CONSUMER'S GUIDE TO GASOLINE



David Bacon

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Cover Photo by David Bacon

Abdi Settar Ajid on an oil-drilling rig in the vast Rumeila oil field in southern Iraq. At the time this picture was taken in 2005 he had been an assistant driller for 31 years, holding one of the most skilled jobs on the oil platform.

The Iraq government was in talks in December, 2007 with BP and Shell for contracts to help increase production in the Rumeila field and other "super giant" fields in the south and in the north around Kirkuk. These contracts apparently are for technical services, not the longer–term production contracts coveted by the major oil companies. These larger contracts await final judgment on a national oil law by the Iraqi parliament, as discussed in greater detail in this report.

David Bacon is a journalist, photojournalist and author who has written for The Nation magazine and elsewhere. He focuses on the lives of workers. He is the author of *The Children of NAFTA* and *Communities Without Borders*. His work can be seen at http://dbacon.igc.org/

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The Consumer's Guide to Gasoline was first published in June 2007. This revision increases the number of brands that are evaluated and also gives an indication of the human and civil rights performance in the nations from which oil is imported into the United States.

Please note that several of the brands new to this edition are included because readers of the first edition asked about them. So if you have questions about brands not mentioned or have more information on the brands that are included, please let us know.

Nick Mottern, Director, ConsumersforPeace.org info@consumersforpeace.org

CONSUMERS GUIDE TO GASOLINE Introduction

Most of us buy gasoline. Usually we have control over which brand we buy, which station we patronize and, within a few cents a gallon, how much we pay. All brands seem to be pretty much the same in the way they power our vehicles.

But all brands are not the same in terms of what their companies do in the world, not only to the environment but also with respect to war and peace.

This guide focuses on war and peace in the Middle East. We look at the degree to which leading oil companies are involved in trying to profit from Iraqi and Middle East "war oil" and in selling petroleum products to the Pentagon.

Our goal is to help you buy gasoline from companies that appear to be uninvolved, or less involved, in getting oil at gunpoint, in selling "bloody" oil.

Having said that, as you will see in what follows, oil from most places is far from clean. Over the world's relatively brief history of massively using oil, this substance has generated bribery, theft, environmental destruction, torture and killing almost as if these human actions are part of its organic nature.

So it is impossible to recommend any gasoline brand with certainty that it is "pure." But here are rankings of gasoline brands based on how they figure in the issue of war and peace:

MORE HARMFUL	LESS HARMFUL
Avoid When Possible	Relatively Speaking

ExxonMobil Citgo Shell Sunoco BP Hess Chevron Flying J Valero Murphy Gulf ConocoPhillips Getty/Lukoil Sinclair Marathon Irving

Tesoro Keystone/Kwik Fil/Red Apple

Fina Giant/Mustang

Cenex/Fast Stop/Break Time

(You can print this summary for your wallet from the last page of this report.)

Here is a table showing the basis for this ranking and also how these brands rate with respect to human and civil rights and the environment.

Brand	Uses Middle East "War Oil"	Uses Iraq Oil	Sells petro to Pentagon	Exerts Pressure for new Iraq oil law*	Buys oil in repres- sive nations/ or supports repression**	Concern for clean environment	Assistance with petro costs for low-income people
ExxonMobil	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Shell	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
BP Chevron	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Valero				?	•		•
ConocoPhillips	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Getty/Lukoil	0	0	0	•	•	?	•
Marathon	•	•	•	?	•	•	•
Tesoro	•	0	•	0	•	?	•
Fina***	0	0	•	0	•	?	•
Citgo	0	0	0	0	-	•	0
Sunoco	0	0	•	0	•	•	•
Hess	0	0	•	0	•	?	•
Flying J	0	0	0	0	0	?	•
Murphy	•	0	0	0	•	?	•
Gulf	?	?	•	0	0	?	•
Sinclair	0	0	•	0	0	?	•
Irving Keystone/Kwik	•	0	•	0	0	•	•
Fil/Red Apple	0	0	0	0	0	?	•
Giant/Mustang Cenex/Fast -	0	0	•	0	•	?	•
Stop/Break - Time	0	0	0	0	0	?	•

- Indicates negative or largely negative performance.
- O Indicates positive or largely positive performance.
- Indicates mixed performance.

? Indicates lack of sufficient information to make a judgment.

*The United States has designed an oil law for Iraq that effectively turns over control of Iraq's oil to major non-state-owned oil companies such as ExxonMobil, Shell and BP in a structure that would bring these companies huge profits compared to what they can get in most other countries. This exploitative law is supported by the U.S. Congress and passage of the law by the Iraqi parliament is one of the "benchmarks" set by the Congress to measure Iraqi "progress". In

December, 2007, according to the Associated Press, U.S. Deputy Treasury Secretary Robert Kimmitt, speaking in Iraq, said that his department was discouraging oil companies from investing in any part of Iraq until passage of the oil law. This law is opposed by the Iraq Federation of Oil Unions (IFOU), whose president Hassan Juma said in November, 2007: "...stand with us in defending our economic future, and preventing our resources from being stolen by the brutal occupation and its oil companies." For more information see www.iraqoillaw.com.

** The text of this report contains lists of nations from which various oil companies buy crude oil, with bold face print used to indicate nations with serious human and civil rights concerns based on evaluation of reports by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the U.S. State Department and the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. It is important to note that the United States itself can considered to be "in bold-faced type" because of: its gross violations of international law and human and civil rights with respect to Iraqi and Afghani people; its illegal detention, torture and abuse of political prisoners, notably at Guantanamo but hardly limited to that site; a variety of measures that violate the privacy and civil rights of its citizens; gross injustice in its judicial system based on race; inhuman conditions in its prisons; its use of the death penalty; and its efforts through a variety of illegal measures to control and/or influence foreign governments.

*** See the text of this report for a discussion of Fina and why it is subject to a boycott related to repression of Palestinian self-determination.

This table will be revised as more information is developed.

Sources: Internet research; interviews; Energy Information Administration; See report text for other references.

The Sierra Club and The Better World Handbook have published gasoline buying guides that we recommend, www.sierraclub.org/sierra/pickyourpoison and www.betterworldhandbook.com/gasoline.html. A few major gasoline companies operating in the U.S. are also rated on U.K.- based www.corporatecritic.org which offers appraisals of a variety of products from an ethical standpoint.

It is important to note that these guides find, along with this guide, that ExxonMobil is top-ranked as the company whose products should be avoided in the interest of peace, the environment and public health.

Another point with respect to war and peace, the environment, global warming and our pocket-books: We must use less and less gasoline.

Please share vehicles, buy four-cylinder and less vehicles, hybrid vehicles, natural gas powered vehicles (Honda Civic GX NGV) and electric vehicles and use bicycles and public transportation. Also, please advocate for wind, solar and geo-thermal power.

Finally, the United States and other nations might do well now to begin working on plans for

rationing gasoline and other petroleum products. Rationing can control consumption, moderate the prices of petroleum for basic needs such as food production and help ensure availability of gasoline to people of all income levels.

The following provides more background on the most common gasoline brands in the U.S. and Canada to help you make your buying decisions in the interest of peace and justice.

MORE HARMFUL - AVOID WHEN POSSIBLE

EXXONMOBIL - ExxonMobil gasoline is sold at about 16,000 stations in the U.S., according to its website, and it owns the On the Run convenience stores.

In 2001, immediately after George W. Bush and Dick Cheney took office, Lee Raymond, then head of ExxonMobil, met with Mr. Cheney. Circumstantial evidence described in greater detail on http://www.consumersforpeace.org/ suggests that ExxonMobil was involved in planning and promoting the invasion and occupation of Iraq.

Iraq's oil reserves are coveted by ExxonMobil and other major non-governmentally-owned oil companies, often called the "majors", because more and more of the world's oil is coming under the control of state-owned oil companies such as Saudi Aramco, threatening the very existence of the "majors" in their current form. In fact, they are not *the* major oil companies anymore (see The Size Of The Prize graph at the end of this report.)

"Oil majors argue that national oil companies have taken so much control," reports the Financial Times, "that international companies (such as ExxonMobil) now have ownership or access to less than 10 per cent of the world's oil reserves."

It is also critical, from the viewpoint of the "majors" that they get access to the oil at very favorable prices. This will be achieved in Iraq if the Iraqi Parliament passes the U.S. designed oil law now pending before it. ExxonMobil has been pushing this law, along with BP, Shell, ConocoPhillips and Chevron. www.iraqoillaw.com and http://www.carbonweb.org/documents/crude_designs_small.pdf

And ExxonMobil has been the most aggressive of the "majors" in fighting attempts by oil producing nations to renegotiate contracts to get a higher proportion of income from their oil, thus reducing the share of the "majors" who have been given access to their reserves.

In addition to contesting Venezuela over a new contract, noted in the Citgo section of this report, ExxonMobil is disputing Russia's Gazprom over prices. And, recently, it is opposing giving Kazakhstan's national oil and gas company a bigger stake in the Kasha an oil project in Kazakhstan. ExxonMobil's partners in the deal, including Shell, favor increasing Kazakhstan's share.

ExxonMobil is among the top three sellers of petroleum products to the Pentagon, with sales in Fiscal Year 2007 at \$1.02 billion, making it second top seller in that year after Shell; FY 2006 it

was second to BP at \$1.18 billion.

ExxonMobil makes billions in unearned profits as oil prices rise due to Middle East conflict, as do other oil companies.

In addition to its own production, ExxonMobil buys four million barrels of oil a day. It imports oil from **Iraq** for refining at Houston and Port Arthur, Texas and Baton Rouge and Morgan City, Louisiana. It also imports crude from: **Angola**, Canada, **Chad, Colombia, Congo, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Kazakhstan**, Kuwait, **Mexico, Nigeria**, Norway, **Russia, Saudi Arabia** and Venezuela. As of October, 2007, 32 percent of crude oil imported into the U.S. by ExxonMobil came from the Persian Gulf. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.)

ExxonMobil, along with Shell and Chevron, have major oil operations off the Niger Delta in Nigeria, a nation marked by corruption and repression of poor peoples' movements. In 2001, Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth Nigeria said that in ExxonMobil had yet to properly clean up a 40,000 barrel oil spill into Nigerian "rivers, creeks and farmlands" and peaceful demonstrations for compensation and cleanup "were met by police brutality." The group said there had been other spills "due to corrosive (sic) pipelines that have outlived their lifespan." In 2003, a Nigerian court ordered ExxonMobil to pay nearly \$10 million in damages to those affected by the 1998 spill, but ExxonMobil said then it would appeal the decision. A company spokesman explained the appeal saying "there was no discernible adverse effect on the people and the environment."

A report released in 2006 by the Commission of Nobel Laureates on Peace, Equity and Development in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria noted that, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, there have been over 4,000 oil spills in the delta since 1960. The report goes on to say: "Oil slicks cover the region. Blow-outs and leaks affect creeks, streams, and related traditional sources of livelihood, poisoning the water supply, destroying mangrove forests, eroding soil plots, and killing aquatic life. Hundreds of well sites have flares, which come from the burning of associated gas. The flares heat up everything nearby and turn day into night, releasing 25 million tons of CO2 and 12 million tons of methane annually. Resulting sulfuric acid mists damage plants and forest. Flares pollute rainwater, cause acid rain and contribute to climate change.

"Residents suffer from oil poisoning. Crude oil enters the body through skin absorption, ingestion of food and water, and inhalation of oil and dust particles. Oil poisoning also causes respiratory ailments. In addition, residents suffer from a plethora of water-borne diseases such as malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis, typhoid, and cholera. Life expectancy is low and child morbidity rates are high."

The report said also that ExxonMobil, Chevron, Shell and Texaco, the major U.S. firms operating in the Niger Delta, have been criticized for their cooperation with the Nigerian military in repressing local movements for self-determination and for endorsing the military's "heavy-handed tactics."

Over the last few years, local groups have increasingly attacked facilities of the major oil companies in an effort to gain local control over what the companies do in the delta and to get more of the oil revenues that are controlled by the Nigerian central government.

The central government has announced it is going to be seeking more money from the major oil companies for Nigerian oil.

In Chad, ExxonMobil has led a group of other oil companies, including Chevron, in building a pipeline from oil fields in southern Chad, through Cameroon to the Atlantic Ocean. Amnesty International USA has reported: "In Chad and Cameroon, the human rights of the population, be it communities living or working in the area of the pipeline or the wider population, are largely disregarded...Serious human rights violations in Chad and Cameroon have been documented by Amnesty International for more than three decades."

This period has seen executions and torture in Chad, Amnesty reports, and in Cameroon "torture persists and political prisoners have continued to die in appalling prison conditions after unfair trials."

In 2005, Chadian police attacked protesting pipeline construction workers seeking overtime pay, killing three. In July, 2006, Chadian oil workers struck ExxonMobil on wage issues.

A major part of the political repression in Chad is directed toward resistance fighters in the eastern part of the vast country in a struggle that involves oil. The government has been extremely brutal, according to one human rights worker. This conflict is affecting Darfur in Sudan, which is also on top of what some think are huge oil reserves.

ExxonMobil continues to fight a lawsuit filed in 2001 by 11 Indonesians who claim that soldiers guarding an ExxonMobil natural gas plant in Ache province, Indonesia, who were under the firm's control, tortured and killed local residents.

Amnesty has undertaken an on-going campaign to persuade ExxonMobil to actively support human rights.

ExxonMobil has spent millions of dollars to suppress information on global warming, and it faces governmental actions on pollution cleanups in various parts of the world, http://www.exxposeexxon.com/ One of the most serious pollution sites is in the Port Arthur-Beaumont, Texas, area where discharges from ExxonMobil and other firms have created extremely unhealthy living and working conditions. http://healthandenvironment.org/articles/homepage/1008.

ExxonMobil has still not paid \$4.5 billion for the damage from the ExxonValdeze spill in 1989.

ExxonMobil is alleged to have given bribes to public officials in Angola and Kazakhstan and to have done illegal trading with Sudan.

ExxonMobil contributed \$100,000 to kill Proposition 89 in California in 2006. The measure, which was defeated, would have taxed corporations and financial institutions to support public financing of state-level candidates.

The Center for Public Integrity reports that between 1998 and 2005, ExxonMobil, a company with 111 Superfund (toxic waste) sites, spent more than \$66 million on lobbying.

Hilton Kelley, an organizer fighting refinery pollution on the U.S. Gulf Coast, ranks Exxon Mobil's refinery operations the worst in the Port Arthur-Beaumont area, along with those of Total, a refiner selling gasoline to a variety of marketers.

For more details on ExxonMobil see:

http://www.coopamerica.org/proGrams/rs/profile.cfm?id=221 http://www.exposeexxon.com/and http://www.consumersforpeace.org/

SHELL - Shell has about 13,000 retail stations in the U.S. operated by Shell or Motiva Enterprises LLC, in which it is a 50/50 partner with Saudi Refining Inc. Shell says it is number one in total gallons of gasoline sold in the U.S., based on a 2003 report.

Shell owns Pennzoil and Quaker State oil and operates the Jiffy Lube stores. It owns Outlaw gasoline additives, Gumout, Slick 50, Blue Coral, Axius, Black Magic, Fix-A-Flat, Westley's, Rain X and Medo products.

Shell was the top seller of petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2007 at \$1.86 billion in sales; its FY 2006 sales were \$1.15 billion.

Shell has also been a major pusher for the proposed, highly exploitative Iraq oil law. Shell imports oil from **Iraq** for refining at Morgan City, Louisiana and through Motiva at Port Arthur, Texas.

Shell and Motiva also import oil from Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Ecuador, Libya, Mexico, Nigeria, Oman, Saudi Arabia and Russia. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.)

Shell gets 74 percent of its U.S. oil imports from the Persian Gulf through Motiva.

Shell has been charged with responsibility for widespread environmental damage in Nigeria and to have worked with the Nigerian government to violate the rights of Nigerians fighting against environmental degradation. (See the discussion on conditions in Nigeria in the ExxonMobil section.) Two men who protested against Shell, Ken Saro-Wiwa and John Kpuinen, were hung in 1995 on charges widely viewed as bogus. The Center for Constitutional Rights has assisted Nigerians in lawsuits against Shell, filed in 1996, arguing that Shell was complicit in the hangings and in torture and attacks on peaceful protesters of Shell activities. The case is pending. http://ccrjustice.org/

In 2006, Shell was ordered by a Nigerian court to stop flaring gas, but it does not intend to meet this requirement until 2009. It is also refusing to pay a \$1.5 billion fine for polluting the Niger delta until it appeals.

In 2001, a 415,000 gallon tank exploded at Shell's Motiva refinery in Delaware City, Delaware, killing a worker and injuring eight others. The accident resulted in the release of 99,000 gallons of sulfuric acid into the Delaware River, killing an estimated 2,400 fish. The explosion lifted the tank off its foundation; the body of the dead worker was never found. The EPA discovered that the exploded tank "had a long history of problems" and that "Motiva had several warnings from its own employees" about the tank. Motiva pleaded guilty to criminally negligent homicide and assault charges brought by the state and paid \$36.4 million to the family of the dead worker. The costs of settlements with the injured workers was not announced. The total cost to the company in fines, environmental projects and other costs required by various government agencies was \$23.7 million, according to the U.S. Department of Justice.

Earlier in 2001, Shell's Motiva Enterprises and Deer Park refineries were included in an agreement with the EPA, along with Chevron's Equilon refinery, intended to reduce emissions. The agreement included a \$9.5 million fine and a commitment of \$5.5 million to communities affected by the pollution. Refineries involved are in Texas and Louisiana. Subsequently, Motiva proposed to use air scrubbers that were less effective and would increase water pollution in the Delaware River. That idea was rejected by the state of Delaware, but Motiva was granted a two-year extension to install the proper scrubbers.

In August, 2007, the 9th Circuit Court in San Francisco granted an injunction to halt Shell from drilling in the Beaufort Sea in the Arctic Ocean off Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, until the U.S. Minerals Management Service has made a thorough environmental assessment of the project. The suit was brought by a coalition that includes Pacific Environment and Resisting Environmental Destruction on Indigenous Lands, a Native peoples' organization.

"Given Shell's horrible track record destroying the environment and harming marine mammals near Russia's Sakhalin Island," said David Gordon, executive director of Pacific Environment, "we think the court did the right thing in calling a 'time out'. Shell would have started its exploratory drilling right at the peak of bowhead whale migration. Now, we hope the court will make everyone take a step back and analyze the impacts this will have on bowhead whales and native subsistence."

Shell has also been pressing to drill for oil and gas off Bristol Bay in the southern part of Alaska, and Pacific Environment has succeeded in delaying this project until environmental studies can be completed. The earliest drilling will probably be not permitted until 2011, if then.

In October, 2007 native Alaskan people from the village of Point Hope and the community of Nuiqsut joined to call on Congress to check the push to drill for oil and gas in "key Native subsistence lands and waters of America's Arctic." Former mayor of Nuiqsut Rosemary Ahtuangaruak said at the briefing: "Human health effects from oil and gas development continue

to rise with higher numbers of asthma-related illnesses in my village..., where the Alpine oil fields are just 4 miles away." Rachel James of Pacific Environment said: "Minerals Management Service has demonstrated to the public that they are an agency with a steamrolling agenda, egged on by an overly-aggressive industry." (The ConocoPhillips section of this report gives more information on the Alpine oil field.)

As suggested above, the Alaskans are leary of Shell because the vast Sakhalin Island energy project off the coasts of Russia and Japan, led by Shell, has resulted in severe environmental damage. Concerns outlined in an October, 2007 letter from Russian, Japanese and international environmental groups to a potential lender for the project include: damage to marine life in the dredging of a ship channel; positioning of an oil platform in a whale feeding ground; pipeline construction that has led to landslides, mud flows and erosion; burial of the pipeline in earth-quake-prone areas; disruption of salmon spawning. In addition, the letter said, the project does not provide for adequately monitoring pipelines for leaks, and the project does not offer enough protection against oil spills at sea.

Hilton Kelley, an organizer working to clean up refinery operations on the U.S. Gulf Coast, rates Shell's Motiva refinery in Port Arthur, Texas as the least environmentally damaging in the area and said "they're starting to clean up their act."

Shell faces a variety of other environmental, health, safety and ethics charges, outlined in greater detail at http://www.coopamerica.org/programs/rs/profile.cfm?id=288 and http://www.answers.com/topic/controversies-surrounding-royal-dutch-shell

- **BP** BP is an international oil company with 11,000 stations in the United States, concentrated in the Midwest and Southeast and with a significant presence in New York, New Jersey, south Florida and in Chicago and Washington, DC. Castrol motor oil is a BP brand.
- AMOCO Amoco was merged with BP in 1998 and Amoco stations have been converted to BP stations. A few Amoco stations still exist, but the money goes to BP, which still markets "Amoco Fuels" and "Amoco Ultimate"
- **ARCO** Arco is a subsidiary of BP, operating 1,100 stations, primarily in California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington State and Arizona.

British Petroleum was the largest petroleum supplier to the Pentagon in FY 2006 with sales of \$1.9 billion; in FY 2007 its sales dropped to \$249.4 million.

BP has also been involved in pushing for the new Iraq oil law that, if approved by the Iraqi parliament, will bring oil companies huge profits. BP has joined with a Russian company in signing an exploration and production agreement with the Kurdish regional government in northern Iraq. The Iraqi central government in Baghdad, under control of the U.S., is declaring such contracts illegal because it wants all contracts approved only by the central government. This improves the chances of U.S. firms getting favorable deals in northern as well as southern Iraq.

BP imports oil from **Iraq** for refining in Los Angeles, California. BP also imports oil into the U.S. from: **Angola**, Argentina, **Brazil**, Canada, **Nigeria**, **Oman**, Trinidad and Tobago, **Russia**, **Saudi Arabia** and Venezuela. About 17 percent of its imports come from the Persian Gulf. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.)

BP has had a run of serious accidents that have been traced to lack of attention to safety. In 2005, for example, 15 workers were killed at BP's Texas City refinery where BP was found to have ignored its own reports on potential hazards. BP had to shut down its Prudhoe Bay, Alaska pipeline because of corrosion, traced to failure to clean and test the system.

In spite of BP's efforts to "green" its image, CorpWatch reported in 2005: "...BP is the world's third largest oil and gas company and one of the largest polluters on the globe. Exploration and production of crude oil and natural gas are the company's main activities, and it operates in 100 countries in Europe, North and South America, Asia and Africa.

"BP's profits come with enormous human cost and environmental damages..."

The Corpwatch report went on to document human rights and environmental abuses in the construction of the Baku-Tibilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, undertaken by a consortium led by BP. The 1,100 mile pipeline runs from Baku in Azerbaijan, one of the world's first major oil fields, near the Black Sea, to the Turkish seaport Ceyhan. http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=12340

Problems on this project have included: exploitation of workers; corruption in land compensation; intimidation of land owners along the pipeline (as many as 30,000 were affected); detention and torture of a Turkish human rights worker who was aiding villagers; running the pipeline near an earthquake fault and through a national park; faulty pipeline construction.

In May, 2007, a remarkable story published on the website of the U.K.'s The Mail on Sunday, cited a former BP official saying that BP had worked with British intelligence to help install "a more pro-Western, pro-business regime" in Azerbaijan. The article said that the BP-U.K. operation "contributed to the coup in May 1992 which saw President Ayaz Mutalibov toppled by Abulfax Elchibey, and then a second change a year later which saw Haydar Aliyev take power."

And the article continued: "Just months after Aliyev was installed, BP signed the so-called 'contract of the century', a \$10 billion deal which placed BP at the head of an oil exporting consortium."

BP denied in the article that it had supplied weapons for the operation, said some facts were accurate, "but we don't recognize most of it. We regard it as fantasy." Several days later, BP felt compelled to hold a press conference in Azerbaijan to deny the coup reports saying that this kind of behavior would "contradict corporate philosophy."

The Mail article also quoted the former BP official saying that the company had used prostitutes, bribes and parties to win business in Azerbaijan.

BP has also been criticized for practices in developing its natural gas operation in Indonesia. George Monbiot, writing in the Guardian newspaper in June, 2006: "BP has gone ahead with its extraction of natural gas from Tangguh in West Papua, even though this means collaborating with the Indonesian government, which annexed the territory and controls it by means of a vicious military occupation."

In July, 2006, according to The Independent newspaper, BP reached a \$30 million settlement with 1,000 Colombian farmers who filed a lawsuit charging that "BP benefited from harassment and intimidation meted out by Colombian paramilitaries employed by the government to guard" the 500-mile Ocensa oil pipeline owned by a consortium led by BP. BP accepted no responsibility for the actions of the paramilitary forces but set up a trust fund for "environmental and social improvement" of the farmers.

Concern about the connections between BP and Shell and several other oil companies with Colombian "security" forces date back to the late 1900s. In 1998 Human Rights Watch detailed reports of killings, beatings and arrests by these forces, hired to protect oil projects. BP said it would take steps to control the security forces, but the 2006 settlement noted above raises questions about its success.

Asad Ismi discusses the oil connections with death squads in Colombia in Profiting From Repression (2000) and observes "death squads are the ultimate guarantors of foreign investment in Colombia." And, the report quotes a statement from the Colombian petroleum workers union: "BP is the most aggressive oil company in Colombia. Workers have no right to organize...There are disgraceful human rights violations." http://141.117.225.2/~asadismi/colombiareport.html

In August, 2006, BP acknowledged that it was aware of an investigation by the U.S. Commodities Futures Trading Commission and the Justice Department into possible manipulation of crude oil trading in 2003 and 2004 and gasoline trading in 2002.

In October, 2007 BP was fined \$303 million by the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission, a record fine for that agency for market manipulation, in a conspiracy "to manipulate and corner" the U.S. propane market. At the same time, BP was fined \$50 million in connection with the Texas City disaster.

In November, 2006 the federal government was sued by the family of a deceased Inuit who lived on Alaska's North Slope, charging that it had drawn up a lease between BP and the landowner incorrectly. The family said it is entitled to \$40 million from BP for back payments.

In 2001, BP agreed with the EPA to pay a \$9.5 million fine for violating the Clean Air Act at eight of its refineries in California, Indiana, North Dakota, Ohio, Texas, Utah ,Virginia and Washington.

From 1998 to 2005, BP, which has 111 Superfund (toxic) sites, spent \$30 million on lobbying on Superfund, Clean Air Act and energy issues, according to the Center for Public Integrity http://www.publicintegrity.org/superfund/report.aspx?aid=852

For a more detailed summary of health, safety, environmental and ethical concerns with respect to BP see http://www.coopamerica.org/programs/rs/profile.cfm?id=196

CHEVRON/TEXACO - Chevron, which owns Texaco, operates about 7,500 retail stations, primarily in the West and South and another 2,100 Texaco stations in the South and East. Caltex is also a Chevron brand as are Havoline and Delo oils.

Chevron, with ExxonMobil, Shell, Conoco/Phillips and BP, have been involved in creating and promoting the extremely exploitative oil law that is now under consideration by the Iraqi parliament.

Chevron imports oil from **Iraq**, refining it at its plants in Pascagoula, Mississippi and Honolulu, Hawaii.

Chevron imports oil also from **Algeria**, **Angola**, **Brazil**, Canada, **Chad**, **China**, **Colombia**, **Ecuador**, **Indonesia**, Kuwait, **Mexico**, **Oman**, **Peru**, **Saudi Arabia**, **Thailand**, Trinidad/Tobago, Venezuela and **Viet Nam**. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.) Chevron imports 32 percent of its petroleum from the Persian Gulf.

Chevron sold \$62 million in petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2006 and \$7.9 million in FY 2007.

Chevron, according to Co-op America, is being sued by a group of Nigerians who allege that in 1989 and 1999 Chevron supported military attacks on protesters in the Niger Delta, the heart of oil production in Nigeria. The protesters were demanding that Chevron contribute more from its operations to development in the impoverished delta and were also protesting environmental damage and failure to make reparations, according to the Center for Constitutional Rights, which is assisting with the suit. http://ccrjustice.org/ (See the ExxonMobil section for more on conditions in Nigeria.)

According to GlobalSecurity.com, Chevron has also been involved in the efforts of the Angolan government to suppress an independence movement in the tiny, oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, which shares a border with Angola. Cabinda, the website reports, produces more than half Angola's oil but receives only about 10 percent of the taxes on the oil. In 1975, the website says, Chevron paid the Angolan government to invade Cabinda and take over the oil fields and "is participating alongside the (Angolan) occupying force." The occupation and efforts to eliminate the independence movement have resulted in killing, rape, kidnapping, torture and looting. A settlement was agreed upon in 2006, but prospects for peace appear questionable.

Chevron is on the "Dirty List" of The Burma Campaign in the United Kingdom, which advocates for human rights in highly repressive Myanmar (Burma). The groups says: "Since its 2005 takeover of UNOCAL, U.S. oil giant Chevron has been one of the joint venture partners developing the Yadana offshore gas field in Burma, which earns the military regime millions of dollars."

Chevron was allegedly involved along with Hess and Marathon in bribery of officials in Equatorial Guinea, according to Co-op America.

Chevron contributed \$34.25 million to defeat Proposition 87 in California, a measure that would have taxed energy companies in order to fund development of alternative energy sources. The company also contributed \$250,000 to defeat Proposition 89 that would have risen corporate and financial institution taxes by .2 percent to fund state-level political campaigns. http://www.igs.berkeley.edu/library/election2006/camp-finance.html. Both measures were defeated at the polls in November, 2006.

Hilton Kelley, an organizer fighting refinery pollution along the U.S. Gulf Coast rates the Chevron refinery in Port Arthur, Texas the third worst after ExxonMobil and Total, who share the number one spot; Valero is number two.

Chevron is also dealing with a \$6 billion suit against Texaco over the dumping of 18.5 billion gallons of wastewater into the Amazon jungle. http://www.coopamerica.org/programs/rs/profile.-cfm?id=201

VALERO - Valero Energy is the largest refiner in the U.S., with 17 refineries around the country. It operates 4,100 retail stations in the U.S. and Canada, primarily in the Midwest, Southwest and West under the brand-names Valero, Diamond Shamrock, Ultramar, Total and Beacon.

Valero had petroleum sales to the Pentagon of \$661.2 million and \$735.1 million in FY 2006 and FY 2007, respectively. In 2006, Valero was the largest importer of crude oil into the U.S., with about 32 percent coming from the Persian Gulf.

Valero imports oil from **Iraq**, refining it at refineries in Corpus Christi and Texas City, Texas and Long Beach, California.

Valero also imports oil from **Algeria**, **Angola**, **Brazil**, Canada, **China**, **Colombia**, **Ecuador**, **Equatorial Guinea**, **Kazakhstan**, Kuwait, **Mexico**, **Nigeria**, **Saudi Arabia** and Venezuela. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.)

In 2006, a Valero refinery in Aruba spilled an undetermined amount of oil into the ocean and onto Aruba beaches. In 2005, Valero was required by the Environmental Protection Agency and the Justice Department to spend \$700 million to clean up emissions at its refineries in Colorado, Louisiana, New Jersey, Oklahoma and Texas. Valero was also required to pay a \$5.5 million fine and to spend another \$5.5 million on environmentally beneficial projects and for payments to communities near its refineries. In 2002, the California Department of Toxic Substances Control reached a \$115,000 settlement with Valero over illegal storage, treatment and disposal of hazardous waste at its refinery in Benicia.

Hilton Kelley, an organizer working to reduce environmental hazards of refineries on the U.S. Gulf Coast, ranks Valero refining operations in Port Arthur, Texas as second worst environmentally after

ExxonMobil and Total, who share first place.

CONOCOPHILLIPS/76/PHILLIPS 66 - ConocoPhillips has about 8,600 retail gasoline stations in the U.S., operating as Conoco, Phillips 66 and 76. Conoco is the third largest importer of crude oil into the U.S. after Valero and ExxonMobil. It gets about 8 percent of its oil from the Persian Gulf, and it imports oil from **Iraq**, which is refined in Los Angeles, California.

In addition to Iraq, Conoco imports oil from **Algeria**, **Angola**, **Brazil**, Canada, **Colombia**, **Congo**, **Ecuador**, Gabon, **Mexico**, **Nigeria**, United Kingdom and Venezuela. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.)

Conoco sold \$180.7 million in petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2006 and had no sales in FY 2007.

Conoco is in partnership with the Russian oil company Lukoil to try to get approval from the Iraqi government to develop the West Qurna oil field in southern Iraq, with Conoco to get about 20 percent of the deal.

In Latin America, Conoco has been under pressure from indigenous people in Peru and Ecuador to abandon plans to drill for oil on their lands. Amazon Watch, which is supporting the occupants of the land, reports that Conoco "currently owns the rights to seven oil concessions on the ancestral territories of various indigenous groups - in total three times the size of New Jersey - in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Amazon, the heart of the most bio-diverse region on the planet."

In 2004, ConocoPhillips was fined \$80,000 for violations of the Clean Air Act at the Alpine oil field on Alaska's North Slope involving high emissions of carbon monoxide from a processing facility, according to a report by The Wilderness Society. Other pollution problems involved gas flaring, toxic drilling substances and spillage of hazardous material. There is also concern about disruption of areas used by migratory birds and other wildlife and for subsistence hunting and fishing.

In California, Conoco contributed \$3 million to a campaign to defeat Proposition 87, which sought to cut oil consumption in the state by 25 percent and to set a new tax on oil production to raise \$4 billion for alternative energy systems. The firm also contributed \$100,000 to defeat Proposition 89, which would have imposed a .2 percent tax on corporations and financial institutions to provide public funds to finance state-level political campaigns. Both propositions were defeated in November, 2006.

GETTY/LUKOIL - Getty, with 2,000 retail outlets in the Northeast, Virginia, Delaware and West Virginia, was purchased in 2000 by the Russian oil company Lukoil, which is progressively replacing the Getty name on its stations.

Lukoil does not import from the Middle East or Iraq, although it is trying to get access to the West Qurna oil field in southern Iraq in partnership with ConocoPhillips. The West Qurna field is a huge, "super-giant" field in a cluster of such fields in southern Iraq, a cluster that

Geotimes.org says is "the largest cluster of super-giants to be found anywhere in the world."

Iraq Directory- http://www.iraqdirectory.com/ - reports: "Lukoil has spent more than a decade angling for West Qurna. In spite of United Nations sanctions, the company signed a deal with Saddam Hussein, Iraq's deposed president, in 1997 to develop the field. But in 2002, shortly before the U.S. invasion, Baghdad rescinded the deal, saying it was angered by Lukoil's attempts to get assurances from the opposition that it would keep the contract in case Mr. Hussein's regime fell."

In September, 2003, just months after the invasion and occupation of Iraq by the U.S. and Britain, the New York Times reported that Russian President Vladimir Putin, in the U.S. for a visit with George W. Bush, was expected "to raise the question of protecting the Russian oil contracts."

Lukoil, like other non-governmental companies, such as ExxonMobil, Shell and BP, is desperate to lock up reserves as more and more petroleum reservoirs come under the control of national oil companies. Iraq Directory points out that Russia is moving to bring more of its reserves under government control thus increasing the pressure on Lukoil to get into Iraq, a move that it says is fully supported by the Russian government.

MARATHON - Marathon Oil Company has 4,200 stations in 16 Midwestern and Southern states and also operates 1,636 Speedway and Super America stores. Marathon provides gasoline to Pilot Travel Centers in 37 states.

Marathon sold \$51.2 million in petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2006 and none in FY 2007.

Marathon imports oil from **Iraq** for refining in Morgan City, Louisiana. It also imports oil from Canada, **Congo, Guatemala, Kuwait, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, Saudi Arabia**, and Venezuela. Marathon gets about 35 percent of its crude oil from the Persian Gulf. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.)

Marathon was allegedly involved in bribery in Equatorial Guinea, along with Hess and Chevron, according to Co-op America. http://www.coopamerica.org/ Corpwatch reports that Marathon has an extremely profitable stake in a gas field and liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant in Equatorial Guinea from which, under a production sharing agreement, "Guinea's government receives a paltry 5%." The report goes on to ask why Marathon got such a good deal, and says: "To get the go-ahead on the LNG plant, Marathon was proposing to tip more than \$2 million the way of the president (of Guinea) himself. He said he owned the land on which the LNG plant was to be built, and the oil company agreed to pay the price. Guinea is impoverished, the report continued, with 5 percent of the population owning 80 percent of the wealth. http://www.Corpwatch.org/ Marathon has said it is cooperating with an investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

In 2001, Marathon agreed to pay a \$3.8 million fine for violation of the Clean Air Act in

Illinois, Louisiana, Texas, Kentucky, Ohio and Minnesota. The company agreed to spend \$265 million in reducing air pollution and paid \$6.5 million to communities affected by the pollution. Marathon was also required in a separate settlement to enclose its sewer system and waste water treatment plant at its Illinois refinery.

In 2003, Earthjustice filed a motion to intervene on behalf of the Sierra Club and the National Resources Defense Council (NRDC) in suits filed by Marathon and the American Petroleum Institute trying to relax provisions of the Clean Water Act. An NRDC press release said the suits, if successful, would mean that half of U.S. waters would lose federal protection from discharges of oil.

TESORO – Tesoro is an oil refiner and marketer with 450 stations under the Tesoro or Mirastar names, located primarily in Alaska, North Dakota, Utah, Washington state, Idaho and Minnesota. It operates six refineries in the western United States and Hawaii.

Tesoro sold \$309.5 million in petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2006 and \$74.8 million in FY 2007.

Tesoro imports crude oil from **Angola, Azerbaijan, Brunei**, Canada, **Ecuador, Indonesia**, **Libya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Yemen**. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.) It gets about 8 percent of its imports from the Persian Gulf.

In 2002, a San Francisco judge denied a Clean Water Act permit to the Tesoro refinery at Avon because Tesoro would not sufficiently limit dioxin flow into the San Francisco Bay. Dioxin is a cancer-causing agent. The ruling is seen as improving water quality in the bay. In 2000, the EPA required Tesoro to pay a fine of \$681,780 for failures to protect air and water from toxins.

FINA – Fina brand gasoline is sold at about 1,200 locations in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas. Fina is produced by Alon USA, which also operates over 200 7-Eleven and Fina convenience stores in West Texas and New Mexico and is the largest 7-11 franchise owner in the United States, according to Alon.

Alon USA operates a refinery in Big Springs, Texas that apparently uses crude oil produced primarily in Texas and Oklahoma. Calls to the firm and its public relations representative to learn more about its sources of crude oil and amounts of Pentagon contracts were not returned.

Alon USA won a \$60.1 million dollar jet fuel contract from the Pentagon in 2006, according to a press release from the Defense Energy Supply Center.

Alon USA is owned by Alon Israel Oil, which in turn is part of the Africa-Israel Investment Group, a holding and investment company involved in real estate, construction, telecommunications and beachwear. Africa-Israel is controlled by the Leviev Group of Companies, run by Lev Leviev, reportedly worth more than \$2 billion. Leviev has a major stake in the world's diamond trade, according to Corpwatch, which details his connections in diamonds and politics, including

an apparent friendship with Vladimir Putin, Russia's president. http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=11451&printsafe=1

Africa Israel bought the recently vacated, landmark New York Times building in May, 2007 for \$525 million, part of "a number of business transactions in the U.S. at a value of over one billion dollars," Mr. Leviev told Bloomberg News.

Dor Alon (energy), also part of the Leviev organization, is the largest energy company in Israel, and it controls fuel supplies going into Gaza and the West Bank, Palestinian territories that are essentially under siege by the Israel government. In May, 2006, Platform-Palestine reported: "The Palestinian Authority (PA) is forced to buy fuel from Dor Energy, a subsidiary of Apartheid Israel's energy tycoon Alon Israel Oil Company. The PA has little choice but to pay the inflated fuel prices to Dor Energy, which enjoys exclusive rights on the sales to the PA. The Authority normally resells fuel at a cheaper price than what it pays to import it, in order to prevent serious harm to the Palestinian economy. Consumers and businesses alike are protected from the exaggerated prices charged by Dor Energy as it reaps the benefits of selling fuel to an Occupied people."

In November, 2007, according to Gisha Legal Center for Freedom of Movement, Israel's Supreme Court ruled, in response to a petition by Israeli and Palestinian rights groups, that the Israel government had to delay in cutting back electricity in Gaza, with the court saying it expected the cuts "will not be implemented." However, the court would not prevent the reduction of fuel shipments into Gaza. Kenneth Mann, Gisha's legal advisor, said: "We are extremely concerned about fuel cuts, which have already disrupted water supply to tens of thousands of Gazans."

Dor Alon has reduced fuel supplies to Gaza by 20 percent at the direction of the Israeli military. In a letter to the European Union, Sari Bashi, executive director of Gisha, says the electricity and fuel cuts amount to collective punishment, which is prohibited by international law. The letter goes on to say that the EU, which pays for the fuel to the Gaza Power Plant, "should take an unequivocal and public position against these fuel cuts. Israel's military is directly and deliberately thwarting the EU's attempt to provide critically needed humanitarian supplies to Gaza, at tremendous cost to the 1.5 million Gaza residents who are dependent on that fuel."

The Leviev group is also reportedly involved in building settlements in the occupied lands, and it is building a cross-Israel highway.

Palestinian Civil Society, representing more than 100 Palestinian organizations, in 2005 called for an international boycott of and divestment from Israel until Israel: ends "its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands; recognizes full equality of Arab Palestinian citizens: and respects the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, "as stipulated in UN resolution 194."

This call has been supported by a variety of groups in the U.S., including Adalah NY, which in November and December, 2007 organized demonstrations at the just-opened Leviev jewelry store in Manhattan, New York.

LESS HARMFUL - RELATIVELY SPEAKING

CITGO - Citgo, with about 12,000 retail outlets in the U.S., is totally owned by Venezuela's national petroleum company (PDVSA). Citgo does not import oil from the Middle East or from Iraq in particular, http://www.eia.doe.gov/

Citgo sold \$117,301 in petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2005 and had no sales in FY 2006 and FY 2007. http://www.desc.dla.mil/default.asp, http://www.fedspending.org/

Sixty percent of Venezuela's crude oil exports go to the United States. Citgo also imports crude oil into the U.S. from **Algeria**, Argentina, **Brazil**, **Ecuador**, **Mexico**, **Russia**, Norway and the United Kingdom. (Bold face indicates nations with serious human and civil rights concerns.)

Citgo, under the direction of Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez, has made cut-rate heating oil available to low-income people in several U.S. cities, including New York and Boston. No other oil company operating in the U.S. has had such a program.

Venezuela is using its oil revenues to assist its low-income citizens; it is also redistributing land to broaden ownership among low-income people. Venezuela has also taken steps to gain more control over its oil reserves from major oil companies to increase the amount of income it gets from its oil. In mid-2007, ExxonMobil and ConocoPhillips refused to accept terms offered by Venezuela for continued operations in its Orinoco oil fields and abandoned their investments there; BP and Chevron were among firms agreeing to government-proposed contracts.

Citgo was found guilty in June, 2007 of allowing two large vats at its Corpus Christi Texas refinery, containing 12 million barrels of oil, to remain uncovered for years, allowing benzene, a carcinogen, to pollute the air. The jury verdict came after a 10-count Federal indictment against the company. Suzie Canales, of Citizens for Environmental Justice, in Corpus Christi, said that Citgo's two refineries there emit benzene, sulphur compounds and other dangerous gases.

At the same time that President Chavez told the U.N. that he smelled sulphur after George Bush spoke there, Ms. Canales said, the Citgo refineries in Corpus Christi were "spewing out sulphur on low-income people of color who he (Chavez) says he cares about." http://usdoj.gov/opa/pr/201906/August/06 enrd 519.html

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) reached a Clean Air Act settlement with Citgo in 2004 that required it to install \$320 million worth of equipment to reduce refinery emissions and imposed a \$3.6 million fine in connection with Citgo refineries in Corpus Christi and in Illinois, Louisiana, New Jersey and Georgia.

Commenting on Citgo's placement in this guide in the "less harmful" category, Ms. Canales said: "In my opinion, Citgo should be in the other list 'more harmful, avoid when possible.' The crude from Venezuela is extremely dirty, high in sulphur and when the refineries strip the sulphur, as part of their process, it's dumped on the low-income people of color that surround their

plants. Yes, Venezuela is giving some help, as far as heating oil goes, but they are not helping the people that have to live next door to the plants that are processing the products; they don't want attention to the fact that this environmental racist issue exists around their facilities, so they shine the light on other places of the country/world."

SUNOCO - Sunoco has 4,800 retail stations in 24 states, concentrated on the East Coast and in upstate New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Sunoco's recent sales to the Pentagon: FY 2005-\$109.6 million; FY 2006 – 105.6 million; FY 2007 – zero. Sunoco does not import oil from the Persian Gulf and appears to have no involvement in Iraqi oil interests.

Sunoco imports oil from: Algeria, Angola, Azerbaijan, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Kazakhstan, Nigeria and Venezuela. Note: The political turmoil in Chad is related in part to a fight for control in a region that includes Darfur in Sudan. Oil is an issue in this conflict. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious problems of human and civil rights.)

Sunoco uses ethanol throughout its system. Ethanol reduces dependency on foreign oil but also presents concerns in terms of pollution, displacing food production and requiring high-energy inputs for production.

In 2005, the EPA and the Justice Department required Sunoco to sign an agreement - covering its refineries in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Oklahoma - to spend \$285 million to cut down on emissions of toxic gases. Sunoco was also fined \$3 million and had to spend \$3.9 million on "environmentally beneficial projects," according to the EPA.

Also in 2005, in a related suit, the Community Labor Refinery Tracking Committee won a court settlement requiring Sunoco to spend \$3.5 million to clean up emissions at its refinery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and to give the community group \$130,000 for air monitoring equipment. "We brought this action because years were passing, and Sunoco was continuing to pollute outside its permits, despite EPA's enforcement negotiations," said Joanne Rossi, president of the tracking committee. "For many in the community, the ongoing exposures were just more than we could take."

Co-op America reports that "Sunoco's practices have been only slightly cleaner than its competitors. Sunoco's corporate abuse has ranged from dumping violations, toxic discharges and discriminatory practices from Ohio to New York," For more details on Sunoco's corporate conduct, see: http://www.coopamerica.org/programs/rs/profile.cfm?id=293

HESS - Hess Oil has 1,350 retail stations in 14 states on the eastern seaboard, from Massachusetts to Florida. Hess is involved in exploration, production and refining and is in a joint venture with Venezuela's state oil company to provide a portion of Hess' refined oil products. Hess sales to the Pentagon were: FY 2006 – \$58.1 million; FY 2007 - \$31.4 million.

Hess oil is imported from countries outside the Middle East. It is involved in oil production in: Algeria, Azerbaijan, Denmark, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Libya, Malaysia, Norway, Thailand, Russia and the United Kingdom. (Bold face type indicates countries with serious human and civil rights issues.)

In Azerbaijan, Hess owns a 2.7 percent interest in an oil field on the Caspian Sea. Azerbaijan is an extremely poor country that was part of the Soviet Union and whose government has been characterized by Human Rights Watch and other monitors as extremely oppressive, with arrests, beatings and torture being used against political opponents. Jailing and beating of journalists was reported in May, 2007. The U.S. government, protective of major oil firms operating there, which include not only Hess but also BP, Chevron, ExxonMobil and Lukoil, has downplayed the repression.

Hess also holds a 2.3 percent interest in the 1,000-mile Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan pipeline, the second largest in the world after a Russian pipeline, that carries oil from the Azerbaijan oil fields in Baku on the Caspian to the Turkish port of Ceyhan on the Mediterranean. Co-Op America reported in 2007 that: "The Baku-Ceyhan Campaign criticizes the project for displacing residents, supporting oppressive regimes and for endangering people and the environment by building in areas with frequent seismic activity." A spokesman for Hess says that the pipeline is now completed and that the operator of the pipeline, BP, has done "a fabulous job."

Co-Op America also reports that Hess, along with Marathon Oil and Chevron Texaco was under investigation in 2004 for possible violations of laws prohibiting bribes to governmental officials in Equatorial Guinea, http://www.coopamerica.org. The investigation into this by the Securities and Exchange Commission is still underway, and the Hess spokesperson said "we cooperate fully."

The Co-Op America reference provides a more complete rundown on Hess.

FLYING J - Flying J, which operates the largest chain of truck stops in the U.S., has 256 travel plazas and fuel stops in 42 states and six Canadian provinces. Another 30 facilities are being built or planned.

Flying J has refineries in Utah and California, processing crude oil from the U.S. and Canada. It has no imports from the Persian Gulf. Flying J has no sales to the Pentagon.

Flying J operates some plazas that sell Shell products. Flying J and Shell are planning a joint venture in Canada that will include construction of 15 new travel plazas that will sell Shell products.

MURPHY OIL - Murphy Oil operates 1,000 Murphy USA and Spur gas stations in the Midwest and South, including Texas and Arkansas. Murphy gasoline is sold in more than 980 Wal-Mart parking lots in the Southeast and Upper Midwest, according to the Murphy website.

The company has refineries in Louisiana and Wisconsin, processing oil from Canada, Nigeria,

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and **Russia** and also from **Ecuador, Malaysia, Mexico** and the North Sea. (Bold face type indicates nations with serious human and civil rights issues.) Murphy gets 40 percent of its oil imports from the Persian Gulf.

Murphy has no sales to the Pentagon.

GULF - Gulf is a petroleum marketer with 1,800 retail outlets, primarily in New England, Delaware, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Gulf is also sold at many Cumberland Farms stores. Gulf has wholesale terminals and tank farms, with its oil being supplied by a wide variety of refiners, according to a company spokesperson.

Gulf sold about \$9.4 million in petroleum products to the Pentagon in FY 2006 and \$712,443 in FY 2005 but had no sales in FY 2007.

SINCLAIR - Sinclair has 2,607 stations in 20 states, concentrated in the Midwest and West. Sinclair imports oil from Canada and uses no Persian Gulf oil. It has refineries in Wyoming and Oklahoma.

Sinclair had sales of \$47.5 million in Pentagon sales in FY 2006 and none in FY 2007.

In April, 2007, Sinclair was ordered by an Oklahoma federal court judge to pay a \$5 million fine and a \$500,000 restitution payment to the Tulsa River Parks Authority for manipulating the flows of wastewater from its Tulsa refinery to misrepresent exactly how much wastewater it was sending into the Arkansas River. Two managers at the refinery were also fined, sentenced to home detention and three years probation on felony counts under the Clean Water Act.

IRVING - Irving Oil is a family-owned Canadian company with about 130 retail gasoline outlets in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont and about 600 more in Canada.

Irving runs the largest refinery in Canada, located in Saint John, New Brunswick, and it gets most of its oil from Canada, with less coming from the North Sea and a "small amount", according to a company spokesperson, shipped from Saudi Arabia. It gets no oil from Iraq.

Irving Oil sales to the Pentagon amounted to \$15 million in FY 2006 and \$4 million in FY 2007.

Irving produces low-sulphur content fuels.

In 2007, the EPA charged that Irving had not taken proper precautions to guard against oil spills at its bulk storage facility in Alton, New Hampshire. In 2005 there was a 5,000 gallon home heating oil spill there that the EPA found contaminated ground water underneath the tank farm. The maximum fine that could be imposed is \$157,500.

The emissions from Irving's refinery are a public nuisance for the 100,000 inhabitants in the Saint John area and raise serious health questions, according to Gordon Dalzell, head of the Citizen's Coalition for Clean Air. While these emissions do not exceed the levels in the refinery's

permit, it is apparent from government monitoring that the levels of benzene and other toxic compounds have risen significantly since about 2000, when the refinery began producing more highly refined products, including gasoline, jet fuel and low-sulphur diesel fuel, which is in demand in California.

The refinery is also noisy at various times, Mr. Dalzell said, especially when there is steam venting related to the flaring process.

"We're fed up quite frankly," he said, and "they want to build another one." He was referring to Irving's plans to build another refinery in the area that will be exactly the same size as the existing refinery.

Seventy percent of the production of the existing refinery goes to the northeastern U.S., he said, and 100 percent of the output of the new refinery will go there also. When people drive their cars in the Northeast, he said, they need to realize: "We (in Saint John) believe we are paying for it with our concerns and worries to our health, quality of life and enjoyment of property related to odor and noise impacts."

In addition to oil the Irving family has other business interests in the area, including pulp and paper, transportation and food. The family is a major, if not completely dominant, political influence.

It seems unlikely that the new refinery can be blocked, Mr. Dalzell said, unless government studies now underway document adverse health related to the current refinery. "That would be the only chance we would have," he said, unless the government finds that the emissions levels from the new refinery will exceed new government emissions standards.

However, Mr. Dalzell points out, as evidence of the weakness of the New Brunswick government in the face of the Irvings, that the province is not placing sufficient caps on emissions and that its weak Climate Change Action Plan expires in 2012, just before the new refinery comes on line.

Public officials have spoken about making Saint John an energy center, largely serving the U.S. This would include construction of a second nuclear power plant. A major liquefied natural gas terminal and processing plant is being built by Irving in partnership with Repsol, of Spain, to be completed in 2009.

J.D. Irving, head of the Irving Pulp and Paper company, is an advocate for integrating the Canadian and U.S. economies.

Answer.com says of the Irving family, the largest employers in the region: "Despite their anticompetitive actions, poor relations with organized labor, and lack of transparency, they continue to grow and assert their economic dominance on the area."

COUNTRY FAIR / KEYSTONE / KWIK FIL / RED APPLE

United Refining Company in Warren, Pennsylvania markets gasoline in 372 locations in Pennsylvania, upstate New York and eastern Ohio under the names Keystone, Kwik Fil and Citgo and at Country Fair and Red Apple Food Mart stores.

United Refining imports its oil from Canada, and it has no sales to the Pentagon.

GIANT/MUSTANG

Western Refining Inc. operates refineries in El Paso, Texas and, through recently purchased Giant Industries, in Bloomfield and Ciniza, New Mexico. It retails gasoline in about 160 outlets in Arizona and New Mexico under the brand names Giant and Mustang; about 25 outlets are branded Conoco.

Western imports crude oil from **Brazil**, Canada and Norway. In September, 2006, Western was awarded an \$86 million jet fuel contract with the Pentagon, and in August, 2007 it was awarded a \$114 million Pentagon fuel contract.

The Federal Trade Commission challenged the merger of Western and Giant in April, 2007 as reducing competition in gasoline, but the New Mexico federal district court refused to block the deal.

CENEX / FAST STOP / BREAK TIME

The National Cooperative Refining Association (NCRA), with a refinery in McPherson, Kansas, imports oil from Canada and provides gasoline to three cooperatives with retail convenience store and gasoline operations. They are:

CHS Inc. – 1,600 Cenex stores in Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois and Kansas.

Growmark – 300 Fast Stop stores in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma.

MFA Oil – 76 Breaktime stores in Missouri and Arkansas.

NCRA appears to have no contracts with the Pentagon.

MAJOR WHOLESALE CLUBS - WAL-MART and COSTCO

WAL-MART - As noted above under Murphy Oil, a substantial amount of the gasoline sold at Wal-Mart stores is provided by Murphy Oil. A spokesperson for Wal-Mart said she would provide information on the sources of gasoline sold at Wal-Mart stores, but no information was forthcoming.

COSTCO - Costco has about 380 retail stores in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, and about 300 of these sell gasoline, Costco buys about 80 percent of its gasoline under contract from a variety of producers, which are believed to include BP and Tesoro. It buys the remainder on the "spot market", which means that it gets gasoline from a variety of suppliers based on the lowest price at a given moment. Costco did not respond to questions about the sources of the gasoline the firm purchases on contract.

Endnote:

1"WAR OIL"

The U.S. is involved directly and indirectly in warfare and suppression of movements for self-determination in Lebanon, Israel/Palestine, Saudi Arabia and Somalia as well as Iraq. The U.S. is also reportedly undertaking clandestine action against Iran. The Middle East is effectively a war zone in which detention/kidnapping, torture and killing are widespread and growing.

One can argue that the warfare across the Middle East is, at its deepest level, connected in a variety of ways to the struggle for control of oil.

The Middle East struggle is a critical conflict for non-state-owned oil companies such as ExxonMobil, BP, Shell and Chevron. As illustrated by the graph below, these companies have relatively small oil reserves compared to the reserves of the world's major government-owned companies. Iraq oil, at highly profitable prices, would represent a new lease on life for these majors, who are currently faced by a future in which they less control price and may become simply oil production service providers to state-owned oil; companies and refiners and retailers of gasoline made from state-owned crude oil.

Iraq figures large in the plan to get oil at cheap prices for ExxonMobil, Shell, BP and other non-governmental oil companies. Not only does it have large oil reserves, it also is viewed by the U.S. government as a base for U.S. military control throughout the region. The following article provides insight into what this will mean in coming years.

Enduring an Occupation for Oil

Truthout December 5th 2007

By Ann Wright

Last week Iraq's Maliki government "asked" President Bush for an "enduring" strategic security relationship with the United States that will have 50,000 US military and probably 50,000-75,000 US contractors/mercenaries in Iraq for decades. Reportedly these 100,000-plus Americans will be primarily confined to the fourteen permanent bases built by the US. Their role, according to Bush's point person on Iraq, retired US Army Gen. Douglas Lute, will be to backstop, perhaps for the next 50 years, newly trained Iraqi military and police forces. Iraq's new strategic security relationship also contains an agreement for preferential treatment from the Iraqi government to American corporations.

But, there is another "enduring" situation in Iraq. March 19, 2008, begins the sixth year of the occupation of Iraq. The Iraqis already have endured five long years of US occupation! During

this occupation, 1.2 million Iraqis have died and four million are refugees outside the country or internally displaced within the country. Water, sewage and electrical infrastructure is destroyed, health care and education are abysmal and few Iraqis feel safe under the occupation.

How much "enduring" can Iraqis take?

The Iraqi parliament is solidly opposed to Maliki's charade that, for their own security, Iraqis desire the long-term occupation of their country by Christian oil crusaders from the United States. In particular, influential cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, who heads a militia that has targeted the US military in the past, strongly objects to the Maliki government's "strategic" relationship with the US.

The Iraqi parliament knows that an "enduring security" relationship with the US is a codeword for an "enduring profit" relationship for US oil companies. The Iraqi parliament has steadfastly refused to enact Bush's benchmark No. 1, the hydrocarbon law, written by US oil barons brought to Iraq in 2003. That law provides sweetheart deals for the international privatization of Iraq's "undiscovered" oil fields. Actually, everyone knows where to "discover" the oil in Iraq. The undiscovered oil, or hydrocarbon as the Bush administration likes to refer to it, is so close to the surface, so easy to access and of such high quality that these oil fields have been saved by the Iraqi oil industry for drilling whenever they wish.

International (read US) companies have been salivating over "undiscovered" Iraqi oil for years. When Vice President Dick Cheney was CEO of the financially distressed oil industry giant Halliburton, he remarked in an oil conference in Cairo in April 1996 that was reported by Petroleum Finance Week that "The problem is that the good Lord didn't see fit to always put oil and gas resources where there are democratic governments." Cheney and Bush seem to think that the "good Lord" gave them the right to go after oil and gas wherever it is and by war and occupation.

Cheney's secretive Energy Task Force, whose membership we still do not fully know, issued a report in 2003 that stated that Middle East oil producers "will remain central to world oil security." It argued that oil producers should open their fields to foreign investment. More recently, Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Federal Reserve from 1987 to 2006, wrote in "The Age of Turbulence," his new book, "I am saddened that it is politically inconvenient to acknowledge what everyone knows: the Iraq war is largely about oil."

For US corporations, the proposed "enduring" strategic security relationship with Iraq is a dream come true. From Halliburton, KBR, Parsons, Blackwater and Triple Canopy to Burger King and Taco Bell, this relationship means multibillion-dollar contracts to support the 50,000 US military left-behind force and the 50,000-75,000 US contractors needed to service the military force. For the oil giants of America, the "enduring" strategic security relationship means a US government-financed security force (aka, the US military) to protect their oil projects. They will no doubt need that security force, as US oil companies will come under attack by Iraqis who refuse to accept the strategic economic and security partnership of the Bush and Maliki governments.

For our US military forces, the strategic security relationship means long and frequent deployments to Iraq for US Army and Marine active duty, National Guard and Reserve forces. It means that the US Navy will have a large number of ships in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean regions and Air Force will continue to fly tens of thousands of transport missions into Iraq.

For the US taxpayer, the "enduring" strategic relationship means trillions of dollars focused on a country that had nothing to do with 9/11 and after five years of enduring a war on it, has become the symbol to the world of a warmongering, oil-stealing America.

Is this what we want for Iraq or for our country?

What to do? Demand by phone, email and faxes that your congressperson stop this "enduring strategic relationship" that will keep US military forces in Iraq for decades.

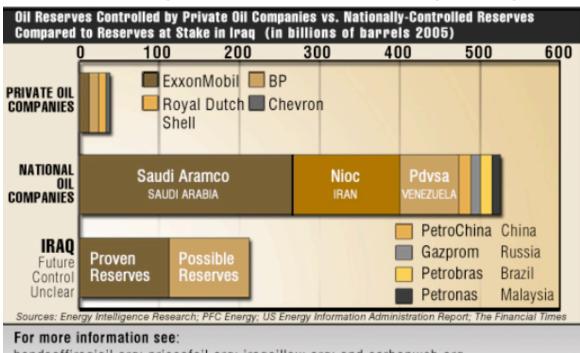
Come to Washington, walk the halls of Congress, talk with members of your Congressional delegation and do sit-ins in their offices to end the US occupation of Iraq.

Ann Wright is a 29-year US Army veteran who retired as a colonel, and a former US diplomat. She served in Nicaragua, Grenada, Somalia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Sierra Leone, Micronesia and Mongolia. In December 2001, she was on the small team that reopened the US Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan. She resigned from the State Department in March 2003 in opposition to the Iraq war. She is the co-author of "Dissent: Voices of Conscience," which will be published in mid-December 2007.

THE SIZE OF THE PRIZE

Oil reserves, usually measured in billions of barrels, are basically pools of oil, controlled by either private firms or national oil companies. The larger the overall pool of oil you control, the better your future. Countries nationalize oil in an attempt to gain maximum benefit from their natural resources. This oil reserve graph shows that national oil companies are coming to dominate the world oil business.

The United States is pushing the Iraqi Parliament to pass a new oil law that will open Iraq's reserves to private oil companies such as ExxonMobil, Shell, BP and Chevron under contracts that will be extremely profitable to the private firms and leave Iraq oil nationalized in name only. This is being opposed by many Iraqis, including Iraqi oil workers. The graph below dramatically illustrates how much Iraq's oil could mean to major oil companies if the United States is successful in forcing through the oil law, which is based on work done in the U.S. State Department before the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq.



handsoffiraqioil.org; priceofoil.org; iraqoillaw.org; and carbonweb.org www.consumersforpeace.org

More Harmful / Less Harmful Wallet Cut Out

Please print this cut out, fold in half and place in your wallet for future reference.

Tesoro Fina	
Marathon	
oetty/Lukoil	MORE HARMFUL Avoid When Possible
I EGG II A DAMEIII	
LESS HARMFUL	
Relatively Speaking	Sinclair
	Sinclair Irving
Relatively Speaking	
Relatively Speaking Citgo	Irving
Relatively Speaking Citgo Sunoco	Irving Keystone/Kwik Fil/Red
Relatively Speaking Citgo Sunoco Hess	Irving Keystone/Kwik Fil/Red Apple
Relatively Speaking Citgo Sunoco Hess Flying J	Irving Keystone/Kwik Fil/Red Apple Giant/Mustang