

Interviewee: Patti Goldman
Affiliation: EarthJustice Legal Defense Fund
Interviewer: Jeremy Simer
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PG So that one you should get, and then this was another one. It's got a lot of the same stuff. Wouldn't you want it as the full packet that is handed out?

JS That'd be nice.

PG So that's why you want to get it from the Environmental Media Services. And they also had a wonderful packet for the billboards. The billboard release, and I don't know if you got that one. What you get is our reports they had in this one, so you're going to want to get those.

JS Okay. Environmental Media Services, you said?

PG Yes. They also did a wonderful report of all the media coverage they got for the different projects that they did. And I assume they would give that up.

JS What about these negatives?

PG You know, you're going to use them a lot more than I would, wouldn't you?

JS I wouldn't personally, but they could be pretty useful in the archive.

PG Yes, it seems like a better place to go. You should also talk to Tom Turner, because they have a lot of footage. When one of the foundations wanted something to put into their report... We had one picture that one of the guys in the office took with us with our billboard sign that we had on sticks that we were carrying around, but Tom had a whole bunch of those, so you'll want to talk to him. Do you know Tom?

JS Yes, we met briefly in November.

PG Tom Turner and Brian Smith. They were both really energized about this. They'll be very happy to talk to you.

JS Is Brian Smith also from San Francisco?

PG Yes. They're both. Do you want their number? It's 415-627-6700.

JS Okay. So first of all, I'm going to ask you if you wouldn't mind signing one of these releases, because everything that we talk about today I would hope would be on public record. If there is anything that you want to tell that is of interest that you prefer not to be on the record, you can let me know.

PG Yes.

JS About how much time do you have for an interview?

PG I don't have something scheduled right after this. I'll probably start getting anxious after an hour and a half.

JS Okay. But something around an hour might be okay?

PG Yes, that's fine.

JS Okay. Great.

PG Let me show you one other thing. When I do presentations, I like to use these overheads. Do you want me to see if we can get you a set of them and xerox. Let me ask Kathy if she can do that while we talk.

JS First of all, could you give me some sort of a brief background on what you do and what EarthJustice does?

PG Sure. EarthJustice Legal Defense Fund is a nonprofit 501-c-3 organization that provides legal services to other organizations and individuals when they need to go to court to enforce environmental laws. So our mission is to protect natural resources and environmental quality. The way we do that is by enforcing laws against the government and corporations and help them with their obligations.

JS And what trade work has EarthJustice done?

PG Well, I started out doing trade work a decade ago, and when I came to EarthJustice in '94, I started up the program. So maybe a better way is to go back...

JS Sure. What did you do?

PG I worked for a Public Citizen litigation group for ten years, and about halfway through that the Uruguay Round of GATT was surfacing. There was a draft that I was asked to look at. I was very much a domestic lawyer. And I was asked to look at the draft and assess what impacts it would have for U.S. health and environmental laws, particularly starting with food safety. I was doing a lot of work at that time on food safety issues.

I was quite disturbed by what I saw and the threats that I saw. Lori Wallach had then started working on these issues and asked what can we do about it. We decided to do a lawsuit to try to get an environmental impact statement on the Uruguay round. And in order to do that we essentially did our own analysis. To say why one was needed, we had to do it. So we wrote up a lot of analysis and got different people to help in their areas of expertise. What impact would it have on auto safety, on food safety, on different consumer laws, on toxics, and put that together. We were told by the court we were too early, but a lot of our work precipitated quite a debate over what impacts we would have.

The Administration kept coming out and saying, "No. No. No, it wouldn't." And every time we did a report or a paper, then they would come out and say, "No, it isn't so." So there was this dialog going on. And NAFTA came along. When NAFTA was then final, we brought another case and we won in the District Court, that an environmental impact statement was required. But then it went up on an emergency appeal and then we were told by the court we were either too late or could not sue the President. At that point, the only person who could be sued was the President, and we could not do that.

So the only time a court reached the merits, we won, but we couldn't get it to court. We did one more case and then we were told we were too late. Too early, too late, can't sue the person you need to sue. But it was a piece of litigation I started at the litigation group and finished here that was really a focal point for injecting a lot of these issues into debate.

The other thing that I did – since I was a domestic lawyer and I was trying to get information, I was so struck by how the U.S. Trade Representative did not work like the Food and Drug Administration or the Environmental Protection Agency. It's incredibly secretive and it worked like the National Security Agency. So I did a lot of lawsuits and a lot of threats of lawsuits that would get them to change their ways. It used to be you couldn't even get a GATT decision until six months after it came out. Couldn't get the U.S. briefs, our own government's briefs. In the first tuna dolphin case, we didn't know what they said.

JS Ever?

PG Later, after the fact, when I brought a lawsuit, we finally got them. They were very weak. And you can bet that when we were watching the second time around, their briefs were a lot better, because the public started to watch. But when the public wasn't watching, they really weren't minding the store.

We got a court order for them to have to keep and catalog those briefs. Some briefs were taken home by the lawyers that wrote them and they weren't even government records, and we couldn't get those. And we started attacking the advisory committees way back then and got a few environmental consumer representatives on a couple of the committees.

JS Up to the USTR?

PG Yes. Yes. There were some other advisory committees to the U.S. agencies working with the Codex alimentarius which is the international food standards standing body. We got basically an invitation to be insiders for people in D.C., which was not a very satisfactory resolution, because it meant if you were in the know, you could go to the meetings, and if you could pay your way, you could go. So what a lot of what I was doing was trying to change the way all this was done, because it was meant to be very exclusive. People with money could be in. It used to be only industry with money, but then you started to get some NGO's could, with a lot of effort, try to knock on the door and say, "But what about us?" and maybe they'd look.

When I came here in '94, I set up a trade environment program that had four pieces. I guess, kind of three, I guess. One is to still the good government...the democracy issues...to try to change how we set trade policy. Another is to try to keep trade agreements from weakening U.S. laws, so every time there is a challenge, we've been involved, trying to somehow get our words in there, get our views through these little friend of the court briefs we write and try to get to the panels. But then we're also trying to figure out ways to make these rules not so hostile.

And then the third is to use international trade to promote environmental protection. And that one is often colliding directly with the trade regime, but our view is the way you make change is you go enforce what you can. It may be that later a WTO panel will tell you that you can't do that, but usually what it does in the process is it forces companies to start dealing with sea turtles...whatever the issue is. So you might end up with the GATT sanctions or something or some bad ruling, but you never get the change that you get without having that catalyst, without having one country bully others or move ahead of others.

Did it work? You got a set of my cartoons.

JS Thanks a lot. Were these used in the *Observer*?

PG No, this is actually from ages ago. It's like 1994. I just started saving them. I find that it helps when you're dealing with dry material to have these visuals, and then that was obviously a late one. Some of them came out – there was one on force that was done in a local paper right after we did a report. Well, you know him.

JS Yes. GATTzilla.

PG When I see them, I just grab those.

JS So the trade and environmental program. And that started in '94, you said?

PG Yes.

JS How did you become a member of Seattle Host Organization?

PG When the WTO said it was coming here, I started getting a lot of calls from people, in the D.C. – inside the beltway folks that I knew, since I used to work there, and they were wondering what was happening,

what organizing was going on. I had heard about the Seattle Host Organization but I wasn't really paying that much attention. And there was a conference call where people started saying there was this big problem with it, that the Seattle Host Organization said it would have environmental representatives and then those chose Jay Hair to be that representative.

JS Who is Jay Hair?

PG He used to be the head of the National Wildlife Federation, and he was a leader, perhaps the leader, in a certain group of the environmental organization supporting NAFTA because of the side agreement on environment. He, I think, claims credit for that side agreement. I would say National Wildlife Federation was the most aggressive of the pro-NAFTA groups. In being aggressive on that, I had probably one of the most unpleasant experiences in my career. It was debating a person from National Wildlife Federation on NAFTA. It was bullyish. It was on a public radio station in New York, and some of the callers were admonishing him to stop attacking me and deal with the issues, which is pretty extreme. There are some who had a very negative reaction to Jay because of that past.

I had never dealt with him directly at that point, but there were people in D.C. who, either because of his position and role...he's a catalyst for feelings about NAFTA...He evokes very strong responses, so people were not happy because of his positions on the issue. There were others that were not happy because he had no link to the environmental community today.

He is no longer head of National Wildlife Federation; has not been for many years. I don't think he has any particular role. He was given an honorary fellow title by World Resources Institute because his wife was working with them some, and they wanted to put together the trade environment program that Seattle Host Organization was going to fund. And so there were these linkages; Jay and Leah Hair jointly held their slot.

There was absolutely no communication from the Hairs to the environmental community, and people were very concerned that the Seattle Host Organization would control money, access sites, a lot of the logistics that would matter, and wanted to have somebody who was more of a conduit within the environmental community.

So people asked me to do that, and I said no.

JS When was this?

PG Starting March and then into April, because then I made the mistake of going away with my family for four days on a mini-vacation only to find out that they had all sat and voted for me to do this.

JS And who were these people who you were talking to about this?

PG It was a lot of the 'inside the beltway' folks, so it was National Wildlife Federation, Jay Caldwell – do you want the names or the groups?

JS Both would be nice.

PG Center for International Environmental Law...I'm not sure who was there from CIEL. I think David Downe. Public Citizen was involved. Dan Seligman with Sierra Club. World Wildlife at some points was plugged into it. I know I'm forgetting several.

JS It's been a year, now.

PG Yes, but there were phone conferences. I was always on the phone, too, and they were all in a room...friends of the Earth...I did not really want to do it, because I was lamenting that when I got back

from this mini-vacation that it was things I hate to do, which is try to dress nicely and eat your food properly and make small talk with people you have very little in common with.

It wasn't very focused in what my role was. How much I was a representative of people, what different folks wanted; other people wanted vastly different things, because there were some people who really wanted access and cared how much the NGO Center was going to be configured, which was a service for NGOs. There were other people who wanted to know where events were to have proximity to them for outsiders. They were very, very different kinds of functions.

But as soon as that happened, several foundations came to me and said, "We really want somebody we know and trust to be an organizing presence for the environmental community," and that's how we started up our project. With these added funds that came, we hired Beth Farmer and Gayle Rothrock. A lot of our focus was public education and organizing the environmental community. Some of it was liaison to D.C. and helping organize the environment day at the church.

I had to go to these 7:30 am breakfast meetings every other week, and it was really information gathering to get a sense from the Seattle host organization what they were doing, what was being provided, what was going to be available at the NGO Center. So for people coming from all over the world that were accredited, what facilities would they have...faxes, Internet, that kind of thing.

JS So who went to those meetings, those general meetings?

PG I went to those.

JS Who else? What did those meetings look like?

PG Ray Waldman, who is a higher-up...I think he is now retired. He's a higher-up at Boeing. I might have a list somewhere of folks that were there. He and Pat Davis were kind of the co-chairs. But then it was a lot of folks who were represented, Weyerhaeuser, Microsoft, Boeing, Bank of America, folks that were sometimes partly loaned, sometimes just doing it on top of their other work that were on special committees, and the committees really did the work.

So there was a committee on events. That was the one that was taking most of the money. There were three. There was the Monday night event that was the big reception at the Paul Allen Exhibition Hall that was supposed to have 5,000 people and it had half.

JS Do you know why only half of the people showed up?

PG They had operated on the assumption that every accredited NGO would send everybody to go. Everybody had invitations, and I didn't know that until the very end that that was their assumption, because if they'd asked me, I knew it wasn't going to happen. I knew all the other competing events and knew that lots of the NGO's of the sort that I'm from would not be going, but they had assumed everybody would be there. There was no problem with getting there. It was not like the next night where it was a logistical problem; people who wanted to go and couldn't. It was that there were a lot of other focal points. So as I understand it, half went. And one thing I would love to know. I had assumed all the food would go to the homeless, but I have heard that caterers don't let that happen for liability reasons and...it may not have happened...which I would love to find out.

Then the sit-down dinner was at Boeing on Tuesday night, and that was only ministers and some high rollers. That was the whole "buy your access" scheme ...I think some of the real high rollers would get access at that.

JS That was at the Museum of Flight, right?

PG Yes. And that one, as I understand it, not that many attended. It'd be interesting. It was designed for something like eight hundred, so maybe like 250 made it, but that was because people couldn't physically get there.

And then on the Thursday night, they did a night on the town. have no idea what happened to this. There was supposed to be a night on the town and arts night going to First Thursday galleries and all the different things around such as plays and ballets. I don't know what happened with that one, and I don't know what the food arrangement was.

Those were the real big spending events, but then there was the fundraising committee which was getting people to give. There was a housing committee. There was a media/press committee which we got very involved with because they were setting up the pressroom, running the pressroom. They did some pre-briefings to international journalists that came, and that was excellent...I need to see my list of who the folks were, because that would help as we go through it.

The press group of people that really were just trying to do a good job of access to the group for the press, and they used us sometimes to do briefings, and then gave us a tour of the pressroom ahead of time and let us have an Environmental Media Services person there at the press table. They had a concierge for stories to help match them up with people. We had really good access. If you were accredited, you had really good access to that pressroom, which was, I think, a nice thing.

JS Do you have any of the memoranda that you mentioned?

PG Yes, that is that folder that I pulled out. Their events – do you have them?

JS I believe so. I do have some materials. I'm not sure how comprehensive they are.

PG I'd thrown a lot of things in a lot of folders last fall. This is my invitation. Oh, this is a draft after it became final. If you want this....

JS I've got my own. Thank you.

PG The Police Department was always there. A representative from the Mayor's. Sometimes Jim McDermott was there. Let me back up.

What I found the most interesting things that they had were the press, which I told you about. There was an NGO committee, but it's sole function as conceived at the outset was divvying up space that people would be willing to pay for in the downtown corridor, so if people wanted to have briefings or a forum that they would pay for, and the price was quite high. So when the request came in, there were fewer requests than space, so they were a little surprised. Our role in divvying it up was no big deal, and I sat in a meeting where we went through that.

But there was really nothing more, and I was pushing for them to really serve all of the NGO's, and so they eventually put together a calendar of all NGO events and that was about it.

But then they had education and outreach, and that was really interesting. Education was really done by Constance Rice, and then the outreach was done by Liz Thomas.

JS Who is Liz Thomas?

PG She works for King County Executive Sims' office. So Metro/King County. Her role, her portfolio is small business, and so the whole focus was small business outreach. She had a whole series of events. I can see if I have a calendar of those. It was on their website for a long time. They started around Labor Day. Some of them were just endorsements of what other people were doing, and I found that really

difficult. It was like a mining convention or things like that, because they just had some piece on the WTO and then they would give it their show endorsement.

The others were some, actually, were some seed money from the show. Each day of the WTO was a different region, so they had one on Asia, one on Africa Day, and Jim McDermott's office was instrumental on planning the Africa Day one. One on the America's. On Europe they had lunch briefings everyday that were, I think, at the Space Needle, I think it was. There was a big salute to small businesses as one part of it. It was a combination of regional trade promotion and small business. So that was how they came together.

And for awhile we actually tried to work to open those up, and then after a while we just stopped putting our energy there.

JS Open them up to whom? NGO's?

PG To broader viewpoints. Our view at that point was, we'd reach different audiences. Maybe that's where the reporters would go instead of the events we were doing at the church. Instead should we try to put some energy to make sure there is a balanced perspective? For a while on the Asia and Africa events, people were somewhat receptive to that, and Liz was pushing...But then it never happened. There'd be resistance somewhere and the call would never come. And then, I would say, at some point we stopped putting our energy there. I don't know how any of those went.

One of them was particularly interesting, because Morris Dees was there. Morris Dees runs Southern Poverty and Law Center. He just happened to be coming for a lecture at that time, so then they turned it into one of these SHO-sponsored events. But he's on the board of Public Citizen.

There were some people that were a part of this that sounded like it could be very interesting, but a lot of them were out at the Seattle Center, and I just don't think they got the kind of traffic.

We still were working on the town halls. Actually for the education piece Constance Rice was doing, there were two components. One was educational curriculum, which you probably heard of, because some of that got quite a splash, and then the town halls.

JS The ones with the counter numbers?

PG Yes. Some of those got cancelled and didn't happen. That was one where in the beginning they didn't even have an environment one and I approached Constance, and then she had a co-chair...Mike Egan. He was the vice-chair of education & outreach, and so I went to both of them and said, "Why don't you have the environment on?" And then they did get one on the environment with Carol Browner at Town Hall. So there were little things like that where I felt we made a difference...that started getting something else that was broader in its perspective.

But I would say we did not put a huge amount of our effort into that and just kind of watched what they were doing and learned what was going on. So I can make a copy of this to show you the different folks that came to all those meetings.

Trade Development Alliance were the folks that did the media, and they have Labor reps on their board. I think they had a perspective that was a bit broader than promoting trade than the critics, but they realized that they had to present a broad perspective. If they're serving the press, they have to give them more than one side so they were more receptive to us.

This would be the list, and actually I don't need this anymore because these numbers don't exist, so that would tell you their structure. And the government folks would often be there. At one point WTO folks were there, and so we'd have special meetings with more folks. And the Governor always had a representative there. FBI was often there.

It changed as we got closer. They brought in a man who had helped organize the Olympics in Atlanta to kind of shape things up at the end and handle the logistics. At that point the tone changed. He was kind of shaking people up and it was more of an intimidation tone.

There was a lot of hostile talk about Mike Dolan. They had some problem one day scheduling a morning meeting. For some reason it got canceled on them or there was miscommunication. They blamed Mike Dolan for doing it. I called him up and said, "You're everywhere. I didn't know you were canceling 7 a.m. meetings."

JS What was his response to that?

PG He just loved getting credit for something he had nothing to do with and the fear of him and that they were sure he was messing up their internal communications.

The last meeting I went to with them, which was probably the Tuesday before everything started, there were a couple...just to give you a flavor... We would have these meetings and they would start talking and get all excited about some issue and what they were going to do. They were going to respond to this thing in the paper and that thing and that thing and I'd say, "Wait a minute. I'm here. I thought this organization was not supposed to take positions. I thought it was just supposed to facilitate the meeting. I disagree with that position. I don't think it's right to spend our time on it."

Some people were right away open to that, and some people were pretty hostile, I would say. And there were a few people who would try to kind of support me around the edges.

So I should tell you about the first meeting and the last meeting. The first meeting was after I was drafted by the D.C. folks to do this, I sent communications to the folks I was told to and so did others. I got two calls, one from Mike Mullen who was running a committee, some committee that then... Let me see what he was running. I don't remember. He was running some committee that they thought was relevant to me, and then Bill Bryant, who was running the NGO committee. And they each met with me and I was going to just be doing something on their committees. Oh, I know, Mike Mullen's was the program, the trade and environment program, but that was all done by World Resources Institute and NGO was really just space. So there was like basically nothing. Yet everybody told me that this committee, the SHO, was doing all these things. So I eventually... weeks went by. I think it was four to six weeks, and I'm supposedly the environmental representative.

So I was talking to Ron Judd, and he said, "What do you mean? They have bi-weekly meetings at 7:30 am. That's where the things happen. These committees, they're doing some of the work but you really need to go to these meetings."

So I called up Ray Waldman. It was a Monday, and it was the day the Sierra Club had gotten a major story in the national press about the SHO selling access, and I didn't know that. He was really hostile. He said, "Well, what's your position? I want to know what your position is," meaning like position on the issues. And he grilled me right and left. Then I talked to Pat Davis. Actually, I talked to Pat Davis first, and she was cold and hostile and said, "We don't have meetings. I'm leaving town tomorrow. Even if we did, I don't know when the next one is." And then Ray Waldman had grilled me about what my position was, and then eventually said, "Okay. We're having our next meeting tomorrow morning at 7:30. You can come but you'll be bored and I bet you won't want to come again."

JS Wow. That's quite an introduction.

PG Yes. So Pat actually had lied to me, actually lied. And Ray was really hostile. "Well, what's your relationship to Sierra Club?" was one of his questions. But, actually, things did come around so that at one point Ray actually said to me, after the Carol Browner event. He said, "I heard you there and I realize now that you're a lawyer that knows your stuff, and you're different than them." You know, whatever his other category of people was.

JS The troublemakers.

PG Yes, those other folks. But I would say they did not really like me there. They never used me to get cover, which was something I was terrified of, that they would say, "Now we have her and she is somehow endorsing us." I would have had to face some tough decisions if they ever did that.

JS Like what kind of decisions? About whether or not to stay on?

PG Yes, because I was always worried that I was compromising our organization. We had absolutely nothing to gain by giving them cover, because we're the people that go to court. We're not the people that sit in there in the room and have people use our name. And so I was really worried about that. It never happened.

JS And you could never publicly say, "Well, I'm here to serve the environmental community by giving information" or whatever.

PG That was my position. I never said I was part of it. I was a liaison. I was there to get information. Ron Judd and Rich Feldman were there, too. If I would go and they weren't there, I would share information with them.

There were times when they'd say, "So how many people are going to be out there?" And there was one time when they had this discussion around the room, and they were all speculating about the numbers, and they said, "Why didn't you ask Patti? She's sitting back there." They had this whole discussion about whether to ask me in my presence. And then, finally, they did ask me and I said I didn't know.

In that first meeting, then, when I went...I sat there and we went around and introduced ourselves...and they had this whole thing about the Sierra Club article. They said, "Well, maybe we need to get some of those people in here and then they'll see what we're going and they won't criticize us so much." They went around with that point, and I said, "Actually, the environmental community asked me if I would come and be able to give information to the community." And they had a whole debate about whether I should be allowed to come.

Ralph Munroe said, "Look, if the President is saying labor and environment are part of these issues, and we're doing this to facilitate the meeting, we have to let her come." And that pretty much turned it around once he said that.

JS So what kind of information were you able to relate back to the environmental community or other activists that you think was potentially or particularly useful?

PG I wonder if I have this in any kind of chronological order? Yes, I think I actually do. Here you go. I'd write up these memos to kind of explain what was going on. This is what you need. I even have two of this one, and this one, but I should give you this letter, so I'm going to get a whole set of these made, and you can actually have them.

Logistics, I would say, was the biggest thing. First there was a lot of misinformation about who they were, what they were doing. So I wrote out this memo to kind of lay out...this is what they're doing, this is how they're structured. Because people were all getting the idea that the two peripheral committees were the place to go instead of others.

JS Which peripheral committees?

PG The NGO committee. People had an idea that was going to do a lot, and all it was doing was allocating that hotel space. And then the programs...there was a lot of discussion among the environmental community about how important that was to put our energy into that program, and the World Resources

Institute put together sort of a group that they floated ideas with about who should be on our focus and then put together that program.

As it turns out, I went early. It was on...

JS When you say that program, do you mean the SHO program?

PG The SHO Trade and Environment Program. They had a program a day. They had a half day on Labor that was really put together by Labor. And they had the environment which was by World Resources Institute. And then they had E Commerce, Ag. Ag was all U.S. -based multinationals and a couple of the ministers to talk about subsidies from a trade perspective. And there were one or two more.

It was Thursday at Bell Harbor...was the environment day. I went there early and then we were planning the Friday rally and so I left, but it was really poorly attended. They were planning for 300-400...300, I think, and they were all worried that the space was too small for everybody that would want to come. When I was there, there were sixty to eighty. Maybe more came as the day went on, but it was mostly people either presenting or involved in the event.

It's interesting, because the idea was those were the big events. I think the environmental community felt reporters would be more likely to go there than to the church.

JS Was that true?

PG Well, no, the environment day at the church on Monday. We also thought that was a terrible day, because that was the WTO's NGO day, and then they had all those technical problems. They had the open, unlocked door that kept everything from going on schedule.

JS Right. It shut everything down for a while.

PG For hours. So their thing didn't start until lunch, and our thing...I don't know if you were there...The one at the church was very well attended. People were falling out the doors. And good coverage. I think things at the church tended to be well attended. I don't know if it kept up that level throughout the week, but they tended to be quite well done...well attended. But you didn't know.

I think the idea was it will be rainy...it will be cold. The reporters will all stay in the Convention Center, and they won't go very far. It was before we had the Town Hall for the media center and we thought where they were likely to go. There will be shuttle buses that are likely to go to the official SHO event. And so there was some desire to make sure that that would have a good cross-section of the news that would be heard. It was also broadcast on the local TV.

You'll see this is my telling what we knew to date about the programs. Oh, and when I got on this, they were going to have a July conference to put together show recommendations to the WTO. That got nixed.

JS Why?

PG Because they aren't supposed to take positions. I went to the U.S. Trade Rep folks and said this is outrageous. They said, "We have nothing to do with it." People in D.C. were making noise.

So this first one is an overview of everything. And then we're telling about the town halls and the different programs they're going to have. I wanted to let people know in case they wanted to influence educational programs that would appeal...what those were.

People wanted to know logistics. As things got closer, people really cared about where everything was going to be, either because they wanted to be close to it to woo people to their event. So, like, World Wildlife Fund was doing a lot of their own program, as was NWF. They wanted to get space in a hotel

near to where they thought people were going to be. The Humane Society wanted to do things with boats, going out to do whale watching vessels, and they wanted to make sure people were going to be near to them to do that. They wanted to figure out where the sea turtles should be. So they wanted to know where's the event. And they were going to be near the water, and then it turned out that the place for sea turtles should really be up here, so then they shifted their plans. There was a lot of logistics like that.

JS Did you ever talk to the Steelworkers about this sort of thing?

PG I talked mainly to Ron Judd and Rich Feldman, who were the ones who were around mostly.

JS Because it's funny...just from my perspective, Mike Dolan had me...I supposedly was...

PG That is funny. You can imagine. Information about what they were doing was just really awful bad. I think we thought they were a bigger deal. They thought they were a bigger deal than they ended up being. Evidently they had some big raffle at the end, kind of a party and a post-mortem and they didn't even invite me.

JS Really?

PG Yes. I just learned about it last week.

JS Not the big public one? A smaller, private affair? Because I remember there's a thing that was like a salute to small business.

PG That was at the end of the week.

JS That was Thursday night, was it?

PG Yes. It was either Thursday or Friday.

JS And did that actually happen, do you know? I think I remember hearing that it might have been canceled.

PG It could be. Wasn't that up at Seattle Center somewhere?

JS Maybe. I don't remember.

PG I think they had a lot of their stuff up there. I don't know. I don't know what happened to a lot of their programs. There was one, one of the European lunch briefings, was going to be somebody from France talking about hormones, and I think the *World Trade Observer* was going to send somebody. I helped them with their planning to say which of the SHO events looks somewhat interesting so that they may want to send somebody.

JS What was the relationship of *World Trade Observer*? They produce it up here, right?

PG Yes.

JS And Tom Turner was the editor. Is that correct?

PG And he put together a team that was cross-sectional. Is that the right word? To make sure that if somebody got Ag, and Ralph did his column, and somebody from Labor.

JS Yes. I still need to interview Tom about that.

PG What happened is when we started getting our project going... Tom said he started doing a thing called ECO back in 1972 with the International Whaling Convention. He was with Friends of the Earth and did things with him on several international meetings. Tom is a very laid back person. He plans our softball game when we have our annual meeting, but he doesn't really get really riled up. And he was so excited about doing something that he started talking about putting together this team and we didn't know if we'd get the money. But he started getting folks that were very excited about coming and being journalists on this. And then it happened. It was really wonderful. Several people came from San Francisco from our organization to report, and then there were people whose specialties were on different subject matters.

JS Switching gears here, what did the environmental community bring to the protests in general? What was the role of environmentalists in the WTO mobilizations?

PG I would say it is easier to define the lead-up role. Our effort was really education and outreach. I would say that everything that I personally did, most everything, from the entire fall, was meant to get people interested in coming to the events. Sierra Club hired an organizer to do the same. That was what Beth was doing and what Kathleen Casey was doing.

JS You mean you'd hire an organizer apart from Kathleen Casey?

PG No. Kathleen Casey was the person they hired. Seattle Audubon had some volunteers working on mobilization. The forestry sector, the forestry activists, really got mobilized in a big way.

JS Which organizations?

PG American Lands Association probably was... The three leaders were Paige Fischer with Pacific Environment Resource Center of Oakland, Victor Menotti with IFG, and Antonia Juhasz. And the three of them came here in various combinations to start talking to folks, but what really happened is the "No Free Logging" movement really came together and brought passionate, very active forest activists into trade issues, which had never really happened before. You had the Steelworkers and you had a lot of activists already alive down there, but it just expanded.

And that one has legs. That is still quite a presence, very grassroots, and just the huge amount of public education happened. In May, I think, there was a conference out at Sleeping Lady that was international focused, people from every continent and all over the Northwest, mainly...one Midwesterner and a few other folks, to try to do that kind of self-education and campaign development. So that was like the beginning of all of that.

And we did the Advisory Committee case which was some ways that people were more substantively plugged in.

JS Did you challenge the advisory committee to USTR?

PG Yes, the ones on paper and wood products, which then had some very timely decisions to make. So that one, I think, was really great in terms of the week, too. There were morning meetings of the forest activists. There was a big planning meeting on the Sunday, where people were divided up in trying to... Communication...there was the whole cell phone network that was set up. There were some people that were going to be monitoring inside events and telling outsiders. There were a lot of street theatre signs. And then there was an action on Thursday at a downtown place that was owned by a timber company over like an ownership. Those folks then met up with students and the farmers that was the... We just were constantly out there speaking and doing presentations, trying to let people know all the things they could plug into. Almost like a disorganized way to do it, yet on that Tuesday, then, at Memorial Stadium, everywhere I turned I saw people who had been in those audiences. And then that morning there was an environmental rally that fed into Memorial Stadium.

JS Were you at that rally? Do you remember it? How did that go? That's one thing I haven't heard much at all about.

PG I got there a little on the late end of it, but yes, it went well. I think people were looking for a way to have self-identification in their groups. I was near the Tibetans. I think that helped to have people have a sense of where to go and not be lost. Kind of like the students coming in together. So I think it served that purpose and got people energized a little earlier with some speakers and all, although it was wetter earlier. You remember it was raining that morning.

JS Yes, because it was the environmental thing first, and didn't the Tibetans have their thing afterward in the same space?

PG Yes, they were right next to it, so I didn't know if they went into the same space or if they just were gathered right near it, because we were kind of going into Memorial Stadium together.

And I just think it helped to have a presence for your message and a focal point.

JS So how would you characterize the relationships between the local organizations and out-of-town organizations? You've already mentioned some of the relationships between people here and in D.C. How well did that work? In what ways did those sort of around the country relationships work and were there any problems that came out of that?

PG Logistically I think it was difficult at times. Beth is the one that made that Monday event at the church work, because while you had a lot of D.C. folks who were kind of organizers, when it came down to it, nobody was really doing all of the logistics and making sure everybody knew where they were supposed to come from and get to and who's doing what, and Beth did all of that. And so I would say those last weeks, she was working for that collection of people that was planning that event.

I think Kathleen was indispensable as well. There were some communication difficulties over the distance. I don't know what your sense was, but there was a certain tone...people played certain roles leading up to the week, and when a lot of other people came with their own kind of roles and certainly a goal of making themselves be heard, there was a real different landscape during the week.

We planned no program of our own during that week. We had certainly gotten a lot of attention in the lead-up. We were there. We were talking to the media. We were part of programs. We actually planned...well, Beth did the whole event at the church, and Martin Wagner, who runs the international program in San Francisco, and I both were part of panels or planned sub-panels of the breakouts. But beyond that, a lot of groups had their own briefings and their own this event, their own that event. We didn't do any of that. We were facilitators, I would say, for all those people who came to town to do that. Does that make sense? Was that your experience, too, that there were just a lot of folks who either were bigwigs or perceived themselves to be.

JS That was felt in the People for Fair Trade. We'd been working here for five months, and then the D.C. folks arrived, and so we were just expected to follow their lead and do what we were told.

PG My sense, too, was that we were so focused on the public message and connecting with people. The D.C. folks are so into a different kind of work. They are so much a part of the system as they are working to change that system, that when we had some discussions, we were part of the 'inside the beltway' groups talking about their strategy. Martin and I often felt like we were in a different world, because they would be thinking of the next gain they could get at a meeting coming up or a U.S. government position on something. Some of the groups were that narrowly focused. We kept saying, "But how are you going to talk to the press about that?" You're focused on that aspect a little, but the issue is so much bigger. How can you look at that as a success for a goal as opposed to the larger picture? I felt at many points that people were not talking to the real audience; they were talking into an insular world and people would not understand. It might be real to them in their inside the beltway work, but it's not real.

JS Speaking of goals, what was the goal for EarthJustice Seattle? What was your personal goal and what did you want to get out of the week of the ministerial or the lead-up to it?

PG I wanted people to understand, and people very, very broadly, to understand that the WTO is an institution that is antidemocratic and does not give a fair role and value to people and the environment. I wanted that it understood as much as it could be. I wanted it understood on so many different levels that we would be at a turning point after that meeting in where constituents go so that it would no longer be growing and getting so bloated without purpose and that it would turn into a meaningful, different direction.

And I wanted to minimize the amounts of tensions between those of us that had those kinds of goals. So, for example, a lot of people tried to pin me down and say, "Do you want to trash the system or do you want to reform it?" And I felt like it didn't matter what answer, because if you're saying reform, the changes are so drastic that it won't be the same. I thought it was not that productive to argue about what you called it, but just to say where you needed to go in a way that could be heard by the most people.

So, that was my goal. It probably made the doors open to that kind of education. I think the saddest thing for me was that all the work we put into getting so many people at Memorial Stadium and that large...the image I had, the one picture that somebody took of us with our billboard sign...There were a lot of people, a lot of signs, a lot of colors, people of all different ages. It was not a dark, dinghy police with rain and riot gear scene. Yet, if you didn't live here, if you weren't part of it, you didn't know it.

JS Because of the media coverage?

PG Yes, I was really disappointed...really disappointed. I had to call my mother Wednesday morning and tell her how wonderful it was because I knew she wouldn't see it on TV.

JS No one really saw it.

PG I was asking Ron if he saw any aerial shots at all of the people and he hasn't seen any.

JS I remember hearing Rich Feldman talk for months in advance about the aerial shot, the aerial shot, and my understanding is that the Secret Service nixed any helicopters passing anywhere near downtown on the 30th, because of Clinton.

PG Because of the mobile White House. Yes, we had a lot of meetings, like once a week for awhile, over at AFL about the rally and the planning and the logistics, the whole thing about the big rally.

During the week, on that Thursday, and we had the meeting of pulling people together over at AFL to say, "What do we do next?" And then spent the next twenty-four hours gearing up for that Friday rally.

Now it's really an interesting turning point, because I left Bell Harbor at 11 o'clock, and felt like I went back to becoming a local person from being somebody working on this national/international arena. At that point, the focus was taking back our streets, regaining our message, and that was really important. That event was twenty-four hours. Were you there?

JS Which one?

PG The one on Friday?

JS The march?

PG Yes.

JS Yes.

PG Yes. It was 24 hours from idea to...

JS That was amazing. Where did the idea come from?

PG Ron called a meeting over at AFL mid-morning on Thursday. I think it was maybe at 11:00 or something, because I went over to Bell Harbor and then went over there. People were mad. People were mad at the police response. People were mad at what was happening on our streets, mad at the mayor, but also frustrated that our message wasn't getting out, too. There were a couple of representative students who were basically saying all their friends...everybody else was in jail. They seemed actually rattled as well. It was more the labor folks that were mad.

Then we had Bill Arthur, Kathleen Casey, Beth...

JS Who's Bill Arthur?

PG Sierra Club. He runs the Northwest office. He's been there for as long as I know doing that job.

So Ron kind of turned it around a bit to say we need to take back our city. What came out of that was, as he said, the police are union members, which is interesting. A different vantage point.

JS Well, they have a guild, if you ask me, not a union.

PG Oh, really.

JS It's a semantic difference, really. The way that their union functions is not... They're the one union that doesn't support the concept of solidarity. They're the one's who break strike lines. They're not a union like others. I hear what Ron Judd is saying.

PG What came of it, though, is that we should have a march that is a locally-driven march, so we have local leaders speaking but that we don't make the focal point of the march the police response...we make it the issues we were talking about to begin with. We take back our city, our streets and the message...that was the goal.

Then we went over to the Mayor's office. The Mayor had called a meeting that had lots of folks in it. There were a lot of political folks, King County, City Council folks, and then there was a contingent of religious leaders; Capitol Hill folks. Bill and I were there for environment. Ron was there. A person or two from Labor. And we left the other meeting where they were still planning the march, but Ron was going to work up the route, because the idea was that it had to go under the No Protest Zone.

At different points there was the idea that there should be a line you can cross and take an arrest, because a lot of what happened at that meeting with the Mayor is that people should be able to take an arrest. If they want to cross the line and take an arrest, they should take an arrest. They shouldn't be gassed. And that the police had a wrong response. That came very powerfully through religious leaders, and that the Capitol Hill folks who were so upset that all this happened, and there were about five or six. The Police Chief was there.

JS The Police Chief was there at this planning meeting?

PG Yes. He said, "I want to hear of these complaints can be specific." He actually was not defensive. Even where we were with all that, the mayor seemed beleaguered, but he was like, "Now what do I do?"

So the idea what to do was, "Right now there is going to be a march. It's going to be the farmers. The students are going to come in, and the forest activists. We'll let it happen. Give them room." And then that's what happened.

In fact, when I was walking back from that meeting, it was happening, and it was glorious, because people were marching and they weren't cabined in. And then when Ron was negotiating with the mayor on the route, which they went way into the night, and then there was not the lines across to take an arrest. It was kind of dropped.

But it happened, and it was, for the most part, that message of local leaders and then getting back to the message of why we were all here.

JS That exhausted the list of pointed questions that I wanted to ask you, but I also wanted to ask you if there are any other anecdotes that really stick out in your mind as being particularly important moments for you the week of the WTO?

PG There is one – this I had heard about, so you'd have to ask Beth and Jeremy – which was at that march on Friday that some Anarchist came up. Have you heard this story?

JS I don't know.

PG Two or three of them. Beth and Jeremy and, I think Beth said, a woman who was like sixty, just headed up with their bodies around these guys and the guys would go one way and they'd go the other. You know Beth, and Jeremy, and this older woman. I think there was one other person who wouldn't let them move, because they were joining the march on Friday. The rules of engagement in that march are that you don't leave the route and no violence and things like that.

JS And it appeared that they were going to smash something?

PG People were just worried with their presence and knowing what the rules were. So their movement was restricted and Jeremy evidently said, "These are the rules of this march." The Anarchists kind of caucused and came back and said, "Okay. Well, we'll leave. We give you our word." And they walked off. You should ask them about it, because they were all there. I just heard about it.

JS Are there any other moments that, from what you saw, what you experienced, have stayed on your mind?

PG There was one on that march, as well. There was kind of an elbow, and if you had kept going straight – I think you would have been going east, but then you could have gone back to the jail, but then the elbow was turning it. I don't think we had gone into the No Protest Zone; that was further ahead.

There were people along the march that started to get angry because they wanted to go into the No Protest Zone, into the jail. I came up to that area and saw that that was happening. People stopped and started say, "No. It's this way."

JS There was a line of police there?

PG There was tape. I don't know if there was police. I don't remember it being... Maybe there were police. I don't remember a scene of police in your face, but it was barricaded for the march route.

I tried to talk to people. "No. We're going this way. We're going to go into the No Protest Zone." People were saying, "No. We're going in there." I said, "Yes, but it's not this march." And people were saying, "We're going to the jail." And I said, "That's not now." I found myself trying to keep people in line, and then Ron and Rich came over. They had bullhorns. They were trying to do that, too. People were directly in Ron's face, saying, "No. We're going this way." I realized how much the leadership of this didn't matter. Ron was the one who had made this thing happen. I think he had really staked a lot on getting the mayor to go along, too. People were just bent on, no, we're going our own thing. Eventually it went and dissipated. But that was a tense moment.

JS Okay. Thank you.

[The two now talk about materials collected]

PG ...hormone beef as two of their examples.

JS WTO Live. That was thing with the middle school students?

PG With the high school. It was over at Bell Harbor. They did the mock WTO and they put it on the TV. Jim McDermott was there, teaching them all how to lobby. He had a little group that would go lobby each group. I was there as a resource person for the U.S. side on tuna dolphin. I didn't get to stay to see how it all went, but the students did not have any problem with us using our market to tell other countries what kind of standards they should have. It was really interesting. I expected them to be leery of that, because those were some tough issues. And they were clearly informed on that.

WTO Watch. Here's the WTO SHO. Calendar of all their events. Here is another one with their business events. So now if I ever need any of these things again... I haven't since December 1 – they'll be at this place.

JS They'll all be in the archives at the UW. The problem is that you can't check them out, but you can make photocopies of them on site. But also I can make copies and give them back to you if there is anything you need to keep.

PG This you would have. These are preliminary calendars. Do you want those, or do you think you have them?

JS If you aren't going to use them.

PG Have you gone to this website for the Road to Seattle?

JS A little bit.

PG Because they had a really good site.

JS That's from IATP, right?

PG Yes. I don't know what happens when things are done if they still exist. Well, here, I'll just give you all this stuff, and you can decide what you want to do.

JS And the way I see it, also, is my particular research focus is much more narrow than other people in the future will want. I mean, mine is much broader, so people might want to hone in on things.

PG Improve.

JS Oh, yeah, I haven't seen this.

PG I thought this was from your office.

JS I never saw it. These calendars look familiar, though. I made these calendars.

PG You made them? I didn't realize that. Do you have this? Beth did the layout of these. She did a lot of things.

JS She really did.

PG Do you know what this is? This is just contact lists. This is accredited NGO's. Do you want to see who the accredited NGO's are?

JS | That would be great. How many were there in total?

PG | I don't remember. Here is the liaison. They had liaison officers that were volunteers for each of the delegations. That's what that is. And this is a list of the delegates.

JS | These are all the U.S. delegates?

PG | All the delegates, I think. These I'm going to keep, because these are contact lists. That's people who were in town. Do you want these? These are people that were here, except, you know what it is? This is just the contact information in town, so it would only matter if you wanted to know who was here.

JS | That's useful.

End of Interview