

Interviewee: Bob Hasegawa

Short biography: Secretary Treasurer of Teamsters Union Local 174

Interviewer: Jeremy Simer

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JS So, basically what I'm doing is going around and talking to lots of folks who were involved in the mobilization around the WTO. You know, leaders of organizations, rank and file activists, unions, DAN, environmental groups, that kind of stuff. So I just want to get a sense of what your personal involvement and what the involvement of 174 was in the mobilization against the WTO.

BH Personal involvement tapered off because I have to run the union as well. My first priority is to the membership of the Union and to make sure the Union is operating. But on the top of our mission statement is to support campaigns such as what we were doing against the WTO. So it was a personal mission but it was also fulfilling the mission of the organization. As far as promoting social justice and that sort of thing, accountability, social accountability, I guess the Local got involved quite early on. We were involved early in the anti-NAFTA stuff and the "It's not free trade, we want fair trade." That theme sort of went from NAFTA to MAI - Multilateral Agreement on Investments. So that was a huge victory to beat that down. And then that sort of transition into WTO, anti-WTO stuff. We had had some of that background because our Local had worked on all those previous campaigns pretty well. The Labor Council got going on it fairly early - they had sort of an MAI liaison, I guess, who was the spouse of one of our shop stewards in our Local.

JS Who was that?

BH Bill Brugnoli, Martha Baskin? So, we were hooked in that way. We had good access to information. We were involved, I would say from the beginning of the year, 1999. We had been talking about that, trying to build the campaign, which got a real shot in the arm sort of late in the campaign just after mid-summer, when Sweeney announced that the AFL-CIO was going to turn out the 50,000 folks. You could see people's jaws hitting the ground when he said that.

Although I don't think it was the first time when he came to Seattle and made the announcement, we had been hearing that that's what they were going to be doing anyway, that was their target. But people were just sort of blowing it off as political posturing, or whatever but when he came out publicly and threw out the 50,000 figure then everybody knew it was for real. And people just started panicking at that point, and saying, "How are we going to turn out 50,000 people?" But that was to his credit really what got people seriously looking at turn out from the WTO, from Labor's side.

But prior to that, see Labor was having a real tough time trying to get a cohesive message. The Central Labor Council had sponsored a group, Martha Baskin being the County's representative, the Central Labor Council's representative on these multi-national issues, trade issues. So she had put together this that had been meeting for some time. But were getting mixed messages from, not just from the Central Labor Council but from the national AFL-CIO. Because on one hand, some people said, "No WTO" altogether. On the other hand people were saying we should use WTO to force fair labor standards on other countries. And there wasn't really a cohesive direction being provided.

But the one thing we did agree on was that we had to mobilize some sort of demonstration. At least, at the minimum, to promote the Fair Trade approach. And at the most extreme to say, just "No WTO" altogether. So, forces could agree on the fact that we had to mobilize people out on the streets. So that was a good thing that came out of it.

JS Are you talking about the coalition that later took on the name, People for Fair Trade No to WTO? Or is this just within the King County Labor Council?

BH Just within the King County Labor Council. No, I shouldn't say that. Because there was some people from the People for Fair Trade who was sitting in on it. I can't remember the names of these people, but it was broader than just the Labor community.

JS They weren't Union members?

- BH No. I can't remember the woman's name now. She was heading up People for Fair Trade.
- JS Sally Soriano?
- BH Sally Soriano was involved with these meetings early on, and other groups not just Labor. So, let me see. How did that chronology sort of fit together? We couldn't really agree. We had to mobilize turn out, but I was concerned about us making the Labor demonstrations sort of the ends, rather than the means to an end. What does the campaign look like after the Tuesday rally? We had to build some sort of ongoing organization that could successfully challenge the powers that be for the long term not just making the rally itself the goal. Which seemed to be where a lot of the Labor movement was going. They were so focused in on just working turnout for this rally. And the whole point of existence was the rally.
- And it was really a short-sighted approach to a long term problem, that I didn't necessarily agree with, although I'm glad that everybody was on board with fighting for the rally.
- You see us floundering right now. You saw that during the week of the WTO. Labor became irrelevant, was at risk of becoming irrelevant, after that Tuesday rally. Because people were saying "Where is Labor? You know, they came in, they left, where are they?"
- JS You mean when the direct action was going on?
- BH Yes. Well throughout the rest of the week, not just the Tuesday's direct action. And the shut down of the opening, but to continue that throughout the week. Labor was on the verge of becoming irrelevant.
- JS What do you think could have been done differently? If you could go back and change how things went, how could Labor have been more plugged in, in a way that would have kept it from risking that irrelevance?
- BH Labor needed to develop a consensus on what Labor's position was going to be. Without seeing a goal out here it's tough to fight for sort of a moving target. Different people wanted to see different things. There was not a means of building consensus even just amongst the Labor people about what our goal was. So, consequently we have no goal. I mean right now you're seeing us sort of floundering, because right now we're at risk of squandering that huge gain that we made just during that one week. There's no long term plan of maintaining these relationships and goal-setting from here to the next steps, whatever those are.
- JS Now which relationships do you mean that aren't necessarily being maintained?
- BH There is no ongoing relationship.
- JS You mean like with the different coalition partners from outside of Labor?
- BH Yes. I don't see any sort of institutionalized relationship having been developed as a result of all this. I would love to see sort of a...I don't know what you would call it...maybe even a Green Party, so to speak, develop as a result of this. Where you just have a cross section of a broad spectrum of...I don't know, not civilization, that's a little too broad, but...working class folks. It's a class issue is what it all boils down to. But there is no class structure out there to keep this thing going in the long term.
- JS Do you mean on the local or the national level?
- BH Either. All of a sudden, we're all fighting about, are going to support Gore or McCain or Bradley? All of the Free Traders. Which one of the Free Traders do you want to support?
- JS Yeah, take your pick.

BH Yeah, take your pick. I mean, it's pretty ridiculous. How quickly all of the uh, message from the struggle is being just forgotten and brushed aside.

JS Speaking of police harassment, I know that at least a couple of 174 members were arrested during the massive protest.

BH One that I know of, a staff member.

JS Was it Rob, what was his name?

BH Rob Hickey.

JS Rob Hickey, right, I remember seeing him when he got out of jail.

BH I was there actually when he got released. It was pretty cool.

JS I think I was there the same night, too. Other than that one arrest, what kind of treatment did the 174 members get when they were out there on the street?

BH About as shitty as everybody else was being treated. I think we were actually treated with a little bit more respect than the average non-union, non-identified union member. Because we've had quite a long term relationship with the police, as far as having demonstrations.

They cut us a lot of slack because our intentions are, I don't say 'honorable' to infer that anyone else's intents are not honorable, but that we're not out there to just really create a lot of physical harm. So they cut us a lot of slack and we restrain ourselves in a lot of ways. Although we do get pretty far out there, I mean we shut down streets like the best of them. But we're not out there, you know, physically harming anybody. So, 174 has built quite a good reputation.

As Labor had, generally speaking. I'm not saying that there is not a place for those who are on the fringe, either. I believe in a bell curve, there's room in this world for everybody. And the bell curve encompasses the broad spectrum, so there is room in this world for everybody. Certainly there's no place for people who intend to do physical violence on other people. But, hey, the people... especially when you see the anger level of people which was in response to the police initiation of the violence. That's understandable.

JS Are you talking about the reaction against property and smashing windows and stuff?

BH Yes. That was a reaction against the police, who initiated the violence against the people.

JS And that was not the message that got on the news media.

BH Certainly not. And even within the Teamster hierarchy. I mean if you look at the Teamster Union printing stuff that says, (inaudible) it perpetuates the whole thing about there was some wild eyed French radicals out there causing trouble. And they print letters to the editor. This is the Teamster magazine comes from the International. The first letter here says, "Even though the rowdies who disgraced themselves captured most of the media attention the Teamsters stood tall and made their voices heard." Bunch of bullshit. You know, I mean, to me that's a misrepresentation of the whole thing. It's all about boosting Teamster (inaudible). Look at this piece of shit. You got Hoffa's picture on every page, every time you flip, there's a picture of Hoffa, or somebody wearing a "Vote for Hoffa" T-shirt. This thing has just turned into a rag, again.

JS I would imagine because of the nature of 174, it has a reputation for being pretty good and democratic and basically a Casey local. Is that fair to say?

BH Uh...

JS Well, maybe not a Casey local, but certainly not an old guard.

BH Absolutely, absolutely. We are at the vanguard of the reform movement, the reform revolution in the Teamsters Union.

JS So that's safe to say.

BH Absolutely.

JS Considering that when Hoffa came to town and was here during WTO, how did that play out, was there any kind of friction?

BH Well, there's always internal friction. But the difference between us and them, is we stay focused on the goal, and the goal is to build the movement and to look to the future for the class. Hoffa jumped on the bandwagon late. Hoffa took the right position but for the wrong reasons. He's against free trade. But it's not because he's for fair trade, necessarily. He's an isolationist. He looks at America and we should shut down the borders. Mexicans should stay in Mexico. There's not enough room in this country for all the immigrants who want to steal our jobs. That's his whole thing. While he was correct on fighting WTO, it was for all the wrong reasons. He jumped onto that bandwagon late and basically stormtrooped this area. Our Local had been working on the rally in this whole WTO Ministerial thing for a good nine or ten months since it was first announced they were coming here.

JS The rally on November 30th in the stadium?

BH No, not, the rally in the stadium came together later on. We were working the issue of opposition to the WTO and the third Ministerial from the day it was first announced. So when Hoffa came in we said, "We're glad the International is getting involved, we need to cooperate with them to make this event as successful as possible. So we lowered our barriers, we invited them in, we worked with the International even though the International at every opportunity tried to kick us and make us look bad. If you look at the International's magazine that came out after, there is not one mention of Teamster Local 174 at all on the WTO. And we were by far - Local 763, the Secretary Treasurer of 763 - they paid their members 50 bucks a head, they would give them 100 bucks if they brought their spouse to show up to the WTO event. I'm serious. Can you believe that? That's how they turned people out, was to pay them, 50 bucks a head. It's ridiculous.

We had ordered 400 picket signs and we had well over that number of members out here that day, just by working turn out and educating members as to what WTO really stood for.

JS Do you have a guestimate of as to how many 174 members came out on November 30th?

BH No. I'm just guessing by the number of picket signs that we had and got rid of. I would say there was about 400, though. The guess was that there was about 2,000 Teamsters total. And there weren't that many that came from out of town. And by far 174 had the majority of those who were there.

JS So, for example, were there any instances when the International came in and changed things around and said, "No, you can't have the rally here or that speech there."

BH Oh yeah. They changed our whole plan. I had reserved the main meeting rooms over here. We were going to do a pancake breakfast and rallies and just open it up for people who wanted to bring sleeping bags and crash who were coming in from out of town and all that stuff. And they just nixed it. They said no way. They took over the space. They just took it over.

JS So what did they use it for, anything?

BH They used it for a Hoffa rally. That was about it. It was a waste of resources. I was really angry that they would come in and stormtroop us that way, just cancel all the plans that we had been putting together.

- JS Now you mentioned a little while ago that you see that you see the coalition work lacking, it's not continuing. A lot of people have talked about the importance of Teamsters and turtles, for example, and the general coalition-building around the WTO. Can you talk about the pros and cons, some of the successes and failures leading up to and during the WTO in terms of that coalition work?
- BH I don't see many failures. The only failure was not to have a long term plan on what it looks like after the events of the WTO itself. Everything else was just so successful beyond anybody's imagination. I think Labor surprised itself that it could turn that many people out. I didn't go to the Labor rally. The Labor rally was two blocks over here in the Memorial Stadium, but that morning, they were having a Hoffa rally here and they were going to march King Jimmy out in front of everybody to lead the troops to march over to the Memorial Stadium. So, rather than get all caught up in that stuff, we have this Teamster truck - one of our things to prepare for the WTO was to have our Teamster truck ready, so we had it ready for the WTO events and we put together this really thumping sound system.
- JS Yeah, I heard it! I heard it a couple of times actually.
- BH That Jubilee 2000 rally was really awesome. I think that was my proudest, well no there was several different...Throughout the course of the week, gosh, there was a lot of good stuff that happened.
- JS Those are exactly the kinds of stories I want to hear. Can you give me some sense of those really great moments for you and for the Local?
- BH Well, the first great moment, the President of the Local and I drove our truck over to the Paramount, because we had secured parking spot for it.
- JS Yeah I saw it!
- BH So we had our truck parked right on the front line. Really awesome. So I never came back to this rally because that's where the fight was. It was to shut down the WTO. So, once we got there, it was obvious. We had to stay. This was where the fight was. So we stayed there. Troops were just pumped.
- JS Did you stay with the truck?
- BH Yes. We stayed with the truck for the most part of the day. We took breaks to go wander with the crowd to see what was going on downtown. But back to my earlier point, is that I think even Direct Action Network and some of these other organizations surprised themselves on how well they worked on the turnout. And how organized the whole thing was hugely successful. To me, their claiming there was 50,000 people in the Labor march and that may or may not be so, but there was easily that many people who were already downtown before Labor even came downtown. So I'm thinking that the numbers that they're talking about downtown are just hugely underestimated. I think it was close to 100,000 people in the streets downtown. If you're talking about the 50,000 people from the Labor piece itself, I wasn't there so I couldn't count the Labor folks but there was at least that many who were already downtown. It was really awesome.
- JS So how long were you downtown?
- BH All day and through the night, until the police ... they were literally we were... bombs were falling on top of our heads to get out of there. We were in the street all day.
- JS So what were some of those other moments for you?
- BH Uh, the Jubilee 2000 rally. It was really something. The estimate was that there was 16,000 people at that rally. That was the night before the Labor day march. That was Monday night. It started from United Methodist Church I believe. They marched down to the Kingdome and we had circled the Kingdome. Except that the cops wouldn't allow us to actually get in front of the Exhibition Hall area, because that's where the opening ceremonies for the WTO were being held. So, huge security issues, so they allowed a half a dozen or so to carry a symbolic ribbon around that so we wouldn't have a lot of

people in front of that piece. But other than that we had people all the way around the Kingdome. It was really awesome. Our Teamster truck was there. We also rented a "curtain van." It's a flatbed with a roof and curtains for the side so you can open it up and it would be like a stage. So we used that for the stage and our Teamster truck was right beside it. And we had our sound system just kicking out there. It was really awesome. Really awesome.

I think the real powerful statement was on the final day. When we had Labor, and DAN join the organized march. We organized it literally over night and got about 5,00 people into that march.

JS On Friday?

BH On Friday. And that was really awesome. Because to me, as I was saying, I was really concerned that Labor was at risk of becoming irrelevant throughout, and being viewed as being irrelevant after Tuesday. So we pressed Ron Judd, who is Executive Secretary of the King County Labor Council, to... we had to do something to show that we weren't going to... Number one that we're not irrelevant. Number two that we're not going to tolerate this abuse of our First Amendment rights. Number three, we had to make sure that the message against the WTO didn't get lost in all of the week's activities. So we worked hard. Once he put his mind to it and said this is the right thing to do and we're going to do it, because he faced a lot of internal opposition in the Labor community against organizing that.

JS Judd did?

BH Judd did. I have to hand it to Ron - he did the right thing and was willing to take a strong stance to do the right thing because there were groups there who were conspicuously absent from that march, who were actually trying to fight against us doing that thing. Their position was that we stood the risk of undermining all of the public good will that we had developed from our Tuesday turnout. So they didn't want us to do anything that could jeopardize that public perception of how tame and civilized Labor is.

JS Do you remember any groups that were conspicuously absent?

BH Well, yes.

JS I wanted to ask.

BH If you looked at it you would see they're not there. I also have to say that President Sweeney did the right thing by supporting Judd on this deal. So once Sweeney finally gave it the last minute blessing. Then that made it okay for some of the nay sayers to then say, "Okay, let's move forward on it."

JS So he gave his blessing for the Friday march?

BH Yes, but that was only at the last minute and as the march was proceeding you could see long faces and sort of visibly upset people from the Labor community. So that was the crowning moment. It's one thing to organize 50,000 people when you've been working at it for two or three months, but to get 5,000 people overnight, on a call like that, on a weekday when most people are working is really a powerful statement.

JS Do you know, was there ever any discussion, among the KCLC, of any Labor leaders or Union members to actually risk arrest, sort of in harmony with protests?

BH Well, I was going to. Do you remember the Steelworkers march that happened and went from Labor Temple down to Pier, whatever it is. Martial law had been declared. So the plan was, at least from what I had heard, that the march was supposed to go from the pier up into the No Protest Zone, over to and then back out of the zone over to the First Methodist Church.

So we're down there waiting as speeches were going on and on, and on and on, and on - Labor people love to speak. And then, the rally ended and there was nothing after that. I couldn't believe it that we were not going to physically challenge this No Protest Zone. I got up onto the stage. Actually, they were starting to disassemble, they had turned this microphone

off, but I asked the guy to turn it back on again. He turned it back on, no big deal, right? I got up and started talking, asking the crowd “How many of you feel like this imposition of martial law is in violation of First Amendment rights to speak and protest?”

Then all of a sudden you could just tell that that’s what the crowd was waiting for, right? I got about two sentences out, and then they figured out what I was saying on the microphone so they cut me off, but it was too late by then. I just shouted after that, “All of you who want to march into the No Protest Zone, meet right over here.”

We got a group of about 200 to 300 people assembled there. What we did was we put a plan together right then and there to get arrested. To break the No Protest Zone. So there was King County Council Member Brian Dardow was with us. He we had put a plan together. Several hundred people, we collectively made this plan. It was pretty incredible actually, that he was going to bust the No Protest Zone incognito and they were going to leave him alone.

JS Because he was in a suit right?

BH Because he was in a suit, right. And the rest of us were going to go in with our Union garb and or other signs identifying us as protesters and get arrested. It was really cool because we had this French group was with us and they were chanting in French and they had a little makeshift drum corps and a huge banner. It was really cool. We climbed the Pike Street climb up to First Avenue, we regrouped up at the top, we crossed First Avenue and as we got to Second Avenue, it was like walking into a Twilight Zone because there was this panicked wave of people sort of double-timing it from our left to our right, down--

JS Second Avenue?

BH Down Second Avenue. So as it turns out, this is, the police were chasing them and busting them up there. So they were trying to flee from the police, and I mean, all the concussion grenades and the rubber bullets and the tear gas was being shot and so our group got swept off and dispersed into that crowd that was running. So we never got to challenge the No Protest Zone in an organized fashion. By then the police had pretty much surrounded us. The police were giving people ... it was like corralling people, rather than directing them in a dispersal pattern, where you give people a means of retreat, an obvious means of retreat, so that they’ll take it. What they were doing was blocking people in on four sides and, you know, what’s going to happen then? People get scared and shit starts to happen. Tactically, I thought the police were just really fucked up. I don’t think had leadership on their part.

JS What groups were involved down on the water when you started marching up after making the decision?

BH It was just a mish-mash of people. I couldn’t say that there was any organized group at all. Because I actually wasn’t there at that point, I was somewhere else. I didn’t get to witness it but I’ve seen some videotape of footage of some different parts.

JS You’re talking about Wednesday afternoon, right, December 1st?

BH Yes.

JS Was that the rally that was originally organized with Steelworkers?

BH Yes it was. And they did this dumping, symbolic dumping, of stuff into off the pier into the water, then they had more speeches. It was raining pretty hard, so people were kind of anxious to get out of there anyway. Then it just ended. My understanding was that the march was supposed to have continued on. Apparently there had been some sort of deal made that Labor would not challenge the No Protest Zone. I heard that after the fact. That’s why the march was canceled. The second half of that march was canceled.

JS Was that the (inaudible) leadership of the KCLC or the International?

BH I don't know. This was just word of mouth. I don't know who made the deal. Just some sort of an agreement was made to try and settle things down. There would not be a direct challenge to the No Protest Zone, which I disagree with. I think that anytime that the government gets that heavy-handed and just blatantly disregards the Constitution, I think the people have an obligation to challenge them a bit.

JS So, do you think that the 174 learned any lessons that you'll apply to future political action? Did it inspire you? Did it teach you any tactics? Did you come out feeling any different?

BH Personally, I came out feeling like there's hope for the future. I mean really. Seeing the youth and student movements, and I've said this to our members, sometimes you hear about this so-called Generation X, which admittedly is sort of an archaic term already, that's a decade ago. But still, there's this sense that the next generation doesn't quite get it. But, you know, it was really obvious that there is hope now because the kids and the youth and student movements, that students that were out there, really were very sophisticated in their understanding of what's going on. I guess that's what I got out of it. Hope for the future.

JS So, a little while ago you were talking about important moments. It sounded like there were a bunch of them. Were there any other important moments that you think of when you think back on that?

BH Yeah, my Staff Director and my Executive Secretary both were on the Capitol Hill deal. So they were the lead organizers up there when ... you go into these places and the people on the streets were crying for leadership. So whenever they saw a Union jacket, they assumed, "You know how to organize." For instance, when I was talking about when we were marching into the No Protest Zone, but then we got caught up in that mass sweep of people who were panicking and moving from our left to our right. I heard several people call out and say that, "The Union people are here, stop, don't panic, let the Unions lead us."

I heard different people trying to pass that message, but, it was a general panic in that crowd, so you don't listen to anything once you get into that frame of mind. But that same scene, I think that people look to Labor for leadership. So when Steve and Mike got into Capitol Hill, it was the same scenario. They organized the community people who were turning out on the streets, incensed at the fact that the police would actually invade their neighborhood like that. And organized the neighborhood people there. It was really funny. Brian Derdowski was there as well.

JS Are you talking about Wednesday night?

BH Yeah. Was that Wednesday night?

JS Yeah, there was Capitol Hill, first the police moved into Capitol Hill some on Tuesday and were shooting off some tear gas and stuff. But then the night that it was really big, when there was hundreds of people on the street on Capitol Hill, was Wednesday night, December 1st.

BH I can't remember which night it was. All I remember is the story that they tell me because they were up in that neighborhood. Must have been Tuesday night.

JS Was it the night that Brian Derdowski was there and he got hit with a tear gas canister?

BH Yes.

JS That was Wednesday night.

BH Wednesday night . Okay. It was Brian, Steve and Mike, my two guys, there.

JS Who's Mike?

BH Mike Brannon. Steve Williamson and Mike Brannon is my Executive Secretary. In fact that was his first day of work here.



JS Steve's or Mike's?

BH Mike's.

JS Is that right?

BH Well, second day, I guess his first day of work was that Monday, the 29th. But he's an organizer. They're both organizers. The one story that they were telling me was they had the white flag, they brought it out, they're carrying a white flag to go try and negotiate with the police to get them to back down out of the neighborhood. So he got within about a couple hundred feet of them, and all of a sudden they open fire on them, Brian carrying a white flag. Oh gosh. Chivalry is dead, isn't it?

JS That was a pretty nasty night.

BH No kidding.

JS Had you had much prior experience with mobilizations on that sort of scale or with nonviolent civil disobedience?

BH Nothing of that scale, no. We're always on the fringe of every picket line. Cops are always threatening to arrest us for blocking traffic, or doing this, that and the other. Minor stuff. But nothing of this magnitude.

I think it was a learning experience for a lot of us. One thing that I would love to have seen in preparation for this is better outreach to the communities of color and other different sort of constituency community groups. Because had it been a broader-based coalition on that level, I think it would have magnified the power of the whole movement. Right now there's a whole gap that seems to be missing out there that hasn't made the connection yet.

JS How do you think that that could be resolved? How could that be improved?

BH You know we had some talk about this at our APALA meeting. APALA is the Asian Pacific America Labor Alliance. It's an affiliate of the AFL-CIO. My knee-jerk analysis is that communities of color have enough to worry about in trying to make ends meet. And to be able to worry about global concerns that seem so distant is almost a luxury to those communities. When you're trying to just survive on a day-to-day basis, I don't know how we help make that connection. I don't know.

JS A lot of people are talking about that very issue.

BH Haven't figured that out yet. Although, I think the churches, because of this whole question of the threat the WTO poses against our democratic autonomy and accountability of global government back to the citizens of the world. How that inevitably affects religious freedoms, I think that's one of the connections that could be made. Environmental movements even, that's even a luxury to a lot of communities of color. You don't see a lot of people of color as activists, in environmental causes, I think it's an extrapolation of that same argument. When you bring it down home to religion and that sort of thing, maybe that's where the connection needs to be made.

JS I've got one last question. What do you see as being the next steps for Labor and for other parts of civil society for their involvement in globalization?

BH I think we've got to figure out what is our goal. Do we want to just say, "No to WTO?" I think it's looking at the world through rose colored glasses to say we're going to stop global trade. I don't think anybody figures that we're going to stop global trade. How do we make global trade work for the people, not work to make a few individuals and corporations outrageously rich? We just have to figure out what our common goal is on that. That's the next step, because until we can see what the goal is, we can't really chart a path on how to get there. I don't know what the process is for coming to that consensus. But obviously, you get the groups together and start talking.

- JS Anything else you want to say, anything else that sticks out in your mind?
- BH It was just a once in a lifetime thing. Once in a lifetime thing. I've got my news clippings, WTO articles I came across. I was really amazed to see how seriously we kicked their butts! They still can't get their shit together. They've been trying to have meetings, and they just can't seem to. They've been meeting in Geneva now, and I have to admire some of these people who are still protesting in places like Thailand.
- JS The UN Committee on Trade and Development?
- BH Yes, They had Thai farmers who were protesting. That takes some guts, I would think to protest under those circumstances, where you're facing live bullets, you're not facing rubber bullets. In Geneva they had several hundred protesters in the streets over there although, I guess they were a lot stricter and they said there's no way in hell we're going to allow any Seattle to happen in Geneva, so they kept them pretty much away from the activities. But still, people were standing up, it's great to see. We saw the birth of a global movement, really. Global social justice movement. It's pretty cool.
- JS You know, I lied before, I do have one last question. Do you see any in the near or medium term any potential campaigns or events or anything to keep bringing the movement together, the different coalition partners together?
- BH There's some talk about something going on in D.C. I'm not really sure what that's all about. I don't think DC is the right place to do it, though. Seattle was where the stars lined up. In D.C. you're messing with too many other variables there. The message gets lost because you've got military issues, you've got just a mirage... is that a word? So I don't know what's the next great global organizing tool. Most Favored Nation or whatever you call it for China?
- JS That's a potential one.
- BH Yeah, that's a big one. I saw the Chairman of UPS, Jim Kelly, is really pushing hard for - it's not Most Favored Nations anymore, they changed the term, what is it? Normalized Trading Relations, or, NTR? Is that what it is?
- JS That sounds right.
- BH So, all the big corporations are pushing really hard for that and so maybe that's the organizing tool right now. Because, with all the publicity as a result of the UPS strike, people's awareness around the conflict in goals between the corporation who is trying to maximize profit, power, and whatever versus workers who are trying to get full time family wage jobs. The SPEEA strike right now is one that we could be using. I don't think there's going to be one huge event like the Seattle thing, though. It's going to just be a lot of hard work building the movement at the grassroots level.

End of Interview.