April 27, 1973

Dear Brother/Sister:

By now you should have received your shipment of large posters. We hope you are pleased with them. If you have not received your shipment, please contact us at once and we will look into it with the truckers. Your bumper stickers and foldouts are now in transit.

Enclosed are the memos on the Black dealers and the anticipated Gulf response. Also enclosed is the report form we are asking you to fill out and return by May 15. We will then consolidate all of the reports and send back to you an account of what's going on in each of the 18 states. The questions on the report form are designed to get information and ideas from you that may be useful to organizers working in other states so please remember to send it back as soon as the 15th arrives.

If you have not put all your posters up by the 15th, please continue putting them up since it is clear that this stage's timetable has been somewhat complicated by the shipper's failure to deliver on time as promised.

One further piece of information. Jet and Ebony have agreed to carry full page ads for us as soon as we raise the money. We expect to run the first ad in Jet sometime in late May.

For our people,

Chris Nteta

Randall Robinson

Jim Winston
GULF BOYCOTT: COMMUNICATION FORM

PLEASE RESPOND ACCORDINGLY.

1. I have received:
   a. 2'x3' posters _____
   b. Bumper Stickers _____
   c. Foldouts _____

2. How many posters have you put up in the past two weeks? ______

3. Have the posters been put up outdoors:
   a. In the Black community _____
   b. In the White community _____
   c. Over the entire city _____

4. How many posters have you had to replace? ______

5. How are you making certain that the bumper stickers distributed wind up on someone's bumper? ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

6. How are the information foldouts being distributed? ________________
   ____________________________________________________________

7. What is the total number put up or distributed since receipt? ______
   posters? _____ bumper stickers? _____ foldouts? _____

8. Have you made any new contacts with people or organizations? ______

9. Have you gotten any local media coverage? ________ (Please elaborate)

10. Do you have any ideas, questions, remarks, suggestions, etc. which you would like to discuss with us and the organizers in the other states? (Please use the remaining space.)
MEMORANDUM

TO: State and Local Organizers
FROM: Pan-African Liberation Committee
DATE: May 20, 1973
RE: SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO RELATE TO BLACK GULF DEALERS

At some point during the propaganda and education stage many of us will be asked the question of how we relate to Black Gulf dealers. This memo presents some guidelines for dealing with that issue.

Our primary concern in our relationship to Black dealers should be that we do not allow ourselves to ever develop hostility between ourselves and them. We must therefore always keep in mind both publicly and privately that the enemy is those people who determine where and how Gulf gets its oil. These same people also make it necessary that some Black people have no other means of surviving other than to sell that oil. In short, we and the Black Gulf dealers are all being oppressed by the same people. We must make the Black dealers aware that we consider them to be victims just as much as we and the people of Angola are.

In spite of this fact, we can not take a public position which would suggest that it is alright for Black people to buy Gulf products from Black dealers.

With this thought in mind we have decided that we will adopt a policy of not confronting Black dealers in any manner. If Gulf uses them to oppose us we must not respond to them but instead direct all of our responses to the white folks who manage the corporation, control the Board of Directors, and own the stock.
One possible method of trying to alleviate the problem before it becomes a public issue is to write a letter to the dealers in your area. If you think this desirable you will find a sample letter attached which you can adapt to your particular circumstances.

If you talk to Black dealers one other question will be raised by them. That question is: What can I do? The only option available for Black dealers is to change their franchises. Fortunately, there is a growing desire among many companies to increase their Black franchise holders to the point that the majority of franchise owners in the Black community will be Black. We can make Black franchise owners aware of the comprehensive directories that can tell them about these other franchises such as:

The Franchise Annual
National Franchise Reports
333 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60601

Directory of Franchising
Organizations and a Guide to Franchising
Pilot Industries, Inc.
42 West 33rd Street
New York, N.Y.

Modern Franchising
1033 First Avenue
Des Plaines, Ill. 60016

There is also a consulting center which they can contact to help them find another franchise. It is:

The Center for the Study of Franchise Distribution
Boston College
Chestnut Hill, Mass. 02167
LETTER TO BLACK GULF DEALERS

Dear Brother:

(Introduce yourself and your organization.)

We believe that until all of Africa is free and independent, Black people will not be able to live in peace and dignity in the United States or anywhere else in the world. Accordingly, we are attempting to point out the relationship between the problems facing our people here and in Africa. We believe that only by waging a united struggle against our common enemy can we hope to rid ourselves of world-wide oppression.

One of the chief ways that we can help our people in Africa, and therefore ourselves, is to economically weaken the enemies and exploiters of Africa. Through research and personal contacts we know that Gulf Oil is one of the foremost exploiters of African people in Angola, an oil-rich country where more than 5 million Africans are suppressed by the government of Portugal.

That racist European country maintains a standing army of 60,000 soldiers and policemen who brutalize and kill thousands of African men, women and children each year in an attempt to keep Angola under its domination.

Along with the United States Government, Gulf Oil is one of the main financial supporters of Portugal. Through a notorious contractual agreement reached in 1966, Portugal allows Gulf Oil sole rights to extract
millions of barrels of oil yearly, making profits into the billions of
dollars. A good portion of this income goes directly to Portugal to help
maintain its armies in Africa. For example in 1972, Gulf will pay
$30 million in taxes alone - in addition to millions more for surface rents,
barrel payments, royalties, sales tax, bonuses and other obligations. These
substantial payments enable Portugal to meet the rising cost of its war
against African liberation armies.

The continued purchase of Gulf products by Black people in this country
puts us in the position of aiding Gulf and Portugal in the exploitation of
Africa and its people. We are a significant part of Gulf's market in this
country and in an attempt to change this relationship, we are planning to
mount a nation-wide boycott against Gulf Oil.

All African people are victims in one way or another of the social,
political and economic forces that white people use to influence and control
our lives. Because of this condition the boycott planned to support the
struggle of our millions of brothers and sisters in Africa could cause an
economic loss among our brothers who are Gulf station operators in the U.S.
Therefore, it is not without serious consideration that we have decided to
launch this boycott.

Our purpose in writing you at this time is to make you aware in
advance of the national thrust which will be coming soon. By doing so we
hope that you will have the opportunity to take appropriate steps to
protect yourself from any economic problems which Gulf's dealers will suffer.
In this regard the following information may be of help to you.

There is a growing desire among many companies to increase their Black franchise holders to the point that the majority of franchise owners in the Black community will be Black. These and other directories can tell you about these other franchises:

The Franchise Annual
National Franchise Reports
333 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60601

Directory of Franchising
Organizations and a Guide
to Franchising
Pilot Industries, Inc.
42 West 33rd Street
New York, New York

Modern Franchising
1033 First Avenue
Des Plaines, Ill. 60016

In addition there is a consulting center which you make contact with:

Center for the Study of
Franchise Distribution
Boston College
Chestnut Hill, Mass. 02167

Please understand that our desire is to change the policies and practices of Gulf's management, Board of Directors and shareholders. It is not our desire to cause economic injury to you, the dealer.

If we can be of any further assistance in helping you to prepare for the boycott please contact us.

Thank you.

Yours in the struggle,

(Your name)