caracas for Quito, Ecuador, on 18 October 1977 where it was received the following day by the President of the Supreme Council of Government, H.E. Vice-Admiral Alfredo Povedo BELBRANO, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy and his Foreign Minister, H.E. Jose Oyalu LASSO.
17. The President welcomed the delegation on behalf of himself and his Government and expressed the hoped that relations between Ecuador and Africa would be further strengthened by the visit of the OAU mission.
18. The Leader of the mission, Dr. Siteke G. Mwale thanked the President for the warm welcome accorded the mission and went on to outline the purpose of the mission in the same way as he did during the discussions in Venezuela.

He praised Ecuador's role in its fight against racism and the very progressive stand which Ecuador took at the 32nd Session of the General Assembly in its statement against apartheid and racial discrimination.

19. The President in his reply said that because of its opposition to racial discrimination, Ecuador has legislation against racial discrimination and the rights of individuals are well defined in its constitution. There is punishment for all those who want to destroy these principles. Ecuador, he said, was the first country to ratify the UN National Convention against Racism and the Convention on apartheid as a Crime against Humanity. Ecuador has also supported UN resolutions on Sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. He said that this policy will not change. Ecuador will give special attention to the Southern african situation in the interest of justice in the world.

20. The Mission later had a more detailed discussion with the Foreign Minister of Ecuador. In addition to outlining the purpose of the mission, the delegation highlighted two major points where it thought that Ecuador could be of assistance. These were the necessity of Ecuador bringing the issue of an oil embargo against South Africa at the meeting of OPEC and the control of the oil companies which may be selling their oil to South Africa.

21. The Foreign Minister of Ecuador in his reply expressed the fear of the danger of introducing political matters in OPEC. He said that this may affect the prestige of OPEC. Against this argument, the delegation pointed out that in this day and age, politics cannot be separated from economics. This is more so in the context of the struggle in Southern Africa. It pointed to the case of the Arab oil embargo which was undertaken by Arab oil

exporting countries, members of OPEC. This was an example of an economic action taken for a specific political objective, the result of which was the modifying of the policy of countries which had supported Israel. The delegation also pointed out that it was sure no OPEC country supports the minority regimes in Southern Africa and no OPEC country is opposed to sanctions against South Africa.

22. The Minister in reply promised that this question would be studied carefully by the Ecuadorian Government and also within OPEC.

23. On the question of control of the oil companies, the Minister mentioned that in Ecuador, only TEXACO, Anglo (a subsidiary of Clayton), Supco and Gulf operate in oil exploration and distribution. The last named, Gulf, had sold her shares to Ecuador and Ecuador has also considerable shares in Texaco. He said that Ecuador does not sell oil to South Africa. The main buyers of Ecuadorian oil are the USA, Chile, Peru and Columbia. Besides, the production of Ecuadorian oil was still so small and because of the distance, it would not be economically viable for South Africa to buy Ecuadorian oil. However, he promised to have discussions with the oil companies operating in Ecuador with the aim of getting them to respect the policy of Ecuador which is the respect for human dignity everywhere in the world.

24. Finally, the Minister assured the delegation of Ecuador's solidarity with Africa and requested that this solidarity should be shown in all matters affecting the interest of the Third World. He cited the example of the Law of the Sea in which Ecuador had extended her territorial sea to 200 miles. He observed that only a few African and Third World countries have done so.

MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN ON THE OIL
EMBARGO HELD IN ADDIS ABABA ON 22 NOVEMBER, 1977

25. The Committee of Seven on oil embargo met on Tuesday, 22 November, 1977 in Addis Ababa, Headquarters of the OAU, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Dr. Siteke G. Mwale, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia and Chairman of the Committee.
26. The Chairman explained to the members of the Committee on the work already done in Latin America and remarked that the mission there could be considered as a success in as much as it strengthened the friendship between the peoples of Africa and Latin America. He expressed the hope that the mission to Indonesia and the Middle East should be viewed in the same light. With regard to Iran, the presence of the Committee could serve as a form of pressure to persuade the Iranian authorities to reduce the supply of oil to South Africa and for that matter, Southern Rhodesia.
27. Speaking on the responses received, Dr. Peter U. ONU, Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Political Affairs, informed the Committee that:
- (a) Only four countries out of seven had given positive replies to the General Secretariat's messages requesting them to receive the Committee. These were, Iraq, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi) and Indonesia.
 - (b) Iran did not seem to be quite prepared to receive the Committee because the Charge d'Affaires in Addis Ababa had informed the Secretariat that his government was at that moment very busy because of the visit abroad of the Shah and that Iran's policy was not to use oil as a political weapon.

- (c) The Government of Malaysia, on learning that an OAU Committee was visiting Indonesia, invited the Committee to visit Kuala Lumpur.

28. After this information, the Committee decided to do everything possible to convince Iran on the need to receive the Committee. It therefore instructed the General Secretariat to request the Charge d'Affaires to ask his government to review its position. It also appealed to the Egyptian Embassy to do whatever it could in this direction.

29. Finally, the Committee also decided to accept the kind invitation extended by the Government of Malaysia.

30. An itinerary in the following order was adopted by the Committee:-

- Indonesia
- Malaysia
- Iran
- Iraq
- Kuwait
- Qatar
- United Arab Emirates
- Saudi Arabia.

31. Before closing the meeting, the Chairman of the Committee granted the Ethiopian press an interview. At the interview, the Chairman introduced the members of the Committee of Seven and then explained to the press the task of the Committee as defined in Resolution CM/Res.553(XXIX) adopted at the Libreville meeting.

VISIT TO INDONESIA

32. The Committee arrived in Djakarta on 24 November, 1977 and was received by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mr. Mucktar KUSUMAATMADJA who subsequently led his country's delegation.
33. During the discussions which followed, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed satisfaction at the presence of the OAU Committee in Djakarta and stated that this visit was of special importance to his country and constituted, without doubt, a major historic event.
34. He assured the Committee that discussions with the Indonesian authorities would not be impeded in any way and that, on the contrary, they would be held in an atmosphere of as much understanding as possible, for, he said, Indonesia had always joined hands with oppressed peoples and the peoples of Africa, in particular, against colonialism, apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination, in the world.
35. The Minister added that his country had always pursued a policy of non-alignment and that it was now relentlessly struggling for the advent of a new world economic order. All these factors, therefore, placed Indonesia on the side of African countries in their struggle for the total liberation of their continent.
36. The Chairman of the OAU Committee, Dr. Siteke G. Mwale, before replying, introduced the members of his Committee to the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs and then expressed his gratitude for the warm welcome accorded him and the members of the Committee on their arrival at the airport and for the hospitality extended to them by the Government and people of Indonesia. He intimated that this hospitality started in Addis Ababa with a very agreeable dinner organized for the Committee by the Ambassador of Indonesia in Addis Ababa followed by a friendly cultural evening organized and animated by the Ambassador's own children.

The Chairman emphasized that the members of the OAU Committee were sincerely happy to be in Djakarta and to hold fraternal discussions with the Indonesian authorities. The Committee, the Chairman went on, was all the more happy to exchange views with the Indonesian authorities as that country had always been on the side of African peoples in their just liberation struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination in Southern Africa. This attitude had been a permanent element in the foreign policy of Indonesia and has always been reflected in the official positions adopted at all International meetings in the United Nations, at the Conference of Non-aligned countries and in all international institutions of which Indonesia is a member.

37. Touching on the purpose of the mission, the Chairman informed the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs that the visit of the OAU Committee was essentially aimed at establishing contacts with the Indonesian authorities and holding consultations with them on ways and means of applying an effective oil embargo against the racist minority regimes of Southern Africa. Continuing, he said that the OAU Committee established by a resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its 14th Summit, held in Libreville in July 1977, had been authorized to undertake a mission to all the main oil exporting countries and to consult with them on the application of a real embargo on the supply of oil and its by-products to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

38. This resolution, the Chairman said, reaffirmed the need for the struggle for social justice and human dignity and the mission of the Committee was within the framework of the various other efforts that had been embarked upon of late especially at the Afro-Arab Conference in Cairo, the Commonwealth Conference in London, the Maputo Conference on solidarity with the Oppressed People of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the International Conference in Lagos for Action against Apartheid, and lastly, the recent resolution on Mandatory Sanctions against the supply of arms adopted by United Nations Security Council last October. The Committee's

mission also constituted a supplement to all the previous efforts of the OAU and to the initiatives, positive in some respects, of the Anglo-American Plan on Rhodesia. Every means should be used to put an end to apartheid, the Chairman said. A lot had no doubt been done already in this field. Positive results had been achieved but, a lot more remained to be done and the road ahead was still fraught with danger. The OAU was convinced of Indonesia's determination to support the cause of liberation in Africa until final victory is won, for, according to the Chairman, Indonesia knew what a liberation struggle meant having itself waged a tough war of liberation against foreign occupation.

39. The Chairman concluded his statement by assuring the Indonesian Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs that the OAU Committee knew very well that Indonesia, like many other oil-exporting countries, some of which were represented on the Committee, did not supply oil to South Africa, let alone to Southern Rhodesia. It would, however be desirable for her to remain alert and vigilant in view of the determinant role that the international oil companies were playing in the supply of oil to South Africa and, through it, to Southern Rhodesia. It had indeed been found out that these companies used various means to ensure that oil reached these two racist regimes of Southern Africa illegally. It was, therefore, in a bid to put an end to this oil conspiracy by the international oil companies and also to avoid any situation that could lead to an East-West confrontation in Southern Africa, that the OAU Committee was given the mandate to contact the oil exporting countries, and to hold the necessary consultations with them in this regard.

40. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, Dr. Abdulai Conteh, in supporting the Chairman's statement, recalled that the Committee had already visited Latin America, where it had been accorded a warm welcome and where special emphasis had been laid on the solidarity which should characterize relations between African and Latin American countries, all of which belong to the Non-aligned Club and

the Group of 77. According to Dr. Conteh, the Committee discussed with the two Latin American countries ways in which the oil exporting countries could seriously and effectively check the oil companies by compelling them to provide evidence of the destination of their cargo. Referring to the role which OPEC could play, Dr. Conteh explained that according to the oil-exporting countries of Latin America, OPEC is an economic and technical body which would not interfere in political matters. On this particular aspect of the problem, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone said it was very difficult, at least under present circumstances, to divorce politics from economics, and that it was in this context that the OAU Committee would like OPEC to use its good offices to persuade those of its members who supply oil to the minority and racist regimes of Southern Africa to abstain henceforth from so doing. Dr. Peter ONU, Assistant Secretary-General of the OAU in charge of political affairs, for his part, supplemented what the two preceding speakers had said by providing additional information. He drew the attention of the Indonesian authorities to the fact that Mobil, Caltex, Shell, BP and Total oil companies were the most involved in supplying oil directly to South Africa and to Southern Rhodesia through the subsidiary companies. These oil companies shipped oil to specific destinations in South Africa but the oil eventually found its way to the subsidiary companies in Southern Rhodesia which does not produce her own oil. The whole problem, therefore, boiled down to being able to impose a check both at the point of shipment and at the destination. The OAU Committee was undertaking the present mission precisely in order to hold consultations with the oil exporting countries on the possibility of setting up of a checking mechanism.

41. The Chairman of the Committee intervened again during the discussion and dwelt on the role of the oil companies. Without their complicity, he said, there would today be no problem of Ian Smith or Vorster. The Chairman reaffirmed that his country was, more than anybody else, aware of this diabolic complicity, because it had already been a victim

of it, and had even taken legal action against the oil conspiracy of the international companies. At the time the unilateral declaration of independence was proclaimed in Southern Rhodesia by the white settlers, the Chairman continued, mandatory sanctions had been imposed against this country and the then British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, gave every assurance at a conference held in Lagos that this regime would not last. The former Prime Minister indeed believed in the effectiveness of sanctions and there was no doubt that, if they had been strictly applied, the regime in Southern Rhodesia would have collapsed immediately. For instance, the Chairman went on, in 1965, one month before the unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia, the latter had only enough oil for 23 days and Zambia, for 24 days. All this reserve oil was immediately supplied to Southern Rhodesia, which suddenly had enough oil for 90 days, while Zambia only had enough for 15 days. This was possible only through the infamous conspiracy of what was rightly called the "seven Sisters," namely, Shell, BP, Caltex, Mobil, Total, Gulf and Texaco. As many countries, no doubt including certain OPEC member countries, were not quite aware of exactly what was happening in South Africa, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, concluded the Chairman, deemed it necessary to set up the present Committee and to entrust it with the mission of consulting the sister member countries of OPEC about this thorny problem. Everyone was aware that the problem was a delicate one, but with good-will everything was possible and, in the present case, the idea was to impose very serious sanctions on South Africa, because it was evident that without her support Smith's regime would not exist today.

4211. Speaking on behalf of the Indonesian Government the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia declared, in a convincing and reassuring tone, that his government had severed all kinds of relations with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In this regard, he said, legislative

measures had been taken to legalize a de facto situation that had existed for a long time. The Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs then assured the Committee that his government did not have any relations either with South Africa or with Southern Rhodesia and that it would leave no stone unturned to pursue relentlessly and without fail this policy in consonance with its political choices which placed it on the side of the oppressed peoples in their struggle against colonialism and for equality among peoples regardless of their race, colour or religion. As far as Indonesia was concerned, he continued, it was a total and complete battle and Indonesia's vote at the United Nations two weeks earlier on the resolution concerning mandatory sanctions against arms delivery to South Africa very well demonstrated this position. Africa could therefore be assured of Indonesia's total support in its struggle for freedom, independence and dignity. As regards the exportation of oil, the Minister assured the Committee that Indonesia's oil was not supplied to the South African market and that at any rate his government would see to it that technically, its oil policy conformed to the fundamental choices it had made and that its good image was not tarnished by any irresponsible behaviour or sordid tendencies of the international oil companies. He, however, regretted that the Committee would not be able to meet the Minister of Mines, who was absent and who would have, if he had been present, been able to touch on the oil problem in greater depth with the Committee. The officer responsible for the co-ordination of economic, financial and mines affairs was, however, available and was in a position to provide the Committee with all the necessary information.

43. With regard to OPEC, the Minister observed that this organization does not deal with political issues but confines itself solely to technical matters such as the fixing of prices, etc. and so there was not much to be done in this regard. However, Indonesia undertook to support the African

liberation policy wherever possible. After the statement of the Indonesian Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Chairman of the OAU Committee, H.E. Dr. Siteke G. Mwale, expressed his appreciation for the constructive and positive policy adopted by Indonesia and, more particularly, for the clear and unequivocal stand it had adopted regarding Africa's liberation. Touching again upon what Indonesia could do within OPEC, the Chairman recalled that an OPEC meeting was going to be held in December 1977 in Caracas, and that perhaps something could be done at that level, at least in the corridors. Indonesia could, within this framework, make its dynamic and positive contribution.

44. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone in his contribution wished that Indonesia would carry the Committee's message across to Borneo which, although not a member of OPEC, was a producer and exporter of oil, and explain the nature and purpose of the OAU mission.

45. With regard to Borneo the Indonesian Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs said, in his reply, that unfortunately, his country had no relations at State level with Borneo and that the only little contacts they had were at the level of the peoples of the two countries. He nevertheless recommended that the Committee should raise this question with the government of Malaysia which had fairly good relations with Borneo.

46. In the course of the same day, 25 November 1977, the Committee paid courtesy calls on a number of important personalities in the country. These were Professor Widjojo Nitisastre, Minister of State responsible for Economic Affairs, Finance and Industry, the Chairman of the National Development Planning Agency, the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr. Adam Malik and lastly, the President of the Republic of Indonesia. During the courtesy call on President Suharto, the Committee was assured of Indonesia's support for the just struggle of the OAU.

47. ~~These courtesy calls gave the OAU Committee the~~ opportunity to reiterate the aim of its visit and to stress the need for very close co-operation between Africa and Indonesia regarding, among other things, liberation, the struggle against racism and for human dignity. They also enabled the Indonesian authorities to reaffirm their support for the objectives of the mission.

48. The Minister of State responsible for Economic Affairs, Finance and Industry made a very important revelation regarding oil sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. He said there could be no question of diverting Indonesian oil for the benefit of the racist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia because the Japanese oil companies, which bought the bulk of Indonesian oil, were subjected to very serious checks and required to provide documentary proof of the final destination of the oil. The Committee was very pleased to hear about this monitoring system of the Indonesian government and requested for the details of this system which could be useful to other oil exporting countries.

49. On 26 November 1977 the Committee held talks with H.E. Mr. H. R. Dharsone, Secretary-General of ASEAN (The Association of South-East Asian Nations) at the Headquarters of the Association.

50. After exchanging the usual address of welcome with the Secretary-General of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Chairman of the Committee explained briefly to the latter the purpose of their mission. He told the ASEAN Secretary-General that the OAU Committee had seized the opportunity of its presence in Djakarta to visit the headquarters of ASEAN and to see how best it could establish relations with the Organization of African Unity.

51. The Chairman then gave some explanations on the establishment, objectives and work of the OAU before asking the Secretary-General to be kind enough to inform the Committee about the work of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

52. The Secretary-General of ASEAN told the members of the Committee that his Organization was founded in 1962. It has its Headquarters and a very modest Secretariat in Djakarta. ASEAN comprised five Member States and was open to any other State in the region likely to apply for membership. The following, he said, were the Member States: Indonesia, Malaysia, Phillipines, Singapore and Thailand. The Secretary-General then pointed out the primary aim of his Organization was to improve the economy of member states. Consequently, several joint economic projects had been worked out for them. Both parties agreed on the need to establish relations between their Organizations so as to facilitate contacts and dialogue between Africa and the South-East Asian Region.

53. After the meeting with the Secretary-General of ASEAN, the Committee left Djakarta for BALY, one of the thirteen thousand Indonesian islands. Before the departure of the Committee the Chairman was interviewed by the National Press. He defined in very clear terms, the purpose of the mission of the Committee. He said that he was entirely satisfied with the very fruitful discussions the Committee had with the Indonesian authorities. He explained to the press, the dramatic situation prevailing in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia with regard to the domination of the African majority by a very small minority of white settlers. The Chairman and all the other members of the Committee answered questions put to them by the journalists. These questions, for the most part, gave them the opportunity to state clearly the purpose and objective of their mission and to provide information on the liberation struggle taking place in Southern Africa.

54. In Indonesia, the Committee got in touch with Iran's Ambassador to find out the final decision taken by the latter's country with regard to the visit to be made by the OAU Mission. The Ambassador of Iran in turn, got in touch with his Government and met the members of the Committee at the airport a few minutes before the mission emplaned for Kuala-Lumpur. He told them that Iranians were ready to entertain all guests with kindness and were prepared to welcome any one paying a visit to their country. The OAU Committee would be given the necessary hospitality if it wanted to go as tourists but could not be received by the Iranian government. On behalf of the Committee, the Chairman reminded the Ambassador that the Committee was appointed by the OAU Assembly of the Heads of State and Government to consult oil-exporting countries on effective ways of imposing an oil embargo on South Africa. He added that the Committee ~~wanted~~ to pay an official visit to the Iranian Authorities so as to fulfil its mission faithfully and therefore it wanted to get a clear and unequivocal answer as to whether or not, it would be allowed to go to Iran and be treated like a Committee of the OAU not as tourists. The aim of the mission was not to impose views on Iranian government but to have consultations with the government on the means of implementing the oil embargo. The Ambassador was therefore asked to inform his government about the discussions held with the members of the Committee and to inform the latter of the final decision taken by his government as soon as possible.

M A L A Y S I A

55. Originally, it was intended to visit only the oil exporting countries, but when the Government of the Kingdom of Malaysia heard that a mission of the OAU was about to visit Indonesia, it seized the opportunity and invited the Committee through its Embassy in Addis Ababa. This invitation was considered and accepted by the members of the Committee.
56. The mission arrived in the Malaysian Capital in the afternoon of 27 November, 1977 and was met by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and a large number of senior officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
57. The Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Siteke G. Mwale was interviewed by the National Press at the airport. He explained the purpose of the mission of the OAU Committee and said that although Malaysia was not a member of OPEC it produced some oil. However, the presence of the OAU Committee was due to an invitation received from the authorities of Kuala Lumpur. The OAU Committee would therefore discuss with the Malaysian Authorities all questions related to how an effective oil embargo could be imposed on South Africa.
58. The Committee visited the Prime Minister's Office on Monday, 28 November 1977. A very detailed statistically illustrated account of the country's economy was given by a specialist in the planning division. This was followed by a series of questions on the political, economic and social problems facing the country. Later, the members of the Committee met the Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency, Ahmad Rithauddeen in his Ministry. In his welcome address, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed on behalf of his Government, his gratitude to the members of the Committee for having kindly accepted the invitation to visit his country. He said that the visit was, in his opinion, an important one because it was the first time the Malaysian Government had had the opportunity to have

discussions with an OAU delegation and to exchange ideas on issues of common interest, particularly, on the possibilities of co-operation between the ASEAN and the OAU.

59. On behalf of the Committee, the Chairman expressed his gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the kind invitation addressed to the Committee and for the hospitality given to its members since their arrival in Kuala Lumpur. The Chairman told the Minister that originally, the Committee intended to visit the OPEC countries only but was however very happy to be in Malaysia for several reasons viz:

- Malaysia is a member of the ASEAN, and the Organization of African Unity would like to establish good relations with that Association;
- Although Malaysia is not a member of OPEC, it produces and exports oil;
- Malaysia has good relations with a certain number of independent African countries and is, therefore, in a position to play an active role in persuading Borneo not to export its oil to South Africa.

60. The Chairman then gave a historical account of the situation in Southern Africa. He recalled a number of resolutions adopted by several international bodies, namely the United Nations, the Afro-Arab Summit Conference, the Commonwealth Conference, the OAU, the Conference of Non-Aligned States etc. etc., - resolutions which unfortunately, were not fully implemented, on account of the support given by the Western Powers to the racist regimes of Southern Africa and because of the latter's intransigence. The Chairman pointed out that apart from these resolutions, a number of efforts had been made in the form of negotiations, such as the Anglo-American Plan for Rhodesia, etc. All attempts for a peaceful settlement proved abortive and showed that Ian Smith and his henchmen would not quit on their own.

61. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia, in his reply expressed his gratitude to the Committee for having kindly accepted the invitation of his Government and stated that his country supported without reservations the liberation cause of the African Continent whose enemies and aspirations were also theirs. He recalled that his country was a member of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation and took an active part in the campaign organized by the international community in order to denounce the damage done by the anachronistic system in South Africa. He added that Malaysia has always been in favour of the principle of self-determination and of the sanctions recommended to be imposed on South Africa and Southern Rhodesia at meetings organized by the United Nations Organization, the Islamic Conference, the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, the Commonwealth Conference and other international bodies.
62. Making reference to the oil supplied to South Africa, the Minister observed that his country was not a member of OPEC and that Malaysia produced only a small quantity of oil which was exported to Japan and to the United States for refining. He did not think that a single drop of this oil was being sent to South Africa.
63. Speaking about possible contacts with Borneo, the Minister revealed that that country still depended on the Sovereignty of Britain. He pointed out that relations between Malaysia and Borneo were solely at the level of the population of both countries. However, he promised that his country would do its best to transmit the message of the OAU Committee to the Authorities in Borneo.
64. The Minister then explained the situation prevailing in South-East Asia, namely the hopes brought about, first by the creation of the ASEAN in 1967, and recently by the end of the Vietnam war in that region, which according to the declaration made in Kuala Lumpur in 1971, was aspiring to secure a peaceful haven in the region. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the ties of friendship and co-operation which united South-East Asia and Africa would

become closer so that brotherly relations might prevail henceforth between the ASEAN and the OAU.

VISIT TO THAILAND

65. The Committee left Kuala Lumpur on Thursday 29 November 1977 for Bangkok, Thailand.
66. Because the delegation had to change plane at Bangkok to go to Baghdad in Iraq, the Thai Government insisted on receiving the mission during the one day stop-over in Bangkok.
67. The following day, the Committee had lunch with Thai Minister for Foreign Affairs who took the opportunity to exchange views with the members of the Committee on matters of mutual interest. In a formal speech which he made after the lunch, he defined his country's policy with respect to Africa. According to him, Thailand maintained good relations with the Africa Continent. He laid much emphasis on this point since he has been his country's Ambassador to many countries in Africa for quite a long time and knew personally almost all the West African countries. He said that Thailand, like Africa, was interested in peace and would do everything to safeguard it. He pointed out that Thailand supported the cause of Africa which was also its cause in all international conferences, at the United Nations, at UNCTAD and at the Group of 77. His country, he said, stood against apartheid and voted at the United Nations in favour of the sanctions to be imposed on South Africa. The Minister assured the Committee members that his country would continue to pursue this policy.
68. Referring to ASEAN, the Minister said that, it could be considered as the Common Market of the five Member States and, like the OAU, it endeavoured to harmonize the view-points of member states on international issues.

The Minister was of the opinion that the OAU and the ASEAN, two Organizations sharing the same objectives should establish good relations between themselves and pursue ways and means likely to put a stop to the discord between continents and people bound by the same destiny inherited from colonisation.

69. In his reply the Chairman of the Committee, **Dr. Sitake G. Mwale** thanked the Minister warmly and asked him to convey to the Government and people of Thailand the gratitude of the Members of the Committee for the hospitality extended to them since their arrival in Thailand. He then explained the purpose of the mission of the Committee and said that the Committee was happy to meet Thai leaders for an exchange of views on the friendly relations which existed and would continue to exist between South-East Asia and Africa, either bilaterally or through the regional organizations of the OAU and the ASEAN.

70. The Committee left Bangkok on 30 November 1977 for Baghdad via Karachi, Pakistan. But before leaving Bangkok, the Chairman received a telephone call from the Ambassador of Iran to Djakarta and a telegraphic message addressed by the latter to the Committee through the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ambassador of Iran informed the members of the Committee that his Government had finally decided to receive them and have discussions with them. On behalf of the members of Committee, the Chairman thanked the Ambassador of Iran in Djakarta and requested the Ambassador to tell the government to confirm the information he had delivered through its Embassy in Baghdad to ~~the delegation~~

7. The Committee was extended the normal courtesies by the Pakistani authorities in Karachi during its short stop-over but there were no official discussions.

VISIT TO IRAQ

71. The members of the Committee arrived in Baghdad on December 2, 1977. They were met at the airport by the Head of the State Protocol. The Chairman was interviewed by the press at the airport where he explained the purpose of the mission.

72. The members of the Committee, together with the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Hamid Al JOUBOURI and the Senior officials of his Ministry met for a discussion. The discussion began after an exchange of the usual addresses of welcome and courtesy.

73. The Chairman of the OAU Committee was the first to take the floor. He explained the purpose of the mission and gave detailed information on the situation in Southern Africa and of the various efforts made to find a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. He laid emphasis on the large number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the OAU, the Commonwealth Conference and other international bodies. The Chairman then highlighted the situation prevailing in Southern Africa and in the Middle East and inferred that the struggle being waged by Africans in the Southern part of the Continent on the one hand, and by the Arabs in Palestine and in the Middle East on the other, was similar. He said that this was the reason why Africa expected much from the brotherly Arab countries, so that the latter could exert pressure on those international oil companies still supplying oil to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia illegally and by fraudulent means. The Chairman concluded by urging Iraq to intervene so that Iran might refrain from supplying oil to South Africa.

74. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in reply, said that the Iraqi Government broke all relations with the racist regime of South Africa since 1966. There was no direct or indirect contact with South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. The Government of Iraq took these measures as

a result of its solidarity with the peoples of Africa. It is convinced of the complicity existing between Israel and these racist regimes of Southern Africa. The time has come for action to be taken against these enemies of the Arab and African peoples. A longer stay of the Committee members in Iraq would reveal to them the role played by Iraq in denouncing these reactionary regimes through its mass media.

75. Referring to the oil sanctions, he said that these sanctions were thoroughly and fully imposed, since 1972 in particular from the date on which Iraq decided to take charge of its oil and to nationalise all the oil companies operating on its territory. Thus, the Iraqi Government was absolutely certain that no single drop of its oil was being sent to South Africa. Besides, the Iraqi Government's position on the issues of African liberation and occupied Arab territories was clearly known. This had, many a time, been explained and reiterated at international meetings, organized by the United Nations, the Arab League and within the framework of Afro-Arab Co-operation.

76. In spite of its limited resources Iraq would do everything in its power in order that the decisions and recommendations of the Cairo Afro-Arab Summit Conference might produce the desired effects in the mutual interest of the Arab and African peoples.

77. A discussion followed after this important declaration. Asked whether Iraq could use its position among the OPEC countries to influence other countries to impose the oil embargo on South Africa during the next OPEC meeting to be held in Caracas, the Minister said that the Organization included countries with different interests and are guided by the principles of unity in diversity. However, he added that something might be done in that sphere.

He recommended that the Committee should discuss the matter with the Oil Minister who would represent Iraq at the Conference of Caracas. He was however sceptical with regard to the success of this endeavour on account of the large number of the other issues which would be discussed, particularly in the light of the declarations already made by Iran and Saudi Arabia on the oil price. Asked whether his country could not call upon the Workers' Conference of the Oil Exporting Countries which would be held possibly in Baghdad to adopt concrete measures for the struggle against racism in South Africa, Zionism in Palestine, the Minister said that he thought that was possible.

78. The members of the Committee later met the Iraqi Oil Minister, His Excellency Mr. TAEH ABDUL KAREM. After the usual address of welcome and other formalities, the Chairman of the OAU Committee informed the Iraqi Oil Minister of the purpose of the OAU mission and mentioned the various countries already visited by the members of the Committee and those still to be visited. He then gave a review of the situation in Southern Africa. The Committee gave the Oil Minister some information on the very interesting discussion it had on the previous day with the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. The Chairman of the Committee then urged the Minister to take action during the forthcoming Caracas meeting and to take drastic measures so as to discourage the conspiracy of the international Oil companies.

79. The Minister, in a clear and categorical reply which can be summed up as follows said:

Africa and the Arab World, are, at present facing a common enemy. Both of them face imperialist and zionist aggression. This aggression has serious effects on the Arabs and Africans. Nevertheless, Arabs and Africans can exert a great influence in the world. They could, consequently, through their active solidarity change the situation in their favour. Since the Second World War,

and more particularly in the sixties, contemporary history has been marked by the political independence of Arab and African countries. But, it must be admitted that, in spite of the political independence, the economies of these states continue to stagnate under imperialist domination. It is the duty of Africans and Arabs to combine their efforts to struggle together against imperialism, racism and zionism. The struggle of the Arab World cannot be dissociated from that of Africa, since both struggles are waged by oppressed people against world imperialism. Arabs and Africans have an interest to constantly co-ordinate their action. Iraq's Foreign policy is clear and guaranteed by the unequivocal socialist action of the BATH Party. Iraq is leading a decisive battle in the political and economic spheres in order to achieve liberty, equality and justice. It is also struggling against underdevelopment and for the transfer of technology, a fair and balanced trade and, finally, for the establishment of a new world economic order. Unlike some countries, Iraq is of the opinion that oil could be used by developing countries as a political weapon. It is also of the opinion that oil could be used by developing countries to achieve peace and against every form of domination. Even if the reactionary members of OPEC pretend that oil should not be used as a political weapon, Iraq is still convinced that it can lead to the establishment of a new world order.

80. Oil, this redoubtable weapon should not only be used against apartheid in South Africa and zionism in Israel, it should particularly be used against those who help to maintain these regimes, thus allowing them to perpetuate

their aggression. The income accruing from petroleum should be invested in the national territory or, in other developing countries but never in developed countries. This is the position defended everywhere by Iraq among the OPEC countries and in other bodies. Iraq was conscious of its weakness but it is also convinced that by joining hands with other progressive countries, it would realize its ambition consisting in putting an end to the racist and zionist regimes. Iraq was entirely in favour of Oil Sanctions. Its oil has been nationalized since 1972 and all the necessary precautions have been taken so that it might not be re-exported or sold to racist and zionist regimes for, Iraq was aware that the enemies could, in turn, use it against its friends and itself. Iraq supported African Unity and supported also with all its might the Afro-Arab Co-operation which, fortunately, was given new impulse at the Summit Conference held in Cairo in March, 1977.

81. With regard to the support Iraq could give by raising the question of the oil embargo at the OPEC Conference to be held shortly in Caracas, the Minister told the Committee members that he was not very sure of Iraq's participation in that Conference on account of the declarations made by Iran and Saudi Arabia on the issue of price increases. However, he added that if Iraq were to attend, it would support that view with pleasure, although he did not believe that that kind of issue could be raised in the present atmosphere.

82. The Committee Chairman thanked the Iraqi Oil Minister for his frank declaration and asked him to do his best to discuss the oil embargo in the lobby and if possible, to include it in the agenda of the Caracas meeting.

83. The members of the Committee were getting ready to leave Baghdad for Teheran in the evening of 3 December 1977, when the Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of Iran informed them that his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs could receive the delegation only on Thursday 8

December 1977, that is, nearly a week later as the Minister was going away on a short holiday. Asked whether there were no other people in Iran who could receive the members of the Committee and have discussions with them in case the Minister for Foreign Affairs could not do so, the Charge d'Affaires said that only the Minister for Foreign Affairs could engage in such discussions. It was then deduced that it was a disguised way of refusing to receive the Committee. The members of the Committee then decided to pursue their mission to Kuwait.

VISIT TO KUWAIT

84. The Committee arrived in Kuwait on 4 December 1977 in the evening. It was welcomed at the airport by the Minister of Foreign Affairs himself, H.E. Shaik SABAH AL AHMAD AL JABER together with high officials of his Ministry.
85. Talks started the following day in the morning, first with the Foreign Minister. After courtesy formalities, the Chairman of the Committee told the Minister for Foreign Affairs the purpose of the Committee's mission. Concerning Arab countries and Kuwait in particular, the Chairman said that the OAU mission was aimed at making consultations on how best to carry out an effective oil embargo as shown by the Afro-Arab Co-operation spirit which has existed for a long time and which recently was institutionalised by the Summit Conference in Cairo last March, 1977.
86. After giving an account of the situation prevailing in Southern Africa, recalling the repeated aggressions by racist South Africa against neighbouring states, massacres committed by Southern Rhodesian forces against

refugees in Mozambique, and assassination of innocent patriots which have become the order of the day in South Africa as in Southern Rhodesia, the Chairman affirmed that without oil all these crimes would not have been committed for the simple reason that planes, tanks, trucks and other military equipment would not operate without fuel. As far as the Chairman was concerned, the Committee he was leading had one very simple task in Kuwait and in all other Arab countries, since it was preaching to converts who already in 1973 in Algiers had decided to stop supplying oil to South Africa and to Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, the Chairman noted, it appeared that international oil companies continue to defy the Arab and African resolve of totally isolating the racist regimes of Southern Africa by supplying the latter all the oil they needed. The Chairman said that the OAU Committee would like to draw the attention of the Kuwaiti authorities to this matter by requesting them to take strong measures to control petroleum companies. The Chairman concluded his statement by appealing to Kuwait to use its influence to persuade Iran to change its oil policy vis-a-vis South Africa.

87. In response to the remarks by the Chairman of the OAU Committee, the Kuwaiti Minister for Foreign Affairs H.E. SHAIK SABAH AL AHMAD AL JABER said that Kuwait welcomed the OAU Committee. The Committee should feel completely at home in this brotherly country. The OAU and Arab League have good relations of friendship and co-operation. Arab and African countries have similar problems in the Middle East and in Southern Africa. They suffer from similar aggression from the same enemies, the nostalgic colonialists, racists and zionists who are continually creating problems in Africa and in the Arab world. As regards the oil embargo, Kuwait applies oil sanctions totally as made clear during the meeting of the OAU Committee of 12 and the Arab League Committee of 12 held in Cairo in June 1975. In Kuwait, all oil companies are nationalised one hundred per cent. This situation

enables Kuwait to strictly control oil distribution and the destination of Kuwaiti petrol; Kuwait exports crude oil to Europe, to Amsterdam, Rotherdam etc.. where it is refined. After the refinery stage in Europe, it becomes very difficult for Kuwait to pursue the destination of its oil in subsequent stations. Kuwait is nevertheless ready to co-operate with Africa to try and work out effective ways which would enable it to control even refined oil, up to its final destination. It firmly supports the strict application of the oil embargo, for it is well aware of the fact that enemies use oil at one and the same time against its enemies. Therefore it decided to do all in its power to convince Iran in a very friendly way, to stop supplying oil to South Africa. To that end, the Minister also advised the Committee to solicit the good offices of Saudi Arabia, which maintains very good relations with Iran to help in this task. He also disclosed that his country surrendered the rights of exploitation of its petrol to a consortium for a period of at least ten years. He concluded that the Committee could hold talks with the Minister for Petroleum with whom they could perhaps possibly deal at length on technical matters concerning the oil embargo.

88. The Committee later met with the Minister for Petroleum. The Chairman explained the aim of the Committee's mission by giving a historical account of the problems of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and recent developments on these problems. He then concluded that he was satisfied with the talks he and the members of the Committee had just held with the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

89. The Minister for Petroleum confirmed all the information given by his colleague the Minister for Foreign Affairs moments earlier. Members of the Committee raised a number of questions on what action to take against International oil companies on the role that Kuwait could play concerning Iran, within

OPEC and vis-a-vis such countries as Holland and Japan which import crude oil, refine it, and eventually re-export it. The Minister for Petroleum and his Director General on their part asked if the Committee could supply information as to whether Kuwaiti oil is eventually exported to South Africa. The Committee supplied information concerning all these matters, which was supported by statistical data, on the activities of some oil companies in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, especially BP - SHELL - MOBIL - CALTEX - and TOTAL. The Minister for Petroleum informed the Committee that all these companies do not operate in Kuwait. He agreed to exert pressure on those companies operating in Kuwait which at the same time may be involved in activities in South Africa so as to get them to make a choice. He also agreed to discuss this matter with Holland and Japan and to support all initiatives aimed at getting OPEC to adopt a resolution on the oil embargo. Being a member of the Security Council, Kuwait could also support the adoption of a similar resolution by the current session of the United Nations. The Minister for Petroleum assured the Committee that he himself would personally hold talks with the Iranian Minister for Petroleum and recommended to the Committee to do all it could to visit Iran and discuss directly with the authorities of that country. He then ended by reaffirming his country's willingness to invest in Africa in conformity with the recommendations of the Cairo Conference and disclosed that to this end a mission from his country was about to make a trip to Africa to explore the market and establish whether the necessary conditions existed for attracting Arab capital.

VISIT TO ABU DHABI (UAE)

90. The Committee left Kuwait on 5 December 1977 arriving in the United Arab Emirate State of Abu Dhabi in the morning. It was welcomed by the Vice-Minister for Petroleum and the State's Chief of Protocol.

91. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs H.E. RASID ABDULLAH paid a courtesy call on members of the Committee at their Hotel. Formal talks started later in the day at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs who was accompanied by top officials from his Ministry.
92. The Chairman informed the Minister of State on the aim of the Committee's mission and explained the situation in Southern Africa reviewing various attempts made at different levels to solve peacefully the problems of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and the failure which the International Community had had to face. He emphasised that the Southern African problem and that in the Middle East are like twin brothers and consequently called for a common and concrete action. The OAU Committee knows very well, said the Chairman, that Arab countries no more export their oil to South Africa since the Algiers decision of 1973, but he could not say if the International Oil Companies which buy this petrol subsequently sell it to South Africa and to Southern Rhodesia. It was therefore necessary to control these companies. The Chairman then called upon the Minister of State to ask the delegation of his country in CARACAS to get some delegations from other States to bring up the question of the oil embargo, either officially or in the corridors if the first alternative failed.
93. The Abu Dhabi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs was very clear on the position of his Government vis-à-vis the problems Africa is confronted with. The Minister affirmed that the United Arab Emirates considers African problems as its own. This was not only natural but was also one of the requirements of Afro-Arab Co-operation. The United Arab Emirates not only applies oil sanctions, but also imposes other sanctions in the economic, trade and other areas. The United Arab Emirates sells its petrol on condition that it shall not be resold to such

enemies as South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Official Certificates indicating the destination of the Emirates' oil are regularly signed.

94. If anyone could supply information certifying that one or the other oil company had sold oil belonging to the Emirates to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, the United Arab Emirates solemnly promised to take a very severe exemplary action against such a recalcitrant company. This statement was followed by questions pertaining to various matters raised especially on the role which the Arab Emirates could play in persuading Iran to stop supplying oil to South Africa. Other matters concerning what action to take against International oil companies which sell their oil to South Africa and concerning the attempt to introduce the issue of the oil embargo during the next OPEC meeting in CARACAS were raised. The Minister of State replied to all these matters in the affirmative and gave assurances to the OAU Committee that his country would do whatever is possible to assist as requested by the Committee.

VISIT TO QATAR

95. The Committee arrived in Doha on 7 December, 1977. It was received at the airport by the Minister of Information and driven immediately to the Palace of the Head of State, Emir H. H. SHEIKH KALIFA. The Emir warmly welcomed all the members of the Committee, and was pleased at the high level of the OAU mission. The Chairman of the Committee then explained to him the aim of the mission. The Emir assured the Committee that no drop of oil from Qatar has been supplied either to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia and this has been the case since the Algiers decision of 1973 to impose an oil embargo against these two regimes. Qatar, he added, will welcome any information indicating any supply of oil to these regimes, and will not

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hesitate to take immediate action against any oil company, anybody or any other institution which will be found guilty of diverting its oil to the enemies of Africa and the Arabs, namely, the racist South Africans and Southern Rhodesians. The Emir moreover asked all Africans to strengthen their unity and continue with the struggle in Southern Africa and assist the freedom fighters in their fight against the racist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to ensure that white colonialists do not remain there indefinitely like in the Middle East. Such action is most urgent, he said, especially in the light of the fact that the racist South Africans are preparing to explode a nuclear bomb. He finally recalled that his Government has always supported the struggle against apartheid and promised that it will follow this policy which he believes to be just because it is aimed at the restoration of dignity and the attainment of freedom in conformity with the wishes and will of the International Community to see that racial discrimination and Zionism which is a form of it, are brought to an end.

96. The Emir recognized that oil is a powerful weapon and agreed to use it against the racist South Africans who continue with their barbaric domination and perpetrate aggressions against brotherly independent African countries. He ended by saying that zionism in the Middle East and apartheid in Southern Africa are the two greatest scourges that Africans and Arabs must fight against and he was convinced that in the not too distant future they will strengthen their solidarity through Afro-Arab Co-operation.

97. On behalf of the Committee, the Chairman thanked the Emir of Qatar for having personally explained the position of his country on the question of Southern Africa, and stated that he was very satisfied with Qatar's policy regarding this matter. He agreed that Arabs and Africans have the same battle against these enemies who, unfortunately, are very powerful. It is only by strengthening Afro-Arab Co-operation and by using all the weapons at their disposal that Africans and Arabs will defeat zionists, racists and

their supporters. It is within this framework, the Chairman continued, that the Mission of the OAU Committee of Seven wished that Qatar used its good offices and its influence to convince Iran to refrain from supplying oil to South Africa. The Committee would also appreciate Qatar's effort on this matter during the next OPEC Session to be held in December 1977 in CARACAS, Venezuela.

98. Speaking again, the Emir informed the Committee that his Government had signed specific contracts with oil companies concerning the destination of its petrol and that any violation of these contracts will be punished very severely. He finally promised that his country will stand with the African countries in making every effort to force OPEC to take sanctions against any member state which exports its oil to South Africa, and that its government will use all means at its disposal to persuade Iran to stop supplying oil to the well-known enemies of Africans and Arabs, namely, racists and zionists.

VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA

99. The Committee arrived in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, on the morning of 8 December 1977. It was received at the airport by the Chief of Protocol.

100. On 8 December 1977 the Committee held a meeting with the Vice-Minister for Political Affairs, H.E. SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN MANSOURI who was assisted by the Director for External Information and the Director of the African and Asian Department. After the Chairman of the OAU Committee had explained the aim of the OAU mission, the Vice-Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN MANSOURI replied by saying that his country strictly applies oil sanctions against South Africa and that not a single drop of its oil has been supplied to this part of the world. He continued by saying that oil companies which buy crude

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oil from Saudi Arabia have received clear instructions that they should never sell this oil to Israel or South Africa. He also said that once oil has been refined it becomes more difficult to determine exactly to whom these companies distribute their oil. In this regard, he said Saudi Arabia will be grateful to the OAU, if the latter could furnish any information on the diversion of its oil to South Africa by these companies. He said that Saudi Arabia supports totally the accession to power by the majority in South Africa and that his country continues to uphold this position in the United Nations as well as in all International meetings.

100. Concerning the possibility of discussing the oil embargo issue during the next meeting of OPEC in CARACAS, Venezuela, the Vice-Minister said that Saudi Arabia will exchange views with other Member States at this meeting. But he was not very optimistic about Iran for that country was selling its oil to South Africa as well as to Israel. He admitted that it will be very difficult for Saudi Arabia to convince Iran to change this policy despite the excellent political relations existing between the two countries.

102. The Committee left Jeddah, the final stage of its mission on 8 December, 1977.

C O N C L U S I O N

103. The OAU Committee's visit to all the oil exporting countries, OPEC members and others, was very successful. Everywhere it went the OAU Committee was enthusiastically and warmly welcomed by the host countries. In each country it got first-hand information, from discussions with various Heads of State, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Oil Ministers and other important people. With all these high officials, the Committee dwelt at length

on the issue of the oil embargo and above all, the best way of achieving this objective. With the exception of Iran which refused to receive the Committee, all the other countries visited in Latin America, South-East Asia and in the Middle East, the Committee was informed that not a drop of their oil is exported to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. All these countries gave indications that they would consider to take legislative measures to ban any kind of relations whatsoever with these two regimes.

104. During the discussions which the Committee had with officials from the different countries, it appeared that the role played by International Oil Companies in diverting oil to South Africa was sometimes ignored. Information supplied by the Committee on this aspect of the problem made all these countries visited sensitive to the matter promising in future to take drastic measures to ensure that more control is exercised over the oil companies.

105. The Committee's mission provided an opportunity for the countries visited to reaffirm their support for the policy of African liberation and independence. It also enabled the Committee itself to assess the importance of the African Continent, its public image overseas and the impact of African policy on the International scene as symbolised by the Organisation of African Unity. The desire to establish contacts and the will to develop relations with Africa were underscored by all the countries visited.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

106. Following what it saw, heard and generally ascertained the Committee makes the following recommendations for the consideration and approval of the Council:

- (i) To establish a Standing Committee composed of the present Seven Member States to be responsible for checking the application of sanctions and to co-operate fully with similar committees already existing in the UN and Commonwealth Secretariats.

- (ii) To consider the possibility of establishing relations consultative contacts between the OAU and ASEAN.
- (iii) To make the issue of the oil embargo a permanent item in all regional, inter-regional and international conferences.
- (iv) To request the African Group in New York, in collaboration with other third world countries to bring up the issue of the oil embargo and try to get the Security Council to pass a resolution on the matter.
- (v) To employ the services of the Haslemere Group of Consultants or any other group approved by the OAU which specialises in the study of how the oil companies break the oil embargo.
- (vi) To express its displeasure at the manner in which it was snubbed, but at the same time to continue with efforts to persuade Iran to prevent the flow of its oil to South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Daily Journal

Caracas, Tuesday 18 October 1977

OAU GROUP VISITS

VENEZUELA BACKS BLOCKADE OF RHODESIA, SAYS CONSALVI

DAILY JOURNAL STAFF

Venezuela supports the economic and petroleum blockade against Rhodesia, Foreign Minister Simon Alberto Consalvi said yesterday at Miraflores after he and President Carlos Andres Perez met with seven representatives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The OAU Group, which included the Foreign Ministers of Ghana, Zambia and Sierra Leone, was seeking support for the sanctions against Rhodesia approved by the United Nations Security Council, he said.

Referring to the Rhodesian government as "the illegal regime of Ian Smith, "Minister Consalvi said that President Perez had promised Venezuela's complete cooperation.

"Until now the decisions taken by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have been useless," he said. "The sanctions have been violated by some multinational oil companies, and the illegal Rhodesian regime has been fed in the past with oil supplied in this form which violates the decisions by the United Nations and the Security Council."

Venezuela, he said, supported "not only the petroleum blockade but the economic blockade" against Rhodesia adding these sanctions have been violated "by very powerful interests on the world level." Enforcement of the blockade would mean the "weakening of the Smith regime" and the rise of a majority government, he said.

However, the petroleum blockade against Rhodesia would not be discussed at the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) conference in December, he said. OPEC has never dealt with political issues, he said, and is "an eminently economic organization, and we are not going to meddle in questions of that nature."

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MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN ON
OIL SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA
WHO VISITED VENEZUELA AND ECUADOR
FROM SUNDAY, 16TH OCTOBER, 1977

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>DELEGATE</u>
ALGERIA	Mr. Tahar Slim DEBAGHA Minister Plenipotentiary Mission to the United Nations
GHANA	H.E. Col. R.J.A. FELLI - Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Mr. Isaac ANDOH, Personal Assistant.
GABON	H.E. Mr. V. MAVOUNGOU Gabonese Ambassador to Venezuela
LIBYA	H.E. Mr. Hussein SHERIFF Libyan Ambassador to Venezuela Mr. Mohamed SASSI Second secretary at the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs
NIGERIA	Mr. Gbadebo Oladeinde GEORGE Deputy Permanent Representative Nigerian Mission to the UN New York
SIERRA LEONE	Hon. Dr. Abdulai O. CONTEH Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. George TAYLOR Special Assistant to the Minister
ZAMBIA	Hon. Dr. Siteke G. MWALE, M.P. Minister of Foreign Affairs Chairman of the Committee of Seven H.E. Mr. Kalenga KANGWA Ambassador of Zambia to Ethiopia
OAU	H.E. Dr. Peter U. ONU Assistant Secretary-General of OAU

ANNEX III

VENEZUELA DELEGATION WITH WHICH
THE MISSION HELD DISCUSSIONS

H.E. President Carlos Andres PERES

H.E. Mr. Simon Alberto CONSALVI

Mr. Valentin HERNANDEZ-ACOSTA

Mr. Norman TINO - Adviser

Mr Rene Arreaza - Adviser

ANNEX IV

ECUADORIAN DELEGATION WITH WHICH
THE MISSION HELD DISCUSSIONS

H.E. Vice-Admiral Alfredo Poveda BELBRANO
President of the Supreme Council of
Government and Commander-in-Chief of the
Navy

H.E. Mr. Jose Oyalu LASSO
Foreign Minister

H.E. Mr. Gustavo RUALES
Under-Secretary of the
Foreign Ministry

H.E. Louis Ponce ENRIQUE

H.E. Hermann VEINTIMILLA

H.E. Olmeda MONTEVERDE

Annex V

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 7 WHO VISITED
OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES IN THE FAR EAST
AND THE MIDDLE EAST

1. Zambia

H.E. Dr. Sitaka GALEWALE, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Committee;

H.E. Mr. Kalengwa Kangwa, Zambia's Ambassador to Ethiopia.

2. Sierra Leone

H.E. Dr. Abdulai CONTEH,
Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Mr. George TAYLOR, Special Assistant
(Both left the Mission in Iraq to prepare for an important ONU meeting in Ghestown).

3. Libya

H.E. Mr. Ahmed EL ATRASH, Under Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

4. Ghana

H.E. Mr. C.O.C. AMATE, Ambassador to Ethiopia.

5. Gabon

H.E. S.P. Maurice PALLARD, Ambassador to the Phillipines;

Mr. Pierre C. KESSANU, Second Counsellor of Embassy; (death only participated in the work of the Committee in Indonesia).

H.E. Andre Mangongon NZAMBIE, Ambassador to Kuwait - joined the Mission in Iraq.

Mr. George BLAISE - Charge d'Affairs in Abu Dhabi (only participated in the work of the Mission in Abu Dhabi);

H.E. Celestin BOKOKO, Ambassador to Qatar (Represented his country in Qatar).

6. Nigeria

Mr. Andrew Ayo AJAKAIYE; Charge d'Affairs in Indonesia, (only participated in the work of the Mission in Indonesia).

Mr. G.O. GEORGE, Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN (joined the Mission in Iraq.)

7. Algeria

Mr. Boukhari Abdel KADER, Charge d'Affairs in Indonesia. (Only participated in the work of the Mission in Indonesia).

Mr. Koudir SAHBI - Charge d'Affairs to Kuwait - represented his country at the meeting in Kuwait.

Mr. Aissa Messacudi MOHAMMED - Charge d'Affairs to Abu Dhabi - represented his country at the meeting in Abu Dhabi.

H.E. Mohammed KADRI, Ambassador in Saudi Arabia - represented his country at the meeting in Jeddah.

8. General Secretariat

H. E. Dr. Peter U. ONU, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs;

Mr. V. NZOMWITA, Chief of Sanctions.

SECRET.

HIGH RANKING OFFICIALS MET BY THE COMMITTEE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIESINDONESIA

- The President of the Republic, H.E. General SOEHARTO
- The Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs,
H.E. Mr. MUCHTAR KUSUMAATMADJA
- Chairman of the People's Representative Council,
H.E. Mr. ADAM MALIK
- Minister of State for Economic Affairs, Finance and
Industries, President of National Planning and
Development - H.E. Professor Dr. WIDJOJO NITISASTRO
- Secretary-General of ASEAN, H.E. Mr. H.R. DHARSONO
- Governor of Bali, H.E. Mr. SOEKARMEN

MALAYSIA

- Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, H.E. MAJI ZAKARIA
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mr. AHMAD RITHAUDDEEN
- Minister of Information, H.E. Mr. AMAR HJ. ABDUL TAIB MAHMUD

THAILAND

- Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Dr. UTADIT PACSAIYANTKUN

IRAQ

- Minister of State in Charge of Foreign Affairs,
H.E. Mr. HAMID ALJUBOURI
- Minister of Petrol, H.E. Mr. TACH ABDUL KAREM

KUWAIT

- Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mr. SABAH AL AHMAD AL JABOR
- Minister of Petrol, H.E. Mr. RASHID AL RASHID

ABOU DHABI

- Minister of State in Charge of Foreign Affairs,
H.E. Mr. RASID ABDULLAH

QATAR

- Head of State, H.E. H.E. - SHEIKH KALIF BIN HAMAD AL THANI
- Minister of Information

SAUDI ARABIA

- Assistant Minister for Political Affairs,
H.E. Mr. SHAIK ABDUL RAHMAN MANSOURI.

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