breathing in their own words

Richmond POP 93,800 ELEV 54

West County Toxics Coalition's

20 year Environmental Justice struggle to ban toxic flares



Richmond, California















Library of Congress

In the early 1940's, Richmond,
California, became a large hub for
shipbuilding as part of the World War II
effort. Thousands of African Americans
from the South migrated to Richmond
to take advantage of the jobs and
opportunity. Many settled along the less
inhabited areas of the region, mainly near
the fencelines of industrial developments.
The largest industry was Chevron's
Richmond refinery that occupied over 300
acres in the northeast corner of Richmond.



Meeting of the Citizen Action League Toxics Subcommittee in Richmond in the 1980's. Chairman and Co-Founder of the West County Toxics Coalition, Ernest Witt, Sr., is seated center of the table.

Studies have documented the proximity of African American and people of color neighbors to industrial pollution sources in Richmond. As early as 1989, Communities for a Better Environment issued the landmark report on race, poverty and toxic threats: *Richmond at Risk*.

Roots of the community struggle: a community toxics group is formed in Richmond

In 1979, the Citizens Action League (CAL)—Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) formed a toxics subcommittee to fight the many toxic

assaults on the Richmond community. CAL-ACORN worked to expose toxic threats in Richmond, educate people about environmental problems and hold companies and our government agencies accountable.

In the fall of 1985, John O'Connor of the newly formed National Toxics Campaign (NTC) launched a 'Truck Against America Campaign Against Toxic Dumps' and made a stop in Richmond. O'Connor held a nationally televised press conference at the Point Isabel Toxic site to help publicize the plight of residents. Following the press event, O'Connor met with CAL-ACORN leaders to join forces against the toxic threats in Richmond. As a result

of that meeting, the National Toxics Campaign became aware of the 40 toxic chemical producing industries concentrated within a scant 2 mile area in Richmond.

O'Connor offered the technical assistance of the National Toxics Campaign to local residents in their efforts.

Shortly thereafter the CAL- ACORN toxics subcommittee headed by Ernest Witt, Sr, re-formed as a separate organization, West County Toxics Coalition and affiliated itself with the National Toxics Campaign. NTC sent a commu-

nity organizer to work with local leaders on an environmental organizing campaign. One of the young leaders emerged, Henry Clark, and became Executive Director in 1986. Ernest Witt and Amadia Thomas served as Chairs of the Board of West County Toxics. The major focus of the group became the largest polluter of their community, the Chevron refinery and related chemical operations. A central issue became the fire and smoke from flares which dominated the skyline of the neighborhoods.



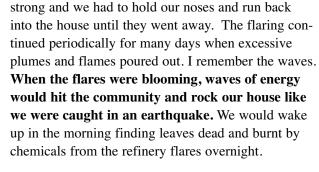
Henry Clark

Director West County Toxics Coalition

My family came here the early 40's when all the people came to Richmond to work in the Kaiser shipyards and munitions factories. My father was a barber, always had a barber shop, was one of the first barbers in the North Richmond community. I was born there in 1944 and raised there. We lived on Battery Street that borders the Chevron refinery, with it literally in our backyard across the fence.

History

As a kid we could see the refinery on the hills behind us especially at night it looked like a whole city out there with glittering lights. I do remember periodically when we would go to school, the odors were



We did not talk about it much as a family. It was a situation where we complained to ourselves The refinery was there and operating and I never had any idea in my mind that we could do anything about it. Not until after I had become an adult did we speak about it as a family. My mother was having headaches after that big spill in 1993, that was the first time we spoke about it as a family. We dealt with the problems ourselves and had no contact with the refinery. We didn't have a phone to call them.

I went to college at Cal Poly at San Luis Obispo for a few years. I was interested in political activism and Black studies there. I came back to SF State and was involved in more environmental studies and political activism. My primary goal was to go to school and come back and help my community, like the civil rights movement slogans, "get an education and come back and help your community".

When I did come back to North Richmond, I was director of a youth services and community organization and the West County Toxics Coalition had just





formed. The first organizer, Craig Williams, contacted me as a known local activist. When I got involved as a volunteer board member, it all started to come together then, because the group was focused on the Chevron corporation and I had grown up with it in my backyard. It was a natural thing that I get involved.

Flares: Breathing Fire

The flare issue has been going on a long time—over 20 years. The community began to raise the issue specifically with Chevron's management and the regulatory agencies once the West County Toxics Coalition was formed. Especially here in Richmond, where we have had so many chemical accidents, people see the flares blooming and the thick flames and black smoke and fires and explosions. And on a routine basis people complaining about the flares, because we all have a better sense that when the flare is going off, there is some serious trouble at the refinery. We have been told by the refinery and the agency that flares are only used in a break down or last resort to avoid an explosion. Yet when we see the flares going off on a daily basis, residents are more concerned.

People began to ask Chevron, "Why are you having a problem so often, because you told us that the flares are only used in an emergency, when there is a problem." Trying to make us a feel better but telling us the flare is a safety mechanism and a 'good thing', but the problem is the flares have been going so regular looks like it is a regular part of the daily operation.

What alarmed us is that we have a high rate of child-hood asthma surrounding the refinery and so it seems we can never get any truthful answers from the company officials. Whether it is the flares, the refinery equipment in general, the position of the refineries is alwaysthat they have legal permits to operate and that they are not posing any kind of threat to public health and safety. They say: "sure there may be health problems in the neighboring community and asthma but it is not related to refinery operations." Do they really believe that?

The flares have become a symbol of a bigger problem beyond the specific problem at the moment. The real problem is the flares are being used routinely and so it seems that there is always a problem with operations at the refinery and they can't seem to fix it.

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Chevron has taken a different approach to come up with excuses as to why the gases can't be fully recovered. But we will hold them accountable.

So this study was finally done by the Air District and looked at what the emissions from all the refinery flares in the Bay Area, excluding the Chevron refinery because they didn't monitor their flares, and it amounted to 20 tons a day. Of course the industry people including Chevron still tried to downplay those emissions saying it was too high and miscalculations.

We expect a flare control rule to be adopted. That regulation should require the installation of equipment such as compressor systems that would prevent the release of emissions into the community. The gases can be used for fuel in the refinery rather than be released into the community. This would be a major victory for the community because we are talking about 20 tons a day being recycled rather than dumped into our community.

Chevron has taken a different approach to come up with excuses as to why the gases can't be fully recovered. But we will hold them accountable.

I am not naive about the nature of society and the amount of influence that companies like Chevron/ Texaco have on our political process which makes it difficult to promote change and that is why many people in our community are so discouraged and don't get involved in the first place. They don't feel they can make a difference.

But the fact is, that you either organize to make change in your environment and your living conditions or it is going to get worse. Because the companies are not going away. The problems are there and you either try to do something about it or you will suffer the consequences. It is not a luxury to take action and I chose to do something about it. It shows in the final end you can win victories.



Amadia Thomas

Co- Founder West County Toxics Coalition

After 20 years we are all messed up and the pollution took a toll on our health. Children's health too! We figured it out the connection, no doctors and scientists. Community people who are paying attention may be smarter than those with a degree. Chevron: they weren't doing their homework and weren't interested. Awful—all the families affected. People can't move because there is nowhere you can go.

History

My father came from Arkansas in the 1940's to find a better life, he built a home out in North Richmond. Wasn't much out there—shanty towns and they started building. He was working in the shipyard. Lot of people came out to make more money and the shipyard needed people. I moved out to North Richmond in 1974 with my two sons, from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, because I had relations out this way.

My impression was it was nice when I first moved out here, my husband got me an apartment for me and our 5 and 6 year old boys. When we had that rotten egg odor, was when I first even noticed the refinery. But my husband said he didn't notice it and they'd been out here years. I noticed it because I had never smelled that before. "What was that?," I asked and they didn't know it was from the refinery, there were no organizations fighting it. No organizing, nothing being done about—people just went about their daily lives. The weather was better than back east—no snow and the California sunshine, but there was more to it than that—once they got out here.

We worked with ACORN out in Arkansas for welfare rights issues and Citizen Action League (CAL) was formed out of it. I found out about the Citizen Action League and got united with them. Working on things like street lights and boarded up houses, things like blight and housing issues. I met Ernie Witt through Citizens Action League (CAL). Before that, Ernie worked out of Stauffer Chemical and eventually died from cancer.

Quite a few people had breathing problems and children having to go the emergency room.

Children had to be rushed to hospital and seniors had the same problem. That's why we knew it had to be a breathing thing. I never had asthma, but I always had this cough and wouldn't go away. Put me on cough medication. I am still on it. But it won't go away. I used to bring up food, for a while and it wouldn't go away. My cough would bring up food and I was afraid to eat. Went on for a long while.

CAL met and we talked about the asthma and pollution and began organizing to find out why we were getting sick. I went to a toxicologist but he claimed it wasn't from what I was breathing—
It wasn't the air. Nobody wanted to say it was Chevron, they were on their side.

A lot of people, our people, died from cancer. The asthma and cancer rates are very high in North Richmond and a lot of people have died from it. We made the connection, even if the doctors didn't, between the air pollution and the health problems because most of these people didn't smoke or drink—if your





lifestyle is not the kind of that you smoke and drink and party—they never smoked or drank in their life. They were strong Baptists in the faith and didn't believe in it. But they had breathing problems. Clean living and still your body wasn't clean after inhaling all of that pollution. Living clean and still the pollution affects



Amadia Thomas and Goldman Prize winner, Rashida Bee (Bhopal survivor, India)

your body in the long run. People were sick a long time and just going down hill constantly. They had serious breathing problems, lots of medication and oxygen and major organs failing.

Flares: Breathing Fire

When you saw the flares—you knew something was wrong—because all that fire and smoke going up in the air. Now they look for what is happening by the flare—they didn't tell you nothing, but we knew it was bad. They do it (flaring) mostly at night—when they did it was at night—most of the accidents were at night. When they shutdown the plant and shoot it all to the flares, I knew it was something real bad happening. Sometimes you can't smell it and that is the scary part, you see it and feel it. When they wouldn't tell us what was in their pollution and called it "trade secret". That was awful. It means you are breathing it every day and you don't know what you are breathing. Trade secret, that was an insult.

When we read the Air district study saying their was 20 tons a day from flares—it frightens you—you don't know how bad you have been exposed. You don't know if you've been made sick by that. It takes a toll on people—20 years—and now we find out.

The Air District and EPA fell down on the job. We could have known a long time ago and West County Toxics Coalition has been raising this issue for 20 years—a long time.

Chevron didn't even measure their flares- they didn't seem to care—they were out for money—greed, rather than people's health. They didn't want to meas-

ure because they did not want to know the true facts. They didn't want to know but we have been breathing and taking it in for years, measuring it in our lungs.

Chevron: they weren't doing their homework and weren't interested. After 20 years we are all messed up and it took a toll on your health. Children's health too! Awful—all the families affected. People can't move because there is nowhere you can go. We figured it out the connection, no doctors and scientists. Community people who are paying attention may be smarter than those with a degree. It don't take degrees to figure out a lot of things. A lot of things you don't have to go to school for, you use common sense. Smoke and odors and asthma and children died of asthma—rushed to hospital and died, some did we could see the problem and knew where it was coming. People were living a clean lifestyle so it wasn't that—it was what they put in our air. We got to breathe. We got to breathe. We have no choice.

They need to stop the flaring and investigate why the agencies let us down and find out why it took so long. They should be held accountable for everything that happened to people's health. And for the communities—it is a civil rights issue—they can never pay enough for our health, the health we lost.

It takes a toll on people—20 years—and now we find out.

The Air District and EPA fell down on the job.

Dorothy Reid

3 Generations of Asthma and Breathing Fire

We see the flares and smoke going off from the refinery over there and they never have a concern for our health. I am finally hopeful now that we will get somewhere as a community with this one issue of the flares at least. We have to because our children need clean air. We have got to have a change and fight for it as a community to bring these refineries under control. It is killing us. We have a serious fight going on here—a life and death struggle.

Of my 10 children at least seven suffer from asthma, a 22 year old daughter with bad arthritis, her legs hurt so much she can't hold a job. Nothing the doctors can do about it and the doctors don't make a connection between the health problems and the pollution. All of them know this comes from the pollution that we are living with. It's bad—it's really bad.

When Chevron and the other chemical plants were supposed to help get us our health center, we got the center built but when it came to getting the services we needed—we got about half of what they promised. We didn't get a lab, dental, vision, emergency and only one doctor there and three nurses. With a beautiful health center and the doctor with all the patients that she has—it is almost going to waste. Too many patients—we need more—the refinery and the chemical companies didn't keep their word—they said they were going to help us.

I do believe that people that have a lot of sickness and would be qualified to work but they are too sick. They can't breathe so they can't work. I've had two forms of cancer: full mastectomy and upper bowel cancer which is inoperable. With my asthma and bronchitis and arthritis. I can't work.

They are making billions and billions of dollars and they won't even live up to their word with the health center, they need to compensate these people. We are living from day to day.

I moved from West Oakland in 1970 because of bronchitis and my 3 children and my daughter were suffering from bad bronchitis, we were living at 10th and Cypress where the freeway collapsed years later. Big trucks and dust coming through all the time. I thought it would be a better place because of the breathing problems we were having in West Oakland. When I fist moved there I thought it was great, because it seemed better.

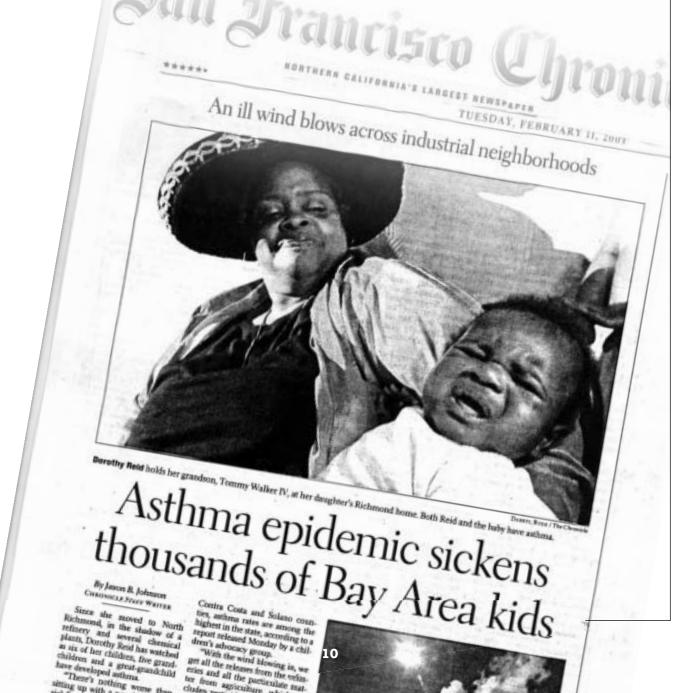
One year we were flooded in before flood control for 13 days. As years went on I found out about



chemicals in the dirt—my feet swelling. We were putting our children outside and they were sick and we didn't know why—we grew gardens, my father had a garden—we thought it was the most healthy food. My parents came from Louisiana, Monroe in 1940's—they came out to work on ship yards 32 years at Bethlehem Steel—respiratory and heart disease—asbestosis. I am an only child—so my children are all I had. With my parents dying and all the asthma problems my children had, I just didn't know

what it was. I just thought it was something that happened to children. I had nothing to go by.

When I had my 8th child, Missy was 6 months old developed a breathing problem real bad—26 now—bad asthma. I thought it was the colic, it wasn't though. She had a runny nose and gasped for breath at times. When she was 2 or 3 years old it got worse, so I took her to the doctor and he told me to get a vaporizer. We all eventually knew it was the pollution in the air. Pollution from the refinery. ■



Children's Asthma

Epidemic concentrated in refinery neighborhoods



According to Contra
Costa county health
officials. Asthma is the
leading cause of chronic
disease and absenteeism
among schoolchildren in
California and the
nation. "Asthma is an
epidemic," admitted
Chuck McKetney, a
Contra Costa health
department specialist.

In February 2003, the Children's Network of Solano released a landmark study on children's asthma in the San Francisco Bay Area. According to the study, the problem is particularly concentrated in the Bay Area's industrial northeast, despite the fact that other Bay Area counties also have asthma rates exceeding the state average (UCLA Center for Health Policy Research). While Contra Costa's asthma rate among children is 9 percent, sufferers are highly concentrated in Richmond, San Pablo and Bay Point, areas where neighborhoods border refineries and chemical plants, based on figures from the county and state Department of Public Health.

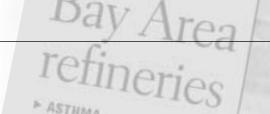
In Contra Costa, 181 residents, 11 of them children, died from asthma from 1992 to 2000. From 1995 to 1997, 3,219 Contra Costa residents were hospitalized for asthma, 1,105 of them children, the California Department of Health Services reports.

Contra Costa has the highest concentration of industrial facilities in the state and the highest number of major refinery and chemical plants outside of Los Angeles County.

Asthma

epidemic

encircles





In 2003, the Air District issued a startling report on flare emissions

A Bay Area Air Quality Management District draft report found that refinery flares occur almost daily and four of the five refineries flares contribute 22 tons a day in addition to the 76 tons of emissions already known to be spewing from the plants. Even more shocking, the largest refinery, Chevron in Richmond did not measure flare emissions. While some expressed surprise, the West County Toxics Coalition felt vindicated.

A review of other previous flare studies conducted around the world confirmed the draft report's conclusions. Even the Air District confirmed the study was consistent with the existing body of science: "there have been similar findings at oil refineries around Houston, Philadelphia, New Jersey and in Europe, giving credence to the notion that flares are a larger source of pollution than suspected," said Lucia Libretti Air District spokesperson. (bene-

cianews.com Jan. 6, 2003. Shea) The Air District's 1989 Flare study had also estimated 20 tons a day of emissions.

Industry-friendly politicians even spoke out: "Either they were misleading them through mistakes or they were doing it deliberately," said Air Board Member Mark DeSaulnier. "Either way, the effect is the same." (San Francisco Chronicle, 2/13/03 Johnson)

Immediately refineries attacked the study and laid the groundwork for their campaign to pressure the Air District to revise the numbers.

It didn't take long for the oil industry to attack and seek wholesale revisions of the numbers. Dennis Bolt, spokesman for the Western States Petroleum Association, which represents a majority of petroleum interests in the United States, told the San Francisco Chronicle that the district's findings are wrong. "The district has yet to pro-

vide us with any actual scientific data for their estimates," Bolt said. "We believe the emissions are but a fraction of what the district estimated." (San Francisco Chronicle, 2/13/03 Johnson)

Tom Mann, Technical Manager at Chevron, wrote to Richmond City Councilman Tom Butt's e-mail forum on January 9, 2003, "we believe that 22 tons per day is a grossly excessive estimate of the actual emissions from flares, and we are working with the Air

District to refine the technical assumptions they used to calculate these emission levels."

Would Air District officials bend to pressure from refineries? According to former staffers, this is an all too common pattern. Robert Kwong, the air district's former general counsel who resigned under pressure, told the Contra Costa Times on January, 15, 2003: "a culture (at the Air District) that sought to avoid controversy added up to reluctance to tackle refinery flares." The Los Angeles Air Board, Kwong noted, began requiring flare monitoring five years ago in anticipation of eventually cracking down. "The Bay Area district has for years avoided that

"although the draft report's conclusions could be revised, and refinery officials are urging regulators to do just that, there is little doubt that the district's engineers found a major source of air pollution that has gone almost entirely unregulated."

(Contra Costa Times, January 15, 2003, Taugher)

type of controversy by being as simple and as non-cutting edge in their approach as possible." (Contra Costa Times, January 15, 2003, Taugher)

Whether revisions to the flare numbers are made or not, the Contra Costa Times concluded, there was a problem: "although the draft report's conclusions could be revised, and refinery officials are urging regulators to do just that, there is little doubt that the district's engineers found a major source of air pollution that has gone almost entirely unregu-

lated." (Contra Costa Times, January 15, 2003, Taugher)

The San Francisco Chronicle similarly editorialized: "it does not take much expertise to see a forest of smokestacks belching toxic clouds and know that air quality is questionable. Prolonged exposure portends serious consequences. Certainly, the health risk must be lessened. The refineries must intensify pollution prevention efforts and reduce the poisons that rain down on the homes of their neighbors."

But "it's no big mystery to us," said Henry Clark of the West County Toxics Coalition. "When people live in a toxic environment, it compromises their immune system."





Spring 2004: Communities for a Better Environment (CBE) issues their flare study which confirms Air District's original study

In Spring 2004, CBE issued its own landmark report, *Refinery Flaring in the Neighborhood*, which concluded: "flaring emissions can cause toxic hotspots and are consistent with neighbors complaints of breathing and eye irritation." (CBE, Spring 2004)

CBE staff analyzed data from the Air District from 2001-2003 and found that Chevron reported flaring on almost 300 days. These numbers demonstrate a clear problem, despite Chevron's lack of sufficient monitoring of flares compared to other refineries.

According to this report, CBE concluded: "most routine flaring is preventable, and eliminating unnecessary flaring can cut regional smog and local toxics. Flaring prevention could cut local sulfur oxide emissions by almost 30 tons per day, and smog-forming chemicals by up to hundreds of tons a day."

CBE warned, "The Air District has been put under pressure by industry to drastically reduce these flare emissions estimates, based on shaky recalculations."

October 2004: Air District reports dramatic reductions in flaring in contrast with original report—other studies.

As of October of 2004, things had made a significant turn in favor of the refineries as many had predicted. The Air District removed a key refinery technical expert from the project and began using "bogus" assumptions, according to one source familiar with the issue of re-calculations of flare emissions. When Air District staffers in charge of recalculations, were asked to validate the radical change in emission calculations and provide a method for verifying the new numbers, they were unable to do so.

December 2004: Air District drafts a "flare regulation" that exempts most flaring incidents.

In late 2004, the Bay Area Air District prepared their standard "bait and switch" strategy of preparing a rule to ban flaring in response to the pressure from refinery communities and the media. Unfortunately for the impacted neighbors, the draft rule has a broad exemption that renders it almost useless. Instead of a ban on unnecessary flaring, the draft rule legalizes most of it. According to the draft, "Prohibition of Flaring: The use of a flare during activities other than those associated with startup, shutdown, malfunction, and as mandated by other rules are prohibited." If this broad of an exemption is adopted, unnecessary flaring will be allowed to continue.

As their former attorney previously noted, the Air District had once again engaged the issue but "avoided that type of controversy by being as simple and as non-cutting edge in their approach as possible."

Will the Bay Area Air District Board, the public and media fall for a "ban" on flaring that exempts most flaring incidents? Over the years the Air District and their public relations staff have become increasingly skilled at the game of taking action that appears significant, but does not deliver the necessary results.

One thing is for certain. The West County Toxics
Coalition will be on the frontline of demanding the most
stringent and complete ban on flaring possible. "We will
continue to educate, organize and mobilize residents until
we get a strong flare rule," stated Henry Clark. After
twenty years of persistent and consistent speaking truth to
power, refinery neighbors in Richmond and around the
country know that they can rely on the group's efforts.

A cry for justice and an end to breathing fire

Statement of Henry Clark on West County Toxics Coalition

The West County Toxics Coalition has been advocating for a flare control rule for the past twenty years. Our members are familiar with flaring from first hand experience.

In 2002, the BAAQMD reported that daily emissions throughout the District's jurisdiction amounted to about 20 tons a day. Industry representatives said that the numbers were high, that most of the emissions were greenhouse gasses such as methane and should not be included. Well, even if that were true, greenhouse gases are a problem that contributes to global climate change.

A strong flare control rule is necessary to reduce gases like toxic volatile organic compounds, sulfur dioxides and nitrogen oxides which are asthma triggers that adversely affect children in North Richmond and surrounding areas.

Recently information published in the Wes County Times on dated October 4, 2004, indicated that less than 2 tons a day of measured pollutants were coming from five refineries. I am not sure if these new numbers are correct, but in the final end, there is too much pollution coming from flares to expose people to who already have asthma and respiratory problems.

There needs to be a strong Flare Control Rule no matter how the numbers are crunched. The Bay Area Air District needs to adopt a flare rule with no exemptions without further delay. The rule should require continuous analyzers for vent gas monitoring to make sure data is accurate. Each flare should be video monitored and images preserved. All the information should be available to the public. Violations of the flare rule should result in penalties with funds coming back the affected community.

What the Bay Area Air District Could Do:

Adopt a flare rule that states: "Prohibition of Flaring: The use of a flare during activities **including** those associated with startup, shutdown, malfunction, and as mandated by other rules are prohibited."

What the Air District should NOT do:

Adopt a rule with gigantic loopholes: "Prohibition of Flaring: The use of a flare during activities **other than** those associated with startup, shutdown, malfunction, and as mandated by other rules are prohibited."

What you can do:

Contact the BAAQMD Director, Jack Broadbent and demand a complete ban on unnecessary flaring, including during start up, shutdown, malfunctions.

Jack Broadbent, Executive Officer, Bay Area Air Quality Management District 939 Ellis Street San Francisco, Ca 94109, (415) 771-5052, jbroadbent@baaqmd.gov



Fight for your own ban on flaring

Many state and national refinery regulations were adopted first in California.

Local rules adopted first by Air Districts in the San Francisco and Los Angeles regions have become state and national policy. It has to start somewhere. The fact that Los Angeles and Bay Area Air Districts have adopted flare monitoring rules and are on the verge of adopting flare control rules will drive these important regulations to be considered in other refinery regions throughout the nation.

More and more data from studies by state and federal agencies points to the routine use of flares by industrial facilities as unacceptably high and unnecessary. In addition, landmark studies by the Environmental Integrity Project, headed by former EPA official Eric Schaeffer, reveal that flare emissions have been vastly under-reported.

If you are interested in obtaining model flare monitoring and control language, contact the Global Community Monitor and the West County Toxics Coalition.

You first step is to seek information from your local or state agency on the number of flares and data collected about flows of gases and emissions to flares. In most cases you will discover a lack of data and monitoring information. This could point out the need for your agencies to adopt a flare monitoring rule, which is a good first start. Once data is collected about flare emissions, it will be possible to push for a flare control rule.

Residents living near industrial flaring should also immediately start collecting their own data, photographs, video and other evidence of flare use. Something as simple as a daily journal in which you record the time, date, length of flaring and visual observations can become evidence in your campaign for flare monitoring and control regulations.

Global Community Monitor (GCM) offers training and assistance to communities seeking to establish community environmental monitoring programs in support of local campaigns. The Environmental Support Center (www.envsc.org) may provide financial assistance through their programs for these trainings.

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Vibrations cause of refinery shutdown

crimes, is not will return next

ILUD

San Francisco Foundation Mitchell Kapor Foundation Rockefeller Family Foundation Richard and Rhoda Goldman Foundation Underdog Fund, Tides Center

Breathing Fire, in their own words

was made possible through transcription of the words of Dr. Henry Clark, Amadia Thomas, Dorothy Reid, Ernest Witt, Sr. and other members of the West County Toxics Coalition of Richmond, California.

> West County Toxics Coalition 1019 MacDonald Ave Richmond, CA 90401 510-232-3427

Researched, written and edited by Denny Larson, Global Community Monitor and its National Refinery Reform Campaign

> Global Community Monitor Project of Tides www.gcmonitor.org - www.bucketbrigade.net 222 Richland Avenue San Francisco, CA 94110 415-643-1870

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arrord systems - so the community is notified in case of

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Design/printing: Design Action Collective/Inkworks Press Inside pages printed with vegetable oil based inks on processed chlorine free paper 80% post consumer waste content Cover printed on processed chlorine free paper 50% post-consumer fiber, 100% recycled Chevron Ends Nei What is W. H. A. T.?



