

Interviewee: David Hyde
Affiliation: UW Network Opposed to WTO
Interviewer: Jeremy Simer
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JS So, we're here on Monday February 28th, 2000 around 3:30 in the afternoon and I'm with David Hyde. So, actually what you were just saying would be a good place to start that you were in this group but weren't politically involved, right? Can you tell me a little bit about your political background? What was it that got you to get involved? What brought you to the WTO?

DH Okay. Long time ago, actually, goes way, way back. But I'll make it very short. In high school, I wasn't an athlete, so I couldn't make it onto the soccer team, so I became a debater in ninth grade and got interested in politics at that point. And got sort of educated about it and not really passionate about it. Like, I knew about a lot of issues, but I didn't necessarily care about them. Then I went to college and in my freshman year in college, couple months into school, the Gulf War started. And I was at the University of Oklahoma where things were extremely conservative; there was no progressive movement there. There were no progressive groups on campus.

JS At all?

DH At all. I mean there were a couple of various issue specific progressive groups, like I think there was a rape awareness group and a gay and lesbian bisexual alliance group.

JS More sort of kind of liberal issues more than like...

DH Right. So my friends Todd and Robert and myself and Marcie all put together a rally to be against the war, like the day the war started. We expected there to be like the four of us and that was it. Three hundred people showed up. And we didn't know what to do so we went to the library and checked out a bunch of books about activist organizing and stuff, and tried to figure out how to start organizations, and how to get more people to the next rally and what you're supposed to do at rallies, and all this stuff.

JS Didn't you say the other day you had a first rally and there were more people for the war than there were...

DH Yeah right. Okay, Yeah the very first one was actually the day of the war, there were 300 supporters for the war and about ... maybe ten or fifteen of us against it. Then we had another one the next day and there were about three hundred people there against it the next day. So we were kind of thrown into this activist position all of a sudden, not knowing what we were doing. We started some organizations there, chapters of like, Refuse and Resist and a group that we called Student Action Network that just took on lots of different progressive things.

JS Are you serious?

DH Yeah, but it's just coincidental that the name is the same.

JS That's so funny. Where was that?

DH The University of Oklahoma.

JS I think I remember seeing that on your once because you and Amanda talked about Student Action Network at the UW, right? It was, we did the same thing, we were a progressive student organization, student coalition builder. And I think that in the search for SAN and found your web page and I thought, Wow, that's great!

DH Yeah, we knew about you guys, too. We talked about it at a meeting one time.

JS That's so funny!

DH The University of Washington has a Student Action Network, also!

JS That's great! Then we ended up all working on the same stuff out here. Hilarious.

DH Moved to San Francisco, after I finished a Master's degree there.

JS What did you get your Master's in?

DH Sociology. Political sociology specifically. Just worked out there for a couple of years. Actually did some political things and then I did a lot of online stuff. I had a whole mailing list that I maintained, that had sort of current events to them and stuff. So I maintained a couple of mailing lists and did a few you know a few random things here and there. I'd show up at a demonstration. Was actually trying to write some stuff at the time. I wrote a few op-ed pieces for the paper down there and that sort of thing, but I wasn't really doing much organizing.

I moved up here in September to start back in to graduate school at UW and uh, first week I was on campus, I went to a rally downtown - a WTO rally. Knew about the WTO actually, that was what I was studying in school, was new supra-national institutions of corporate domination. So the WTO was sort of an academic topic to me in addition to like an activist-type topic.

JS When was this? You went to a rally downtown?

DH Last September. Yeah, September or October. It was at Westlake Park, actually.

JS There was a rally at Westlake Park against the WTO?

DH Yeah, it was a precursor to stuff coming. It was pretty small. You know what, it maybe not even have been a specifically WTO thing. It may have been on the GAP but they mentioned the WTO at the rally.

JS Oh! Was it part of the Road Show, wasn't it?

DH Maybe, I was real new to town at the time. I didn't know anybody or know any people or anything.

JS I think I know what you're talking about.

DH But I ran into somebody there who told me that there was going to be a meeting for people to about what students were going to do about it on the UW campus, like the next week or something about the WTO coming here. And I said, "Okay, I'll go to that. I want to see what everybody's working on around here. I know about the WTO. I think it's bad." I like activist communities and I'm back in college now, so maybe, I'll actually do some more activist work now and that sort of thing. There were like four people at the meeting.

JS Four?

DH Four.

JS Who was there?

DH Web [Webster Walker], Ingrid [Chapman], I think Huck [Huckleberry Palmer], myself, um, maybe one or two other people.

JS Was Ramy [Khalil] there?

DH Yeah, Ramy was there.

JS Cause didn't Ramy sort of help get the first meeting going?

DH Yes, as a matter of fact, I think Ramy was the one who put the flyers up and called the meeting in the first place.

JS So Palmer and Webster Walker, Ramy Khalil and you.

DH Uh, you know I didn't know the people at the time, so it's possible that there might have been a person or more there that later I knew but I didn't know at the time. So it doesn't stick with me that they were specifically there then. But anyway, it was very, very small. The point being that there were definitely less than ten. So we all said, "Okay WTO's bad, what can we do about that? How can we make this meeting better next week? How can we get more people here?" That sort of thing. From there we just started brainstorming a lot ideas about how to get more people to meetings and those types of things. It grew sort of geometrically after that. The following week there were twice as many people and then twice as many the week after that. Up until the last couple of meetings before the 30th, there were probably over one hundred people just at the meetings. I mean just coming to the main meetings.

JS So can you give me a sense of how the student strategy on the UW campus in terms of... how did you get from the group of four or five people to the however many thousands of people walked out on the 30th?

DH I think a lot of it was pretty organic because of what we focused on. I mean in some ways we didn't have we didn't start with an absolute plan of how can we get a couple of thousand folks to walk out on the 30th. We started with just sort of a plan of we want to do stuff against the WTO and probably we would have just made the student walk out and what can we do to facilitate as much of that as possible here. Without any real concrete goals or anything. So we really pushed hard on the education component even from the get go. We were like, let's have good flyers and hand them out. Let's try and get more people to meetings by having information...we would have at the beginning of all the Friday general meetings we'd have like a 30 minute to an hour informational session at the beginning. Someone would come in, usually from the outside, or sometimes one of us would talk about the WTO or AIDS in South Africa, or the tribunal process or some specific topic related to the WTO. Just a sort of informational component to the meetings before we moved into a more facilitated discussion-based meeting format. So we did that.

We had Huck constantly reminding us that we had to always remember the information part and not get overly wrapped up in the action component, which was really nice.

JS Really? That was his big message? Why is that? Because he was concerned that if you didn't get the information out...what, why, what was his argument?

DH I think he's right, just that, a movement that's just action with no information and with no soul is not really taking you any place productive, it's just people getting in the street and yelling. I think he's totally right. I don't think any of us disagree with it, with that idea; it's just that Huck was always the one that reminded us of that.

At some point, to take you kind of chronologically through it, in about, October, mid to late October, we stepped it up a little bit. We had enough people coming to meetings by then that we broke into a committee structure. We first set out some goals and said, what do we want to be able to do? And said, we want three thousand students to walk out. We want it to be big and loud. We want to have these things happen before the 30th, we want to have teach-ins and panel debates and all that. We said, okay, what's it going to take to get all these things done? We broke up into a committee structure, with different committees working on sort of different facets of that.

That was really I think as much as anything really the strength of how it all organized. It really created a situation where people were, the pressure on people to get their work done was very much from the bottom up and not the other way around. Not that there was a "top" per se, but that

there was no, you know, it's not like Webster was at a meeting calling everyone and saying, "Okay, all you different committees, you better get your shit together this week," or something like that. Rather, if there were five people on a committee and there was a point person of some sort on the committee, the four other people on the committee would call the point person and say, "Hey can you make sure all the other people on the committee got"

JS Is that right?

DH Yeah. It was totally cool. Um, so that like all the reminder nudging and all that was coming from the most diverse, biggest group of people. So you had a hundred reminders instead of one reminder.

JS Wow. Are you saying there was a point person whose formal job it was to remind people?

DH The committees had point people. I don't know that we defined it extremely explicitly what their job was, but essentially there was a couple of minimum things that point people had to do. They had to come to organizing committee meetings. We had meetings twice a week, plus committee meetings. But the main meetings were the main ones on Fridays and then on Tuesdays or Wednesdays, we'd vary the time, we had organizing committee meetings.

An organizing committee would be, say, between six and 20 people who would show up. The point people for all the committees plus representatives from other organizations that were particularly involved. Plus anybody else that just wanted to come and work on stuff. That would essentially put together agendas for Friday, find a facilitator, and find a speaker to speak at the informational part for Friday. If somebody had a proposal, it was the place where the proposal would be sort of hammered out for specifics, so that on Friday we didn't have to say, "Do we want to leave at 9:30 or do we want to leave at 9:45?"

You know, we'd already worked out logistical types of things ahead of time so the discussions on Fridays that involved a larger group could be more ideological and less you know just arguing about, you know, "Should we turn left on this street or left on the next street?" That sort of thing. Something open to everyone, I mean everybody could come ... those were just the sort of minimum people that were required to be there, were the point people from the organizing committee. So I guess we were in about six or seven committees.

JS There were six or seven committees?

DH Yeah there was the organizing committee, which was the one with lots of them. There was a coalition committee, whose job it was to try and encourage other groups to participate in our, in the walk out and in our activities and to do stuff with other groups and their activities. Primarily on campus, but they did some off campus work as well.

JS What off-campus groups?

DH Well, like with other campuses, for instance. Coordinating with the folks at Seattle Central and Seattle University, local high schools...some of them worked with SYPP. It was pretty much if we needed people to kind of be the representatives of the group outside, that committee would take that function on. There was the outreach committee; they worked really hard. They were a super busy committee. They were the ones that did all the tabling. They had tables every day for a month. It was rad. But they also were the ones that went and spoke to classrooms and did the little informational speeches in the classrooms and said you know here's the five minute spiel on why the WTO's bad and why you should walk out on the 30th and so forth.

JS Do you know about how many of those presentations they did?

DH I'd guess about two hundred.

JS Two hundred? Two hundred classroom presentations?

DH Well, not just classroom, but classrooms plus organizations, and community ones, a few community things.

JS You're not exaggerating?

DH Not exaggerating at all. They did over two hundred of those. There were about fifteen people on that committee. All of them did say, at least five, and pretty much everyone else in the group did at least one at some point. I did four or five at least, myself, and I wasn't even on the Outreach Committee. I mean that was rad. That was a lot of the key to the number of people that got out there, is like, they just went to so many classrooms. We just all brainstormed, who are all professors that we know that might let us get away with this? We went to them and every professor we talked to said yeah, you can have five minutes at the beginning of class or ten minutes at the end. They all saw WTO as a good educational opportunity, especially if we could tie our spiel into their class at all. If it was a science class, talk about genetically modified foods.

JS So that's the beautiful thing about the issues since it covered so many issues, you could adapt it to any cause.

DH Yeah, right we did. We actually had about five different spiels laid out for different types of classes. We had the engineered food spiel for the science classes, we had a geography specific spiel, we had a chemistry specific spiel. They were all basically different focuses, and then we also had the more generic just general, Here's why the WTO's bad, it's undemocratic, that sort of thing. We used that more in political science classes, too. We tried to tie it in a lot. A lot of professors were extremely responsive to it, wanted people to come in and talk about it. A lot of them talked about it in their class and said, "Here are some people that are actually working on these issues, to come in and do a presentation." They seemed very friendly and thought it was kind of neat, for the most part.

JS Do any professors or departments stick out in your mind as being particularly supportive?

DH The Geography Department, the School of Public Affairs, Women's Studies were all particularly supportive departments.

JS Any really supportive professors?

DH Margaret Levi.

JS Center for Labor Studies.

DH Right.

JS You're not just saying that for the tape are you.

DH No!

JS You know this is a Center for Labor Studies project, right?

DH There's Lucy ...

JS Jarosz

DH Jarosz, yeah right, from the English Department. English and Women's studies. I think she does both.

JS Oh, I thought she was Geography.

DH I don't know her well. I gave a talk with her one night. But, anyway, there were a few other professors that were particularly into it. The Sociology Department where I was at was decidedly

non-involved. Not the grad students. There were some grad students that cared and were there. Most of the grad students shut their classes down on that day and everything. But most of the faculty there was not supportive. Really kind of disappointing to me. Not entirely, not all the faculty, I mean a couple of faculty walked out themselves, but as a whole the department was particularly like, I think against it in some ways. It was kind of sad.

Although all the departmental emails were concerned about traffic. There's like, all these rush frantic emails on the 30th and the 1st that were like "Don't go downtown you'll be stuck in traffic for two hours," and all this stuff. Never mind like, "Hello, one of your grad students isn't teaching her classes today because they're in jail." It's actually part of the reason I ended up doing okay with leaving the UW right now, is that I'm a little bit perturbed with the Sociology Department over that very issue. Kind of conservative. There were other conservative departments on campus, too, that's just the one I have personal knowledge of. Obviously the Business Schools weren't real supportive.

JS There were two things you made me think of. One is you leaving school and going on to D.C... I remember that there were some big issues that became central to some of the organizing and the debates in the multiple student groups. What were some of the issues you were facing organizationally speaking and ideologically speaking?

DH Well, the, probably the biggest sort of debate back and forth was would we be involved in just legitimate stuff like the Labor march or the perhaps, even the less legitimate stuff like the shut down downtown and the Direct Action Network.

JS And how would you characterize that debate?

DH Well, it was an interesting debate as it turned out because we were sort of, we were very supportive of the Direct Action Network and the direct action downtown, and the other groups that were planning direct action downtown. We specifically held off on doing that because we thought that students wouldn't be supportive of that. That students would just think that that was just a crazy idea and wouldn't want anything to do with it. As it turned out the students were extremely supportive of that idea. We specifically kind of avoided that route initially just because we thought everyone would be against it. It was one of those things where at a meeting of fifty people we'd say, we have to be considerate of those that don't want to be like that. We'd be, like we'd all be, like yeah, we should do that. But like, in fact no one in the room was one of those people.

JS When you say that it turned out that so many people supported the Direct Action Network, when November 30th came, how many students do you think, not just students in general, but students specifically, that you were involved with at the UW campus or in contact with the coalition committee. How many students do you think kind of went into the direct action or started out there in the morning?

DH I don't know how many started there in the morning. I've wondered that myself and I don't really have a sense of that. What I can tell you is that there were about 2,000 students or a little more, maybe 2500 that left from the UW. There were an equal number of folks that left from Seattle Central that involved Seattle U also and some high schools. And then about twelve or fifteen hundred waiting on us when we got downtown at the Mural Amphitheater.

JS Twelve hundred students waiting there?

DH Yeah, there were other, like students from abroad that knew there was a student rally. I would say, in total there near six thousand organized students. Of those, we kind of got split up when we, after we had the rally there, we kind of joined up with the Labor march for a minute on the, sort of mid-day on the 30th.

JS Just the march or the rally?

DH Just the march. We were a little bit late and it was too crowded to get into the rally. We just kind of hung out on the outside, had our rally, and just kind of float into the march as it started to happen. It was so crowded and everything was moving so slow, it was so congested right there, that we go kind of split. I don't know if some people stayed with the march or if some people went home or what happened. But there was a group of about , I'd say, 1500 of us still pretty cohesive - UW folks and others at that point.

When we started in on the march and everything. When we got to the point where the march was being turned to turn back to the circle or whatever by the Labor marshals. I talked to Rice and Gavin in particular, I remember, and we made sort of a quick snap decision of well... because we saw all these burning dumpsters behind us and all these cans of tear gas and stuff and so we kind of stopped everybody and were like, "Okay, you know, if we're breaking the law if we move beyond here." And blah, blah, blah. And we kind of recommended that we turn. It was sort of our recommendation to the group that we turn. Everyone was like "No, we go forward!"

JS Was there like a call for a vote or consensus or anything? Or was it just "No!"

DH There wasn't a call for consensus. It's my sense of it at the time and we hadn't used a consensus process nearly as explicitly at the UW as, as a lot of your organizations who had organized had. It's actually something that we have worked on a lot since then. Is building the use of this process, the facilitating process, there. Sometimes we vote, for the most part we use this sort of weird modified consensus that was sort of an unofficial consensus. If somebody had a strong objection we wouldn't have done something. It was less filled out. There wasn't much of this...of the 'how we work' structure spelled out at that point. There were committee structures. We were operating on trust a lot and amazingly it worked out. I don't think that that's what you build an organization on, necessarily. Not that alone. But we got lucky and it worked out essentially.

JS Say, for example, at that moment, you said, "Our recommendation is to turn and not going to the direct action." You're saying there was a resounding "No"?

DH Well, sort of. We didn't say, "Our recommendation is ---" We said something like "They're arresting people beyond this point. If we go forward we're going to risk arrest and injury and there's lots of kids here and stuff. It might be a good idea if we turn, what do you guys think about that?" It was like, "No, no, go forward! Shut it down!" Or they started chanting, like "Shut it down," or something like that. People were very inspired by the moment, here was a lot of adrenaline right then probably there was a lot of just emotion because everyone saw the stuff that was going on inside the perimeter at that point. So we went forward, and we went, 1500 students went into it and held two intersections for most of the rest of the afternoon.

JS Really? Which intersections were those?

DH Fourth and Union and Sixth and Pike, maybe.

JS And they were primarily students?

DH Fourth and Union was pretty much all students. Sixth and Pike was about half. Fourth and Union, super smooth. Apparently, that's where apparently the first tear gas was fired earlier, much earlier in the day, but that was long before we got there. Hours before we got there. It was a totally peaceful intersection. There were sheriff's department was there instead of Seattle Police Department and we got there and immediately, police liasoned with them.

JS What time did you get there, do you remember?

DH Must have been sometime early afternoon. Two o'clock, something like that.

JS Fourth and Union. That's on the far side of Westlake.

DH Right. It's even further than that. A couple of blocks beyond that. We got there and myself and one other police liaison type person talked to the police when we first got there. Just no problem at all. The sheriff's department was like, "You folks can sit here, you can hold the intersection, we're not going to attack you, you don't attack us." It was just like this total mutual agreement. They never fired any pepper spray or tear gas or anything at that intersection.

JS Really? At Fourth and Union?

DH After that. They have earlier in the morning. But after about 2:00pm.

JS I must be confusing the intersections. Because I got hit by the pretty nasty really nasty tear gas in the afternoon, some time, around, between 3:00 and 4:00. I thought it was at Fourth and Union.

DH I bet you were a block over, because we could see a block away from us, people just getting clobbered that were on the other side of it. We were on the south side. You were probably on the north side.

JS Yeah. Okay. I'm just thinking one block over.

DH Yeah, there was only about one block distance that the cops held there. At the next intersection down, that was probably the worst intersection. But, no, we were kind of looking at you guys, going, "Boy they sure are getting clobbered down there."

JS Right, because that's where there were a lot of burning dumpsters.

DH I think that was more like Fourth and Pike or something like that.

JS You're right, you're absolutely right. I think it was Fourth and Pike. It's interesting that you mention that the next block over was held primarily by students because I saw a bunch of students around there. I got hit by this tear gas and never even saw it coming. Suddenly my face was on fire and four different people helped, poured water in my eyes, to stop me, I was blinded, you know and I was kind of stumbling through the crowd trying to get away. Four different people stopped me and put water in my eyes.

When I finally a few minutes later was able to open my eyes, I looked around and saw three people I knew. It was really amazing. I saw Miguel Bocanegra, and a couple friends who were UW activists circa like two years ago. Genevieve, and I think I saw Genevieve. If I remember right I saw her too, who were kind of acquaintances. So it's interesting. So that's why there was a high UW contingent in that area.

DH Right. The other place was the one at Sixth and Pike or Pine, I forget exactly which intersection it was. They weren't so lucky. There were less students there but like Rita Herkel was up there and another group of students. We had enough numbers at that point that we said, "Where are we needed?" And I actually, David Solnit helped plug us in location-wise, where the intersection that were going well were and ones that weren't going well.

JS Was David Solnit a "Com" [communications] person? Did he have a full set up?

DH Yeah.

JS Didn't, if I remember right, didn't the com folks have multiple forms of communication?

DH Yeah. You have like cell phone and radio...

JS Okay. And so you went up him and said, hey, where should we go?

DH Yeah exactly. Where do you need us, whatever sections are holding good and which ones aren't?. And so we were pointed at two. That one and the Sixth and whatever one, Sixth and Pike. The

Sixth and Pike one ended up being the route that the police wanted to use to get stuff in and out. They decided it would be their lane of their transportation. They asked if they could go through and people there said "No." They said, "Well we want to bring this police van through," and they said, "What's it for?" They said, "Nothing. It's empty, there's no delegates in it." They actually tricked them and opened it up and showed them there was no delegates in it and stuff.

There was no tear gas in it, because they wanted to do it if there was tear gas pepper spray, oh they're going to let it through so they can get shot with this stuff. So they let it through and before they could even let it through, the police got a little bit rough at that time. Then, just out of nowhere, about thirty minutes later, they came through with another van, and just ransacked them like that was where the motorcycle, like ran over the person that you saw in the video. The police ran over some people with their horses there as well and shot lots of tear gas and fired lots of rubber bullets. Just to clear a hole to get his police vehicle through.

JS Do you know why the police said that they needed to get the first van through?

DH It was going in, so it was probably to get something out. As opposed to...

JS So you know why people decided to let them through?

DH No.

JS That just seems really strange.

DH Apparently there was some agreement, that was if we get to look in the van to make sure there's no delegates or tear gas in it, we'll let it through.

JS Right, but I mean inevitably, a police van is going to be used against you if you're a demonstrator.

DH You'd think so, somehow. I wasn't there when that decision was made. I don't know how it happened. Anyway, they just got clobbered. I saw a lot of people pretty torn up in there, lots of blood, right at that intersection.

So, to jump around a little bit. Other committees. We talked about coalition and outreach and organizing. There was an art theater committee that made signs and puppets and that type of thing.

JS Ingrid was the point person on that, right. Ingrid Chapman.

DH Let me see if I have a copy of something in particular thing. I even have a fresh copy for you.

JS What on earth?

DH You haven't seen this?

JS No! You guys made this? The No to WTO UW Chapter, November 30 Student Walk Out Organizers Guide. Oh my god this is great. Who put this together?

DH I actually put this together. Myself and the Education Committee put it together. That was another committee I was going to get to. The Education Committee, we made most of the flyers and did most of the research about what's wrong with the WTO. Sort of the educational component. As well as holding the trainings for the outreach folks that were going to go and speak to classes. We put together like trainings for them so they could learn about it before they went and spoke about it.

JS Now how many of these did you make?

DH One hundred, one hundred fifty, something like that.

JS Who were they distributed to?

DH They were distributed to everyone that came to Friday meetings. We called everyone an organizer that had showed up to any of our meetings at all basically. We knew that there'd be a lot more people that had never even been to any meetings on the 30th. We tried to plug everyone in, especially the last few Fridays beforehand. We'd set up a bunch of roles and said, Okay we're going to need five police liaisons, we're gonna need five people with megaphones, we're gonna need four medic type people." We broke it down into all these very specific roles and then we got people to volunteer. Okay, I'll be a photographer, I'll be a medic, I'll be a whatever. We brainstormed and put all these really specific things on.

JS Peacekeepers, media, legal observers, first aid, musicians, photos, video, chants. Would those be all the jobs?

DH Those would probably be all the jobs. We may have come up with a couple of others at the last minute, like sign holder, you know, like banner holders, that sort of thing.

JS This is really impressive.

DH It'll also say in there if there are any other committees that I'm missing, because they're all listed on the back. Yeah here's the different committees.

JS This is really impressive. So what were you saying when you brought this up?

DH I was just trying to remember the other committees. Kristina Anderson said it really well. She said it worked so well, everyone got their shit done. By breaking up into all the different committees, they all had really specific roles. Outreach is like, "We're tabling from Thursday through Wednesday. We need flyers for it. We need flyers that specifically talks about the WTO and women because people haven't really, people have been asking up about that." Education Committee would go and like we'd all have a meeting and we'd say, "Okay we need somebody to do a flyer about WTO and women and maybe one person could do the research and someone else could do the lay-out."

Then we also need to be working on a map so somebody who's got some geographical information systems knowledge can make a map for the walk out committee to get working on that. Somebody else would be like, "Oh but we have to get our mission statement in," that sort of thing.

JS All these things you're telling me are making me think of all sorts of other questions. What was the relationship between the student group at the UW and the Direct Action Network? Is that possible to describe?

DH At the time the Direct Action Network wasn't an organization yet. It was still just a network, quite literally, just a means of communicating between different organizations. In some ways, Art and Revolution was sort of at the core of it, but not entirely and there was a lot more (inaudible) than that. There were a few people that were students that went to DAN meetings.

JS Like who?

DH Ingrid, myself, I don't know if Huck did a lot back then. I know he does now, but I don't think he did as much then. Ingrid and myself were the two people who come really specifically to mind. That was to learn, nonviolence tactics, things such as process stuff. Ingrid went even a lot further with it and went to a lot of the trainings to learn like rappelling and that sort of thing.

JS Climbing flagpoles.

DH Flagpole climbing, right, exactly. There was just that connection and there were some common people. Also DAN helped to inspire a lot of our rallies a lot on campus. Solnit would come over

and bring another 40 people that would help out with one of our rallies and they would all bring big signs and puppets that made it a lot more colorful than we might have been otherwise. They didn't necessarily, I mean they weren't their rallies, they didn't run the rallies or anything like that, but they had added a lot more visual component to it especially that might have existed otherwise that really made it a lot more impactful on the campus and stuff.

JS Wasn't there that one demo that was jointly organized by the UW group and DAN? Didn't they start a march through the U District?

DH DAN was trying to do a series of neighborhood, or Art & Revolution perhaps, a series of neighborhood rally procession things leading up to WTO to get neighborhoods involved. We organized one with them that went through the U District that went quite well, I thought. It started around Red Square and marched around campus for a while and marched up University Avenue and ended at Ravenna Park and had a lunch there and stuff.

JS You're looking at the calendar up on the wall and it stretches from September or wherever, and it goes through December. Can you pick out some of the key dates and some of the events that really helped define the UW student movement? Or the student movement in general?

DH Yeah. I think around the 15th of November is when we really started changing speed on a lot of things. We had this little presentation meeting on Friday where we said we were changing gears. Ingrid did this great impression of a gearshift changing. On the 15th is when we had a rally with DAN on campus so we had a small procession/march/rally type thing there that day. I got confused, I forget if the 15th is the day that we went through the U District and the 23rd we were just on campus or vice versa. One of those two days we went through the district and one day we were just on campus.

At about the same time when we said we were switching gears and just what that meant was that up until that point everything was all about building the organization itself, and trying to get some sort of preliminary education out. Everything at that point shifted to get everyone to walk out. It really started becoming, not just "How do we talk about the WTO?" It shifted to "How do we get as many bodies out there on campus as possible on the 30th?"

JS What were your methods to do that?

DH The classroom speeches. A lot of quarter sheet and third sheet flyers that just, that had "Walk Out November 30th, No to WTO" on the back. You know, ten reasons why you should walk out on the 30th or something like that. Just short little informational flyers.

JS So you started mass distributing what exactly?

DH Mass distributing quarter sheets and leaflets and things that had a little bit of anti-WTO information and reasons why students should walk out and maybe a little bit of information about some other event that would be going on like the rally on the 29th that we had the day before we left, that sort of thing. We put lots and lots of those out on classroom seats. We'd go into the classroom buildings. I should give the outreach committee a lot of credit here. They would go into the classrooms.

JS I'm sorry, who would?

DH The outreach committee would go into the classroom buildings with just thousands of these things and put them in every seat of every chair on the whole campus. The night of the 29th, I did a - myself and Rice - did a talk. We did a lot of talks together. He was sort of my favorite person to work with. Rice and I went to a lot of different schools and classrooms and stuff and did kind of larger audience talks about what was wrong with the WTO, the trade-off style. Awesome speaker. Anyway, so we were doing one of those on the night of the 29th. While everyone else was going to be off at Jubilee 2000 we were going to do one last ditch effort to try and get a few more

students down. We did a presentation, "Why you should walk out tomorrow from students to students about the WTO," or something like that.

JS On campus?

DH On campus on Monday night.

JS Where was it?

DH Smith Hall? That same place that we had the debate and those things.

JS It was just a general come one come all. Come here...

DH The room holds about one hundred fifty, there were only like twenty people there that night. But when we got in the room to do the talk that night all the seats still had Walk Out on the 30th flyers on them and stuff. It was like they were in all the classrooms. It was so cool.

JS They couldn't have possibly have done all the classrooms.

DH No, I'm sure they couldn't have done all the classrooms.

JS Do you have a sense of how many?

DH No. Just thousands and thousands and thousands of leaflets.

JS Do you know who did that? Some of the people who were involved?

DH I think the outreach committee primarily took that on. Huck and Gavin were the two who did a lot of work with that group, with that chunk.

JS Okay, to get a really full picture of all the nitty gritty details, who would you recommend be the main people if I and also my research partner were going to talk to students.... who else should we talk to?

DH Web, Ingrid, Gavin, Denise [Cooper], um, Rita [Herkel], but she's in Africa. Jeff, I don't know Jeff's last name. His number's in here. He writes for Ruckus. Ramy. Krista, actually especially early on, Kathy was there a lot and gave a lot of really like helpful suggestions even though she wasn't a student.

JS Blumberg.

DH Yeah, she was actually pretty much at all of the meetings. I'll look in here real quick and see if there's anyone else I'm forgetting. Oh! Betsy Severton. Betsy for sure. As a matter of fact Betsy has taken on a huge amount now, in sort of the post-WTO work. She was on the education committee and did the website but she's added to that running the listserv and a couple other things as well. As the position that we call "Butt Kicker," on the Organizing Committee which means it's her job to call everyone on the night before organizing committee and say, "Hey we have organizing committee tomorrow." Point Person and Butt Kicker are not always the same. Point Person, it's sort of their responsibility to bring all the components together. Butt Kicker, it's their job to make the phone calls to say, "We're all going to make fun of you if you're not there tomorrow." Lots of shame involved!

JS Seriously?

DH No. It could theoretically get to that point, but they haven't had to because everyone's been wanting to do more. If anything, we've had to tell people, "No, you're doing enough already. Go to class!"

JS What kind of effect did the WTO organizing have on people's study?

DH I think a lot of people's grades suffered.

JS I can't say that I'm surprised.

DH I made it through last quarter just by the skin of my teeth and I think a lot of people were like that too. A lot of people probably didn't make it through at all. It was really, for me personally, post-WTO was so busy that I couldn't continue in school. Actually, leading up to the 30th I could barely manage to go to school. But as soon as the 30th was over there was so much, almost more to deal with in terms of like legal issues and interviews all the time. Just junk like that, plus trying to like do coalition work and pull all these groups together. There was no time left. Before I think it hurt people's grades. I didn't hear of droves and droves of people dropping out or anything.

JS Tell me a little bit more about the march. You and a couple other people have mentioned to me certain moment that was particularly significant, tell me about that.

DH Yeah. It was rad. As a matter of fact, I have a picture with me, I'll show you. It's such a rad picture. I may have even shown you this particular picture before. One of my students took this. You saw the one that was up on the wall in the room that was like the big panorama type thing. Right? This is not a big panorama, this is a smaller one. I think it's in the box at the office, actually. Oh well.

JS What are you going to do with that panorama, by the way. That's a keeper.

DH Yeah, it's definitely a keeper. I was going to store it while I moved and then put it up where ever I lived after that, because I really like it a lot. If what you're saying is, "Boy, it'd sure be nice to have a copy of one for this archive," I think that you're right. That student, I could put you in touch with, and he said he'd be more than happy to make more copies of this stuff.

JS Really? Do you know the student's name and info offhand?

DH I might have it. I'll get it to you later.

Anyway, about halfway through the march, right after we had met up with Seattle Central, and Seattle University and the folks coming from that direction. We were walking down Denny and from, we'd be coming from Eastlake, and there's a big hill, down hill, from Eastlake to a couple blocks down on Denny. And I brought this big snare drum I had with me on the 30th and I was playing it, because I always complain that rallies need more noise. Like people have gotten really good at the visual component, but I always like to have more noise, more chants, more songs more drums, just lots of noise. Lots of propaganda being spewed over bull horns.

I had this big drum was out there in the front, and Rice was there with the bull horn, and I think Web was standing right there and Rice like pats me on the shoulder, like, he goes, David, turn around. He could tell I was getting all excited, and kind of trying to hurry up and get downtown. I turn around, wow!! There was just this sea of people that went back probably four blocks. Up and over the hill. I mean, continued on farther than I could see. As far as I could see there was four blocks of just as densely crowded as you could imagine. A sea of students coming down the hill. And everyone had these big smiles on their faces and everyone was almost running. And everyone was just like, "Yay! Let's go."

JS This is looking up Denny?

DH Yeah this is looking back up Denny because we had already come down. It was amazing. Really just inspirational. The picture I have of that is, I mean you can tell when you look at everyone's face, no one's tear gassed yet, no one's eyes are red, everyone's got these big smiles on their faces. On the one hand, people were like, very concerned with closing down the WTO, but everyone is

so amazed that we pulled it off so well. Everyone who was there is like, "I can't believe there's this many people here." I don't think anyone thought that there would be that many people.

JS That's sort of a common theme. A theme of the WTO week. I can't believe there's this many people here. Where was the convergence point between the UW campus or the UW students and SU and Seattle Central?

DH I'll show you on a map in here. Cause we kind of just guessed at it and got lucky. Campus Parkway. So basically, it was right about here.

JS So. That's at the intersection of Denny and...

DH Denny and Eastlake maybe? Fairview. But Seattle Central folks were kind of I guess, I-5 is in here someplace so they were coming across I-5 on the bridge. We were coming beside it, sort of below I-5 like this. I didn't see them for a minute, even though they were all right there. I heard all this noise being made all around, and I'm like, "why is everyone yelling and screaming?" I mean, I'm glad everyone's yelling and screaming. But it's like "Why's everyone yelling and screaming?" Then I heard more noise kind of like over my head. I look up and there's as many of them up on this bridge as there are of us on the bottom. And I'm like, "Yeah!"

JS Now, I remember that in some meetings, talking about the route, that people were concerned that there was a going idea that well the cops, you know are insisting on having permits for all the different marches. What if we take this route and we get down there and they shut us down? Do you remember that being true?

DH Yeah, we talked about that. I think our basic idea was that if there were enough of us, the cops wouldn't try to shut it down. On the other hand, it's so busy downtown that the least thing, the last thing they would worry about were some students up on Eastlake.

JS Was there any significant interaction between the march and the cops as students were arriving downtown before being in the area?

DH No, we had a police liaison. We had a police escort the whole way. The UWPD got a permission from the city, since the city's reason supposed reason why they won't let you have a march without a permit is that they want to have officers there to pool traffic to make sure nobody gets hurt. Whether or not that's the case is debatable, but that's their reason. They said originally that we couldn't have a permit because they wouldn't have the manpower to cover the area we were going to be walking. Person power. The reality was that the UW PD said, "Hey we'll escort them so they'll be safe," and the Seattle Police said, "That's fine." So, UWPD escorted maybe not quite the entire way, but ninety percent of the way down. Then I think Seattle PD took over the last couple of blocks or so. So no problems there.

JS So how did that happen? Who made that offer? Or did someone go to the UWPD?

DH We had had dialogues with them, I don't remember who specifically worked out the particular deal. I had a lot of conversations with the fellow there named John Schultz, a lieutenant there. That called me all the time and said, "What are you guys doing next?" and those types of questions. The UWPD is a little different to deal with than Seattle Police, I suspect, or especially Federal agents, something like that. They have to be there around the students all the time and they know they can't get the much horrible hated reputation so they actually tried to be pretty amicable. I'm sure that one the one hand they were probably relaying the information, along to other people that might not have been as friendly about it.

They were pretty simple to work with, really, from start to finish. They were concerned, actually, they contacted me after the 30th and were like, "What can we do better next time? What can we do to more thoroughly assist your group in doing the things you want to do without getting in your way, because we just want people to be safe." All that type of stuff. They really actually extended

a lot of hands to try and communicate with us. Some people are really skeptical about that and really cynical about it and think it's just a means to try and extort information from us that will be used to create concentration camps full of UW activists, or something. I tend to think it's just people being friendly and trying to work together and I think it's actually a really productive thing.

JS So, can you tell me a little bit more about the rest of the week? What day did you get arrested?

DH I got arrested the second day, so I can't tell you a lot about the rest of the week...Or the third day, I guess that is. After that night, I'd said that we had the two intersections that were the students ones that they...About 4:30 or 5:00 people kind of started going home and things started thinning out. The police were getting more violent. There had been a curfew order imposed that was going into effect at like 6:30. So we basically had an hour to get kind of cleared out, or face the curfew restriction stuff. At that point there was starting to be more resistance to the police but in much smaller numbers. Some random dude that throws something back at a cop. It didn't seem like a good or safe or useful situation to stay in any longer. We weren't holding streets at that point any more either. There was ways for traffic to get in and out at that point. It's not as if we were preventing or keeping any delegates in or out at that point.

JS Had you heard at that point that the opening ceremonies had been canceled?

DH Oh yeah...

JS Do you remember when that announcement was made?

DH No, it was while we were there. So it was afternoon some point between 2:00 and 5:00 but I don't know exactly what time.

JS While you were where?

DH While we were at the downtown holding the two intersections. We heard it, I don't know when the announcement was made to everyone else, but that's when we heard it. We decided to pack it up and kind of went around and gathered tried to find any others kind of straggler UW students or other people that we recognized that were at other intersections and said, "If you guys want to leave together, we're all leaving right now." By that point our numbers had dwindled quite a bit. There were only a few hundred of us probably left. People had gone home just randomly or moved around to other intersections, or gone other places over the course of the day. We were a few hundred people at this point. A smaller group of people that had organized into an affinity group, I hadn't really officially organized into any kind of an affinity group, because I knew I wouldn't be down there at 7:00 in the morning on the 30th. I knew I'd be back at the UW trying to put flyers up and, in classrooms for the 8:30 classes and stuff.

Going downtown sounded really fun and some of us did it. To me it's a matter of organizing in your own community. It seemed like that's where I needed to be and actually where I encouraged a lot of the student organizer types who might have wanted to be downtown at 7 am, I tried to really encourage a lot of them to be up on campus, just because it was like, "Hey you know we really need you guys to make the march and rally go off smooth and being downtown sounds like more fun, but it's important that you organize in your own community." So we left there and a smaller group that was an affinity group that had organized talked to me, and kind of invited me to take part in their affinity group tomorrow, and we kind of added a few numbers to it. So it was POC Plus 2, and that was Hop and Lydia, oh Lydia's a good person to put on that list too, actually. And Tammy Luu, why did I forget her?

JS POC Plus 2 is what later morphed into the Brown Collective. Who was the other non-person involved?

DH That was the funny question that everyone asked. Actually, there was more than just, than, it was actually Plus 4. We said Plus 2 because that was the name originally. There was Webster, Gavin, Summer and myself. And then Hop, Lydia, Denise, Nicole.

JS Brenda?

DH Brenda wasn't there with us on Tuesday and stuff. Oh, and Huck was also supposed to be. Um, Huck and my friend Karl who you probably don't know, he was the medic for the Infernal Noise Brigade, that was the marching band that wore all the green and stuff. They're all buddies of mine from back home in Oklahoma. He was supposed to have joined up with our affinity group that day, too, to be our medic. Huck had all of our supplies. Our goggles and our painter's mask and vinegar and food and water and all those things. They both overslept on Wednesday morning. And so we had this quick meeting.

I should back up a little bit. Tuesday night we had a quick meeting, just on the street on Broadway. It was weird because we could hear the noise of them chasing people up the hill getting closer and closer to us. They got within a couple of blocks of us. But we were just sitting on the corner of Broadway and Pine or someplace having like a meeting about all the people in that affinity group, basically. Trying to figure out what we were going to do the next morning. We all agreed, "Okay we'll all meet up at 6:30am or something." Also up on Broadway and all walk down from there, rather than trying to meet downtown so we could scope out the situation in the morning.

We got there Huck and Karl weren't there. They'd overslept and they had all of our, you know all of safety gear and stuff. We get tired of waiting, so we went on downtown and saw all these people getting kind of arrested around us, and people that were walking out of downtown, saying, "Hey they're just arresting people down there." We went ahead and kept going anyway, because we saw some other people going that way too. We're like, "Ah, screw it, let's try it."

When we finally got arrested -because they chased us all over downtown for a while and kind of corralled us from one intersection to another- when we finally got arrested in Denny Park, or I mean Westlake Park., right after they corralled us to arrest us, Huck calls me and I answered my cell phone. I was in custody and everything. I answered my cell phone. He was like, "Okay, I'm almost there man, I'll be there in like five minutes." I'm like, "Don't bother." It actually worked out great, because the next five days, while we were all in jail, Huck, it's my understanding, did an amazing amount. He was outside the jail awake for like five days straight. Called every person in North America to get them out in front of the jail. We gave him a whole lot shit about not getting arrested with us, but in fact, we were all pretty glad he was outside.

JS The story for you in the streets, at least during the WTO week...

DH Wednesday morning about 10, 10:30.

JS And that was when you got put on the famous buses ...

DH The whole bus story starts.

JS Now, because we can only be here for so long I don't want to waste time covering what you put in your John WTO thing. In that, I don't remember, do you describe, you describe with a pretty good amount of detail...

DH The buses. And the buses, I think so. I can't remember for sure, but I think that I did that. At some point I'm going to start being thin on time, too. What time is it now?

JS It's already 5:30.

DH Okay, I need to split in about fifteen minutes.

JS Well, let's get down to some other questions then. You told me the looking up the hill story, we talked about jail in your John WTO thing. Tell me about getting out of jail and going back to your office.

DH Oh, that was rad -one of the coolest parts. When I got out of jail, the first thing I did, this was on Sunday, so I got out really early Sunday morning, like 6:30 in the morning. From Kent. So there was not the crowds of people and everything down at Kent. It was just kind of cold and dark outside and there was a little bit of food and a pack of cigarettes outside which was nice.

JS There were some people waiting outside?

DH No just some food and some cigarettes. No people.

JS Just sitting there.

DH Yeah.

JS People had been there.

DH Right, and little signs that said, "This is for you." That kind of thing. We actually ended up calling a cab to get back up to the city.

JS Who were you with?

DH Some other people I got arrested with. A guy named Gavin.

JS But not Gavin from the U.

DH No a different Gavin. A guy named Dylan, a guy named Marshal and a person I remember only as John WTO. We heard that there was a truck of Wobblies that was going back and forth, driving people home from Kent. It was cold outside and we didn't really want to wait for them to get back, so we got a cab. We went to the 5 Points and we showed up right at 6:00am right when the bar opened and had a free drink at the 5 Point.

JS They gave you a free drink?

DH Oh yeah.

JS Because you said you just got out of jail?

DH Right, yeah. Then we had some breakfast because it was the first real food we'd had in a few days. Then a few of us, not all of us, I think, myself and a couple of others headed over to the jail and spent the rest of the day in front of the jail waiting for the last couple of people in my affinity group to get out. It was weird because I was super inspired all day Sunday. I was ready, after we got out of jail, I was like, "Okay bring on more World Trade Organizations. I'll tear them apart." Feeling very arrogant and just ready to conquer the world.

By Sunday night, and it took different people a different amount of time for it to all hit. Sunday night, I went home, this is actually before I went to my office and I was reading my email. I got this email from somebody I'd never heard of in some northern state, Minnesota or Wisconsin or some place. that said, "You know we're not there, we're sorry we can't be there in Seattle, but we know what you people have been doing and know that people all over the country and all over the world are like thinking about you, and fighting with you and praying for you." All these things and I just broke down and bawled my eyes out for like a half an hour. It was just amazing.

After all the bad stuff I'd heard for so many days, all the nasty things in jail and all that. Then the bad stuff didn't bother me anymore. Then I heard something so positive that just tore me apart. Then I went to sleep. When I woke up, which was late that night, actually, rather than the next

day, I ended up doing some more email communication with people just trying to catch up a little bit. Started writing that John WTO thing I wrote. The next morning I went to my office, I knew I needed to catch up on school things. At least in the very short term, just because I'd missed a bunch of days of teaching and everything.

A bunch of my students weren't in too much trouble. I had to teach that Monday at like 9:30 in the morning. I went to my office before my class and when I got to my office, there was about a half a dozen pictures including the big mural, the big panoramic picture that you saw. A few more smaller ones and then this bottle of whiskey on my desk with a note from, actually a two-part note from two people, from Ron Judd and from Kathy. Which is actually probably, in fact, how Ron knew what my favorite kind of whiskey was. I'm sure I'd mentioned it to Kathy at some point. But saying "Hey congratulations, glad that you're out, glad that the students did so much neat stuff there" and like "Sorry that Labor wasn't more thoroughly there when people were getting arrested" and stuff. "That won't happen again," which was really, really cool. Made my day.

JS Well, you've got some good stories man. What do you see the role of youth and students as being in the WTO protests and the whole movement? Or what roles?

DH I don't know. Labor folks had a different take on what students were supposed to do and the environmental folks had a different take and I think they serve a lot of different functions for different people. The Labor movement says that they're the conscience of the movement. Labor union folks might be there to protect their own jobs and people might see it as self-interest but students aren't necessarily their own self-interest.

Some environmental folks think that students are the connection to academics that help prove their arguments that there's lots of information that comes out of the students. I think students are useful because they're an easily organizable group. They're a captive audience in a way that no other constituency is on a certain level. You have people that are already going to be thinking, at least theoretically, hopefully going to be thinking about larger issues and global issues and the shape and future of the world. Hopefully these are just questions that people are asking while they're in college anyway. So there's already sort of that right mindset. They're people that tend to have a little more free time and excess funds. I mean, you talk about poor college students, but in reality, they have probably have more excess funds than a lot of people in America do. And they don't need a lot of money. So they don't have a lot of extra money, like, most, not all, obviously, but most college students aren't going to have extended families and lots of children and things like that that they're spending lots of money on.

So they have a lot of time and effort to put into things and there's also a good student networks out there. Plus there's great infrastructure. Universities are great infrastructures for building activist movements because you have things that you don't have in the general public. Let's say you're potential membership, or your population that's your potential membership is every student on campus. Imagine if every person had email and the Internet. Every student does have email and the Internet, even if not every person in the society at large. Student have big rooms that they can meet in. Imagine if the rest of the community had all the rooms that the University has that the students can use to have meetings and debates and panels and stuff in. There's all sorts of grant money there for bringing in people to do talks. There's AV equipment to use to do displays....

JS What you're describing is a very thorough analytical analysis of students potential in social movements in general. What about here in Seattle? What did the students accomplish? What was their influence in the WTO protests?

DH Oh, I see. In this particular thing what did students do? I think students did a lot of the coalition work, actually. I think that a lot of the bringing this organization and that organization together was done because there was a lot of students that happened to belong to two or more organizations. They did a lot of bridge-building type of work.

JS Can you give me an example?

DH Students and Labor is the one that pops to mind. The work that was done between Kathy and Lydia and Tammy all working both with Labor Unions on the one side but with the student groups on the other side. That's not exactly the students bringing other groups together. It's sort of the students being brought together with the Labor movement. But, let me think if I can't think of any other examples. Well, just within the campus, there was the examples of bringing the Green Party and a couple different campus environmental organizations, and a couple different campus Labor organizations, to sort of all work together. That's on a smaller level. We added a lot to the bodies. If you think in terms of just the Direct Action component, and not all 50,000 people that went downtown, but the much smaller subset of between five to ten thousand people that went beyond the perimeters downtown.

JS Number of students or total number of...

DH No total number of people that were probably downtown at some point in the area where the police said we weren't supposed to be type of thing...

JS There were about five to ten thousand?

DH Yeah. I mean which is a really big range. But I'd say there was for sure more than five and I really doubt more than ten.

JS Complete members involved in the direct action.

DH Right. All day too, from 7 am to 7 pm how many people were probably in that. Not including the cops. So students added a lot to those numbers. Granted we didn't get there until early afternoon, but I suspect students added a third to the number that was down there when we went in there. So there was that. I think a lot of the education work, like the thing that we were talking about earlier with the two hundred classroom things. Those weren't just in classrooms, those were also-students did talks at other community meetings of other, a lot of folks from the outreach committee did talks at other community organizations meetings. If there was a church group having a meeting they would go and do a talk at it. That sort of thing. So there was definitely that component. Students put up a lot of flyers all over the place, there was probably that one.

JS What about in terms of how Labor says the students were the conscience of the movement. Do you think the students as a contingent had any influence on the way other organizations or sectors were thinking or acting?

DH I think to the extent yes, and I think it's that people saw students legitimize a more confrontational or direct approach than might have been legitimized otherwise. What I mean by that, say that you've got some like Black Bloc anarchist type folks and some DAN folks that go downtown to try and have a direct action to block off downtown.

I think it would be really easy for society at large to write that off as a few radicals and freaks. Even for the Labor movement to write that off as a few radicals and freaks. I think at the point that they saw thousands of students going downtown on Tuesday and hundreds of students risking arrest and quite a few and I think quite a few of the people that got arrested were students, not just from UW, but from all over. Especially young people, it's not fair to just say students, but students and young people both. On Wednesday.

That, I think inspired a lot of Labor folks to say, "Hey, there's regular old normal kids who go to school around here that are so concerned about this stuff that they'd risk going to those nasty King County jails for a week over it." I think they definitely served that role.

JS That's a good point. This is probably my silliest stock question. If you could go back and relive the whole experience, is there anything that you would do differently in terms of organizing or getting arrested or not getting arrested or...?

DH I didn't mean to get arrested. Extra cell phone battery for the bus. Everyone, we all had fifteen cell phones on our bus after we were arrested. We got to talk to the press for like an hour then all of our batteries died.

JS Was there ever any moment at which anyone said, "Hey everybody with three people, turn off your cell phones and save the batteries for later."

DH Yes, we did that. Inevitably even those went away though. I think Gavin and Tammy were given that duty, and maybe Hop were given the duty of keep some batteries in your cell phones for later. If that was your canned question that was my canned answer because I get that question a lot. The bigger question I think is, I wish that we -and I know that we were all busy and that we all had no more time to do anything more- and at the same time I wish that we'd had more time to look at what's going to happen after the 30th and what can we do to make it a better and more continuing movement. More infrastructure laid into place, more anticipation of question about lack of diversity within the movement.

We should have known most of those things that we're facing now were going to happen. Part of it's just growing pains right now and it's not all as bad as some people make it out to be. It's also not as good as it potentially could be. I think that it's hard with this many people and when things are this decentralized. Where there's no two or three architects that figure out how the movement's going to be. But where it's lots of diverse groups of people that define this movement really. It's hard to say "Here's how we could have better planned and organized for that." At the same time there's some work that individuals could have done and that small groups could have done that would have maybe laid a better groundwork for what exists now. We all got surprised. No one knew what was going to happen on the 30th.

JS Can you think of any specific examples? Say, the student movement, this is hypothetical. Say the student movement could go back and do it over and had ten hours a week extra labor time...

DH Wow! Yeah give us the extra time and we'll do all sorts of stuff with that. If there were a few more things that the students could have done that they didn't get to do, I think that the two things the students movement in particular would have like to have done better is even yet more coalition work. That's not two things, that's one thing, but in two places. On campus, we would have liked to have brought even more organizations in. It's really hard like if you're trying to double the number of people at a rally, let's say that you've got a hundred people that are a member of your organization. You want a hundred more people there. Going to convince a hundred more people will wear you out. You'll talk all week and you'll never make any headway. But, if you can find another organization of a hundred people already, and just convince them at an organizational meeting to have their organization endorse it, they all come out as a member of their organization, then like, you know, you've done thirty minutes worth of work for what would have taken you hours and hours individuals.

So more coalition building both on-campus and off. I wish that we had worked more with the Center for Campus Organizing an had tried to do more of a national coordinated student effort. So that we could have helped spearhead or provide the model for some sort of a walk out to go on other campuses around the country at the same time. It would have been a big task to undertake, but there were some small solidarity actions in other places that would have been nice if we had been more in solidarity with them and said, "Hey, not only should you have a solidarity action, you know, here's some copies of some flyers we're passing out, here's some models that we're using well or not working well."

JS What do you see as being, what was CCO's role, the Center for Campus Organizing?

DH Well, if we'd had more contact with them I would know more. So, to tell you the truth, I don't know exactly what they did. I know that there was some student coordination outside of Seattle. It seemed like there was almost sort of a split, not intentional or any ideological split, but just sort of an accidental split between students that were coming in from outside of Seattle that were sort

of organized via the Internet through maybe Center for Campus Organizing, and other places. And then there was another faction of students that were Seattle University, Seattle Central and UW, and all local area high schools. Plus a few people from Evergreen and Washington State and places...

JS You said something about a really important question a lot of people were talking about, which was the role of people of color in the WTO movement. Were there any things that you could think of that were not done well enough, or things that could be done better in the future so they get more, make the movement more inclusive, to make it more relevant, to make it better organized for people of color?

DH Boy, I wish I had the answer to that question.

JS It's a huge question. I don't expect you to answer it.

DH I think if I can cheat here, I won't exactly answer your question. But I'll put sort of a thought out that's very related to your question. I have this real concern that a lot of people were concerned about racism in the movement, post -WTO. I thought it was a little bit silly to be concerned about attitudinal racism to the extent that I thought there were definitely structural issues that had alienated certain ethnicities from being part of -DAN caught a lot of flack for it, but not just from DAN, but from the movement as a whole. There weren't any overtly racist people. There weren't people with racist attitudes, just structures that weren't inclusive for whatever reason. I've changed my tune a little bit on that.

I think there is actually some attitudinal racism or at least lots of sort of, a lot of ignorance about the plight of people of color in activist movements and beyond activist movements. There's probably some use, there's probably a lot of use for some internal work that's attitudinal internal work. There's huge use for internal work that's structural work though. These are just some brainstormed ideas and I don't know what's going to work and what's not going to work.

The things that come to mind are doing more of a job of coalition building by attending events that are sponsored by organizations comprised primarily of people of color. Getting involved with their issues and then trying to build the intellectual connection and the social, and sort of the social conscience for everyone, for both minority communities and non-minority communities, to say, "Here's how, this specific incident that you're concerned, Martin Luther King symbol on the County Seal for police brutality in Seattle" or whatever ... how your specific political issue is tied into this bigger pattern of repression...

In some ways we're fighting an uphill fight if we're trying to say, "Here's how what you suffer is exactly related to the WTO." Sometimes it's very direct, but sometimes it's not as direct. I think that where we can draw the commonality is we say, "It's all about oppression." Because then there's a very easy link for people to make and say WTO's oppressive, police are oppressive and then you can start drawing the connections of exactly how all those things work out. Trying to draw very much on the public conscience the line between issues that people of color in the Seattle community are concerned about and issues that white activists that come here from the Bay Area and other places, such as the World Trade Organization, might be concerned about. That's part of it. A lot of it is, you can't just have an organization and say, "Here's how the structure of the organization is going to be and here's the people who are in the organization in these structural position and it's five white people sitting on the board." Then you go over to some other organization that's primarily people of color and say, "Do you want to join our organization?" Yeah, that sounds great, I want to get in on the bottom, have no input into what the agenda is, and like, have no opportunity of getting the cherished stipend positions, or whatever.

JS One last question. What's next for you personally and what's next for the people and organization, the movement, you know, who are involved in the WTO protests? Why don't you answer the movement question first?

DH

Okay, in the broad sense, the whole, the movement -that's the whole world, let's take it from the big to the very small, the movements that's the whole world obviously IMF and May Day are the two big up-and-coming dates. I think people will continue to be more upset about corporate domination and people won't have a choice but to continue to sort of at first demonstrate and potentially at some point sort of uprising against it. Just because if it's in fact doing all the nasty things we're saying about depleting the resources and the planet, and creating an ever-growing increase in the gap in the distribution of wealth. If that's really what's happened, then they'll be forced to deal with it at some point. Right? People are going to have to rise up and say, "Hey, we really are almost out of food." You know, we're not going to have much choice. That's sort of the long-term big thing for the whole world.

As far as more nationally, I guess, energy will be channeled into probably a similar action. It won't be similar because the police won't respond the same way. The tactics that we use might be similar in D.C. in April for the IMF World Bank Conference. People are going to try and organize all over the place for May Day. I hope it happens a lot in America, I think it'll be a big day in other parts of the world. I'm a little skeptical about how big it'll be in America.

In Seattle, I think that this cross -Labor, Environment, Pagans, Students, Cab Drivers coalition, I hope will work out. A lot of it's starting to look like a lot of Seattle activism. There's more people at the meetings. But there's more people at the meetings arguing about the same old stuff that they were arguing about a couple of years ago. I'm not as optimistic about it as I wish I was. But, who knows?

Part of the problem right now is that everyone is trying to build coalitions around actions. Get everyone to go out to Microsoft, get everyone to go to Kaiser Steel, not that these actions aren't important, but I think coalitions are really built around education and learning, sharing, structure building, internal organization work. Actions should be a manifestation of the movement, not the motivation of the movement. Actions should just spring naturally out of the fact that you have a bunch of organizations that work together and a bunch of people that work together.

JS

So then what about for you?

DH

For me... let me say something about UW before we get on to me. UW I have high, high, high hopes for because there is still a smaller but very rad group of core people there that are continuing to meet and working. On the one hand it's not good to have leaders within this type of movement. There's not a particular person I would point to and say, "Wow, they're the leader."

On the other hand there are ten or fifteen leaders that have been there in some sense that have really been going all through WTO and are still continuing to go. I think it would be very disturbing if there was one person that was pulling the strings for all fifteen of those people. A campus that size that you've got fifteen folks that are helping to organize a couple hundred, but they're at least all sort of doing the collectively of the fifteen of them.

I think that's great, and I see that continuing. They're doing lots of internal organization building work right now. They don't have as much time as they did last quarter, because they're trying to catch up on school this quarter and so forth. But, I have a lot of optimism for what they're going to be doing soon, really focusing on education. Really focusing on getting information out there and coalition building, and just all sorts of important things - internal process, making sure they've got a good mission statement and a good structure. They've got a new name. Students for Economic Democracy. Lots, and lots of high hopes there. And they're having problems, too, but they're having very understandable, like, "Oh, it's fine you'll get over it," type problems.

Then for me personally, I'm leaving Seattle in a week, headed on a short little bit of a tour across the country/vacation. Talking to some folks about the WTO and the IMF and the World Bank. I'll bring a copy of Showdown in Seattle with me and do a talk on a campus or two on the way across to help feed and house myself on the way. Then ending up in DC around the first of April, work on organizing there for a couple of weeks before the IMF World Bank Conference. I think I

might try and take less of an organizing role there and I might just try and do more of some neat things with an affinity group myself. On the one hand, it's kind of neat to try talk to fifty different people a day and all coordinate whenever our meetings are going to be and stuff. On the other hand it sounds kind of fun right now to just think of some neat direct actions to do and get together with a tight knit group of folks that I know well and love and all that and do our thing. Then from there maybe head to New York for May Day and from there, who knows. Notice that I didn't mention jail any place on this.

JS So you're not going to risk arrest in D.C.?

DH Well, I didn't risk arrest here, but I got arrested anyway. I thought I was just downtown exercising my First Amendment rights. I really had no clue I was going to get arrested.

JS Really? Even though you were just telling me the story of walking down the hill and people saying people were getting arrested down there.

DH Yeah, but we thought that, I mean, I guess at that point we thought it was a possibility, but we thought it would be very avoidable. We thought the people that were getting arrested was like the cops would say, "Okay please try and disperse, okay please try and disperse. Really you should disperse." And then they would arrest people. We didn't think it would be a "disperse" and then they'd block your exit and they'd arrest you. Which is what actually happen.

JS That was the craziest thing. Thank you.

DH Thank you for doing this Jeremy. I think it's great and I hope for a copy of whatever books you end up publishing out of this!

JS I'll give you a transcript. I think it's likely that there's a paper coming out of it, but I wouldn't expect a book.

END OF INTERVIEW