



Yasuní: Our future in their hands?

Ecuador proposes to claim compensation in exchange for leaving crude oil in the ground. Esperanza Martinez examines what this means for resource sovereignty

Oil, for countries that possess it, is often centre stage when it comes to issues of sovereignty. Invasions have been launched to access it and military and political interventions pushed through to control it, leaving the door wide open for corruption. On a local level, exploration and extraction impacts on the sovereignty of the communities which live on and around oil fields. This is an aspect of sovereignty that frequently goes unrecognised. Also, the issues of oil consumption and extraction have an effect on a global concept of sovereignty.

By leaving oil in the ground, 440 million tonnes of CO2 will be saved from the atmosphere

Ecuador's proposal to claim compensation in exchange for leaving crude oil in the ground beneath the Yasuní National Park touches a nerve over the concept and practice of sovereignty. This is happening in a global context where oil consumption is increasing at the rate of 3% per annum worldwide, and in which oil exploration is being extended to ever more remote and vulnerable places.

Welcome to your new look Carbon Web

Now in its third year, Issue 8 marks a change in the way we explore the Carbon Web. We hope that by focusing on feature articles and analysis we can ignite debate. We encourage readers to respond to articles - by letter, or by writing an article for the next issue.

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If Ecuador manages to secure the compensation it is petitioning for, it will receive the same income as it could expect to earn if oil beneath the Yasuni national park were extracted. By not extracting this oil, approximately 440 million tonnes of CO2 will be kept out of the global atmosphere.

Ecuador has chosen a strategic location for the proposal, the Yasuní National Park, located in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The park is considered to be the most biologically diverse region in the world. It is a recognised Worldwide

Biosphere Reserve, forming part of UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB). Within just one hectare of Yasuní, 644 different species of tree have been found - this is almost equal to the entire indigenous tree population of North America - currently estimated at 680 species.

The land is home to the Huaorani peoples. This fact in itself is accepted as an argument for leaving the land and biodiversity unexploited. Indigenous organisations oppose the exploitation of this land because of the impact it would have on their lives and culture, and believe that oil exploitation should not be contingent on whether or not compensatory measures are approved.

The proposal to leave crude oil in the ground in exchange for compensation was presented by the Ecuadorian President, Rafael Correa, during the 62nd UN General Assembly, at "The Future in our Hands" event on climate change. The President emphasised that "the issue of climate change has shifted from being the concern of experts, to becoming of real concern at the level of high politics" and demanded "a serious reassessment of the current model of development".

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change proposes 'common but different responsibilities', yet action to face these responsibilities

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Indigenous Huaorani women in Quito, capital of Ecuador, demand no more oil development in their territory

A Tribute to Anita Roddick - 'A fellow Nigerian'

Ike Okonta remembers Anita Roddick (1942-2007)

Founder of the Body Shop, author, philanthropist and human rights and environmental activist, Anita Roddick died from a brain haemorrhage on 10th September 2007, aged 64. She is survived by her husband Gordon and two daughters Justine and Samantha.

Anita Roddick was born in a bomb shelter in a small English town in October 1942. Europe was in the midst of war. Anita's parents had escaped from Italy and Mussolini's thugs to the comparative refuge of Britain.

Anita Roddick took Saro-Wiwa's story into the living rooms of ordinary Britons.

Anita traveled the world while a young woman, and noted with amazement how ordinary people in far-flung rural villages utilized simple herbs directly sourced from nature to produce the most wonderful body lotions. She deployed this knowledge to establish the first Body Shop in Brighton. Fifteen years later the Body Shop had grown into 700 stores worldwide. More than just a business idea, the Body Shop brought environmental and ethical concerns into the boardroom. Anita insisted that the bottles used to package her lotions be recycled. She strived to ensure, with varying degrees of success, that the peasants of South America who produced the base of her lotions received a fair share of the revenue.

Anita also ploughed back a portion of her profits to support local activists in South America campaigning for land rights, protection of their ecosystems, and participatory democracy.

It was only natural that Anita and Ken Saro-Wiwa would meet and together unleash what turned out to be one of the most potent movements for social and environmental justice in 20th century Africa.

MOSOP and British Activists

Saro-Wiwa's goal, when he founded the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1990, was to shake up the political order in Africa. This

was an order that had been founded on violence, authoritarianism, and the exploitation of the resource endowments of the local people by local elites and the Western companies that aided them.

Saro-Wiwa saw his Ogoni people as the originators of a political programme, the conclusion of which would see Africa's powerless take their destiny into their own hands.

This part of the story is yet to be fully told. British activists from 1991 onwards played a powerful part in taking Ken Saro-Wiwa's story into the living rooms of ordinary Britons. Glen Ellis and Kay Bishop's 'Heat of the Moment' was the first television documentary to place the Nigerian subsidiary of Shell Oil firmly in the dock and triggered shockwaves in environmental circles in Britain.

For the Ogoni people, their struggle was as much against Nigerian government attacks as against Shell, whose operations in Ogoni had laid waste to the ecosystem.

Roddick helped make Saro-Wiwa the legend he has become.

Ken Saro-Wiwa used simple words to move the world. While alive, he was an African political thinker and organizer of genius, comparable only to Kwame Nkrumah*. The January 1993 Ogoni Day which resulted in 300,000 people singing songs of love as they peacefully expelled Shell from the oil fields in their territory, is a feat that will long



endure in the annals of peaceful struggle for social justice globally.

Hunkered down in Ogoni where he was deeply revered, and supported by the wider Nigerian pro-democracy community where he was considered one of their own, Ken was buoyed up in the West by such indefatigable activists as Anita Roddick, Glen Ellis, Kay Bishop, Bronwen Manby, Nick Ashton-Jones, Andrew Rowell and Nick Jukes.

Saro-Wiwa and Anita

When Anita joined MOSOP's campaign she brought her long-standing experience of campaigning with peasant communities in other parts of the world, strong contacts in international social justice organizations and the determination and fearlessness that had made her such a formidable business operator.

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* Kwame Nkrumah was one of the founders of Pan-Africanism and first President of Ghana.

A Tribute to Anita Roddick

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Her deep pocket also ensured that she could not be easily compromised.

Such was the awe and respect in which Anita was held in London boardrooms that when it was first reported that she had teamed up with Ken Saro-Wiwa, Shell officials realised at once that MOSOP was no longer one of the 'usual' local affairs in Nigeria that could be quietly and efficiently smothered.

Anita Roddick played a star role in the making of the legend Ken Saro-Wiwa

When Anita teamed up with Ken, Shell realised MOSOP was more than a local affair

has become today. She had her flaws, but so do we all, including this writer.

The cosmopolitanism and tolerance in which the late Anita Roddick rooted her public work are a lesson for those still working to return the Niger Delta and Nigeria to peace and prosperity. We may be Ogoni, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Ikwerre, Urhobo, Isoko or Igbo but we are also fundamentally humans, in whom reside fundamental rights and liberties. These rights and liberties can only be regained, secured, and passed on when we struggle together as fellow Nigerians and fellow humans; not as an ethnic bloc looking out only for own narrow interest.

It is in this spirit that I say to Anita Roddick: Adieu, fellow Nigerian.

Ike Okonta is a research fellow in Oxford University's department of politics and international relations, and co-author of *Where Vultures Feast: Shell, Human Rights and Oil*.

Remember Saro-Wiwa:

The RSW 'Battle Bus' will pay a visit to the head office of Shell UK on London's Southbank as part of Anita Roddick's memorial service on October 23rd. The sculpture takes the form of a Nigerian steel bus carved with Ken's powerful words: 'I accuse the oil companies of genocide against the Ogoni!'

www.remembersarowiwa.org

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is obstructed by the energy industry and responsibilities can be evaded under the Kyoto Protocol's 'flexible mechanisms': carbon-trading, absorption and sequestration projects, as well as so-called 'clean technology'.

These mechanisms can function as neo-colonialist models in which those responsible for pollution acquire rights over forests and other territory where they invest, in spite of their failure to protect these areas. So what are the concessions and conditions which drive the Ecuadorian government's proposal? Various critical issues that could hold up or shape the proposal remain unresolved, mainly due to the fact that there has not yet been a declaration at state level in which the government has made its position clear. This ambiguity ends up favouring those with vested interests in the energy industry.

Some conservation organizations in Ecuador consider themselves to be the only ones to supervise the proposal. These self-appointed organisations draw on a new environmental lexicon which results in them assuming responsibility for the land, making decisions on the conventions relating to it, deciding which activities should be undertaken, and defining conservation policies. Within these organizations there are those that believe environmental policies can coexist with the market and sale of environmental services.

This framework emboldens those actors who believe that it is possible to accommodate the proposal within the sale of environmental services. Another doubt is whether the government will actually use the issue of compensation to avoid environmental damage in the future. For some, the proposal is equivalent to blackmail and those who perceive the policy this way believe that Ecuador should face its policy changes without the sup-

port of the international community. Certainly the proposal has stimulated long overdue debate on 'common but differentiated responsibilities'.

Climate change is being confronted worldwide, yet with numerous exceptions. One being through the exportation of emissions from industries and business in the global North to countries in the global South through the carbon trading market. Carbon trading has also meant that some of the big Northern NGOs in favour of the scheme end up taking control of conservation policy in the global south. This needs to be recognised as a new form of colonisation by the North towards the South.

*This colonisation of both political space and environmental policy threatens not just the sovereignty of the ecosystems and cultures of the inhabitants of the global south, but the concept of a shared responsibility for reclaiming the sovereignty of the planet. Sovereignty as a concept and practice, both in terms of the ecosystems and cultures of indigenous people, cannot be turned into a commodity to be sold on the market of political policies or quick-fix carbon-shifting 'solutions'. Sovereignty is at the root of resistance to the commodification of land and life. Who can lay claim to it, and practice it, promises to be an ongoing struggle.**

*This article was translated by Cara Levey and edited by Carbonweb

Esperanza Martinez is an oil expert and founder of environmental action organisation Oil Watch, based in Ecuador.

www.oilwatch.org



A pipeline passes a traditional house in Yasuní National Park, Ecuador

Exit strategy - BP and the fueling of Heathrow

James Marriott explores the role of an oil company in the aviation age

A climate change delivery system

Imagine a 747 departing from Heathrow. Don't look at the body of the plane, but at the fuel tanks. In the first 600 seconds after take-off the engines consume 200 gallons of Jet A high-octane fuel. The Jet A began as rocks from deep beneath the earth; in the engines of the 747 it is burned, producing carbon dioxide gas and other waste products.

Now see the line between those rocks and that gas. There are many routes from oil field to jet engine. Often oil passes between many companies on its way, but let's imagine it stays mostly within one, BP.

- 1) BP's oil platforms off Baku extract crude oil from 3 km beneath the Caspian seabed.
- 2) The crude passes along BP's Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, through Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey to the Mediterranean coast.
- 3) Tankers, operated or contracted by BP Shipping, carry the crude to Britain.
- 4) The refinery at Coryton in Essex (owned by BP until 2006) receives the crude and refines it into petrol, bitumen, jet fuel and other products.
- 5) Jet A fuel leaves Coryton via the Thameside Pipeline which runs to Buncefield near Hemel Hempstead (a depot jointly run BP, ChevronTexaco & Total), then via the West London Pipeline (30% owned by BP) to Heathrow.

6) At Heathrow, the fuel is loaded onto waiting 747s on the runways, via fuel hydrants and fuel trucks (a supply system of which Air BP is one of the main operators).

As you read this, approximately twenty 747s are being filled with 1500 gallons of fuel every minute. The fuel is constantly travelling from rocks beneath the Caspian, across the mountains, deserts and fields of Georgia and Azerbaijan, on tankers from the south of Turkey, through Coryton and Buncefield, to Heathrow. Transferring carbon, from deep geology to the sky over our heads, a giant climate change delivery system.

Power and change

There is now a growing scientific consensus that if global temperatures are pushed to more than 2 degrees centigrade above pre-industrial levels, we will tip into run-away climate change, with disastrous impacts on human society and other species. In early 2007 the International Panel on Climate Change advised that to prevent going above 2 degrees, we need to stabilise the rate at which CO2 is being emitted into the atmosphere by 2015, in 8 years time, and from then on progressively reduce global emissions.

Faced with the problem of over-fishing in the North Sea, the European Commission doesn't ban or constrain the eating of cod by households, rather it limits the numbers of fishing boats working in the harbours. It regulates the handful of producers rather than

millions of consumers. That is simply the most practical way of tackling the challenge.

Take a contrasting example. By the end of the Twentieth Century it was widely accepted that smoking caused horrendous health problems, and this was placing a huge strain on the health systems of the state. In this case, the UK government now uses the law, advertising and health information programmes to constrain UK citizens from smoking. But it does little to regulate tobacco companies.

What the smoking example shows is the significance of power. Whereas the politically weak fishing industry carries all the burden of change, with smoking it is the individual consumers, for the tobacco industry is politically too powerful for the government to force it to carry the majority of the burden.

In tackling the need to reduce CO2 emissions, the Kyoto Protocol places the emphasis on the energy consumer. It does not try to tackle the fossil fuel industry - and nor does the British government.

Shortly before becoming Prime Minister, Gordon Brown was asked who in Britain was more powerful than him. He gave the names of four men, all businessmen, and top of the list was Lord Browne, CEO of BP. By the time Gordon Brown became Prime Minister, John Browne had fallen from office, but one of the new Prime Minister's first acts was to establish a new 'Business

Council', among whom was Tony Hayward, the new CEO of BP. BP's CO2 emissions, from both its processes (direct emissions from drilling rigs and refineries etc) and its products (emissions from what it sells: petrol, jet fuel, etc) are equivalent to 5% of global CO2 emissions - **twice** that of all 62 million UK citizens.

BP frequently highlights the fact that it is trying to reduce the emissions of its processes. But that's like British American Tobacco saying: 'There are health issues around smoking and we're tackling them...we've instituted a no smoking policy in our factories and offices'. This would be laughable because it is widely understood that the tobacco industry is responsible for the impacts of its products on consumers - lawsuits in the US have been unfolding in an attempt to try to enforce this understanding, to show the culpability of producers.

Who fuels whom?

BP directly supplies about 30% of all fuel consumed at Heathrow. But does Heathrow also fuel BP?

Andy Chubb is head of Air BP for the UK & Ireland. His job is to sell as much aviation fuel as he can. Receiving a promotion, a pay rise or a bonus, and ultimately retaining his job, depends on his making more money from selling aviation fuel this year than he did last year - if income from sales remains steady or declines, his position will come under scrutiny.

Andy Chubb is under pressure. Under pressure to perform from his immediate superiors, such as Peter Mather, BP UK head-of-country. Mather can assist Chubb in the process of fuel sales, for example by lobbying the UK Treasury not to levy tax on aviation fuel. Mather is also under pressure. Pressure to perform from his superiors, one of whom is Iain Conn, head of BP Refining & Marketing globally. Conn is responsible for four of the six stages of the shifting fuel from oil rigs to Heathrow, from BP Shipping to Air BP. Conn answers to the BP's CEO, Tony Hayward, and the Board of BP, chaired by Peter Sutherland.

66 million passengers passed through Heathrow last year, and are nominally held responsible for their CO2 emissions. But these five men - Sutherland, Hayward, Conn, Mather, and Chubb - and a few more, are responsible for supplying about 30% of the fuel consumed at Heathrow. The fuel consumed by perhaps 20 million people. Surely it would be easier to regulate these five?

The trouble is that these men, three of them millionaires, are far more powerful than the fishermen of Peterhead. And they use their power to ensure that they don't have to carry the burden of change.

The challenge

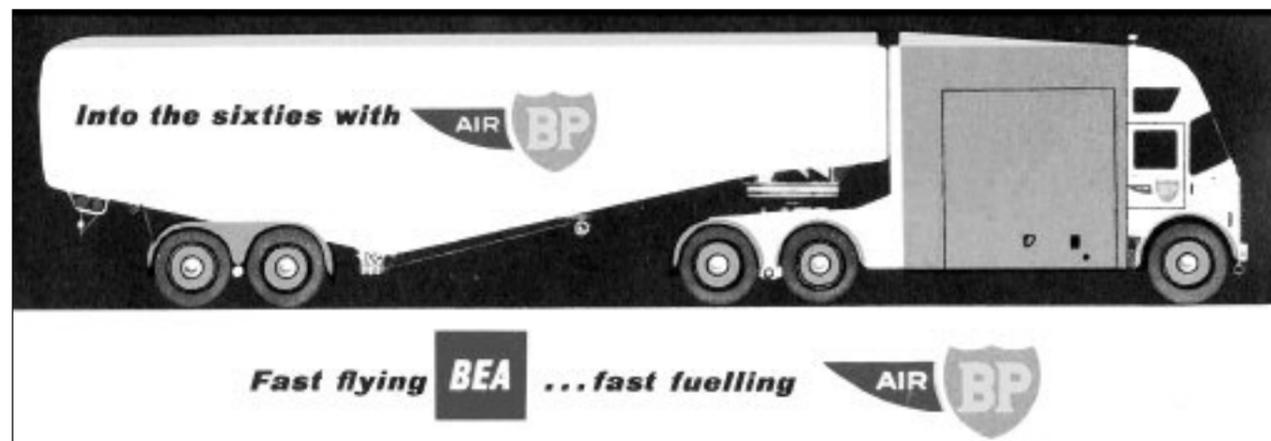
We need to stabilise global emissions in the next 8 years, if we are to avoid going beyond 2 degrees of global warm-

ing. These ideas and principles when discussed are generally applied to nation states. But what happens if we apply them to companies? BP is a multinational, operating in over 100 countries in the world, and is responsible for twice the emissions of the UK. How does that fit within the frame of national reduction targets?

Let's go back to Andy Chubb - within the next 8 years, he (or is successor) needs to be proudly showing at the end of each year that he has actually reduced the amount of oil that he's sold in comparison to the previous year. And this needs to go on happening until the amount of jet fuel he is selling is a mere fraction of what he's currently selling. And he needs to stay in his job - so he needs the support of Mather, Conn, Hayward and Sutherland.

The UK government has been proud of the fact that in the late 1990s it led the industrial world in the level at which it cut its CO2 emissions, largely due to the switch of power stations from coal to gas. A change in our CO2 emissions came about, and the communities in the coalfields in Wales, the Midlands, Kent, Yorkshire and Scotland bore the burden of that change. Now we need to reduce our CO2 emissions radically further, and a key part of this will again be changing the structures of production

This article is adapted from a presentation given by James Marriott of PLATFORM at the Camp for Climate Action, Heathrow. August 2007



A BP advert from 1960, championing Air BP



Protestors at the Heathrow Airport Climate Camp this August. Image by Gary Austin/Radical Images

RBS: Hot under the corporate collar

The Royal Bank of Scotland has begun to concede ground as pressure builds on the bank to cut back its support for fossil fuel extraction. Mika Minio reports.

In March PLATFORM published a report into the RBS-NatWest's lending titled "The Oil & Gas Bank". The report showed that the bank was responsible for emissions greater than those of Scotland, through its support for oil and gas extraction projects.

Since then, the bank has reworked its PR strategy and taken down its website theoilandgasbank.com.

Having dabbled in climate denial in March, claiming that there was still "debate" among scientists over the causes of global warming, by July RBS admitted that climate change poses a "significant global threat".

Yet the bank continues to refuse to openly examine the impacts of its lending. Launching RBS' Corporate Responsibility report in July, Chairman Sir Tom McKillop claimed climate credit for financing renewables, whilst in the same breath ignoring climate responsibility for funding fossil fuels. McKillop publicly labelled PLATFORM's report as "deeply, deeply flawed" for claiming that the bank is "responsible for some of the carbon emission issues that are around through our financing activities in the energy sector."



Students in Edinburgh take action against RBS

Meanwhile, the bank's insurance wings are beginning to suffer the costs of climate change: England's summer floods brought up to £300 million of additional claims to RBS subsidiaries Churchill and Direct Line.

PLATFORM is currently preparing a public campaign together with student network People & Planet, calling on RBS to accept responsibility for its climate impacts and adopt a comprehensive climate change policy target including annual reductions in embedded emissions.

In September, students at seven Scottish universities protested outside RBS branches during freshers fairs in September. Edinburgh People & Planet dressed as bankers and handed out free bags of pennies, telling students "money talks - if you care about climate change, don't bank with RBS."

On October 15th a National Day of Action on RBS called by Rising Tide led to protests in more than 23 cities, including six homeless polar bears locking themselves across a vehicle entrance in Bristol.

For further info and to take action:
www.oyalbankofscotland.com
or join the Facebook group:
"Stop the Oil Bank of Scotland"

Read The Oil & Gas Bank - RBS and the financing of climate change:

www.carbonweb.org/documents/Oil_Gas_Bank.pdf

Left: Protestors target Total Oil HQ in London for its support for the Burmese dictatorship. Total is the fourth largest oil company in the world and the biggest European investor in Burma, operating a joint venture with the dictatorship for the Yadana Gas field. Gas accounts for 30% of Burma's export earnings.



The white man's burden and 'oil for peace' in Iraq

Kipling's famous poem defended imperialism on grounds of humanitarian racial supremacy. It's hard not to see the same mentality in today's debates on Iraq, writes Greg Muttitt.

*Take up the White Man's burden
The savage wars of peace
Fill full the mouth of Famine and bid
the sickness cease.*

Rudyard Kipling, 1899

Pressure for Iraq's controversial oil law intensified throughout the summer, with increasingly overt threats to topple the Iraqi government if it failed to deliver an oil law and other US "benchmarks".

President Bush put it bluntly: "The fundamental question is: Will the government respond to the demands of the people?"

The overwhelming majority of Iraqis reject the USA's plans for their oil

Bush probably didn't see the irony of his comment. For if the "people" he referred to were the Iraqi people, overwhelming majorities in fact demand an end to the occupation, and reject the USA's plans for their oil.

An opinion poll commissioned by PLATFORM and its partners in July found that Iraqis oppose the opening of the country's oilfields to foreign investment by a factor of two to one. The poll also found that fewer than a quarter of Iraqis feel adequately informed about the oil law.

Two conferences in early September demonstrated the gulf between what Iraqis want and what the occupation-sponsored oil policy would give them.

"Iraq is open for business", promised Oil Ministry officials to executives of BP, Shell, Exxon and other oil giants at the Iraq Petroleum 2007 conference in Dubai.

Whilst they trod the soft carpets of the five-star Hyatt Regency hotel, 600 miles away in Basra, over 250 civil society leaders, oilworkers, academics and experts were meeting, under the banner "Oil wealth belongs to the Iraqi people".

The Basra conference was organised by the Iraqi Federation of Oil Unions (IFOU), which has led the campaign



Activists at a petrol station in Cambridge say "Hands off Iraqi oil"

against oil privatisation. That campaign has so far succeeded in stopping an oil law being passed before the major US deadline of General Petraeus' report to the US Congress.

For its efforts, the IFOU has been threatened with arrest of its leaders, declared an illegal organisation, and physically attacked by troops. Fortunately, a strong solidarity response from the international labour movement has helped restrain the Iraqi government's and occupation forces' worst excesses.

However, pressure for the oil law continues. Not to be outdone by the Kurdistan Regional Government, which signed its fifth small-scale production sharing agreement (this time with Texas-based Hunt Oil), the federal Oil Minister has declared that even if the oil law is not passed by parliament, he intends to start signing contracts, potentially by the end of this year - relying on Saddam-era legislation.

The USA's next move will depend on how legally comfortable oil majors feel signing contracts without an oil law.

The USA justifies its pressure on grounds that an oil law would help bring reconciliation. Even if that account fitted the facts

(which it doesn't - their oil law barely mentions the revenue sharing they claim is so important), even if the USA were not responsible for sponsoring the sectarianism that is now tearing at the country, the very concept of the US benchmarks is based on a racist premise: that Iraqis are not able to sort out their politics themselves, that they need US pressure to get the country on track. That is a premise almost unanimously accepted by the media.

And White Men continue to pontificate on what's best for Iraqis. Noteworthy was an opinion piece in the Financial Times entitled "Oil for peace", by Nick Butler, former Policy Director of BP and New Labour confidante. He argued that "the most useful parting gift that the coalition could leave [...] is a practical model for renewal of the oil sector".

But the spin is now wearing thin. It is a matter of record that until 2002 the USA and UK publicly identified their strategic interests in Iraqi and Middle Eastern oil. Equally, both countries do not deny that they have played a central role in shaping Iraqi oil policy, albeit with claims of noble motives.

In his new memoir, former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan joined the dots and stated what no-one else is allowed to say: that oil was the main motivation for the Iraq war.

In this spirit, we should understand the "oil for peace" slogan as what it really is: the USA has no intention of giving peace to Iraq, until Iraq gives away control of its oil. In the best interests of Iraqis, of course.

Talib Naji Abboud

Chief Engineer Talib Naji Abboud was murdered on 17th September when US troops carried out an unprovoked attack on an oil crew working on the Rumaila field in southern Iraq. Carbon Web condemns this action, and offers its deepest condolences to his family.

Notes from Gog & Magog

Year Zero in St. James'

The bespoke furniture designed by Lord Linley for John Browne's office has gone. Tony Hayward's cultural revolution at BP has begun, under the looming presence of Chairman Sutherland, 'The Great Helmsman'. The Linley desk has been replaced by standard office furniture, the memory of the former leader erased as his office is turned into a meeting room. Comrade Hayward does not take meals in his suite like Browne, but joins the masses in the staff canteen.

Heads have begun to roll. First on the block was John Manzoni, former chief of Refining & Marketing and a rival to Hayward in the great power struggle of 2005-2007. Next to fall is Browne's spin doctor - Anji Hunter, who left Tony Blair's side to join BP as Communications Director.

Hayward has hired the consulting group Bain to purge the rank and file, all in the name of 'simplification'. In the words of one comrade: "There are many questionable activities which have grown up i

Inside the company in recent years, which are only peripherally connected to making money. We have become like a social organisation. Tony wants to get back to business."

Times are tough for those who've been passionately 'living the brand' during the seven year Helios era. Mercifully for them, it seems the slogan 'Beyond Petroleum' will remain, but Carbon Web is watching closely to see how many of the 622 member Group Leadership team are to be ousted.

Fishermen from Yumurtalik and Golovesi village demonstrating outside the Ankara offices of BTC in August 2007. The fishermen are protesting because the loss of their livelihoods due to the Ceyhan tanker terminal. The fishing co-ops are currently suing BTC in the Turkish courts.



Above: "As the sea is crying, both fish and BTC are exhausted".

Left: "The fish is in the mouth of the lion". According to a Turkish proverb, when it becomes very difficult to earn something, it is "in the mouth of the lion".



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