



# BOYCOTT GULF OIL

Special Issue





### THE LAST EMPIRE

The Portuguese have been in Africa for 500 years, though their full control is less than a century old and resistance never completely ended. While other countries yielded to the popular demand (and sometimes to force) for independence in Asia and Africa after World War II, Portugal merely changed the technical name of her colonies to 'overseas provinces' and called them an integral part of Portugal. She claimed a 'civilizing mission' and acknowledged as 'civilized' only those who were 'assimilado', that is, educated in the Portuguese language, culture, and religion. By 1960, Portuguese figures, indicated that only 15 per cent of the population of Mozambique could read and write at all, and many had become literate while working in the gold mines of South Africa. In Angola they could claim literacy no higher than 10 per cent. In Guinea, with the population of a million, only 11 Africans had obtained a university education.

### A POLICE STATE

Portugal itself is a police state, and the colonies are run with even less democracy and greater brutality.

The 'overseas provinces' are ruled from Lisbon through the Overseas Ministry. All officials are appointed, and top officials are chosen in Lisbon. Censorship, prohibition of trade unions, the single-party system, and the extraordinary powers of the secret police mean that no effective expression of opinion by the people is possible. A passbook containing tax and labor record must be shown on demand (with the penalty 'correctional labor') or stamped to permit travel; this is an efficient control of movement and labor supply.

Nearly all (90 per cent) of the African people still live and work on the land. Portugal actively promotes European settlement through land grants and other concessions, most successfully in Angola. The average land acreage occupied by Europeans is 60 times that of Africans. Seventy-five per cent of Angolan coffee (the chief export, and the chief U.S. import) is produced on 550 European plantations. In the agricultural settlements in Mozambique, the European farmer is granted 125 acres of land while the African farmer is given 25.

### REVOLT

All through the 1950's while other colonies were moving towards independence, the grow-

ing peaceful protests of the peoples of Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique were met by intransigence and increasing violence. Each country experienced a police massacre which solidified opposition to Portuguese rule. In Guinea, in 1959, 50 striking dockworkers were killed. In Angola, in a protest march in 1960 following the arrest of many political dissidents, 30 were killed and 200 wounded, and two villages destroyed. In Mozambique, in a dock strike in 1956, 49 were killed and in 1960, at Mueda, 500 unarmed people were shot down as they demonstrated. Popular rebellion broke out in 1961 in Angola, in 1963 in Guinea-Bissau, and in 1964 in Mozambique. The African nationalist armies in each of the three territories now control large areas in which they have introduced their own schools, clinics, markets, local governments, and other social institutions. They have pinned down an estimated 150,000 Portuguese troops and forced Portugal to spend half of her national budget for military purposes with consequent rising dissatisfaction and draft resistance at home.

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'Business has a responsibility to society that transcends the traditional business purpose of making money. The responsibility is to preserve the natural environment and to do whatever can be done to enhance the social environment.'

Wise words from B.R. Dorsey, the President of GULF OIL, yet these attitudes are hardly a reflection of the company's operations overseas.

GULF OIL is the sole concessionaire in Cabinda, a small enclave between the two Congos, north of Angola, but ruled by Lisbon as part of that colony. By the end of 1971 GULF OIL had invested over 200 million dollars on exploration and development of the oil deposits. GULF sees Cabinda as a major growth area in which the company has invested huge amounts to construct a petroleum port, a storage park, and a telecommunications facility. GULF's enthusiasm is spurred by the knowledge that there are over 300 million tons of good quality oil waiting to be tapped. It is far the richest oil area in Portuguese area and is likely to become one of the four largest oil projects in Africa.

GULF's economic involvement in Cabinda gives tremendous support to the Portuguese colonial regime. Without GULF's support, Portugal would find it considerably more difficult to wage its war against the freedom fighters.

GULF OIL supports the war in a number of important ways:

#### GULF PROFITS BUYS PORTUGUESE ARMS

GULF's payments to the Portuguese and the Angolan Provincial government provide a very significant source of revenue. Not only does the company pay surface rent and royalties but it also contributes 50% of its' entire profits to the Portuguese.

By the end of 1972 GULF had contributed over 25 million dollars, just for that year alone, to the Portuguese budget. Enough to finance at least 50% of Portugal's total war effort.

Consequently GULF OIL is directly subsidising Portugal's atrocities in the colonies, financing the use of napalm, the use of herbicides to starve out Angolans in war torn areas, and the regroupment of

peasants into strategic hamlets.

#### GULF SUPPLIES VITAL RESOURCES

'Oil is a strategic material indispensable to the development of any territory. Oil is the nerve centre of progress and to possess it on an industrial scale is to ensure essential supplies and to dispose of an important source of foreign exchange. The machine is the infrastructure of modern war, and machines cannot move without fuel. Hence the valuable support of Angolan oil for our armed forces'.

Governor General of Angola.

Portugal is only too sure of the vital nature of oil in its military offensive in Angola. The oil that GULF is extracting is a crucial strategic material for the Portuguese. Under the contracts agreed upon, Portugal, at any time, has the right to consume the entire oil production. Oil is the most vital single asset needed for the armed forces. GULF's investment in the oil-fields has done the Portuguese a great service.

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## GULF MORALLY SUPPORTS THE COLONIAL REGIME

Not only does GULF help finance the war effort but it also offers moral and verbal support. In order to maintain the profitability of the oil fields and protect their private property from attacks by the freedom fighters GULF OIL has seen that it to be in their interests to keep on very friendly terms with the colonial regime. GULF statements tend to portray the country's colonial policy in a favourable light. That's hardly surprising considering GULF REALISES that it will be the Portuguese army that will be the ones to protect their investments from the growing anger of the Angolan people.

No longer can we dispute the intricate support, both economic and moral, that GULF gives to the Portuguese colonial war. We consistently condemn the Portuguese government for the atrocities they habitually commit in Angola. But why do we allow GULF to freely market their oil - which is smeared with the blood of Angolans - in this country.

## GULF IS MARKETING ANGOLAN OIL FROM CABINDA IN THIS COUNTRY

Quite regularly 100,000 ton tankers, straight from the oilfields of Cabinda, dock at Milford Haven where a GULF OIL refinery is situated. The petrol is refined and then distributed around GULF's 300 garages in the country (mainly in the

South, London and Wales.)

Unless our condemnation of the Portuguese war in the colonies is to become mere rhetoric we must move immediately towards a systematic campaign to boycott GULF OIL until it stops marketing Angolan oil in Britain.

In the coming weeks we shall be writing to the Chairman of GULF OIL:

"In the light of your directors statement concerning companies responsibility to preserve the natural environment and to do whatever can be done to exchange the social environment we find a blatant inconsistency in Gulf Oil's determination to carry on its close relationship with the colonial governments in Portuguese Africa and to financially support the Portuguese war of aggression against the people of Angola.

Though we are unable at this stage to influence Gulf's policy through the buying of

shares in the company, we who outrightly condemn the Portuguese oppression in Southern Africa do not have to sit by and watch your company market oil from in this country, the revenue of which is directly contributing to the war effort.

In order to show our solidarity with the African people in southern Africa who are fighting for their freedom we demand that Gulf Oil no longer imports Angolan oil into Great Britain.

If the directors of Gulf Oil are not prepared to negotiate with us on our demands then we shall take immediate action to ensure that the normal distribution and sales of Gulf Oil and petrol are impeded, until such a time as Gulf Oil are more prepared to discuss our demands."

Write to us immediately for action paper, and details of launching date.

