

Interviewee: Ron Judd

Affiliation: King County Labor Council

Interviewer: Jeremy Simer

Interview Summary:

Ron Judd, formerly of the King County Labor Council, says he hoped the WTO protest would be a large, aggressive effort capturing the spirit of the 1919 labor movement. He explains how labor organizations prepared the groundwork for the successful demonstration in Seattle, and details the early involvement of several groups like the KCLC. Besides revealing the campaign activity and actions leading up to the WTO protests, beginning with the NAFTA fight, Judd also discusses KCLC's strategies and goals for the mobilization around the WTO. In early 1999, the pre-protest atmosphere was a realm of possibilities, opportunities, and the building of relationships between churches, labor, environmentalists, student organizations, and many others. Judd says WTO protests were good for labor and left the community with a stronger labor organization.



JS	So going back now into ancient history, it kind of feels like now-
RJ	It does, it does feel like ancient history... WT- what?
JS	Yeah (laughs). I mean, it's been well over a year now since organizing started.
RJ	Yes.
JS	And so that's really what I really want to ask about is the organizing of the year and the nine or ten months before November 30th, that really built the stuff.
RJ	Right.
JS	And not just what happened the week of, because that's been pretty well documented.
RJ	Right.
JS	So for starters, can you give me a sense of sort of the groundwork that was already there, leading up to the WTO mobilization. I mean specifically, were

there any campaigns or any particular actions that you can think of recent years that really sort of, or even just the KCLC infrastructure. What about Seattle made it a good place to organize it?

RJ

Well I think there's... I think first was the work that the Labor Council with some of the community allies did around NAFTA. I think the fight and the struggle around NAFTA helped bring together organizations and individuals that at the time we didn't realize, but actually allowed us to dust off those relationships, right? And talk about some of the things, some of the struggle that we had around NAFTA and how we could expand and grow and do something different, and maybe be more effective with the WTO. So, I think the other thing that, you know, the Labor Council has been in the process over the last seven or eight years of really trying to rebuild itself and rebuild its activist nature. And we've done that through a lot of ways, but we've done that through a lot of education and trainings, we've done that through a lot of community development and leadership development work and - and through a lot of struggle, right? In the streets and otherwise and as a result of that there's been a lot more of an activist base built over the last seven or eight years. And that base was- was tapped into in a big way with organizing for the WTO. Not so much just the turn-out of that week but a lot of people from that base used to do house calls and to do community outreach and to serve on various committees and you know, really to give us the infrastructure necessary to, you know, to make what happened happen.

JS

Right. So when did it all start? Do you remember when the KCLC first started getting involved in the WTO mobilization?

RJ

Well, I mean, we...I mean where it really first started is when I got a head's up that the WTO was coming to Seattle and I called DC and DC said, "Well we don't think, we think that it may be going to Honolulu or San Diego" and, you know and then about a week later it was officially announced that it was coming to Seattle and, and we actually started talking about it then. Flew back to DC a couple of times and... some folks flew in here and we started kind of drawing out the parameters of work and what the possibilities of the work might look like...

JS

And who did you work with actually, when you went to DC?

RJ

Well, it was with president Sweeney's staff and ... actually talked to, to president Sweeney himself, but primarily his staff: Jerry Shea, Denise Mitchell, Barbara Shaylor who's the head of our international affairs department. Denise is the head of the Public Affairs and you know, Jerry handles a lot of the trade issues and is one of our key liaisons to the administration in the congress and so...

JS

So...

- RJ** Also Marilyn Snyderman, out of field mobilization. Because field mobilization played a huge role in it relative to the western region. Because they, they actually at one point in time probably had thirty staff on the ground in various - not only in this area - but throughout the, our targeted area. And our targeted area was Vancouver, B.C. to San Francisco. And that's really where we put people on the ground to mobilize.
- JS** So early on, what were the plans for the week of the WTO? I mean what were people talking about? From the beginning were people talking about a big rally and a march? Or what were you talking about?
- RJ** No, no I think... I mean, well the way that some of us looked at it was like this was an incredible opportunity that we'd never had in our lifetime and we probably wouldn't get again and, you know, and let's go for it, right? Let's make something big out of it and I think there were others that had been dealing with the international trade policy side of it for many years that were thinking that well maybe there are other strategies that ought to be deployed right? Maybe the street strategy isn't the only strategy or maybe it's not the right strategy. So it was a lot of discussion around that. I mean, you know inside, you've probably heard "inside strategy vs. outside strategy" and... but you know, I think a lot of that was just the brainstorming over "OK, let's throw up on the board: what are the possibilities?" And then let's start carving off the things that don't make sense. And really trying to focus down on what gives us the greatest opportunity for, you know, for success.
- JS** And what were some of those strategies? I mean were there specifics or not? Or was it just...
- RJ** Strategies in terms of what makes the most sense?
- JS** Mm-hm.
- RJ** Well, I mean I think that from an organizing standpoint, I think there was a strong belief that we had opportunities to educate our members around this issue, like never before. Cause most people, our members included, didn't know what WTO stood for.
- JS** Almost nobody did.
- RJ** Right. And so, there was a huge education campaign that was necessary, not just for our members, but also for the community as a whole. But that gave us a lot of opportunity to do outreach on something very important. The other thing is it gave us an opportunity to work with our community allies and to really take a look at communities that we'd worked with in the past. But also, and I think more importantly, look at allies that maybe we'd never had a chance to work with and this was a great opportunity.

JS Who were some of those allies that you worked with that you hadn't worked with before?

RJ Oh, Direct Action Network! Right? I mean, you know, Ruckus Society. I - you know...you know we had worked with CTC on a number of issues, you know: Citizen's Trade, you know on NAFTA, some other things. We'd worked with some of the environmental community in other, in other stuff. And it gave us a great opportunity to work with the religious community...much deeper, particularly around the Jubilee 2000, debt relief stuff. So it really was how do we broaden and how do we deepen our relationship with community in the struggle?

JS And what kind of contacts were there for example with, I mean with groups like Ruckus or Direct Action? Was there an ongoing dialogue with those groups?

RJ Well, primarily the ongoing dialogue at least - particularly in the beginning until it got really close to ... close to the 29th, right? And then certainly during the week, there was lots of dialogue between folks, right? Lots of communication. But, I think primarily the core group was the churches, labor, the environmental community, CTC, people from Fair Trade, I mean those... student organizations, right, were the kind of the groups that we were actually having pretty frequent discussions with and, we started having monthly meetings that went to every other week, that went to weekly that ... you know, so.

JS Meetings... in the Labor Temple? or which...?

RJ Oh yeah, in the Labor Temple. Right, yeah. Yeah in fact, you know we had a short out from the AFL-CIO's perspective when the Labor's perspective because I mean the other thing that was, that was a challenge here was that you know Labor was a lot like community. I mean, you know, if you think about organized labor, it is a collection of separate organizations. It's a coalition. The AFL-CIO's a coalition of different labor unions. And different unions, local unions, national, international unions have different opinions about different issues and topics and so you know, where one national, international union might be on the WTO and what they thought should take place in Seattle. And another one may be in a much different spot.

JS Can you give some examples of some of those different ideas about where ...what the strategies or ideas should be?

RJ Well, I mean, I think obviously some wanted to be much more aggressive in strategies and tactics than others because and it was particularly those that had seen the most, that had received the most devastation from the negative impacts of some of the international trade policies. You know like the

Teamsters, or like the UAW, the Steelworkers or the UNITE. Then there were others that had not been really affected by international trade policy in the past. That, you know, that were saying, I think they were legitimately asking the question “Well, so tell me again why you want me to invest a lot of energy and resources into this?” You know from the health care sector or service sector, that sort of thing and... it gave us an opportunity to do a lot of meetings to educate folks that well yeah maybe yesterday it was clothing and textile, today it's manufacturing, but tomorrow it's going to be service and health care, right? And that you know we shouldn't - none of us should make any mistake about , you know, the end of ten years from now...what it's going to look like if it continues down this, down this path. So... a lot of good discussions.

JS

Now I've heard a couple people mention, like Mike Dolan and Sally Soriano both mentioned a Jobs for Justice conference that Rosalinda attended and that you were at and Mike Dolan was at. And that, and they sort of pointed to that as an important moment in terms of people starting to talk to each other and ideas coming through. Do you remember? Was that, did that represent an important moment for you at all?

RJ

Well, no I mean the important moment for me was when Seattle was picked. Cause I knew that something had to happen. And, and so I think there were some folks at the conference I mean we had lots of little discussions and meetings about what should be done in Seattle? I mean everyone agreed at the Jobs for Justice conference, I think it was in Louisville, Kentucky, because that's the first time Dolan and I met ,where...we agreed that we should start meeting and figuring it out. But I don't remember any big awakening that “Ah! The WTO's coming to Seattle therefore we need to get our shit together to do something.” I mean, those of us that were in Seattle, that knew the WTO were coming were already there. The question though was, what did the 'together' look like? Right? If we had to get it together, what did it look like? And what shape did it take and who would be involved, who would we have to work with to make it happen? And... I - the one thing I would say though about the Jobs for Justice conference, that I think is important, is because there were a lot of...there were a lot of activists from around the country that came together. It gave us an opportunity to communicate with them about the WTO and about the problems that it had created and about the opportunities that activists from around the country could play in something taking place in Seattle. So I think from that perspective it was a good - it was a great conference. Cause there were a lot of folks that started thinking... coming out of that conference about “When I go back to my home...”, right? “What is the work that I can start doing to prepare for something that's going to take place in Seattle?” Not knowing what that something looked like, right? Cause that something hadn't been defined yet. But beginning the process of thinking about it.

JS Now one of the tactics - I wasn't here in the springtime, I was out of town, but from talking to other people I've heard that one of the tactics that was discussed early on was the idea of a general strike in Seattle and a couple people have said that around the time of the Strikes conference at the UW, that they heard you say something about how that was something as a possibility. Was that ever, was that ever part of the discussion?

RJ Well, I think, on a couple... I mean somebody at a big meeting here in the Labor Temple on a Saturday afternoon asked me: in a perfect world, what would I see happen around the WTO? And I said, in a perfect world we'd repeat 1919. And the basis on the repeat would not be because we got problems with employers in the maritime unions, which was the basis of the '19, right? But it would be the basis that we got problems with employers on the planet... raping and pillaging the planet right? And so then somebody says, "So then you're saying that there ought to be a general strike?"

And I said, "You know, we won't get a second chance to make a first impression on the WTO in the United States." And I put it in the perspective like, you know why did they come to Seattle? Why did President Clinton pick Seattle? Because you looked at Seattle as Camelot. That everybody in Seattle - the whole world thinks that we're all neo-liberal free traders here. Because we're so damned dependent upon trade. So what better message to send? Would be to shut the entire city down, have this massive general strike in Seattle and shut it down. And tell the whole world that we all don't think like President Clinton. And that raced like brush fire out... 'Ron's calling for a general strike! Ron's.... " And that's, you know, that's not what I was calling for, I mean I was talking in terms of you know, how do we maximize. I mean, what... you know because I was looking at high impact, right. I was looking at, you know, we should make no mistake about the opportunities here. And they ought to be large.

JS You wanted it to be big.

RJ And it ought to be aggressive, and, right? So...

JS So you're saying that, that you never really considered that to be, to be a strategy that you wanted before, but more just that you wanted to sort of capture the spirit of 1919?

RJ Yes. Yes. Absolutely. And then on a couple of occasions, people came up and the fact that it was a piece in the Seattle Times that that I came out calling for a general strike in Seattle, and so...

JS So what was your goal, or what was, what was the KCLC's goal for, you know, for the mobilizations around the WTO, or for that matter, what was the AFL - the national level's - goal?

RJ

Well, I mean I think from day one our goal was to change the debate. Have such a large presence in such a massive lead-up into the activities, the actions to where we would use Seattle to change the debate about trade and about how people looked at trade and about how and about the problems related with the trading system. And that I believed that you couldn't do that - many people believed that you couldn't do that - by just having the inside strategy of going in and lobbying the administration in other countries about policy changes. Because no one sees that.

When all the eyes of the world are looking, I mean it's like at the most, the WTO's going to be a yawner. Right? People are going to fall asleep, no one's going to pay any attention to it. "Ah there's a bunch of muckety-mucks meeting in Seattle, probably something that has nothing to do with me." Right? Why the shit should I care? You know? And I - what we saw as the opportunity is, you know, we could play this up. We could set the stage to where all eyes could be on Seattle. Right? To where this could be so big, to where we could put so many people on the streets, to where people in Iowa... Nebraska... Florida... right? ... Japan, right? Central America would say, 'Man, I don't know much about the WTO, but look what's happening in Seattle! So, maybe I should learn more about this. I mean there must be something to this or why would all these people be raising all this hell in Seattle?' I mean I from day one, was convinced that the only way we were going to put Seattle - the WTO in the consciousness of people is that we had to do something very big. Very different, very unusual.

JS

Now, did the AFL at the national level share that view?

RJ

Yeah. I mean, you know, not - again, you know, lots of different opinions. It's like any - it's like, you know, when we go to University of Washington, we have a meeting about having a conference or something, right? In the very beginning you have lots of folks throwing ideas up on the wall and not everyone agreeing and slowly over time and through, you know, discussion, debate, struggle, right? Some pain and agony, you bring greater focus to what that conference is going to end up looking like, and what the topic's going to be. It's very similar, but on a much larger scale. Because the other thing that we have to realize - this wasn't just the AFL-CIO. And, from Labor's perspective, and all of our national, international affiliates this was also an international event so the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), which is - as I like to refer to it: the AFL-CIO of the planet. Right? This was really their gig.

You know this wasn't about Seattle - and I think that's the other important thing that we all recognize, is that this couldn't be about the Seattle Labor movement, or the Puget Sound Labor movement, or the West Coast Labor movement, or the American Labor movement. This had to be about the

International Labor movement and its concerns and problems about trade. Because if it was just us in Seattle, or in this country, then they'd call us nationalists. We don't give a shit about the workers in Central America. We don't give a damn about the workers in Asia. You just want to build walls up around this country. Right? And that's not what this fight is about. And so Seattle created this great opportunity to put the international perspective on this, right?

JS Now, I remember that the WTO was a major point of discussion at the ICFTU conference but leading up to that like in the months, in the months of mobilizing leading up to the week of November 30, was there was there any discussion between the KCLC or the AFL with unions around the world?

RJ Oh! Oh, lots of discussion, oh yeah.

JS Like with what kind of... which unions, what countries? What kind of -

RJ Oh all the unions, in all the counties, right, yeah, the Executive Council, the ICFTU, I mean countless meetings with the secretary general Bill Jordan, I mean, because, you know, the AFL-CIO was committed that, you know the ICFTU elected to have the meeting in Seattle, prior to the WTO, so that they could make some policy decisions that they wanted to each one of their, of the federations - labor federations for the countries could then go and try to lobby and move their trade representative from their country on these policy initiatives, right? And so, at the same time participate in whatever large activity was going to take place outside. And of course, you think that there was a diversity of opinion within the American labor movement, there was tremendous opinion within the galactic labor movement, right? Between, you know, the labor movement from some of the European unions, and some of the unions of Asia, or... right, so?

And that was, see I don't think people have, or particularly organizations, that are pretty monolithic, in and so focused on, well they may be an organization that just has a local community perspective or a, or a regional perspective, or maybe in some case national perspective. But, because of the base in our case, what really was exciting, but also complicated, was that that you know, we were trying to pull something off that we needed to have all the labor federations around the planet supportive of. It would not have done us any good, if we had put together an action or set of activities and we had the ICFTU or any part of it come out and denounce it. Because then it doesn't look like that you've got a united labor, international labor movement, and the employers in the countries are going to see that division, they're going to drive a wedge through it.

JS So...more at the local level, what kind of interactions did you have with local government officials, with the city and the county.... Because I remember, for

example, at, there was that county council resolution. And I remember you were, you know, you were involved in talking with the council members to try to -

RJ Right.

JS Not get that free trade law

RJ Oh yeah, well, we had lots of discussion with the County execs and the Council members, and the mayor, and the City Council, you know, the Governor's office.... the police, all the security folks. You know, we were very up front, right? We didn't want to blindside anyone. We wanted to let them know that we had a problem with trade, the trading system, not with trade, but with the trading system, the rules of the system and that the WTO was the, was going to be a catalyst for lots of discussion, debate and actions. And that we were planning something large. And that we were going to be working with our community allies. And you know, so it was our - it was certainly my being the on the ground coordinator of this stuff to, to be pretty, to be pretty free with, with letting folks know what to expect. Not blindsiding anyone, and hopefully through that effort, getting as much cooperation as possible. Cooperation, relative to allowing us to do what we wanted to do.

JS And did that work?

RJ Well I think that you would have been hard-pressed to go into any other city in this country and, and have the kind of relationship and flexibility that we got out of this city.

JS Is that right?

RJ Well, let's look at what happened in Washington, D.C., right?

JS Right. Whole different story.

RJ Whole different story. And, and I think that... and I don't think that it was because D.C. was adamant that Seattle wasn't going to be repeated. I think that if anything, D.C. at the beginning, that's the type of crackdown that would've happened. You know, and a lot of people, it's been, I think really, in some respects, I think a little unfortunate, because I do think the mayor was trying to do the right thing. If you go back, if you look at all of his, if you look at all of his quotes, and stuff leading up to it, you know, he was a mayor from a city that's the most trade-dependent, used to be a port district... and he was continually saying, "We ought to allow protests, we ought to allow people to have civil debate over this thing, we ought, it's way past time to lay these issues on the table and find resolutions and solutions to them. I challenge people to go back and remember that. And I am firmly convinced

that some of the crackdown in that 36 to 42 hour period that in which it got really ugly that - yeah, the mayor was the one that, you know, stood up and said, "It's my decision. And I'll take credit or blame." But I don't think it was. I think that other people behind the scenes were, were making decisions about what the, the change in tactics.

JS Like from the federal government?

RJ Yeah.

JS Yeah, I've heard that there were phone calls coming in from Madeline Albright and Janet Reno.

RJ Oh yeah. It's like you know people like that into the hotel, so they get cranky.

JS Right. So what, there's obviously there's been a lot reported about all this stuff that happened the week of especially.

RJ I'm just wondering how much of this is being picked up.

JS What happened? Are there any stories you can think of, of Labor's involvement with the WTO protest that didn't get reported? What, I mean, is there anything for the historical record, is there anything that you think people should know, trying to piece together the story of the WTO in Seattle?

RJ Well, I don't think that people maybe understand the role that labor played behind the scenes in trying to facilitate calm, when things got out of hand on Tuesday night and Wednesday. I mean, we had lots of discussions and meetings with the Mayor's office, the Council security, you know, really encouraging/demanding that that de-escalation of tactics take place. I think we played a huge role in attempting to end the week the way we began it, with the Friday action. In bringing all of the very diverse organizations together to go back into the no protest zone. From the symbolism, symbolic standpoint it represented a lot.

It represented returning to the real debate, and that was why we were here, the WTO and its policies and why they were wrong, and it wasn't about police and protesters. Right? And about people on the planet, and about taking back our rights to peacefully protest. And it was about community coming together. In a great way.

The other thing was the role that we played in getting the folks in jail released.

JS What, how did you participate in that?

RJ

Well there's a lot, I mean, I was in negotiations all night Friday night, afterwards, I mean, inserted myself, thinking I could be very helpful. You know because of our, you know we're big political players. And the Council races and the District Attorney races, and... just our presence and the fact that you know... negotiations and mediation and that sort of thing and from the standpoint that Labor was going to stand by those, I mean we had members that were jailed as well. But, even if we hadn't had members that were jailed, we should be there because there were people that were jailed that may not have been union members, but they were jailed because they were out protesting with us, right? On the very thing that we cared about. And you know, and it was about unity and solidarity. And it was about all of us sticking together, from the very beginning to the very end. And that it didn't mean that we all, every step of the way, leading up and during the week, always agreed on everything, but in principle, philosophically, from the heart, we were all there. Maybe a little different tactics, a little different message and how we delivered it... but at the end of the day, you know, we were all fighting the same fight. And, so...

JS

Right. I don't want to take up too much more of your time, but one more, one more question, no- two more questions. One is, how has the WTO experience changed the KCLC, has it affected it at all?

RJ

Yeah, I quit! No..

JS

Did that have a lot to do with your leaving?

RJ

No, I don't think so. But well, I think it's a much stronger Labor Council. I mean, I think we have a lot more activists. Our committees, particularly our education committee, is doing phenomenal work. I mean they did phenomenal work leading up to doing outreach to, not only our unions but community organizations, and religious organizations, and they'll continue with that. I also think from the AFL-CIO's perspective and the ICFTU's perspective, Seattle was very good, for the AFL-CIO. Seattle was very good.

JS

Why is that?

RJ

I mean, well, just look at the global campaign that they've put together and the resources that they're putting into it. There was, it is taking the discussion, the debate, the commitment on behalf of labor on an international level, to fight this fight and do the right thing, to a whole new high, whole new level. I am convinced we wouldn't be there today, we might be talking, but we wouldn't be doing the kind of walk today that we're doing without Seattle, and what Seattle represents, and the success that we had in Seattle, and I say the big "WE", not just we in Labor, but we as community, right? And Seattle has provided the space, for us to be a lot more aggressive, a lot bolder about the

issue of global trade. You know, the very controversial, you know, and there were some unfortunate divisions right within communities.

But if you look at the massive amount of expenditures that the international business community and that the president and that all the leadership in congress, never before in the history have we ever seen, any sort of effort, or that much money, in that short of a period of time go into moving any other, any! I mean, you know we've had folks that they're working the Hill for decades, and we have never seen the kind of resources. And they almost lost that vote. They came very close to losing that vote. And, and even thought, some suggest that we lost, I actually think that it could be defined as a win, because, I think that the amount of fight, the amount of phone calls, the amount of letters, the amount of mobilization, the amount of community relations that were developed throughout the country around that struggle, and around the planet, and the attention we got... again, has provided more space for us to continue expanding and doing the work. And we knew going in that PNTR was going to be a huge fight.

I mean we experienced NAFTA, we saw the president of the United States, you know, buy votes, with planes and ships and special projects and congressional districts and, you know, we're right now, compiling a list of the hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars that he bought votes with. You know, we know that in districts in Oklahoma, he actually had projects and bridges that just so happened, were never on paper before, just so happened now are in the planning stage of moving forward, right? We know that he bought those votes in Oklahoma. The same thing in Texas, the same thing in Florida. And so, and lots of other states in between.

JS One last question, I was curious about, what happened with the volunteer position that Martha Baskin had, as the Fair Trade rep.?

RJ Uh-huh.

JS Because I remember, she had that volunteer position for a while.

RJ Yeah, she used to have a great job.

JS And then, how exactly did it go from that position to the shift at the Education Committee?

RJ Well, I think that Martha was, first off, Martha was doing great work for the Labor Council, and, but I think Martha was struggling with having to deal with some of the bureaucracy... And you know, and it's a struggle that I do as well, and I would hope to think that she appreciates the fact that, you know that I struggle with it as well. But, you know, she wanted to move on things

and to do things in a much, at a much different pace. Particularly in the early stages than the system or the discussion or the complications of the international perspective, ICFTU's perspective.... allowed. And being the great organizer and activist that she is, she got tremendously frustrated. And I think that frustration led to both of us having to ask the question well maybe there's a there's a better role, and a different role that you could be playing on helping to move this, but outside the labor movement. And so you know, it was, I would like to think it was a jointly agreed upon, you know there was this rumor running around that, you know that I fired her. I mean, I didn't fire her. She was a volunteer, right? Number one. And number two, you know, I always, I ask that, those people, well you should go talk to Martha about that, right, because, you know Martha, I was at a meeting in which she stood up and told folks that "Ron Judd didn't fire me. He and I agreed that given what I wanted to see happen, and the time frame that I wanted it to happen, that the fit with the Labor Council, given their responsibilities with the AFL-CIO, and the ICFTU, didn't work."

Now at the end of the day though, what she and I were talking about months before, at the end of the day, at the end of the week - I mean because there was a, I think there was a lot, you know, just being brutally honest, I think there was a lot of skepticism about whether or not Labor was going to step up to the plate. I think there was a lot of skepticism from Martha and others who were really active, and wanting to just kick serious butt, that we would be able to get there. And, but I don't think anyone can suggest that that's in question now. Right? I mean, I don't think anyone can suggest that that's in question.

Now, you know, there's lots of discussion about the day of the action. The big day, of Labor's day, and the splitting off of the march rally and that sort of thing, and why did that happen, and was that strategically and tactically thought out? And you know, I was on the ground, I was the one making those decisions, and trust me a lot of people are reading a lot more into what happened than why it happened, but um. Yeah.... I mean she's, I've seen that she's actually getting back involved in activities with the union and Labor Council and that's very good. She's a very talented person.

JS

So do you have, is there anything else that you think, that people should know about the whole WTO experience, like other that the questions that I've asked, so far?

RJ

Well, it was a great opportunity for personal growth. It was you know, there were incredible relationships developed, and the best relationships are developed through struggle. You know you can sit around the table, and you can talk all you want about policy, and philosophy, and struggle... but until you're in the streets, until you're in the thick of things, this makes a big difference on relationships. And individually and organizationally, and it was

a very powerful experience and ... all those people who missed it. And as I've traveled around the country I've had people say, "Oh! God, if I'd only know it was going to be like that, I would have crawled to make it", right? And, they missed a great event, a great week. And a lot of good planning, and a lot of good struggle leading up to it. So... planning, that went on...there were lots of meetings. I mean, and so, you know, it just didn't happen that you know fifteen thousand people showed up at Jubilee 2000. Right? You know it just didn't happen that you know that all of the things that took place on Friday just you know by the wave of a magic wand. I mean all that happened because there were lots of meetings, and lots of relationships that were built, you know, and trust. And, uh so... Good.

JS

Thanks again.

End of Interview

WTO History Project
University of Washington
wtohist@u.washington.edu