

**COOPERATIVE JOINS
COALITION**

The Community Automotive Cooperative (1700 members) in Austin, Texas has voted to join the Gulf Boycott. As part of their protest they plan to return a case of "Gulfpride" oil. (See letter enclosed.)

**CORNELL SELLS
GULF STOCK**

Cornell University announced last December that it had sold all of its Gulf stock valued at \$2.4 million. This action was the result of the work of the Southern African Liberation Committee and its affiliate group, Operation Stop (Students to Oppose Persecution).

**ANGOLAN COFFEE
BOYCOTT**

Robert Manning writes of the successful boycott of Angolan coffee by the Dutch Angola Committee in Holland last year which caused the loss of millions of dollars for Portugal. Manning suggests a U.S. boycott would further damage the Portuguese war effort and increase the "heightening friction between Portugal and the white settlers." Two large U.S. buyers of Angolan coffee are General Foods and Nestle. General Foods produces Maxwell Instant, Maxim, Sanka and Yuban. Nestle markets Taster's Choice, Nescafe and DeCaf. (Manning's article is enclosed.)

**GULF OIL AND
GEORGE WASHINGTON
CARVER**

During the week of January 1 to 7 an impressive number of activities were planned in Pittsburgh honoring the life and genius of George Washington Carver. Of special note was the participation of Gulf Oil Corporation in the activities. Gulf sponsored a reception for Dr. Ralph Abernathy, guest speaker for the George Washington Carver Day luncheon. Gulf Boycott Coalition's response to this was a press release pointing out the irony and arrogance of a corporation which supports a white colonial war in Angola to the tune of \$45 million a year while at the same time it buys the good will of the black community in the U.S. (News items enclosed.)

**COALITION
CREATES THREE
NEW FLYERS**

Three new leaflets, samples of which are enclosed, are now available for boycott groups. Another Vietnam in Africa? is a well documented leaflet describing the influence of oil interest in the U.S. government and foreign policy. The Gulf Dealer: How Will a Gulf Boycott Affect Him? is a question and answer sheet which seriously attempts to answer tough questions on the dynamics of a boycott. The third flyer, Boycott Gulf: The Best Possible Way to a Breakthrough in Southern Africa, explains why Gulf Boycott is a very practical course of action for the "little" people who want to effect freedom in Africa.

**ANGOLAN
LIBERATION
GROUPS UNITE**

A six month negotiation period ended in Kinshasa on December 13th when MPLA led by Holden Roberto and FLNA (GRAE) headed by Anghostinho Neto agreed to bring their rival groups under one umbrella organization, the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola. The joining of these two forces, if successful, will undoubtedly make a difference in the prospects for independence in Angola. See David Ottaway's article which is enclosed.

**HARVARD'S
FARBER REPORT
EVIDENTLY PLEASAS
GULF**

Stephen B. Farber, Special Assistant to the President, has released a report concerning Gulf Oil operations in Angola. The report was published in the October 6, 1972 Harvard University Gazette. Farber, who visited Angola last summer, concedes that Gulf contributes a large amount to the Portuguese government and that this amount will increase on the average of \$10 million over the next several years. He considers withdrawal, however, as having little effect on the Portuguese government's intentions to continue the war and speculates that withdrawal may even grant Portugal more income from the Cabinda operation. This kind of speculation seems to be very pleasing to Gulf for they are distributing copies of the Farber Report. The Portuguese Embassy has also distributed some copies. We do not know if the Gazette has copies available. If you care to inquire, their address is: Harvard University Gazette, Harvard Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. (See excerpt from Farber article.)

**CIC REPLY TO
FARBER**

The Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches has published in limited quantity "A Reply to Stephen Farber's Report on Gulf Oil in Angola," January 1973. This twenty-five page document concludes with the statement that the report "neither provides great amounts of new 'first-hand' material...nor does it prove its claims to independent 'objectivity'." Write the CIC, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027, for information.

**UN OBSERVER
STATUS FOR
ANGOLAN
LIBERATION
GROUPS**

The Angolan liberation movements have won a diplomatic victory during the present session of the U.N. The General Assembly passed a resolution, 99 to 5, stating that "national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Mozambique are the authentic representatives of the people of those territories" and recommended that all governments and U.N. bodies should have the liberation movements represented when dealing with Portuguese colonialism. (The five voting against: Portugal, South Africa, U.S., Britain, France.) Delegates from FRELIMO (Mozambique), PAIGC (Guinea Bissau), and MPLA (Angola) were seated as official observers by the U.N. Fourth Committee where they will have the opportunity to represent the colonized people of the Portuguese territories.

**AMILCAR CABRAL
ASSASSINATED**

The Associated Press reported from Lagos, Nigeria, that Amilcar Cabral, 47, leader of the Guinea Bissau liberation movement, was killed Saturday, January 20th, outside his home in Conakry. Portuguese agents were accused of his death. The Portuguese government remained silent. Foreign Minister John Malecela of Tanzania was reported to have said that the struggle for liberation would continue and compared it to the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the movement in Mozambique, where the movement is stronger than ever before.

**OBERLIN COLLEGE
CIAC RESOLUTION
ON GULF**

The College Investment Advisory Committee (CIAC), a panel created by the Board of Trustees of Oberlin College to study issues of corporate responsibility in investment passed a resolution January 15 which declares in part that Gulf "has not yet seen fit to meet its basic obligation to the African peoples in the midst of a war for independence..." The statement will go to the April meeting of the Board of Trustees for consideration.

Community Automotive Cooperative

2434 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas 73705
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Mr. B. R. Dorsey, president
Gulf Oil Corporation
439 Seventh Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15230

January 10, 1973



Dear Mr. Dorsey,

This is to inform you that the Community Automotive Cooperative has voted at its general membership meeting of November 28th to join the boycott of Gulf products.

We take this action in opposition to Gulf's support of Portuguese colonialism in Africa through the company's operations in Angola and in direct support of the struggle to liberate Angola. We deplore not only your direct financial contributions to the Portuguese government, but also your leading role in the development of oil production for white minority ruled Southern Africa.

Our cooperative has a present membership of approximately 1,800 persons. This coming year will be our first full calendar year of operations and cautious estimates indicate that our gross sales will exceed \$100,000.00. We will not knowingly allow any of this money to fall into the clutches of Gulf Oil or its Portuguese cohorts.

Furthermore we will continually urge our present and future members to support the boycott and to return any Gulf credit cards which they may hold. We will also use whatever influence we have with our suppliers to get them to join the boycott.

Finally we intend to participate in educating the general public concerning the role of Gulf and Portugal in Angola as well as Angola's struggle for independence. If you would like an opportunity to participate in a public forum on this topic, we would be happy to make the arrangements.

In closing we would like to paraphrase, if we may, your insightful comments of April 25th regarding Gulf's potential reaction to an international situation it deplores; namely nationalization of its holdings: We realize that if Gulf wishes to continue its involvement with Portuguese colonialism, it simply does so and that's all there is to it. However we think that you recognize that consumers who have provided the very profits you seek, and with which you attract capital investment, do play a very necessary and requisite part in the overall scheme of things. Therefore we are reasonably optimistic on the outcome of this boycott.

Sincerely,

Gary R. Welles, for the Cooperative

cc: Gulf Boycott Coalition.
American Committee on Africa
Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)

Austin Community Gasoline Services, Inc.

Angola liberation groups to unite

From DAVID OTTAWAY: Washington, December 26

The two main Angolan liberation movements have agreed to unite in their efforts in a move which could prove to be a turning point in the 12-year-old guerrilla war. If it is put into effect as planned, the agreement will bring together under one umbrella organisation two rival nationalist groups, the Angolan National Liberation Front (GLNA), led by Holden Roberto, and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), headed by Angostinho Neto.

The plan was under negotiation for six months and was finally signed in Kinshasa on December 13.

The nationalists in Angola have been divided over strategy and ideological issues for years, and a bitter struggle for leadership among three factions has been a major cause of the present stalemate in the guerrilla war. One of the first results of the new merger is expected to be the opening of a broad front of guerrilla activities along the border between Zaire and

Angola.

Mediator

Paradoxically, the agreement may also prove to be the prelude to the opening of negotiations with Portugal, with Brazil as the go-between. Last month the Brazilian Foreign Minister made it known during a visit to Africa that his country was prepared to act as a mediator in such talks.

The Portuguese have been under growing pressure from nationalist movements in all three of their African colonies — Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. Portugal has committed more than 130,000 troops to fighting guerrillas in what they call the three provinces.

The situation in Mozambique has become serious enough to give rise to a meeting in November of leading security and military officials from Portugal, Rhodesia, and South

Africa to discuss coordinating efforts to check the guerrilla war.

The agreement between the two Angolan movements is particularly interesting to African affairs specialists because for years the two have been bitter enemies, at times fighting each other's forces inside Angola.

Roberto's group has long been regarded as pro-Western and Neto's as pro-Communist, although over the years the ideological differences between the two have become somewhat blurred. A third faction, the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), is widely considered the most radical and is thought to have strong Chinese backing.

Roberto and Neto have now agreed to form a joint Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola, based in Zaire, with Roberto as president and Neto vice-president. Each side is to name 14 members. The council will meet only twice a year and primary responsibility for day-to-day operations will be entrusted to two other bodies — the unified military 'com-

mand and the Angolan political council. The former will handle the coordination of guerrilla activities and the latter the administration of areas controlled by the nationalists.

According to the Kinshasa agreement, the MPLA will name the head of the military command and the FLNA will nominate the president of the political council. Both bodies are to have 14 members, half from each of the two factions.

Whether the complex accord is workable remains to be seen. An arbitration committee, consisting of Zaire, Congo-Brazzaville, Tanzania, and Zambia, is being set up to oversee its application. Success is likely to depend upon the continued good relations between Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville. The pro-Communist MPLA was previously based in Brazzaville, and the pro-Western FLNA across the Congo river in Kinshasa, whose Government has strong American backing. Should the two Congolese Presidents again fall out, the Angolan agreement would probably also suffer. — Washington Post.

Gulf and Angola: Farber Reports on His Fact-Finding Trip

Stephen B. Farber, Special Assistant to the President, has released his report concerning Gulf Oil operations in Angola.

Until 1969, then, Gulf's contributions to the Angolan budget as a whole or to defense costs in particular can accurately be viewed only as very limited. Payments from 1969 through 1971 are more substantial. Beginning in 1972, however, Gulf's payments show a dramatic rise. Increased production and the modified OPEC pricing system are expected to push Gulf's tax and royalty payments to a 1972 level of about \$45 million, or some 25% more than the sum total of all Gulf payments until this year. And, in view of still further annual increases in the posted price called for by the price agreement and a small projected increase in production over the next several years, payments could well rise to a considerably higher level.

Several factors could work to shave the margin of increase in payments. It is possible, for example, that average daily production for 1973 will fall as much as 10,000 to 30,000 barrels below the 1972 figure of 130,000 simply because replacement wells have proved difficult to locate. Less predictable factors would be the opening of the Suez Canal and the consequent elimination of the "Suez Canal premium" that is now included in the price-setting base; a slight reduction in demand occasioned, for example, by a mild winter in Europe; and the availability of alternate sources of supply in the North Sea or elsewhere.

The effect of these factors, however, is likely to be small, especially in the short term. And since the dynamic elements in the payments mechanism are rising, it is possible to forecast an average annual increase in payments over the next several years of \$10 million or more. In addition, if the OPEC countries should demand a still higher share of profits, and if Portugal should again follow suit, the level of payments might rise still further.

Thus Gulf will provide this year about 11% of Angola's total budget revenues. This percentage is likely to remain fairly constant over the next several years. Gulf's present payments, unlike past payments, have therefore assumed considerable importance.